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FUNDAMENTALS OF SOCIOLOGY

By

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PREFACE

In the course of approximately one hundred years, the subject matter of sociology has become delineated as a special social science, marked off definitively and distinguished clearly from other social sciences such as political science and economics. The division of the content of sociology into social processes, human traits, and social structures is generally accepted. In all or nearly all of the general texts in sociology, the organization of data shows the concentration of attention on these basic aspects of the subject. But the emphasis upon one or the other of these aspects, the interpretation, the implicit or explicit premises or assumptions, and the expressed or implied philosophy vary considerably.

It has become evident that a great deal of specialized research, fact-finding, and intellectual spade work have accumulated so rapidly that the task of co-ordination and logical synthesis based upon a consistent outlook is increasingly difficult. So long as attention is concentrated on the current scene of political and social confusion and sociology is described as a specialized technique for the solution of human adjustment problems, little headway is made in the development of a co-ordinated and unified treatment. The interpretation of sociology as a contemporary cross-sectional study of more or less haphazardly selected problems and disconnected events has been called the frog's eye approach. Lacking hindsight, such an interpretation also lacks foresight.

This book has been undertaken as a systematic text in sociology with a definite historical perspective. The social process is history in the making. Thus, a basic text in sociology cannot be made intelligible to the student without a consideration of the great historical movements. Problems of the family, religion, the state, poverty, crime, and the like are aspects of the same integral culture and are presented from the point of view of their actual historical antecedents and interrelationships. The intelligent treatment and solution of these problems depends upon an accurate understanding of what they really are. This, in turn, depends upon an understanding of the historical events and cultural movements which have made them what they are.

This study is an introduction or orientation to the whole field of sociology. The first chapters include a study of bias; an illustration of the content of sociology; and an explanation of the historical-cultural approach. The three general divisions of sociology—processes, human traits, and structures—are developed from this point of view, that is, a consideration of

the culture as a whole in process of development. Teachers and students today find the social world highly differentiated, complex, and involved. The cross-sectional analysis of society unnecessarily creates new problems in a vain effort to solve the old ones. The longitudinal analysis treats the culture as organism in process of change. Co-ordination of a broad range of subject matter becomes possible. A consistent and unified interpretation is realized.

To my former teachers—E. C. Hayes, A. J. Todd, M. C. Elmer, N. S. B. Gras, and L. L. Bernard—I am greatly indebted for inspiration, encouragement and the vista of knowledge which have made this book possible. To my wife I am particularly grateful for typing the manuscript, constructing the indexes, and giving counsel on many questions. To certain European and American scholars, who have left their marks upon my thought, the pages which follow give their own acknowledgment.

Louis A. Boettiger

Appleton, Wisconsin
April, 1938

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

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THE CONTENT OF SOCIOLOGY

A HYPOTHETICAL EXAMPLE will serve to illustrate the content of sociology. A Pacific ocean liner floundered in a terrific storm in the South Seas. By one of those curious conjunctures of circumstance which occurs but once in a generation the passengers and crew were made up of men, women, and children of a great variety of races and nationalities. Owing to the great diversity of languages spoken and the prevailing inability to understand but one language, there were many small groups of two and three persons able to converse with each other. There were over one thousand persons aboard ship and over four hundred languages represented among them. An island was sighted and all took to the lifeboats. Landing safely with an ample supply of provisions for a few weeks they hoped the ship might be repaired to carry them on to their destination.

But the ship had been damaged beyond all possibility of repair and the storm had carried them far off the beaten sea lanes. For weeks they hoped for a liner to pick them up, but without luck. Their provisions exhausted, *the process of accommodation* to the new conditions of life began in earnest. The island was found uninhabited, with flora and fauna in abundance. Fresh water was an urgent necessity. The officers of the ship assumed some responsibility of direction and management but found it impossible to organize the people for common purposes. The Babel of tongues made effective organization for common tasks impossible. People reconnoitered and wandered aimlessly in search of springs of fresh water but found none. They lived from hand to mouth on the food provided by nature and constructed rude shelters of trees and leaves. Coconuts quenched their thirst for a time but the supply was quickly exhausted. *People tried to communicate ideas to each other* but succeeded only in communicating the feeling of a need that was common enough. Some sickness spread and death took its toll.

One of the men, an Englishman by birth, had some training in hydraulic engineering. By gesture and pantomime he succeeded in communicating his idea to three of his comrades. For days they worked together on pieces of machinery taken from the abandoned ship. They constructed a drill and proceeded to bore holes in the island in search of subterranean streams of fresh water. Succeeding at last, a well was installed—*process of invention*—

and thus the first great task accomplished. People celebrated the happy occasion and the hydraulic engineer was the hero of the hour. (The emotional excitement of this celebration brought everyone together in a new way.) They had suffered together, but now they were delivered together. The chasm of race, nationality, and foreign tongue seemed to disappear in the common joy and excitement. For a few moments they were one in thought and feeling of gaiety and gratitude—*process of socialization*—and this was a pleasant experience to be remembered. Accordingly, the day was fixed in a number of diaries and calendars and became an annual festival occasion. This event marked the beginning of the development of a definite group structure. It illustrates the *human origin of the plurality pattern.*

The Englishman whose knowledge and skill had saved them all from misery and death was greatly honored. The girls vied with each other for his attention, but none could speak his language. However, the exaltation of interest produced sympathetic relations and presently the girls found themselves repeating English words and phrases and learned to communicate, not only with the engineer, but also with each other. The phrases spread among all through the medium of the smaller groups and a common English vocabulary grew rapidly. Someone, having caught a supply of fish, and not knowing what to call them, asked the engineer what he called them. Repeating the word many times, the new symbol was learned and came to be used by all, since only in that way could they make each other understood. A rough and ready vocabulary was presently achieved and a new structure developed from day to day—*the structure of a common language.*

The engineer, unfortunately, had been an interested reader of many modern advocates of the "new freedom." The attention of the girls was quite sufficient in itself. On balmy Sunday afternoons, he was seen taking long walks over the island with a fair young lady by his side. And these walks were something more than classes *à deux* in the study of English. People gossiped a good deal as best they could. One of the passengers happened to be a good New England lady of the very best Puritan ancestry. She was rather elderly and austere, not greatly interested in the opposite sex, and had belonged to a number of prominent reform societies. Her knowledge of the English language made it possible for her to learn a great deal more than the other people knew about the young and enterprising engineer. She was much incensed to learn that the Englishman was not contemplating marriage. Why should he? They might be picked up almost any day and carried away. (But the ways of the Englishman continued to be infectious—*process of imitation.*) The sexes paired and the lines of race, nationality, and religion were crossed nearly every time they did so. *Socialization* proceeded apace. Sometimes the relation was brittle and sometimes quite tenacious. The American lady was horrified and very busy but quite helpless. People were interested in building their shelters,

organizing fishing and hunting parties; some proceeded to domesticate a few animals and others were busy tilling the soil or felling trees—*economic division of labor.* One day a child was born, and the American lady wished at once to identify the father of the child. To her unspeakable dismay the mother of the child was not entirely sure. This information was quickly communicated to everyone. Some were not much concerned, but many more were worried about problems of parental responsibility. They held an open-air mass meeting for the first time and a program of speeches was carefully prepared by the New England lady. The great majority agreed—*the consensus*—that both parents should be required to assume responsibility for their children, and this meant economic provision as well as moral and spiritual guidance. The people were not so clear about the moral and spiritual guidance. But the infants needed care, mothers needed the cooperation of fathers, and to this extent they all agreed. Hence it was ruled that male parenthood must be clearly determinable for every child born. But how? It was decided that people of certain ages might marry of their own free choice provided they were reasonably healthy in body and mind—*marriage norms.* The duty of passing judgment upon applications for marriage was left to the American lady as the easiest solution of a tough problem. And now the engineer found the young ladies were not so much interested unless he proposed marriage—*accommodation.* This was promptly done, application promptly approved, and the New England lady achieved a degree of public recognition. In this way new plurality patterns became clarified in the *process of human association.*

The marriage of the English engineer with one of his early companions proved to be a festival occasion of great rejoicing. For days all able-bodied men and women forsook their accustomed tasks in order to build an attractive little domicile for the newly married couple—their wedding gift. Similar festivals and similar gifts proved to be a great *inducement* to marriage. The birth of children was likewise honored and the population of the island increased, for the requisites of life seemed inexhaustible. A *configuration of patterns* controlling the relations between sexes and between parents and children developed accordingly. The structure of the new society became increasingly complex.

