

The Making of the Future


HUMAN GEOGRAPHY
IN WESTERN EUROPE

A STUDY IN APPRECIATION



BY
H. J. FLEURE

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EDITED BY

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H. J. FLEURE

PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF WALES, ABERYSTWYTH
HON. SECRETARY OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL ASSOCIATION
MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL OF THE ROYAL
ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE



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PREFACE

THIS book contains a selection of the contents of lectures and discussions in a class in Human Geography at Aberystwyth during the last ten years. In such work as this every limitation of the writer inevitably makes itself felt, and yet, as it is of the nature of an appreciation rather than of a professedly complete study, the personal note is a necessity. It may be said to be an early draft of an attempt to appreciate the *genius loci* of some of the human groups which have become accustomed to live and act as such in Western Europe. It tries to visualise those groups with their varied racial elements making their several contributions within each, while the group as a whole in turn makes its cumulative contribution to what may become a community of civilisation. The effort is therefore made to study human experience in each region in concrete fashion, with attention directed continuously both to man and to his environment, and this, it is urged, is an essential task of the geographer.

The chief points, and especially those in the discussion of peoples of French and German speech, were worked out and written

up a good while before 1914, and it may be added that there has been a steady effort to avoid too great a warping of views through the feelings aroused by the war-years. The book is not intended to be a text-book of geography, it is rather an effort towards a closer contact with the ever-flowing stream of experience which has made of us, in the present competitive, in a better future more co-operative, groups that might work side by side for the enrichment of the life of humanity. Readers of this book will find that it contains too few maps. That is inevitable, and they should read with an atlas such as the new "Advanced Atlas" just published by the Clarendon Press.

The invitation of the Editors of this Series to me to co-operate by writing this book gives me the opportunity of expressing my appreciation of the fertility of suggestion they bring to bear upon so many problems. They, and Mr. Victor Branford in particular, have made many detailed and direct contributions to this book. To many friends, and notably to Monsieur Léon Marchand, Mr. H. J. E. Peake, Principal T. F. Roberts and Mr. J. Fairgrieve, my debt is a deep one, as it is also to my friends the late Professor and Mrs. Herbertson. Needless to say, the writings of Messieurs Franz Schrader and P. Vidal de la Blache, the veteran French geographers, and of Messrs. Ripley, Chisholm,

Lyde and Fairgrieve have been much and gratefully utilised.

The argument in several parts, and notably in Chapter I, has had to be cut short, but the student who is interested to follow up the problems of Chapter I will be able to find further bibliographical references in papers by Mr. Peake, Professor Keith and the writer in recent and forthcoming volumes of the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*. In this connection a tribute is due to the great work of the late Joseph Déchelette, who has done so much to uplift the whole study of anthropology and archæology.

Thanks are due to the Editors of the *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, the *Geographical Teacher*, and the *Sociological Review* for their kind permission to utilise material which has previously appeared in those journals. Lieutenant W. Mann has kindly volunteered an index, and I wish to take this opportunity of thanking him for his kindness. My grateful thanks are also due for continuous help from my fellow-workers at Aberystwyth, Miss R. M. Fleming and Mr. W. E. Whitehouse.

H. J. FLEURE.

*University College of Wales, Aberystwyth,
January 1918.*

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HUMAN GEOGRAPHY

CHAPTER I

SKETCH OF MAN IN WESTERN EUROPE


It is sometimes urged as a criticism of the geographical standpoint that it encourages the student to take the view that man is the creature of circumstance, that climate, relief and rocks combine to determine even the ideals of our souls. That they may do much to condition human action may be granted without relinquishing a belief in the fount of idealism at the roots of personality. But the geographer need not take up the attitude of explaining man by circumstance. If he will take time into consideration, if he will strive towards an evolutionist standpoint, he may look out upon the world as the field of expression, and especially of cumulative expression, of the human spirit. He may study interaction between man and circumstance,

but he will study it with the conviction that man is an active agent, in the course of centuries moulding his environment for good or ill. In no place in the whole world are the relations between man and environment on the one hand so subtle, and on the other hand so much altered by millennia of human effort, as they are in western Europe.

The main constituents of its population to this day, however, are so curiously related to its three main zones of structure and climate that it will be best to begin with an appreciation of these. Let us, however, first think of western Europe as having a collection of peninsulas set along the sides and around the end of a core of great highlands. Again, Europe is a peninsula on the western flank of Eurasia, projecting into the cold on the north, the ocean on the west, and the desert on the south; for we cannot but include the south shores of the Mediterranean with Europe, however much their life may have been cut off from that of Europe since the rise of Islam.

For present purposes, however, it will be necessary to restrict discussion to what is

in a stricter sense western Europe, to the lands of Romance and Germanic languages, contenting ourselves with references here and there to Scandinavia, Hungary, the Slavonic lands and northern Africa. This limitation is permissible because the aim in view is not the presentment of any complete survey. This work is rather an attempt to present in a reasonably concentrated fashion certain outstanding facts of the relations, the evolution of relations, of man to the earth in western Europe.



THREE BROAD ZONES IN WESTERN EUROPE

The core of great European highlands is the system of fold-mountains, Pyrenees, Alps, Tatra, Carpathians, mountains of the Balkan peninsula. In early human times they were for a long period largely under ice, but the sides of the mountains later on became forested. Lakes and swamps, more even than now, occurred in their hollows ere the rivers had reconquered their way over the irregular accumulations of glacial deposits.

On the higher ledges, with their heavy winter snow, trees would rarely flourish, but here would be the rich grass growing quickly after the spring melting of the snow. In the early phases of the recovery from the Ice Age these conditions, encouraging grasses rather than trees, had widespread influence for a time. But the forest grew in extent, and, under conditions as yet unaltered by man, restricted the grasslands to these higher ledges, to some wind-swept heaths where gorse and bracken would compete, and to sundry calcareous rocks, the surface of which would be too dry to permit much tree growth. Early humanity thus, ere it conquered the forest, inhabited, in the Alpine country, the mountain caves and lake sides, using later the high pastures in the summer season.

The southern, or rather south-western, flank of the core of great highlands is occupied by arcs of fold-mountains, the disposition of which is much complicated by the occurrence of ancient blocks of hard old rocks, like the Meseta in Spain, the island of Sardinia, and the broad knob of Calabria. This is a region of coastal plains, fringing the fold-mountains,

and of island-studded seas, of sharp slopes and rapid rivers, of coastal hills with Secondary and Tertiary limestone rocks often fantastically dissected by the weather. In early times it was probably forested only in certain places, for the limestone would limit natural tree growth, and there would be much swamp on the flats; while some of the plateaux in such a climate would not support thick woods, especially on their drier sides.

In having a good deal of land naturally open, *i. e.* not forest covered, when man began to influence it, the western Mediterranean differs considerably from the eastern, the north side of which belongs essentially to the mountain core. Both have the sea studded with islands, the west, however, less so than the east.

Both have a climate essentially of winter rains and summer sun, but, in the eastern region, the mountain core, with its severe winter, dominates the continental parts of the land more than in the west. In both, the more favoured spots near the tempering influence of the sea are able to grow the olive, and thus to furnish man with food

which he would only with great difficulty get from flocks and herds in a climate where the summer sun withers the grass. Trees with their deep roots continue to draw from sources of water stored after winter rains in the deeper layers of the soil.

The resemblances and the differences between eastern and western Mediterranean have played a very considerable part in the life of Europe. While there have been characteristic differences between the organisations for life in the Ægean Isles or little Greek valleys looking out to sea and those for life on the coastal plains and larger basins of the west, yet there has been a sufficient amount in common to enable the West to learn from the older East, and the West at various times to regulate, without destroying, the East.

The south slope from the mountain zone thus forms the Mediterranean basins, with their climate and surface suitable for settlement from quite early times onwards. We see their many peninsulas and islands aiding coastwise trade and movement, leading to the exchange of ideas and the consequent

enrichment of civilisation probably from 3000 B.C. onwards.

The northern flank of the great mountain zone has complex river systems, of immense value for commerce, worked out in the twisted wreckage of worn ancient mountain systems and blocks of land, much altered by uprise of Alps, Pyrenees and other of the newer mountains. These have strained and broken the older mountains, and in the cracks thus occasioned, and in others no doubt, are many mineral veins, contributing considerably to human needs. Beyond the country of broken highlands this northern flank of western Europe grades down into the long European plain, which stretches from England and Flanders through Prussia to merge into the almost illimitable plain of Russia. It is a region within the power of winds of the western sea for a great part of the year. Much of it thus gets a rainfall distributed through most parts of the year and varying in quantity and periodicity, though, towards the east, there is a marked tendency to a winter anticyclone lasting at least through January. Real drought is rare, and the

typical natural vegetation is the temperate forest. Sometimes it is the smooth carpeted beechwood; sometimes the wood has tangled undergrowth; sometimes the darkly solemn pines are in possession. There are also wind-swept heights and limestone surfaces as well, and probably neither has ever had a great deal of tree growth. The woodland, again, varied very much in intensity and in the proportion of its undergrowth at all times. This is nevertheless the zone of forest and stream, and, in antiquity, a stream's valley in mid-Europe was often a place of pools and swamps, for the valley might have irregular humps and hollows due to deposits or ploughings-up by the glaciers of the Ice Age contemporaneous with early man.

The country on the north side of the great mountains thus in early times offered opportunities to the wandering hunter and fisherman, but it demanded a great effort before it could be occupied in settled fashion by cultivators.

THE NORTHERN SIDE AND THE SOUTHERN
SIDE

The northern side of the mountains has now been shown to be in many respects very different from their southern side, and, moreover, these two regions are markedly separated from one another save around the western end of the mountains where, in France, the mountain zone dies down and the north and the south meet one another. North and south, with this exception in France, have been isolated zones in the past, in spite of the recurrent and increasing importance of the Alpine passes. This conception is most useful in enabling one to study the evolution of their human types as the result, to some extent, of accumulation of differentia under differing conditions, and with geographical isolation assisting most directly in the process. This may be illustrated biologically. The snails of the isolated valleys in the volcanic materials of Hawaii have been shown by Gulick to be of different races. Probably their differences are accumulations of variations that isolation has prevented

from blending. To use the same concept in the study of types of man in western Europe frees us from many difficulties inherent in the view that the races of man have been fixed from a remote past and must be considered rigid and unchangeable.

EARLY HUMAN TYPES IN WESTERN EUROPE

Primitive man seems to have had a long head projecting out behind (occipital projection), and possessing fairly strong brow ridges. The broad-headed or short-headed types seem to represent a subsequent evolution, features of which were the loss of the characters just mentioned, in most but not in all cases. It seems fair also to believe that primitive man did not originate in Europe, but spread thither mainly from the east and south-east.

We thence picture an early population of hunters and gatherers, inhabiting caves and rock shelters in several parts of Europe, but not living to any extent in the mountain zone. This population would be long-headed, but of several varieties, probably

related, in their distribution and characters, to the various ways along which they moved into and about Europe.

In the south-west, to the south of the mountain zone, this population would, from early days, feel African influences. These would be emphasised with the progressive drying of the Sahara, as a result of the northward shift and expansion of climatic belts after the Ice Age had passed away. On the northern slopes of the mountains, towards the European plain, early man would be subject to conditions of cold, and probably also some of the older, rough-boned stocks would persist sufficiently long to exert an influence on modern human types. In this way we seem to see the beginning of a differentiation of a northern from a south-western stock.

THE THREE MAIN RACES OF WESTERN EUROPE

A. The Mediterranean Race

The south-western stock, or Mediterranean Race, would be long-headed, and would

First Stage



FIG. 1A.

Second Stage



FIG. 1B.

Third Stage



FIG. 1C.

probably be dark; influence of the sun and African links would assist here. In that climate, especially as it warmed and as men settled in the hot valleys, sexual maturity would probably be hastened, with the result that the growth period would tend to be shortened. This would involve comparative smallness of stature, and probably a diminution of the rougher bony developments, and consequent development of relative smoothness of contour, perhaps particularly of the face. That the food of the region would in general assist this last feature is highly probable. Sexual selection might also help.

B. The Nordic Race

On the other hand, the northern stock would rough it in the forests and would live a wild life of hunting and fishing, and in the recesses of the forest several nests of ancient types would long survive in a fairly pure condition. One notes the survival of a nest identified as related to the "Borris skull" and possibly to some Palæolithic stocks, in the Welsh hills to this day. In the long-persisting cold after the Ice Age, and with

the wandering life, sexual maturity would be delayed, so growth would long continue, and doubtless natural selection would contribute not a little to the survival of big, long-boned and rough-boned (strong-muscled) men. The conditions would further tell against pigmentation. It is in some such way that we imagine the intensification of a Northern Race, in the cold forests and perhaps in the steppe, and of a Mediterranean Race in the coast lands of S.W. Europe, probably in the Ægean Isles as well, though no doubt only to a small extent on the mainland of Greece, which belongs to the mountain zone.

C. The Central or Alpine Race

That mountain zone has been penetrated gradually, but completely, by short-headed, or, as they are usually called, broad-headed folk, who began to arrive as far west as Gaul even before the age of polished or finely (secondarily) chipped stone implements opened. This mountain population is, as it were, a great human wedge thrust between the Northern and the Mediterranean peoples. Needless to say, its characters vary from

region to region, but it is always short-headed, and only by exception fair in colouring when pure. In some isolated valleys, as in the Tyrol, where the type has become accentuated, probably with inbreeding, the heads are almost round. In others, where there has been long and intimate mixture with the long-heads, the general head shape, though broad, is only moderately broader than that of the long-heads. In some cases, instead of the general rounding of the head, as the occipital projection decreased, we find the back of the head flattened. This is characteristic of many of the peoples, especially, in the Balkans and Asia Minor.

SOME INTERMEDIATE STOCKS OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE

On either flank of the wedge of broad-heads, in the broken highlands on the north, and in the *Ægean* on the south, are to be found types or stocks probably with a mixture of characters. Various stocks in past and present have inhabited the line along which the highlands grade down to the European

plain, and many of these stocks have been broad-headed but big, and inclined to fairness of colouring and strength of bone, as though combining inheritances from northern and central European stocks. Their relation to types of the Slavonic peoples needs further study. In the *Ægean*, on the other hand, are men with almost Mediterranean characters in colouring, but the head is too broad, and the jaw too square. They are a stock as yet very insufficiently recognised, but there are traces of them, in past and present, coastwise from the *Ægean* to Italy and its islands, Spain, France, western Britain and Norway. Little doubt can persist as to the moderns being survivors of the westward wanderers in the *Odysseys* of the Bronze Age, wanderers who dispersed along the trade routes of that epoch. They probably moved partly for trade, partly when calamity, due to invasions of steppe or forest warriors, for example, fell upon Troy and the *Ægean* from time to time between 2300 B.C. and the taking of Troy (*Hissarlik VI*) by the Greeks some 1100 years later.

THE DOWNHILL MOVEMENT OF BROAD-
HEADED MAN

The great wedge of the broad-heads, it has been said, occupies the Balkans, the Carpathians, the Alps, the Cevennes and the Auvergne. As a mountain country can support but a limited population, these types have pushed down with the slow persistence of a glacier into the lower lands on either side, but have become modified in the interval. In the high mountain region in central Europe, wandering was difficult and settled life began early, and it is characteristic of the broad-heads that they came down into the northward forest and settled in clearings. They left the long-heads to continue their old habits of hunting, gathering, fishing and fighting, but inevitably pushed them back just as the European cultivator pushes back the Red Indian and the backwoodsman alike in modern North America. For ages the broad-heads, with these interests in forest clearing and village life, have formed small groups, more or less co-operative so long as the fear of the forest was a dominant factor,

and more or less self-centred. The long-heads, on the other hand, have kept mobile and have tended to form an aristocracy for war, with domains of solitude for the chase. We thus have the princes of old associated in story with golden hair and love of the chase, and it is evident in many an old story that, beyond the successful men who formed such aristocracies, there were usually few enough of the old long-headed type, save in the districts with much moor and marsh or other land that could not be cultivated.

On the southern slopes of the mountains the broad-heads have spread too, but they have met with rather solid masses of long-heads, instead of isolated families and grouplets in the forest, and, save in the *Ægean*, there do not seem to be the same interesting gradations. Here again, however, as Myres points out, the broad-heads are to be associated with better organisation for cultivation of land. The present-day populations of southern Europe seem to form blocks of long-heads or broad-heads of various kinds, rather than gradations between the two.

The essential fact in the distribution of

race types in western Europe is thus a great wedge of broad-heads, grading into fair long-heads northwards and, more or less, abutting against dark long-heads in the south-west. But this is complicated by intermediate types of manifold diversity along the northern edge of the hills, and by the movements of the, also more or less intermediate, Ægean stock coastwise along south and west.

NORTH-WEST FRANCE AND THE BRITISH ISLES

The fair long-heads of the north and the dark long-heads of the south should touch one another in western Europe, and it is but natural that in the British Isles so much of the foundation of the population should have the long head characteristic of both, but should show grades of pigmentation intermediate between the two. A portion of our population may thus be a survival of old long-headed types not fully differentiated into either Nordic or Mediterranean.

Early (probably Neolithic) migrations up from the south were of great importance, for in early post-glacial times the Sahara was

probably drying and forcing its erstwhile inhabitants northward via Spain and Italy to western France and Britain, avoiding the Alps of the present day. This may be what has made the more old-settled populations, in our hill districts for instance, predominantly dark. The great importance of later migration from the north has made the estuarine and marine populations, on the other hand, much fairer. But city conditions and settled life have been reducing the fair element for a long time, save among those fortunate enough to own, or to use, wide domains, with hunting and adventure as of yore.

The wedge of the broad-heads of the axial mountains has not greatly affected Britain: it comes to an end in France, and, around its end, the types from the more northerly zone meet the types belonging to the Mediterranean. It has thus come to pass that France is a rich mixture of almost all the types that have affected western Europe, especially as her immigrant peoples are more or less grafted upon ancient human stocks going back in the country probably to the remotest human antiquity. This rich intermingling of types,

aptitudes and traditions has contributed not a little to the spiritual leadership of France.

If, however, the wedge itself does not touch Britain, the intermediate types evolved along the flanks of the wedge have played a great part in our country's life. Many of the graded stocks between central European and northern are, and have long been, important elements, in one case among our administrators and intellectuals, and in another case among our yeomen. The Ægean type, again, is characteristic as an element in the life of the west. It tends to play the part of a negotiator, an agent, a business director, whenever opportunities present themselves, but it is important enough among fisher farmers of the coast.

MONGOLIAN ELEMENTS

Had we been attempting a sketch of Europe as a whole, we should have had to discuss at some length the Mongolian peoples in the north-east and east, for their province seems to have reached fairly far west on the European plain in far antiquity. As, however, their

influence on the west is not very great, though it is interesting in detail, we may omit them from the present study. It should be mentioned, however, that some writers use the terms Mongol, or Mongolian, or Mongoloid, somewhat loosely for any broad-headed stock, and this suggests the need for care in applying the names here used in the course of argument.

SOME CHANGES OF RACE DISTRIBUTION IN PAST AND PRESENT

It will have become evident from the above sketch of races in Europe that the clearing of the forest and the settling of the cleared lowland has been a cardinal fact in European life. Ways were hacked through the forest, and thus opportunities were opened up for adventure, on a new and mightier scale, on the part of the fair-haired forest wanderers of the north. They became armed with weapons of iron made from ore mined on the mountain flanks, and a period of movement and invasion ensued. The early movements were less definite and permanent than

they afterwards became, when there was severe pressure from the grasslands behind, and the lure of the wealth of decadent Rome in front. The later, stronger movements, with much clearing of the lowlands, led to the settlement of these cleared spots, and soon France began to arise as the first-cleared part of the Temperate Forest, the place where all types mixed, the place where the wild men of the north learnt to revere the great memory of Rome.

The pressure of the eastern grasslands, always spasmodic, relaxed for awhile after the seventh century, and movements of peoples diminished. Meanwhile, the lowlands were getting settled to a considerable extent by the people of the great mountain zone. In this way, a broad-headed agricultural population partially replaced an older long-headed forest one. Thus came the day of the agricultural village community, composed of men with industrious patience, rather than energetic initiative and ambitious vision. The old fair-haired hunters of the forest, with their restless energy, might be partially ousted, but they remained as

warriors and organisers, as the comrades-in-arms who founded an aristocracy loving the chase and the old habits of life. They made wars for grouping the agriculturists, for the organisation of what should one day be states, but the scheming, on the large scale, appears often to have been the work, not so much of them, as of a remarkable type intermediate between them and the broad-heads of central Europe. This type is known to archaeologists from its pottery, as that of the Beaker people. It had the broad head of the central European, but the stature and boniness of the Nord, with a considerable element of rough-browed heritage perhaps from Palæolithic forest wanderers. The older books relating to Britain always associate it with the coming of bronze to our country, but it is more likely that it was *Ægean* wanderers who were mainly concerned with that. To this type of the Beaker people seem to have belonged many administrators of all periods, and it is a notable patrician type of ancient Rome, Julius Cæsar being a conspicuous example, if one may judge from the best reliefs. The type has been traced back,

in the present early condition of research, to the western portion of the Russian plain, whence it seems to have been pressed out, to some extent at least, westwards along the European plain, and probably south-westwards as well, in the great movements round about 2300 B.C.

In the modern population of every country there must be an intermingling of several stocks in very various proportions. Thus, almost every stock which has ever influenced Europe is represented in France, which, it has already been shown, is peculiarly adapted by its position to facilitate complex intermixture. Spain and Portugal are largely peopled by the old Mediterranean stock, with the population modified, particularly along certain coastal patches, by eastern Mediterranean wanderers, probably of the Bronze Age, and also here and there by subsequent invasions and, in southern Portugal, by intercrossing with negroids. Italy has Mediterraneans in force in the south, with groups of dark broad-heads, probably descended from eastern Mediterranean wanderers. It also has occasional strains of the Beaker people,

and a great block of Alpine folk which has spread down southwards from the central mountain core. The Germanic lands have Alpine folk in the south, and Nordic folk in the poor lands of the north-west and along the main ways. They have many intermediate types between these, but apparently the Beaker people are not so numerous as one might expect. The apparent paucity of the Mediterranean race type and of that of the eastern Mediterranean wanderers of the Bronze Age in the Germanic lands is noteworthy, though in the latter case, something must be allowed for the backwardness of anthropological study of the populations of Prussia. If it be true that the central European broad-heads do not contribute greatly to the Spanish people, that is a tribute to the Pyrenees as barriers, for the type appears to be important enough in the hill countries of the southern half of France. The distinction between them and the oft-mentioned coastal wanderers of the Bronze Age is, however, not always made clear by descriptive anthropologists, who are sometimes disposed to argue from cephalic index alone.

With complexity of type is associated compositeness of tradition, and evidence may be piled up at will to show that such mingling, if it has taken place under fairly favouring conditions, makes for the spiritual health, and therefore wealth, of mankind. The types intermingle, and one dare not venture to link psychical traits to any great extent with physical characters. Nevertheless, the various types do tend to contribute in various characteristic ways to the life of the different regions of western Europe. It is thence one of the almost unrecognised problems of politics so to order the public life that there may be opportunities of the different kinds required, if all the various types of the population are to be enabled to give their contributions freely. Economic changes almost certainly bring changes of the proportions of the various physical types in a population, and the reaction of these changes on thought and art and organisation of public life is not a mere fancy; it can be seen in England and France and doubtless elsewhere as well.

CHAPTER II

HUMAN ZONES AND REGIONS IN WESTERN EUROPE

IN studying geography, we may look out upon the world as the field whereupon the human spirit expresses itself cumulatively in many ways, conditioned, rather than entirely governed, by physical circumstances.

Now man cannot but "look before and after." The daily round at a very early stage of his history ceased to satisfy him, and the few lowly peoples who do not look beyond that round, if there really are any, are of small account.

It thence follows that what man has been able to gain beyond the mere maintenance of life and reproduction is a fundamental matter for study, and that gain is necessarily conditioned in many ways by the physical circumstances of the regions which he inhabits. It is therefore permissible and useful

to distinguish broadly zones and regions according to the essential character and the rewards of man's efforts in each.

In the Mediterranean basins, the lower slopes of the hills often have a favouring climate, streams of water, and, at one and the

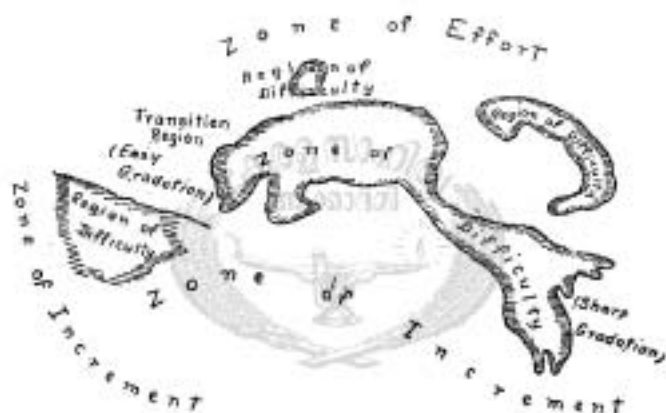


FIG. 2.

same time, some degree of openness to intercourse and interchange of ideas by coastwise commerce and migration. The Mediterranean, and, in the Mediterranean, particularly the Ægean Isles and coasts and the Etruscan slopes, are the homes of old civilisation. Moderate effort has given a good, assured,

and, fortunately, a moderate increment, without too much delay. Though effort is necessary, and the problems of the swampy flats have always been serious ones, only too responsible for dark shadows over Mediterranean life, yet increment, moderate and healthy, is the dominant note. We may thus call the Mediterranean a Zone of Increment, a zone which has long had a surplus. Still, we must remember that it is only certain regions of the Mediterranean that are so favoured, and the zone is a valid concept in broad outline only. Again, there are patches of favoured land, usually adapted to fruit-growing, because of sunward slope or rich soil, in other zones of Europe. Burgundy, Champagne, little regions on the Rhine, even one or two sunny spots sloping down to Swiss lakes, bits of our own Worcestershire, are all aspirants to the title of Regions of Increment, though they are outside the zone designated by that title. They emerge into full human story rather later, on the whole, than do the Mediterranean regions, for they are set in more backward lands, where conquest of the forest had to precede general settlement. But

as forest clearing did proceed, it was sometimes these little regions that led their surroundings towards organisation of settled civilisation.

