By I. HARRIS, M.D.

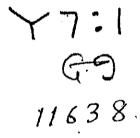
NOTE

The structure of society and the state are here examined from the scientific standpoint through a review of history. This scrutiny of humanity within the state brings under one focus its evolution, and such elucidation offers scientific guidance to some of the more perplexing problems of the day. In particular the author formulates two laws of human progress, the one concerned with the social structure of the state, the other giving the relation between nations.

By

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CONTENTS

							PAGE
Pre	FACE	**	* *	* •	• •	* *	vii
Inti	RODUCTION	* *	• •	* *	• •	• •	ix
эна р. І.	RACE	••	• •	* •	••	1	19
II.	NATIONALI	TY	• •	••	••	* *	35
ш.	Humanity	••	* *	• •	••	• •	65
IV.	REGULATIV	e Agi	ENCY				120

PREFACE

This volume was written soon after the end of the Great War and an introductory part of the work was published under the title of *Immortality* (Williams and Norgate). Since then a great deal has happened. 1939 seems to be a more auspicious year for marketing a book of this type than 1921 was.

A critic to whom the manuscript was submitted for an impartial opinion, after reporting that the volume is full of sagacious reflections and suggestive ideas drawn from many fields of research, states that "the manuscript will appeal to a rare type of reader. It makes no concession to popular prejudice." I am sure, however, that, in spite of the fact that this book makes no concession to popular prejudice, the two propositions postulated in it are acceptable to the great majority of the people of this country. They are (1) to place the British Empire in an impregnable position against all comers; (2) Economic security for everyone.

England is drifting towards Niagara Falls. Only a radical change in economic structure and outlook on life can avert an overwhelming catastrophe.

37, Rodney Street, Liverpool. I. H.

It is impossible to deal with any problem appertaining to human society without reference to first principles. Without the latter life becomes meaningless and we lack all measure by which to appraise social values. Man is part and parcel of universal existence: his destiny is interwoven with the living universe; he is shaped by universal forces, and he is here to execute cosmic designs the import of which is hidden from him. The meaning of human deeds can only be found in the meaning of the universe as a whole. We do not know the meaning of life; we cannot tell which form of conduct is right or wrong. But cosmic designs manifest themselves in laws of nature, including those of human society. Scientific knowledge is a divine revelation beyond which it is impossible to go. In all our thoughts and actions we must be guided by a compass which points to the source of all life. This compass is, so far as human society is concerned, the biological laws.

The main task of this book is an exposition of two elementary laws of biology. (1) a nation within progresses increasingly towards closer co-operation between its members. (2) the relations between nations are governed by laws of natural selection.

A nation within progresses increasingly towards closer co-operation between its members. I will give some reasons here, and more will be found in the text why the present economic system has become untenable.

- I. As a heart specialist and researcher in high blood pressure, and lately as a director of the Institute for the Prevention of Disease affecting normal middle-class people. I have been struck most forcibly by the havoc which competitive capitalism has wrought on the physical being of the community. Degeneration of the heart, brain, blood-vessels, hardening of the arteries, are illnesses largely the result of the modern conditions of living. Competitive capitalism is a vital factor in diseases which kill and maim the majority of men from 40 years onwards. It is clear that the human machinery, flesh and blood, is unable to withstand the strain of competitive capitalism and the latter destroys the very class it is supposed to serve. I am sure the number of premature deaths owing to the present economic system is much larger than that of those who go under in the battlefield. (See my book Diet and High Blood Pressure-Hogarth Press.) Surely the criterion of a particular economic system is whether it permits the individual to lead a healthy normal life. Any system which does this is sound: any system which falls short of this standard must be rejected.
- 2. The most vital problem of our times, however, the solution of which brooks no delay, is that connected with population. As is well known, the time is fast approaching when the birth-rate in this country will be below the mortality rate; and, what is infinitely more serious, the quality of the population is deteriorating owing to the rapid disappearance of the middle classes. It is largely the economic factor which compels members of the middle class to commit race suicide. It is strange that the very people whose task it was to preserve the present order have done their best to undermine its foundation. Super tax, and particularly succession duties, have interfered with private enterprise and, more seriously,

they have exercised a most pernicious influence on the biology of the population. It is not generally realised that in the breaking up of a big estate, a big business, a superior human strain, selected, segregated, preserved, is permanently lost to the nation. The position of a member of the middle classes has become impossible. He has to bear the bulk of the burden of defence and the cost of social legislation. A Socialistic state would not extract a heavier contribution from him, but in return, at present, the state does nothing at all for him. He must carry on or go under. I doubt whether the bitterest enemy of this country has ever inflicted so much harm on it as the government which is responsible for this type of taxation. It is destroying the basis on which the selection and preservation of the bestendowed human groups rest, and it is doing nothing to put something else in its place. Population cannot be improvised in a short time and favoured human strains take centuries to evolve. An empire cannot survive without an imperial race. The problem of population must remain, unsolved as long as the present economic structure is retained.

3. What makes the present economic order so impossible is the fact that the laws governing competitive capitalism have not been allowed to operate without interference. I have already dealt with taxation. Unemployment is another example of this kind. Without unemployment benefit certain economic laws would have become operative. Wages would have had to become lower, commodities cheaper. In such circumstances demand would rise more towards the level of capacity of supply. Other factors, such as emigration, would have become operative. But the safety valve has been prevented from acting by the dole. The unemployment grant must result in an increase in cost of production, because industry

has to provide the funds for the benefit. A vicious circle is thus established. The greater the number of unemployed. the greater the cost of production, the latter resulting in a greater increase in the number of unemployed. Sooner or later the burden which private enterprise can carry will reach the limit and the whole economic structure will come toppling down with a crash. If the competitive capitalistic system is to prevail it is fatal to interfere with the rules governing the system. An economic system based on capitalism cannot possibly be reconciled with Socialistic legislation. We must either have relentless competition or something quite different must take its place. Incidentally the figures of unemployment demonstrate clearly that the out-of-date economic system is totally inadequate to grapple with modern problems. Although we have almost two million unemployed it was difficult to find labour for rearming, and there are large tracts in the empire remaining undeveloped for want of man-power. The unemployment problem too must remain insoluble under the present economic system.

4. The real reason why the old economic order has become impossible is a biological one. A nation is an individuality with definite laws of growth like a tree, a flower. At each stage of development, if not prematurely decayed, it unfolds certain characteristic structures in the same way as a plant exhibits certain successive stages of growth—foliage, buds, blossoms, flowers. Now the political structure of European nations has developed from the feudal system into central government. It is not generally realised that politically this country is really a kind of communistic society. Equal political rights for everyone, with officers of state deliberately elected. Now the development of the economic structure of society must closely follow the political. The present economic

structure is still at its feudal stage of development, but forces are already in being-I have enumerated a fewwhich must transform the feudal economy into a central agency embracing the whole nation. The fact is that at a certain stage of national development the economic structure must follow on the same lines as that of the political, or the nation is doomed. Collectivism is not an alternative system to competitive capitalism—it is the only system possible when a nation has reached an advanced stage of development. The type of collectivism I have in mind is not Communism; in fact there are important biological reasons for the retention and even for the further development of the class system, although this system will no longer be based on capitalism. The matter · is as follows: the political structure of society developed from the feudal stage into a central government by Parliament. The economic structure is still in the feudal stage of development. Despotism in the long run has never proved itself an efficient form of government. Parliament has not failed, but feudal economy is inadequate to supply the needs of modern times in the same way as the armies of the feudal lords would not be a match for a national army. What is needed is for feudal economy to follow the same line of development as the political towards national unity. It is my conviction that England is at the cross-roads, and unless it can replace the present worn out economic system by effective collectivism it is doomed.

The second law is as follows: the relation between nations is governed by natural selection. War is as old as man, but natural selection does not operate in the same way in human society as in animal species. A particular animal breed survives because members belonging to this race are endowed with the quality of superior fitness.

The individual survives as such because of his superior endowment, while, on the other hand, in man it is the corporate body, the nation, which has to endure the rigour of natural selection. We may be quite sure that the races of man have not altered at all so far as innate characteristics are concerned for the last five thousand years. Yet what a panorama of peoples and civilisations who have appeared and disappeared in this period! Humanity as a whole has doubtless during this time made progress in a well-defined direction.

Let us take a concrete example. Nine hundred years ago there were a good many people in the world, as numerous as those who were the ancestors of the present inhabitants of this country. But some of the contemporaries of the Anglo-Saxons of nine hundred years ago have disappeared, others have made but little progress This is a cosmic fact of tremendous import. Literally it means that the Anglo-Saxon stock has been chosen from a large number of people to occupy a predominant position for a considerable period in human history. We may take it that the present position of the Anglo-Saxon people in the world has been conditioned and given by the general growth of humanity, and that it is in the interests of humanity as a whole—the present and the future—that this people shall prevail and not the Hotten-Such a phenomenon is an expression of cosmic processes in the same way as those which determine the evolution of a solar system. Without the active operation of natural selection in the form of war mankind would never have attained its present position. War has been an instrument for carrying out cosmic designs. It selects people and races whose natural proclivities are in harmony with the spirit of the age and puts them on a pedestal, thrusting others into oblivion.

Could another agency such as the League of Nations effectively replace war as a regulator of human progress? Would such an agency do away with any nation that has outlived its usefulness, or would it preserve it? Which stock is to people the sparsely populated regions? Human progress is only possible by new nations with new qualities constantly appearing and replacing worn out states. To be able to say which nation should become dominant at a particular period it would be necessary to know the goal to which all humanity tends. Alas! we do not know it. I am sure had there been a league of nations in Egypt in the time when the Pharaohs were at their zenith Egyptian civilisation would still prevail. If the League of Nations had been instituted when Spain was predominant in Europe that country would still have remained predominant. Without natural selection, without war, human society would not have existed. The striving after national aggrandisement and imperialism is the most sacred cause in the world, and war is an agency by which cosmic purpose realises itself.

Let us examine recent events in the light of the principle just enunciated. After the war a number of small nations were created who were not strong enough to maintain themselves without outside help. The natural tendency is for smaller units of society to grow into larger ones. This process was reversed. Now a war or a series of wars will have to be fought out in order to rectify the mistakes of the visionaries responsible for this arrangement. For the gospel of self-determination is an illusion. Had this principle been acted on when England consisted of four or five little states the mighty British Empire could never have existed. The smaller units must come within the orbit of attraction of the greater. The individual is part of a whole. The position he has to occupy is given by

universal existence. If these small nations do not voluntarily agree to form themselves into larger units they will be absorbed by their more powerful neighbours. There is no reason at all why a small nationality which is unable to stand on its own legs should be kept artificially alive.

Again the law that to the victor belongs the spoil is older than man. There is nothing wrong with this principle. But the gentlemen who arranged the Treaty of Versailles lacked the strength of character to give certain transactions their proper designation, with the result that conquered colonies became mandated territories. If conquest had not constituted valid title-deeds for territorial possession, then how many nations could claim rightful ownership of their countries? The mandatory territories ought to become British colonies.

But the most urgent problem at the moment requiring solution will be found nearer home. Sooner or later this country must be involved in a struggle for its very existence. It is foolish to talk of appearement. We might as well endeavour to make the force of gravitation inoperative by a chant of soft words. We are up against primordial forces.

For generations this country clung tenaciously to a principle governing its foreign policy of opposing with all its might any power which sought domination in Europe; and now, when the need for such action is greater than ever, the feeble grasp and blurred vision of an old man is loosening for England its hold on a policy which has proved its life preserver through bygone ages.

But more than this, history teaches us that it is not the decadence of the individual member of the state which brings down a nation. It is a defective, usually worn out organisation which brings about the fall of empires.

Sooner or later under normal growth a stage is reached in the affairs of a nation which must either lead to a revolutionary change in its structure—a rebirth or a catastrophe. We are witnessing at present the agony of dissolution of a society based on economic feudalism. At the same time we are in the throes of labour pain which heralds the dawn of a new economic age. This country is in for a testing time more severe than ever before in its history. Woe to a nation which cannot adapt itself to the requirements of a new age! In this hour of trial, when the fate of the British Empire is trembling in the balance, I plead most earnestly that party loyalty should give place to the greater loyalty towards the state. A new organisation embracing the whole nation should be created, the sole purpose of which should be the setting in motion of economic machinery of maximum efficiency. Such machinery would be of utility both for purposes of peace and war.

I am quite sure that as long as the present economic structure is retained in this country the gap in the pace of rearmament between it and its potential enemies will increase in favour of the latter. A radical overhaul of the economic system is overdue, apart from the question of war. It is time too that the tug-of-war which goes on between classes and individuals within the state, which represents so much wasted effort, should cease. The proper sphere for a policy of appeasement is within the country and the empire.

We must create conditions, even if it means lowering the standard of living for some sections of the population and increasing the hours of work, which will allow us to compete on more equitable terms in foreign markets; and a population which cannot be absorbed in industry in this country should be transferred to British possessions overseas.

B **xv**ii

If all the resources of the British Empire were fully mobilised the position of this country would be impregnable against all comers. An imperial Parliament and an imperial prime minister, and ministers of foreign affairs and defence, ought to be an ideal to strive after.

I should like to conclude as I began. According to Weissmann, death came into the world as an adaptation in the interest of the progress of the species. We are the playthings of universal forces the behests of which have to be obeyed. To appraise rightly cosmic agencies such as war, imperialism, etc., we must divest ourselves of all sensation and all feeling; we must view the problems from behind and beyond happiness, pity or sympathy with human suffering. We are face to face with cosmic forces, the warp and woof which weaves eternal existence.

CHAPTER I

RACE

Race* as an Elementary Structure of Humanity

Wherever we find man, in a savage state or living under highly civilised conditions, there we find face as the most important factor in social cleavage. Race is a force powerful enough to cut across the political boundaries of the modern state as it was the base of primitive society. Race forms the elementary unit, the foundation stone on which the whole edifice of humanity rests; the history of civilisation is nothing but the life history of several human races, and the different epochs of civilisation are related to so many races, which at one time or another became predominant factors in the progress of humanity. It seems as if it has been predestined from the very beginning that race shall form the elementary structure of humanity.

[•] For the purposes of this work the exact scientific definition of "Race" is not necessary. All I want to imply is that there is a difference in character, say, between the Aryan and the Semitic peoples, and that no doubt if Britain had been populated by Arabs the history of this island would have been different. All races might have had a common origin, and man might have descended from animal species, yet there is a profound difference between the former and the latter.

Stability of Racial Characteristics

Races have certain characteristics, always abiding. never changing. The stability of species in the animal kingdom is well known. The species of animals existing now have remained unaltered for thousands of years. Human races do not differ in this respect from other beings. As a matter of fact, as far back as we can trace the races of man, they have retained their well-defined characteristic qualities, physical and mental. The present generation differs but little from their Pliocene ancestors. It is inferred from American fossils, which show characteristics almost identical with the forms still surviving, that human species have not varied since the quaternary time. From European fossils similar inferences have been drawn. In the first report of the committee appointed to obtain. photographs of racial types in these islands, it is affirmed that primitive racial types may still be recognised among the present inhabitants of Europe. According to Dr. Heinze the stability of race is so great that after thousands of years we still find among our population nearly pure descendants of our quaternary ancestors. Types found in Egyptian mummies prove that they do not differ from their present descendants.

Races of Man are Different and Unequally Endowed

Races of man are different and unequally endowed, but the differences of mental and moral qualities are as deeply rooted as the physical. At every turn one thing becomes manifest—the wide gulf which exists between one race and another in regard to mental and moral calibre. Social and economic institutions. manners, thoughts, forms of speech, philosophy, language—they are an expression of peculiar racial predisposition. There is no necessity to go to the extreme ends of the racial scale to demonstrate the existing differences. Here in England, living under the same environment. Saxon and Celt show such marked differences in thought, action, mode of expression, that the most superficial observer cannot fail to notice the deep gulf which exists between these two races. In this respect Morselli's law is instructive, the purport of which is that the purer the German race the more it reveals an extraordinary propensity to self-destruction. As has been pointed out, the distribution of suicide in Britain takes place in accordance with this law. Suicide is more common in England in the counties where the Saxon element predominates; on the other hand, where Celts form the majority, suicide is rare. Wales and Cornwall are comparatively immune, as also are the Highlands of Scotland. England being a predominantly Saxon country shows a great frequency in suicide, with the exception of the counties where the Celtic population predominates. This difference is more accentuated in the case of Jew and Gentile. It is two thousand years since the Jews left their ancestral home. In Western Europe and America they fully participate in the general culture of the people among whom they are living, yet withal they remain the same people they always have been.

They still retain their characteristic appearance, are subject to peculiar diseases, show a special aptitude for particular callings, and their vices and virtues are different from those of the rest of the population with whom they sojourn.

Different Races Do Not Mix Readily

Racial pride and prejudice, racial egoism, are not vain sentiments. Like other instincts of man they have a meaning and a function to perform in human development. They are as powerful now as they were in days of old.

Man has always exhibited the strongest aversion from racial intermixture. The feeling is as powerful among the ultra-modern Americans as it was in primitive society. The Americans who practise lynch law against the mesalliance of black and white obey the same primitive instincts which induced many of the savage tribes to create taboos against marriage with a member of a strange race. Different races do not mix readily, even if a certain kinship exists between them. Celt and Saxon have been living together in these islands under the same political organisation for hundreds of years, yet they are still separated from each other, whilst it took only a short time for Angles, Danes and Normans to coalesce into one people. The affliction from which Europe is at present suffering is more than anything else due to the fact that modern States, disregarding racial proclivities, have brought incompatible elements under one organisation. The

struggle and stress of the whole history of man—war, devastation, misery—has centred in race more than anything else.