To many of the inhabitants it seemed as if something important were lacking. Many had been worshiping their own gods in their own ways. Little groups had built private altars of worship for themselves. With reverend feeling they had voiced their gratitude and their supplication. Quite a number had conveniently forgotten all about their gods, and a few never had any at all in particular. It seemed to many as if their collective undertakings and common festivals required a common blessing. In that way the favor of the Great Power would give success to all of their common tasks. The festival in memory of their common gratitude to the engineer

seemed incomplete to many without a religious ceremony, and this need was felt more keenly at marriage festivals. Would they not suffer the wrath of the great powers if they continued to ignore them in their communal life? A certain Palestinian Hebrew was greatly concerned; the Hindus and the Mohammedans also seemed much more anxious and interested in the question than the Christians. A plague would strike them, a pestilence destroy them, wild beasts annihilate them, a flood wipe them off of the island and into the ocean. The imagination of the Hebrew was particularly active in this regard and his power of vivid expression was unusually artistic. He feared Jehovah, and the expression of his fear found a ready response in the hearts of many. The English engineer was not interested, but the New England lady had voiced her apprehension repeatedly. Moreover, she had much in common with the Hebrew for she knew her Old Testament as well as the New, in fact a little better. He succeeded in convincing her of the desirability of a mass meeting to discuss the problem. The two worked assiduously in the careful preparation of a program. They realized the problem was complex because of the heterogeneity of the current religious beliefs and practices and because this heterogeneity had neutralized—*process of neutralization*—the intensity of religious feeling for some. The mass meeting was called, but it proved a failure. There were polytheists, monotheists, pantheists, and atheists among them. They could achieve no common ground.

Shortly after this abortive effort to found a common basis for religious worship, a pestilence broke out on the island. The German doctor worked and studied cases day and night, but he could not solve the mystery. The contagion spread and some died. It was a tropical disease entirely foreign to the doctor's knowledge and experience. The Hebrew and his friends moaned a good deal. It was an expression of the wrath of God. He had warned them but they had not listened. His followers multiplied. The people were distraught; anything to save them, anything that might put some hope in the human heart. The island was new, the life was new, and the dangers were new; did they not therefore need a new God? And the Hebrew, had he not warned them? Presently he found them listening eagerly to every word he uttered. The New England lady aided and abetted in every possible way. And his teaching was simple enough: to believe in one God and to worship Him. That was easy to understand. The people did not know very much about this religion; some persisted in thinking it might prove a bad risk. But they needed a *common way of salvation,* and this way seemed especially prepared for them. So they all came together frequently to listen to the preaching of the Jew. He comforted them with soft words. He read the Twenty-Third Psalm to them and that made a deep impression. The pestilence vanished, the Jew took the credit and gained great prestige in the eyes of the people—*leadership.* The German

doctor disagreed violently—*conflict of science and religion.* He claimed that some people had lower resistance and were more susceptible to the disease; these people, unfortunately, had been selected for infection by minute organisms he called bacillae, and the selective death rate tended to establish a condition of immunity. They were becoming *acclimatized,* he said, and he hoped to learn more of the disease by persistent study in order to control it better if a new outbreak should occur. But the people did not understand him; some thought he was crazy. Nearly all agreed that the new faith had delivered them, and the engineer maintained a judicious silence. "What can you do with the morons?" he asked the German one day, and the latter was forced to reply, "Not much." The Jew became high priest and the religion of the people developed into a curious medley of contradictory magical notions, ethical precepts, and supernatural beliefs because the Mohammedan Arab, the Indian Hindu and the New England Puritan had a good deal to say. A new *configuration of plurality patterns* became curiously interwoven with the prevailing ideas of marriage, parenthood, morality, economic life, ceremonies, and recreation. It was found very convenient to identify these norms with the *sanction of religion.* In that way the person who disregarded or violated a prevailing standard of behavior ran the risk of two penalties instead of one: divine and human. Moreover, the happiness of all was believed to be dependent upon the good-will of Jehovah, who desired obedience, and therefore the intensity of the emotional reactions—*anger and fear*—to discordant behavior was far greater than it had been. The human penalty for non-conformity became more severe because of the sanction of religion and the fear of Jehovah.) The *folkways* developed into *institutions* as the configuration of plurality patterns became increasingly binding for the common welfare, real or supposed. *Common-human relations* were transformed into *circumscribed relations.* Elements of fear combined with elements of anger to give fixity to the common ways and the agency of religion became the dominating form of *social control.* Accordingly, the Hebrew priest became the recognized leader and the executive head of the island—*theocracy.*

But this new power was precarious. People envied the high authority of the priest. The Mohammedan Arab and the Indian Hindu in particular looked with longing eyes at the exalted position of the Palestinian Jew. A *struggle for power* ensued. The priest had friends whose ears were close to the ground; the New England lady saw and heard many things, but the priest often found her stories unreliable. She seemed to see things that weren't always there and to hear things that weren't always said. There were plots and counter-plots, denunciation and recrimination, coteries and cliques all of which seemed to center in the Oriental triumvirate in conflict for power: the Hindu, the Moslem, and the Jew. Then one day the Moslem was found with a bullet in his heart. He had been murdered, the first time

anyone on the island had killed a fellow human being. No one seemed to know the guilty one; attorney-generals, coroner's inquests, and judicial machinery of justice had never been established. And this was important. People suspected the Jew and the Hindu had entered into a conspiracy to kill the Moslem, and if that were true what could prevent the Hindu or the Jew from entering into a conspiracy with someone else to slay what remained of the triumvirate? The priest preached an impassioned sermon on the sanctity of human life and meanwhile the German doctor had served as coroner to determine the approximate time of the murder. This done, the Hindu and the Jew produced perfect alibis and then someone confessed to the murder. The confessed murderer was a stool pigeon, but that was not known. He was given a guarantee that no *ex post facto* legislation would be passed, and legally he was no criminal. Technicalities of this kind were useful. But now the English engineer, the German doctor, and the New England lady put their heads together. Things were going on behind the scenes very obviously. They were angry, determined. They called a mass meeting extraordinary and urged the necessity of creating *judicial process* and *police protection*. Human life was all too plainly precarious in the absence of these necessary guarantees of security. It was a long-drawn-out battle. The Jew felt his authority slipping away and he was resourceful. But there were clear and important issues at stake and the cards of public opinion were stacked against him in the circumstances. The Occidental triumvirate emerged the victors. Judicial process and police protection were agreed upon. But was one man to be high priest, law giver, and judge all combined? That would make him a despot and the people his slaves. The Occidental triumvirate had no relish for slavery. Moreover, they disliked the Oriental tendency toward tricky diplomacy and concentrated authority. The Englishman was fascinated with certain problems of sanitary engineering which now had become pressing. He had little relish for authority. The German was equally fascinated with new problems of medical science and cared little for high executive responsibility. The Puritan lady was out of the question. The Hindu had lost favor because of the murder of the Moslem. The priest wasn't bad, provided only a system of checks and balances could be worked out. But he had realized in advance that the judicial process and police protection would not be entrusted to his direction and having exhausted his resources in the struggle against the victorious triumvirate of the Occident, he was hardly the man for the job. Moreover, the public was nervous and *new leadership* would inspire confidence. But whom?

There was a wily young Frenchman among them, good-humored and affable. He had eyes for everything to be seen and ears for everything to be heard. He made friends easily and people liked him. His linguistic handicap had given others an edge over him for he was loath to accept

the ascendancy of the English language; but he was no less well endowed physically and mentally than the other leaders. Moreover, he had shown his ability as an able negotiator, a clever diplomatist, and a successful conciliator. Why not work out a democratic constitution and put him up for president of the island? This seemed the happiest solution to all of their problems. The Frenchman was proud of the trust placed in him. He was a first rate politician and propagandist. The Big Three developed into the Big Four; a constitution was formulated, amended, promulgated, and finally adopted in the general assembly; the Frenchman ran for president without opposition; criminal and civil codes were quickly adopted. The Englishman went back to his drawing board, the German returned to his microscope and the Puritan lady to her self-appointed chairmanship of the committee on Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals. This *social differentiation of function* represented a *divisione du travaille sociale,* and the *process of socialization* along democratic lines proceeded apace. The *plurality pattern developed into configurations* and the *configurations developed into constellations.*

