

conceptions, in the interest of government, of civil or religious legislation, of political, commercial, or industrial progress, sometimes only with a view of opposing conventional theories and bringing about much-needed reforms. But impartially to gather together data descriptive of the origin, the organisation, and the development of the collective life of man, to analyse his dependence on natural environment, on the growing complexity of his inner life, to understand the stages of historical development, the rise, culmination, and decline of nationalities and races, to forecast the future and to form some idea of the constitution of what has been termed the liberal state, and of the larger international and social organisation of mankind—the *civitas humana*,—all these various problems seem to have received conscious recognition only in the course of the last hundred and fifty years, and this again only since original thinkers have ventured to discard altogether existing conditions and to build a fresh fabric of human society upon rational and moral principles. No opportunity¹ to do this with full con-

¹ See, however, *infra*, p. 428 n. The philosophical writers who had most direct influence upon the drawing up both of the American and the French constitution seem to be Locke (following upon Hobbes) and Rousseau; the formulæ made familiar through them being the 'Rights of Man' and the 'Social Contract.' Montesquieu's inaccurate analysis of the English constitution played also an important part. Mr Whittaker refers to the following recent accounts of the subject for fuller information: 'Cambridge Modern History' (vol. vii. p. 174; vol. viii. pp. 19, 20, 177-178); 'Encyclop. Brit.' 11th

ed. (vol. xiv.; 'Declaration of Independence'), and remarks: "What Rousseau had to give was compact form and a certain emotional effect. Carlyle's and Burke's prejudices (not the same but telling in the same direction) seem to affect most English writers; even those who see that the Revolution was inevitable think they are bound to make light of such 'formulæ' as unrealities. Without the formulæ, which might be talked by declaimers but were the result of a long process of thinking, it seems to me that the Revolution must have remained 'without form and void,'—a mere 'general overturn'