From a biological standpoint miscegenation of races has resulted in a distinct failure. The inferiority of the mongrel in comparison with the true-bred is too patent a fact to need elaboration. Professor Ed. Ewald has shown that domestic animals reproduce with great uniformity if kept apart, but the moment one mixes up two different races an epidemic of unstable variations results from it. This fact has a significant bearing on natural selection and incidentally on progress in general. The task of natural selection is to perpetuate and intensify individual peculiarities which have a survival value. It is obvious if those characteristics are unstable natural selection becomes ineffective. The crossing of two different races often results in sterility.

There is ample evidence that in man, too, the intermixture of races leads to deplorable results. H. Hunt, who made a comparison of the brains of half-castes in the American Civil War, came to the conclusion that the mixing up of negroes and whites resulted in individuals much lower than either. Dr. Kneeshaw, of Boston, gives a terrible account of hybrid races, of negro and white. They are less prolific, they show shorter lives and are stunted. Another authority asserts that with the cessation of a fresh supply of European blood, Mulattoes will cease to exist. The intermarriage of Mulattoes of the second generation and whites is supposed to lead to particularly fatal

results. As a rule, when the intermating between races does not lead to such deplorable results, there is some degree of kinship between them.

Culture is the Product of the Racial Genius

Culture and race are interdependent entities. A specific culture presupposes an equally specifically endowed race.

Culture is the product of the racial genius. Methods of government, institutions, to be effective, must bear a relationship to racial propensities of a people. Cultures of different races are incompatible.

On the other hand races which show a kinship, no matter how different the conditions are under which they are living, are susceptible to the same cultural influence.

The Polynesians are a savage people, but in features and physical form they resemble the Aryan race; they themselves are quite amenable to European civilisation. The same applies to the Berbers of Tunis, who are an Aryan race, and become quite modernised by French influence, whilst their neighbours in North Africa, the Arabs, are degenerating under the same stimuli.

Similar Racial Peculiarities imply Similar Cultural Aptitudes

By common consent the influence of Greek and Roman cultures on European civilisation is immense. Our science and philosophy are continuations of Greek science and philosophy, our institutions, our laws, have been profoundly influenced by the form of government of the Roman commonwealth. But it must not be forgotten that Greek and Roman civilisation came actually more into contact with the people of Asia Minor and North Africa than with the Aryan population of Europe. Thus in Europe among a people of similar racial propensities it acted as a leaven for new cultural growth; among the Semitic races, on the other hand, it fell on barren soil; it could find no favourable conditions in which to germinate and take root.

European culture will never become an organic part of the life of a people which has not Aryan blood in its veins. There is no natural sympathy between the two. It will not quicken their national consciousness, it will not act as a leaven to raise the slumbering forces which may be dormant in them, to originate a culture of their own. The moment European authority ceases they will fall back into their original way of living. It is even doubtful whether colonisation of this type has any advantage from an economic point of view, whether adequate return is received for the blood and treasure expended in governing these people.

Humanity would be far better served if these people were left to themselves, to work out their destiny in their own way. How different are the results obtained from English colonising efforts in America, South Africa, Australia, amidst a people of its own stock, belonging to a kindred race. There we have a natural form of colonisation, "daughter colonies" in

the truest sense of the word. There the institutions of the Mother country have readily taken root. They are destined to grow and flourish, ultimately overshadowing the mother tree. From these small islands have radiated influences which moulded the character of the populations of whole Continents; the daughter colonies are true replicas of the Mother country: in them the ideals and ideas, the institutions of the Mother country will continue to exist. The seed which England has sown across the seas will germinate and bear fruit a thousandfold. We of the present generation can hardly form a true estimate of the results already achieved. It will take hundreds. possibly thousands, of years before the meaning of British colonising activities is fully appreciated. One day it will be found that the Anglo-Saxon influence on the destiny of humanity will far exceed that of Rome, Greece, Carthage and Jerusalem.

Mental like Physical Faculties do not Change Readily

We have seen that so far as physical traits are concerned man has not changed for whole geological epochs. This rule applies generally also to his mental faculties. The growth and decline of a nation is often encompassed in a few centuries. As a rule a few centuries are sufficient for a savage people to develop a high civilisation and an equal period to degenerate into impotence. There is no biologist in existence who would even for a moment assert that this span of time is sufficient to alter the innate mental calibre of

the average individual member of a people. Indeed these races, whose historical antecedents can be traced for thousands of years, have shown always the same peculiar characteristics. The lews are an instance of this kind, for they have retained for thousands of years the same traits of character. The Celts, too, from the time of their first appearance in history up to the present day, have exhibited the same racial characteristics. The brilliancy, impulsiveness, love of war, which distinguished the Celtic race in the time of the Romans, are still the characteristics of their modern descendants. A people may live in a condition of savagery, or in a highly civilised state; in the former or in the latter condition it can realise only the traits which are inborn in it. Accordingly, all stages of development of a people conform to the innate racial characteristics, which are immutable. All phases of mental growth can only turn on the same axis. There is no need to go far afield for a demonstration of this trait. The peculiar traits of Anglo-Saxons are the same to-day, when England is the predominant power of the world, as they were in the times of Tacitus, when the ancestors of the Saxons, Normans and Danes were living in a state of savagery. English institutions, which are the foundations of English greatness to-day. were already in existence in the lifetime of the progenitors of the English nation. Such institutions as parliament, local government, judicature, were already well developed among the Teutons according to the first extant records of their doings. The king among ancient Teutons never held unlimited sway over his

subjects, and the real power of government rested with the tribal council, which was constituted on even more democratic lines than the present Parliament. Every freeman had an equal vote and all important matters were decided by one assembly to which all freemen had access. Justice was dispensed in popular courts. the king acting as a judge of appeal which theoretically at any rate he does still. Life and property were as safe among the ancient German races as they are now. Throughout English history these institutions remained essentially the same, whether they are known by the names of Parliament, County Council, High Court of Justice, Witenagemot, Townmot Hundredmot, Even when a despotic king encroached on the liberties of the people, some form of a popular assembly still existed.

The primitive institutions which regulated the life of the freeman retained their vitality, becoming so essentially a part of national existence that they outlived the super-imposed feudalism and formed the foundation of modern institutions. Ancient folk rights were still attested by the Stuarts in the Hundredmot, and the Villagemot then represented by the four ceorls, who even in Canute's day accompanied the Reeve to the shiremoot from every township.

English history, so rich in incident, so full of episodes in which varied factors—King, Barons, People, Puritans, Roundheads, Whigs and Tories, Town and County—come successively into play; yet withal one epoch remains the same as the other; the dramatis persona change and new problems arise,

but the result attained remains ever the same; no matter how violent the strife of contending parties may be, no matter to whom the victory belongs, the goal to which everything tends is the same—the realisation of institutions and a mode of living which are the Anglo-Saxon's inheritance. English history is only an expression of the basic traits of the race—independence, love of freedom, self-reliance, individuality, sane mental balance, solidity. These innate racial peculiarities will assert themselves under all and every circumstance. No matter where the Anglo-Saxon goes: in the farthest corners of the world, under diverse climates, the same institutions have been founded.

He who studies world history diligently will have no difficulty in perceiving that all incidents and episodes in national life, in the infancy as well as in the maturity of nations are the outcome of the same racial traits. which are never-changing. Institutions, modes of government, in order to prosper, must originate from national consciousness, must be in complete harmony with the national being. Transplantation of cultures will but rarely take root in foreign soil. Intermixture of different cultures is as harmful to national welfare as miscegenation of races. A new institution, a new legislation, a new form of government, if successful, must not depart too violently from the past tradition of a nation. It is futile to say "This institution, this mode of government, has proved itself of value under this or that people, let us adopt it." This is the way to national ruin. A people can only prosper so long

became so accentuated as to permit of the development of sedentary life.

The same phenomenon repeats itself in the Egyptian civilisation. The people who originally inhabited Egypt were probably a primitive race, a negroid people. As long as Egypt was under their dominion. its culture did not differ from the general state of characteristic neolithic culture. The civilisation dates from a time when that country was invaded by a higher race, the Libyans and Semites. The invaders gave a tremendous impetus to the culture of the country. Painting, pottery, weaving, shipbuilding, work in gold and silver, trade and commerce, all date from this period. For a long time afterwards, the Egyptian civilisation exhibited no new feature. The invasion of Egypt by the Hyksos, the Shepherd Kings, again coincides with a new cultural departure; the use of the chariot dates from this period. But perhaps the most instructive and interesting instance of a complete cultural departure following on invasion by a new race is Crete. This island was inhabited by a Semitic race when Egypt was at the zenith of its greatness. Crete had then a culture similar in every respect to that of Egypt; when a new race suddenly made its appearance on the island—the Aryan race. Homeric age is the outcome of this invasion. Then European civilisation began and the fate of the Semitic culture was sealed. The Semitic civilisation to all outward appearances was still the dominant force in the world; even later on, the dying embers of this civilisation flared once or twice into a blaze. Carthage

as it progresses on lines given by its own racial peculiarities. If a new age requires a civilisation which is not compatible with the fundamental traits of a people, then the sceptre has departed from this people, its doom is sealed. It will have to retire from the world stage as leading actor, and a new nation will take its place, whose characteristics are more thoroughly in harmony with the new requirements.

Historical Proof that Specific Culture and Race run Parallel

We have seen in the last paragraph that the cultural advance of a people is strictly confined within the boundaries of its racial propensities. Accordingly, wherever we find a new type of culture, there we must look for a new people. This is a historical fact.

At the end of the Neanderthal period a sudden rise in culture was witnessed in Europe; the first attempts at sculpture, painting, and house-making began. This attempt coincides with the arrival of a new race in Europe, the Cro-Magnon, who invaded this continent about 20,000 B.C. Again the invasion of the Brunn race in Europe coincides with a still higher culture and development. The organisation of the tribal and clan system and the division of labour is the result of the newcomers. The Neolithic period coincides with the invasion of Europe by a Teutonic and Mediterranean race; a new cultural era began. Agriculture and domestication of animals was introduced into Europe and the division of labour

became so accentuated as to permit of the development of sedentary life.

The same phenomenon repeats itself in the Egyptian civilisation. The people who originally inhabited Egypt were probably a primitive race, a negroid people. As long as Egypt was under their dominion. its culture did not differ from the general state of neolithic culture. The characteristic Egyptian civilisation dates from a time when that country was invaded by a higher race, the Libyans and Semites. The invaders gave a tremendous impetus to the culture of the country. Painting, pottery, weaving, shipbuilding, work in gold and silver, trade and commerce. all date from this period. For a long time afterwards, the Egyptian civilisation exhibited no new feature. The invasion of Egypt by the Hyksos, the Shepherd Kings, again coincides with a new cultural departure; the use of the chariot dates from this period. But perhaps the most instructive and interesting instance of a complete cultural departure following on invasion by a new race is Crete. This island was inhabited by a Semitic race when Egypt was at the zenith of its greatness. Crete had then a culture similar in every respect to that of Egypt: when a new race suddenly made its appearance on the island—the Aryan race. Homeric age is the outcome of this invasion. Then European civilisation began and the fate of the Semitic culture was sealed. The Semitic civilisation to all outward appearances was still the dominant force in the world; even later on, the dying embers of this civilisation flared once or twice into a blaze. Carthage

rose to great opulence and power and, still later, the Arabic civilisation passed through a short spell of splendour. But there can be no doubt that the forces which were destined to overthrow the Semitic civilisation first took shape in Crete. If we follow up the history of Rome we find the same law exemplified. Before the Romans appeared, there was no distinguishing feature in the Etruscan civilisation. Etruria was inhabited by a mixed race of Semites and Aryans, living under a despotic government on the same lines which are characteristic of most oriental kingdoms. The Romans, a purely Aryan race, invaded Etruria; everyone knows the result of this new invasion.

The original inhabitants of India were a negroid race; later on, a Mediterranean and another race appeared. However, Indian civilisation had started with the appearance of a Nodic race in India about 1,500 B.C. The Vedas originated about the same time. Mesopotamia, too, was originally inhabited by a people very much akin to the modern Turks; the civilisation of Euphrates and Tigris started, however, with the invasion of this region by a Semitic race.

The same phenomenon finds an illustration in English history. The repeated invasions by Danes, Normans and Saxons have completely transformed the type of culture of these islands, and England owes its predominant position and the type of its culture to its alien conquerors.

RACE

Environment and Innate Racial Characteristics

Humanity in its onward march has been helped along at each stage of progress by a new race which came into the breach as soon as the protagonists of an old civilisation had exhausted themselves and carried on till the same fate overtook them. To sum up, race is the most important factor in the advancement of mankind. To some extent, it is true, environment played an important part in the history of civilisation. It is certainly not an accident that the banks of great rivers in the old and new world have been the starting points of new civilisations. It is also true that favourable geographical positions have been conducive to national prosperity. Thus it is an undisputed fact that England became a connecting link between the old and the new world owing to her geographical position, and that great economic advantages have accrued to it from these circumstances. It is also true that the discovery of iron and coal in these islands greatly contributed to the national welfare. The most richly endowed people could not exist without natural sources of subsistence.

However, we have seen that both on the Nile and in Mesopotamia the original inhabitants were of a different race from those who founded subsequently their respective civilisations; this was due to the fact that the former were incapable of making use of the natural advantages of these countries. It is obvious that countries possessing great natural advantages will survive and become the dwelling-place of the most

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gifted races. Such countries are bound to attract invaders and the most richly endowed—the fittest will become masters of the soil. But it is race alone which counts in the long run. The history of these islands offers again the best illustration of the truth of this assertion. England was already a great nation before its industrial predominance became a fact and before the American continent played any economic part in the world. The golden age of Anglo-Saxon civilisation was undoubtedly the Elizabethan period, which for once and all has stamped the genius of the people as one of the most richly endowed in the world. England's greatness, during the Elizabethan period, cannot be due to the discovery of coal and iron which took place in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or to the development of American commerce, which took place later still. The contrary is true: a richly endowed people was successful in making the best use of the natural advantages of its country. England inhabited by Hottentots would have remained a howling wilderness, in spite of all its natural advantages.

CHAPTER II

NATIONALITY

Factors which Make up Individuality

THERE is a principle present in every individual entity which governs all its stages of growth; a force which gives it its 'unity. Such a force is common to all individual existence: to the tiniest crystal or the atom, as well as to a whole planetary system; to animal organisms as well as to inorganic bodies. The universe as a whole is such a unit, in which all phases of existence—the past, the present, the future—are an expression of one principle which governs and determines all. It is the soul, the vital principle, the functional entity of a thing.

In the animal organism muscles, bones, nerves, organs; in the flower leaves, petals, colour, stem; in the crystal molecule and atom; in form and function, in all stages of existence, infancy, maturity, decay: are manifestations of the force which gives to the individual its entity.

Natural selection, as the words imply, only selects what has existed before. It preserves something which exists. It creates nothing: it originates nothing. Animal organism, like the rest of existence, is the expression of an innate force which determines

individuality, and the further progress of the species is due to the same innate force. The individual species progresses along the lines given by its innate proclivities. Every stage of further progress is conditioned by this factor.

A nation is such an individual entity; so is humanity as a whole.

NATIONALITY AS AN ORGANISM

A nation is an organism with well-defined laws of growth and decay. There is a functional unity, which governs and determines all stages of national growth. History to the casual observer may consist of nothing but a number of disjoined incidents, of intriguing. scheming personalities, of war and strife. A lucky accident, a happy thought, a chance appearance of a great personality has profoundly altered whole chapters in the history of a nation. A Luther appears unexpectedly on the stage of history and we have a Reformation; a chance appointment of Lord Nelson to the Admiralty secures for England the victory of Trafalgar and incidentally world supremacy, and we are assured by some writers of history that the Battle of Marathon decided whether the future of civilisation should be oriental or occidental in character. But when we study the history of several nations and observe the same broad characteristics in all of them, the same features in all stages of development, the same succession of incidents, we are forced to the conclusion that the happenings of a certain

NATIONALITY

period are not isolated phenomena unconnected with the rest of national history. Even two nations such as England and Japan, separated from each other to such an extent as to exclude imitation, exhibit strikingly similar characteristics in all stages of development. The conclusion is justified that nations, like trees or other organisms, are subject to certain laws of growth and development.

Incidents in connection with the growth of a plant of the same species are similar to one another, simply because they are both subject to the same law of development; both are an expression of the same individual principle. Thus the incidents and occurrences of national history, the physical and mental development of a people, the institutions, values, ideas, all flow from one underlying unity, and the great actors in the drama of national existence, who have given a new turn to national development, as well as the striving, scheming, hustling, planning, ordinary man—all alike are performing certain tasks, the import of which is hidden from them. They are puppets mastered by a power not their own, which shapes and determines their movements.

The whole course of national growth—infancy, maturity and decay—is often comprised within a period of a few hundred years; frequently only a few centuries intervene between savagery and the attainment of all refinements of a fully developed civilisation in the history of a nation. What a kaleidoscopic panorama of people and nations who passed over the stage of the world drama in the last few thousand

years! They all passed through one or more stages of national existence and disappeared. But a few thousand years hardly effect any appreciable change in animal or plant life, unless it be a new factor making its appearance, which revolutionises the conditions of existence. The innate faculties, mental or physical, of a people could not possibly alter in the few thousand or few hundred years which comprise the period of birth and decline of a nation. We have seen in the last chapter that for whole geological periods man's physical and mental faculties have not altered, and there is no instance in natural history of pronounced change of character of a species having taken place in a few thousand years.

We are driven to the conclusion that the forces which become operative in shaping and forming national history are forces belonging to the nation as an organism; the individual's innate capabilities remain unaltered through all stages of national development.

The structural development of a nation takes place in accordance with well-defined laws. In the following pages I shall deal with some of the structures of society as they have developed or are in course of development.

GROWTH TOWARDS GREATER POLITICAL COHESION

A short sketch, 'culled from English history, but applicable with more or less exactitude to other West

European nations, demonstrates the growth towards greater political cohesion.