Up to this time there had been little danger of population pressure upon food resources. But population increased. There had been so much freedom in the selection of vocation, since nature was bountiful, that an increasing number were drawn off into lines of artistic and intellectual pursuit. Also, the man who preferred to dive for pearls or dig into the hills for silver or gold was free to do so. But now the bureaucracy was growing. Increasing numbers of men and women were drawn off for public service of some sort or other. In fact, the number of people concerned with hunting and fishing, gathering fruits and berries, cultivating the soil and caring for domesticated animals had decreased steadily while the population had been increasing. There was more and more dissatisfaction and grumbling. What responsibility did the farmer or the hunter have to feed the pearl diver? None legally, and little morally. The pearl diver could trade his pearls for the fisherman's catch, but frequently both came back to the island empty-handed. The bounty of nature had its limitations after all and the pearl diver and the fisherman were hungry. Obviously, the tasks needed to be distributed and assigned in some way with due regard for collective security. The Frenchman, president of the island, had done a good deal of thinking about the problem of the *guarantees of collective security* and he set about his task with gusto. Complete freedom of occupational choice and effort had manifestly failed. It was necessary to provide incentive to toil the moment the former freedom was withdrawn. It was also necessary to deter certain interests vocationally, although not avocationally. What could they do with pearls while people needed food and clothing? The problem was difficult and the president had no taste for bolshevism. Public control over all productive enterprise! That meant compulsory labor, and after all com-

pulsory labor was not compatible with democratic institutions. Did not compulsory labor require a dictatorship? The president discussed these problems in his cabinet meetings and always the same dilemma had broken up the meeting. To the Englishman compulsory labor meant a return to medieval serfdom. To the German free labor meant certain ruin even though he stuck to his microscope and his medical science. People were required to work anyhow and was it not written, "By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread"? What value was there in free labor while population pressure steadily increased and the general standard of living was declining rather than advancing? The engineer, the doctor, the judge, the chief of police, the chief statistician, the president, the priest, the attorney-general, the landscape gardener, the chairman of the committee on Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals and a number of other functionaries had to be fed, clothed, and housed. Besides, if they should need an army and a navy, it would be very important to economize all available energy of labor. (What was the value of a pearl diver who persisted in diving for pearls, or a poet, a composer, and a painter while people were actually starving?) The Frenchman insisted that pearls made lovely necklaces which the young ladies enjoyed wearing. Moreover, life would be terribly dull without poetry and music. Wasn't all of this quite as important as landscape gardening and public architecture; in fact wasn't all of this quite as important as sanitary engineering and medicine, not to speak of public morals, which the Frenchman preferred to omit in this enumeration? Reluctantly they all agreed and this was a starting point. The president continued: "It is not necessary that everyone work continuously at materially productive labor. Four hours per day should be sufficient to provide everyone with satisfaction for basic needs. We shall exempt public officials from this requirement in order to release all of their energies for the performance of their public duties. This may prove disagreeable to the pearl diver and the composer, but we may point out that in order to give this class special favor, along with the public servants, the remaining people will have to work longer every day, and we shall leave it to them. Of course we shall have to institute a ministry of labor to administer this policy after it is approved." A mass meeting, some careful explanation, a bit of oratorical display, and the people were told to think it over for a week and be prepared to vote at the next meeting. The new economic policy was adopted and the new ministry of labor was created. The economic life became coordinated more rigidly with the religious, political, and social life. Common-human relations continued to be transformed into circumscribed relations. Configurations and constellations of plurality patterns were changing from day to day in the *process of adjustment to the new requirements of life.*

One day there was great excitement. A number of small boats were sighted on the horizon. They came nearer and nearer. A half-dozen brown

and brawny men were paddling in each of a dozen or more boats and this made a formidable company of nearly a hundred men. As they approached it was observed that they were armed with long knives, bows, and arrows. Quickly the president organized a hundred men and armed them with rifles. But he kept them in the background under cover of hills and trees as the boats drew up at the landing dock. The president now gathered a number of trusted advisers, prepared gifts and held a banquet for the newcomers. They were welcomed cordially and all feelings of suspicion were quickly disarmed. The guests were fêted and entertained and although their language was not understood, they managed to indicate by gesture and pantomime their amazement in observing so great a physical diversity of type. The islanders had learned to dress very much alike, they had learned to think, feel, and act very much alike, and so they had all but forgotten the racial and national heterogeneity of type represented among them. The *process of socialization* had completely obliterated the feelings of national and racial difference. The newcomers were grateful for the food, which they ate heartily, as well as for the entertainment which they thoroughly enjoyed. After the entertainment, things dragged along slowly and the guests showed an inclination to explore the island. But this could not be allowed because of the riflemen stationed nearby under cover of the hills and trees. The curiosity of the guests had only been fairly whetted and they insisted. They could see no evidence of arms or means of defense, and they wanted to know what there was to fear, if anything. The obeisance of the president was plainly misunderstood; but with much difficulty, he succeeded finally in communicating the idea that the guests would be more than welcome to come some other day, to bring their wives and children with them, and the islanders *better prepared for the occasion* would be happy to take them on a sightseeing tour. The president's advisers took up the idea and the newcomers thought best not to quarrel before they had learned more about their hosts. They took leave.

Now there was fat in the fire. What to do if the strangers should decide to come again with five times the last number of men. Prepared for fighting, the islanders had a good advantage with their rifles. But their supplies of gunpowder and cartridges were limited and needed for hunting game. Moreover, it was important to return the call in order to inform themselves of the real grounds of fear and of the conditions on the strangers' islands. The fear of hostile attack was communicated quickly and emergency measures adopted to cope with the new situation. The need for adequate public defense was emphasized and an increasing number of units of labor energy was diverted to this purpose. A ministry of defense was created for the special purpose of meeting the new requirements. It was pointed out that military organization and training demanded an increase in the working day because labor would have to be diverted to defensive purposes such as

the manufacture of knives and bows and arrows if their efforts to manufacture gunpowder and cartridges should prove a failure. The prospect was not pleasant, but there were other prospects even less pleasant, such as captivity, assimilation, or annihilation. They determined to defend themselves in case of attack and to prepare themselves for the emergency.

The problem of war and peace emerged and the authority of the president and his cabinet was further concentrated. To maintain peace if possible, but ready for war if necessary—this was the new policy of the state. Existing relations were altered in many particulars. The priest found it necessary to modify his teaching in making adjustment to the exigencies of the new situation. (The church, he said, must ever be partner of the state for the state like the church is divinely ordained.) This statement did not exactly accord with the facts, but contradictions of this kind were easily overlooked and quickly forgotten in the circumstances. The minister of labor was required to co-ordinate all productive enterprise with a view to the likelihood of war. The custodian of public morals learned that a standard of behavior within the group fell to pieces in the relations between hostile and independent groups. She learned to distinguish between the in-group and the out-group, between domestic relations and foreign relations, between the morality of reciprocal relations within a group and the morality of reciprocal relations between groups. Having been a good pacifist, she was badly jolted, but the issue was clear and necessary adjustment was made. The hundred brown and brawny men with their long knives and bows and arrows had terrified her. The engineer had new problems with which to cope and so did the doctor. The judge on rendering decisions in cases which involved a conflict of interest between the individual and the group showed a strong tendency to favor the group. The collectivity almost became a thing and an end in itself, and the individual was submerged increasingly. Education taught the doctrine of personal sacrifice, patriotism and faithful devotion to the whole. Philosophy and music were increasingly dedicated to the same purpose. In fact, there developed a philosophy of the state which implied that the state was something apart from and above all individuals—metaphysical abstraction, to be sure, but the only ultimate reality. Science was devoted to the task of rationalizing the organs and the purposes of the state in order to provide ethical vindication and the approval of the people. Poetry, painting, sculpture, and architecture were dedicated to the state. The army was free to support the police if necessary, and the president was commander-in-chief of the army. The moral and religious sanctions of public order were reinforced with the legal, military, and governmental sanctions of public order. This was not a desirable situation in many ways, but the alternatives were even less desirable. The state became a great objective and ponderous reality, an abstract collectivity, seemingly living a

life of its own, apparently independent of the individuals governed and moving steadily forward with an eye to the welfare of future generations. Thus the process of socialization is consummated in the state. Security and survival are the ultimate sanctions and the supreme function of the state is to provide the necessary guarantees.

Thirty years had passed since the fated ship had floundered in the sea. A second generation had grown up and a third was well under way. The population now numbered well over five thousand inhabitants. One morning the islanders awoke to see the dazzling sight of the sun reflected from the shining hull of an ocean liner not far from shore. They signaled frantically and the signals were returned. A motor boat was lowered and the captain came ashore with a group of officers. The islanders told their story to the captain and his mates and he offered graciously to take them home. There was much excitement. Home! Most of them had never seen a home except their island home. And they were all in love with this home—all but one—the stool pigeon who had confessed to the murder of the Moslem. He alone was taken aboard as the captain and his passengers slowly steamed out of vision. But, meanwhile, the president had put in an order for a plentiful supply of munitions, the doctor had put in an order for medical equipment and supplies, the engineer put in his order for much needed sanitary equipment and conveniences, the minister of education wanted a linotype machine and the custodian of public morals wanted a copy of Mary Baker Eddy's *Science and Health*. The captain was assured that there were supplies of pearls, platinum, and diamonds in abundance to pay for everything ordered.