The regions of increment have this quality of early response and of fairly steady moderate return, and avoid the dangers of extreme poverty and of extreme wealth. The regions of increment have thence been characterised by a large measure of spirituality in those activities which have developed with the transformation of their accumulations of potential into kinetic energy. Again and again they have contributed to the world flowerings of æsthetic power and appreciation, ideals of social conduct and practical life. Again and again, the difficulties of their malarious flats, of pressure from the grasslands, of overrunnings by barbarians, have proved too much for the fine flower of civic life. But it seems to bud again when the worst of the danger is past; the night is short, and these regions seem to be able to gird on as soon as may be the armour of light to herald a new day. The civic ideal of the Mediterranean has been the theme of so much

debate that it would be foolish to attempt to treat it afresh. It is one of the features of the Roman Empire that have made the Empire's influence so permanent; for we may still be differentiated, as regards our civilisation, according to whether or no our regions were part of that unique organisation. The Rhine, broadly speaking, is as significant a line spiritually as it is strategically.

It was in the days of Rome's decay that her old ideal was reshaped, with the title of the City of God, the vision that made our mediæval civilisation, that inspired Sir Thomas More to write the *Utopia* as the crown of that period of experiment, the vision that we look to in our present distress in the hope that it may revive again and bring a better day for Europe.

Looked at in a broad sense, the zone of increment, which includes the Mediterranean, may be said to have possibilities of extension, realised at times in the past, among the nomad lands of Asia and East Africa. The reference is here, of course, to the Nile, the oasis of Damascus and the plains of Mesopotamia, that is to the nomad lands

which have cultivable oases. It is characteristic of the wealthier nomads that they have an assured sufficiency and much leisure for thought; indeed, the difficulty they would have in accumulating treasure on earth has probably helped to turn the interest of some of them towards "treasure in heaven," and the world owes them many of its religious ideals. These have been elaborated, it may be, in the oasis cities, and may have been preserved in the mountain- and desert-refuges, but have no doubt been handed on time after time to the Mediterranean, to be modified, and to be passed on once more, this time to the colder parts of Europe.

These colder regions, it is true, are themselves in contact with the nomad lands. The forests of Russia grade into the steppes of the Don and the Caspian. But this grassland is hardly a region of increment, and has not the same wealth of thought as the desert with oases farther south, and its contributions are more in the direction of organisation for war. Moreover, the forest is always a most difficult and unprofitable territory for the spread of idealisms; it encourages the

development of small separate communities, with many fine qualities of co-operation and mutual aid, but with the limitation of being self-centred, of being inclined to be suspicious of the world without. It has thus come to pass that the Prussian plain has traditionally looked through Russia towards the grasslands with terror, a terror that, there is reason to fear, was exploited by politicians to the detriment of all Europe in 1914.

The Mediterranean, on the other hand, with help from the nomad lands, has favoured early development of civilisation of a settled and therefore of an accumulative kind, and it has enriched itself by contributions, notably from nomad lands beyond its eastern end. If effort, and periodical setbacks, have characterised its life in the past, and even if some of the setbacks have raised problems of extreme difficulty, as in southern Italy, still the dominant note has been that of increment. This has characterised both the eastern and western regions, allowing that in the eastern, the zone of increment gives place rapidly to a zone of difficulty in most parts as one leaves the coast.

The subject of Mediterranean civilisation is, however, so familiar that we may now leave the Great Sea, and pass across the mountains to the zone of the old and broken highlands with basins, rifts and dissection systems. Here to the north the European plain stretches broadly from the British Isles and the Paris basin away to where the forests of Russia gradually give place to those grasslands which have kept what Acton has powerfully called, "their dim Asiatic twilight of the past." Throughout this zone the dominant primeval covering was the damp temperate forest, but there was much open country, even in early days, at the higher levels. Here we remember that the Vosges retained till the sixteenth century such a characteristic steppe animal as the wild horse. Man, occupying this zone, began in some parts as a shepherd on the heights, in others as a lake-dweller, but it needed immense effort before he could convert the forest into farm and cornland. To maintain corn cultivation needed more hard work, and thus effort is the dominant note, though the ultimate increment may be large. We may call this broadly the Zone of Effort.

It is interesting to note that the transition between the olive and corn culture and the simple corn culture is marked by the apple. Geddes has used this in interpreting the story of Eden as that of the leisured fruit cultivators forced by circumstances to spread out towards the cornlands, where man earns his living by the sweat of his brow. The eating of the apple is the outward sign of that fall. Without discussing this, we may note the contrast with the regions of increment which is called up when we compare the peasants of Jean François Millet with the figures of Mediterranean sculpture. Each has its beauty, its nobility, its inspiration, but they stand in sharp contrast one to the other.

War against the forest enforced co-operation, and the agricultural village community is, or has once been, characteristic of practically the whole zone of effort from the days when man moved valleywards down to the time when the forest ceased to play a great part in every-day life, because communications and the policing of the ways had developed. It is the villages of the Russian

forest that to this day retain the Mir. That the Mir, as regards spiritual expression is on a lower level than was the old Mediterranean city is too true, in spite of all the efforts of the mediæval monastic reformers to plant the ideal of the City of God in the cornlands. The co-operative agricultural village is necessarily a union for protection against intimate dangers and a union governed by custom. This last defect has often been fatal, in spite of all the good that lay in germ in the village community, for, in the effort to maintain the victory over the wild, brains were bound to tell; and an intensely competitive society replaced the partially co-operative one, at least for a time.

The regions of effort, as we have seen, have developed more slowly than the regions of increment, and the correlated study of geography and archæology is beginning to distinguish the waves of civilisation that have come to them from older lands. It is also beginning to see that the places of entry of these waves tend to win the people's reverence, and so to become the holy cities of their respective lands. The case of our own

Canterbury, and that of St. Andrews in Scotland, are fairly clear, that of St. David's would need more argument, but it is an even better demonstration of the principle. Cracow, again, made contact for Poland with mediæval Europe, and Kiev is at the Dnieper crossing, the entry from the west and southwest, into Holy Russia. St. James of Compostella, among other relations, counts as a traditional entry into northern Spain.

We have excluded from the zone of effort those high masses themselves which separate this zone from the Mediterranean. These highlands, be they fold-mountains or plateaux, have to a large extent refused sensible increment, even to hard and prolonged effort. They are Regions of Difficulty.

The regions of difficulty include mainly highlands, but also the colder forest towards the Arctic north. The typical regions of effort, on the other hand, are the cleared forest lands of the basins and great valleys of west and central Europe. The regions of difficulty have broadly continued old activities of stock-raising, lumbering and hunting from the days before the forests were con-

quered. The regions of effort, on the other hand, illustrate the change from woodcraft to agriculture, a change often attended in Europe by the spread of a broad-headed population and the ultimate retreat of a long-headed one which has shown extraordinary attachment to the old adventurous life. The two types of region grade into one another step by step; any attempt to delimit sharp boundaries would be very misleading.

Here, perhaps, above all, the concept of transition or intermediate belts between the zones of different grades is valuable. It will help us if we study one or two such intermediate belts, as that, for example, between the hills of difficulty in north Wales, and the region of effort in the western English plain. This intermediate belt is a fall-line along which lie old market towns, exchanging products of hill and plain, of stock-raisers and crop-growers. We have here Chester, Wrexham, Ruabon (with Llangollen as a further station higher up a through valley), Oswestry, Shrewsbury and Ludlow. Chester and Shrewsbury are much indebted to their rivers, Wrexham and Ruabon are linked with the

Dee gap. Ludlow was of greater importance when transit along hillside roads was the main means of communication.

Many people of these towns have come downhill; the great valleyward movement of the population of Britain has gone on for a very long time, and was a potent factor, at the start, in the drift of the moorland populations to the big towns at the valley nodes. The old moorland type, given a sufficiency of some sort of food, seems able to withstand diseases, so it survives in the slums, and it does not crave for the adventurous life as do the Nordic folk even now. Nordic types thus leave the slums, either through the hospital wards, or on emigrant ships. From the poor quarters, the hill folk re-emerge into the more monied ranks of commerce and into some of the professions. With the folk themselves a good deal in the way of tradition and folk-story comes down the hill, or perhaps we may put it that the downward migrants help to postpone the disappearance of much that was once the property of low as well as of high land.

From this sketch one gathers that regions

of difficulty have been apt to keep to old ways, to maintain old traditions, to become treasuries of the past, places where to this day folklore and herbalists are features of importance. In virtue of this they send out, as it were, up-welling streams of tradition to revivify the folklore of the more open and changing country below. Forms of spiritual expression of these regions must be more or less independent of material resources. Architecture is feeble here, unless it be introduced deliberately. Complex instrumental music does not develop without much effort. Painting is backward; sculpture is almost nil. Poets, visionaries, singers, orators, teachers, doctors, and men of wonderful initiative, on the other hand, may occur in numbers, and the idealism behind these activities is curiously related in one way or another to that of shepherding, the characteristic work of a region of difficulty. This should, however, not be taken without the qualification that a good deal depends on the racial stock to which the people belong.

Regions of difficulty are forced to export men steadily, and this is often done in regular

ways. In south Cardiganshire, a population largely of Mediterranean race type has moved down into the valleys from its prehistoric home on the moorlands. Here sheep-rearing and wool-weaving are the great activities, and the export of men reinforces the drapery trade in great cities. The export of men from the coast to the profession of the sea will be dealt with later. When the exported men have made their pile, they come back; they are tenaciously attached to the long tradition of the region of difficulty. If they have been bred within it, they find it hard to change their *Tabus*; they tend to remain aliens outside, they have a great deal in common amongst themselves, but little which they share with the plainsmen.

The ultimate return of the human exports to the region of difficulty is very important, for it brings them money, and has helped them to keep level with the expansion of resources in other regions. One may follow this in the French Alps, the central plateau, Wales, and the Scottish Highlands. Where special considerations limit this return, as in Ireland for a time, and in the Western Highlands and

islands of Scotland, the country sinks into relative poverty.

The life of any region is modified by the sea, and, indeed, no part of Europe is unaffected in this way, for the whole continent is a peninsula on the west of Asia, standing out over against the Arctic ice on the one side, the Saharan sea of sand on the other, and the Atlantic in front. This concept can help to explain several geographical distributions, but we must pass on.

Our European coasts are broken and fringed with islands, many of which bear traces of coastwise commerce that began towards the end of Neolithic times in the west, say over 4000 years ago. That commerce has made of many harbours, or of the foci behind them, great centres of human thought, and it has varied and enriched coastal civilisations and given them common elements of folk type and folk tradition from the Ægean around to Iceland. It is significant that the *Pêcheurs d'Islande* of the Breton coast from St. Briec to Tréguier are possibly descendants of early Ægean wanderers, as regards their physique.

Sea lands of regions of increment are exem-

plified for all time by Crete and the Ægean, with their early developments of high civilisation in insular security, and their spreading of the Bronze Civilisation in coastwise patches far and wide. Sea-coasts of the nomad lands give the interesting contrast of the Phœnicians with their trade agencies. Coastal patches of regions of effort show energy spent in land reclamation, in fishery, and so in trade. Those of the industrialised regions, if, like ours, they have a fishing basis, can go in for large trade, and, indeed, were it not so familiar, we might argue how the sea brought many contacts for the enrichment of the life of Britain, west and east.

Coasts of regions of difficulty export men. The Vikings of history are the classic case, but Norsemen to-day are still streaming off, or were until 1914, to Canada and other new lands. Numerous smaller instances can be cited nearer home. The little ports of the days of sailing coasters are now material for our more sentimental or our archaeological artists. When the ports lost their business, they were threatened with dire impoverishment. Export of men was the specific for

them, and many of these groups of little old ports have kept up their habit of sending men to sea. The little-known smaller ports of Cardigan Bay, some created with the development of agriculture and trade as late as the eighteenth century, but none the less decayed, are kept alive in this way. An interesting human feature of these regions, already noticed in the case of regions of difficulty, stands out in this connection: the men keep their homes in their native villages, and come home on leave and to retire. A policy of social development must encourage these coastal communities, and help them to keep an interest in fishery matters. They may thus be an important contribution to the life of the people, in peace as well as in war.

The concept of the intermediate belt was discussed in connection with regions of difficulty, but it might come in other places also. Myres, for example, discusses contributions to civilisation from regions where grassland grades into forest. These may include the ox and the ox-plough. One may also suggest that these folk, dispersed forestwards from time to time by the pressure of the steppe

folk, would help to spread the language of the steppe border. The language current over an open country would naturally have been more perfected than the unstable languages of small semi-isolated communities in and above the forests. Transition zones or intermediate belts, indeed, seem capable of making great gifts to civilisation if they are on the large scale. Thus the eastern Mediterranean is essentially the place of contact of the bread and olive civilisation of the *Ægean* with the desert civilisation that touches Phœnicia and the bread and cheese civilisation, again to quote Myres, of the grassland edge. How much we owe to the bread and olive civilisation in matters of thought and taste we are ever learning more fully, but we owe languages to the bread and cheese belt, and other things have come from the nomad lands through the Phœnicians and others. France again, is, on a large scale, an intermediate belt between the Mediterranean zone of increment and the zone of effort composed of the great wet forest of ancient Europe. It lagged behind the Mediterranean while the forests were yet uncon-

quered, though the future will have more appreciation of prehistoric France. But, when ways were opened through the forest, France rose to her great place as a leader of civilisation. In France and its borders, again, it is especially Provence, Burgundy, the Paris basin and Flanders that are humanly so rich, and each of these for varying reasons is a place of particularly rich admixture. In Germany once more the cultural influence of the fall-line, with Cologne, Halle, Leipsic, Breslau on it, is immense, and it is one of the tragedies of Germany that the inevitably alien block of Bohemia behind Leipsic prevented that centrally placed city from becoming in the full sense the Germanic capital. In Austria, again, Vienna is the gate between grassland and forest, and while Bohemia naturally rose early to a consciousness of its apartness and made its power felt, Vienna took the place of Bohemia before long. It kept this while pressure from the east was the dominant fact, but lost it as the sea and the expansion of Europe came to occupy more of men's thoughts, and the transition from grassland to forest became less important.

These facts about the role of intermediate belts, with their rich mixtures of tradition and aptitude, are the best answer to theories of the super-man and the super-race. Put a super-race on an island and protect it from contamination, and it will probably become degenerate, even if the island be large and well favoured. Take common humanity and let it mix freely under reasonably favouring circumstances, and it will strive towards an ideal of comprehension and even perhaps of beauty.

Let us next consider more especially changes that time has brought. Many regions within the last 160 years have become industrialised and have undergone profound human changes in consequence. It is interesting to note that they develop differently, largely according to their previous nature.

Some weak features of British industrialism are connected with the fact that it arose first, and arose in regions of difficulty which from their nature could have but little of the civic sense. In Germany, on the other hand, the great industry came late and arose largely in the intermediate belt between the hill country

and the plain, and here in the old market towns of the fall-line already mentioned, the civic sense was strong.

Some regions of difficulty without coal have become industrialised in our day, thanks to water power harnessed by electricity, and so they have escaped much dirt of the coal, and many mistakes. The cable, too, which carries the electric power, is of indefinitely extensible length and can be taken to a deliberately chosen centre, that is, usually, to an already existing city. Zürich is a great example here, though it is almost a little region of increment, even if it is set with regions of difficulty round about. These developments have been much assisted by the great rivers of north central Europe, so useful for commerce. Geographers should give attention not only to statistics of new industries that have grown, and will grow more, on the flanks of the Alps, in Norway and elsewhere, but also to their vital social characteristics, to the types of human settlements that grow under these conditions. Such study might prove to be practically useful, for our new poverty may force us to afforest our immense waste lands,

and thus regularise streams in our regions of difficulty, in order that they may be of more value for water power. Thence might come a renewal of industry on healthier lines, let us hope with some of the sense of craftsmanship which lingers, as an old notion should, here and there in these same regions of difficulty, and, luckily for us, wanders now and again to the big towns. To develop craftsmanship and increase well-being by encouraging appropriate supplementary industries in our regions of difficulty is an urgent task for educationalists and geographers.

The characteristics of the regions of difficulty may be also changing in our day. The regions of effort, like some great basins which had almost attained a level of increment in days of regional apartness, have been threatened by the competition of the new lands. The growth of the nodal towns under modern conditions has also sometimes degraded the country into a pleasaunce with a more or less saprophytic serving class. The regions of difficulty on the other hand, supplying milk, butter and eggs, have felt the competition of far lands much less, and those of them which

have horse-breeding as an accomplishment feel it still less. Indeed, they may gain a good deal.

Regions of increment, again, suffer like regions of effort, and even more. The Roman patrician domains, in sterner times that came later, too often went wild; the swamp and malaria came in and made them regions of difficulty, if not worse. The reclamation of the swamp needs a strongly organised government, and the recent wonderful rise of Italy is not unconnected with this, though the water-power industry in the north is a great factor too.

Nowhere do the changes of time seem more profoundly important than near the sea. Of old, little ships might bring commodities and occasional immigrants, but, save during great raids and invasions, the life of the coastal region was able to maintain itself. Ships came in with wonder tales from a barbarian world.

The world market is a new and portentous feature in the evolution of humanity. The little old ships with their coastwise sailing needed refuges every few miles, and a group

of harbours at the destination. So, as Belloc has well shown, we have little old ports in groups, and often a focal town, like Canterbury or Winchester, behind the group. Indeed, we may note the relation to the sea of our old cathedral cities, generally speaking the important places in Plantagenet times, when England was an exporter of raw material much as Argentine and Australia now are, with their concentration of people also at the coast towns. The little old port was a valuable centre when land communications were difficult, and Mackinder has well shown the special value of Glasgow and St. Andrews, the old archbishoprics, in mediæval Scottish life. As the centuries passed, the old port usually tried its hand at shipbuilding. This fine craft promoted, as it always does, quality of workmanship which had undoubted influence on the furniture craft of the eighteenth century. As William Morris pointed out, it was also probably not without influence on other important æsthetic developments at Glasgow.

With the agricultural and commercial development of the eighteenth century, the

little ports seemed to embark on a great evolution, and some were deliberately founded and town-planned in that interesting time. But the increase in the size of ships and the use of steam cut them out, while the tourist industry has helped greatly to kill inshore fishing activities. The growth of international commerce with its large vessels and mixed crews has made the seaports cosmopolitan, too often on the level of a necessarily low common measure between the diverse elements. Foreign influences also stream along the coast, and even inland from the coast at a rate undreamed of in the past.

Summing up, then, we find that in western Europe one can very broadly discriminate a Zone of Increment, a Zone of Effort, a Zone of Difficulty more or less corresponding with the three zones discussed in connection with physical features, climate and people in the previous chapter. These zones are not in any sense absolute, there are small regions of increment here and there in the zones of effort and of difficulty, and there are not a few regions of difficulty in the great zone of increment. These zones, again, are not in any

sense sharply defined; they grade into one another through intermediate belts which may be of great importance to humanity, especially when in them there mingle under favouring conditions elements of different origin and tradition. Each zone is modified when it comes into contact with the sea, the coastal waters of which acted as links between communities until the big steamship appeared and concentrated commerce in a few super-ports. The relation of the zones to one another, their relative wealth and poverty are also liable to variation with the centuries. The notion of these zones, therefore, while useful, is not one to be expressed too categorically; it is merely an aid towards an appreciation of the varied reactions of the earth to human effort and vice versa.

CHAPTER III

FRANCE

It has already been hinted in the introductory chapters that France has a position of natural leadership in the spiritual life of western Europe; the other peoples are in a large measure her children, her disciples in matters of civilisation. In the past there have been efforts to transform that spiritual leadership into temporal dominion, and these allowed the natural growth of prejudice to obscure the truth which the recent crisis has demonstrated to the world.

The shortest statement one can venture of the greatness of France is that in France is the natural ending of several lines that start in the limitless expanses of Asia; it is also that in France the ways across the continent from the great human sea to the more backward north are shortest and clearest, and that from all antiquity. It thence

follows that France, often painfully and even tragically, has woven into her life almost every strand of experience or of character that has attempted to influence Europe.

Moreover, this work has been accomplished in a country the regions of which grade into one another. So their peoples have been able to grow into sympathy with one another and to accumulate an unusually large common measure of tradition and remembrance. Withal, however, the rich mixture of race and aptitude in each of these regions has had its consequences in diversity of perspective and of taste, and consequently there has long been mutual criticism of a most penetrating type which has helped greatly to develop French clarity of argument.

Broadly, France consists of three great, but very diverse, basins, set around the Plateau Central. The magnificent sunny window of Provence leads the sunlight and the ideals of the Mediterranean up the Rhone into the long corridor of Burgundy. Aquitaine, the least of the three basins, has a sunny clime, tempered by sea-breezes and the rain; it opens to sea by Gironde and

Charente and links with the Mediterranean by the grim gate of Carcassonne.

The Paris basin, with its magnificent sweep and its many gates, has tempted many an



France—Scale of 1:15,000,000

FIG. 3.—Main physical features. Higher lands shaded. Rhine lower lands, eastern edge of Paris basin and main upper part of Saône basin marked by broken lines. Arrows indicate ways into the Paris basin.

N.B.—The outlines of the shaded areas are not along the same contour in all cases. The attempt is made to show structural rather than hypsometrical relations.

invader, who has, after all, but contributed fresh elements to that uniquely rich melting-pot of humanity.

The gate of Dijon links it with the Rhone and the Mediterranean, furnishing a way for civilisation, a veritable way of light. The same gate, however, is also open past Belfort to central Europe, and that way has many associations with the civilisations of the Early Iron Age, with some of France's unfortunate attempts at material expansion, as well as with the unfinished series of barbarian assaults against civilisation. Then there is the gate of Metz and Verdun, that of the Meuse and Sambre, that of Ypres, all links with central and northern Europe. Through these gates, ideas of the Paris basin, its master-university and its architecture, have spread Rhinewards, and through them time after time have armies swayed to and fro. The gate of the Channel from Dunkerque down to Le Cotentin has seen the civilisation of Europe spreading across to Canterbury and to Winchester, and before they existed to their predecessors in the great rôle they played for centuries as the ways into England, each gathering up

the traffic of a group of little ports. This same gate has also given entry to the northerners, who, whatever their early barbarism, so speedily became apostles of Gallic civilisation.

The gate of the Open Sea from St. Malo to Nantes has its historic relations with America, and its seafaring folk contribute much to the life of France, while its prehistoric memories also will need mention in the sequel. Finally, the gate of Poitiers brings the Paris basin into touch with Aquitaine, and so with Spain and Africa, and indirectly with the Mediterranean: it has memories of conflict with the Arab as well as with the English.

The Paris basin is such that its centre has become the focus of expression for France, and even for Europe. The people who have streamed towards it feel its subtle attraction, find the opportunities they need, become unconsciously permeated by its civilisation. Its influence spreads quietly, and, as it were, inevitably; it is an influence which has done more than almost all else for the life of the English plain on the one hand and of the Germanic lands on the other. Only

the deliberate creation of the open sore of Alsace-Lorraine could stop that penetration and thus bring about the dehumanisation of the Germany of our day.

The climates of France add to the country's rich diversity. The sun of the Midi ripens the olive (Fig. 4) as well as the vine, and where it hardly suffices for the olive in the Rhone corridor it still makes the mulberry a success, and so contributes to the high-grade industry of silk. In upper Burgundy and in Aquitaine, where for different reasons some summer rain does fall, though the sun is still fairly hot, we get the great vineyards as well as fields of maize and other corn crops. In the Paris basin, with its sub-oceanic climate modified in winter from the cold centre of Europe and in summer from the sun of the south, we have the cultivation of wheat, with the vine in spots sheltered from sea-winds. The apple makes a fairly agreeable substitute where sea-winds keep summer temperatures down below the needs of the grape.

The Mediterranean climate, with its fruit-trees mingled with garden produce under the sheltering branches, gives man a fair return

for moderate labour. If he works wisely he may give much of his thought and interest to those things above bread alone by which man lives. It is a home of ancient civilisation



FIG. 3.—Regions of cultivation of olive (cross hatched), mulberry (lined), and vine (stippled, with coarse stippling for some of the most important vineyards).

(Modified, from Vidal de la Blache.)

of the civic spirit, which is the expression of the natural, moderate, and steady increment from reasonable industry. The rest of France, outside the olive region, demanded of man

a larger effort before it became a land of increment, but it was nevertheless so near to this condition that the preliminary effort did not need to be so prolonged as to hinder Burgundy, Aquitaine, and the Paris basin from sharing in and developing in their own ways the inspirations pulsing from the Great Sea, before the pulses had died down and inspiration had hardened into formality and dogma.

Yet, if we emphasise the idealist influences from the Midland Sea, we must, on the other hand, not forget its militarist, bureaucratic elements, the heritage from which has so sorely troubled Europe. But for our present purpose it is sufficient perhaps to indicate how that aspect of Rome's legacy found persistent expression rather on the Roman frontiers, in what became the Holy Roman Empire, and has been transformed into the modern German and Hapsburg states. It is the more civic aspect of the older, better Rome, the Rome of the early Senate, that still continues to influence France, in spite of her dangerous phases of autocratic centralisation and expansionism, now, we hope, relegated entirely to the past.

It has been said that France offers the best northward ways across the continent, and we naturally think of that one which, as Mr. Peake has shown, since the last part of the Bronze Age has been a highway of trade and civilisation, namely, that of the Rhone corridor and the northern edge of the Paris basin on to Calais and Boulogne. But before the primeval forests were penetrated, between what are now Lyons and Viviers, men used the way along the limestones of the Causses and the bare, wind-swept edge of the central plateau from Carcassonne past Corrèze to Cornouailles in Brittany, and another along the sides of the Pyrenees to far Corunna in Spain. Needless to say, the way sketched out here across France is not to be considered a road in the sense in which we now use that term. It is rather a zone along which exchange, percolation, and occasional movement would occur.

The coming of iron seems to have made a tremendous stir in the west, and, at this time or just before, a way was hacked through the forest from upper Burgundy to Provence, and to the Straits of Dover. The Roman

influence spread up this way, so the older road became a bypath, and probably for this reason was able to retain the traces of its ancient life down to our own time. This makes Aquitaine a curiously interesting study with its traces of many ages and many influences, as we shall see.

Provence feels the Greek and Roman influences and becomes very characteristically Mediterranean with its cities gathered around Forum and Senate and Temple, with its written law, its habit of discussion and contract, its leisure for thought and for expression in building and sculpture, typifying the height of man's triumph there over the material world. Its openness to the sea brings it thoughts and products from many lands. It has much to relate; it must make literature as well as art; its theatres are a part of its fame. It bows to the barbarian in the dark days after Rome's fall, but it soon sends on again to the north the Mediterranean ideal of the City of God, and, as that sacred oriflamme is carried forth by the Benedictines, the heirs of Rome's civilisation, the land rises from her ashes and puts upon her a white

robe of churches. In the south the written law remains in use (Fig. 6); in the north the monks become more and more the interpreters and arbiters for the people, who thus, with better times, naturally set about building cities round about the markets which grow under the protection of the Church. We thus have the contrast between the cities gathered around the municipal institutions and those nestling under the cathedral. The former are characteristic of the fully Romanised region, the latter of the Paris basin. The contrast is fairly similar between the Pays de langue d'oc and the Pays de langue d'oïl.