No matter how far backwards we trace man, he always appears as a member of some collective unit—the horde, the clan, the tribe, the nation, the state. When the ancestors of the chief European nations are first met on the European Continent we find the tribal system already well developed among them.

The single tribe constitutes the social unit, spiritually, economically, politically. The family, the village, form a subordinate body to the tribe. Land was held in common, and class and caste did not exist: neither poor nor rich, high nor low. All members of the tribe were freemen, with full privileges. All important matters concerning the welfare of the tribe are determined by all members. A chief is selected when emergency arises in which leadership is required; but as soon as the emergency passes the office of chieftainship is abolished.

But the march of progress made tribal organisation inadequate. A new and larger type of collective organisation had to take its place.

For the time the highly-developed tribal organisation was dissolved. Everything reverted to more primitive conditions, and slowly, by easy stages, a higher organisation was reached which is characteristic of nationality. Meanwhile force again was the factor which asserted itself and which helped nationality on its onward march.

A succession of immigration waves and incessant tribal wars, led to coalescence of the original small

unit into great communities. Out of the welter of wars and the clashing of tribes, of immigration, a number of nations emerged on the European Continent. Larger masses of the population have naturally outgrown the tribal constitution. As yet there is no great cohesion in the separate elements which have only recently combined, the only unifying factor being the king. But the king is as yet lacking in power and prestige, and there is no standing army to enforce his command.

A change in ownership of the soil affected profoundly a change in the constitution of society. Before private ownership came into vogue the land was divided equally among the different families of the tribe. The natural inequality of man asserted itself and found for the first time scope for its realisation. Some individuals acquired a greater proportion of the soil than was originally allotted to them, while others were even unable to retain the apportioned shares of their holding. As time went on the effect of the unequal distribution of the soil became more accentuated. An increasing number of the population became landless, the soil getting into possession of comparatively few individuals, the landless ones becoming dependent for their subsistence on the great landowner. The former were given certain lands in return for services rendered. Money not being yet in vogue, rent was paid by personal service or in kind. A gulf was created between one section of the population and another. On the one hand we have opulence, prestige, power, and on the other hand poverty and dependence.

A population whose ancestors were all freemen of equal rights and privileges became divided into lords and serfs.

We have seen the tribal organisation become untenable with the coalescence of several tribes into a larger community. Central government has not as yet developed sufficiently to be an effective force, and there was no theocracy or any other restraining influence which could take the place of a government. A state of affairs arose where the natural instincts, untrammelled, unhindered, were permitted to work out a form of government. The fundamental instincts of man were allowed full play. Strength was pitted against strength. Ruthless struggle between the different sections of the population was an everyday occurrence. The strong oppressed the weak. Out of chaos and anarchy a new system of society emerged.

Force was the underlying principle which governed the new order of things and which found expression in an organisation of a society resting on a military basis. A number of greater and lesser lords made their appearance, each owning fealty to a superior lord, the king himself becoming a supreme feudal lord. It was natural that the man who was supreme in battlefields should also acquire vast possessions. A man who was not able to make good his claim to his holding by the sword lost it. It was necessary for the weak to place himself and his belongings under the protection of the strong. In the circumstances possession of the land became synonymous with political power. Political power flowed from possession of the land. The bulk

of the population became serfs owing implicit obedience to a lord; landless, without political rights. Once the inequality started it was bound to become accentuated. The political power and ownership of the soil was bound to become concentrated in the hands of an ever diminishing minority.

If Europe could have been governed from the beginning by some principle other than force, viz., theocracy, if the social unit could have taken the type of patriarchal government instead of feudal, the subsequent history of Europe would have been different. But the racial character of Europe was not suitable for such a type of government. As it was, the feudal society was governed by a principle of rigorous selection. The fittest, the strongest, held the actual power of government, and moulded the shape of the future nation. The most vigorous of the nation were able to assert themselves and leave their impress on the national destiny, and were not held down by such an artificial factor as theocracy.

We have seen how by the unfettered action of the primordial instincts a new type of society had emerged, and how by virtue of cumulative effects a state of affairs has been reached in which the political power and ownership of soil fell into the hands of a few individuals. Feudal government was a great advance towards national government.

Before the feudal society reached its full development the factors which ultimately effected its overthrow were already in being.

The immediate causes which effected a dissolution

of feudal society were: (1) the growth of the towns; (2) the increase of the king's power; and (3) the commutation of the services of the serfs by money.

The commutation of personal service for money payment made the retainer a free man again and thus destroyed the basis on which feudal society rested. I need not dwell here on the phase of history in which parliamentary government replaced the absolute power of the king. Under this type of government every individual possesses equal power, although this power is infinitesimal. The officers of state and defence are chosen by deliberate method—they are not self-appointed. The defence service is organised on a national basis and in an emergency the individual has no choice, no liberty; in a matter on which the very life of the individual depends he has to submit to the dictates of superiors. Politically, England is a kind of communistic body, since every individual has the same political rights. A commonwealth depending on feudalistic military service would not survive very long on the European Continent. It is also characteristic that the Anglo-Saxon people in whom individualism is such a pronounced trait should have evolved the most perfect instrument for central government which has ever existed—the Mother of Parliaments.

We see all the phases of growth manifest always the same tendency, a movement towards greater social cohesion, greater sociality, all phases of growth being a step forward in this direction. Feudal society was a great advance towards political unity over tribal

organisation. Feudal society culminated, as it was bound to do, in central government and in more perfect political national unity. Universal franchise, which has only been obtained recently, was the culminating process of this growth. This country, in spite of its individualistic tendencies, has developed a central government more effective than any in the world. So far as the political structure of the commonwealth is concerned, perfect unity was attained. One phase of national growth ended. We shall deal with the second in the following pages.

GROWTH TOWARDS GREATER ECONOMIC COHESION

Ultimately the economic power must be wielded by those who possess political power. Economic and political development of the nation run on parallel lines. The economic development has not reached the stage of development attained by the body politic. Economically we are still in the feudal stage.

Economic growth was intimately connected with the growth of towns. The town developed out of a village community originally under the protection of a feudal lord. The natural increase of the nation created a surplus population in the country. They drifted to the town. The towns continued growing in numbers and prosperity till they became more powerful than the feudal lords. Incidentally the same factors which brought about a diversity in the rural population of an

original homogeneity were also active in effecting a social cleavage in the town population. Originally the town constitution was based on highly democratic lines. All members of the township were in possession of full rights and full privileges, and the economic status of one citizen was very similar to that of another. The journeyman was simply an apprentice of the same social status as the master and sooner or later became a master himself. The craftsman was not originally a capitalist but simply worked up the material for the Gradually a change takes place in the social and economic status of the town. The master developed into a capitalist, the journeyman was degraded into a position of permanent dependency. The evolution is not as yet complete. As in the case of the land, the tendency was for all industrial concerns to concentrate in the hands of a few capitalists. Every man must owe allegiance to a lord, a sentiment which will soon be applicable to modern industrial conditions, as it was once an expression of the conditions under which feudal society had its being. The small industrial concern is gradually swept out of existence.

As was the case with feudal society in the later Middle Ages, forces are gathering, and have already attained a considerable magnitude, which are destined ultimately to overthrow the capitalistic régime.

The development of capitalism itself works towards this goal. The ever-increasing power in the hands of the few leads to the formation of big trusts. These are always increasing in power and activity and they can only end in one way—in the formation of one trust which

encompasses all the activities of the nation—a national trust, a central economic government. The advantages of a competitive system and of individual enterprise are gradually being lost. After a period of vigorous competition a monopoly is usually established with all the disadvantages of government enterprise and none of its advantages.

Again, the rise of trade unionism to great power, and the chronic condition of strikes, for which there is no possible remedy, can only end in one way.

Above all, the extended franchise has already placed the government at the mercy of Labour. They are still not quite conscious of their power. But an all-powerful Labour government, governing in perpetuity, must be the outcome. But if Labour should actually attain to power, is there any likelihood that economic power would remain in the hands of a class not belonging to them, i.e., in the middle-class? Such a proposition is unthinkable.

Competition as an agency of progress in the economic field is becoming increasingly ineffective. We have seen the big trust tends to become a monopoly. On the other hand, private enterprise is unable to provide for the large scale undertakings which are a feature of modern economic growth.

Undertakings which show no prospect of immediate dividends or no dividends at all—no matter how urgent they are in the national interest—cannot materialise under the present system. There is a vital necessity for a research organisation on a large scale in medical science. Funds are not available for this

purpose, whilst millions and millions are spent on patent medicines or concoctions prescribed by the orthodox practitioners which have no value whatever. Private enterprise could not solve the housing problem after the war. Undertakings such as the Mersey Tunnel would never have materialised if dependent on private enterprise.

As a matter of fact it is the natural tendency in all nations at a certain stage of growth that economic development, like political, should move towards collectivism. The ethic of Christianity was fundamentally an expression of this tendency in the Jewish state after the country had reached a certain level of growth. But the Jews at that time were in a condition of national ossification and could not react to it. The Christian ethic will come to its own when the economic development reaches the same stage as the political.

The Effect of Competitive Capitalism on the Class System

The innate endowment of individuality remains the same through all stages of national growth. Given a homogeneous population, the constituent individuals will keep on somewhat the same level. In order to favour the growth of higher endowed persons, a condition of cumulative selection is necessary. This is impossible without segregation; since the offspring of more highly-endowed parents fall below the average of the general population (Galton's Law), thus cumulative selection cannot take place. In a homogeneous population the difference between one

individual and another will not be great; although abnormalities will still appear, such as genius or idiocy.

The matter assumes a different aspect once selection and segregation take place, which is the case in the class system. The offspring of more highly-endowed parents will still fall below the average of the popu-But the population in this case will be the average population of the class to which the individual belongs and not the general population. In such conditions a superior strain among the higher classes will be preserved. Particularly will this be the case if there is an active process of selection into the higher classes (Ewald's Law). Thus in England, where the invisible barrier which divides class from class is potent, and where at the same time an active selection takes place, the truth of this assertion is obviously manifest. It is difficult to believe that the British denizen of the East End of London belongs to the same nation as the English aristocracy.

In dealing with the biological development of the nation, it will be necessary to trace the growth of the class system of Europe. A highly pronounced class system effects a division of the population into sections, some more highly endowed than others. Where this system does not exist the difference between one individual and another is but slight.

We have seen that the tribal system in the early history of the Anglo-Saxons consisted of a homogeneous community of members of equal rights and equal social position grouped together in villages according to the ties of kinship. The land was held

in common and was cultivated by the efforts of the whole village community. Serfs hardly existed at this stage of development of the German races. As long as such conditions prevailed complete equality of all members of the tribe was the rule. Class barriers against intermarriage did not exist.

Gradually land became the private property of the individual member of the tribe. Private property gave rise to unequal possession, which in turn brought about a division of the population into classes. Accordingly, early in German history, as soon as the land becomes the private property of the individual, we find the people divided into two classes, the earl and the ceorl, the one class gradually sinking lower and lower in the social and economic scale, the other increasing in wealth, power and influence; the ceorl, however, still remaining a freeman. When we pass to the close of the old English period we see the free allodial landowner disappearing everywhere, giving place to the dependent holder under a lord. The free ceorl of olden times has become a villein; subsequently, the constant growth of the Thegn class of landholder, enriched by royal grant and presumably by virtue of some merit, effected this transformation. Feudal society came into existence, pased on territorial ownership. The size of the holding gave the owner the title in the hierarchy of the feudal society he is to occupy.

Thus private ownership transformed a homogeneous population possessing equal rights into a people divided into classes, occupying different positions in

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the social scale, endowed with different privileges and political rights. The town population underwent a similar form of development. The original city dwellers enjoyed equal rights and did not differ from each other in social status. The Guild originally comprised all dwellers of the town. The journeyman was an apprentice, who sooner or later would become a master. Soon, however, the position changed. The master became a capitalist and the journeyman became depressed to a condition of permanent dependency. A class of employed and employers arose, one descending into a lower social and economic scale, the other gaining in the course of generations in power and affluence. In feudal as well as capitalist society the demarcation line between one class and another was but slight originally, becoming accentuated progressively, dividing and sub-dividing itself into different classes and cliques.

The class system of Europe is distinguished from the system which existed in India and Judea in two particular respects. (1) In India and Judea, the barrier erected between one caste and another was insurmountable. A man who had not been born a Brahmin or Levite could never become a member of that caste. In Europe, and particularly in England, the contrary is the case. An active process of selection took place incessantly among different classes of society. Ability made it possible for a man, no matter in what state of society, to reach the highest step in the social ladder. The result was an uninterrupted process of selection and segregation of talent in the governing classes.

All through history the laws of Agalbert were the guiding principle of politics. "A ceorl may become an earl if he acquires certain lands. A merchant may become an earl if he travels thrice the seas by his own means." Ability always ensured advancement of a person into a higher class, and possession was often the visible test of ability. This fact doubtless formed an important element in the survival of the aristocracy in England and incidentally in the vigour of the national organism as a whole. With capitalism dwindling, the class system based on it cannot continue.

European civilisation could never have attained its high level of progress without a class system. National life is bound to increase in complexity to an ever greater degree. The class system is not a relic of a past age but is vital for vigorous national growth. It will have to become even more developed in the future than it was in the past, but on a different basis from capitalism.

We must keep in mind that the structure of society is bound to become more and more complex. It is unthinkable that the structure of modern society should ever revert to the simple type which is characteristic of primitive communism. In the latter each member performs a similar and interchangeable task. The opposite is bound to happen in the society of the future. The state is gaining in complexity and cohesion, so that the task of management of huge national undertakings will become more formidable than at present. The problem which the individual

directing the great undertakings of the future will have to solve will be much more formidable than those of the present. This task will be greater than the average man is fit for. There will be a great need in the future for supermen. There must be officers and men: the few who give orders, the many who execute them. A hierarchy of officers in any economic structure is indispensable. Some type of class system, deliberately selected, must remain a feature of the future state.

The Effect of Competitive Capitalism on Individual Selection

Within the state there is no agency of natural selection operating which has survival value. Those who have been defeated in the struggle for existence do not become extinct, nor are they less prolific in perpetuating their kind than other sections of the population. No appreciable number of people die in these islands from want. Nor do wealthy people use their wealth in order to perpetuate their kind to a greater extent than the poorer classes. Nor can it be maintained that disease is more prevalent amidst the less prosperous members of the community. Medical treatment which hospitals provide for the poor is actually of a higher standard of efficiency than that available to the wealthier class. Nor do the least fit within the state emigrate. There may have been a time in the past when the very poor had difficulty in maintaining themselves. In this way unemployment may have acted as a check against increase in population

of the less fit. In modern times, however, with social legislation and other factors to provide for unemployment the least fit of the community have the same chance of survival as the rest of the population. As a matter of fact the middle classes are decreasing at a greater rate than the lower. It is quite clear that our competitive economic system has no survival value. The struggle and stress of modern conditions of living is from the point of view of biology (the only point of view which matters), meaningless and vain.

The Effect of Competitive Capitalism on Growth of Population

The competitive system in regard to the population problem is extremely unsatisfactory. It is obvious that no nation can continue to support an unemployed population of some millions in number without endangering its very existence. On the other hand, a world empire cannot survive for long whilst the imperial race which founded it is gradually dwindling in numbers.

The time is fast approaching when the birth-rate will be lower than the death-rate, and what is much more serious the type of population is deteriorating owing to the rapid disappearance of the middle classes. The main source from which leaders are drawn for the manifold works of life is drying up. The rigour of competition under modern conditions, together with taxation, is such that the governing classes are succumbing to the strain. Military equipment can be

improvised to some extent, but if we allow a richly endowed stock of human beings to die out, it cannot be replaced. I cannot conceive anything more urgent than the question of population. The very existence of the nation depends on the type of children it produces. Competitive capitalism has now lost the biological value it had in the past as an agency of selection and segregation of society. The factors on which the class system will be based in the future is likely to be deliberate selection.

Selection of Economic Administrators and Other Features in Competitive Capitalism

There are other factors, a few of which I will enumerate, which have changed the whole character of private enterprise. In the past capitalism performed many vital functions. It acted as a selective agency in so far as it placed men in posts of control for which they were best fitted. In the past a man who succeeded in building up an industrial concern became the directing head of it; a man who accumulated wealth controlled it; a man who acquired money possessed the power to use it. From the point of view of national interest the ability to acquire wealth was a rough test of his fitness to administer it. But under modern conditions this method of selection has become less and less operative. At present many of the large industrial concerns are controlled by men who have very little capital invested in them. More and more managers of big businesses are selected in the same

way as political or army appointments are made: in the same way as leaders in a new social order will have to be elected. On the other hand, more and more the average owner of capital is losing effective control of his money. The ownership of capital divorced from control is scarcely private enterprise.

The advantages of the competitive system are appreciated by everybody. The tendency is, however, more and more for all industrial undertakings to be concentrated in the hands of a few people, with the result that competition becomes ineffective.

There is also a tendency among firms handling the same commodity to come to an arrangement with a view to maintaining prices at a non-competitive level. In this way the advantages of competition are lost, while the drawbacks of private enterprise remain. In any case competition has proved itself inadequate to meet the economic requirements under modern conditions. In order to solve modern economic problems, organisation on a large scale is required which private enterprise is not in a position to provide. Nowadays even the mercantile marine cannot carry on without government help.

At any rate, the handicap which private enterprise has to put up with at present is such that it is only a question of time before this method of providing for the needs of the country becomes impossible. Taxation, particularly death duties, on the one hand, and competition, which ever becomes keener, has made the family business which has developed from one generation to another impossible. Competition once

gave vigour to economic life. The over-competition of our age kills. The large estates which are daily broken up tell their own story.