Social Processes

This hypothetical example illustrates the content of sociology from the point of view of the beginning student. The great complexity of all existing societies makes it well-nigh impossible to unravel with due regard for historical and scientific accuracy the intricate patterns, configurations, and constellations of thought and feeling. A simplified illustration makes it possible to show how these patterns arise and change in the process of social adjustment to the requirements of survival and security. The distinctly social processes of communication, association, invention, and imitation, not to mention others above illustrated, are set forth in higher relief as the complexities of existing society are reduced in terms of a simplified illustration. We observe that the process of social development is a natural process of causation; we observe the human origin of the plurality pattern in all of its highly varied and intricate forms; we see how the common-human relations become transformed into circumscribed relations and how the process of socialization produces a feeling and consciousness of common purpose

and action.[1] There is a differentiation and an integration of distinctly social structures, invention of new syntheses of existing experience and the gradual spread of new ideas by imitation, association which stimulates communication, and dissociation, which is not necessarily disintegrating, but often leads to new forms of unity. There is superordination identified with leadership, rulership, and domination, and subordination identified with obedience, followership, and submission, all of which results in a stratification of society and a corresponding distribution of rights and duties. The process of conflict may be circumscribed within the group or it may break out into open violence, not only between groups but within groups. Competition, emulation, and rivalry are not at all destructive when properly circumscribed, that is, regulated and kept within reasonable bounds; on the contrary, they may be and usually are constructive processes. Disintegration of social structure may produce decadence, but new and better ways are usually substituted for the old. The process of individualization releases the individual from the binding control of the mores and paves the way for new forms of socialization. Incentive and inducement in a great variety of forms places a necessary valuation, a premium, upon highly desirable ends; deterrence discounts the undesirable ends. When conflicting patterns and beliefs have been neutralized they are more easily displaced and new patterns and beliefs substituted for them.

Social Structures

It is seen that the structures of society such as language, marriage, parenthood, religion, morality, economics, government, and education are the results of distinctly social processes. But it is not assumed, naïvely, that the social process is cause and the social structure is effect. The structure is reflected in the process and the process is reflected in the structure. Fundamentally, they are one and indivisible, but we cannot treat them as such because the differentiation of individuals and structures produces a highly complex process of social change. Individuals and structures are in process of constant reciprocal adjustment and there can be no decisive change in one without a corresponding change in the other. If structures are ponderous entities moving slowly from year to year, individuals too, regarded in the mass, are ponderous entities moving slowly from year to year. The enlightened individual is forever facing a mirage; he is inclined to attribute his personal rate of continuous mental and spiritual development to the potential possibility of the slow moving mass. The potential simply isn't there, however much the enlightened person may desire it, and he may as well modify a type of thinking which is little more than a vicarious form of day-dreaming and wish-fulfillment. The controlling structures and the

[1] G. Simmel, *Sociale Differenzierung*, Leipzig, 1890, pp. 11-14.

social processes are correlated and interknit so firmly that the drama of an Ibsen, or the philosophy of a Nietzsche, is much better understood as the individual reflection in the supersensitive mind of a genius of certain social and intellectual movements. In short, the mass is relatively anaesthetic so far as understanding is concerned, but it is not at all anaesthetic so far as the actual operation of cause and effect is concerned. If one-third of the working population of a country is out of work, it by no means follows that they understand why, and that the proper corrective influences are being put into operation with the corresponding modification of existing structures. This depends upon intelligent leadership.

Sociology Is a Special Science

Georg Simmel has defined sociology as the scientific study of the forms of socialization.[2] This definition implies the study of social structures and social processes, as Simmel's works abundantly testify.[3] But sociology is not a general science of society; there is no general science of society.[4] There are, however, several special sciences of which sociology is one. Economics, political science and psychology are others. An analogy is found in the study of nature. We do not recognize a science of nature, although we do recognize several special natural sciences, such as geology, chemistry, biology, and physics. A science of society is no more existent in fact than a science of nature. It is just as bad a mistake to charge the sociologist with the desire to pre-empt the field of psychology, or economics, or government, as it is to charge a specialist in one of the latter fields with the desire to pre-empt the field of sociology.

The Social Sciences Distinguished

But does not the study of social processes and social structures necessarily include political and economic structures, psychological processes, and psychological structures? The answer is no. The economist is interested in economic structures: production, distribution, and exchange of economic goods; he is also interested in social processes so far as they have economic implications. He treats a fairly definite and delimited field primarily from the point of view of content. The sociologist is not interested in this field as a sociologist. Likewise, the political scientist treats a fairly definite area of subject matter with a view of describing political and governmental structures. He may be interested in social processes and call them political,

[2] G. Simmel, *Sociologie*, München und Leipzig, 1923, Ch. I. The subtitle of this book is "*Untersuchungen über die Formen der Vergesellschaftung.*"

[3] T. Abel, *Systematic Sociology in Germany*, New York, 1929, p. 44 *et seq.* The interdependence of process and structure, of form and content, is theoretically denied by Simmel, but clearly affirmed by implication in his actual treatment of problems.

[4] L. von Wiese and H. Becker, *Systematic Sociology*, New York, 1932, pp. 8-11.

but if so, he is interested chiefly in the political implications of these processes. Again, the sociologist is not interested in this field as a sociologist. He places the primary emphasis upon the forms of the social process. In abstracting these forms from their historical setting and analyzing them, he is concentrating his attention upon human interaction, interstimulation and response, reciprocal human relations; and he is assured that this concentration of study has proved invaluable to the economist as well as to the student of government, however reluctant the latter may be to admit it.

The psychologist is interested in more than the study of sense organs and neurological structures and processes. He studies the springs of human action: hunger, love, anger, and fear. The sociologist finds it necessary to know something about these behavior controls. But these personal elements, motives, and emotions are usually studied by the psychologist from the point of view of definite neurological and physiological structures. No sociologist as such is interested primarily in this emphasis. Emotions and motives have an obvious bearing upon the development of social situations, plurality patterns, and social change, but it is equally true that these social situations, plurality patterns, and social change react upon the personal psychological elements. The learning process, the conditioned reflex, the conscious direction and sublimation of primary emotional elements are recognized by most psychologists if not by all of them. The psychologist does not make the study of social structures and processes his point of departure, any more than the sociologist makes the study of sense organs and neurological structures and processes his point of departure. These boundaries, roughly delineated, may not be like so many border lines on a European map, but they are plainly clear to anyone who takes the trouble to understand them.

Georg Simmel points out that the socio-historical actuality, society as content, may be approached from three distinct points of view. The special social sciences have divided the content of society into different fields and within these fields there is room for the same three points of view. For instance, France and Russia sign a simultaneous trade treaty and non-aggression pact. This is of interest to a political scientist, but it is also of interest to the economist, the sociologist and the psychologist. The three points of view are as follows: (1) The psychologist, who is interested in definite motives and feelings which individual bearers bring into the social situation above described. (2) The sociologist, who is interested in the interrelations and the interactions of individuals which have produced the agreement. (3) The political scientist and the economist, who are interested in the objective factual content of the treaty; the economist in the trade treaty, primarily as it affects economic matters, and the political scientist in the non-aggression pact as it affects political matters of national and inter-

national diplomacy. Here the interest in the details of factual content is distinctive.[5]

Consider the islanders of our illustration. (1) There were individual elements, such as hunger, thirst, love, anger, vanity, and fear which entered into all of the situations described in different combinations. This represents subject matter for the psychologist which he approaches primarily from a physiological and neurological standpoint. (2) There were social processes as, communication, association, accommodation, conflict, individuation, and others which represent forms of human interaction reflecting human motives on the one hand and the controlling social structures on the other hand. There was no effort to describe in factual detail the changing content of political or economic structures such as the constitution that was adopted or the new economic policy. The emphasis upon the forms of association and dissociation illustrates the approach of the sociologist. (3) The point of view of detailed factual content. The economist approaches his study of the islanders from the standpoint of the production, consumption, distribution, and exchange of economic goods. The political scientist approaches his problems from the point of view of the organs of government. The economist who is strongly interested in wants, desires, feelings, and motives becomes more and more of a psychologist; as he concentrates attention upon the forms of human interaction he becomes more and more of a sociologist. Likewise the political scientist. As he emphasizes individual elements, purposes, emotions, instincts, he becomes more and more of a psychologist; and as he emphasizes the process of interstimulation and response in its various forms he becomes more and more of a sociologist.[6]

The life of the islanders represented a free economic division of labor which was later transformed into a regulated economic division of labor; but it also represented a social division of labor in which the priest, the warrior, the artist, the official, and the scientist were prominent figures. The more the economist concentrates his thought powers upon this social division of labor, the less he is able to concentrate upon the economic division of labor. The social division of labor is co-extensive with the whole of society, but the economic division of labor is not so regarded. It is clear that the warrior, the priest, the artist, the official, and the scientist are part of a social division of labor; it is not at all clear that these classes of society

[5] N. J. Spykman, *The Social Theory of Georg Simmel*, Chicago, 1925, Chs. 3, 6.