At first the churches are built with round arches under influence of the Roman fashion, and these round arches remain highly characteristic in the Rhone valley and in Aquitaine, while the energetic Normans get hold of the idea and give it a splendid development in the enthusiasm of their new contact with the majestic tradition of Gaul. Then, as we know, the Paris basin develops the pointed arch, and the Gothic period begins; the state of feeling is such that pilgrims come even from Normandy to build Notre Dame de

Chartres. The Paris basin has risen from the dust quickly enough to receive the

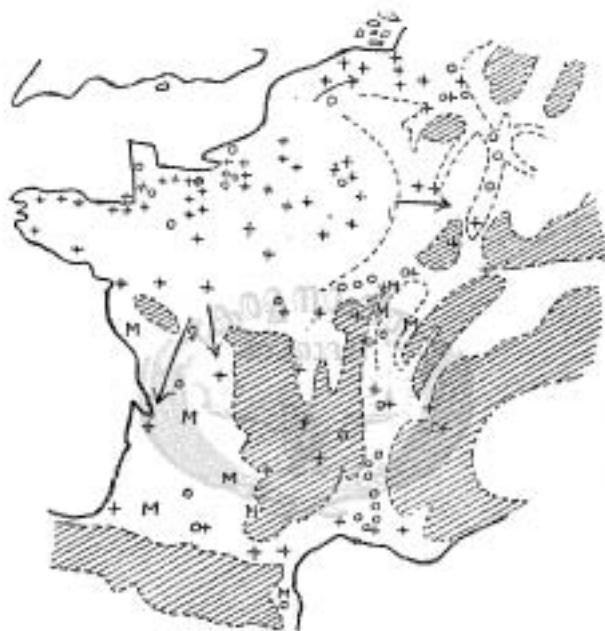


FIG. 5.—Tentative Map of certain architectural distributions in France. Where the architecture in a city or abbey centre indicates the normal evolution from earlier Romanesque to later Gothic, or where there is Gothic work of importance, the place is marked by a +.

Where the Romanesque style remained dominant the place is marked by a O. Where, in spite of the advent of Gothic, the Romanesque buildings remained very important, as at Caen, Reims, Toulouse, etc., the two marks are set side by side.

M indicates a church of mixed style. In several cases it would be Romanesque or Classical in general but Gothic in detail. In the cases of Cahors and Perigueux there is a Moorish-Venetian element in the buildings.

It is also able to seize upon and adapt to the new circumstances the remains of the old civilisation of the west. We have Chrétien de Troyes and his work, and, far more important, we have the cult of the Virgin and the rise of chivalry, here as elsewhere to be associated with the resurgence of the mother goddess of the Bronze Age matriarchate.

To the fusion of these elements it adds some things of its own; the Gothic style grows up and spreads far and wide (Fig. 5). Its extension outside the basin is chiefly along the main roads, *e. g.* past Limoges to Bordeaux and Bayonne, along the edge of the central plateau to Carcassonne and Narbonne (*i. e.* back to the Roman lands), by Metz to Strasbourg and beyond, and by the gate of Flanders to evolve the glories of Ypres and Bruges and Ghent, of Antwerp, Brussels, and Louvain, and even the borrowed glory of Cologne. It spreads through Canterbury, Winchester, and St. Andrews, all over Britain. But, save along these great roads, the Gothic is not often pure or complete outside the Paris basin. Dijon has Gothic work, much of it

touched with classical feeling; Albi and other southern churches are in like case.

As regards Dijon, the fact that it is such a critical junction of roads from Rhone to Seine, from central Europe to Paris, from the south to the Rhine, and to the Meuse and Scheldt, made it a centre of expression, with free sculpture, for example, developing a century before Michael Angelo. Beaune, not far off, makes a useful contrast, for it is more essentially local, and it supplements the old capital city in many points of expression.

The churches of Aquitaine (Fig. 5) are a good illustration of its mixed character, for besides the Romanesque so magnificently demonstrated at Toulouse and Angoulême, the Gothic at Bordeaux and Bayonne and Carcassonne, and the beautiful mixed style of the church at Albi, there are the churches of Cahors and Perigueux. Of them it seems safe to say that with their cupolas they speak of Moorish-Venetian influences coming along the age-old coasting route around the Iberian peninsula. It is not without interest that one notes the existence of what looks like a dolmen, at Confolens near the borders of

Aquitaine, with the capstone supported on twelfth-century capitals, *i. e.* it dates seemingly from the revival of folk-life and tradition in Aquitaine, which is probably rich in the Bronze Age traditions for reasons already noticed. The long persistence of feudal parochialism under shadowy mediæval English tutelage is another of the complications of Aquitaine, and a re-examination of the peculiar features of Corrèze would be profitable now we know its prehistoric connections as well as those of the Middle Ages with England. The very long-established arts and crafts of Limoges also need more study of their origins. But Aquitaine is off the main line, and we must deal with Paris and the Rhone.

The mediæval inspiration, in spite of all it meant for citizenship and the crafts, had to cope with a fatal heritage of violence from the dark ages; and the military fears and consequent needs of the Paris basin too soon changed the inspiration into cold dogma, and then we notice a characteristic reaction. The south becomes critical, it thinks in new directions, probably not unconnected with Bronze Age and Roman traditions. With its

habit of discussion and criticism, it goes into the Albigensian heresy, all except Provence, which is too busy with literary and æsthetic expression to join in such a movement (Fig. 7).



FIG. 7.—Tentative Map of distributions of certain religious movements.

The regions under the Counts of Toulouse affected by the Albigensian movement are enclosed in a line — · · · · ·. The mountain regions to the east of that line were affected by allied movements.

The cities of refuge proclaimed for the Huguenots in 1621 are marked by circles, and it will be seen that a large number, including most of the great ones, are in or near the old Albigensian area. In both cases the real Provence appears to be little affected, and would be seen to have been less still if the map were drawn more accurately on a larger scale.

The mediæval universities show interesting relations to some of the above-mentioned distributions (Fig. 6). The southern ones, following Bologna, are groups of students who employ teachers, and this type is so interesting that it spreads up to Orleans. But the mother of northern universities is La Sorbonne, a group of masters gathering students around them. Toulouse, however, is partly of the northern type, and was mainly founded from Paris in order to extirpate the Albigensian heresy when the Parisian militarism had done its awful work.

Thus we get the contrast between south and north clearly expressed in the Middle Ages, with Aquitaine and Burgundy as go-betweens, Aquitaine contributing something from the old life of the west and Burgundy something from that of central Europe. It is even probable that in some respects differentia accumulated between south and north in this period, though Paris and its militarism, a stern necessity because of the gates open to the barbarians from over Rhine, spread a somewhat mechanised rule more and more over the Roman south. The florescence of

taste in the Renaissance Châteaux of the Loire basin is a notable expression of the unity around Paris which France gained after the mediæval defeat of England.

The seaward fringe of the Paris basin must not be forgotten even in a rapid survey. Normandy has already been touched upon as regards its energetic assimilation of Gallo-Roman life, and its work is well known in history, so we need not go into detail. The west of Normandy, Le Cotentin, with its heaths, long remained akin to Brittany; it is a Celtic land with a Norman covering.

Brittany has been curiously distinct all through historic time. It was a great centre in the Bronze Age, and that ancient civilisation doubtless expressed itself there as elsewhere in the Celtic fringe. The Romans left these lands of the old civilisations alone for a while, and never made them truly Roman. Brittany received accessions of the Celtic elements from our islands, probably before and after the Romans. It remained distinct for centuries, contributing its tradition to help the development of the literary expression of the Paris basin, retaining as

much as possible of its Celtic Christianity and its more ancient religions under a Roman cover. It actually remained distinct from the crown of France till the end of the Middle Ages.

The separateness of Brittany is becoming fairly appreciated, but the contributions of the far west to European life are hardly yet known. We ought to realise that Notre Dame de Chartres owes a great deal of its unique hold on mankind to a prehistoric tradition of sanctity, of dedication to a Virgin who should bear a son, probably to the Mother Goddess of the Bronze Age, for it is on a dolmen route branching from that which ran from Narbonne across France to the Loire and Brittany, and it has a prehistoric rock temple beneath the Cathedral.

In spite of all the efforts of Paris and of Rome, Brittany has held on to its own ancient life in a way that not even Ireland can emulate, but it has none the less been almost as important to France as the Celtic fringe has been to England. Brittany is the pillar of the navy, and the Breton sailors are unsurpassed in the world; the Breton soldier

likewise does his very large share for the army of *la belle France*. We remember, too, that the historic club of the Jacobins in Paris began as the Breton Club, and so in a sense started the great Revolution.

With that we must leave the coastal fringe and concentrate on the main problem again. It has been said that Rabelais laughed the decrepit Middle Ages into their grave, and it is not without significance that his genius blossomed out when he got into the Rhone valley, the pathway of enthusiasms at one period, of criticisms at another. That the Rhone valley helped the Renaissance Pariswards is obvious enough, but it is most interesting to notice that the part of the old Roman region in the south which developed theological and categorical criticism was fairly accurately the district which had developed its criticism as the Albigensian heresy centuries before (Fig. 7). This time it was a philosophical criticism, it was the brave effort to work out logically the consequences of a belief in the omnipotence of God, without shirking the issues as all other Christians have done. It is the Huguenot country, as we see

from the cities of refuge for the Huguenots proclaimed in 1621 (Fig. 7). Again, as in Albigenian times, Provence has neither part nor lot in the matter; there was no need for the cities of refuge in that country where criticism finds other means of expression for itself, thanks probably to its longer soaking in Græco-Roman civilisation.

The mainstay of these historic heresies, in both cases, was the southern edge of the Plateau Central. There we have a people living under fairly difficult conditions, with their hard struggles promoting dogmatic expression and stubbornness, while, at the same time, their civic heritage from old Rome helped them to discuss seriously, to probe fearlessly, the hardened dogmas of the later Middle Ages. The Cevennes and the regions of Albi and Montauban are the strongholds of the great heresies, and the mental and spiritual contrast between that part of the Plateau Central and its north-western and northern sides is too little appreciated.

We also hardly realise what the Huguenots have done in the world with their ruthless energy. Lutheranism in north Germany

decayed in the anarchy of the Thirty Years' War, and then the Hohenzollerns, to their honour be it said, brought Huguenots from France and also men from Holland to build canals and link the wreckage of the Middle Ages on the northern plain into their new state of Prussia. Huguenots are also at the back of the life of many of the industrial communities of Britain, though many of them have forsaken Calvin for Servetus, *i. e.* have become Unitarians. Their influence on English thought is everywhere; of their influence in North America also much might be said. Paris dispersed the Huguenots; it had no room for dissident groups in its state, and they had no room for Catholics either. France gained unity, but at a tremendous cost of driving power, and she laid up much enmity for herself in Prussia.

In the great Revolution the Paris basin, especially Paris, sees that, in clinging to the semblance of its ever-desired unity, it has let France decay into a ruin of fragments, left from the Middle Ages and unadapted to the new time. It sweeps away the *Ancien Régime* and characteristically tries to grope afresh,

this time with Reason for its guide, for a unity which must thus be a mechanical one. The Rhone corridor equally characteristically dissents, it has no love of the *Tabula rasa*, it is trained in the idea of continuity, it wants to express itself in its own way, not to accept a new and harder mechanical unity in place of the decayed old one, which it joined Paris in upsetting. It offers federation, but the military needs of Paris call for unity. The Rhone corridor then becomes Royalist, and this is true almost to our day of some Huguenots, strange as it may seem; it is a land of continuity, built upon gradual moderated changes through free criticism. So the struggle goes on, and it is keen enough even in this war time, but be it said for Paris that at its worst its mechanism is not a thing of horror like that of Berlin. Also, it is much fuller and richer in the better things of life than is the mechanism of London operating in Ireland, for example. Paris has needed to seek unity, but it is a unity, a co-ordination of the most complex contributions to life and thought, contributions of ideals and criticisms from the Rhone corridor, of lan-

guages perhaps from central Europe as well as the Rhone, of physical vigour and martial dash from the Rhine and the northern plain, of enterprise from the Norman estuaries, of daring seamanship, of literary tradition and reverence from far Brittany, of good wine and much else that makes glad the heart of man from Aquitaine. The three recognised races of Europe and other groups that are attaining the distinction of separate race-names all jostle one another in this basin, so that it is a place of conflicting mentalities, of sharp mutual criticism, of the laughter that kills. Bergson's suggestive essay on Laughter becomes more intelligible when we realise that the subject is French laughter. He defines the laughable as, "*Du Mécanique plaqué sur du Vivant.*" May we adjust that a little and suggest that it is a bit from one type of mentality pitchforked into a sequence to which it does not belong, *i. e.* that it is often a contribution, ultimately, from one race or one stock in a setting belonging to another stock, a misfit, that is, which is to be laughed out of existence?

We thus see that the Paris basin has its

work cut out to assimilate completely its own varied elements; its efforts on the other regions of France are only outwardly, and then only partially, successful.

In spite of improvement of communications, for the magnificence and costliness of the great highways was a subject of general complaint by most localities in the Cahiers of 1789, Paris then looked upon east Burgundy, the southern Rhone, Aquitaine, and Brittany as "foreign lands" for customs purposes (Fig. 6). We have seen something of their claims to a life of their own.

It may perhaps be said with justice that the third Republic with its regionalising of universities has made a useful attempt towards the combination of political unity with local diversity. It is an interesting attempt, for the university, on the one hand, is the exponent of the general tradition of Europe to its region, and, on the other, the student of its own regional tradition, which it expresses and expounds to Europe in general. The attempt has not yet been followed up politically, but those who are interested in studying French state affairs will probably see interest-

ing changes in this direction. The mechanism of departmental administration from Paris is becoming obsolete and perilously expensive to run, and the regions of France will all need to develop their powers to the utmost after this devastating war. Laws have been drafted for discussion reconstituting the natural regions for governmental purposes, and an active development policy is likely to follow. Our British Development Fund is a useful precedent in this direction, but in France, still more if possible than among ourselves, its application would need to be regionalised to produce the best results. Here one may interpose that in government and in finance, among other things, the British Isles have certainly contributed much to French life, in addition to the rich contributions one surmises must have come from ancient Ireland; but that subject is not treated here, for reasons of brevity.

Summing up this too rapid sketch, we have seen that it has been the opportunity of France to serve as a Way of Light age after age. The mysterious civilisation of the Bronze Age touches its western shores with

a fringe of Arthurian romance and leaves here, as elsewhere along its coastwise route from Egypt and the Ægean to Iceland, contributions to literature and craftsmanship, tradition and religion.

The Roman life and the Roman law penetrate it everywhere and thoroughly assimilate the south to themselves, while they at least convert the north to reverence. The ideal of the City of God, which made the Middle Ages, comes up the Rhone corridor to transfigure the Paris basin, whence spread the Benedictine ideal, the cathedral, the cult of the Virgin, the romances of Brittany, the renewed veneration for Rome far and wide beyond its borders, and especially to Britain. The Huguenot influence spreads to mould our modern life in many lands, the French Revolution changes even the depth of our souls, and the France of to-day is at her old work of helping her fellow-citizens of Europe towards the ideal.

We have followed the inevitable and continuous efforts of the Paris basin towards the synthesis of all the varied racial and traditional elements that have crowded in

through its many gates, and we have seen that these efforts have attained more than a little success, thanks to the favouring circumstances of the region. It has thence been possible in France, as nowhere else, for real continuity from the Middle Ages to persist to our own times, with all that this means in agricultural welfare and steadiness. The lands of France are probably better cultivated in this war time than ours ever are, save in East Anglia. We have seen, too, that it is the region most naturally and most easily in contact with the Mediterranean with its age-long wealth of civilisation ever renewing itself.

So much for the argument from position. We may also take courage from the fact that, ever since she rid herself of the imperial incubus in 1870, France has been doing great things for the world. She has had a large share in the engineering of the canal, of the modern aeroplane and submarine, motor-car and locomotive. She is the pioneer of humane geography, her medical chemistry has transformed modern hygiene. She has faced her internal problems with a fine courage, she has drunk her cup always to the dregs, she

has not flinched at the spiritual problem of decay of faith in dogmas, she has created a literature that has inspired most others, she has tamed the wild in North Africa, and has founded a dominion where European and African become one, and finally the solid endurance so characteristic of her peasantry has successfully defended Verdun.

If France's sorrows and losses are the deepest of all, and if her impoverishment is calamitous, there is still as of old the massive wealth of her soil and her peasantry. She may go on with the improved utilisation of her soil, with the reforestation of her mountain slopes, not unfrequently in communal hands, with the cleansing and strengthening of high-grade industries by the application of electrical power from her rivers, and with the improvement of her waterways like the Canal du Midi and the Marseilles-Rhone Canal, the latter of which is being developed in the midst of this war. All these are positive elements of internal wealth which must surely in the end outweigh the baleful influence of negative wealth in the form of debt certificates. Moreover, her communica-

tions with Mediterranean and Atlantic give her opportunities, in co-operation with Italy we hope, in connection with the new developments that are foreshadowed along the historic tradeways to and from the wealth of the Indies (see Chap. VIII). In addition to all this, however, there is the skill of France's long agricultural tradition enriching the whole north of Africa and blending it with herself and perhaps even making a highway that will lead through West Africa to South America, which already has so many links with France.

One may thus perhaps foresee a France with opportunities for the maintenance of its historic dignity and at least a chance of overcoming its tragic impoverishment. Fortunately there seems less reason than at other periods of history to fear that France will allow the aggressive designs of imperialism to divert her from her natural task which this chapter has attempted to describe, the task, namely, of being the spiritual interpreter, and therefore also leader, of our western civilisation.

CHAPTER IV

THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

IF France is the meeting-place, the goal of fusion, of the three main zones of Europe, if it is the place where all the elements that have gone to make western thought have had to meet, to mix, to fuse, the Iberian peninsula is in the strongest contrast. It is the outpost of Europe over against Africa; it has been the battle ground of warring ideals, each of which ere its advent had already grown beyond the plastic stage when fusion might have been possible.

It may be, therefore, that the contributions of the Peninsula to the life of the world seem poorer than those of France, but, even if that be the case, let us not stint our appreciation. The outpost has sacrificed much to its outpost duty, performed on our behalf as well as for itself. Moreover, from the long struggles themselves have arisen contributions to civilisation of no little moment; it

is one of the duties of the coming generation to appreciate and to do fuller justice to Spain.



FIG. 8

THE IBERIAN PENINSULA

Scale approx. 1:12,500,000

Land above 1000 metres blacked out.

" " 400 " " shown by horizontal lines.

(Map reduced from a map of Europe on modified Conical Equal-Area Projection)

The contrast between France and Spain in their physical features helps to illuminate many contrasts in life and work. Both have river basins more or less flanking an upland

of ancient rocks, but in the Peninsula the upland forms nearly three-quarters of the country, while in France it forms but one-sixth. In the Peninsula, again, the river basins are small and widely separate, and one of them, the Douro, is on the upland, not against its flank. In France, the basins are large and rich, with fine intercommunication. In Spain, Andalusia may have a climate fit for orange and olive, but it looks out to the Atlantic, and links with the Moorish coast, whereas the Rhone opens itself to the ancient civilisation of the Mediterranean. Aragon, again, is small, barred off from the sea by coastal hills, an inland basin poor in rain because it is on the north-eastern flank of the upland. And finally the Douro basin, with its agriculture, is on the upland, has the upland's severe climate, and is shut off from the sea. In fact, it contrasts to its own disadvantage, physically, with the Paris basin in every respect.

If the separation of these three elements of the Peninsula is very marked, there is a fourth, which would be the coastal plain of Aragon were it not for the coastal hills, that

is almost more markedly separate. Catalonia seems in many ways associated more with the life and tradition of the other Mediterranean coast lands than with that of the Douro or Guadalquivir basins.

In Spain, therefore, unity has been hard to seek; it has been almost impossible to attain it in a spiritual sense; there has been usually too small a common foundation belonging to all these different constituents. Failing this, men have therefore sought an artificial, an administrative unity. Madrid, consciously created on the centre of the great upland, an administrative capital, poor in mediæval, and wanting in older memories, offers the sharpest contrast to Paris, with its long, rich, composite heritage that has made of it the capital of western civilisation. Portugal, mainly the coastal plain below the western cliff edges of the great upland, is sundered from the latter by those same cliffs through which Douro and Tagus have cut gorges which do not much facilitate intercourse between upland and coastal plain. Finally, whereas the basins of France stand open to the continent or to the sea or to both,

those of Spain are shut off from the rest of the continent by the uniquely continuous Pyrenees. They are shut off from the sea by coast hills or other impediments, save in the case of Andalusia, which, however, opens to the Atlantic instead of to the Mediterranean.

If physical circumstances determined human character and fate completely, as materialists would have us believe, the Peninsula would hardly have done so much in and for the world as has been the case. Let us not, however, deny all influence to physical circumstance, and let us allow, in particular, that thanks to the barrier of the Pyrenees and to the poverty of the harbours, physical circumstances have made the Peninsula poorer in racial stocks, and notably in Nordic and Alpine elements, than France.

Looking back into dim antiquity, we may picture the Peninsula as inhabited by a rather dark, long-headed population, the people especially whom Beddoe describes as having heads long at the back. It was a population in touch with Africa, and it belonged to what has become the Mediterranean race. Doubtless there were survivors of Palæolithic stocks

among the Neolithic folk, and Sir Arthur Evans indicated the growing appreciation of the importance of that far-off time in Spain when he addressed the British Association as President (1916). Déchelette and others have made it seem probable that the Neolithic age in western Europe ended when wanderers, metal prospectors, megalith builders, spread, in quest of trade and perhaps of homes, from the eastern Mediterranean,—probably to a considerable extent from the Ægean. These prospectors seem to have found the chief sources of mineral wealth which later ages have used, and we find traces of their Spanish activities in the south-east and in the north-west. In the latter region it would seem that, with the building of the great stone monuments, the neighbourhood of Santiago da Compostella began that tradition of sanctity which developed so richly in Christian times. In that remote period it was perhaps already a focus behind a number of little landing-places, like St. David's in Wales, or like Carnac in Brittany, and no doubt it was soon in touch with these. In fact, the supposedly legendary histories of

Ireland and Great Britain are clear as to this old association, and in this, as in much else, they concur with data accumulating from archæological and anthropological research. Following these relations of the Bronze Age came such events as the founding of Cadiz in the south about 1100 B.C., and, from that time onwards, the Phœnicians and the Phocæans seem to have exploited the metallic riches of the Peninsula. The archæologists have provisionally suggested about 500 B.C. as the date of a spread of Celtic speech and weapons past the western end of the Pyrenees (rich in salt) to conquer the Peninsula. But it seems more than surmise that the hills and glens of Galicia retained a strong tincture of the older life. In all subsequent time, Galicia has been a refuge for old thoughts and old ways, with Santiago da Compostella, which was once the entry of east Mediterranean civilisation into north Spain, as the centre of revered memories.

The long-established exploitation of mineral wealth was apparently continued under Carthaginians and Romans, and this is no doubt a drawback from which the Peninsula has

subsequently suffered greatly. We need but think of the story of Mexico since the Conquistadores to know how this habit of exploitation makes for disorder and violence, how it hampers the growth of the civic spirit and delays the enrichment of civilisation. The social evils of the nineteenth-century gold rushes are evidence nearer at hand. Contrasting Spain with Italy, then, we see Italy not very rich in minerals, settled for its own sake, developing cities and enriching civic life, while ancient Spain was too much at the mercy of mining speculators and their rivalries.

In the early days of Christianity, there are on the one hand barbarian intrusions, and on the other hand struggles between Christianity and the cult of great stones of a previous age. Christianity seems to come in missionary guise rather than as growing naturally out of the past of the country itself. The importance of the centrally placed Toledo as early as those days is noteworthy.

Soon, however, began the great struggle which was to set its mark on the life of the Peninsula, the struggle in which the north

stood for Christianity and the south for Islam. Our European Christianity has grown by the grafting of Nazarene and Judaistic ideals on a heritage that was developed in Egypt, around the Ægean and in Italy, and the subsequent growth from the graft has been the great feature of the evolution of Italy and France. Broadly speaking, therefore, Christianity in Spain coming in rather a missionary spirit, seems to have come in, may one say in an adolescent condition after it had lost some of its embryonic plasticity. The same appears to be true of Islam as it came to Spain. Saracen cultivators, trained through irrigation, had been drawn into the missionary movement of Islam, which had swept along the Mediterranean shores of Africa, gathering experience and ideas from the old civilisation of that coast on its way. The Moorish civilisation in Spain was thus not an indigenous development, it was a collection of contributions from Saracen gardeners of Arabian terraces, from nomad war leaders turned cultivators, from Hellenistic Alexandria with its varied inheritance of medical, mathematical and philosophical knowledge,

and who can tell what records of the ancient history of the Mediterranean and perhaps of the west. Coming into Spain, it flourished for a time in Andalusia, a country of fruit trees, but it also ingrained itself into the life of the Mediterranean coast of Spain, where its experience of irrigation and terracing was an immense asset, as this is the dry flank of the Meseta.

The rapidity of the flowering of this civilisation is a notable feature; it was, as it were, adult when it arrived, and the full expression of its powers came very soon. Its schools were famed throughout Europe, and we may never know how much European medicine owes to Moorish influences (not necessarily from southern Spain) at Salerno and Montpellier and elsewhere. Its art has been discussed as the art of nomads turned sedentary, of weavers in bright colours turned builders and so become makers of mosaics, but to this must be added a good deal that it would take one too far into architectural questions to specify. The Christian art of Spain, however, as expressed in its mediæval cathedrals, is full of traces of Saracenic influence, in its

brilliant internal decorations, with much wall ornament, contrasting strongly with the development of stained glass so marked in the Paris basin and in England. The confronting of missionary Christianity and missionary Islam in the Peninsula, when both had lost their embryonic plasticity, and where they could not mix easily because they were separated by the great arid stretch of the high Meseta, produced centuries of bitter conflict through the Middle Ages. It was a conflict of varying fortunes, and at times, in the earlier part of that period, the Moors approached a definite triumph. In times of severe stress, Galicia and Asturias afforded a refuge for the Christian element, and from the former the age-long sanctity of Santiago da Compostella shone forth again. It became the centre of Christian feeling, a base of the crusading enthusiasm against the Moors. Its older tradition became amalgamated with traditions of the great St. James in a way that is characteristic wherever, as also in Armorica, Cornwall, Wales and Ireland, Christianity has built upon a still vital foundation of much older civilisation. Santiago da Compostella

thus became a centre of pilgrimage, and one which appealed with extraordinary power to the Celtic fringe. Ireland, Wales, Cornwall, Brittany marked the route of this coastwise pilgrimage, the successor *in situ* of the coastwise trade of ages before. This relation of pilgrim ways to older economic and migration routes is exemplified in many other places and most notably in England in the Pilgrims' Way eastward to Canterbury.