Fundamentally the law of supply and demand is a crude method of meeting the needs of the individual. He either has difficulty in getting what he wants in a period of under-production, or there is a glut of commodities on the market which he does not want. Periods of unemployment follow periods of scarcity of labour. Multiplication of individual undertakings dealing with the same commodity overlapping, raises the cost of production. If all the eight-horse power motor-cars used in the country had been manufactured by one firm, the cost of production would have been materially lower than it is at present.

The economic resources used simply by different competitors to fight each other must amount to enormous figures in the aggregate. The consumer has ultimately to foot this bill for which he receives no return whatsoever. The cost of distribution, including the profits of the middleman, under this system frequently exceeds that of production.

No commercial travellers, no costly show-windows, no advertisements, no fluctuations in value, no exchanges—what an enormous saving there would be to the national exchequer! These entail simple economic waste. Infinitely worse is the deterioration of the public services which has taken place under the influence of competition, and which profoundly affects the material and moral well-being of the nation.

Some of the Evils Inherent in Competitive Capitalism

Our houses are jerry-built; our furniture and clothes shoddy; our food adulterated. We live amidst ugliness and squalor. We are simply pawns in the game of those who exploit our weaknesses in their own interests. We are lured into drinking dens; we are slowly poisoned by vendors of patent medicines—and sometimes by other medicines which are not patent. False values and shams everywhere! The noblest calling—that of a writer or a doctor—is sometimes prostituted for the sake of satisfying the lust for gold.

Private enterprise has reversed the relation between man and the economic structure. Instead of industry serving man, humanity is sacrificed in the interest of productive wealth. It is a supreme economic law that coal must be produced as cheaply as possible. It does not matter at all if the miners' eyes are damaged or their nerves affected by the long hours spent underground.

In the present order of things man is an Ishmaelite in his own country. The hand of everybody is against him and his against everybody. In his own country members of his own profession or trade are ever on the look out to injure him. At present, life is an incessant struggle—an elbowing, pushing, cajoling; within his own community low cunning is a more useful weapon in economic survival than qualities of genius. What a degrading, horror-

inspiring spectacle is the scramble for wealth! The saddest feature of the whole business is that the struggle is so vain, so purposeless. It serves no cosmic ends. Energy which might have been supplied for productive wealth is wasted.

It is difficult to envisage a state of society in which personal gain has ceased to be a driving power in the various endeavours of life. If the whole economic structure had only one single object in view-an arrangement deliberately planned to supply the needs of the inhabitants of this country—would life be the same as now? Would our towns have the same grim aspect as now? Would the large hoardings in vivid colours enjoining us to drink this particular brand of beer, or extolling the life-prolonging virtues of a certain patent medicine-would our prisons, our hospitals and asylums' population be the same as at present? A society in which the fear of privation no longer haunts its members, and the lust of gold no longer operates as a factor of economic life—would such a country not be infinitely superior to the present?

The Effect of Competitive Capitalism on the Individual

After all, the basis of the state is the single individual. How does he fare under the present system of competitive economy? I am referring to a member of the middle classes only—the upper dog. Plenty of leisure, luxurious living, fine mansions, a swift fleet of motorcars. In the spring the Riviera, in the autumn Scotland, winter in Egypt; an unlimited bank account. Such a

life is only possible to a select and rapidly narrowing circle. The number, however, who live at the rate of say 13,000 or 15,000 a year is considerable in this island. We know that a fraction of this amount is sufficient to meet all the requirements of the individual. Provided the needs of the individual are met it does not make much difference whether he lives at the rate of £500 a year or £5,000. Certainly not in regard to food or drink or work. The minimum requirement is at the same time the maximum. Below a certain level of requirement it is harmful to the body. Above it, it is equally harmful—at least it serves no useful purpose. Physically, neither good health nor longevity is attainable by large means. Psychologically there is no doubt a certain satisfaction in living in a grandiose style, but this satisfaction is transient and can be obtained in other ways. In such circumstances it does not seem right that one individual should spend on himself many times more than he can profitably use. As a matter of fact excessive intake of food is a more frequent cause of ill-health than malnutrition. ought to be realised that man is a complex being: that all requirements are given within narrow limits. Generally, if his faculties are to attain the highest pitch of efficiency, they must neither be disused nor overstrained. The competitive system has placed at the disposal of some persons large means many times more than they can use, entirely for their own ends. This may be put on the credit side of the competitive account. On the debit side we must deal with another aspect of the system. The capitalist is incessantly

engaged in a terrific struggle the outcome of which is uncertain. He is haunted by fears and tremblings in regard to to-morrow. He is ever standing on the edge of the precipice, below him economic annihilation. Frequently he is badly equipped for the struggle; frequently he has to contend against forces beyond his control. He over-strains some faculties, others remain undeveloped—discord, strife, maladjustment everywhere, in consequence of which his blood-vessels and heart become damaged, and his nervous system over-strained, neurasthenic, and he dies prematurely.

The rigour of competition has become increasingly intensified, sapping the vitality of the best endowed classes of the nation. Competition no longer acts as an agency for selection and segregation of the fit. On the contrary, it at present crushes the very type which it preserved at an earlier stage of national development.

Instead of being engaged in throat-cutting competition we should agree to run our economic system on a principle of mutual help, when a much more satisfactory state of affairs would accrue. The basis of such an arrangement must be that the needs of each individual must be provided for in full. Equality of status within the state is, however, impossible. Individuals and classes are unequally endowed: some perform a task which is impossible for others.

Competitive capitalism is totally inadequate to meet the needs of the individual and often injures him mentally and physically. At present the individual has to adapt himself to the economic system. The vital

necessity is for a system of economy which shall be adapted to individual needs, physical and mental. We are without doubt working towards an economic life planned on a co-operative basis.

Progress towards Socialisation of the Economic Structure

The structures of society, one after the other, grow, reach maturity and finally decay, but whilst still in process of growth each harbours within itself the forces which are destined ultimately to replace it, just as a .bud conceals in itself the flower, it withers, and a welldeveloped structure makes its appearance. All stages of growth have a certain function to perform in the course of national development. Once the function is accomplished they become extinct, under normal conditions. As we have seen, feudal society had a definite function to perform at the early stages of the development of European nations. It brought order, discipline, organisation, where formerly only chaos existed. It welded together incoherent masses, who had outgrown the tribal organisation, into some sort of unity. The more feudal society progressed in accordance with its own laws of development, the more political power became concentrated in the hands of an ever diminishing number of individuals, the more coherent and better organised the nation as a whole became. In this period of national existence, collective action and common life became possible only when large numbers were under the sway of one person. The feudal type of society shows unmistakably

a tendency to progress, progress towards complete political unity of the nation, and it was only natural that it should culminate in a type of government in which the whole political power should be vested in one authority—a central government. Feudal government was at an end. It had accomplished its task. A definite phase in national existence was reached.

Similarly our present feudalism in economic life must progress towards economic government by a central body.

Economic collectivism is doubtless a further step towards attaining a more complete cohesion of the national organism: Individual liberty may possibly to some extent become limited, but nationality will be the more efficient organisation for it. A condition of equal rights and equal privileges and possessions of the community will be attained, as in times of primitive tribal organisation, with the difference that the organisation is so much more effective and so much more powerful. It is a condition towards which all nationality tends if not prematurely decayed.

Concluding Remarks

Possibly more than anything else which has undermined the present economic structure is the establishment of general franchise. Super-tax and death duties which successive governments have levied have no doubt shaken the very foundation of the present social order. Feudal economy based on private enterprise became very difficult. Ever more and more taxes are

levied on capital. The class system which owes its existence to capitalism has become untenable. It is not generally realised that with the breaking up of large estates and big businesses a superior human strain, selected, segregated, preserved, disappears. The task allotted to the middle classes has become very difficult. On the other hand, they have to bear the brunt of national expenditure, including that of social legislation, but they themselves receive no help from the state. A Socialistic state would not impose a heavier burden than they have to bear. But they receive no benefit such as a collective society bestows on all its members. They must carry on or go under. The strain which the middle classes have to submit to is so severe that the human machinery—flesh and blood-could not stand up to it. They wear out prematurely. In the circumstances it is no wonder that they are committing class suicide. It is well known that the middle classes are dying out at a greater rate than the rest of the population. This fact is of the utmost importance. A favoured stock which dies out cannot be replaced. An empire cannot survive without an imperial race. Empty spaces, not populated by the kith and kin of the mother country, will sooner or later become inhabited by foreign stock. The problem of how to prevent the decline and the deterioration of population cannot be solved as long as the present economic structure is retained. This in itself is of great urgency. Unless steps are immediately taken to create favourable conditions for survival of the best-endowed sections of the population a catastrophe,

complete and overwhelming, is at hand. Apart from that, many other problems cannot be tackled under present economic conditions. It is characteristic that, in spite of an unemployment figure of nearly two millions, it was difficult to produce aeroplanes in this country; and, of course, unemployment itself is a very difficult problem which cannot be solved under present conditions.

CHAPTER III

HUMANITY

Man's Progress Towards Greater Sociality

HUMANITY as a whole is subject to well-defined laws of growth. There is demonstrable a unity in the development of mankind which, beginning with the first human horde, includes all generations of man to the last human existence on earth. The germs of all subsequent features of development were already present in the members of the first horde who passed the Rubicon from the animal kingdom. The physical development of man as far back as we can trace him has hardly made any progress at all. If we leave out of account the Heidelberg and Java man, about whom the anthropologists are not completely in accord as to whether they belonged to the species of Homo Sapiens or not, all other examples of the species man, which have been excavated, show in all material features the characteristics of modern man. Piltdown man flourishing in the early Pliocene period (some 250,000 years ago) shows a brain capacity not inferior to that of the average European of the present age, and we may infer from it that in regard to

65

his innate physical and mental faculties he did not differ much from the individual belonging to the highest cultural nations. The Cro-Magnon man, six feet high, with a good average brain capacity, existing at the later Pliocene period, exhibits very similar features to modern man.

The Riverbed type of man, as Huxley called him, is indistinguishable from the folk who form the majority in the crowded cities of to-day. But I need not enlarge on this point, which has already been dealt with in the first chapter. There is no indication that the individual as such has made any progress so far as his innate faculties are concerned through hundreds and thousands of years. Whilst thus the individual does not exhibit any progress at all within long epochs, the collective unit of which he is a part has gradually advanced in power, in an ever-increasing complexity and efficiency of organisation. From a roaming horde, which formed the social unit of primitive man, to the organisation of a modern nation is certainly a tremendous advance. The most striking fact in connection with the progress of man is his gradual advance towards an increasingly greater sociality. Progress has continued towards this goal without intermission since the appearance of the first horde of man on earth. The roaming horde, which formed originally the social unit of man, might not have shown a much higher organisation than a horde of animals exhibits, but mankind has progressed incessantly since then towards a more effective social organisation. horde was gradually by stages replaced by tribal

HUMANITY

organisation, which in its turn has given place to nationality. The family, the clan, the tribe, the nation, are manifestations of one tendency of forces continually working towards a greater collectivism of man. But even the clan, the tribe, the nation, are really not an adequate expression of this tendency towards collectivism. Incessantly forces are acting towards the realisation of an ever increasingly efficient collectivism. No doubt the tribal organisation was not quite the coherent organisation which it became later on. The tribal organisation with its comprehensive political constitution and its moral laws must have taken whole epochs to reach perfection. We have reached now the stage of collectivism which finds expression in nationality. But nationality had not attained the coherence it has at the present time, and no doubt it is destined to develop still more in the direction of more complete collectivism in a manner undreamed of by the present generation.

Historical civilisation began with the appearance of nationality. But nationality was not the stable and efficient organisation in ancient times that it is now. If we take the pre-European period, which has been taken up by the Semitic civilisation, we see, it is true, great empires arise. But they were in the nature of mushroom growths; they lacked all stability, coherence or permanence; they rose suddenly to great power and as suddenly lost it. There was never any organisation and order which made for permanence. They owed as a rule their temporary brilliance to one individual, the ruling prince, and they

often fell to pieces as soon as this particular individual no more swayed their destiny. Economically they were even less organised and coherent. There was in them little of the specialisation of national functions. which is such a distinguishing feature of modern nationality. Constitutional liberty, orderly and representative government, were unknown. Stability of government was impossible in the circumstances. and the time during which a nation enjoyed independence was relatively short. The development of institutions by gradual and easy stages would hardly have been possible then. When a people succeeded in those days in maintaining its nationality for any length of time, it owed its continued existence to a principle which indeed gave it coherence and permanence, but did not permit any growth or progress.

Religion was such a force. Great nations there were among the Semitic races, nations which sometimes succeeded in maintaining themselves for long periods, but the national organisation was extremely imperfect and progress was hardly possible. Not one of them possessed the compactness of a modern nation, no more than China, with its teeming millions, can be a match for the smallest of the European great powers.

With the appearance of the Aryan races in Europe a new type of nationality came into existence, a collective unit, based on law and order, capable of great development. The Greek city state is an example of this type of nationality. The Greek city states were really separate nationalities. So far as numbers were concerned, they could not have been compared with some

HUMANUTY

of the Semitic empires, but they developed a form of government hitherto unknown.

For the first time a nationality made its appearance where the will of the individual unit found expression in national government. The unity of the social organism was no more dependent on a principle which permitted no growth.

The principle which held social units together was an organisation based on law and order; the whole principles of its constitution were of such a nature as to permit gradual development. They were far more coherent communities than any which existed before them. In Rome the new principle of national constitution found a deeper expression.

Order and law was the basis on which the Roman Commonwealth was slowly built up. The Romans were very careful to organise territories already conquered before proceeding to the next conquest. It took them about 200 years before the Italian Peninsula alone was thoroughly Romanised. The roads and viaducts they created, no less than the political constitution which they called into life, testify to the care and labour they bestowed on the building up of their world empire. Never in history has national life assumed such a complexity as in the Roman empire. Never before had the class system reached such a development, giving rise to division of function among its component parts. No state in previous history could rival it in completeness and solidity of national organisation. The principle of Roman unity, being dependent on common cultural ideals, acting on

similar racial characteristics, was elastic enough to permit growth and development of national institutions unknown before in history.

Withal, the Roman Commonwealth could not compare in completeness of organisation, in solidity, with modern nations. At no time was national consciousness so much developed as it is now in the nations of Western Europe; at no time was the individual economically so dependent on the nation as a whole as at present; at no time had such a wealth of common ideals and cultural attainments so penetrated to all sections of the nation. Millions of individuals are now moved by one ideal. At no time has the collective unit been so effective in co-operative action, so much so that the whole nation is thinking and acting like one individual. We have not by far reached the limit of effectiveness of national co-operation. There are tremendous forces at work which almost before our eyes are revolutionising the whole frame of national existence in favour of a greater co-operative unity.

This is the great fact of transcending importance in the evolution of mankind. The physical organisation of the individual unit does not show any progress through whole eras, whilst the social unit is subject to ever-increasing development.

The Collective Unit as Physical Basis of Civilisation

The collective unit, be it a horde, a tribe, a nation, is the physical basis of civilisation. All cultural attainments of civilisation have been brought about

HUMANITY

by the action of this unit. The latter is an organism just the same as any plant or animal-organism, which as it grows unfolds an ever richer organisation, giving rise to specialised functions. The different types of culture are just the product of the social organism. Accordingly we see that since historical times, the successive stages of progress have been effected by the appearance of certain nations with peculiar characteristics. Ancient Egypt, Sumatra, Peru, Mexico, Babylon, Palestine, Assyria, Phœnicia, Persia, Greece, Rome, the Western European nations, constituting as they do milestones in human progress, stand each and all for a peculiar type of civilisation, a functional expression of their peculiar national proclivities. The solitary individual is incapable of producing anything. Just as the single chemical elements remain ineffective in a state of isolation and have to be formed into compounds before their dormant properties are set free, so is culture the effect of the social unit. The more effective and coherent the social unit is, the richer the culture.

Factors in Civilisation

Considering that the evolution of racial characteristics is an extremely slow process, it must be a matter of surprise to us that the comparatively short period of a few thousand years was sufficient to transform the individual from a savage state into a highly-civilised being, a problem which found partial solution in a previous chapter. He himself may for

present purposes be regarded as almost unchangeable, yet he is the source of all change. It will be necessary to take a comprehensive view of human kind and civilisation if a true solution of the problem is to be found. At the outset we shall have to differentiate between man and the work of his own creation, between the physical organisation of man and his cultural achievements, and we shall have to treat the latter as a separate entity.

In spite of what has already been said, at the bottom of all cultural achievement and social evolution stands, of course, the individual member of society, from whom emanate all the forces of progress. But in a state of civilisation as well as in a state of savagery man is endowed with a great many faculties, the majority of which remain in a dormant state for want. of proper stimuli for their realisation. In this as in many other respects he shares the destiny of all forms of existence. The properties of matter, which find proper conditions for their realisation, are infinitesimal in comparison with those forces which have remained dormant. The difference between the civilised being and the savage is that in the case of the latter the greater number of his faculties are still latent, whilst in the former a great number of faculties have been set free because of the presence of certain stimuli for their realisation.

Progress and civilisation mean, so far as the individual is concerned, a realisation in an ever-increasing degree of faculties which at an earlier stage were undeveloped. It is the stimuli, the external

HUMANITY

conditions, which decide which faculty shall be realised and which shall remain dormant. But we must always keep in mind that new conditions do not create new faculties, but merely set free those which already exist. In the animal world the stimuli for the realisation of faculties are provided by physical surroundings. This physical factor comes also into play in regard to the liberation of man's faculties, but in addition to it another factor makes itself felt to an increasing degree in man, to wit: social stimulation. Man is the creator of his own stimuli: the work which man has produced in turn influences him in a certain definite manner. This is not all. Each individual continuously contributes to a common fund of stimuli. The latter, produced by the combined effort of great numbers and in their turn affecting each member of the human race, thus become the connecting link which binds together all members of the human race into one whole. Each individual is influenced by the action of the whole and in turn influences all action.