[6] Many valuable studies in the social sciences are interstitial inquiries in the marginal areas of psychology, political science, economics, and sociology. Examples are Bernard's *Instinct*, Merriam's *Political Power*, Dickinson's *Economic Motives*, Parker's *The Casual Laborer and other Essays*, McDougall's *Social Psychology*, Parmelee's *Anthropology and Sociology in Relation to Criminal Procedure*, Veblen's *The Instinct of Workmanship*, Boettiger's *Employee Welfare Work*, Ellwood's *The Psychology of Human Society*, Hamilton's *Current Economic Problems*, Estey's *The Labor Problem*. The curious student will not have difficulty in adding many similar titles to this list.

are part of an economic division of labor.[7] The point of view and the emphasis are different. There were important changes in the economic division of labor in the life of the islanders, just as there are in every socio-historical process. The detailed description and explanation of these is a job which the economist rightly claims. This economic division of labor is reflected in the processes of human interaction, but there are also many other factors reflected in this process, biological, psychological, and cultural, for example. It is the social process of stimulation and response which represents the sociologist's point of departure.

The life of the islanders was not without government from the very beginning, and this is true of every society, however primitive. The structure of government takes certain forms: democracy, monarchy, dictatorship, etc., and these structures are in process of continuous change. This to be sure is a social process. But here again the social process reflects more than the political content of a particular society: it reflects biological, psychological, and cultural factors outside the political sphere. Neither the economist nor the political scientist singles out this social process for his point of departure. Neither does the economist or the political scientist single out the behavior motives of the psychologist for special treatment. None of these factors is a law unto itself.

There is interplay and crisscrossing here which means simply this: the sociologist who is ignorant of psychology, government, and economics is a poor sociologist. Likewise the economist who is ignorant of psychology and sociology, or the political scientist who is ignorant of psychology and sociology; the first is a poor economist and the second is a poor political scientist.

Thus, each one of the fields here discussed cuts straight across all of the others. Economics cuts across psychology in the discussion of wants and subjective value; across sociology in the study of social processes, such as invention; across political science in the study of anti-trust and similar legislation. It could be shown that the other fields cut each of the others in turn in characteristic ways. This overlapping establishes the interdependence and interrelations of the several fields, but it by no means establishes identity of approach, point of view or content as regards any two of them. The subject matter of each is characteristic of each, and the same may be said for history and philosophy. But this raises new problems which need not be considered at this point.

[7] The classical political economy of England, known also as the Manchester School, did not recognize the artistic, inventive, professional, official, and managerial classes as producers of wealth. Therefore they were not regarded as part of the economic division of labor or as a part of the cost of production. Wealth was attributed to labor, and labor was defined as manual labor which extracts raw materials, transforms them, and carries them from place to place. See J. A. Hobson, *Work and Wealth*, New York, 1921, p. 60.

Problem Questions

1. Comment on the following definitions of sociology: (a) As the study of life (E. C. Hayes). (b) As the study of society (C. A. Ellwood). (c) As the study of human achievement or culture (L. F. Ward). (d) As the study of the forms of socialization (G. Simmel). (e) As "interpretation of social phenomena in terms of psychical activity, organic adjustment, natural selection and the conservation of energy" (F. H. Giddings). (f) As "a synthetic explanation of the origins and evolutionary changes in the forms and activities of human groups in terms of their geographical, biological, psychological, and cultural conditions" (F. H. Hankins).

2. Is there such a thing as a general science of society, of man, of life, of nature or of culture?

3. Show that the study of biology cuts across the fields of chemistry, physics and geography.

4. How do you account for the fact that certain eighteenth and nineteenth century economists did not regard men of letters and science, professional classes, inventors, public officials, statesmen, artists, managers and executive directors of business enterprise as producers of wealth? (See note 7.)

5. Show that the study of economics cuts across the fields of psychology, political science and sociology. Does this make economics a general science of society?

6. Is psychology a "pure and independent science" in the sense that it does not overlap with any other recognized fields of knowledge?

7. Give examples of marginal or interstitial studies which explore the "twilight zone" which separates the social sciences. (See note 6.)

8. How would you distinguish sociology from psychology, economics and political science?

9. Do these fields overlap with the study of history and philosophy?

10. Show that the study of sociology may cut across certain natural sciences as well as the social sciences.

11. Do the other social sciences also overlap with certain natural sciences?

12. Inasmuch as all science, natural as well as social, is dependent upon the existing level of knowledge, does it not follow that all science is social in a sense?

13. If it is true that all science is social in the sense of being a product of interhuman action as conditioned by the level of knowledge, does it not follow that the racial and cultural conditions of life are reflected in the natural as well as the social sciences?

14. What is meant by the theory that all knowledge is relative?

Suggestions for Additional Reading

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THE CULTURAL CYCLE

Sociology may be defined tentatively as the scientific study of social processes and social structures from the point of view of human interaction. The interdependence and interrelationships of these processes and structures are so varied and complex that a further delineation of approach is necessary.

Interdependence of Process and Structure

It is true that human beings everywhere are associated in some form or other of group life. It is also clear that the characteristic forms of association are universally valid processes. Everywhere one sees evidence of invention and imitation, individuation and socialization, superordination and subordination, conflict and co-operation, not to mention other forms. But nowhere do we observe these processes in a structural vacuum. We are able to abstract these processes from the content of life, the thoughts and feelings of individuals as they are differentiated and integrated in the social fabric—the life of society. This abstraction is an intellectual process of disengaging a particular type of reciprocal relationship from the actual socio-historical setting in which it occurs. It is indispensable for purposes of scientific analysis and understanding. The biologist discusses the functions of certain bodily organs, such as the heart, and here too the intellectual abstraction disengages a process from a structure. But the function of the organ is clearly dependent upon the structure and any change in the latter implies a corresponding change in the former. So too, any changes in the external social structures imply alterations in function and process. Thus, the social processes are everywhere conditioned by an amazingly intricate mosaic of plurality patterns. If we detach the mosaic for the purpose of study and lose sight of the process with which it is correlated, we are presented with a picture of orderly relationships which appears to be fixed for eternity. A false impression of static equilibrium is the result. If, on the other hand, we detach the process for the purpose of study and lose sight of the structure with which it is engaged, we see a cinematographical picture of apparently disorderly relationships in rapid motion. A false impression of dynamic instability is the result.

It follows that an appreciation and understanding of the interdependence of structure and function is necessary in order to present a reasonably accu-

rate picture of social order and of social change. The conception of the cultural cycle is invaluable in this respect. For this conception implies order as well as change; it recognizes the interdependence of structure and of process; it provides a method of correction for the false impression of an eternal fixity of human interrelationships; it also provides a method of correction for the false impression of an ultra-dynamic change with its corresponding feeling of the confusion and instability of apparently unregulated relationships. In the latter case the idea of unlimited malleability of human nature is coupled with the idea of the unlimited possibilities of "rationalized controls." This ill-starred union of ideas encourages every one to refashion the world to his heart's desires. The utopian runs amuck in society—pacifist, prohibitionist, eugenist, and communist, and the cost of his mischief may be staggering. Social change is always regulated and conditioned even among people in the throes of revolution. During the Middle Ages it was the impression of the eternal fixity which prevailed; philosophy, ethics, religion, politics, and art were dedicated to this view. Today it is the feeling of eternally rapid movement—the cult of progress—which prevails, and this feeling is intensified by the teaching that if only we would speed up a little more we might get somewhere. Just where we are going is not so clear. The haste and hurry, the flutter and sputter, the nervousness and the frenzy, the apprehension and the confusion, the tension and strain are all too much in evidence everywhere. We live in this kind of an atmosphere and the mood is controlled accordingly. We need a scientific sociology to calm us.

Organic Unity of Culture

It is evident that a decisive change in one particular division of the culture fabric affects all other divisions. The Renaissance is related in various ways with Scholasticism and the consolidation of the Catholic hierarchy. If it had not been for Scholasticism and the Catholic Church neither the Renaissance nor the Reformation would have occurred; the break-up of Feudalism and manorial economy also played a rôle in this connection. The Reformation, in turn, had the most far-reaching effects upon industry and commerce, politics, government, ethics, philosophy, and science. So, too, the Industrial Revolution. It is not too much to say that the Industrial Revolution could never have taken place if there had been no Reformation. No more could the nineteenth-century rise of capitalistic methods of enterprise and unprecedented increase of population have taken place without an Industrial Revolution. Neither could the modern socialistic movement have occurred without a preceding development of capitalism. But we do not say naïvely that the rise to power of the Catholic Church *caused* Scholasticism, that Scholasticism *caused* the Renaissance, that the Renaissance *caused* the dissolution of Feudalism, that the disintegration of medieval

serfdom *caused* the Reformation, that the Reformation *caused* the Industrial Revolution, that the Industrial Revolution *caused* the rise of Capitalism, and that Capitalism *caused and is causing* socialism. This sort of reasoning is too simple. The consolidation and rise-to-power of the Roman Curia, Scholasticism, the integration and disintegration of Feudalism, the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Industrial Revolution, Capitalism and Socialism represent so many movements within the cultural cycle of Europe. They are woven and interwoven in a great social fabric of thought and feeling as fascinating as it is intricate. These several constellations and configurations of plurality patterns are part of a great social mosaic which we call Western culture. The problem of unraveling the tangled skeins of cause and effect requires for solution a knowledge of religious, political, economic, moral, and aesthetic structures in process of change. There is cross-sectional interrelationship and there is longitudinal interrelationship and it is just as big a mistake to ignore the one as it is to ignore the other. Failure to understand these complex interrelations of all aspects of a common culture, and the fact that a change in one or more aspects produces repercussions in all other aspects, accounts for the fallacy of unilateral thinking. These several aspects constitute a coherent and unified structure of functionally related parts, and thus we see an almost indefinite series of variables which we call the family, religion, law, morality, government, education, politics, and economics intimately correlated with each other. An example is the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. As effect it is intimately interwoven with every one of the social variables above named; as cause it has had effect in turn upon each one of them. Many an advocate of the Eighteenth Amendment would never have favored the measure had he realized in advance the effects it had upon all aspects of the total structure of life in this country. Well-trained scientists might have pointed out these consequences in advance; instead some of them jumped onto the bandwagon with cheers for Mr. Wayne B. Wheeler and the dawn of a new day of prohibition. How many of them are jumping onto the bandwagon of the technocrats as this is written remains to be seen.