For the long hard struggle, Spain had then a fount of enthusiasm which gathered the literary associations of the Chanson de Roland along the pilgrim road. But it was set in its ideas; they had grown too definite to find means of amalgamating with those of the south, they were at the stage of militarist crusading effort, clear cut, a trifle narrow, perhaps, but with powerful visions and strong incentives to action.

Between the north and the south, *i. e.* between the Douro basin and the Guadalquivir, stretched the high plateau, with the deep trench of the Tagus cutting through it. At the Tagus crossing was Toledo, making itself, in a necessarily limited way, some sort of link

between the two, but with a Christian basis from pre-Islamic days.

The bright flowering of the Moorish civilisation in the south was not maintained. The old links with Arabian terraces, with the old civilisations around the south-eastern Mediterranean all withered, and Moorish Andalusia became, as it were, a cut flower doomed to droop. Had it been a graft which could have adapted itself to grow on the Christian stem, our European life might have been much enriched, though, even as it is, we doubtless owe it more than many of us can guess. Still, it declined, and probably the ease of life in Andalusia contributed to this decline. On the east of the upland, in Murcia and Valencia, the Arab gardeners were bound to keep their old skill, and thus irrigation has maintained itself to this day, so the Moorish civilisation is in a sense strong and vital there among the huertas or irrigated gardens.

The chief entities which grew up in the Christian north included—

1. Catalonia, largely, as has been said, a continuation of coastal southern France in

its life, and soon developing something of a wool industry.

2. Aragon, on the dry side of the Meseta, with Zaragossa as its capital in the centre, and with no other town of great consequence. Aragon and the dry parts of the plateau have developed the habit of transhumance, that is, of seasonal movements of flocks and herds from pasture to pasture.

3. Navarre, round about the western end of the Pyrenees, the country holding the way through the hills, like Savoy between Italy and France. There is something more than accident in the fact that the house of Navarre cemented unity for France and the house of Savoy for Italy. The factors in both cases combining to produce this result were energy, idealism and cautious diplomacy, all characters that life among hill passes will often tend to evoke.

4. Portugal, round the mouths of Douro and Tagus and on the intervening coastal plain, below the steep edge of the Meseta. The position of Coimbra is significant here; it stands at the foot of hills and on the river Mondego, between the greater rivers.

Portugal and Spain have competed, as it were, for Galicia—Portugal with its coastwise links, Spain with its need of a refuge. It is in Spain administratively; it speaks a dialect more akin to Portuguese.

5. Finally, Léon-Castile, or the upper Douro basin, with Valladolid and Palencia as its central cities, but with a characteristic ring of cities of renown around the foot of the hills, thus differing markedly from Aragon. Castile has long grown corn in its basin around Valladolid, though irrigation is needed for good cultivation, and the hill-foot or fall-line cities may be imagined as the places of exchange, the markets between hill and plain, between stock-raisers and corn-growers. Such cities arise in series in most countries, on the Welsh borders of England, beneath the northward slope of the Apennines, around the western and northern edges of the Plateau Central, along the hill edge of the Prussian plain. In all cases they are old cities, with evidence of mediæval importance. In Castile we have, amongst others, Léon in the north-west, with Galician links, Burgos at the Castilian end of the pass towards Navarre, and on the

THE IBERIAN PENINSULA 101

south Segovia, Avila, Salamanca, the latter with a useful link southwards to the Tagus at Alcantara, the great bridge, and so beyond the Tagus as well. It is interesting that it

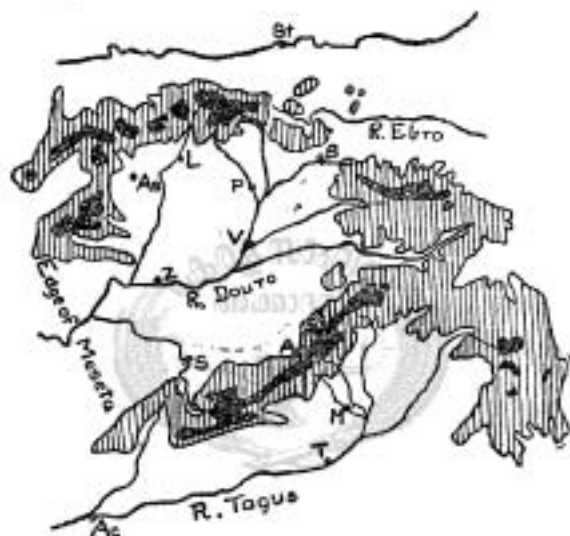


FIG. 9
LEON AND CASTILE
THE BASIN OF THE UPPER DOURO
Scale approx. 1:5,556,666.

Land above 1400 metres blackened.
" " 1000 " shown by vertical shading.

- | | |
|------------------|------------------|
| A. = Avila. | S. = Salamanca. |
| Ac. = Alcantara. | Sg. = Segovia. |
| As. = Astorga. | St. = Santander. |
| B. = Burgos. | T. = Toledo. |
| L. = Leon. | V. = Valladolid. |
| M. = Madrid. | Z. = Zamora. |
| P. = Palencia. | |

was Salamanca, with these southward links, which became the historic university town of Christian Spain. It studied law and later on became a great exponent of theology, as might be expected under the circumstances of the country. Of the great part it played in the life of the country after the Moorish power had been finally destroyed it will be necessary to say something a little later.

The grouping of these entities into a larger unity has often been represented as the result of personal, rather than of circumstantial factors. While this is probably largely true, we may still remember that Castile and Aragon are both inland, and that the interests of Portugal are coastwise; furthermore, a cliff separates the western coastal plain from the plateau, an important point, even though the political boundary of Portugal does stretch far beyond the cliff top.

At any rate, it was Aragon and Castile, with the Asturias and Galicia, that became Spain, and spread their authority, as the Moors weakened, over more and more of the Peninsula, from the Pyrenees to the Straits of Gibraltar. We are not concerned to follow

the order of the details of this process, but must pass on to notice that in 1492 the Moorish power was finally destroyed, and Spanish unity was then soon achieved, leaving Portugal apart awhile on its coastal plain.

It was a long struggle, for which much was sacrificed. In lands without such a struggle, the trading communities had developed far, and had given their regions a middle class intermediate between the warrior nobles and the soldier peasantry. This middle-class tradition inevitably contributed a great deal to the growth of administration in the then enlarging states, as witness the middle-class names which sprang into lasting prominence in the reign of Elizabeth in England. Spain had much less of this element, and Castile, especially, tended to remain essentially feudal in a military sense. In lands, again, without such a struggle, there had grown up in the universities and elsewhere a spirit of criticism, an enlargement of knowledge. In Spain such tendencies had to be restricted; they might so often have meant peaceful penetration by the Arab civilisation, and that the crusading spirit dare not allow.

The unified Spain thus found itself limited by its own heroism, limited as regards a middle class for trading and for administration and negotiation, limited as regards criticism. It was naturally the pillar of orthodoxy, the land of the grandee. If the famous society of Jesus was founded at Paris to fight the Reformation, Loyola belongs to Spain, and his order found there a fertile field. The hills separating Castile from the Galician and Biscayan coasts also prevented the infusion, to any extent, of seafaring men's ideas into the life of the country. The energies of the region had been set for centuries on its mighty task. In 1492 the task was over, a provisional unity was gained under the united rule of Castile and Aragon, and there was energy set free for other purposes. This energy had, however, more aptitude for crusading than for trade, though in the latter sphere there was experience of minerals, and in Asturias, Galicia and Portugal, of fishing and coastwise trade.

To such a country there came the opportunity of voyages of discovery. The Ottoman Turks had blocked the way to the east, and

the almost world-old trade between Mediterranean and Monsoon lands must find new ways, at least for a time. The historic details are well known and need not be given here, but it is interesting to note Columbus's coming to Castile, to find the university of Salamanca (we have noticed its geographical link with the south) interested in astronomy and mathematics supporting his case, and to find that, when American discovery and trade do develop, an academy is founded at Seville, the old southern centre, for the study of navigation. Cadiz, of prehistoric fame, had another period of greatness as a natural port while Spain led on the sea. Spain seems to have sent out conquerors, students, idealists and crusaders; her administrators and the merchant class were limited in numbers and still more in skill, and these limitations seriously affected her work in America. With the growth of sea interests and the increase of Spanish power, Spain and Portugal became one for a time. Unity, however, was very hard to maintain, and a characteristic effort with geographical bearings was the erection of Madrid as a new artificial capital on the high

Meseta, trying to spread administrative unity where true and spiritual unity was so wanting.

Portugal, meanwhile, had long been connected with coastwise trade, and in the era of discoveries it began before Spain, but continued in ways scientifically developed from the old ones under the inspiration of Prince Henry. Portugal's maritime effort was not such a new thing as that of Spain. It was a coastwise expansion, but on a much-developed scale. Again the details belong to history, but it is interesting to notice, in view of the development of trade, that Spain used America as the ancients had used Spain, namely, for exploitation of mineral wealth. This was brought to the Peninsula and the silver taken on by the Portuguese to India. There it was used for purchase of the goods that Europe needed as of old, but found it hard to get, because the Turk had come to bar the way. There is probably more than dynastic ambition in the union of Portugal with Spain for a time while this trade was at its height.

The great days of the Peninsula as a place of maritime control did not last very long.

There were serious difficulties. Owing to its low latitude and to its physical features, Spain does not feel the westerlies steadily even in winter, and this was a drawback as far as the return of ships from America was concerned; they could much more easily make the British coast or Armorica than Spain.

Then the Spanish coast population was distinct from the main groups, and the latter had other interests, territorial or religious. The enterprise and daring of the coast populations, as in Britain, Holland and Scandinavia, would have been a valuable help. One notes also the lack of a large trading middle class, and the absorption of interest in crusades. The maritime activities and the ensuing intercontinental trade seemed to be a conscious effort rather than a natural growth. They gradually declined, and with their decline, Spain and Portugal fell asunder, the latter maintaining in a greater degree its maritime relations and its coastwise-developed empire. With the continuance of the latter relation there came into Portugal negro slaves, who, as time went on, intermingled with the whites and considerably influenced

the type of the population in the south of Portugal.

France, Holland, England, took the maritime lead away from the Peninsula, which they left more and more to its religion, its feudal pride, its splendid memories, its amassed profits from American mines or Indian spices, gems and fine-woven goods. Save in Catalonia, there was little indigenous industry, and the oversea dominions of both countries were almost a burden to them at the beginning of modern world changes. The old religious intolerance had kept back many things, administrative unity was as hard as ever to obtain, and there were civil troubles recurring constantly. It seemed to be a region on the down grade. Is this, however, a sufficient summary? Is there no sign of change to a better state of things?

First of all the growth of the world market, the ever-keener search for minerals, has given a new and great development to the mining activities of the Peninsula. This, it is true, does not mean any very healthy social development for the country, as the ore has been shipped away for the most part in a very

crude state to be dealt with at the South Wales coalfield-ports. There is, however, some tendency to use Spanish coal for some of the smelting processes, and Santander, for example, has been growing as a result of this. Considerable water power, again, is available in the south, and this may lead to interesting developments in the mineral area of S.E. Spain, whilst much water power is being used in Catalonia for textile manufactures.

Secondly, with the development of the world market, the growth of demand for products of the soil has increased very much all over the world. Spain, which, still more than Portugal, lacked the men of the right type to develop her overseas dominions in this sense and to organise them for commerce, has lost her remnants of empire. They have fallen to the United States of America, which of all modern states is perhaps the best equipped for that special task, now so much in fashion. These dominions had long been little more than a drain on the manhood of the Peninsula, and especially on its talent, for it had to send out administrators, however inappropriately equipped. The loss of the

remnants of empire has stopped this drain on Spain, even if it is still going on in the case of Portugal, which, however, is a trifle better suited for the work by its tradition. As a result of the loss of empire, the energy formerly expended upon it with small result now tends to seek scope at home in Spain, and as the dominions were a drain on the national budget, that budget is to some extent relieved, and there has been at last a marked improvement in finance. This is, however, much less marked than the great solidification of Italian finance, due partly to industrial development with water power which took place in the years before 1914. The loss of empire has prompted the growth in Spain of products formerly obtained from the dominions, and there is thus a tendency in the warm and Moorish parts of the country to re-invigorate the old Moorish gardening, especially by cultivating sugar.

Thirdly, with the development of railways, the old separateness of the provinces of Spain is at least modified, though the poverty of her roads is an enormous difficulty in this respect. The railway is at last making Madrid, to a

slight extent at least, a vital centre, but one which is not so placed as to dwarf the efforts of all the others; indeed, the amount of intellectual and general effort in some small centres in the Peninsula is a characteristic and most promising element of its life. Needless to say, this appearance of a new budding of human expression is to be related to the concentration of effort due to the removal of the burden of the dominions, which, as has been said, gave little save a fragmentary survival of ancient prestige to the country. Of course the age-long difficulties between Barcelona and Castile still remain, but perhaps there are germs of hope even here, for the country around Barcelona is being developed as a food-supply area for the great textile city, and if the rest of the Peninsula chooses to develop itself on food-supply lines, there should be grounds for a mutual understanding growing from and with commerce.

This last desideratum, again, may be brought nearer by a change in European life in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The war of 1870-1 seems to have marked

the rise of France above imperialistic vice. Barcelona must have associations with France in its life, but now Spain has less cause to fear these associations. She has also less anxiety to guard herself from these developments, especially as the spirituality of modern France brings her nearer the spirit of Spain, nurtured for better as well as for worse, in the long struggle of the Middle Ages.

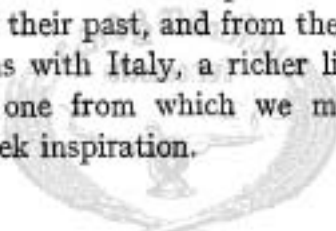
Fourthly, we note the ceaseless search for new metals needed for the strange processes of modern metallurgy and the development of water power, of which Spain possesses a great deal. Finally, the increasingly obvious fact that the regions of the world are not going to be satisfied with narrow specialisation, but will claim the right to produce and make a large part of what they need, suggests that Spain, with a policy of national development, may have a considerable future in immediate preparation. It is even probable that the backwardness of Spain in the age of centralisation and industrialism might be an advantage to it in the next period of its evolution.

The case of Portugal is undeniably com-

plicated by its mixed population in the south, and by much that is socially unhealthy in connection with the large areas in Africa which this little state administers. It could develop cultivation of its land to a far greater extent than at present, for modern work has shown how much can be done to utilise climatic advantages even on areas of originally poor soil (*e. g.* in the Channel Isles and Scilly). The relations of Lisbon, and of Cadiz for that matter, to Africa and the Mediterranean, and to western Europe at the same time, suggest the possibilities of entrepôt trade there, and perhaps the rapidly increasing development of South America may still further increase those possibilities. Moreover, with a strong development policy, there is much scope for the fisheries of north Portugal, Galicia and the northern coast of Spain.

The effort has been here made to emphasise the more hopeful aspects of the life of the Peninsula at the present time. This is done because its difficulties and backwardness are so often over-emphasised by writers too intent upon the big statistics and ambitions of

the industrialist state. For success in the future the Peninsula, like France and Italy, must develop on other lines. The hope in the case of the Peninsula may be somewhat dimmer than elsewhere, but it is sufficient to give all thoughtful persons an interest in watching Spain and Portugal struggle on. They must not copy England, nor Germany, nor the United States, nor even France, but should develop from out of the struggle of their past, and from their age-long associations with Italy, a richer life of their own, and one from which we may yet be glad to seek inspiration.



CHAPTER V

ITALY

A SHORT sketch of the interweaving of relations between man and environment is even more difficult in the case of Italy than elsewhere. In spite of areas of obstinate poverty, due sometimes to natural and sometimes to historic conditions or to both, Italy has responded munificently to human effort again and again. Her great past, with its life grouped round the city state, has left immense legacies to the world, legacies which contrast in interesting ways with those left by the city states of ancient Greece. But this is a well-known theme which hardly needs to be worked out here, and we shall try to devote space rather to the more recent phases of human work in Italy in the hope of assisting the growth of knowledge and interest concerning one of the most important developments of our own time, and one which



FIG. 10.
ITALY

Scale approx. 1:10,500,000.

Above 3000 ft. blackened; above 1000 ft. horizontal lines.

- | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| A. = Ancona. | M. = Milan. | R. = Rome. |
| Al. = Alessandria. | Md. = Modena. | Rg. = Reggio. |
| Am. = Amalfi. | Ms. = Messina. | Rm. = Rimini. |
| B. = Bologna. | N. = Naples. | Rv. = Ravenna. |
| Ba. = Bari. | P. = Pisa. | S. = Salerno. |
| Bd. = Brindisi. | Pd. = Padua. | Si. = Siena. |
| Br. = Brescia. | Pg. = Perugia. | Sy. = Syracuse. |
| F. = Ferrara. | Pl. = Palermo. | Tu. = Turin. |
| F. = Florence. | Pc. = Piacenza. | V. = Venice. |
| L. = Leghorn. | Pm. = Parma. | Vr. = Verona. |

promises to have perhaps still greater consequences in the not very distant future.

We have seen that fruit culture, under the régime of winter rains and summer sun, has contributed notably to the growth of human opportunity in many lands, and it need not be argued out that this scheme of work was closely linked with the life and organisation of the city state of antiquity. In Italy, sunny corners like Tuscany, with slopes looking towards the rain, are particularly rich, and so are the lower slopes on the southward side of the great Alps. The northward slope of Apennine, on the other hand, suffers so much from winter cold that it almost belongs to another world. Again, the basin of the Po is clearly marked off from peninsular Italy, and the Apennine passes are few. So Italy is a land of marked divisions and strong contrasts, which make its effective unity a matter of much greater difficulty than one would suppose merely from a survey of its apparently strongly marked natural boundaries.

SOME CHIEF REGIONS OF ITALY

It is, moreover, a platitude to say that those boundaries are not so perfect as they seem to be at first sight; mountain boundaries always invite political difficulties at the passes. The hill folk have rather naturally tended to control the passes throughout the era of road-travel, so in some cases a dominion, a state, has grown up, stretching down to the opening of the valleys on either side. Indeed, as we see from the almost purely Mongolian population of the southern valleys of Himalaya, foot-hills may be more of a human boundary than a watershed. And yet the language and civilisation of the plain naturally tend to creep up to the watershed and even across it, and so to link the mountain roads with some focal town at one or other exit from the valleys on to the plains. The spread of English against Welsh speech up the Severn and its tributaries illustrates this point, though there, as nearly everywhere else, evidence abounds to show that the hills must export their surplus population plainwards. In Ticino the problem is not urgent, because,

so long as Switzerland remains as at present, Italy has nothing to fear, and there are a good many reasons of convenience for having the St. Gothard tunnel under care of the Swiss. The Trentino is a hard problem, because the Romansch hill folk, natural custodians of the passes, have been appropriated by the military power of Vienna far on the other side of the passes. Thus a hill people, increasingly affected by Italian civilisation, now lies under Germanic control and gives justification of an intense kind to the watchword of "Italia Irredenta." Moreover, in times of stress, the hill people may be brushed aside from the main passes into the remote fastnesses. They may even be utilised by military powers from afar in a scheme for employing the passes. On the Italian border this has often been done, and the passes are the great lines of invasion of so attractive a land.

The well-marked region of the Po basin, between Apennines and Alps thence has complexities in its life due to links with the people of the Alpine valleys as well as links, through the passes, with the powers that have grown beyond these mountains, around

Paris, Vienna and Berlin. It also has the sharp contrasts between the sunny Alpine slopes in Lombardy, the often eastward opening valleys of Piedmont, and the winter cold region of Emilia sloping down from Apennine to the Po and the Adriatic coast. One must also add to this the complexities due to the torrential Po, difficult to cross in many places, bordered by swamp and flood plain for long distances, and controlled with much effort in its lower course. There accumulations of mud raise its channel and force man to build containing walls on either side in certain places.

With all this demanding adjustment from man, it is natural that the Po basin has not been a characteristic entity, but that Venetia, Lombardy, Piedmont, and Emilia have had each its own life, have developed each its own cities at points of intercourse between different aspects of the work of each province. On the north side of the Po the terminal moraines of glaciers of the last Ice Age have offered sites for cities not far beyond the opening out of Alpine valleys on the great plain. In Piedmont, the unions of valleys

and the places of their opening out on to the plain have attracted settlement, while in Emilia, the long fall-line, across which the Apennines grade down into the plain, has a series of towns from Piacenza along to Rimini. Piacenza is exceptional in being actually on the Po; Parma is on a smallish tributary; Modena and Bologna are near, but clear of, their rivers.

Tuscany is, perhaps, in all Italy, the region of increment *par excellence*. It is well marked on the whole as the basin of the Arno, with more or less of the dissected plateau on its southern side. Its wine, its silk, its marble and its minerals, all tell a tale of wealth of civilisation, and Florence, Siena and Pisa stand among the great centres of human expression, while others of its cities would also be of outstanding significance elsewhere.

The Tiber basin shows us two rather well-marked divisions: the valley and coastal regions. The former is Umbria, focussing at Perugia. It lies at the foot of the Apennines, and is barred from the sea and from Tuscany by the Tuscan plateau and Mount Amiato; the latter is, broadly, Latium dominated by

the great mistress, Rome. Here a great organised effort overcame local difficulties and built up the life of the mightiest of city states, spreading dominion along its roads, and organising cities on the plan of the great mother, until they became in several instances daughter-Romes. While the Greek valley between its outfanning mountain lines encouraged the ideal of the individualised city state, the Italian cities along the foot-hills were from early times more strongly urged to group themselves. Rome differed from both older types, partly because, on those lava hills out on the plain, the note of effort, discipline, fidelity to contract was essential to life. Its situation enjoined road building and bridge building, and its success in this, with the necessary accompaniment of a strong law, helped Rome to be a mistress centre for the city states behind her and for others far and wide. She thus passed on a civic heritage which has been one of the essentials of life ever since in the regions that came under her rule. But her later organisation has spread a largely contrary inheritance most marked in the regions of Rome's old frontiers, in the

Holy Roman Empire and in modern central Europe.

The development of civilisation came later in Italy than in Greece; the latter was part and parcel of the great melting-pot of the Ægean Mediterranean with its island-studded seas encouraging maritime exchange, the great civiliser and unifier in antiquity. In Italy the little city states of the foot-hills were the natural centres of little regions of increment, and Rome grew in due course out of and above them all, but the steady and continuous relation to the sea came later on. The configuration of the coast did not enforce maritime activity as in Greece. Italy entered fully and finally into the main stream of intercourse in the Mediterranean only comparatively late, but, when she did so, the majesty of her central position asserted itself in a way the whole world has had cause to remember. That centrality is carrying added weight in Italian plans and efforts in the revival of our own day, and it is of great importance to bear it in mind and to realise Italy both in its relation to the continental mass beyond the mountains and to the varied

coasts of the Midland Sea, linked as they are with the wealth of the Indies, the immense grasslands of Asia and the mysterious possibilities of Africa.

The rocks of the axis of the Apennine folds occupy much of the south, but there are also the Calabrian blocks of hard and ancient rock. Historic legacies have further contributed to retard humanity in all this region. The south-east, however, has classic links with Greece, and still older ones with the early *Ægean* civilisations. These need to be taken into account for any assessment even for modern purposes; the narrowness of the Adriatic opposite the south-eastern peninsula is a factor of permanent interest.

THE SEAS AND ISLANDS

If Italy's relations with the sea are less old and less fundamental than those of Greece, thanks to the comparative evenness of the coast and the lesser number of islands, they are nevertheless of no small consequence. They concern not the Straits of Otranto alone, but the comparatively narrow

Adriatic, and also the seas between Italy and the great islands on its west. Intercourse along these coasts spread from the eastern Mediterranean at an early date as legendary histories, rarely without an important foundation in fact, abundantly testify. If they were at first rather outposts of the east in the west, the relation inevitably changed as Italy's centrality and the vigour of its organisation developed. With the setback of Balkan and Ægean life in recent centuries due to the Turk, the predominance of the Italian aspect of this coastal life outweighs others perhaps more completely than ever, and we have the consequent problems around the eastern Adriatic coast, of the divergent traditions, associations and interests of Italy on the one hand, and the Balkans on the other, each able to make a good case, in a way, for association of parts of that coast with itself.

Of the great islands, Sicily with its fertile soil and fine climate stands at the great cross-roads of the Midland Sea. It has been touched by every people, by every civilisation which has attempted to organise Mediterranean life, and it is trite, but useful, to note

that in the classical period it was the Greeceward coast, while in newer times it is the Romeward coast, that dominates the island.

Sardinia is a difficult block of ancient rock on what, perhaps since the development of definite coasting trade past the pillars of Hercules, has become to some extent a by-path. This by-path nature is even more marked in the case of wild Corsica, a refuge of old-fashioned things, and it is natural that Corsica has come under the influence of the Rhone valley, the biggest "human unit" on the curved coastline of the north-western Mediterranean.

The Italian-Ligurian coast, in spite of the greatness of Genoa, is necessarily limited by the nearness of the Apennines at its back, though they help to give it its magnificent climate, and passes through them have given Genoa its relations with the Po basin and even with lands beyond the Alps. That these relations are gaining far more than their old importance in these days of immense railway tunnels hardly needs to be stated.

The pass behind Genoa is at a point of sharp creasing of the Apennine-Alp folds. Such

points often give rise to passes or passages, e. g. the pass between Ratisbon and Nürnberg, the Iron Gates of the Danube, and the Straits of Gibraltar.

SKETCHES FROM ITALY'S EVOLUTION IN THE PAST

Of ancient Italy we dare not begin to speak, whether of the civic tradition in which its life was grounded or of the imperialism that spread in the wake of the famous road system, and so bewitched Europe that it can hardly shake itself free even now. We note, however, that even the catastrophes following the end of the *Pax Romana* did not destroy the memory of Roman law and unity, but they even spared something of the life of the many old cities that had been centres of civilisation. The civic tradition in Italy survived the Dark Ages. On the other hand, the development of imperialism had made Rome a world centre with a correspondingly cosmopolitan plutocracy, using the land largely for its amenities. The decay of Rome led to the neglect of the pleasure domains, and they

retrograded, not to their previous condition of agricultural land, but often to that of pestiferous swamp from which nothing but hard effort, as of old, can hope to recall them.