As the individual depends for the setting free of his faculties on the common cultural fund, which provides the necessary stimuli, and as we have moreover seen the whole difference between savagery and civilisation to depend on the facilities for the development of the individual faculties, it is clear that the whole cultural output of humanity is the determining factor of each successive stage of development. The individual does not alter for whole periods, nor do his elementary impulses and powers change, but

he is in constant interaction with a medium which is subject to incessant change—the cultural fund. All members of mankind form themselves into a unity with its own laws of growth and development, determining the particular activity of man at each generation and the laws of civilisation. One thing cannot be sufficiently emphasised. Progress in the first instance depends on man's innate faculties, his instances and reasoning power. These faculties have been developed in remote ages in the struggle for existence; they must have possessed survival value.

In subsequent pages, we propose to deal more fully with the individual forces which brought about civilisation. We shall take science, religion and art and watch their own development and the influence they exercise on humanity as a whole.

SCIENCE

We take science in the broadest sense of the word, not confining ourselves to that scientific knowledge which is gained in the laboratory. The sum of knowledge which we designate as science, man gained by bringing reason to bear on his perceptions. Science is an edifice in the erection of which all generations of man have participated. Every succeeding generation commenced where the preceding one had left off. Science is certainly not an exclusive invention of modern civilisation; the scientific proclivity is a birthright which all generations of man have fully

shared in. We who are living at an age which entertains an exaggerated estimate of its scientific accomplishments are hardly able to appreciate to the full extent the scientific attainments of ages long gone by. when the use of fire was discovered, houses built. agriculture introduced. These discoveries had tremendous consequences for the development of mankind. They revolutionised the conditions under which man lived. Every such discovery inaugurated the growth of a more highly-organised social unit. A people depending for their subsistence on the chase, no matter how richly endowed, could not develop any important culture. It is difficult to trace the successive stages of scientific development of prehistoric man, but from the tools which he has left behind, we may infer a continuous progress in the distant past. There is a gradual and uninterrupted progress traceable, as regards refinement and efficiency, in the tools used by successive generations of man. The farther away from our time a generation had its existence, the cruder was the type of tools which it employed. The earliest race known, the Pithecanthropus of Java, which flourished some 475,000 years ago, depended on fallen branches and conveniently-shaped stones for their weapons and tools. They probably did not even know the use of fire. The Heidelberg race, who existed some 250,000 years ago, shows some progress in the weapons they used. They made the discovery that by shaping the stone in a certain manner it might become a more adequate instrument in the hands of its users. The Neanderthal race shows a

definite advance over their predecessors; introduced for the first time specialisation in weapons and tools, such as scrapers, borers, planting tools. They probably were also the first race to discover the use of fire. Later on, among the same people, knives, choppers and axes made their appearance. kindred race, flourishing some 255,000 years ago, built huts from skin and bone and for the first time introduced ivory as material for tools. The Brünn race. which existed a little later, maintained a high excellence in the manufacture of weapons: spears, drinking horns and stone lamps were introduced by them. About 10,000 years ago a Teutonic and Mediterranean race appeared in Europe and tools became more perfected. In Turkestan, some 8,000 years B.C., a great improvement took place in the tools in use. Houses built of air-dried bricks, pottery, wooden arrows, came into general vogue and, later on, lead and copper appeared, daggers and sickles. Some 3,000 years B.C. the high iron culture begins, which coincides with the beginning of the civilisation of Egypt and the Tigris and Euphrates. From now on, an ever-increasing amount of material for a more comprehensive idea of the creative achievement of man is available. The successive development of science, applied and otherwise, becomes easily traceable, and the fine specimens of architecture of the Egyptian period and the various commodities in gold, silver and lead, the elaborate furniture made in delicately inlaid ebony, presuppose tools of great precision and refinement.

But the evolution which tools underwent gives us but a poor idea of the really scientific achievement of prehistoric man. Domestication of animals, agriculture, houses, manners, fire, clothes and the various taboos often enough based on sound scientific principles, such as the taboo directed against consanguinity and against unhygienic living, are all achievements of great magnitude standing to the credit of prehistoric man. Since then applied science has continuously advanced, the last century and the present making great progress in this direction. Steam and electricity, telephones, wireless telegraphy and countless other industrial inventions, all testify to the rapidity with which scientific progress has advanced.

Science as a Factor in Human Biology

Let us for a moment see the scientific achievement in so far as it had a biological influence. These great inventions have completely revolutionised the conditions under which man was living, by providing a new means of existence. Domestication of animals, agriculture, modern inventions, on which industries are based, have made available in an increasing degree large supplies of subsistence which did not exist before. Science creates continuously new facilities for the existence of larger social units which could not exist without them. Without agriculture, for instance, nationality and national culture could never have come into being. Broadly speaking, the complexity which a social unit attains corresponds to the state of

contemporary science. The tribal system could never have reached its full development without the domestication of animals. Nationality could not have arisen if agriculture had never come into vogue, and the modern state could never have reached its complexity without the aid of modern science. But we must not repeat the mistake so often committed of regarding favourable surroundings alone as the main factor of civilisation. That certainly is not so. A horde of animals, if the means of subsistence increase, no matter to what extent, will increase in numbers, but this increase will take the form of an indefinite multiplication of the same type of individuals. Not so in the case of man. With the latter an increase of the means of subsistence will produce a new social unit which exhibits a higher organisation. The proclivity, at least, of the individual to form complex organisations has nothing to do with his means of subsistence. It is an innate faculty of man which, however, can only manifest itself if the necessary means of subsistence are available. In the absence of appropriate conditions this faculty remains latent, it cannot find proper conditions for its realisation, just as chemical elements can only combine at a certain temperature, and nitrogen may assume alternately a gaseous or solid form according to the pressure it is under.

Cumulative Character of Science

Another feature of science is as follows. Science is in reality the product of the whole human race. One

generation starts where a previous one had left off. The preceding stage renders possible a higher succeeding stage. All generations of man have contributed something to the same edifice.

Science is essentially cumulative in its very nature. It is the very essence of its character to increase in a geometrical ratio. It ever conquers new provinces for humanity and it inevitably retains what it has already got. Our daily bread is not the only material advantage we may hope to derive from it. No doubt in future all the requirements of the individual, the best way to satisfy them and every man's position in the social organism will be determined by science.

RELIGION

Man has always evinced a curiosity to know things for the sake of knowing, without troubling himself as to whether the knowledge will be of any practical use to him. The reasoning capacity of primitive man is often under-estimated. It is not correct to place him on the same level as some backward races existing at the present moment. Once we concede to primitive man a reasoning power, essentially similar to our own, of course, without our experience, we shall be able to understand more easily the factors which were at work in bringing about the successive stages of evolution. Primitive man was actuated by the same motives, influenced by the same curiosity and, broadly speaking, applied the same methods in the solution of his problems as we do now. The problem

of whence, and whither, confronted him as it does ourselves, and the method which he brought to bear on its solution is the same as we ourselves apply. To explain the unknown in the light of the known has always been a favourite method of man for the solution of all the problems which perplex him; a method no doubt based on the fundamental instincts of the human being, who strives to comprehend everything as forming an integral part of one harmonious unit. Religion was primarily a theory of existence, pure and simple; the ethical doctrine was incorporated in it at a later stage of its development.

Science and theology, observation and theory, were practised simultaneously in the remotest ages as they are at the present time. Mythology and philosophy, as well as modern theoretical science, have the same fundamental character. They apply the knowledge gained from perception to things of which perception is impossible. We of a different age are hardly able to appreciate that mythological fiction was a reality to the primitive mind. Atoms and ether are hypothetical entities to which definite properties are ascribed, properties borrowed from physical phenomena which are accessible to direct perception. We do not hesitate to attribute definite properties to those hypothetical entities because such an assumption harmonises with all facts known to us. Atoms and ether are realities to us. Similarly, the teachings of mythology harmonised with all the facts known to primitive man, and the gods had a real existence for him. But man gradually increased his knowledge. The basis of his

speculations continuously broadened, and with it the superstructure erected thereon. The various stages of development which religion has undergone correspond to the various stages of scientific development.

Fetishism was a theory of existence, based on all facts known to primitive man. Ignorant as man was then of the existence of natural laws, it was natural that he should attribute a will and faculties like his own to all phenomena with which he came into contact. Each single phenomenon, whether a tree, a river or an animal, became a deity. Later on, with enlarged experience, man discovered that many objects he came in contact with were essentially of the same character. It is obvious that, with the coalescence of a group of objects into a single phenomenon, the different deities they represented would have likewise to coalesce into one unity. The new idea entailed a radical alteration in the conception of the divinity. The idea of a deity immanent in each object became untenable under a theory which puts a whole series of phenomena under one divinity. Nature and God become separate entities, the gods having their being outside nature, directing and governing natural phenomena. Nature on the other hand becomes degraded to lifeless matter. This conception was in complete accord with the new experience man accumulated. Already man himself was beginning to obtain a mastery over nature; he considered himself a being standing outside and superior to nature; a being endowed with free volition. In these circum-

F 81

stances it is pretty obvious why the deity he had created should be in his own image, sharing his attributes.

When man's experience grew richer, the idea of a unity of all nature began to dawn on him. Under this new conception of a unified nature, Polytheism became untenable. The multiple gods disappeared giving place to one God who, however, shared all the attributes of former divinities. A further stage of progress in religious development takes place with the publication of Spinoza's Ethics. At the beginning of the modern period, for the first time an attempt was made to reduce all biological phenomena to general physical and chemical laws. The gulf which hitherto existed between nature and man was bridged over. Man became a conglomeration of chemical and physical properties; he no longer stood outside nature, but became subject to general natural laws. in the same way as the rest of nature. Psychical and physical phenomena were regarded as equally dependent on unalterable natural laws. Free volition existed nowhere in the universe. This new development, which the explanation of biological phenomena underwent, necessarily reflected on the new theological conception. As before, God was recreated in the image of man; but the latter has become now simply a conglomeration of physical properties subject to unalterable laws: accordingly, God became the sum total of natural properties, subject to definite laws, unalterable, irrevocable. Nature and man having coalesced into one, God, too, was brought under the

same unity. As in Fetishism nature and God became identified, there being no longer any necessity to relegate the divine existence outside natural phenomena. Creator and creation became one, subject to the same eternal laws. It is true, many features of the old theology became untenable under the new conception of the deity. Adoration, prayer, religious emotion, the whole theological apparatus, things which have really never been based on the existence of a specific religious faculty—such a thing does not exist-became meaningless in relation to a deity who himself is subject to unalterable laws. He cannot alter his own nature; he certainly cannot alter anybody else's. Nevertheless, Pantheism contains the main elements of genuine religion. In fact, in regard to its fundamental conception of God, it bears a greater kinship to Fetishism, which as a religion represented a greater force than any succeeding it. Pantheism has even got its ethics, as all religions have; the ethics are based on natural laws, such as cause and effect.

Two features in Spinoza's philosophy require amending. Spinoza's deity is essentially a mathematical God. In the sixteenth century an interest in natural science came into vogue, and Spinoza's God became a conglomeration of properties of inanimate matter. But man including his psychological attributes is part and parcel of the universe. Conscience, instincts, emotions, must of necessity exist as a principle in universal existence, to the same extent say as the physical properties of matter. An anthropomorphic deity is quite in harmony with the most scientific

conception of the universe. In the light of modern science it is legitimate to shape the deity in the image of man. Other theological conceptions such as providence follow from this principle.

The other point of Spinoza's philosophy which requires amending is that Spinoza was unable to bridge the gap between the finite and the infinite, between man and God. I think the following consideration provides a means of surmounting this difficulty.

constantly observe phenomena starting apparently out of nothing and vanishing into nothingness. We call them finite. Now we know that something cannot arise out of nothing nor end in nothing. If an object thus appearing and disappearing is an animal, for example, it starts from the ovum and spermatozoon, and the difference in size between the latter and the actual bulk of the mature animal consists of air, water and food, which transforms itself into the living tissue. We perceive the animal vanishing; we name its end-death. We know that nothing perishes, that the body of the animal transforms itself into different compounds. We see that nothing ever really begins or ends, that our ideas of a beginning and an end inherited from the past are wrong. But even this is not enough: we must learn to understand the meaning of terms which are I will only admittedly difficult to comprehend. mention here two expressions. "The universe is unlimited in space." We may assert confidently that space is limitless, since no matter how much we think of space being limited we are invariably being

compelled to think of a space beyond space. The universe unlimited in space is difficult to comprehend, but there can be no doubt that such is a fact.

The other expression the meaning of which we ought to try to understand is "eternity." It is extremely difficult to grasp the meaning of eternity, but this expression is not a figment of the imagination. It is without doubt a solid reality. Something must have existed from all eternity since we cannot imagine the absence of all existence, no matter how far back we go. In fact the affirmation that matter can neither be destroyed nor created presupposes that it existed from all eternity, an idea which still has value in spite of certain modern considerations. Once we grasp the the meaning of eternity we shall find that our idea of the meaning of time will be completely altered. Kant has made us familiar with the idea that "time" is only a product of our minds: that it has no existence in reality. From the point of view of real existence there is only one eternal present, in which all occurrences, all episodes, all individuals have their existence. It is difficult to comprehend the meaning of an eternal present, but by means of television we may focus into one presence two objects which may be separated from each other by great distances. On the same principle we may possibly succeed in focusing the occurrences of the past in one eternal present. Once the true meaning of eternity is grasped it will also be understood that man, being part of eternal existence, he himself and his doings must also be eternal. The life the individual lives is eternal, as well

as his doings, although it ends when he ceases to exist.

Religion exercised an important biological influence at a certain stage of the development of mankind. Not only did social and ethical values become intimately interwoven with religion, but the latter often became the connecting link which united separate tribes into a social organisation. This was particularly the case with the Semitic races. At the early stages of man's progress religion provided the national unity which could not otherwise have been obtained. Accordingly, among Semitic peoples, whether they professed Polytheism or Monotheism, the gods were essentially national gods. Jehovah was the Protector of the national existence of the Jews, as Baal was the defender of the Moabites. Religion was the great and conserving force which gave coherence and strength to the national organism. To this very day the Jew is a striking example of the power of religion as an agent of conservation of nationality. Without a national home, without a common language, scattered all over the corners of the world, persecuted, decried, but united by a common belief, the Jews have succeeded in retaining their national consciousness for two thousand years. On the other hand, religion was never such a powerful factor in the national development of Aryan races. Neither in Greece nor Rome nor Europe was ever religion so powerful as to shape national destiny. No doubt, at early stages of European development, in the early Middle Ages, religion—it must not be forgotten it was essentially

a Semitic religion—exercised a powerful civilising influence, and the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages attempted to introduce Semitic theocracy in Europe and exercised all its influence to found one commonwealth in Europe, founded and governed by Christian principles. But that was not to be. The Aryan was made of different fibre, and all attempts to graft Semitic institutions on European culture were unsuccessful. At the moment, religion can hardly be said to play a vital part in the national life of Western Europe.

It is obvious that nationality in Europe is not based on religion. There are no national gods in Europe.

The Christian conception of the world is not identical with the outlook on life of the modern European. Christian principles nowhere govern the conduct of the individual or international policy. For all the influence Christianity exercises on national life, the gods which Europe worships might just as well be Zeus and Jupiter, Apollo and Venus, instead of Iehovah and Iesus of Nazareth. European civilisation is founded on self-assertion of the individual. on competition, on cunning. Self-abnegation, humility, love of your neighbour as yourself, are principles nowhere acted on in Europe. So little influence does religion exercise at present that people are unconscious of the contradiction which the scientific attitude entails in many vital problems of life. Religion is relegated to the back-waters of life, where at convenient occasions certain meaningless formulæ are pronounced and certain hymns chanted: the

throbbing, pulsating everyday life derives its true driving forces from life itself.

Conduct is regulated by the same vital process. which gives rise to action, and not by a set of stereotyped formulæ, and it cannot be otherwise. Life in Europe is too vigorous, too complex, too progressive. to be at every turn hemmed in by ideas and ideals which have long outlived their usefulness and only succeeded in maintaining their ghost-like existence by artificial mummification. This is the greatness of Europe, but it is also the tragedy of Europe. Europe has not succeeded in making its incomparable achievements in science and arts a basis for a superstructure which shall include its manifold activities under one principle of harmonious unity. A theory of existence is wanted which shall hold pace with European. progress and replace outworn beliefs; a set of principles is wanted in Europe which shall have a real hold on the people, to which it shall be able to apply in all its perplexities. As it is, Europe is distracted by restlessness, dissatisfaction, utter want of harmony.

ART

Every faculty of man, be it mental or physical, strives to realise itself in a definite and characteristic function. The exercise of the muscles, no less than that of the sense organs of sound and sight, of instincts and impulses and reasoning faculty, is accompanied by pleasurable feeling. Use favourably affects an organ, disuse leads inevitably to degeneration. The

individual organs have a peculiar construction of their own (like a chemical and physical substance), and the function they give rise to is just an expression or realisation of their innate nature in the same manner as the magnet attracts steel. Each organ is subject to an optimum law, both in regard to intensity and duration of activity. An activity which either falls short or is greater than the optimum, affects unfavourably the organ and leads to a condition of discomfort. The exercise of the organic function is essentially a pleasurable feeling, but sustained activity, no matter how pleasurable at the beginning, soon turns into a feeling of pain. Rhythm, an activity of a certain intensity followed by repose of a definite duration, so distinguishing a feature of art, is nothing else but an activity which bears a definite relationship to the physiological requirements of the organ. A stimulus which is just sufficient to bring about the optimum function of an organ produces the most effective and most pleasurable activity. Helmholz's theory of hearing is interesting in this respect. According to this scientist, we have an actual battery of resonators in the hearing organ. He assumes that within the auditory organ there are vibrating structures tuned up to frequencies within the limits of hearing from 30 vibrations to about 7,000 per second. We can only hear and enjoy a sound of which we have a resonator tuned up in our ear, and the more perfectly the external sound is tuned up to our internal resonator, the better we hear it. This applies to all hearing. In this respect Mueller's law of specific

irritability is also to the point, according to which each nerve organ excites one quality and only one quality of sensation.

