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Telegraphic Address :  
PHUSIS, LESQUARE, LONDON

Telephone Number :  
WHITEHALL 8831

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## THE BASIS OF LEADERSHIP

NO more fundamental question is raised in Sir Arthur Salter's stimulating book "Security: can we retrieve it?" than that of the selection and training of leaders in our democratic systems. Many of the dangers to which we are exposed at the present time, he maintains, are the result of defective leadership and not of inherent defects in our democratic institutions. We cannot assume too readily with Prof. Whitehead that the problem is not that of producing great men but of creating great societies, for the great society will put up the men for the occasion.

The present testing time for democracy is forcing us to realize that the two problems are linked inseparably. The question of educating for democracy involves the problems of selection and training for the ever more arduous duties and responsibilities which the growing complexity of the modern State is forcing upon the administrator and statesman. If we have to consider education for citizenship in the sense that the efficient functioning of a democratic system depends upon an intelligent and educated electorate capable of taking independent and unprejudiced views, we have equally to consider it in the sense of providing training which will fit men and women for the many posts in local and central government which under a democracy demand wise judgment, respect for human personality, impartiality and a sense of justice and human values.

The future of democracy may well depend on whether it can put up leaders of the requisite calibre alike in municipal or national affairs, free from party prejudices and capable of taking long views and resolute action. We are being driven to consider again the Platonic view of

education—whether, in fact, our system of education should not include some special provision and training for those destined to carry the responsibilities of leadership and administration. The question of a ruling class has once again to be faced fairly and dispassionately.

This is the central problem which Mr. J. M. Murry has raised in a stimulating little book recently published\*, and he insists on the necessity of a moral basis for leadership. It is indeed to the separation of religion from the social tradition of Christianity and the acceptance of the complete secularization of society that he attributes a large measure of responsibility for the dangers and difficulties which confront us to-day. There is a striking parallel between the absorption of the Puritan in private religious observances and its consequences, and the absorption of scientific workers in their own special branch of knowledge and their neglect of, or indifference to, the social consequences of their work. Both alike impoverish and cramp man's capacities and experience. Mr. Murry makes a passionate attack on the departmentalization of life from the religious side, an attack which should assist as much in bringing science and religion and ethics into that harmony so essential for man to regain his control over events as do the increasing efforts of leading men of science themselves to raise their fellows to a sense of their social and moral responsibilities, of which Sir William Bragg's Pilgrim Trust Lecture before the United States National Academy of Sciences provides a recent admirable illustration.

Mr. Murry argues that, broadly speaking, there are two educational systems in Great

\*The Price of Leadership. By John Middleton Murry. Pp. 190. (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1939.) 5s. net.

Britain. The first includes the education of the elementary school, that of the secondary school and finally university education, mainly scientific or technical. The second system, which begins with the preparatory school, and is followed by the public school and then by the university, leads to positions which can only be adequately described as those of the ruling class. Roughly it is true that the ruling class in the main receives a type of education entirely different from that of the rest of the people, and whereas the first system is almost exclusively an intellectual system, in the second intellectual values are definitely subordinated to training in character.

Mr. Murry considers that however lop-sided the public school system of values may be, it is much more realistic and effective than the system of values which prevails through elementary and secondary education, and that the insistence on its codes and traditions as more important than mere intellectual distinction makes for a real social coherence. He is accordingly concerned that we should attempt to preserve its virtues and to incorporate the public schools into the State system in a way that would render them no longer the preserve of the rich. He would achieve this either by bodily incorporating them into the State educational system and by drafting off to them boys who showed proof of a generalized rather than a specialized intelligence, or by founding at least two dozen State public schools which should take over the boy as completely as he is taken over by the existing public schools but should set themselves much more determinedly to discover the boy's real aptitudes.

The fundamental premiss in Mr. Murry's argument is that we should recognize both the existence and necessity in a democracy of a ruling class, and concern ourselves with the education by which a ruling class is formed. The necessity for a class of men educated and trained for administration is widely recognized in industry to-day, where the future of large-scale industrial combines and of the public utility corporation may well depend upon its solution, and less widely in modern society generally. The idea is inherent in the many discussions which have taken place in the last twenty years regarding the place of the scientific or technical expert in administration, and in such reports as that of the Departmental Committee on the Qualifications, Recruitment, Training and Promotion of Local Government Officers.

None the less, even those who are most alive

to the social implications of the industrial combine of the public utility company are frequently blind to what is involved in the provision of leadership, and the reception given to the report on recruitment of local government officers indicates how far we yet are from appreciation of what is involved even in training for local administration.