The revival after the Dark Ages of barbarian movement found many things still surviving locally here and there from the great *pax Romana*, but there was the *damnosa hereditas* of universal empire, and the barbarian warlords were so dazzled by it as to make Italy the scene of their conflicting ambitions. In fact, both aspects of the old life, the civic and the imperial, tended to prevent Italy from rising to a consciousness of herself as a human unit in anything like the same way as Castile, the Paris basin or the English plain managed to rise as the Middle Ages passed.

For Italy the Middle Ages were thus a period of civic magnificence sombered by political rivalry largely for power at Rome. The Empire was little more than a memory, but it (*i. e.* the eastern Empire centred at Constantinople) still retained, at the close of the eleventh century, the coast near Venice, a coastal strip and ports of call down the Dalmatian coast, and a small block round

about Naples. It had lost its hold on the Romagna, and Ravenna was declining, and it had lost, too, the country around Rome, while Sardinia and Sicily and southern Italy generally (the future "Two Sicilies"), also once accredited to the eastern Empire, had passed into other hands after a period of Moorish or Saracen influence.

Italy has always responded quickly to any favourable turn of circumstance, and as life and cultivation became steadier and Mediterranean trade grew, the Italian cities made a great stride forward. Pisa, near the outlet from the rich Arno district, and Amalfi, linked to both the Bay of Naples and that of Salerno, seem to have led in trade at an early stage; their favouring surroundings would assist this.

But, with the further organisation of trade, some soon across the mountains to the north, there arose the primacy of Venice with its command of tradeways up the Brenner and other passes, while Genoa had its important ways across Lombardy and through Alps and Apennines. To the south, with the establishment of a territorial unity of peninsular Italy under influence of the sea, Naples on

its great bay, with rich land around it, outstripped Amalfi. Trading ports, regional centres with varying activities and relations, Rome with its renovated universalism, all combined to give Italy its mediæval splendour.

The passes through the great arc of the western Alps radiated *out* on the French but *in* on the Italian side, and the centre of human expression for this region of Savoy became Turin, situated where valleys join ere they open on the great plain. But, if Savoy had an Italian centre with a Roman foundation, it was politically a dominion of the passes, losing its first character only in modern times with the spread of great unities round about the mighty centres of the plains. As a power guarding the passes, Savoy retained or developed a good deal of Rome's military tradition in addition to the civic one. Turin, at a considerable height, has been committed to interest in the textiles of temperate climes, but it had the wines of Asti on the sunward slopes of Montferrat near at hand.

The next section of the Alpine arc, with the famed Italian lakes, centres on Milan, but gave possibilities of growth to a whole series of

towns on the terminal moraines along the northern side of the Lombard plain. Trans-alpine influences made Milan a military centre and retarded its civic development, while its oft-pictured cathedral exhibits a curious combination of northern or Gothic with southern or broadly classical features. It is with the rise of the new industry, based upon water power electrically transmitted, that Milan has taken such strides.

Venice was the entry for trade to central Europe from the eastern Mediterranean, and declined, as is well known, when the Turk spread across that route and men's compensating interests in the Atlantic grew. Bologna stands in interesting contrast to the cities already named. It is the greatest of the cities of the Emilian fall-line. Placed where roads from the ends of the earth meet to pass Romewards through the Apennine, it became a gathering of the nations, a place where men from all parts met and bowed to the greatness of southern learning. Its most vital feature is its great university, the mother of western universities, with the students organised of old in nations to govern

their university and to procure teachers. Its most famous faculty was that of the Roman law, a subject which loomed large in the minds of men streaming to the mother city along the Roman roads.

Florence, becoming the centre on the south side of the great Apennine pass, was characteristically different even from early days. Tuscany is the typical Italian region of increment. It received of old the goods of the East through Pisa, while those travellers who came through Apennine might diverge at Florence in three directions at least. It was as a focus for this little, but powerful, region of increment that Florence came to the front, and its characteristic activities have been literary and artistic to a degree almost unparalleled in history. It received ideas from many lands, for it communicated with the sea, with the hills, and also with the north through the Apennine passes. It had leisure and resource among its merchant princes and an attractive life into which to bring the artist's skill. Siena, on its rock, was from the first and still is, in a much intenser fashion than Florence, the individualised city state, with its own

life and its own type of artistic expression developed in its own way. Assisi in the shepherd country of the hills is another type of intense human interest, but we must leave it and Perugia aside.

Of Rome it is useless to speak, without saying much more than could find place here. Naples, Amalfi, Pisa and Genoa have found passing mention, but there remains Salerno, famous as a centre whence medical lore, which had survived and developed among the Arabs, spread with the mediæval revival to the universities of Europe.

In north Italy, then, the old civic life developed again in the Middle Ages, giving a marked contrast with the southern, more sea-controlled region which soon possessed a territorial organisation. In that mediæval civic life we can see the feudal nobles with their powers and their castles, the peasantry watching the opportunities for increment in rich lands round so many of the cities, the merchants with their mingling of ideas and customs, their *savoir-faire* and power of organisation, and the Church, with its memories of the old unity. In the city, the

early need for protection gave a pull to the first group, and then the knowledge of the third group opened the way to power. The achievement of unification of the several groups in each locality was prevented largely by the outside associations of each group, and the city organisation accordingly lacked stability and fell as the state based upon territorial foundations came into being.

Were there space for a discussion of the valley section (and its life from mountains to sea), which is described in other books of this series (e. g. *The Coming Polity*), it would be possible to illustrate the chief points of that section from a consideration of the Italian cities and their *pagi*, and especially from those of central Italy, where Assisi, Siena, Florence and Pisa make such a unique series.

The decay of Venice as the Turkish power grew, followed by the great schism in religion in the sixteenth century, brought Italy's mediæval greatness to an end. She found herself a prey to ambitions of external powers, as of old, but these powers built ever more on a territorial basis with centralised administration, while Italy's tradition kept her a

medley of small units, albeit of immense human value.

SKETCHES FROM THE RISORGIMENTO

The story of the resurgence of Italy in our own day from its three centuries of weakness is too well known to need treatment afresh, but it is meet to discuss some geographical factors which have played a part in the new evolution.

In the first place, the growth of roads and railways made exchange develop into such complex forms in the nineteenth century that the continued complete separateness of a large number of small units with decadent mediæval organisation was becoming an impossibility from every point of view. The old life set all sorts of hindrances to the policy of development or exploitation of resources which the spirit of the times has urged on. The re-establishment of the old links of trade with the German side of the Alps began to be foreshadowed, though it was long ere this could take effect. The re-establishment of the Suez route from the East as a successful

line of trade stirred old memories in Venice and Naples and Genoa, and also suggested possibilities for the future to the German-speaking peoples. To them, the old trade from Venice via the Brenner, Innsbruck, Ratisbon and Nürnberg meant a great deal, for was not Nürnberg almost their Florence? The north of Italy thus, for more than half a century, has seethed with possibilities, not only of wealth, but of renewed human association rich in historic memories; and it has had an incentive of the first order to think of the Mediterranean links of its life. Those Mediterranean links have turned Italian attention across the Adriatic and south-eastward, with ambitions, perhaps justifiable, perhaps dangerous, but at least easily understandable, in a period that has been obsessed by aggressive expansionism. Whatever the future may bring, it is reasonably certain that Italian thought must gain increased influence around the coasts of the Midland Seas, and that the place of Italy in new developments of eastern trade can be no small one, even should the Rhine-Danube-Bosporus-Basra route become a practical reality.

It has already been said that the south of Italy hangs back for historic as well as for physical reasons, though Naples, thanks to many privileges as a port of transshipment, as well as to the unique productivity of the land at its back, is even larger than Milan, its one rival in point of population in Italy. One of the direst difficulties, especially in south and middle Italy, has been the widespread occurrence of malaria, partly on natural swamps of the plains beneath the mountain line, partly on lands which had retrograded from cultivation. This difficulty is miserably complex, for it means not only that the land is poor and unproductive, but also that the disease has almost certainly weeded out and destroyed valuable racial elements among the population and has permitted the survival of others only on a plane of reduced vitality.

The unification of territorial control was characteristically accomplished by martial valour aided by the diplomacy that had been nurtured for centuries astride the western Alpine passes between Burgundy and Piedmont, and so between Paris and Rome. The

prophetic inspiration of Mazzini, reared in the old civic tradition of Genoa on the historic idealism of his country's literature, helped too to inspire her afresh, and, with her, it inspired all mankind.

The military prowess and diplomatic skill of Piedmont have meant strong government, with some emphasis of the central authority, understandable when one thinks of the anarchy of antiquated remains of local governments. Such an authority has had some further justification in that, without it, efforts for combating malaria and for spreading cultivation would have been probably of but small avail. The age-long tradition of the city state, however, in spite of the contrary heritage from later imperial Rome, is a very potent factor, helping to guarantee that the central power shall not end by repressing individuality as it has too tragically done elsewhere. In this connection the fact that a large part of the tradition of ancient Rome centres round the Church has its compensations, even though the sharp division between spiritual and secular powers may be fraught with difficulties and dangers.

The renovation of Italy by the draining of swamps and making of roads and railways, by introduction of order and unification into a welter of fragments, has meant a determined effort by the central government and also the reversal of Italy's mediæval rôle financially. In those days she was a creditor country, her Lombards helped to finance the development of England as a wool producer, and her merchants of Venice have left their name not only in Shakespeare. Those accumulations had dispersed ere the modern activity began, and the country was in a state of relative poverty, having allowed other lands to outdistance her in utilisation of resources and in exchange. Italy, therefore, became a debtor country, all the more seriously so because she was almost forced, even had she had little heritage of ambition from ancient Rome, to arm like the other States of Europe and even to take her place with them in the race for territory. Her situation was for years a serious one, though when she needed money and guidance for the new effort, Britain happened to have it in abundance and France had not a little too.

Still, it needed not only cultivation, but industrial development to give Italy a position of some self-dependence. She could not be a wine producer on the French scale; her silk needed power for manufacture; her hard corn, good as macaroni, was inferior for bread making to that from moister and more temperate lands in slightly more northerly latitudes. In north Italy the poor grain-yield of the extensive wheat crop is largely intentional, the plant being grown long to meet special demands from Livornia and Florence for straw. But her coal and her metal were deficient, and, of course, the sea-carrying trade which her centrality might give her in spite of poverty in coal, was already in other hands.

Fortunately for Italy, at the critical time there spread to her from the other side of the Alps the knowledge of methods of electrical transmission of water power, at first for short distances, but soon over many miles when necessary. With the emergence of this activity in north Italy, it was but natural that Swiss and Germans should tend to replace the English experts and consultants

who had played a part in the previous generation. The new development linked north Italy financially with Switzerland and Germany, which were just beginning to have a surplus of skill, energy and resources, thanks so largely to the electrical development of their industries.

An immense advantage connected with the newer development of electrical transmission of water power for industry is the possibility of conducting it a considerable distance without appreciable loss. The new industry can thus be planted at a convenient railway centre, and, therefore, very generally in some old focal city. Coal power, on the other hand, has to be utilised as near as possible to pit-head unless, as in South Wales, gravitation gives opportunities of cheap transport to such convenient places as ports of entry of minerals. As carboniferous areas in Britain were rarely fertile enough to possess towns of any size in old agricultural days, British industry has spread in what are largely new towns, *i. e.* those without the benefit of a long civic experience and dignity. Italy, like south Germany, has developed its industry

later, and, thanks to electrical power, has developed it often in the great cities on sites selected for transport convenience as well as for civic well-being. Moreover, with electrical power or oil power, there is less of the degrading work of stoking to be done, and that assists the general tone of the industrial society.

Milan, a great Roman road centre, and now a prime railway centre, is marked out by all the above factors as the rising centre of the new industry, alike in silk and in machinery. Here the workers will have a tradition, not only of civic dignity, but also of design and craftsmanship that promises more than well for the future.

The paucity of minerals in Italy is some disadvantage, but, in agricultural, railway and electrical machinery, labour counts for a good deal, and the making of these types of machinery provides a basis for a general machine industry. This, added to silk and other textile activities, has led to the recent accession of immense wealth in north Italy. The people, again, are engineers from of old, road and bridge builders, welcomed for such

work in many parts of the world, and their faculties are being developed in new directions. Further, the fertility of the soil and suitability of the climate has encouraged intensive use of land for feeding the great population growing up, and the cultivation of rice in the wet areas has developed notably. The population has thus increased so fast that there has been characteristic emigration to lands like Argentina, where cultivation and closer settlement have been developing in recent years. The remarkable new activities sketched out here have done much for Italy. She has been able to strengthen her credit as those who follow the stock markets can testify, though of course she was hardly self-dependent enough in 1914 to face her part in the great war without grave anxiety. The details of her industrial development also had made her dependence on German capital, via Milan, a serious, even if doubtless a temporary, factor of her situation. Still, whatever the war may bring, there are the permanent assets of the patches of rich soil, the fine climate and the immense water power safe for the future. It will be one of Italy's tasks

to see that the accumulation of private wealth does not involve that decadent transformation of her food-producing and wood-producing lands into pleasure domains, which has brought such difficulties elsewhere.

Rapid growth in the north has no doubt led to certain complexities in the relations of the Po basin with peninsular Italy, but the dangers are not so great as might be supposed at first sight, for the very growth of human activities in north Italy makes more and more for the development of Italy's Mediterranean interests. She can buy imports; she needs outlets, so peninsular Italy, with its mighty possibilities in relation to Mediterranean trade and organisation, is of obvious importance to north Italy for the future. We may, therefore, expect to see peninsular Italy developing, more gradually than the north, on lines of increased cultivation, as its difficulties become better controlled. Italian prosperity naturally, indeed inevitably, means development of the country's Mediterranean interests and emergence of the problem of homes for her surplus population, where they may not be isolated from her rich tradition.

All this involves possibilities of aggressive policies, dangerous here, as amongst ourselves, especially when backed by what is called a strong government. In the case of Italy, these tendencies are encouraged by historic relationships with the eastern Adriatic coasts, by old links of Venetian trade with the glamorous East, by new links which actually bring Russian grain to be made into macaroni, and may bring oil for fuel to be stored at Italy's ports of call for steamship lines she cannot but wish to develop.

Trieste has been discussed of late years in every light, but the facts remain that, on the one hand, it is an Italian coastal city separated from Slavonic and German lands behind by the barren Carso; and, on the other, it is the natural outlet from those lands, however new routes via Rhine, Danube and Constantinople might be developed. Pola would give Italy a position which would free her from anxiety at the head of the Adriatic if she could also have a few of the islands between Istria and Dalmatia. Her position at Valona facing Brindisi is a further guarantee.

Italy's part in the life of the Mediter-

ranean cannot but increase if her industrial prosperity grows as all hope it will, but here, as in so many other parts of the world, the great hope must be for new arrangements of State, in which political boundaries will mean less than they at present do for the citizen's life and hopes. Italy, with her tradition and her position, might well lead in a new ordering of regions without exclusive possession by any one state. If this is what the future holds, Italy is almost certain to enter another era of spiritual leadership and human service, especially if she can apply the surplus momentum of her northern section for the re-development of the south. Milan and Naples have at the present time far outstripped Rome, Florence, Bologna, Venice and Genoa in size, and Milan at least must continue to grow. But when the south has developed towards the new level of the north, the prospects of Florence and Bologna must increase, while, some day, when international relations have improved, Venice and Genoa must grow too. Italy, as of old, will respond rapidly and finely to human work upon it, and the power of idealism is strong in her life, as it was in

the Middle Ages. She is called again to be a light of civilisation, and to this great end all must hope that her thinkers may guide her away from the allurements of expansionism. She might well inaugurate the new and better era of co-operation.



CHAPTER VI

FROM THE ALPS TO THE NORTHERN SEAS

FROM the Alps to the northern seas there follows zone after zone of grading physical character, often of marked human contrasts. The greater part of these zones uses Germanic languages and has developed differential habits which mark it off more or less from other peoples, but west of the Rhine and among the Alps themselves are the borderlands of this region. They are not lightly to be included without qualification among Germanic lands. The existence of small buffer States indicates man's recognition of the corridor position of Germany and of the difficulty of drawing boundaries.

Starting with the Alps, there is, first, the zone of the great Alps, with the line of the upper Rhone and Vorder Rhein marking the southern part off from the more advanced

rank of mountains, consisting of the Bernese Oberland and corresponding mountains elsewhere. It is a zone of glaciers and peaks and deep ravines, with intense human interest for those who can see the greatness of small things, and vast importance because the Alps are so cut by passes as to give ways from north to south. These have had their changing importance epoch after epoch, and they again played a great part in European life in the generation before 1914. The lines or ranks of mountains finger out towards the middle Danube basin, the southernmost or hinder ranks turning south-eastward into the Illyrian Alps, the others gradually diminishing. The northern ranks dip down as they approach the resistance of the block of ancient rocks that has become Bohemia, and beyond it go on again as the Tatra and the Carpathians. Thus there is beyond the southern end of the Bohemian block the decline of the Alps into the Wienerwald and the step at Vienna from the upper Danube to the middle Danube. At the eastern corner of the Bohemian block, before the great folds have risen again into the Tatra, is yet

another low line, the Moravian gate of historic notoriety.

The next zone is that of the structural trough between the great Alps and their foreland, which is the Jura. The lake of Constance divides this trough into a Swiss and a Bavarian region, the latter a great part of the much-forested basin of the upper Danube. It is a zone of many lakes in structural hollows, and, behind barriers of boulder clay, a zone of valley systems of some breadth with strong, rapid rivers. It has a fairly well-developed and varied peasant life with old industry based on water power now enhanced electrically, and it contains most of the cities associated with the northern ends of the passes mentioned as so important in the previous zone. Settlement on the south side of the Danube is limited by the torrential character of the Alpine rivers and the impervious boulder clay over and about which their floods spread.

Next follows the zone of the Alpine foreland, the Swiss and Swabian Jura, with sharp-sloped limestone scarps forming, especially on the Swiss section, the effective barriers to

communication so well described in Belloc's *Path to Rome*. When this foreland was being built up it met the resistance of the block of old mountains, now the Vosges and Black Forest, and opposite the corner of the Black Forest it died down for a short while, giving the Rhine gap between the Swiss and Swabian Juras. But its power was sufficient to break the block of old mountains and to form the rift valley along which the Rhine turns northward after it has passed the Jura gap. The Vosges on the western side of the rift have between them and the Jura the characteristic Belfort gap, a relatively broad structural low line of almost unequalled importance for historic communication; it links the Paris basin and the Rhone basin with the Rhine and, beyond the Rhine, with the upper Danube. The associations of this link-line with the "Niebelungenlied" show that its importance dates far back in history, probably even well into prehistory. Belfort, Bâle and Ulm are all historic names connected both with its mediæval and its modern life.

The Vosges and Black Forest are part of the zone of tangled hill and valley, old

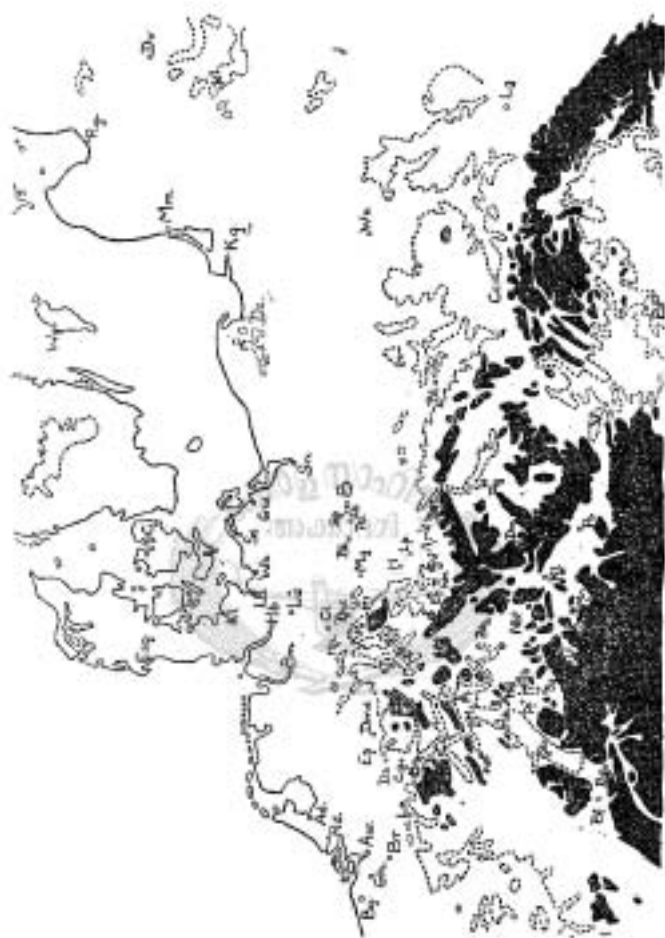


FIG. 11

FROM THE ALPS TO THE NORTHERN SEAS

The broken line encloses land above 200 metres.
Land above 500 metres blackened.

Scale approx. 1:13,700,000.

LIST OF TOWNS

| | | | |
|------|----------------------|-----|---------------|
| A. | = Augsburg. | Hb. | = Heilbron. |
| Ad. | = Amsterdam. | Hd. | = Heidelberg. |
| Aw. | = Antwerp. | Hn. | = Hanover. |
| B. | = Berlin. | J. | = Jena. |
| Bb. | = Bamberg. | Kg. | = Königsberg. |
| Bd. | = Brandenburg. | Kl. | = Kiel. |
| Bf. | = Belfort. | Lb. | = Lübeck. |
| Bg. | = Bruges. | Le. | = Liège. |
| Bl. | = Breslau. | Lg. | = Lemberg. |
| Bm. | = Bremen. | Lp. | = Leipsic. |
| Bn. | = Bonn. | La. | = Lüneburg. |
| B.P. | = Buda-Pesth. | Mg. | = Magdeburg. |
| Br. | = Brussels. | Mh. | = Mannheim. |
| Bs. | = Basle. | Mm. | = Memel. |
| Bw. | = Brunswick. | Mn. | = Munich. |
| C. | = Copenhagen. | Mz. | = Mainz. |
| Cc. | = Cracow. | Nb. | = Nürnberg. |
| Cg. | = Cologne. | Pd. | = Potsdam. |
| Ch. | = Charlottenburg. | Pf. | = Pforzheim. |
| Cl. | = Celle. | Pg. | = Prague. |
| Cz. | = Coblenz. | Ps. | = Passau. |
| Dd. | = Dresden. | Rd. | = Rotterdam. |
| Dm. | = Domazlice (Taus). | Rg. | = Riga. |
| Dmd. | = Dortmund. | Rt. | = Ratisbon. |
| Ds. | = Düsseldorf. | Sb. | = Strassburg. |
| Dv. | = Dvinsk. | Sg. | = Stuttgart. |
| Dz. | = Danzig. | Sn. | = Stettin. |
| Ef. | = Erfurt. | Sp. | = Spandau. |
| Es. | = Essen. | Ss. | = Stralsund. |
| Esg. | = Esbjerg. | U. | = Ulm. |
| Fl. | = Frankfort-on-Main. | V. | = Vienna. |
| G. | = Gotha. | Vl. | = Vilna. |
| Gh. | = Ghent. | Wm. | = Weimar. |
| Gt. | = Göttingen. | Wr. | = Warsaw. |
| Gw. | = Greifswald. | Ws. | = Wismar. |
| H. | = Halle. | Wy. | = Wisby. |
| Hb. | = Hamburg. | | |

mountain, ancient block and foot-hill, reaching out to the Ardennes on the north-west and to the mountains beyond the Bohemian block on the north-east. Here the topography and drainage are most complex, and it has been sadly possible to dispute about boundaries at all times, perhaps especially since modern great States have appeared in Europe. The essential life of this zone is none the less in small units corresponding generally and broadly to valleys or passes, but too closely linked for separatist management. The complication of the hills of the zone results from the presence of many worn-down remains of ancient "Variscan" mountains, rifted and twisted when the Alps and Jura arose. Filling the numerous cracks and rifts in these mountains are many mineral veins. This zone also has wealth in deposits of both coal and iron, especially on the northern flank where the broken highlands grade down into the European plain, as at Düsseldorf, Dortmund, the lower Harz and Silesia.

The zone of the European plain, curving in one great sweep round the northern flank of the hills from Calais, through Holland,

Hanover and Prussia to merge into the limitless plains of Russia, is yet sharply divided in other senses than the political one. West of the Elbe it abounds in moorland and swamp, in sand dunes near the shore protecting great stretches that are, in some cases, below the level of the sea. In parts this region west of the Elbe has, in the long run, yielded wonderful results to determined human effort encouraged by special facts of position and of history, but, generally speaking, it is poor. East of the Elbe is still much swamp, and, near the coast, much sand-dune country, but the land is higher. The relation with the Carpathian hill and mountain system to the south is also clearer and has greatly influenced the course of history. The Elbe is not only the most truly German river; it is a critical line between the largely Nordic people of the west and the mainly broad-headed men of the east. The openness of the plain to the east, especially since cultivation reduced the forest, has accentuated the corridor position of Germany and has correspondingly assisted the growth of its military effort, based upon fear of that limitless east. It was this historic

fear which was exploited so disastrously for the world by politicians in 1914.

Finally, we have the zone of the coast itself with its relations to England and the English Channel at the western end, to Scotland and so to the great ocean farther north, and on the east to the Baltic with its conditions varying from time to time.

Many of the zones are crossed by great drainage lines among which stand out those of Rhine, of Elbe, of Oder and of Vistula as of supreme human consequence for the Germanic lands. At times they have been barriers to east or to west; usually they have been great lines of commerce north and south; more than once have they prompted the making of east and west links.

In almost the whole of the lands included in this broad survey, the temperate forest was supreme in prehistoric time, save on the mountains and among the wetter swamps; and this forest, with the grassland eastwards, was the zone in which, it would seem, the fair, tall, bony northerners acquired many of their characteristics and traditions. As the Bronze Age advanced, and traders and others with

sharpened weapons opened forest ways, the northerners found their great opportunity of war and adventure as a development along natural lines from the old hunting life. Then came the Romans to rule, to enforce a kind of peace, but not to penetrate far beyond the Rhine into the region of January cold. Indeed, their country beyond Rhine and Danube is more or less that south-western land warm enough for wheat and, in places, for wine. So arose the distinction, of such tremendous consequence for all succeeding time, between the lands west of the Rhine impregnated in varying degrees with a Roman heritage of civilisation, and the lands beyond the Rhine to which the Roman name was something great but still external. Rome in the life of the Germanic lands east of the Rhine is at best a frontier power with its militant imperialism dominant; in the life of the lands west of the Rhine it is with all its faults a fount of civilisation. Small wonder, then, that we find the Mediæval Church in its fullest expression in France, while the "Holy Roman Empire" spread around and beyond the Rhine.