Play is the most joyful activity common to the animal world as it is to man. The exuberance is due to the fact that the activity it gives rise to is best adapted to the physiological requirements of the organ. Rhythmic movement, which is nothing else but activity and repose, which finds expression in dancing, for instance, is based on the same principle. Rhythm is based on a physiological law; rest is necessary to replenish energy. Dancing is an activity best adapted to call forth muscular function in accordance with these physiological laws. Similarly all art concerned with the visual organ is based on the same principle. Perfect harmony, and the greatest joy will only then be experienced, when the stimulus is just of the right intensity, character and duration, which whilst it excites activity of the organ often to its fullest capacity, yet does not over-strain it.

Religion acts as art, it acts on the emotions. That is why instinctively religion is so often combined with song—music.

Even tragedy, concerned as it is with the excitation of the sympathy of the audience—in itself a painful state of mind—yet produces an effect essentially pleasurable in character, just because the impulse of the sympathetic faculty freely finds full scope for the realisation of its function. An idea, too, acting purely on the reasoning faculty, may produce essentially an artistic effect in the same manner as colour and

outline affect the visual organ, or sound the auditory. An idea and the object of an idea are tuned up to each other. A true idea invariably signifies that the object it represents actually exists. If it is true, it is part of creation, as true as creation. People who promulgate ideas are really inspired; every true idea is an inspiration. A sensible idea is one which is in keeping with the mechanism of the thinking organ. Just as sound of a certain velocity will manifest itself in harmony, and colour and outline of a certain type will manifest themselves in beauty, when they are tuned up to the receptive organ—to the eye for instance—so will a "beautiful" idea excite joy as long as it is tuned up to the "eye of the brain." The idea will be a true idea, because it is the outcome of an organ which is a manifestation of a cosmic process. Confused ideas, distorted vision, inharmonious sounds excite painful feelings, just as a resonance box only resounds to the tune of chords for which it is intended; since they are not tuned up to the faculties, they are not true. To simplify matters we have been compelled to dissolve the complex creation of the artist into its constituent elements: we have only dealt with art as it affects the single organ. Actually a work of art hardly ever affects one organ alone. Music is not only an expression of sound, but also of emotion and ideas, nor is painting simply a manifestation of colour, or sculpture of form.

The strange fascination which art exercises over us is due to the fact that in it more than in anything else our inmost being finds a complete expression. It brings to light the hidden recesses of our nature,

it shows how truly noble a function the human faculties are capable of, if, untrammelled and unhindered, they can find their full expression. Art is truth, being an expression of our inmost nature. It is at the same time an expression of the eternal forces which give our being its shape and character. Art is truth, as great a truth as the light and warmth which the sun's rays produce, as true as the course of the stars in the firmament. Art unlocks worlds previously hidden from us, worlds whose existence we have never suspected, which, however, are no less of a reality to us; we feel them, we experience them, our soul vibrates in unison with them, our soul is "tuned up" for them; there are such worlds.

Still we must not forget that our faculties and instincts did not come into being for the purpose of finding delight in artistic creation. After all, art provides only an artificial stimulus to the senses. Art teaches us how the faculties of man should act and be acted upon, if they should give expression to real nature, not in a realm of illusions, but in the actual world in which we live. True art consists in actually leading an artistic life in every direction of our complex being, in relation to our fellow men, as well as in relation to nature. Surely the faculties of man are meant to find their expression in actual life, in being, in becoming. There should be no necessity to go to the picture gallery in order that the eye may gaze at the harmony of colour and beauty of outline. Man's immediate surroundings should be beautiful.

There should be no necessity to go to the theatre in order to find enjoyment in the noble deeds of some mythical hero; our own actions and those of our fellow beings should be such as to excite our noblest instincts. Our daily life, movement, speech, ideas, should be an expression of our inmost being in accordance with the laws governing it. Our daily life should be a symphony, a heroic epoch; every action, every thought should be an artistic expression.

Our sentiments do not require the inspiration of the work of the artist in order to find a full realisation of their nature. There is beauty enough in all creation to satisfy all our longing for the full expression of our being. The real world is more artistic than the creation of the greatest works of art. The blossoming of the spring, the tints of the autumn, the babbling brook, the colour of the dawn, the red of the sunset; sea, mountain, valley, exercise a charm over us, excite a feeling of joy, which we never derive even from the most exquisite works of art. A glance at the starry firmament will evoke more noble sentiments than all the beautiful works of man which have ever been created. The really noble idea, an exquisite emotion which brings unmitigated joy, can only be derived from nature itself. The really sublime idea can only be derived from the contemplation of the universal laws of the cosmos. Space and time, comprehending infinite existence, the atom as well as the mighty star, the past, the present, the future, in one harmonious unity: a universe which is permeated and pervaded by law and order everywhere-what

inspiration it contains for the full expression of the noblest idea and emotion of man!

We have seen that art is essentially based on a definite relationship which exists between the subject and object. The stimuli must bear a definite relationship to the sense organ if an artistic emotion is to be realised. Now the very fact that emotions and intellect are "tuned up" to perceive the beauty of the world demonstrates conclusively the intimate relations which exist between man and cosmos. Man's nature vibrates in unison with the eternal forces which shape the universe ! Man's nature is in harmony with the whole creation. An artistic emotion, a noble thought, a moral value, since they excite the joy which only beauty can give, are an expression of the inmost nature of man and as such they are true and real and as true and real as the cosmic laws, as the whole creation.

We have up till now only dealt with art as it affects the spectator, not with the artist. The latter must be a personage of little account if his work cannot find an echo in the public. If we deal purely with artistic creation, we can hardly note any progress which man has made since the beginning of civilisation. Doubtless the works of art of some of the ancient people were superior to those of the present day. Even prehistoric races, as excavation revealed, had left works of art behind them, which in freshness and beauty of outline have rivalled the work of the most progressive nations. This would be in conformity with the principles enunciated in this volume. Man's

faculties have not progressed, and art, apart from its technical parts, is not a cumulative function, as science is. We also find that some nations which played a leading part in civilisation—the Romans and the English—show relatively little aptitude for art, poetry, of course, excepted. Art is neither cumulative nor is it a factor in natural selection, and artistic creativeness often went together with political weakness and even with effeminacy. That is if by art is meant only artistic creation; but as regards the real essence of art, the development to the full of man's faculties, the progress made is undeniable. Owing to his enjoyment of art, man leads a fuller life than ever he has done before, even if the actual work he does for his subsistence does not represent so manifold an activity as at a previous age. At no period have the accumulated treasures of the world reached the individual as they do at the present day. At no time were influences more easily carried to the individual than at present. Easy locomotion, spread of general education, the printing press, cheap newspapers and books, all have had their effect.

Civilisation is the Agency which brings into Activity the Latent Faculties of Man

A nation as we have seen is an organism. Its constitution is determined. Likewise the product of nationality, national culture, is determined. Civilisation is nothing but the result of a series of national cultures. But a nation in order to grow must find

appropriate conditions for its realisation, mental and material.

We have seen that society, like any other organism, owed all stages of its growth to innate forces which were instrumental in bringing about each stage of development. Clan and tribal organisations and all the different stages of national growth are but an outcome of inherent forces. Like other individuals they contain in themselves forces capable of infinite growth, which but for lack of appropriate conditions would go on increasing to an infinite degree.

It is the external conditions which decide the degree of development which the individual as well as the collective organisation is to reach. Man has from the very beginning been endowed with social faculties in a state of latency; faculties which only gradually could find appropriate conditions for their realisation. Civilisation represents a gradual progress whereby external conditions are rendered more and more appropriate for the realisation of an ever-increasing number of faculties. In other words civilisation represents a gradual progress, whereby external conditions are rendered more and more appropriate to ever larger and more compact social bodies.

Culture as a Function of a Collective Organisation

There is still another fact which ought to be borne in mind. A culture, a civilisation, is simply a collective or national function, just as the fragrance of the rose is a functional manifestation of the flower. The sum of

individuals composing a nation forms the anatomical structure of which culture is a physiological expression. From one point of view, civilisation is nothing but a connected series of national cultures. The Egyptian, the Sumerian, the Babylonian, the Cretan, the Greek, the Roman and Judean, the English, the German, the French cultures—they are all manifestations of a definite national characteristic.

On the other hand, cultures influence each other, giving and taking. It is also true that young nations are the heirs to facts, ideas and ideals of peoples which preceded them. This inheritance supplies only the rough material, the nutriment out of which by a process of assimilation a new product is created.

A Specific Culture Presupposes a Specific Racial Characteristic

There is still a third fact, a corollary of the first two, which we must keep in mind. A characteristic culture in a nation must always be the outcome of definite racial characteristics of which it is an expression. As a rule nations which distinguished themselves culturally in a specific direction belonged to one and the same ethnological stock. It is true history abounds in instances of highly civilised nations being of different ethnical origin. But races not related to each other do not mix; as a rule they have remained separate entities within the state; the national culture, however, being the product of the predominant race which provided the scaffolding for

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the national structure, was an expression of the latter's genius only. The Egyptian culture was purely Semitic and replaced that of the original Hamitic inhabitants of the land, even before the Hyksos invaded the land of the Nile. The Sumerian civilisation was Semitic, as was also the Palestinian. Grecian culture was purely Aryan, and likewise the Roman culture which had nothing to do with the Etruscan, just as the English civilisation has remained Teutonic in character in spite of the large admixture of Celtic elements.

But to return to our main theme. The increase in the means of subsistence made it possible for ever richer collective organisations to come into being. We have seen the collective organism to require appropriate conditions for the realisation of its faculties. The conditions are two in number—material and cultural.

It is obvious that without an adequate food supply the existence of a highly organised social body is impossible. A number of individuals, no matter how highly endowed, if dependent for their existence on jelly-fish and fruits, could never become a highly organised social unit. The first considerable progress towards a more coherent organisation only became possible after the introduction of the domestication of animals. The commencement of our civilisation dates back to the time when agriculture was instituted, when nationality for the first time became possible. It was the shores of the Nile, Euphrates and Tigris where primitive agriculture was first introduced, owing to

favourable conditions of the soil. These conditions were given where large numbers of people could maintain themselves in comparatively small areas. Nationality came into existence, and gave the impetus to a progressive civilisation.

Adequate means of subsistence made it possible for large numbers to live in comparatively small areas. Nationality arose and civilisation followed from it. With the improvement of agricultural methods other districts became capable of maintaining large popu-Nations came into being everywhere. Industrialism was a further step towards progress. It made the existence of even more densely populated areas possible than was the case in purely agricultural districts, and all advanced nations are highly developed industrially. Still, as we have already seen, the plentiful supply of food alone would never have brought man where he is now. Given an adequate supply of food an animal species will increase indefinitely in numbers. But the increase will be a simple multiplication of the same kind of individuals. Not so in man. Increase in numbers meant in his case, as we have seen, a closer relationship to his fellow man and a more coherent social organisation. It meant the coming into activity of faculties which hitherto had been inactive or dormant. The tribe, the nation, is not merely a multiplication of individuals. It is a higher social organism. Means of subsistence alone will not create a nation, nor will the richest soil, as long as it is inhabited by backward races, produce a civilisation. There must be other forces active, apart from

subsistence, which effect an ever-increasing improvement of the cultural state. Subsistence is the medium which permits other factors, hitherto dormant, to come into play, just as individual molecules depend on suitable conditions for the formation of crystals.

Culture as a Biological Factor in Social Organisation

The other factors are cultural influences which mould the mass of individuals into an organic whole. These cultural influences are two in number, culture proper and religion. We shall soon see how these factors were instrumental in shaping the destinies of the human race.

Cultural influences acting on a people can only bring about definite results if the community reacts on these influences in a uniform manner. This is possible only when the innate predisposition of the bulk of the members constituting the nation is the same, when they are of the same stock. A given cultural influence acting on heterogeneous elements would only result in a warring jumble of ideas, and never in a harmonious and cultural unity, so indispensable to national welfare. An effective national culture presupposes racial purity.

But culture is not simply an expression of racial proclivities. It is more than that. Culture acting on a people of a common ethnical stock is a unifying force, a tissue which connects the individual members into one collective existence.

Culture acting on a uniform stock gives such

unity as no other factor can furnish. War, for instance, was never able to hammer a people into one unit, when the racial differences were so great as to be incompatible under the same cultural influences.

Common ideas and ideals have often given national unity to a people. The less a human being is exposed to cultural influences, the more he retains his individuality. Culture, the mental output of a sum of individuals, which flows out of many crevices into one broad stream, influences every single individual uniformly. The more intense the culture, the more complete the uniformity it effects. It follows from these postulates that the more advanced a nation is, the more alike are the members constituting it in action and thought. As mankind grows, the treasures of mind and heart, accumulated by the exertions of bygone generations and diverse peoples, become a force ever increasing in intensity, shaping the individual more and more in accordance with the general pattern at the cost of individuality. Will this universal force ever become so powerful as to do away with the demarcation line which separates one race from another? Will universal culture gather such strength at some future date as to become formidable enough to dissolve all the incongruities which at present divide the races of man, and to transform all mankind into one commonwealth? If ever such a time comes it will be a sign that mankind has fulfilled its destiny, that it has reached the highest stage of its evolution. Then will come the turning point, the commencement of the downward journey, of the

dissolution of humanity. The forces which have brought it so far will still continue to gather strength. Soon the conditions will no longer be suitable for its existence, and there will no more be "backward" races with suitable, but yet unused, qualities to enter the breach and resume the forward march. This, however, is a digression from our main theme.

Here we are only concerned to demonstrate the function of culture as a unifying force. It is conceivable, as long as the social unit was a horde, a small number of individuals constantly in contact with one another, that the elementary impulses such as pity and admiration and fear were the links which held the tribe together. But as soon as the social unit consisted of large numbers of individuals, when a personal contact all round no longer was possible, other factors must have come into play to effect the unity. Such a factor, as we have seen, was culture.

Religion was the Unifying Force in Semitic Nationalities and thus was a Factor in Semitic Civilisation

At the early stages of civilisation religion was a social force which unified the members of the tribe and the family in one organic whole. The different taboos and other features of tribal organisation have doubtless had something to do with religion. But our knowledge of primitive people is too meagre to permit us to draw conclusions therefrom. It is only with the appearance of the Semitic race as a civilising force that our historical knowledge becomes more extensive,

as indeed the commencement of our civilisation dates back to the time when the Semitic people invaded the shores of the Nile, the Euphrates and Tigris. For centuries the Semitic race were the main civilising force of the world, but they exhausted themselves finally and the sceptre of civilisation fell to the Aryan race.

Broadly speaking, religion was the force which gave national unity to the Semites, whilst among the Aryans the collective organisms were held together by general cultural attainments of art, philosophy and science.

It is not difficult to see how religion under certain circumstances could act as a unifying factor. As a rule the same process of evolution applies to the Semitic gods as sometimes it does to the deities of other races. The God which first was a tribal deity blossomed forth into a national God. The strength of feeling and imagination of the Semites, the genius which they show for religion in particular, ensure that the offshoots which a family has thrown off will remain loyal to the ancestral gods, that the remotest descendants of founders of families, retaining allegiance to a common deity, will also retain among themselves the feeling of kinship. But even more than that.

Each member of the same ancestry stood under the protection of the same deity. It is obvious that by an injury which one member of the same ancestry inflicts on another, he offends the deity at the same time. It is easily seen how a code of social ethics must follow as a matter of logical conclusion from a common

dissolution of humanity. The forces which have brought it so far will still continue to gather strength. Soon the conditions will no longer be suitable for its existence, and there will no more be "backward" races with suitable, but yet unused, qualities to enter the breach and resume the forward march. This, however, is a digression from our main theme.

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worship. Religion was a vital force among the Semites; from it flowed their social and cultural activities, science as well as philosophy and hygiene. Nationality and religion in pre-Aryan times were inseparable conceptions. The gods, whether one or many, were exclusively national gods who were the protecting spirits of the nation, who fought their battles and gave them a code of law.

Religion formed inco-ordinated elements into a national organism. It created conditions for dormant social faculties to assert themselves. A series of flourishing, racial cultures was brought about by religion. When the Semites ceased to be a civilising force, they left behind them a mass of ideas and ideals, scientific data, literature, which played their part in the biological development of collective forces. Religion doubtless played an important biological part in the early stages of civilisation, when cultural influences were too scanty and feeble a factor to act as a unifying force. Under its ægis nationality developed and a national culture came into existence. Mankind became enriched with a number of cultural influences.

Strength and Weakness of Religion as Principle of Progress

The strength of religion as a principle for shaping nationality is its great capacity as a unifying force; its weakness is that it embodies in itself a principle hostile to progress. Cultural ideals, scientific assertions, social laws, which are an expression or revelation of an omniscient power, once they are fixed

and codified, are obviously unamenable to further progress. It should be impossible to improve on the divine. The Semitic people have never passed through the stages of national development which are so characteristic a feature of the Aryan. Religion makes for uniformity and does not permit of the developwhich Greek culture has experienced. ment Immutability is the chief characteristic of Semitic civilisation even to this day. Semitic nationalities do not show the richness and manifoldness of organisation so characteristic of modern nations and of Rome. An aristocracy there was, sacerdotal and temporal, often a king, but they were all fixed, immutable, incapable of much development. Nowhere do we find, as in Europe for instance, now one type of society, now another—priest, feudal lord, capitalist -coming into prominence by a process of incessant growth, in accordance with the changed national requirements. They all remained petrified at one or the other stage of national development, and do not show the richness and variety of function so characteristic of national organisation where growth is not hindered by artificial means. National life became stifled and vigour sapped by fixed laws and fixed institutions, economical and political.