Culture may be defined in its broadest sense as a "complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits *acquired* by man as a member of society."[1] In order to express briefly and concisely the interrelations and interdependence of all of these aspects of the complex whole we call culture, we say that the culture is organic. This does not imply that culture is a biological leviathan; it implies what is expressed, i.e., that culture is a social organism. Interhuman action of individuals standing in reciprocal relationship to each other, whether primary or secondary, direct or indirect, is the essence of it from

[1] E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, London, 1903, Vol. I, p. 1.

the point of view of sociology. The concept of culture as organism means three things: (1) a *cross-section* of the culture reveals processes and structures in a complex whole of interdependent relationships; (2) the *longitudinal section* of the culture reveals the interdependent relationships of successive phases in the development of the same complex whole; (3) the essential and basic element from the standpoint of sociology is human interstimulation and response.

Culture and Civilization

Civilization, accordingly, is a function of time and place in the process of cultural change.[2] It is often identified with the emergence of the "golden age" of a culture, that is, with the finer and higher intellectual and spiritual achievement—art, philosophy, science, and religion. Thus it is synonymous with *civility,* urbanity, good manners, and good taste of the individual on the one hand, and on the other hand, with the production of surplus wealth, the differentiation of leisure and ruling classes in control of this surplus wealth, increase of population, and growth of cities together with the most lavish expenditure for public adornment in such varied forms as architecture, sculpture, literature, music, and painting. Thus civilization may be viewed in microcosm from the point of view of the individual, or it may be viewed in macrocosm from the point of view of the total structure. The reflection of the macrocosm in the microcosm, and the reflection of the microcosm in the macrocosm is the essential sociological fact. The same principle obviously holds with respect to the interrelation of any individual and the particular culture to which he belongs.

The Concept of Rhythm

The concept of rhythm, of periodicity, of "eternal recurrence," properly qualified, is fundamental to any knowledge of social phenomena.[3] The business cycle and the seasonal fluctuations are familiar examples in the field of prices, wages, and employment. Successive waves of immigration into the United States in the course of the nineteenth century take the form of a rhythmic movement closely connected with the economic cycle. The seasonal as well as the cyclical movement is correlated with the movements of vital phenomena such as marriages, births, deaths, and morbidity rates of specific diseases; with social phenomena such as poverty, dependency, vagrancy, and crime; with psychic phenomena such as attitudes of hope, optimism, expectancy, elation, in contrast with despair, pessimism, defeat-

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[2] O. Spengler, *Decline of the West,* translated by C. F. Atkinson, New York, 1932, Vol. I, pp. 31-34.

[3] F. S. Chapin, "A Theory of Synchronous Culture Cycles," *The Journal of Social Forces,* May, 1925.

ism, and depression.[4] Huntington's theory of the pulsatory nature of climatic change carries considerable evidence to show the periodic rhythm of meteorological factors. The first, second, third, and fourth Glacial and Interglacial periods were manifestly correlated with rhythmically recurrent epochs of extreme cold and warmth. Regularly recurring changes and secular trends in the fluctuations of temperature and rainfall are associated with movements and migrations of peoples, with misery and happiness, with prosperity and depression, poverty, dependency, vagrancy, and crime together with changes in the vital phenomena of marriage, birth, death, and morbidity.[5] Neither the economic nor the geographic factor is exclusively controlling; both are interdependent with biological and social factors such as age and sex composition of the population, the level of technical control and the phase or status of realized cultural development.

Shakespeare in his inimitable language portrays the life cycle of the individual divided into seven periods:

> At first the infant,
> Mewling and puking in the nurse's arms;
> Then the whining school-boy, with his satchel
> And shining morning face, creeping like snail
> Unwillingly to school; and then the lover,
> Sighing like furnace, with a woeful ballad
> Made to his mistress' eyebrow; then a soldier,
> Full of strange oaths and bearded like the pard,
> Jealous in honour, sudden and quick in quarrel,
> Seeking the bubble reputation
> Even in the cannon's mouth; and then the justice,
> In fair round belly with good capon lin'd
> With eyes severe and beard of formal cut,
> Full of wise saws and modern instances;
> And so he plays his part; the sixth age shifts
> Into the lean and slipper'd pantaloon,
> With spectacles on nose and pouch on side,
> His youthful hose well sav'd, a world too wide
> For his shrunk shank; and his big manly voice,
> Turning again toward childish treble, pipes
> And whistles in his sound; last scene of all,
> That ends this strange eventful history,
> Is second childishness and mere oblivion,
> Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything.[6]

[4] For a summary of the scientific studies made in this connection by D. S. Thomas, M. B. Hexter, and W. F. Ogburn, see A. J. Todd, *Industry and Society*, New York, 1933, Ch. 11.

[5] E. Huntington, *World Power and Evolution*, New Haven, 1919, and *Civilization and Climate*, New Haven, 1925.

[6] Jaques in *As You Like It*, Act II, Scene VII.

The gods of mankind too have their dawn, high noon and twilight dusk and no civilization has been known to live forever. Oswald Spengler has developed his magnificent conception of the culture cycle—every culture has its Springtime, Summer, Autumn, and Winter. As formerly histories were written of the rise and fall of the Roman Empire, so now histories are written of the rise and decline of European Civilization. Philosophers spin endless webs of fact and fancy with the Nietzschean idea of "eternal recurrence," while alarmists call attention to feminism, socialism, the growth of cities, the declining birth rate, the increasing divorce rate, the spreading fashion or necessity for dictatorship, materialistic standards of life and mercenary crime as symptoms of the not far distant "day of judgment."

The particular object at this point is not to analyze some special form of rhythm; it is rather to show the importance of the concept in various aspects and examples. It will be shown that the concept of the cultural cycle is just as indispensable for the scientific study of society as the concepts of interhuman action, reciprocal human relations, social process, multiple response and plurality pattern. The familiar eighteenth and nineteenth century idea of rectilinear progression or of spiral progression toward a democratic, humanitarian goal inspired by scientific achievement has become a kind of stereotype, a sort of *idée fixe* which impedes a more thoroughgoing scientific procedure.[7] In this sense and in other ways it could be demonstrated that science is defeating its own major purposes. Democracy and humanitarianism are associated in people's minds with everything that is good and desirable; so is progress. Therefore, if anything is considered good and desirable it must be democratic, humanitarian, progressive. A student having read Warden Lawes' *Twenty Thousand Years in Sing Sing* and asked to characterize the warden's policy will agree that it is certainly not repressive, brutal, or inhuman; he will agree that it is sympathetic, kind, constructive, and human.[8] Asked whether this policy is democratic, the answer is likely to be affirmative. The warden's policy is certainly *autocratic,* but autocracy is identified in the student's mind with everything undesirable, whereas democracy is associated with everything desirable. The warden's policy is certainly good and desirable, therefore it must be democratic! It is this type of puerile reasoning, based upon current shibboleths and the association of ideas which is also confronted in any thoroughgoing analysis of the concept of rhythmic recurrence. The theory implies that some day the good things of Western civilization may disintegrate and disappear, and this conflicts with prevailing notions of science and progress. Therefore, the theory must be false!

Manifestly, this form of reasoning is absurd.

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[7] H. Croly, *Progressive Democracy,* New York, 1914.
[8] L. E. Lawes, *Twenty Thousand Years in Sing Sing,* New York, 1932.