But we anticipate, and must now return to our summary of points from a previous chapter. The barbarians poured into Europe from the grasslands on the brink of Asia and weakened the Roman power, and they no doubt found useful the ways previously opened through the forest both along the Prussian plain and through Rumania and Hungary past Vienna. Then, with the passing of this phase, there followed a downhill spread of the Alpine folk, the inevitable export of men from mountain regions. This steady cumulative movement has ultimately pushed back the fair-haired northerners save in special places where hunting or maritime adventure remains a master-feature of life, or where war has continued to be specially important. Nords occur on the coast of parts of the Low Countries, in the wild wet country between Elbe and Weser and along the Baltic shores, but also in considerable numbers down from the Weser to, perhaps, the Neckar, along valley ways opened through the forest. Along the valley lines southward the fair-haired warriors spread, and their type is still found in these valleys, often occupying

the best lands, which they cultivated with the help or by the labour of central European broad-heads. Nearer the Bohemian block, however, with its hill frame and its broad-headed population, the tendency has been to restrict the fair-haired northerners to the more forested areas, and Thuringia, with its wooded hills, is a great centre of that stock. Lorraine has a tall, fair, broad-headed people, a blend of Nordic and Alpine, deeply impregnated by Roman influences behind the great city of Trèves, and correspondingly attached to the French civilisation.

It is characteristic that the region discussed in this chapter seems to have very few people who can be assigned by physical character to the Mediterranean race. These lands possess the other racial elements of Europe in considerable variety of intermixture, though the Nordic element as a pure type has probably been in retrogression for a good many centuries. That Nordic element has, however, exercised various influences in different parts on the Alpine or central European stock, forming a number of blends or intermediate types.

The oft-presented picture of German simplicity in the Teutonic forest, that helped Prussian political historians to cast a spell over English politicians and historians, is so well known as not to need restatement here. It tells of clearings in the forest, and we may proceed best by thinking of these clearings especially in the zone of the tangled valleys. Here men tended to gain an enrichment of life as the period of movement of peoples passed away, though there was the danger from the basin of Hungary, as the "Nibelungenlied" indicates, as well as from beyond the Oder. There can be little doubt that the local folk-lore, that collected by the Grimms for instance, is related to the clearing of the forest, the clash of grasslanders and hill men and forest hunters, the finding of nests of wild aboriginal folk in the forest depths. The contrasts of civilisation here involved would give scope to the wild and daring Nordic imagination, with its zest for the gruesome and the horrible and its disdain for that fidelity to matter-of-fact which characterises so much British folk-tale, albeit the wonder element is far from lacking there. The broken highlands

with their forests forced grassland intruders to divide their flocks and herds and made them give up almost all save the pig, for which the forest provided a feeding-ground. The pig's habits prevented the swineherd from wandering far, as also did the physical geography of the country. Thus the grassland folk, when pressed westward beyond what is now Vienna, lost their distinctive life. The tangled valleys evolved little communities, little principalities gathered around a fortress of a clan chieftain, in some cases the nucleus of a castle-city.

Two chief sources of wealth came to help these little principalities. The summer sun could ripen good crops, and even the vine was, and is, grown here and there on sunny slopes up to and in places beyond the northern limits of this zone. Then the mineral deposits and veins in the hills began to be worked, thanks to fuel from extensive forests. Thus these valleys grew in wealth, but had difficulties of their disunion, of their varying evolution of custom into law in different valleys, and of their having been to a large extent outside the effective limit of Romanised

life marked best by Rhine and Danube. The Roman cities of those rivers kept their Roman links strongly enough to be under the power of their bishops and archbishops through the Middle Ages. They were bishops' cities as contrasted with the castle cities. With their influence Romanesque architecture spread in Germany, and some notable successes were achieved in this work, but ere the truly French architecture, miscalled Gothic, had evolved, there had been added to the barrier of the Rhine, as between Roman and non-Roman, the further barrier between developed Romance and developed Teutonic speech, as well as other differences affecting civilisation. Thus, though the French architecture of the Middle Ages spread through Flanders and through Lorraine towards the Rhine, it never became quite acclimatised beyond it. Even Cologne is great mainly as an imitation of French work, and though there are beauties, for instance at Ulm and especially at Bamberg, the German Gothic is often ill-proportioned and grotesque. Influences from France have indeed penetrated at different periods to the Rhine, and it is claimed, for example,

that French organising power here has been responsible for unifying dues and rules of navigation along that river to its great commercial advantage. Mannheim at the head of navigation is almost a Huguenot city.

Before we leave the subject of the old Rhine cities and the tangled valleys, it behoves us to notice what happened as the complexities of innumerable local laws, or in many cases personal laws, became insupportable. Courts of appeal to determine doubtful questions of common law were established at Frankfort for the Rhine provinces, Lübeck for Hanseatic towns and Magdeburg for Saxony, Thuringia and the German settlements of the east. Then, in 1495, there was a formal reception of Roman, by that time become Italian-Roman-Dutch, law. This was due to the organisation of a central imperial court.

Ere we discuss trade, let us sum up that south Germany learned to revere and ultimately to accept the Roman law, and made the idea of the Holy Roman Empire an essential part of its statecraft, but failed to assimilate to anything like the full extent the revived Roman civilisation of mediæval France.

Such is the contrast between the frontier zone, the Rhine and south Germany on the one hand, and the civil zone, France, behind the frontier. With the growth in wealth and population in the valleys beyond the Rhine trade increased, and this region was able to export its ironwork and other metal products in payment for the imports it needed. These imports were in the first place clothing, including woollens for the generality and furs for the great; of neither commodity would the country have a sufficiency once the valleys had become well settled, and the forests reduced. Then winter food was scarce and salt pork became supplemented by salt fish. Moreover, to make this salt food more palatable, spices were much desired, and the age-old Oriental trade, that between Mediterranean and Monsoon Lands, became actively extended in south Germany. The metal work wrought in south Germany was of a high order of skill as the halls of armour in the numerous museums help to testify, so no doubt the country's export was one in which a high percentage of payment was for skill. At any rate, there seems little doubt of German primacy in the

iron and steel industry of Europe in the Middle Ages.

With the use of coal and steam machinery in the eighteenth century the woollen trade of England increased, and other trades followed suit, and made it necessary for England to look about the world for new and undeveloped countries to produce raw materials for her. In a partially analogous fashion, early mediæval south Germany looked to the then almost undeveloped Britain to supply raw wool. But in those days bulky goods were difficult to carry, and the raw wool, which could be brought conveniently across from Britain to Flanders by ship, was there reduced to more practicable bulk by spinning and weaving before being sent out to the cities of south Germany and elsewhere by pack-horse. The coastal fishers of Baltic and North Sea evolved into purveyors of salt and salt fish, and then, spreading their energies far and wide, into fur merchants for south Germany. Pettersson thinks there is evidence that in the Middle Ages there was an unusually vigorous circulation of the atmosphere, with consequent severe seasons

and strong ocean currents and marked salt-ness in the Baltic. At any rate, it was then rich in herrings and now has none. The fish trade laid the foundation of the Hanseatic League; the fur trade gave it wealth. It spread its activities from London to Nijni Novgorod, buying wool through the first and selling continental goods and buying furs from the wandering hunters of the far Siberian forests at the second. It had bases at ports along the Baltic and North Sea and an early metropolis at Wisby in Gotland. An island often flourishes early (*e. g.* Crete), partly, no doubt, through protection from casual invasion. Such invasions were a great danger of old to all parts of a continental land mass. Later, Lübeck took the lead, because, though on the Baltic, it was best placed to link Baltic and North Sea ports.

Goods arriving thus at Bruges and Ghent or at Bremen, Celle, Lüneburg, Hamburg, Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Greifswald, Stettin and Danzig would be carried across the plain. This was as yet little more than a zone of transit, with a river frontier, first west of the Elbe (Altmark), then east

(Mark of Brandenburg). At the foot of the hills the goods must be distributed, and here, as along all fall-lines of importance, are market cities of historic interest. Cologne on the west bank of the Rhine, a Roman station, received a good deal of what came from Flanders. Magdeburg, where the hills projected far northwards, might distribute goods to south-west and south-east. Lyde thinks that its ecclesiastical connections hindered the growth of Magdeburg; its disasters in the Thirty Years' War certainly did not help it. From mere position, for it stands out to some extent into the plain, and with the presence of salt in the vicinity, it might with better fortune have become the dominant city of the north. Halle, and still more Leipsic, were finely situated for distributing goods from Lübeck or Hamburg up valley-ways either south-westward into the heart of the tangled valleys, or south-eastward towards Bohemia, where Dresden guards the narrow Elbe gate through the mountains. Breslau, again, could distribute up the Oder or its tributaries or through the Moravian gate towards Vienna. It was also the natural centre of Silesia,

with textile activities developing fairly early. Warsaw, after forest-clearing had progressed sufficiently, could play an analogous part further east, with Cracow, Lemberg, etc. as trade centres related to it, Polish cities in a Polish region, yet having a German Hanseatic trading element. Of all these, Leipsic was the best placed on the whole, and it gained advantages from personal and historic reasons. It became the fur mart of the west, the fur-distributing fair, as Nijni Novgorod, under the same régime, was the fur-collecting fair. With the gathering of all sorts of long-distance trade at Leipsic, its fair became much renowned; it concentrated in itself skill of many kinds. It developed a great university and a publishing business, and these reacted so as to increase its legal prestige. So difficult is it to move an old market that Leipsic Fair is still the great fur mart, as London is still the great wool market in spite of many changes. Homage was paid to the legal prestige of Leipsic even by the modern German Empire, which placed there the supreme court of appeal, the headship of its judicature.

It is worth while inquiring why, with all

this, Leipsic did not become the German capital. The answer is probably that, if the zone of the tangled valleys had been continued steadily eastward beyond Vienna and Buda-Pesth, Leipsic, so centrally situated, might well have become the Germanic capital, to the great gain both of the Germanic lands and of the world. But, to the south of Leipsic, the zone is rather abruptly cut off, and there occurs the inevitably alien mountain-ringed block of Bohemia. That block intervenes between north and south, and such an alien background prevents Leipsic, itself of Slav origin and name, from becoming fully the Germanic capital. The block of Bohemia has meant a historic scission between the north with Saxony, Brandenburg and, later, Prussia, and the south with Bavaria and Austria. Dresden, guarding the Elbe gap that leads into Bohemia, became the royal city, and has gathered to itself picture-galleries and treasures of the artistic life.

But, to return to the question of the other old commercial cities, it is important to think of the numerous cities up the Rhine and its feeders above Cologne, and to see the special

importance of Frankfort-on-Main in this series. It has not only the Rhine link, but others through hill passes with Göttingen, Cassel and Hanover, with Gotha, Erfurt, Weimar and Leipsic, while its position is an admirable one in relation to the great majority of the valleys of south Germany. It was thus from early times a trading city; it had a Roman and a Frankish tradition, which gave it a peculiar intellectual and financial status that has continued to cling to it. It had an appeal court of the *Hanse*, but naturally it had to go with south Germany in the reception of the Roman Law.

The trade from the Orient came across the Brenner from Venice, and began to be distributed from Innsbruck, with Ulm, Augsburg, Munich, Ratisbon (Regensburg) and Passau among others as the next series of stations and therefore trading towns. Munich was the most central city for the upper Danube basin and became the capital of Bavaria. It has developed a great chemical industry based on salt,¹ and makes electrical machinery as

¹ It should be noted in passing that salt has been an important factor in human distribution ever since the

well. Ratisbon, near the sharply fractured corner of the Swabian Jura against the Bohemian block, was well placed to forward goods northward from the Brenner through the Jura, and the ever-renowned Nürnberg was the distributing centre beyond the Jura for the tangled valleys. This trade must have brought spices and also fine southern and eastern craftsmanship, and there can be little doubt that it has been an influence helping the Nürnberg craftsmanship in metal towards great refinement and delicacy, and that, in turn, helped the general atmosphere to encourage interesting artistic expression along many lines. Nürnberg's part as a centre of the cultivation of fine arts and crafts has been one of the most notable things in German life, and the city stands out, with Frankfort, in contrast to the Roman cities of the Rhine-Danube, and, in spite of its old castle, to the more purely castle cities of southern Germany. It was, indeed, often related directly to the Halstatt period (ca. 900-500 B.C.). Vidal de la Blache's map in his *Tableau géographique de la France* should be consulted here. This increase of importance of salt is bound up with the evolution of what Myres has called the "Bread and Bacon" Civilization, and of Pottery Work.

Emperor rather than to a merely local potentate, though the Hohenzollerns held it for a while before they left it and took up frontier duty on the Elbe as Lords of Brandenburg. The domination of all this country was apt to pass from one territorial house to another in the Middle Ages, as might be expected when personal qualities counted for so much more than permanent organisation. The cities of Bavaria and Württemberg (note Heilbron, Pforzheim, Stuttgart) have much interest in finer metal work, some of it due to the factors mentioned for Nürnberg, some (*e. g.* Pforzheim) to the Huguenots. We should note here that delicate machinery is probably a province of activity in which natural talent of what is called the Alpine race finds special scope.

Bohemia, with its physical as well as linguistic individuality, naturally gained prominence at an early stage, but just as naturally gave way to Vienna when pressure from the east became intense as the Middle Ages advanced. Vienna was the gate of the grass-land, with Buda-Pesth as an outer gate, and, in the days of pressure from the east, Vienna

had to gather the territorial families behind it to associate themselves for the defence of western Europe behind the Slavonic advance guard. After the Middle Ages the danger from the east lessened; the eastern Mediterranean trade routes to the east were temporarily superseded; the Atlantic was becoming the centre of politics. So the great days of Vienna were over for the time, and the Germanic association around her was made still weaker because of the religious schism. With the further weakening of the Turk in our own day, the re-edification and European control of old land routes to the east has become a possibility, and with that may go an attempt to revive Germanic associations in such a way as to include Vienna. In such an association Vienna might sooner or later take the lead, though not so markedly as of old, for its position is one helping defence rather than expansion. The recent project, now perhaps being worked out, of making a great ship canal from Main to Danube, via Bamberg, Nürnberg and Steppberg, and improving the Danube down to Ratisbon, is of interest in this connection. Possibilities under this

scheme for Nürnberg and even Munich are not to be disregarded.

The condition of the northern plain in the Middle Ages has been mentioned incidentally. On one side or other of the Elbe was the Mark or Frontier between Deutschland on the west and Slavs, Letts and Prussians on the east. But in the end it is on the west, in the Teutonic country, that the land remained wild for hunting and fishing, whereas the east became largely organised for cultivation. The mediæval inspiration reached the northern plain rather late. The Teutonic knights who continued old crusading activities aimed at Christianising east Prussia, and at least gave the leaders in that country an intense devotion to the Teutonic tradition, which the broad-headed Prussian Junkerdom cherishes and expounds to this day in a spirit naturally very different from that of the Nordic stock which developed it.

The rulers of Brandenburg, skilled from of old in negotiation, laid hold of the Teutonic order and ultimately inherited its domains in Prussia; in other words, the frontier power took over the outpost from the pioneers. This

was all the easier as, towards the end of the Middle Ages, religious enthusiasm was in abeyance. The northern plain, moreover, had never felt that enthusiasm at its best; its Catholicism was but a veneer which Luther rubbed off, though he can hardly have thought that the result would be to make that plain sink quickly into the anarchy and savagery of the Thirty Years' War (1618-48). We are concerned, however, rather with the geographical factors that are important here. We have already mentioned Pettersson's theory that, as the Middle Ages passed away, the movements of wind and water became less violent; the very salt water no longer came into the Baltic, and its fisheries decayed. The decay of the Hanse was also increased by the transfer of interest to the Atlantic, and actively furthered by Elizabeth's efforts. Thus Britain, better placed for sea-trade, became the heir of the Hanseatic maritime power. Of the Baltic German Hanse towns, only Stettin, the southernmost, well placed for Berlin and Leipsic, remains a truly great port. On all grounds, then, the seventeenth century found the northern plain in a state of decay and

retrogression with a religious schism between it and the south, which had naturally remained Roman to a large extent, except in those few spots where the Nordic element was very strong. In law, again, there was a division, for the north had not followed the south in full in its reception of the Roman law, while its old Hanseatic law, which Frankfort-on-Main, at least, had learnt to understand, was in a state of decadence. In fact, the northern plain had become largely a ruin of fragments of the old life with conflicting complexities of law, custom and administration, in a multitude of towns and provinces. There were elements of civic tradition and association in the old life ready to take any opportunity of redevelopment. The opportunity came, and was directed towards aggressively ambitious ends by the Hohenzollerns. The family were at first princelings in south Germany, taking toll on a route from the uppermost Danube across the western part of the Swabian Jura to the Neckar. They took control of Nürnberg for a time, but went later to the more congenial task of guarding the Elbe frontier and keeping

the way open for the Hanse at Brandenburg. Their fortunes advanced steadily by negotiation till they inherited the powers of the Teutonic knights and found themselves the one authority in the chaotic north. They became Calvinists, and thence associated with Holland, and intermarriage in the seventeenth century twice brought Orange blood, with its genius, to strengthen the Hohenzollern talent. It also brought Dutch canal engineers and Protestant refugees from France to aid in the reorganisation of what was to become the Prussian plain. Meanwhile, with enlarged vision, the Hohenzollerns had also the shining example of Paris before them. Richelieu had completed a great system of centralised government whereby Paris was made the first city in the world in a sense plain even to those who, like the Brandenburgers, would hardly have appreciated the humane glory of the Paris of St. Louis. Here, then, was an opportunity for another scheme of centralised government, replacing the depressing anarchy of fragments and at the same time working on the Dutch principle of welcoming heretics as powerful stimuli, in place of the

Bourbon principle of persecution and exclusion. Had all these efforts but gathered about Leipsic, with its rich variety of humane traditions, what might the world and Germany not have been spared! Had they gathered around Magdeburg as they might well have done but for misfortune, it had still been comparatively well. They began to gather, however, round Brandenburg, the frontier post.

On the northern plain are long east and west lines of low hills formed by the terminal moraines of glaciers in the great Ice Age. Rivers from the mountains to the northern seas have found weak spots in these moraines, but they have had to adapt themselves very much to the intervening troughs. Thus there are ranks of east and west sections of the rivers of the plain. Several converge just east of the Elbe, where the plain, as a whole is narrow, and the remnants of low hills and sand between them are the Mark of Brandenburg. In the reorganisation of the plain under Frederick William, the Great Elector (1640-88), these troughs became lines of communication with canals and roads, and a new centre was

developed at a point of convergence a little east of Brandenburg. This was Berlin, with Potsdam as its Versailles, and Charlottenburg, Spandau, Rixdorf and Schöneburg to contribute their quotas as well. Its intricate waterways with accompanying roads gave it links in all directions, and it was better situated than Magdeburg for lowland ways to the east of Elbe-Oder. By means of better communication, the plain and the old market cities of the fall-line were placed once more in contact with the sea, this time via the Elbe and Hamburg, and a new unity began to appear. The Great Elector continued the effort logically by working for re-development of the old sea trade. He even had a venture in West Africa, but the need for land defence which diverted the attention of France from the sea was even more potent in the case of Prussia, and this part of the effort was not such a material success as was that part dealing with internal reorganisation.

At every stage there was the difficulty that it was largely a land of ancient poverty that was being developed. There was little ancient local increment to meet the cost of wars

and public works, and a state Reserve Fund became a bedrock fact in Prussia. This helped the grip of the central power working from Berlin, which also found scope for growth of its clear authority at the expense of the ruined fragments of local law and custom, which were causing such confusion among the towns of the plain. We have Frederick the Great to remind us of the influence of Paris and of the derivation of ambitions from Louis XIV.

The main fact is thus that Prussia arose by binding together with material, economic and military bonds the débris of a lost past into a new unit, thanks to the growth of communications. Prussia became an administrative unit covering the northern plain. It tended more and more to grip the fall-line from Cologne past Leipsic to Breslau, which, of course, it had helped to revive; and it ultimately took in the Hanse towns as well. Needless to say there has remained an antagonism between fall-line industrialists and agriculturists of the plain. The canals helped trade with foreign parts. Leipsic once more rose to importance as the inter-

mediary between the hill country and the reviving plain. Then came the utilisation of coal along this line and a startling development that surpassed the expectations of Berlin. It led to the growth of an immense industrial system following that of England, and profiting to a not inconsiderable extent by England's experience. It is interesting to note, in passing, the long persistence of the older humane and thoughtful Germany in the hill cities of Göttingen, Weimar and Jena, with consequent antagonisms between them and the bureaucracy of Berlin. Contrasts between England and Germany arose from the fact that in Germany coal was found along a zone which, as we have seen, had a strong civic tradition, whereas in England it was found in places heretofore of small account. Moreover, the Enclosure Acts had made English land largely private property, and the growth of English industrial towns was governed by the desire for private profit, immense private fortunes being accumulated quickly in certain families. In Germany, on the other hand, the tendency was towards increase of public wealth with digni-

fied cities growing on public land and from a traditional centre. This aspect of German life has received an appropriate tribute from Owen Wister in his fine essay "The Pentecost of Calamity," though the children's visits to the civic theatre, which he claims as an interesting educational experiment in Frankfort-on-Main, were a regular custom in Zürich years before. Indeed, it has not yet been sufficiently recognised how much that is rightly applauded and respected in Germany is what has been assimilated from experiments carried out in the relative freedom of the small nations around her borders. They have been fountains of refreshing, sources of genius to German science and German life, putting off time after time the evil consequences of the overgrowth of the central power with its military and diplomatic machine of such unparalleled magnitude.

Berlin, it will have been seen, may be an administrative, but can hardly be a spiritual, second Paris. Its power has grown steadily by many devices, sometimes of low morality. The advent of railways and the general improvement of communications in the nine-

teenth century has greatly added to its importance and has assisted further extensions of its power; its situation is a wonderful one for modern communications in all directions on the European plain. Its centrality has brought immense clothing and machine industries with metropolitan luxury trades such as silk, chocolate and furniture at Potsdam.

The Berlin-power has become even more concerned about defence against historic dangers as communications have improved, and this contributed an excuse for the interference with Alsace-Lorraine in 1870. The German aggression in Alsace-Lorraine was partly an insurance against the political dangers involved in the flowing of the richer French civilisation to the cities of the Rhine which were claimed body and soul for the new German Empire. Against those dangers the new power wanted to be secure, in order that it might amalgamate with the *nouveau-riche* German Empire as much as possible of the tradition of civilisation of Germanic history. The salts and the iron of Lorraine have, moreover, added much to the riches of modern Germany.

There has been a great deal of centralisa-

tion in Germany around Berlin, and every crisis brings out the power of the centralising tendency. Yet it would be wrong not to recognise how, with a large measure of centralisation as regards diplomacy, defence and tariffs, there has gone a considerable amount of decentralisation or at least of maintenance of local organisations, especially in southern Germany. This maintenance of local organisation is of course encouraged by the policy of conservation and development of resources which plays such a part in German thought. Of late these more humane tendencies of southern Germany have been more and more under the shadow of the military power at Berlin. Industrial, militarist Germany has been growing up under our eyes, anxious to create wealth, keen to learn from England's experience. It has covered not only the new German Empire as it was created at the triumph of Versailles in 1871, but has extended more and more in Bohemia and Austria as well. The industry so created was not the product of a multitude of individual initiatives working in despite of the State, as was so often the case in England ;

it was rather the plan of clever groups at the centre. It sought and found new sources of power; it investigated the interdependence of industries till it found key industries, and concentrated energy on inventions and the applying of other nations' inventions in relation to them. Its success was phenomenal, and many of the old cities on coast and on fall-line and in southern valleys have witnessed a prosperity in the late nineteenth century such as they never knew before, even in the days which made them famous. Cologne became practically metropolitan with its luxury trades in scent, chocolates and silk. The hardware and textile group on the Ruhr coal-field, the great centres of Saxony and Silesia, are other cases in point. The organisation due to the central power was diplomatically and industrially justified beyond any doubt in the minds of citizens accustomed to follow the dictates of the paternal State. Even Social Democracy was but feeble in comparison with English Trade Unionism, which had been fostered on an opposition to capital and, in early days, to a State that the Englishman loves to criticise. The new German Empire

made its internal communication-links complete and then naturally turned its attention to commercial and imperial expansion in imitation of England. In the case of Germany, however, it could hardly be said that the new maritime interest was a natural growth from the old Hanse. It was again, like much of the industrial phase, the work of the groups at the centre. Hamburg lies too far from the centre of things to be able to become the capital; it has fallen under Berlin, but has become an immense port. Bremen, as Lyde has argued, further out towards the Atlantic, with immense quay and warehouse spaces on the poor lands round about, has grown into the headquarters of the Norddeutscher Lloyd and of the cotton import trade for many parts of Europe.

The growth of organised German industry has been so great, and has entailed so much development of cities and of means of communication, that there has been a steady demand for capital for investment by the Germany of the Industrial Age. To begin with, of course, she was a poor, an impoverished country, and then the site-increment

profits from the growth of her cities went largely into unrealisable public wealth, and not so much into immense private fortunes available for speculation as in England. Thus Germany long remained dependent on foreign capital for her industrial development, and, strange as it may seem, it appears that a good deal was furnished from time to time by strong banking-houses in Paris. This weak spot in Germany's armour seems to have revealed itself clearly in the crisis of 1911, since when those who have watched the financial world have witnessed a strong mobilisation of German capital preparatory, no doubt, to the crash which happened to come in 1914.

In one respect Germany learned a good deal from England's experience, and her centralised system allowed her to put that lesson into practice. She made industry assist agriculture and developed the productivity of her soil to a very great extent by chemical manures. As a result the rural population did not decay to anything like the same extent as in Britain, nor was it so largely converted into a serving population dependent upon persons holding the land for

its amenity value. The Prussian plain, rather ill-favoured in soil and climate, was, for example, made to grow sugar beet on its boulder clay zones by deep cultivation. This deep cultivation has much enriched it, as deep cultivation always does (*cf.* the enrichment of the Channel Isles by deep cultivation for parsnips in the eighteenth century). Again, she saw to it that rural industry was fostered so that the population might not leave the land but might acquire industrial skill in its old homes, and cultivation was made to take the place of sheep-rearing to an increasing extent. More powerful than these policies perhaps was the steady effort to conserve and develop natural resources such as the forests, for this influenced in myriad ways the whole national organisation and habit of mind in intimate detail all over the country. With all this went the gathering of the Universities under the central power to act as a mighty nervous system controlling and directing the movements of the whole under the sovereign State. It was indeed a scheme carrying out almost in logical completeness the ideal of Louis XIV of France, with the inevitable

addition of the ambition of world empire inspired by England's successes, though the English effort had sprung from other origins and had evolved on very different lines.