Culture as a Unifying Force of Aryan Nationalisation and Aryan Civilisation

With the appearance of the Greek and Roman civilisations a new principle made itself felt as a

unifying force. Cultural ideals took the place of religion as a unifying force. Under the Semitic religion humanity became enriched by a mass of ideas, of works of art, of literature, of scientific data, of models of states, of constitutions, of laws. These influences resulted in a vital impulse for the formation of social bodies in Europe. Culture has always the tendency to transform what is individual and isolated, into likeness and sameness; universal culture brings to bear general influences on every individual alike. It has the tendency to bring out in the individual everything that is common to all. A community of ideas and ideals will give rise to common institutions and facilitate political unity.

The Advantages and Disadvantages of Culture as a Civilising Agency

As a unifying force culture is inferior to religion. Greece itself really never attained the status of nationality; the different cities it comprised have never really formed a political union. In the North of Italy, as well as in Germany, we find the same political disunion. But the new principle permitted the forces of progress to come into play unhindered and to such an extent as was quite impossible before. Nationality for the first time became a living, pulsating, growing organism. Institutions, ideas and ideals became fluid, changeable, adaptable in accordance with the requirements of every phase of social growth. The spirit became liberated from the shackles which

held it down. The complex nature of man himself became the measure of all values, moral, political, social. Laws and values have originated from man and are for his use. They are changeable, adaptable with growth. The laws under which man lives are dictated by the character of his own impulses.

Observation and experiment become the decisive factors, not only for knowledge of natural laws, but also for moral laws. A true expression of all the faculties of man is equally important, while the suppression of one at the cost of another is harmful. It was in Greece that the first city state was formed. Persia, although harbouring an Aryan race, has been too much under the influence of Semitic civilisation to show any specific Aryan traits. Greece, purely Aryan, situated in the vicinity of Crete, came into direct contact with Semitic civilisation. The city state was a political, economic, and cultural unit; a spontaneous creation due to the interaction of natural forces just as is the case with chemical compounds, or animal organisms. As is to be expected from a people to whom the true expression of all faculties is the highest ideal, liberty was the breath of life and democracy the normal form of government. From every point of view, the city state was a new departure from everything that existed before, and the few centuries during which the city state flourished were of the utmost importance for the development of mankind. Life attained a richness never known before. All fields of common endeavour, science, philosophy, politics, morals, were cultivated with

equal fervour. The joyful, free existence expressed itself in works of art, the like of which was unknown before or since. Politically, however, Greece was only a young sapling. The city state was small in population and the area it covered was the political unit. Political coherence between the various city states hardly existed.

It was left to Rome to develop the new social organism so gloriously begun in Greece. By conquest and organisation Rome, from a city state, became a world empire. The science of Greece was applied by Rome to conquer and to organise new territories, to build bridges, aqueducts, roads, but it was real cultural ideals which gave the Roman empire its unity, and which to some extent extended it to the Roman dependencies. Wherever the Roman legions went, their civilising influence went also. As was in keeping with a nation who had a genius for empire building, law was the institution which Rome developed most.

At the moment we are more concerned with Rome itself than with the influences it exercised over its dependencies. The Roman empire exhibited all the characteristics of a highly-developed state organisation, a pronounced class system, specialisation of function, and above all growth and development of institutions and types of government. There must have been something solid, organically coherent, about the Roman empire, otherwise it could not have endured for so many centuries. What flimsy structures the Semitic empires were in comparison! They owed

their temporary greatness to the personal quality of a king, and more often than not were swept out of existence when a change of ruler became necessary. The unity of the modern state is not based on religion but on culture and cultural affinities. Nor is its individual or national life influenced by religion. The social relation is regulated by the biological and psychical reactions of the many individuals on each other. Laws and institutions have their origin in vital impulses of man and are constantly being adjusted to changed conditions. The modern state is a complex organism, the outcome of incessant change and development, and more complex than even the Roman state.

Economically the modern state is an organic whole, all parts being interdependent. A strike of a numerically unimportant class of the population brings the whole machinery of the state to a standstill. Production is highly specialised and subdivisions and subspecialities of callings, professions, and trades are continually on the increase, also of classes and cliques. Economically the interdependence within the nation is complete and even extends beyond the national frontiers. Still the nation is a complete economic unit. This is proved by the international exchange. Withal, there never was such equality of ideas, modes of life, manners, between all sections of the population. The cottage is only a reflection of the palace. The tendency for all classes of the population is to adopt the same standards in everything. A shepherd on the Yorkshire moors is often as well informed and as

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well able to discourse intelligently on national problems as a scion of the most aristocratic family. The press, state education, easy facilities for travel, the growth of big cities, all have had the same effect of bringing cultural stimuli to bear generally on all classes of the population. To an ever-increasing degree the mode of life of the upper percolated into the lower classes. The ideas and ideals are the same, and accordingly whole masses of the people respond like one individual to national problems. One problem finds an echo in millions of individuals, and they respond to it with one voice. There was never such unity and national coherence, even when Rome was at the zenith of its greatness.

Religion must Precede Culture as a Civilising Agency and accordingly Semitic Civilisation had to Precede the Aryan

It is obvious that religion must precede culture as a unifying agency, because at an infantile stage of civilisation culture is as yet too feeble a force to effect this purpose. It is only when religion made possible the existence of nationality, when ideas, observation, facts, works of art, literature, had accumulated, that culture could become a strong enough force to produce a nationality.

The appearance of religion first and culture afterwards as a factor making for nationality was a necessity. Chronologically, religion must appear as a unifying force before culture. Consequently, this factor determines also which group of nations shall lead the van

of civilisation at certain epochs. If religion had to precede culture as a biological force, it is clear that those people who have shown a racial genius for religion will assume the exalted position for which they are fitted by this particular endowment.

Now, the racial predilection of the Semite always tended towards religion. Theocracy alone or theocracy side by side with temporal power, were universal institutions among the Semitic nations, and it is certainly not an accident that the three monotheistic religions have originated in Asia Minor. On the other hand the Aryans have never shown any strong religious tendencies. Theocracy was never endemic with Aryan races. Originally the Greek had no special priesthood, no sacred books, no theology. Mythology was frankly the poet's creation; the Greek gods, like men, developed from chaos. They have not created the world but they themselves have evolved in the same manner as the rest of the world. The number of gods was great among Greeks, it is true, but they were human, very human in every respect; they intrigued, fought, and partook of all the weaknesses of man. The Greek gods broke all the ten commandments; even Zeus himself, the father of the gods, was not an exception to this rule. Religion did not play a very important part, individually or collectively. The cultured classes were atheists, the lower classes grossly superstitious. As long as one did not officially deny the existence of gods, one could pretty well hold any opinion one liked about all important matters appertaining to the great problems

of life. The same applies to the Romans who possessed so little capacity for religion that they never created gods of their own. They borrowed most of their gods from Greece and renamed them. Roman religion had no theology and no priest caste; they were tolerant towards all religions, just because they themselves had no strong convictions in this direction. Roman life was not influenced by religion in spite of the auguries they so frequently practised. The Teutons have not shown any particular predisposition towards religion. Wotan and Thor were not better than Zeus and Mars. The Teutons had no special sacerdotal caste, in fact no priest. The Wends and Letto-Slavs had neither temple nor priest. The only approach to priestcraft found in Europe is represented by the Druids; a religious body very popular among the Celtic races. In this as in many other respects Celts show kinship to Semitic races, and the frequent references one finds to a Mediterranean race which invaded Europe point in the same direction. Neither has Christian Europe shown any great inclination for theocracy. It is true that Gregory VII attempted to introduce a true theocracy in Christian Europe, modelled in all essential particulars on Semitic theocracies. All Christian Europe was to be governed by Rome as one commonwealth and the ethics of the Bible were pronounced to be the only principle which should govern conduct in Christendom. It is clear that, if Gregorianism had prevailed, there would have been an end to all progress in Europe. But Gregorianism did not prevail; on the contrary, it received its

death-blow from the Reformation. The principle was too much opposed to the innate characteristics of the Aryan races. It is interesting that the Arabic civilisation, which at one time had been flourishing, had succumbed to a theocracy similar to the one which Gregory tried to introduce into Europe with such little success. As is the case with all religions Mohammedanism soon showed the same tendency to set and harden into rigid forms, which stifled all liberty, all endeavour, all progress. The Semitic races, being intensely inclined towards religion, succumbed to theocracy, whilst the Aryans, having no such predilection, were able to resist it. In truth the modern European nations, in spite of the fact that they embraced Christianity early, have developed their existence on principles which have nothing to do with Christianity. When Christianity was at the height of its power in Europe, feudalism, with its slavery and serfdom, based on a principle opposed to Christianity, reached its zenith. Slavery and serfdom were abolished, not as the result of Christianity, but owing to the growth of culture, just as in heathen Rome, at its time of greatest development, slavery began to be abolished. At the moment, the influence of religion on national life seems to be negligible. Legislation, foreign policy, economic life-none of these is in the slightest degree influenced by the teachings of the Bible. How little capacity the European nations have for religion is shown by the fact that in spite of the wealth of philosophical systems which Europe has produced, the only first-class work dealing with

H 113

religion which is in harmony with modern tendencies was written by a Semite, the god-intoxicated prophet, Baruch de Spinoza. The truth is, Western Europe is racially related to Greece and Rome and therefore evinces the same tendency in its religious proclivities. It is in a Greek and Roman world we are living now, in a world with the same outlook, the same tendencies and the same methods of solving national problems.

The Semitic Genius Unsuitable for a Scientific Age

But religion alone is not the only feature in which the Semite differs from the Aryan. The application of the scientific method to the problems of life is not suitable to the Semitic genius. Strong imagination, intense feeling, have the tendency to distort the vision, to give a false perspective to things. A race like that was pre-eminently suited for the morning of civilisation, when facts were few and some tolerable solution had to be found for the problems of life in order to make national cultural existence possible. It was necessary that the Semites preceded the Aryans, as the petal must precede the blossom.

History shows defined Epochs in which a Race with Specific Traits was Predominant

If we look at history we find broadly defined epochs taken up by certain types of civilisation in which races of a peculiar characteristic are playing the predominant part. The pre-Semitic civilisation of the valley of

the Euphrates and the Tigris, as well as that of the Nile, came into being by the agency of a race which bore certain features common to both areas. But so little is known about this period that we had better abstain from dilating on it. After this period we find Semites prevalent in both these places, and a new impetus is given to civilisation. From this date for many centuries the Semitic races were the predominant civilising agency of the world, to the exclusion of all other races in Babylon, Egypt, Syria, Asia, Crete, Phœnicia, Judea; the Aryan race appeared towards the end of this period, but was as yet too much under the influence of Semitic civilisation to show its true characteristics. Greece and Rome were already in existence, but had not yet reached a stage of development high enough to be a factor in world civilisation. These Semitic nations one after the other reached the zenith of their greatness, then declined, and finally we see the whole Semitic civilisation wear itself out and disappear as a factor in the civilisation of the world. At this stage of the world drama Greece and Rome appeared. From now on we have an uninterrupted series of cultures, peculiarly Aryan in character. The later Arabic culture was in reality an imitation of Greek culture, the last flicker of the Semitic civilisation, before its fire paled and died. The times had changed, and conditions had become unsuitable for Semitic racial peculiarities. It was not an accidental factor, such as the battle of Marathon, that decided which civilisation should prevail, as often stated by historians. The development was a necessary

consequence which followed from the laws of progress. One type of culture had been worn out, the other had to take its place. What applies broadly to different races applies with almost equal force to kindred races. It is the relatively small differences between the national characteristics which decide which nation is to retain the leadership. Although the peculiarities which distinguish one nation from the other are less pronounced than the differences which exist between one race and another, still they are real, and it depends on these peculiarities whether a nation may or may not aspire to a prominent position in the onward march of civilisation.

The Progress of Civilisation as a Whole Decides which of a Given Race and Nation shall Appear at a Given Epoch in the Van of Civilisation

We have arrived at a stage when a more comprehensive view of the nature of civilisation is possible. The characteristic traits of the different races have endured in the same way at any rate since historical times. Since then many things have happened. A great number of nations, one after the other, have come into existence, passing through a cycle of development, and disappearing, leaving behind them a cultural heritage which became the common property of all mankind. On the one hand we are dealing with races which, as regards physical and mental properties, must be regarded as stable for long periods; on the

other we have a civilisation, incessantly growing and changing.

These two contradictory factors are constantly interacting with each other; on them the history of mankind depends. The innate individual faculties are the same, whether in a stage of savagery or in the highest civilisation. In the former they are dormant, in the other they find appropriate conditions for their realisation. As mankind grows older more and more of the human faculties find appropriate conditions for their realisation. These conditions are brought about by civilisation. As civilisation grows and becomes more developed, it successively assumes different characteristics and affects the individuals on whom it reacts, in an ever-changing manner. Thus civilisation is subject to its own laws of development. Civilisation must be considered as an entity. Each preceding and succeeding step is determined by itself as constantly new characteristics are called into life. It creates ever new conditions for the realisation of different types of character. It determines which of the nations is to be the chosen one at a particular epoch. It thrusts one nation that only recently has been at the zenith of its greatness into oblivion, and puts on a pedestal a nation which but yesterday lived in obscurity. It does more—it makes it possible, by creating certain suitable conditions, for such and such a nation, with such and such racial characteristics to come into prominence and become predominant. Nationality is subject to a double law: it rotates round its own axis, it is subject to its own laws of

development and decay, and is at the same time influenced by superior laws; like a molecule which follows its own laws of existence and at the same time is subject to the higher law of the chemical compound; or like a star which, whilst it follows its laws of rotation, is still subject to the laws of the planetary system.

But the object and aim, the goal, is clear; it is the calling into existence of ever-increasingly rich social bodies, in which both structure and function are more complex. At the moment the Anglo-Saxon race is still predominant. Who knows what obscure race will become predominant at some future period? But we can affirm that outworn races will not a second time rise to pre-eminence.

Will the collective growth go on to such an extent as to include the whole of humanity? Once this happens it will be the beginning of the end of mankind.

The Goal towards which Mankind is Striving is not Fixed but alters with Each Step of Further Progress

The standard, the goal, towards which humanity is striving is not fixed, immutable: we are not steering towards a more perfect adaptation to external surroundings, as Herbert Spencer imagined. The goal, mirage-like, appears farther and farther away the more humanity advances towards a higher stage of evolution. In fact, humanity is constantly recreating the goal towards which it tends. The standard is shifting, growing with the growth of humanity, but the end

towards which it tends in the whole of its course is determined by the collective action of all humanity. This gives it its unity. Humanity is a unit following the course of its own development. At the same time a people, whilst working out its own destination, is influenced by the course of general humanity.

CHAPTER IV

REGULATIVE AGENCY

Instinct and Reason

A DIRECTING, governing agency, self-directing if one likes, permeates all existence; a governing something which determines the interdependence of all phenomena and their relation to the whole, and gives the universe its unity. It is a force of which man has no knowledge, can have no knowledge-an unconscious force. The warp and woof of existence, whether it finds expression in the electric corpuscle or in a mighty star, in the individual human being or in humanity as a whole, realises itself in and by the play of this force. This agency comprehends all existence and finds expression in the formation of the molecule, the crystal, the fluid drop, as well as in the evolution of the whole solar system. Indeed, we obtain a glimpse of this force, not in its wholeness, not in its true relation to things, but in fragmentary manifestations, in properties of matter, in laws of nature, in biological and psychical laws. Natural selection and deliberate selection, affinity of the elements, no less than human thoughts and deeds, reason and

instinct, these are all revelations of the same force. We are unable to discern the continuity, the coherence of things, the real uniting force, embracing all existence, and of which all things are only a manifestation. Still we discern certain properties, certain laws, in things existing, which give rise to certain definite results; laws of gravitation which give rise to evolution of the whole planetary system, of affinity of elements resulting in organic and inorganic compounds, of biological and physical laws resulting in definite structure and function.

All individual and animal organisms are endowed with certain definite arrangements which are in the nature of regulative functions of the organs and promote the welfare of the organism. Circulation, digestion, pain and pleasure are such regulative arrangements. I wish to demonstrate that nationality and humanity as a whole are endowed with such regulative agencies; just as out of a number of physical and chemical properties the planetary system and physical things evolved, just as in an animal organism a number of organs, working apparently independently, condition the growth and welfare of the individual as a whole; even so may a nation or even humanity as a whole be regarded as an organic entity. Man is endowed with faculties which act not only in the interest of individual welfare, but with faculties which are concerned with action and reaction on the corporate body of which he is a member—the national organism; faculties which are concerned with humanity as a whole; faculties which react on

universal cosmic forces, in the past, the present, and the future. These are the forces which regulate national existence as well as that of humanity as a whole.

Man's ambitions and jealousies, his egoistic and altruistic proclivities, his national and class prejudice, his struggle and striving, apparently so petty, so vain, so foolish, have a meaning and a purpose. The different generations, the different nations, which make up humanity; wars; deprivations and joys; the fall of one nation and the birth of another; each and all of these working apparently for their own ends are but incidents in the great drama of existence, incidents apparently isolated and detached from the great scheme of affairs. In reality they are fibres in the rope which entwines all humanity.

Man is the most irrational and at the same time the most unselfish of mortals. He builds cities in which he cannot live, he accumulates fortunes which he cannot use, he struggles and strives to found empires which never really repay him his effort. He wages war and jeopardises his very existence.

The whole mental outfit of man seems to a superior philosophy extremely irrational and foolish; made up, as it is, of class pride and prejudice, national prejudice, ambition, the seeking of national and individual aggrandisement.