The Cultural Cycle

One person states that history forever repeats itself; another person states that history never repeats itself. These two statements appear to contradict each other, and it is naïvely concluded that one statement or the other, if not both, are wrong. The essential meaning of each statement is confused with a literalistic interpretation; the result is that understanding is blocked. A social situation is never precisely duplicated in all of its elemental particulars. But no social science can be constructed upon detached particulars. It can be constructed and it is constructed upon the study of the likenesses and differences of these particulars; this leads to classification and to the observation of concurrences, recurrences, and correlations which in turn give rise to theoretical explanation. The sort of "scholarly" spade work which begins and ends in the accumulation of "facts" is not science. The exposition and interpretation of the interrelationships, interdependence and correlations of these facts is the beginning of science. To this end the statement and verification of hypotheses, theories, and empirical laws are indispensable. If it can be shown that certain forms of plural response and social process are manifest at certain phases of the cultural cycle,—such a theory as Auguste Comte's, for instance, that the actual interpretation of nature flows from theological procedures of reasoning to metaphysical procedures and thence to positive methods of thought and proof, may merely reflect the springtime, summer, fall, and winter of the cultural cycle. The proof of such a theory would be of inestimable value, not only for purposes of understanding but also for purposes of intelligently effective social control in the interest of the conservation of the cultural values achieved. The limits of such a telic conservation are obvious enough. If the span of life has been increased from 40 to 60 years over the past three-quarters of a century, no one in his senses would consider this a reason for thinking it will be increased at the same rate from 60 to 90 years over the next three-quarters of a century. Clearly, the extension of longevity is dependent upon a correct and scientific understanding of the biological factors more or less characteristic of senility, factors which impede the way to a longer span of life. Similarly, the conservation of the achievement of an active and dynamic civilization depends upon a correct and scientific understanding of the organic-cultural factors which impede the way—that is, in this instance, the way of longevity in the life history of a culture. The disintegrating effects of the growing emphasis upon the purely intellectualistic type of procedure, whether in art, science, philosophy, or religion, has been observed by more than one thinker.[9] And if this movement of emphasis and feeling simply reflects an advanced individualism which is an organic part of the complete

[9] J. W. Krutch, *The Modern Temper*, New York, 1929.

cycle of the culture, and therefore rooted indirectly in Scholasticism, the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Industrial Revolution, we may not be so amazed to find similar movements in the Arabian, Classical, and Egyptian civilizations. Such similarities or morphological parallelisms certainly have the utmost significance for any sociological study of human interrelations since these interrelations would have to be interpreted and could only be understood and controlled within the limits of the cultural cycle itself.

Interhuman Relationships as Affected by the Cultural Movement

An illustration at this point will show how the social organization and the level of the cultural cycle with which it is identified controls interhuman relations and therefore also the specific processes and structures in terms of which these human interrelations are described and analyzed. It is evident that the existing form of social organization determines the composition of normally and abnormally dependent groups. (1) We speak of a child dependent upon his parents as normally dependent. The term normal implies two ideas: first, that this relation of dependency is usual, i.e., representative of the group, and second, that this relation is generally considered ethically superior to other forms. An orphan dependent upon some private or public agency would be considered an abnormal dependent. Also, the relationship of a child to the state upon which it is directly dependent for support would be regarded as abnormal. (2) Likewise, an aged and incompetent person is considered normally dependent when one of his own children or immediate relatives assumes the responsibility of providing for his needs. He may be supported by public funds as old age pensions and county poor farms, or by private funds as employers' subventions for their aged employees or homes for the aged maintained by religious and fraternal societies. These latter relationships are generally considered abnormal in the sense of being less desirable, ethically speaking, as well as less customary. (3) A woman dependent upon her husband, father, or brother is considered normally dependent. When she loses her male support and becomes dependent upon the county or state through mothers' pension laws, or upon private philanthropic agencies, the relation is generally regarded as abnormal in both meanings of the term. (4) The inheritor of wealth whose economic status is secure would not be regarded as abnormally dependent upon society even though he engaged in no useful work; he is generally regarded as normally independent. But a change in the legal status of inherited possessions, whether by confiscatory taxation of inherited wealth or by the enactment of a compulsory labor law, radically changes the status of the group. In such a situation, a person who is incapacitated for useful work

would be considered abnormally dependent upon society even though he inherited considerable wealth. It cannot be doubted that the present ethical current as well as the legislative current increasingly questions the normality of privately subsidized leisure. Likewise, in case number three, the increasing number of women gainfully employed and economically independent is responsible for a revised outlook with regard to the normality of the dependence of the adult female upon husband, father, or brother. And this view is strengthened by the gradual disappearance of maternal and household duties owing to the declining birth rate, and to the partial, if not complete elimination of many tasks such as baking, sewing, washing, and the like, together with the increased labor efficiency provided by various electrical devices. This group of single and married women is sometimes considered parasitic and designated as abnormally dependent upon society, rather than as normally dependent upon some male.[10] In connection with case number two, the dependent aged, the same point is clear. In fact it may be stated that some countries have provided for old age pensions in so thoroughgoing a fashion that the incompetent aged taken care of by their children are regarded as abnormally dependent; when maintained by the state they are normally dependent. The disintegration of family unity from various angles—moral, religious, economic, and otherwise—weakens the feeling of responsibility one for the other. Moreover, the increasing proportion of the population in the higher age groups due to three factors, namely, the declining death rate, the declining birth rate, and restriction of immigration, has the effect of making the problem of old age dependency increasingly a public matter, and less a private family matter. The changes in the social organization represented by pension systems for the aged, independent status of women, and tax laws restricting the private inheritance of wealth directly affects the composition of normally and abnormally dependent groups and hence the nature of the human relations within and between these groups. The old conceptions of private property and the monogamous family are changing, and these changes are clear indexes of a new phase in the movement of the cultural cycle—a phase which is vitally concerned with the conservation of cultural as well as of human and natural resources for the common good.

The situation in case number one, dependent children, is similar. In respect to education, recreation, health, and morality the community increasingly asserts its responsibility for the well-being of the child. A great variety of protective agencies, private and public, religious and secular, take an active and helpful interest in cases of illegitimacy, orphaned children, physically or mentally handicapped children, and laws even provide for state guardianship of children whose parents do not provide morally desirable

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[10] M. Parmelee, *Poverty and Social Progress*, New York, 1923, p. 14.

influences in the home.[11] Widows' pension laws are widespread to provide for dependent children, and the state relieves the economic incidence of child-bearing and rearing by maintaining maternity hospitals, medical services, public milk depots, infant welfare stations, and in many similar ways. Clearly the ethical norm is changing, and with it the circumstances of children regarded as normally or abnormally dependent. These changes in the social structure imply again a disintegration of the original family solidarity, together with a revision of the older ideas of private property. Whether a condition is likely to be realized in which the state becomes the legal and moral guardian of all children at birth and thus makes them normally dependent as a class in this type of relationship is not here predicted. Playgrounds, nurseries, hospitals, sanatoria, dispensaries, clinics, and schools supported by the public are universal enough and what remains of private parental responsibility will probably be tenaciously conserved, just as private property will be conserved in the interest of a general policy of cultural solidarity. This policy recognizes the danger and the menace of reckless and extravagant social experimentation such as the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution, and realizes that the future welfare depends upon maintaining a direct line of continuity with the past and present. In this way the phase of the cultural cycle conditions and even governs the typical interhuman relations in various groups of normally and abnormally dependent individuals. The existing form of social organization determines the composition of these groups.

Cultural Parallelisms

The problem of detaching the constituent elements of a culture cycle, or of a particular phase of this cycle, or even of some special movement within the cycle such as the Protestant Reformation or the modern humanitarian movement, is admittedly complex; the task of fitting these elements in their proper places and schemes of relationships is a jigsaw puzzle of the first magnitude. A final solution to this problem, if such there be, belongs to the field of the philosophy of history in particular. This is of course entirely outside the scope of a scientific sociology. But sociology finds itself engaged with the study of the "socius," the individual in his social relationships. The study of these relationships has pointed out the importance of the distinction between pattern and process, structure and function. The pattern is never precisely the same from one day to the next even though the changes may be and usually are infinitely minute; neither is the process the same in all particulars from day to day. It has been shown that these changes are in the nature of reciprocal correlations within the cultural organism; they have no vital meaning, no intelligible relationship to each other unless they are

[11] J. L. Gillin, *Poverty and Dependency*, New York, 1937, Chs. 22, 23.

understood in this way. A series of illustrations will clarify this point. (1) The spiritual dominance of urban areas apparently unprecedented in scope of influence and qualitative significance, completely alters the tone and the pattern of modern civilized life. This growing importance of huge metropolitan centers is identified with the later phases of the cultural cycle; the influence of the countryside and the pastoral scene is dominant in the earlier phases of the cycle. And this is true, not only of Western culture, but also of the Classical, the Egyptian, the Arabian, Chinese, Indian, and Mesopotamian civilizations. It illustrates a type of morphological parallelism which is of the utmost significance for a scientific study of human interrelations. (2) The gradual differentiation and integration of the priesthood and the landed aristocracy with the ensuing struggle for supremacy between these two powerful classes belongs to the early period of the cultural cycle. In European culture this conflict resulted in a victory for the landed aristocracy, the priesthood gradually surrendering its power over the world of practical affairs; in the Magian culture, however, the same conflict resulted in triumph of the priesthood. The historical studies of the Classical and Egyptian civilizations point to similar parallelisms. (3) Certain distinctive movements of a nihilistic character, such as ethical socialism in present society, the stoicism of Marcus Aurelius and Epictetus in ancient Rome and the Buddhism of ancient India, belong to the later period of the cultural cycle and are identical in essential meaning in relation to the historical conjuncture to which each belongs.[12] (4) Such movements as the Renaissance and the Reformation also have their morphological parallelism in other civilizations.