In this process of modern German evolution it has been well said that the phase of Düsseldorf has passed into the phase of Essen. The productive industry centring in old towns of great human value along the fall-line spread German influence by peaceful penetration far and wide in England, America and perhaps most of all in the Russian Empire, which was nearly a German dependency in commercial matters and, indeed, in administration for years. The Essen phase brought about a gradual change and the relative isolation of Germany from all save her closely related neighbour, Austria. It was a change marked, too, by the tremendous development of purely strategic railways along her frontiers. This change was intensified by the growth of Russian industry, which, in its turn has learnt much from German experience. With its future in Russia threatened, German effort turned itself more than ever to overseas empire and to the re-establishment

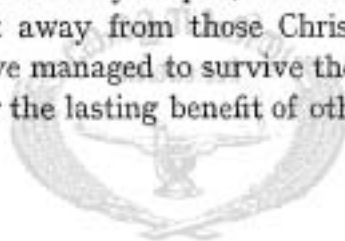
of old Orient routes across the decaying Turkish Empire. This latter sphere of effort has drawn Austria, penetrated by German industry, into closer union with Germany. So we have the genesis of the plan of Mittel Europa with the Baghdad railway as its eastward outlet, and the great semi-state mercantile fleet, at Hamburg and Bremen, and soon, it was hoped, at Rotterdam, Antwerp and even perhaps Dunkerque, as its westward messenger. Coupled with this we note the development of Rhine cities like Frankfort and Mannheim as ports, and the already mentioned scheme for a ship canal from Main to Danube.

Penetration of the kind used in Russia with much success had a good measure of success in north Italy too, and it is to be said most frankly that the modern wealth of north Italy is due in some measure to German, and also partly to Swiss, effort. The spreading utilisation of water power conveyed electrically means much pooling of talent and increase of association in south Germany, Switzerland, and north Italy. Germany has contributed also to the making of railways through the

Alps and thus to improving German links with the Mediterranean, in other words, to the re-establishing for the modern German Empire of one of the links of historic south Germany with the ancient civilisation of the Great Sea. The central position of Germany gives her immense commercial advantages so long as she need not break bulk of goods too often. The Rhine has become a great line of up-stream trade, and the canals help the southern railways and will help trade still further if they develop as is now planned.

With all this effort and foresight, as well as adjustment for the aggrandisement of the whole, it is natural that the population of Germany has increased enormously, especially since 1870, that cultivation has improved and intensified itself, that sheep-rearing has correspondingly diminished, and that the industrial organisation has become a unity of unparalleled complexity. Indeed, in almost all senses modern Germany is a tribute to possibilities of human educability, to powers of devoted organising effort pursued with unflagging persistence, to submission to a stern discipline, inspired by the old-time fear

turned more and more to aggressive uses by political ambition. One of the deepest weaknesses of the scheme is that there was so little true spiritual unity among the widely different parts on which to build the new German Empire. It was economic and materialistic in foundation; it lacked the spiritual inspiration of France. Even Wagner's heroic efforts to seek for it inspiration in its legends and romances only helped, it is to be feared, to lead it away from those Christian ideals which have managed to survive the industrial period for the lasting benefit of other peoples.



CHAPTER VII

THE SMALL PEOPLES

If this were a descriptive geography it would obviously be impossible to treat the various smaller peoples of western Europe in one and the same chapter, but, as the present aim is rather the arguing out of certain matters of human interest with selected illustrations, this conjoint treatment may even serve to emphasise points at issue. The Germanic peoples have around as well as among them smaller units of population variously related politically to them and to the other great States, but it is useful to treat them regardless of whether they are "independent" or not. There are Denmark, Holland, Flanders, Wallony, Luxemburg, Lorraine, Alsace, Switzerland, Bohemia, all more or less distinct for reasons rooted far back in history as well as in geography, and a comparative survey reveals the vastly different

factors which combine in different cases to cement a people together.

It is a group self-consciousness which seems to make a nation, and that self-consciousness may be developed in one case through common defence against military aggression, in another through common effort for quite other purposes. The group self-consciousness is often much emphasised in the small nations; their people usually have much in common, sometimes in traditions and memories, sometimes in activities and outlook. The magnitude of this mental, or rather spiritual, common measure is a very valuable element in the life of these smaller units, for it combines with the results of their relative military weakness to turn their wills in the direction of spiritual expression, often durable and comprehensive in its nature.

The very large unit, on the other hand, unless its components are quite unusually homogeneous or gently graded tends to be characterised by a low common measure, and its common aims are thence too often concerned with the lower, more elementary and material interests. These in turn gain

encouragement from the military power due to the largeness of numbers, so the big state has often been a danger to humanity. Maciver has made a similar point in explaining his view that the later Roman Empire was not a community; not a living thing, but an imposed system, an institution. There could hardly be a sufficient common measure between even the greater number of its parts to rise to a level of spiritual expression. We need not go the whole way with Maciver in order to appreciate his point.

The little units reveal spiritual efforts and activities of marked tenacity and scope, and it is no accident that great contributions of genius and of talent from them have been made, for example, to the reputation of the German science of the last half-century. The names of van't Hoff and de Vries illustrate the contribution from Holland, while Switzerland and the rest have played their part. Moreover, their contributions to modern German scientific achievements are probably of but small account in comparison with other earlier contributions to civilisation, which are a matter of history.

The maintenance and encouragement of these small nations, and indeed of small nations generally, may thus be claimed to be in the highest interests of civilisation, however difficult it may have become owing to the decadence of the ideal of citizenship of Europe, which seemed to be budding forth even amid the violence of the earlier Middle Ages. The scheme of protection by the great States has failed lamentably, and it may even need the intervention of some non-European power to protect the world from the "European peril." In the meantime, however, it is desirable that the small nations should continue. Perhaps the increasing part played by aircraft in defence and offence might help them out of their military isolation, and it may also lessen the disparity between large and small peoples in war. At any rate, an effective league of the small nations might well give pause to the predatory ambitions of the big ones, and so it might be a useful step towards a league of Europe. With the varied experience of the small nations, their league if strong enough and really independent might even be entrusted with the adminis-

tration of equatorial regions like Central Africa, which will be such a bone of contention if partitioned between the Great Powers, or even managed by a group of them conjointly. The small nations thus might have value not only as contributors to civilisation in a high spiritual sense, but as possible contributors also towards a new organisation of European and general government.

BOHEMIA

Bohemia was almost the first of the little nations to reach the stage of organised self-consciousness, and it has maintained that individuality, in spite of temporary eclipse, all through the centuries. It is the basin of the upper Elbe, marked out beyond all doubt by its frame of hills, and centring with just as little doubt on its magnificent city of Prague. The tragic effects of the presence of this very distinct block, most rightly defying absorption and assimilation, upon the politics of the Germanic peoples has been mentioned in an earlier chapter. Here we note that the Bohemian block and its people belong to the mountain zone of central

Europe, and the people are of what is called Alpine race and use the Czech (Slavonic) language.

The Danube makes such an effective break on the south side of Bohemia that there is little vital relation between Bohemia on the one hand and Switzerland and the Austrian Alps on the other, though they form adjacent sectors of the great mountain zone and are inhabited very largely by the same mountain race.

To the west of the Böhmer Wald is an effective barrier with a historic through-way from Ratisbon to Taus (also called Domazlice). To the north the Erzgebirge and Riesengebirge shut Bohemia off from Saxony, save that the Elbe runs through the "Saxon Switzerland" between these two ranges. Dresden guards the Saxon exit from the great Elbe gorge. The Riesengebirge is considerably broken, and there are through-ways available for railroads, but it is on the east-south-east that Bohemia's boundaries are least marked.

There are many hill-ways into Moravia, which, again, grades into what is known as

the Moravian Gate, from the Oder to the Danube, from Breslau to Vienna. Across this gate Bohemia has fairly open connections with the northern slopes of Tatra and Carpathians. Before, therefore, the great organisations had begun to grow on the plains, it was natural that Bohemia should be associated with what have since become the Polish lands. They, and it, became the home of the Slavonic languages, while the related Brythonic-Celtic, or its root tongue, seems to have belonged for a time to the mountain zone from Switzerland westwards. Then the tongues of the plains spread hillwards as usual, and ousted the older languages in the west, but not so thoroughly in the east, and Bohemia remained a westernmost stronghold of Slavonic speech. As elsewhere, Slavonic people seem to have been especially settlers in small groups in forest clearings, and for a while Bohemia was under the bishops of Ratisbon. The Neumark pass leading from Ratisbon to Domazlice (Taus) in Bohemia was the "gate" of the country in early days, for it came from Ratisbon, a frontier post of Roman Europe.

Bohemia was better placed than Poland in early days to feel the civilising influences from both Rome and Byzantium. With the progress of forest clearing came the growth of the focal city of Prague with fortresses on its hills, and there followed naturally the rise of Bohemia to the level of group self-consciousness. We have the analogous shift of the chief centre of Polish life from Cracow to Warsaw as the forest there was cleared.

Meanwhile, Bohemia inevitably felt the intimate conflict between Germanic and Slavonic influences, the latter represented by the people themselves and here and there by their kings. But, characteristically, the little nation from early days felt the influence of Paris in a spiritual sense, and we thus get a complex interweaving of elements in Bohemian life. It is noteworthy of Bohemia, as of some of the other small nations, that Jews were fairly well treated in the Middle Ages, and that there were other gleams of toleration.

As the menace of the Turk increased and Vienna gathered Europe around her (behind a Slavonic vanguard be it said) to defend Christianity, Bohemia lost its political leader-

ship and the House of Hapsburg established its power. But the little nation worked its way on. The University of Prague, at first a copy of Paris, became one of the most renowned in the world, and earnest churchmen took advantage of the high level of mutual understanding among the people to stir them against abuses in the Church. In this way Bohemian consciousness turned towards religious and broadly spiritual expression under Waldhauser, Milic and Hus, but that expression was inevitably limited and impoverished by the bitterness and intimacy of the struggle. Bohemia, an early self-conscious well-marked unit far from Rome, and England, also self-conscious and marked off, this time by sea, both moved strongly against abuses of the central power in the Church, and the parallelism of these Bohemians with Occam and Wyclif is worth noting. From its Hussite tradition, Bohemia proceeded to Protestantism, but at its side the Hapsburg dominion struggled towards the condition of an organised State, a condition it has never wholly attained because of the great diversity of its separate elements.

With the enthusiasm of the Counter-Reformation Austria was able to overwhelm Bohemia, to destroy its Protestantism and to quench for a long time the expression of characteristically Bohemian ideals; indeed it seemed as if Germanisation would be complete. The buildings due to the Counter-Reformation still remain a feature of Prague, and are, as usual, not an attractive one. The failure of the process of Germanisation is perhaps traceable in part to the bitterness of its beginning, but it probably illustrates the weakness of most movements inaugurated and pressed on from above. The "upper classes" always get recruited from below, and movements towards broader accord and appreciation will need to remember this at least as much in the future as in the past.

The peasantry remained Czech in language, and with the Romantic movement in Europe leaders arose in Bohemia who worked among the people, with the result which has so astonished the world by redeveloping Bohemian language and nationality side by side, with an unmeasured vigour and enthusiasm. The new movement has, of course, found its

opportunity largely through the already mentioned failure of the Hapsburg dominion to organise itself as a modern unified State.

Modern Bohemia has gained wealth in the Industrial Age through her coal-fields and their industries. The glass industry goes back to the Middle Ages when it was introduced from Venice, and it has shown a great development in our time. Naturally German energy and experience have been utilised in this industrial activity, and its success makes more difficult than ever the execution of any exclusivist scheme for Bohemia. The country is well developed agriculturally for cereals, beet, hops, flax and potato crops, rather than as regards stock-raising. Like most crop-growing regions, it makes agricultural machinery, and in this connection has the advantage of possessing coal and iron. Around this has grown, as in so many other places, a general machinery industry of considerable importance. Textiles are important, as is usual near a coal-field, and Pilsener beer is famous, though the country also produces wine in some favoured spots. Its mineral springs and its fine scenery

attract visitors, and the name of Carlsbad in particular is well known. The Elbe valley offers opportunities of commercial transport by rail and by river, and there are several railway links through hill passes on the various sides of the quadrilateral.

With its tradition of spiritual effort on the one hand, and its modern wealth on the other, Bohemia thus needs some system which will at one and the same time give her the fullest opportunities of expressing her thoughts and her ideals in her own way, and the freest intercourse commercially with the peoples of the Elbe and Danube, as well as with her Slav cousins who occupy and spread eastward from the Moravian Gate.

SWITZERLAND

Switzerland is a subject of perennial interest to the sociologist, for it is a unity, at least in a measure, which depends neither upon language nor upon religion, while its comparative unity of race is so far in the background that it has not been sufficiently appreciated to enter into the group self-consciousness. The association of Swiss mountaineers of the Forest

Cantons grew into an association guarding passes of the Alps, but it gained a more definite organisation when there was added to it the lake-sprinkled trough between Alps and Jura with Geneva, Lausanne, Neuchâtel, Berne, Zürich as foci, and Bâle, Schaffhausen and Constance as gates.

The Italian-, French- and German-speaking cultures have worked upwards on their several sides, with the consequence that Switzerland is sharply divided as regards language and religion and thus also in relations and sympathies. Yet it maintains itself, thanks to economic as well as to deeper human facts. Switzerland has been a region of difficulty, where, save in certain small and much-favoured spots, a hard and long struggle was necessary to ensure reasonable maintenance and a semblance of increment. The struggle has brought out the steady persistence and organising patience of the Alpine race, and the physical geography of the isolated valleys has given opportunities to their well-known tendency to form and to work in small communities. The unity of Switzerland is thence, in no small measure, a unity of temperament,



FIG. 12.

THE SWISS ALPS

Scale approx. 1:3,333,333.

Land above 3000 ft. shown by horizontal lines.

" " 9000 ft. blackened.

4 = Nucleus of
the original
four cantons.

B. = Bernese.

Bl. = Basle.

C. = Constance.

F. = Fribourg.

G. = Geneva.

L. = Lucerne.

Ls. = Lausanne.

N. = Neuchâtel.

S. = Schaffhausen.

St. G. = St. Gall.

Z. = Zurich.

encouraged by physical surroundings and their economic consequences. Indeed, it is possible to think that this unity of temperament is so pronounced as to make the country lack that variety of outlook among its citizens which could so greatly enrich the common life.

The rise of new industry based upon water power electrically utilised is changing the position of Switzerland, to which the growth of the tourist industry, itself in no small part the result of the growth of British industrialism, had begun to give wealth. Switzerland is now, as it were, the centre of the "water-power region," and, with these industries growing all around her, the ways through her acquire an enormous human importance, far too little appreciated before 1914 by European diplomacy. With the increasing strain between the great States in the last generation, and the occurrence in Switzerland of, for example, Zürich in touch with Germany and Geneva in touch with France, the Swiss have found scope for the use of their new industrial capital, and of imported capital, in international banking.

It is evident above all need of argument that Switzerland should be maintained, and that her devices for combining unity of defence with freedom of local control might well be of use to a better-disposed Europe some day. But she is no longer to be considered a mere unit among the mountains, she has become the centre of an important industrial region, the guardian of an increasing number of through routes, the banker with special facilities for international exchange, the provider and exporter of talent, like all mountain regions of difficulty, to the larger more open regions all around her.

At one time she provides the compendious and magnificent effort of Calvinism at Geneva and the sturdy effort of Zwingli at Zürich, both with durable qualities and power of accretion and assimilation; while the patient and equally systematic work of Conrad Gesner also speaks volumes for the common temperament that has so distinguished Switzerland. The name of de Candolle at Geneva suggests the same forces at work, and it has long been characteristic that her interests and contributions are in a special degree

directed towards systematic pedagogy. But systematisers and educationists are not the only elements she encourages. She has sent out her sons as bodyguards to bishops and to kings, and, in our time, she finds managers and engineers for industrial enterprises in north Italy and south Germany. In this last connection it is interesting to see that at Zürich has been developed the great technological university called the Polytechnikum, equipped on a truly international, not to say European, scale, welcoming students from all the world. Withal, however, Zürich is careful not to allow the Polytechnikum to overshadow her own university, and her energies also extend to the organisation of the great national museum, a museum with the logical aim of demonstrating by seried exhibits the evolution of man's work in Switzerland, and that in no exclusivist fashion. The national and international aspects of Swiss life thus coexist side by side, and make Zürich a centre of exceptional interest to the sociological observer. It is naturally an outstanding centre for the newer international banking activities.

The little Swiss units learned long ago to welcome persecuted co-religionists from the big States, and the introduction of this élite has promoted skill in industries; while the desirability of unity of control of mountain passes and of common defence ultimately helped Switzerland to recognise rival religions side by side. Toleration is a natural growth here, and it is interesting that it has appeared in greater or lesser degree in most of the other little nations. But their ideas of toleration, just like their ideas of nationality, have grown from varying roots in varying ways in the different cases.

ALSACE AND LORRAINE

Alsace and Lorraine are woefully placed between the Paris basin and the Rhine, but they are west of the Rhine, and thence possess that Roman heritage which links them with the Romance rather than with the Germanic civilisation. Those who have too readily acquiesced in their temporary forcible Germanisation have done so in many cases under the belief that the ancient Holy Roman Empire is in some sort represented by the modern

German Empire, but this is largely an illusion fostered for political ends.

The relations of Alsace and Lorraine with France are closer, but nevertheless far from simple. The Paris basin is like a nest of saucers, and the saucer edges limit communications, the outer, rougher ones like the Vosges, more than the inner lesser ones. Alsace and Lorraine are in a sense the region of these outer saucer edges; each controls a set of interfluvial ways or hill passes. Each has its great centre—Strassburg in one case, Metz in the other—looking towards its great river—Rhine in one case, Moselle in the other—rather than towards the next saucer edge on the way to Paris.⁵ These physical facts have always made it difficult for Paris to extend its fully detailed control over Alsace and Lorraine, and these regions have remained partakers of both civilisations with the possibility, in a better Europe, of mediating between France and Germany, and especially of adapting the waves of civilisation from the French side to the needs and aptitudes on the German side. One notes that, in the days of Huguenot persecution, after

the Edict of Nantes was revoked, the Paris government did not persecute here, and it is equally characteristic that Strassburg has in the past so typically stood out as a critic of Paris, though that metropolis has more than once developed an almost unquestioned ascendancy over all the other cities of France. In Alsace and Lorraine, toleration is thus the toleration of a people which subconsciously understands two deeply conflicting syntheses, and it gives us a clue to the immense possibilities that opportunities of undisturbed spiritual expression could bring to these harassed regions.

Alsace includes the Vosges passes and the sharp slope down to the Rhine, and its life and intercourse link it with the life of the Rhine, and have given it contributions from the Rhine and beyond at various times. Its Rhineward links also give it a bent for commerce, not a little emphasised through the Jewish element in its population. But it is on the hither side of the Rhine and deep set in Roman-Romance civilisation which has the gap of Belfort to assist its penetration. Its cultural relations with Switzerland and

with the Low Countries are most interesting and important.

Haute Alsace is very French indeed. Lorraine has beyond it on the German side the masses of the Hunsruck and the northern continuation of the Vosges, so it is more sharply marked off from Germany and still more closely linked with France than Alsace; in fact, the saucer edges already discussed seem like a series of uptilted steps leading on the whole down towards Paris. The essence of modern Lorraine is the double basin of mid-Moselle and upper Saar, and its immense wealth in minerals, especially iron on the west, makes its possession of critical importance in our industrial day. Lorraine has remained a land of forest and of war, where an old Nordic-Alpine blend of man possessing a very broad head but fair colouring and sometimes reddish hair, may represent almost the nearest surviving relative of the Celtic warrior of early Roman times. As is natural in a forest land, and still more when it is also war-ridden, the houses are fragile and often of wood; it is not a place for native architectural triumphs.

The evil aggression of Germany in 1870-71

attempted to make Alsace-Lorraine a barrier against the penetration of Romance civilisation into Germany. The attempt was made to force Lorraine out of its historic intermediate position. The provinces, however, also served a more legitimate purpose for Germany, for they provided a westward link between north and south, and their retention was an object which moved both north and south to loyalty to the new Empire.

LUXEMBURG AND WALLONY

The first chapter of this book indicated the extension of the "Region of Difficulty" formed by the mountain zone of central Europe north-westward to the Ardennes. This extension is broken by complex river-systems. The people of the extension are of Alpine race but, as we have seen, are mixed Alpine-Nordic in Lorraine. Mountain and forest stretching from Switzerland to the Belgian Meuse have helped their people to keep up many old features of their life, and they are thus intermediate between the essentially Romance civilisation of France and the more distinctly Germanic civilisation

beyond, shall we say, the Saar. Perhaps it is fair to state that the educated element all through this belt tends to look to France, but that industrial development has brought a considerable German influx into mineral areas of Luxemburg and the Saar basin.

If we look back we find that ecclesiastics inherited the Roman tradition of Trèves, Metz and Liège. The first governed most of the Moselle valley way between Eifel and Hunsruck. Metz controlled ways towards Strassburg. Liège had its domains about Meuse and Sambre, but did not include the territory of Namur. The Low Countries, including the territory of Namur, became the Spanish and later the Austrian territory of the Low Countries, but the long persistence of the ecclesiastical units has had a good deal of influence on subsequent groupings in this difficult region.

The Bishopric of Liège may be said to have handed on its Roman-Romance heritage to Wallony, but its existence as a north-to-south strip divided the Imperial domains of the Low Countries into a province to the west (broadly Brabant and Flanders) and a

province to the east (broadly Luxemburg). The latter, like Lorraine on the other side and the higher part of the Moselle, had between it and the Rhine the archbishopric of Trèves with its Roman life, and this has assisted materially in the maintenance of its individuality.

On the whole we may say that Luxemburg and Wallony represent two aspects of the dissected plateau of old rocks, often called the Ardennes in a broad sense. Luxemburg represents its Moselle-ward and Wallony its Meuse-ward aspect on the whole, and the boundary is not far from the general dividing line between the two. Both have felt French influence very deeply. From Luxemburg, a pass helps communication via Longwy with the upper Meuse and so with the Paris basin. Wallony at the sides of the middle Meuse inevitably links itself with the upper and French course of the river, and has a French dialect embodying many ancient survivals. But it is characteristic that Luxemburg has much Teutonic speech, mixed, however, with many Walloon words. Luxemburg, provider of iron, has also been a member of the German Customs

Union since the agreements following Waterloo. Wallony is so actively French in its sympathies that its lack of understanding of Flanders tended to the disruption of Belgium before the war. It is interesting that German should have spread up the Moselle and its western feeders into Luxemburg, and that Wallony with its Meuse connections on the one hand, and on the other Lorraine, with its forests, and, beyond, the Hunsruck, separating it from more German lands, should both be so markedly French.

WALLONY AND FLANDERS

The kingdom of Belgium consists of two strongly contrasted parts, the hills and the plain, with Limburg and Brabant grading between them. The hill country is Wallony; it is French speaking, and was until the industrial revolution what would be called a poor and somewhat backward country. It had a Roman foundation, it is true, but an imperfect assimilation of Romance culture, albeit a strong power of resistance to Germanisation ever tending to spread past Aix-la-Chapelle.

The plain country is Flanders, including

north and north-west Brabant and most of Limburg. It is the open way for commerce and war from the long European plain towards the Straits of Dover, after crossing the Rhine and Meuse. Flanders is thus placed between the Paris basin and the Long Plain. It receives thoughts and influences from both; it mixes both and criticises both in itself, and it has become one of the richer and greater of our European centres of spiritual expression. Its traditions in painting and architecture and sculpture as well as in literature are rich and persistent. It ranks with those other spots where cultures mix intimately in a small area, like Burgundy, Provence, Tuscany and the Ægean, as one of the founts of human inspiration. As a plain area on the sea-board, its language is of the Low Germanic group, but it is on the hither side of the Rhine and in sufficient historic contact with the Paris basin to be tenaciously Catholic. Moreover, Protestant elements were to a considerable extent pressed out over the Rhine in days of Spanish persecution. Of its great past, little need be said—the stories of Bruges and Ypres are well known; but it is

wrong to imagine that Flanders is in a state of decay. The old wool industry decayed long ago, but the dampness promotes growth of flax and aids the spinning of flax and cotton; the water of the Lys is specially suitable for retting. The Gobelins imported Oudenarde tapestry workers to carry out their designs, and it was the skill of these workers coupled with the beauty of French design that made the Gobelin fame. Flanders till 1914 was busy with textiles, supplemented by intensive cultivation; and Ghent is a city of modern mercantile renown, as well as the chief home of a long tradition of artistic effort. Still, Flanders has been outstripped by Wallony, with its coal and iron and limestone and zinc giving rise to the great metal and machinery industries. Liège, from being the seat of ecclesiastical princes, has become a metropolis of modern industry. The Walloon population, once rather backward in the general estimation, has been industrialised, though with careful cultivation of the soil modifying industrial conditions wherever possible, and it has become advanced in ideas, often anti-clerical and socialist at the same time. The contrast

with the Fleming, who clings tenaciously to his old-time roots, to his artistic intuitions and to the Roman tradition, is thus more marked than ever, and now, in many people's minds, it is the Fleming who is accounted the backward member of the curious partnership that made the Belgium which we knew before 1914. It is a question of deep human interest whether the common sufferings of Walloons and Flemings will have so increased the spiritual common measure of the two, perhaps in part through their relations with their common religion, as to change the problem of joint government, which previously seemed to be becoming an insoluble one.

It is rare that we get such multiple contrasts as between what is in the main Wallony and what is in the main Flanders, though all the boundaries to be mentioned by no means run coincident. The contrast in geology is between old rocks forming a dissected plateau and newer deposits on the plain; in elevation it is between that dissected plateau and the lowland; in climate the relief of the land makes itself directly felt especially in winter cold and in rainfall. In race, the hill country

has dark round heads, while the Flemings are fairer and somewhat longer headed, though actual long-heads are only an element in the population. In language the hills speak Walloon-French, the plain uses Flemish. In politics and religion the plain has marked conservative tendencies; the industrialised hills have a large radical, not to say revolutionary, element. In industry the west, rather than the whole plain, is busy with textiles, the east and south with metals. The plain, even more than the hill country, has its industrial economy tempered by intensive cultivation. The hill country, and to some extent the plain too, suffer humanly, if they have appeared to gain commercially, from cheapness of labour, though where intensive gardening is so widespread the ills are no doubt less acute.