But as long as the individual is not degenerated he goes on doing all these irrational actions. The truth is that man is hardly more conscious of his actions than the stars are of the course they are taking. He devotes himself to the execution of plans which are no

concern of his, which he does not even understand, but towards the accomplishment of which he works all the same. The leucocytes which gather at a spot where an invasion of the organism is threatened are doubtless driven there by some kind of impulse which may be akin to instinct, but it can safely be said that they are quite unconscious of the fact that their activity is connected with the preservation of the individual as a whole, of which they are only an infinitesimal part. The same thing applies to the relation of individual activity towards the collective welfare of the nation, of humanity, and the universe.

It is true they are irrational actions, the actions which I have just enumerated; they do not pay, and least of all does war pay, as a very superior person was at pains to demonstrate to us within recent years. Unfortunately the architect of the universe does not concern himself with a balance sheet of loss of gain. Universal cosmos does not act always in the interests of a right balance sheet. If the object of all man's actions were the promotion of his own welfare, we should all agree that the majority of his activities were irrational. But the truth is man's actions and desires are bound up with the whole universe. He is the plaything of eternal forces which shape all his movements and determine the course he is taking at any moment. Who could say that this impulse is noble, wise, or foolish? One might as well decry the laws of gravitation as foolish. The doings of man are neither more nor less foolish than the whole creation. Judgment and calculation are alike unable to find an

abstract principle by which man's actions, in the aggregate and the individual, should be guided. Our impulses are the mainsprings of our actions. Who can say that this action is noble or base, good or bad? Man, individually and collectively, is an expression and outcome of the universal laws of nature. His impulses and actions, the fons et origo omnium, well up from eternal forces, they are functions of the living universe. The key to the meaning of man's actions can only be found in the universal meaning of existence, in forces acting in the uttermost past, and on the uttermost future.

Animal and man in addition to unconscious agencies are mastered by conscious forces, instinct and reason. Consciousness is not something which is opposed to unconsciousness. On the contrary it is a manifestation of the latter. It is in the same class with digestion and circulation. It comes into existence as a regulative agency in a higher order of animal existence. It is of no greater importance than any other animal faculty. It has no significance beyond its regulative function. It is evidently meant to act in circumstances where the unconscious agency would be less effective.

Let us imagine a being deprived of all feelings and desires. It is conceivable that such a being might be able to perform the functions necessary for the maintenance of his existence even better than before Science may enter the breach and by exact methods determine the requirements of the body and supply them. It will inquire how much energy has been lost

and how much material has to be incorporated into the organism, in order to restore this energy. Thus food and drink will be supplied, without any relation to hunger and thirst. Science will take the place of pain in teaching such an organism the destructive effect of fire and other harmful agencies. In short, the exact way of living in furtherance of the welfare of the organism may be assumed as determinable by science. In such circumstances a person may actually do better than one who retains his normal sensations.

The regulative arrangements of nationality and humanity to provide for their collective requirements may be conscious, deliberate, or instinctive.

Regulative Factors of Nationality and Humanity

Nationality.—The primitive horde, as well as its modern prototype the state, is based on co-operation between its individual members. We have seen that competition is no longer a biological factor within the nation. The characteristic feature of society is growth towards greater cohesion between the individual members. The most important structure of the corporate body is without doubt a political one; for those who control politically the destiny of a people have power to determine all other matters appertaining to its existence. Politically this country without doubt has reached the highest form of development ever attained by any nation. Yet the principles on which the political structure is based in their essence are purely communistic—equal political

rights, a central government deliberately elected. Economic collectivism would have to employ precisely similar methods. Private enterprise is unable to solve the problems of the modern state. On the whole a deliberate election of officers in the economic field would be quite easy, because economically the requirements as a whole are not very difficult to ascertain. If we appoint a prime minister, a general, a university professor, by methods of deliberate selection, none of them receiving excessive salaries, why should we not be able to select by the same methods a greengrocer, a butcher or an organiser of sweepstakes? Why should we think that unless these gentlemen are given an opportunity of acquiring Rolls-Royces their positions could not be adequately filled? All data are available for planning an economic central organisation within the nation.

Humanity.—The factors which operate on humanity are of a different calibre altogether. Active natural selection has taken place from the very beginning of human history. Humanity as we know it is the outcome of this principle. The selection which takes place is as vigorous in our time as it has been in the past. It has already been emphasised that selection is not between the individual but between the community as a whole. Moreover, to replace natural selection by a principle of deliberate selection, so far as humanity is concerned, is quite unfeasible, for at present we do not know the form it will take in its next stage of development. No data are available for deliberate planning of the growth of humanity.

Instinct as a Regulative Agency within the Nation

The individual is endowed with instincts which not only relate to his own welfare but to the corporate body, the nation. The great multiplicity of functions which nationality entails, spiritually, economically, politically, becomes possible only by the existence of this regulative agency. Millions of individuals who make up a nation and who live separate from each other in time and space, without conscious collaboration, nevertheless serve the interests of the nation as a whole. The manufacturer does not primarily concern himself with providing a certain number of people with a certain commodity, nor does the professional man go to work with a view to satisfying the requirements of so many clients; yet the commodities manufactured and personal services rendered ultimately bear a definite relationship to the demand. Generally the public offices, educational institutions, industrial concerns, are staffed by persons suitable for their task. To the superficial glance all is chaos. There is a babel of desires, a babel of strivings, of petty ambitions. But looking below the surface one easily discerns how everything and everybody is well ordered and arranged in relation to the whole, how every event is co-ordinated with and supplements another in forming one grand harmony. We speak of supply and demand and of competition, as forces which regulate and supply individual requirements. they are not really explanations of the phenomena,

they are merely names for social forces, as gravitation is a name for some physical form of energy to which the coming into existence of the whole planetary movement may be attributable.

The self-assertion of powerful personalities and classes, the despotism of kings, the avarice of the landowner and capitalist, the ambition of place-seeking politicians, the dreams of the pioneer, the adventures of the explorer—all of them are directed towards the gratification of personal desires, yet withal the final result is the same as if some central mind were directing everything according to plan and had allotted to every individual his share in the work to ensure the proper functioning of the whole social organism in all stages of development.

It will be found that all these different types had different functions to perform in the national interest. On the whole, whatever the motives were which made the individual seek a certain position, it was to the advantage of the nation as a whole that every individual was in the place which he occupied.

The Value of Instinct as a Regulative Agency

It appears, then, that our instincts are the channels through which the individual, as well as national requirements are regulated. It is through the instincts that the working of destiny becomes revealed to us. Their great efficiency lies in the fact that the individual does not need to ask for an aim, an end, a why or wherefore. They influence man's action without his

knowing whither they lead. It is by no means a perfect method.

At an early stage of national development the agency which regulates national life must be based on instinctive methods. What must be recognised is that the corporate body which makes up the nation grows towards ever-increasing cohesion within its own structure, and that the age of individual enterprise and competition within the state is past and finished. The instinctive method is no longer adequate to meet the national needs in economic and other spheres. I have dealt with this fully in the second chapter. At the present stage of national development a totally different method is necessary from that provided by competitive capitalism, if the nation is to continue on its own course of normal development. Both governors and governed have suffered greatly from the present economic system. The middle classes are exhibiting evidence of physical and mental degeneration and are rapidly disappearing. writing on the wall is clearly visible in the Registrar General's return of the birth-rate. An imperial race is dying out and a world empire is becoming extinct because life has become impossible under present conditions. Woe to a nation that cannot adapt itself to the requirements of a new age! England is at the cross-roads. The hour of destiny is near. It may throw off its lethargy and replace its outworn economic system by one based on co-operative planning. If it does this it may be safely predicted that it will continue in the van of civilisation for a further epoch in human

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history. For the same qualities which served so well both the feudal and Parliamentary period in politics will assert themselves in economic planning on a co-operative basis. Glorious as the past of this Empire has been, the future will become even more so. If it persists in clinging to an outworn system it is doomed as a world empire. A people which does not plan its economic life on a national basis will soon fall a prey to one which does. We are entering on a new epoch of civilisation, and the future belongs to the state which will meet individual needs on a national basis.

Conscious Agency in Economics

The conscious agency is a deliberate method by which to regulate the requirements of the nation. It is only at an advanced stage of national development and general culture that the application of this method becomes possible. It necessitates a high state of scientific development. It also presupposes a stage of national development, where the collective influences of the nation have become strong enough to mould all its members as much as possible according to one pattern. This method differs in some respects radically from the instinctive one. Deliberate action on the part of an individual or number of individuals is the very essence of this method. But in order to act deliberately we must first have an aim in view. Knowledge is an indispensable preliminary to this method of action, and the more our knowledge increases, the oftener the application of this method

will become possible. Such knowledge is available for planning our economic life; economics deliberately planned to meet the needs of the individual member of the state.

With capitalism ceasing to operate, the basis of an economic system must become the requirements of the individual and the state.

Man must become master of his own destiny. Once for all we must make up our minds that human life must be the centre round which everything else rotates. Everything must adapt itself, everything must be made to fit into the requirements of human existence. We must take item by item every feature of our civilisation and submit it to this test: Is it compatible with the full realisation of man's character, his health, his joy of living? If the answer is in the negative, we must do away with it: it must be rooted out.

The whole economic as well as the other life of the nation should be scientifically arranged on a co-operative basis. Conduct, literature, arts, our towns and our dwellings, our offices, the hours of labour—they must all be planned to meet the requirements of men. Ultimately we shall have to plan even the evolution of superior classes for offices requiring superior qualities. We must create conditions under which it will be possible for every individual to lead a a healthy carefree existence. At present man is bowed down by care and anxiety. We must rescue him from ages of martyrdom. The joy of living which is his heritage must be restored to him.

Competition would disappear under the circumstances. I for one do not believe that personal endeavour would be diminished under a system where exertion is not rewarded by material gain. I think it is a calumny on human nature to believe such a thing. At all ages and among all people the greatest achievements, the most prodigious feats of endurance and valour, were performed by individuals without the slightest motive of material gain. The great discoverers, the great thinkers, the seers, gave expression to their genius without thinking for a moment of the monetary gain their work would ensure. They often enough lived in poverty and privation, whilst a host of mediocrity battened on the exertions of these men. It is the little people who do little things for monetary gain.

FORCES WHICH REGULATE THE GROWTH OF HUMANITY

The force which regulates humanity is immanent in each individual. There are, however, some special agencies which regulate the growth of humanity, among which are war and imperialism. As far back as man can be traced, every people in existence possessed the proclivities which culminated in war, etc. They are evidently based on the very foundation of our nature, and we can be sure they have a purpose and a meaning.

WAR

We have seen it is humanity itself, by virtue of its own laws of development, which decides which type of civilisation shall prevail or which nation or race shall survive. War in itself is unable to determine the fate of nations or the type of civilisation. War is unable to exterminate a vigorous nation. It is only fatal to a nation which is already moribund, which has outlived its usefulness. It is to a people of this sort to which war says, "Begone. Make room for a more vigorous nation." Likewise, war has never placed a nation in a foremost position to which it was not entitled by virtue of its innate qualities. What war does is to proclaim before the world the fitness of a young nation to a leading position, which but for it would remain unrecognised. And the late war demonstrates this truth as other wars have done before. moribund nations-Turkey and Austria-went to the wall. Germany, which was the principal in the war, has come off more lightly than any of its allies, and there is no doubt that Germany is destined to become again one of the leading powers in Europe. But the result of the war is to accentuate a tendency which already existed before the war, the shifting of the world power towards the Western Hemisphere.

The Difference between War and Natural Selection

War differs from natural selection in so far as the latter factor acts on the individual, the former on the

whole corporate body, the nation. Swiftness or strength for instance are important for survival in the animal world. The individual survives because it possesses these qualities, and the race possessing such individuals will therefore likewise survive. Here selection operates primarily on the individual only. The opposite is true of war. Here the process of selection does not affect the individual so much as the nation as a whole. From the beginning of his existence man appears in a dual role: (1) As far as he was a member of one social body, all his co-operative instincts came into action; (2) in all other organisations not his own, he was looked upon as a natural enemy, which tended to arouse his combative instincts. Since then man has progressed greatly. The social organisation, instead of comprising few individuals, includes a nation of many millions. Still his relations to his own organisation and to others remain essentially the same. In the distant past and more so at present the war god favoured the more efficient social organisation and was blind to the fitness of the individual. More than that, success in war does not depend on the fighting qualities of the national armies alone, it depends to a great extent on the manifold capabilities of the nation, on its moral fibre, its culture, its scientific attainments, its form of government. War, in short, is a thorough test of national fitness.

The Goal towards which Selection Moves is Different in Man and Animal

The standard towards which selection moves is different for man and animal. In the latter, selection at a more perfect adaptation to natural Now, nature changes but slowly. surroundings. Through whole epochs of time nature has remained the same. The animal species, as long as an equilibrium is maintained between them and nature, change equally slowly. New faculties, due to mutation, appear but rarely; unless by the agency of man or some other external agency a new species suddenly makes its appearance, there is nothing to disturb the existing relations between nature and the species. Selection acting on variability alone is too slow as a working agency. Accordingly we perceive hardly any changes in animal existence for whole epochs. It is different with man. On the one hand civilisation continually changes and with it also the standard at which selection aims; a vigorous selection and rejection take place. On the other hand, in the course of his progress, man incessantly becomes endowed with new and wonderful acquisitions. His senses, his powers, are daily receiving new aids in consequence of inventions and discoveries. Owing to these two factors the strides made by humanity in a comparatively short time are very great indeed. What stupendous changes have taken place in the last 3,000 years in the history of man I What a panorama of nations and races, ousting each

other, replacing each other. Those who are in the vanguard of civilisation to-day have been long in obscurity at an earlier period, and nations who a number of centuries ago held sway over whole continents have disappeared entirely, but without war such growth and progress could never have taken place. Decayed and corrupted nations would have been able to maintain themselves, sapping the vitality of younger ones who were striving towards new life and vigour. Supposing the early Egyptian civilisation had produced a League of Nations, as instituted at present. The fertile lands of the ancient world would have been perpetually in its power. The rise of better endowed races to power would have been infinitely more difficult, and we might even now be enjoying the blessings of a Hamitic civilisation. Or would the nation with the most votes in the League ever say, "I am decayed, let me die "?

The decay of a nation is in itself not a very powerful factor in human progress. The world is full of decayed nations who succeed in maintaining their existence as long as they are left undisturbed.

This, then, is nature's method, the instinctive, regulative agency which prescribes the path which humanity is to take in its onward march. War is its favourite instrument. We know the disadvantages of this method, the havoc, the suffering and sorrow brought about by war. But what is there to take the place of this instinctive, ruthless method of advancing humanity? Will any conscious, deliberate method, a

League of Nations, for instance, be able to replace war as a regulator of the destiny of nations?

It may safely be assumed that the primary object of the League will be the preservation and perpetuation of the status auo. Those nations which possess power, influence, territory, will retain them indefinitely. What provision would such a League make for the exclusion from power of nations who have outlived their usefulness? What would be the test of fitness and decay, and who would decide which nation is fit or not? Who would shoulder the task which imperialism performs and according to which national pattern shall young, striving nations be moulded, and which among the nations will be able to people the sparsely populated regions of the globe with its own kin? What then constitutes the test which shall gain admittance for a new nation into the League (if new nations are at all possible under its régime)?

Alas, it is impossible for man to answer these questions. To answer them one would have to know the past history of man and his future: the goal to which all tends. What type of civilisation will take the place of the European, what race the place of the Aryan? Or does anybody think that the modern civilisation, the races prevalent at the moment, have attained the culminating point of perfection, and that no further progress is possible. Suppose the League could have been instituted 5,000 years ago, and war abolished, would civilisation have reached the stage

it has actually reached? Should we not be at present enjoying the Hamitic civilisation?

The Value of War as Selective Agency

War has doubtless been an agency of great value in the progress of humanity, and the more vigorously war was waged the more permanent and beneficial were its results. War for extermination has been the most powerful factor in human progress. Extermination or extinction is thorough and the best. Those old nations which have not shared this fate are useless encumbrances of mankind. Man would never have attained the position he is in now without this agency. It has doubtless been the cause of much suffering and sorrow. But it has made it possible at every age that the fittest nation should prevail. War, of course, like anything else that man does, is not consciously waged for the sake of realising cosmic aims. Nevertheless it was one of the powerful cosmic agencies by which mankind realised its destiny.

IMPERIALISM AS AGENCY IN THE PROGRESS OF MAN

Imperialism is another cosmic agency which works in the interest of humanity. Imperialism is one of the most potent factors in the development of mankind. It has always been so. The strongest, the fittest nations of their age have always sought to impress their culture, their institutions, on people less fortu-

nate. Thus efficient forms of government, successful types of civilisation, were made available for nations, which otherwise would not have been able to originate them. It is the most effective way of spreading culture, although the example of Greece and Judea shows that culture need not necessarily be disseminated by means of conquest alone. The value of this form of imperialism in particular is that it permits young struggling nations to absorb older civilisations and gradually become ready themselves to be the bearers of a new order of things.

But there is no need to elaborate this matter. We all know the influence imperial Rome has exercised and is still exercising on Europe; modern laws, institutions and forms of government, no less than . roads and aqueducts, bear witness to that. As regards imperial Britain, its influences are still more patent. In North America alone, owing to this influence, there are considerably more than a hundred million people who are profoundly swayed by the culture of these islands, who have adopted English institutions, English modes of living, English language and English culture. The continents of Africa and Australia are becoming inhabited by a people who are moulded on the English civilisation. From these islands has radiated an influence which has left its impress on the greater part of the civilised world. This is an achievement to which there is no parallel in the history of the world. The average Briton, high or humble, hardly realises that he, in conjunction with millions of his

people, is mapping out the path along which humanity is to advance, for a whole epoch in man's history.

Imperialism, too, is a blind instinct. It seems to be an irrational state of mind. It often does not pay, but it is a cosmic force, the behest of which has to be obeyed. The desire for national aggrandisement has a meaning and a purpose.