This position is doubly dangerous. It undermines the efficiency of democracy by making it more difficult to secure and operate the regional planning of services such as health, transport, water supply, etc., which are becoming more essential in the general interest and may be vital as defensive measures in war time. Moreover, it hinders the linking of social privilege and social responsibility which has been so marked a characteristic of the development of the democratic system in Great Britain, and is more than ever essential if respect for human personality is to be preserved in the face of totalitarianism.

Mr. Murry indeed writes scathingly of many who profess to be leaders of democracy, and he demands clear and fundamental thinking on the two-party system and democracy as a whole to-day. What he is concerned to find is a system of education which will provide, not merely technically competent leaders, but also leaders who will safeguard for us the great values we have inherited. It is this view of life as a whole, in which moral and ethical no less than social, scientific, technical and artistic elements are respected and blended that leads him to place his main emphasis on the recognition by Christianity of its social relations and implications.

Already in other countries a new ruling class is coming into being, and the need in Great Britain is immediate. The character of the State is determined by the conception of its social responsibilities held by the ruling class. It can select, and under totalitarian impulses it does select, the elements of man's lower nature for embodiment in the character and purpose of the whole social order. Under Christian impulses it can equally reconstruct the State to serve the highest ideals of which humanity is capable. The choice made by the ruling class is determined by the training given to the minds of its members in the schools.

Mr. Murry asserts that the acceptance in Great Britain of State action solely as a channel of personal advantage without any philosophical or religious conception of the State as representative of the higher selves of man to whom duties are primarily owed, has left the moral initiative in

Europe to the new totalitarian nations. The conception of the State as the instrument by which a democratic society is educated to the knowledge of its own nature and purpose is, however, a Christian conception, and Mr. Murry clinches his argument by contending that the religious basis of social life at which he aims can be realized in the schools, and was realized by Dr. Arnold and others. Moreover, when the new industrialists entered the ruling class, they found that individualistic morality was insufficient, and from their ranks came the leaders of a new movement towards a social religion able to meet Marxian materialists on their own ground.

For Mr. Murry democracy cannot exist without Christianity. Unless democracy is constantly revived by the regeneration of its individual members by Christian education, it must degenerate into totalitarianism. Either the individual must learn to conquer his lower self and attain his true personality as a citizen of a Christian society, or the democratic State, abandoned to be the instrument of the lower selves of its members, will enforce upon him a uniformity which is destructive of his whole personality. "A modern industrial and democratic society by reason of its economic complexity, cannot suffer itself to become anarchical. If it is not permitted to develop creatively into a Christian society it must become a totalitarian tyranny." Like Sir Cyril Norwood in his suggestive address last year on the relevance of Christianity in the modern world at the conference for young public schoolmasters, he claims that national education should be frankly based on Christianity conceived broadly

in terms of the spiritual values of truth, beauty, and goodness—values which are increased by being shared.

With very much in Mr. Murry's argument scientific workers will find themselves in real sympathy. They are profoundly concerned with all that makes for the maintenance of freedom of thought, of speech and of investigation and the preservation of spiritual values. Respect for human personality should be as cardinal a principle with them as loyalty to the truth and disinterested search for the facts. In their growing concern for the social consequences of their work they are conscious that, as Sir William Bragg pointed out, in his Pilgrim Trust Lecture, the spirit in which knowledge is sought and the manner in which it is used may be more important than knowledge itself. They themselves have to supply the natural knowledge for a solution of the problems of society, and help in its application. Their effectiveness depends equally, however, on their moral influence, on the devotion, wisdom and good will which they bring to their task. They may well be grateful to Mr. Murry for the clarity with which he displays the moral issues, for the force of his challenge to discard cant about democracy and to think out all that is involved in the training and selection of leaders for democracy not merely as we know it to-day, but as it might be in an ideal society. Nor should they forget that such fundamental thinking will point the way for them to make their own contribution to leadership and to secure the more effective utilization in the service of the community of the knowledge already available and increasingly being placed at its disposal.

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## STATE-CRAFT AND MEDICINE

**The Building of a Nation's Health**  
By Sir George Newman. Pp. xiv + 479 + 8 plates.  
(London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1939.) 21s.  
net.

**SIR GEORGE NEWMAN**, until recently Chief Medical Officer of the Ministry of Health and of the Board of Education, in a preface to his latest work, entitled "The Building of a Nation's Health", states that he intends it to be a "summary record of how statecraft and medical knowledge took council together at the opening of a new epoch of preventive medicine". From one point of view this admirably describes the task which

the author has so excellently performed. The responsibility for building and maintaining health in Great Britain may be said to be shared between the medical profession, the State, and the individual citizen. The part of the last named, though it is of essential importance and though it may even be obscured by some activities of the other two agencies, is not dealt with in Sir George Newman's book. This is legitimate, for the responsibility of the individual for his own health, and therefore to some extent for the common health, is somewhat apart from that of those other agencies, and may well be approached from a different angle and separately described or