Brussels is within the boundary of Flemish speech, but French is about as much used as Flemish in the modern city. Still, Brussels is near enough the language border and central enough to be the best focus for both Wallony and Flanders, though it cannot dominate Liège and Ghent, for example, to

anything like the extent to which its model, Paris, dominates most of the French cities. Antwerp has arisen since the sea helped to clear the present channel for the Scheldt, and its position so near the heart of the Belgium country, with easy waterways supplemented—not superseded—by a highly developed railway system, has made it immensely important in the industrial age. It is old enough to have a dignified mediæval heritage; it is fortunate enough to have an immense amount of quay space, and is placed so as to be a convenient outlet for Germany as well as for Belgium. It can rival London as an entrepôt. The fate of Antwerp in the settlement following the war will probably be one of the most important of all the details to be arranged.

HOLLAND

The keynote of Holland's life is its long heroic struggle with the sea, and that does not need a new description here. It is the lowland where the European plain grades almost imperceptibly into shallow sea, and, as a part of the great plain, it has a Nordic population, but with dark, broad-headed folk,

to be described provisionally as of Alpine race, in islands at the Rhine mouth. Being beyond the Rhine and in the possession of a strong people it remained outside the Roman system, and this, added to the contrast in their communications with Gaul, has helped to differentiate it in many ways from Flanders. Flanders has remained devoutly Catholic, has utilised for artistic expression leisure won through labour and ideas won through mercantile intercourse, and has, on the other hand, suffered grievously as a highway for armies between the Paris basin and the European plain. Holland was less attached to things Roman, had its thoughts turned to the water, and was kept busy checking the inroads of the sea. She was also just off the military roads, and was thus a little less liable to invasion. Holland has become Protestant, is more democratic than was Flanders, and is perhaps somewhat less of a home of artistic expression than Flanders. It was of old merely an out-of-the-way corner, and it acquired the habit of welcoming refugees, to which in all probability it owes a good deal of that abundance of

ability in thought and research which has so long characterised it. Holland is a notable contributor to European thought and to the advancement of knowledge, though her contributions of late have sometimes been credited to Prussia. As in Switzerland and Alsace, the tendency here has been towards toleration, and Jewish blood and talent are of very great importance in the country.

The people of Holland may be said to have developed their group self-consciousness through their long fight with the sea, during which they were also kept efficient in military matters. Their sense of nationality, their military power, their intelligence were all focussed on the great struggle with Spain. They became, as it were, the head of the Calvinist movement, and were able later on to furnish much talent, through Orange princesses marrying Hohenzollerns and through migration of able Dutchmen to Berlin, towards the reorganisation of the Prussian plain in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Their antagonism to Spain and France spread among the people of Britain as well as of Prussia. With their

assertion of independence, their seafaring energies of long standing were turned to competition with Spain and Portugal for ocean trade, all the more because those countries had used the Netherlands, especially Flanders, as a depôt for distributing their goods. It was, naturally, especially the coasting voyages which appealed to them, and it is well known that they thus succeeded to the Portuguese Empire and reached the Spice Islands, the goal of early Portuguese trade. Their scheme of management of far territories thus derived some of its characteristics from their Portuguese predecessors, and one notes particularly the weakness of the colour bar to intercourse with natives in Dutch dependencies, whereas it is almost always very strong among other Protestant peoples with a partially Nordic tradition.

The seventeenth-century competition between England and Holland left England in possession at first of the trans-oceanic routes and later of the coasting routes to the Indies, but in the interval the Dutch with their old-established habit of welcoming refugees had associated with them many Huguenot refu-

gees after the events of 1685. They thence had a surplus population from the little home country to found a durable European strain of mixed Dutch and French blood in South Africa. England was better placed than Holland for sea trade, and the competition between them occurred during the beginning of the main period of aggressive organisation of great States, with the result that Holland's energies were in too large measure diverted to the problem of self-defence. Still Holland, thanks to seafaring and mercantile experience and to expatriation of her sons, long maintained a hold on the sea routes, and, with her abundance of talent and of educated experience at home, she also developed strong trade links and amassed wealth by commerce. At the same time she developed skilled industry at home on the basis of imported products of far lands, *e. g.* the diamond-cutting at Amsterdam. With the modern development of Germany at her doors, Holland has gained further wealth and has taken up work as a centre of transhipment, an agency for sea and river commerce. Her accumulation of wealth has made her a creditor country bound

by complex relations, as creditor countries usually are, to her various neighbours, and, again, like other creditor countries, very indisposed to war. Her dependencies include Java, which is one of the richest regions of the world with a dense and active population, and her hold on those dependencies is still a strong one so far as times of peace are concerned. This strength she owes not only to her mercantile and seafaring tradition but also to the growth of skill through long experience of management in the tropics.

Internally, she has met the call of modern needs by intensive cultivation and skilled farming, leading to the supplying of dairy and other products favoured by her alluvial soil and her situation.

DENMARK

Denmark lies near the northern verge of temperate Europe, and it has played very different parts in the life of Europe at different epochs, partly, some of its own and other geographers think, through the influence of secular changes of climate. Of its prehistory we need not speak here, important as that

topic is even for the understanding of our own past. Our first concern must be with the Denmark which took part in the great seafaring activities of the north in the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries, possibly repeating then much that may have happened in not dissimilar fashion long before, in the later phases of the Bronze Age.

The north had evidently improved its ships and spread its activities, and with prosperity came the need for expatriation of surplus population from the limited homelands. This was, as it were, the goad of the movement, while the lure was the wealth and the opportunities of rich provinces left unguarded after Rome's decay. Norway and Denmark were most concerned with these activities, and, as power and organisation developed, it centred more in Denmark than in Norway. Denmark was more in touch with the world, better calculated to maintain a suzerainty over the fjords than any one of them was likely to establish over the others.

With the progress of time, settlements of the northerners, increasingly Norwegian in

all probability, multiplied on the European coasts, and came to be a protection for western Europe against further invasions from the north. At any rate, the raids of the northern mariners in western Europe diminished, and those mariners busied themselves with voyages around Iceland to North America for a while. It has been suggested, with some likelihood, though the theory needs more testing, that as the Middle Ages began the seasonal changes became more violent for a time, giving hot summers and cold winters. More violent seasonal change would make the N. and N.E. of the N. Atlantic difficult to negotiate, and for this or other reasons the American connection was lost. Whether as a result of the violence of the climate, as has been suggested, or for other reasons, the Baltic in the Middle Ages often swarmed with herring, and this fishery and the fur-trade adventures of the Hanseatic League seem to have provided for some time an outlet for the surplus populations of the north. Thereafter Denmark, at the entry of the Baltic, at times approached a position of leadership, which, however, usually remained with the

Hanseatic League. After the Middle Ages, again, the decay of the Baltic fishery and of the Hanseatic League diminished the importance of the Baltic. But as the League decayed, Denmark, free from the struggle with Spain which kept the Dutch seamen back at first, had an opportunity of venturing into transoceanic trade. Her promising start was not maintained in face of Dutch and British competitors, but she held for a long time the few West Indian Islands recently sold to the United States. In early times coastwise sea-intercourse seems to have been a much more efficient link than long-distance land communications, but after the Middle Ages, at any rate, the relative values of these links reversed themselves. The link between Denmark and Norway became less vital with the process of time, and Denmark became concerned with the life and organisations to the south of it.

The amputation of Denmark by Bismarck in 1864 left the country very weak, but ready and anxious to utilise the organising powers of some elements in the population for a fresh start. Denmark thenceforward has

played a great and increasing part in modern northern commerce.

Her position is better than that of other northern countries for agricultural purposes, because the sea tempers the winter climate. The limited extent of the land also prompted the organisers of the new Denmark to an intensive use of it. In such latitudes stock-raising was the most natural activity, and the stock were fed more and more from reaped crops and less and less from pasture, save during parts of the summer. This process has gone so far that of late years feeding-stuffs for the animals have been almost the chief import of Denmark. Butter and bacon are the most famous stock products of the country, while eggs and poultry are almost as important, and margarine is made as well. The farming in Denmark thus has several correlated aims. Her co-operative organisation has led her to spare land for the sugar beet and other essentials, of which she produces most of what she needs.

Denmark's position as Baltic gatekeeper, her Jewish merchants in Copenhagen, and her accumulated skill in all matters relating to

butter have made her the entrepôt, with Copenhagen as a free port for transhipments, for Russian butter and other products which thus swell her trade. She has organised careful state inspection and warranty for all these products. A great market for Denmark's products has been industrial England. This has led to the development of Esbjerg on the west coast of Jutland, with train-ferry routes to that harbour right away from Sweden. Train-ferries also link Denmark with Germany, which has become her second-best customer as German industrialism and the consequent increase of population have developed.

But with all her agricultural and commercial organisation, it is certain that Denmark owes an immense debt to the co-operative spirit, and to the high level of intelligence and keenness fostered by her schemes of education. In this sphere of work Denmark has much to teach Europe, for her aim has been to combine broad intellectual and artistic training with the love of, and the skill for, life on the land. Her peasant high-schools, for adolescents from eighteen upwards, train citizens on lines that should be known and adapted far

and wide; she has something far beyond a "continuation school" in these remarkable institutions.

One may add, finally, that the modern evolution of Denmark has differentiated her more than ever from her former partner Norway. Denmark has become a great dairy farm with transit commerce and scientifically supported fisheries to supplement the main line of work. Norway with her skilled seamen has built up a mercantile marine, while internally she is developing new industries based upon the electrically transmitted power of her torrents. In this she is assisted by penetration of her fjords into the land to such an extent that even bulky products can be shipped easily from what may truly be termed inland areas, without long railway journeys and heavy costs for break of bulk of the goods.

ADDENDUM

This chapter suggests reflections on the problem of what may constitute a nation. A nation is often held to be the mass of the population of a continuous and fairly well-marked area of considerable size living under

a unified control. It would perhaps be better to use for this the term "State," which is political by implication.

If a group be very large and diverse in its parts, what is shared in common by the great majority of its members is likely to be small. Now what is shared in common is probably a great factor affecting common action. If then the very large group coheres for any group aim, it is likely to touch rather the lower than the higher levels of human activity.

The very small group can also be a hindrance to mankind, for, if it have a strong exclusivist feeling, its ideals and criticisms are likely to become inbred and therefore unfruitful and ill-grown; and an exclusivist feeling does too often develop among the very small units, because they feel their danger of peaceful, even when not of warlike, absorption. They lack variety, which, with intermixture, tends so greatly to stabilise the type about a healthy average.

The recently fashionable doctrine of a "superior race" has led many persons astray as regards questions of nationality; they have sought to set nationhood on a mere

physical, racial foundation. The worst example has been that of the "Teutonic" propaganda, but on our side there has been too much nonsense about the so-called Anglo-Saxon race to allow us to cast many stones. Now it may be stated with some boldness but with more truth that there are inherent racial qualities, aptitudes and limitations almost certainly prior to education and other environmental influences on the individual. Though the study is in its infancy, observers of physical types among men know that the correlations between mental qualities and the physical types discussed in the first chapter are by no means negligible. In other words the progress of knowledge is likely to show that, however potent circumstances and education may be, there are personal differentia behind them all. These may gain new direction, they are rarely destroyed.

If a nation is composed almost entirely of one race, the people will thus tend too much to the same activities and disabilities. The common measure amongst them may be extremely high, but there will be a lack of the

fundamental criticism necessary to keep ideas sane and in perspective. No country at the present time, in Europe at least, is of pure race, but it is possible that a certain degree of approach to that condition in Switzerland is rather a spiritual weakness of that country, though it may be a greater political asset than has been supposed.

On the other hand, a nation composed of diverse racial elements may be difficult to rule, but if, as in the case of France, the mixture is intimate and without mutual rancour, the result of much criticism from such different standpoints tends towards breadth of view and of treatment, and so to the great enrichment of the commonwealth. A nation, then, may well include a rich and intimate mixture of races for its own spiritual strength, and also, be it added, in order to promote mutual understanding with its neighbours.

The possession of a continuous and fairly well-marked territory is a great help to nationhood. Yet the Jews have much national feeling in spite of their dispersal. Nevertheless, the Zionist movement does do homage to the territorial principle. The marking

out of a people's territory by a margin of thinly populated land promotes differentiation of the people of the territory concerned. It need not necessarily promote integration of the people internally.

The possession of a common religion and of common elements of social custom is another help, but what can be done without either this or a common language is strikingly illustrated by Switzerland. A common language is an undoubtedly important help; it does more than almost all else to increase the common measure between all the people. Divergence of language continually involves petty misunderstanding and suspicion, and, if there are distinct linguistic units, some degree of special treatment or of autonomy is nearly always necessary, if repression is to be avoided. Switzerland with its cantonal autonomy avoids this difficulty, which has been and is a serious one for England and Wales.

To sum up, it may be said that there is no absolute criterion of nationhood. Racial unity (in detail) is, if possible, a weak point in a group's claim to be a nation. Size is a factor, but the very large and very small

groups both have serious weaknesses. The territorial principle, unity of religion and custom and especially unity of language all help, but one cannot say that any of them is a *sine qua non*.

If a moderate-sized group has a common language with a rich spiritual tradition gathering round it, that group will always strive to keep its individuality. The preservation of that individuality will generally tend to the great enrichment of mankind, provided the group shows a sufficient mixture of race and thus of aptitude and outlook. Its moderate size will enhance the common measure between its inhabitants. A high degree of mutual understanding, together with a sufficient variety to ensure strong criticism, will help such a group to seek spiritual, rather than political and territorial, expansion and expression, and thus will serve mankind.

CHAPTER VIII

BRITAIN AND THE CONTINENT

BRITAIN is a portion of the west European continental shelf, left detached but still unsubmerged when the last sinking movement let the sea sweep through from the south-westward-looking English Channel to the northward-looking North Sea. The little peninsula of Kent seems, as it were, a pivot whereupon Britain may be said to swing, inclining in its life and relations now more to the ways across the North Sea and now again to the ways across the English Channel. This point is of infinite consequence in British life, because the links across the North Sea and English Channel are not, in reality, mere links with the Low Countries and northern France, coasts which, after all, are continued one into the other. The fact is that, both by land and by sea, these links across our coastal waters are the last in long chains. These stretch along the northern and southern

sides of the mountain zone which runs like a great scar across central Europe from the Carpathians, or even the Caucasus, to the Ardennes and to the Cantabrians.

And yet Britain is not the primary junction of the western ends of the two flanks of the mountain zone. The ways from the European plain of the northern flank and the Mediterranean basins of the southern alike pour themselves into the Paris basin, wherein meet for mutual criticism and ultimate adjustment the many and diverse ideals and activities which have found their opportunities along these diverse routes. So it comes to pass that, while Britain may receive something, indeed much, that may have come almost direct from the Midland Sea or the Long Plain, it has usually received still more, by way of overflow, of what has already mingled in and round about the Paris basin. Indeed, there is much human value in the picturesque phrase which describes the British Isles as islands off the coast of France.

To leave the matter here, however, would be to omit some most vital considerations. If, to-day, land communications are on the



FIG. 13.—THE BRITISH ISLES IN RELATION TO THE CONTINENTAL SHORES

Scale approx. 1:22,500,000

whole easier and quicker, if more expensive, than those by sea, that is a comparatively recent development. Formerly the coastal seas were links, the forested land rather a barrier. Coastwise navigation by small ships sailing from point to point in sight of land is an institution of immense antiquity. St. Catherine of Alexandria, patroness of coastwise navigators, whose name dignifies many a promontory of the sea, is really the representative and the successor of deities of far pre-Christian times.

Coastwise sailing, for some thousands of years, has linked Britain on the one hand with the west of France, with Spain and the Mediterranean, and on the other hand with Scandinavia and the Baltic. These links have utilised the English Channel and the North Sea to a large extent, especially in so far as they are concerned with north-west France and Denmark and the Low Countries. But they have affected quite as deeply the west of Britain, which, with its wealth of capes and bays and islands, offered havens and depôts, refuges and bases for trade and migration and raids. The importance of

these direct links between the Continent and western Britain has naturally been underestimated by recent generations of students. The erroneous view has been accepted that the modern English nation is almost entirely descended from Germanic tribes who crossed the sea as the power of Rome decayed, and that the west of Britain contains but impoverished survivals of former savage phases of the life of eastern Britain.

These maritime links of West Britain have other aspects of importance besides their relation to movements of men and things and thoughts from the Mediterranean and from Scandinavia to Britain and vice versa. If Southampton Water and the Cinque Ports are the cradle of our navy, it is certain that the contribution of western Britain, from its tradition of coastwise intercourse, to the maritime strength of our country has hardly been a lesser one. Indeed, he would be a venturesome person who would dare to limit his estimate of the part which the west has played in the maritime development of British life. The new world beyond the ocean has links with us which bid fair to rival, though they cannot

supersede, the immemorial ties which bind us to the life of Paris, to the Mediterranean basins and to the European plain. Those links are and have long been an important element in the life of western Britain.

The different linkages of east and west Britain with the Continent have led to important distinctions in their life and traditions. The east and south-east coasts have felt the onset of powerful groups coming across the narrow seas, and Briton, Roman, Saxon and Norman have worked successive disturbances before grafting on to the original stem their varied contributions to what we now call England. On the west the wanderers have usually been in the minority at each period, and the momentum of the older life has been correspondingly greater. We thence get preservation on the west of much that belongs to pre-British times, though parts of that west have adopted the Brythonic and parts the English tongue. The preservative influences in the west are, of course, all the stronger for internal reasons; those western hills of difficulty are bound to export men, and, in such cases, one finds

that both the stay-at-homes and the exportees cherish fondly the tradition which links them still, when life tends to sunder all else.

The preservation and resurgence of old, not to say aboriginal, elements of life in the west has other consequences. With the export of men carrying this ancient heritage, there has been a spread of much influence and tradition to the Britains beyond the seas and to the American Union. Those who are interested in the mother country's relations to these new lands should reflect upon the importance for those purposes of the relations between east and west in the British Isles. Indeed, one might work out a strong argument for the value of these districts of survival on the ground that ancient survivals are often the real beginnings of fresh initiative.

The question of relations with the Continent needs discussion in more detail. The south of England, with its two east-to-west lines of open chalk downs, projects towards the Continent, and those who in the far past landed at the Cinque Ports, or their predecessors, thus not only used the shortest crossing but also the most open way westwards in

Britain. Moreover, the Goodwin Sands must have been land, at least in part, in early times.

East Anglia and East Yorkshire, again, are not so far from the Continent as to make the crossing of old very difficult, especially as long ago parts of what is now the Dogger may have still been land. For crossings of the North Sea further north one imagines that, if ancient navigators did steer straight across, they had in reserve the plan of coasting south to begin a shorter crossing in case of need.

On the English Channel side, as Belloc has well shown, Le Cotentin and the Isle of Wight with their respective cliffs assist the mariner most materially, and make the crossing from Barfleur to St. Catherine's Point, Isle of Wight, almost as easy as that from Cap Gris Nez. Of the crossings farther west in the Channel one may say much the same as of the northerly crossings of the North Sea. Mariners certainly have crossed for ages from Armorica to Cornwall and so on to Wales and Ireland, but they knew they could always turn east to a shorter crossing should the ever-expected wild sou'wester set in.

In all these crossings the aim is to get from one side to the other as easily as was, and is, consonant with convenience in other respects. It is in a sense otherwise as regards the coast-wise maritime intercourse between the Continent and western Britain. Along that way Shetland, Orkney, Caithness and Sutherland, the Hebrides (Outer and Inner), the Mull of Cantire, Galloway, Antrim, Man, Anglesey, Pembrokeshire, Lundy, Cornwall and Devon formed stations on a north and south line of water communications of great importance in its different parts long before Roman times. In early days, Britain and more especially Ireland was in one sense an ultimate point; it was the western edge of the world, though it also acted as a line of links between south-west Europe and Scandinavia.

So long as her "ultimate" position was the chief fact of Britain's relations with the world, she remained in a backward condition save in one relation. She is an island, or in the broad sense a group of islands, and has enjoyed relative security from invasion since Norman days at least, and this has not a little assisted the growth of London as a

port and mart, while it was of prime importance in the development of national self-consciousness earlier in England than on the Continent.

With the entry of the Atlantic in the full sense into human affairs, England's position changed absolutely as well as relatively. She became more and more central for world intercourse. The sou'westers setting on to her shores all the year round helped the Atlantic navigators to reach her abundant harbours of the west, and her sailors, skilled in manœuvring and hardy for adventure, were soon ahead of their Spanish predecessors, from whom, nevertheless, they learned a good deal.

The position of Britain relatively to the North Sea coasts of the Low Countries gave her further advantages, and the relative security from invasion told in several ways, notably in avoiding the diversion of British energy too much into military channels and in giving London security as compared with her rivals Antwerp, Rotterdam, Bremen and Hamburg. London became the great port, entrepôt and banking centre, and the industrial

revolution confirmed Britain's position in sea trade and gave her a long lead as regards steam vessels and iron ships. With all these advantages, Britain became transformed from a somewhat backward State on the fringe of Europe into the central State for the world's sea trade, with the control of the chief ports of call and the strategic points in her hands. How this state of affairs may be affected by the Panama canal it is still too early to judge, but it has been one of England's errors that she has insufficiently realised another change that has made much progress. The industrial revolution spread from Britain, *inter alia*, to Germany, and is spreading thence to Russia, while we have indicated how Switzerland and Italy have taken great strides along new ways in this respect. Now it is, and long has been, characteristic of European peoples busy with trade that they have sought links with the Monsoon lands: the exchange of the diverse products of the Mediterranean and the Indies and their neighbouring lands is probably the root of world trade.

The rise of industrialism on the Continent thus involved a redevelopment of transcon-

tinental routes, so that they have begun to compete with the more oceanic routes naturally evolved by the British in the early days of industrialism. The Nord-P.L.M. across France is of great value already, but as France has not caught the industrial fever very seriously, it has perhaps not been so much a competitor as a helper of the British routes. The improvement of the canals along this route, now in progress (Rhone-Marseilles) in spite of the war, may be of great value. The development of the old Canal du Midi might open up new possibilities. The routes from Antwerp and Rotterdam to Cologne and the Rhine and thence either via Bamberg to the Danube (for example, along the ship canal about to be built), or through Simplon or St. Gothard or Brenner to Italy, are of growing importance, and the development of Frankfort-on-Main as a great port is noteworthy enough. As these routes run through the great region of electrically transmitted water-power, there is an inevitable pooling and exchange of talent leading to a growth of mutual understanding along them, and this contributes to their strength. Italy is so centrally placed

in the Mediterranean as to have great possibilities for Mediterranean-Orient trade; but there is also the Danube way just mentioned with Salonika, Constantinople, Baghdad, Basra all needing to be thought out carefully in connection with it. Within measurable distance of this route, too, are useful sources of oil for power. Again the spread of the industrial revolution into Poland, and the utilisation of this new activity by the Poles as a means of drawing the several parts of Poland together, has raised questions of organisation and control of the Vistula and other waterways and their land supplements. Finally, the trans-Siberian line and the many other lines planned or built in that region speak of new routes for the future. A route from London via Russia, West Siberia and Cabul to Delhi would have a shorter mileage than the existing ones. The pendulum has swung back to the Continent, and it is evident that this must mean strengthening our links with France, at least. We need our relations with the Mediterranean more than ever. In the early days of industrialism our ships might suffice and our routes became our own. Now

we shall need to combine with our neighbours and work with them in our Eastern relations, and it is very greatly to be hoped that the efforts towards co-operation in this war will be continued in efforts for co-operation in peace afterwards. With all this it is understandable that the last semi-generation has witnessed the effort to reassert these old and still essential links of our country's life with the older civilisation on the south side of the English Channel.

With the passing away of the phase of unique industrial specialisation on the part of Britain and the development of transcontinental routes, therefore, our relations with the Mediterranean and the East are changing, and, even apart from questions of submarines and aeroplanes, the isolation policy for Britain has become out of date. It was correlated with our position as unique providers of factory goods carried in our own ships along the sea routes, the only ones in existence for industrial purposes. Now all this is changed, and with every improvement of transcontinental routes to avoid break of bulk, the change must be more felt. Moreover, the large part

played by water power and oil power in industrial development on the Continent is likely to mean a progressive liberation from such menial toil as stoking involves, so in several respects the level of the industrial population in parts of the Continent tends to be higher than ours, and this has many and diverse consequences of great social interest.

But Britain still retains her favoured position as regards the Atlantic, and the co-operative, but not exclusivist, control of the North Atlantic by the peoples around it is likely to become one of the greatest aids to a better future. The vague appreciation of this point has sometimes led British thinkers to try to dissociate this country from the Continent and to approach the new lands which can help her to keep her vigour. While this is valuable in that it tends towards an association for promoting the effective freedom of the North Atlantic, it is weak in that it depends too much upon the old conditions under which Britain's industrial position was unique. That is the case no longer, and Britain in its relation to the Atlantic will need to act with and for the Continent behind her.

The difficulties in this connection are serious, but not such as cannot be overcome. They may be summed up in the statement that at present there is too much break of bulk and delay in traffic from the Continent via England to America and vice versa. The first step to reduce that difficulty may be the Channel Tunnel, but, even if it be built on a great scale for goods traffic, the transit costs will be heavy and demands upon it will be too great. Aircraft may help for special express work. For bulk work, it is possible that the Danish experiments in train-ferries might be applied in Britain. If they succeeded, as seems likely, they would come into use not only at the Straits of Dover, but across wider stretches of the sea between the Continent and us. In that case they are likely to bring into closer association with one another the towns on the two sides of our narrow seas. More than that, they should also find application as between Britain and Ireland, and then the advantage of our position projecting out into the Atlantic would be appreciated more than ever. If there were no break of bulk and not too serious a delay on the ferries, the shortness

of the sea passage from western Ireland to America would be a considerable asset for us. Under present conditions the Irish ports count only for special express work and not for bulk work at all. The making of a Forth-Clyde Canal would be another and a supplementary effort. With these developments our links both with America and with the Continent would increase. We should still have an important part to play in the life of the North Atlantic, and should feel, as of old, the result of our position at the western end of the great ways that run, respectively, north and south of the European mountain zone. But we should be drawn into closer association with the Continent especially as regards ways to and through the Mediterranean and towards India. An accord that might assist co-operative and peaceful effort in the Midland Sea and its gulfs is thus of more importance to us, perhaps, than ever before. It is also probably the most difficult problem set us by the Great War.

The many advantages of the sea as a path of commercial intercourse remain to assure us that Britain has great opportunities of

serving humanity in the future. The need seems to be to face that future in co-operation with the European continent behind us and the immense human opportunities of the Americas in front.



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