Movement of the Cycle of Culture

The movement of the cycle in Western Europe may be delineated roughly as follows: the first evidence of a dynamic cultural force is felt in Feudalism which is correlated with the rise of early medieval manorial institutions; the simultaneous consolidation of myth, legend and religious belief of the same period is associated with the priesthood of the Roman Church; first and second estates were thus interrelated movements within the cultural cycle of Europe. This reciprocal relationship is no less true of Egyptian and Classical civilizations than it is of the European. The Renaissance and the Reformation are not only related to each other; both are related to the period of discovery, exploration and invention which led slowly to the substitution of a territorial or national for a local economy. Mercantilism and Cameralism are interlinked with this period of national development. The mental and the moral liberation identified with these movements gave to science a powerful stimulus, particularly the physical

[12] O. Spengler, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Ch. 10.

and mathematical sciences; thus was laid the basis for a conception of natural order, natural law and a natural philosophy which slowly superseded the older theology. The individualism inherent in the Renaissance and Reformation was transferred from art and religion to politics, morals, and law. It is represented in crystallized form in the work of the Physiocrats in France and the classical school of political economy in England. There was a growing emphasis upon natural rights, *laissez faire* and personal freedom which paved the way for the rise of the third estate and the consequent secularization of law and education. The old aristocratic régime gave way to the new, and the spirit of capitalism in ascendancy made possible an unprecedented development of productive techniques, a corresponding increase of population, and a growing concentration of population in the urban areas. Under these varied stimuli the social and biological sciences were developed; rationalism and positivism were substituted for naturalism; ethical socialism appeared on the scene while law, morality, politics, and economics were increasingly referred to the welfare of the masses for ultimate criteria. The rise of social and labor legislation, the development of parliamentary institutions with the extension of suffrage, a widespread humanitarian movement, further rationalization of the production of wealth and a greater concentration of urban population marked the nineteenth-century movement. In the twentieth century, democracy and parliamentary institutions are felt to be unsatisfactory methods for the solution of problems, and the trend toward concentration of political authority in dictatorial forms is increasingly manifest. The symptoms evident in the Rome of the decline become more characteristic of our own society, and there is a stronger inclination to cleave to the past in a spirit of dynamic conservation. Fascism in Italy and Germany represents a type of national resurgence which aims to preserve the culture that is distinctive. Communism spells the destruction and doom of Western religion, law, morality and economic life; it is the very antithesis of the Western spirit and the hostility often appears to be unmitigated. The spirit of communism and the spirit of the West are fighting a life and death struggle for survival and supremacy. Types of political consolidation, such as fascism, have already made it clear in Italy, Germany, and Spain that the decisive question is not liberalism versus conservatism, democracy versus autocracy, but rather, conservation of the culture versus annihilation of the culture. Other cultures have passed through precisely the same type of crisis, and one can hardly understand the world in which we live, or the world from which we came, without a conception of these and other morphological parallelisms of the moving cultural organism. The scientific study of human interrelations and human interaction is manifestly conditioned by this understanding. Moreover and especially, this understanding is an indispensable prerequisite of the necessary detachment demanded of the student of sociology. Only in this way is

it possible to make correction for the various forms of bias. It is desirable, therefore, to have in mind a general perspective of the movement of the cultural cycle, and it is the aim at this point to set forth such a perspective in a more detailed way.

Every student of sociology is familiar with Comte's "law of the three stages." [13] Unwittingly this distinguished Frenchman made a contribution to the theory of the cultural cycle the meaning and importance of which has become clarified in the light of the work of Oswald Spengler. While the latter thought realistically in terms of Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter of the cultural cycle, the former thought in terms of a progressive series which lifts the life of man to ever higher levels. The three stages which Comte set forth were called theological, metaphysical, and positive. These stages represent, according to this writer, a steady development in the ascertainment of truth and the power of man to master his surroundings. Logically, they culminate in a socio-scientific utopia in which the institutional and non-institutional controls over behavior are tested and modified objectively until they have become rationalized in the interest of human happiness. Accordingly, man slowly acquires the power to control his own destiny.

The Theological Phase—Springtime

Theological, metaphysical, and positive stages are essentially procedures of reasoning, methods of thought and proof by means of which man makes his adjustments to the requisites of security and survival.[14] He arrives at certain conclusions by means of non-logical or quasi-logical processes of thought, and builds up a cultural environment of taboos, folkways, myths, mores, and laws which represents the result of his instinctive efforts to adjust himself to the conditions of life in which he lives. In the theological stage, the reasoning is childlike; events are the result of human will and desire, or else they are the result of superhuman will and desire. Phenomena that cannot be explained in terms of human desire or human intention are explained in terms of superhuman desire or intention. The world is a spirit world of nymphs, fauns and fairies, ghosts, goblins, gods and devils, and events that may not be explained in terms of human wish are explained in terms of divinities, quasi-divinities, demons, or other similar creations of man's inventive fancy. The stars may be thought of as the campfires of departed spirits; the analogical process of reasoning based upon human experience and the association of ideas becomes manifest. The thought process is anthropomorphic. Man is ignorant of geology, physics, chemistry and biology, not to say of psychology and sociology in this period of develop-

[13] J. P. Lichtenberger, *The Development of Social Theory*, New York, 1923, p. 245 *et seq.*
[14] L. M. Bristol, *Social Adaptation*, Cambridge, 1915, p. 16 *et seq.*

ment. In order to calm his fears and achieve a measure of assurance in the presence of pestilence and death, flood and famine, storm and cyclone, volcanic eruption and earthquake, war and destruction, drouth and starvation, winter cold and summer heat, man in the theological stage of reasoning assumes the existence of many supernatural agents in order to explain and theoretically control such phenomena. To these agents he often attributes human form and human desire. An angry person is propitiated in ways that are essentially human. An angry god is appeased by sacrificial offerings and in many other equally human ways. The margin of ignorance is also the margin of terror, and as "nature" abhors the awful vacuum, the ingenious fancy of man builds upon his own experience and bridges the chasm which would make him the victim of his own fear. There is good-will and ill-will in human beings; some are enemies and others are friends; there are rulers and there are ruled. Supernatural beings are considered responsible for events which cannot be explained in terms of human wish and purpose. These supernatural beings may be beneficently or malignantly inclined, they may be good or they may be evil, they may possess general or special powers. Accordingly, it is conceived to be necessary to satisfy their desires, to fulfill their commands, to obey their laws. The laws of man are thus identified with the laws of the gods, and the actual and desired structure of life is interpreted as the reflection of the supernatural will. In this way, theological-minded man achieves the peace of his own conscience, the measurable dissipation of his own fear and a degree of social solidarity which proves to be a distinct aid in the struggle for existence and survival. The world of fancy is to him a real world, for the process of causation is conceived in terms of human and superhuman personality. Conclusions are reached by a method of analogy which represents a projection from experience based upon the association of ideas. In the light of the prevailing standard of culture, this conquest of fear—adjustment to nature and achievement of social cohesion—is an event of the greatest importance. The method of ascertainment of truth is in error, the conclusions erroneous, and man in this stage is often the victim of his own ignorance since the culture he builds does not stand the test of reason. Nevertheless, he achieves a certain dignity of outlook in the face of a baffling world. Legends, mythology, magic, and superstition here constitute the groundwork of thought and feeling and they are vitally active in the control of human behavior regardless of fiction.

The Metaphysical Phase—Summer

The theological method slowly merges into, gives way to, and overlaps with, a metaphysical stage. The pendulum swings from a personal to an impersonal theory of causation. There is something arbitrary and capricious about the theological theory; gods and demons may indulge their whims

and fancies. Why should this be so? Order is apparent even in change: day and night, the succession of the seasons, birth and childhood, manhood and womanhood, the phases of the moon, the regularity of movement of the sun, sowing time and harvest time, wakefulness and sleep, exertion and fatigue. Here are relationships which suggest an orderly sequence of events and an impersonal theory of causation. Nature is substituted for god, or identified with god, and the margin of insecurity is measurably reduced since man can no more be made the victim of a capricious will. Truth is conceived to be inherent in the nature of things; it needs only to be unfolded, revealed in order to be understood. A principle is assumed, a generalization intuitively conceived, and the chain of cause and effect is unravelled like the pattern of a garment. The spirit is depersonalized and the method of reasoning is syllogistic deduction based upon intuitive assumption. All men are mortal; "A" is a man; therefore "A" is mortal. It does not occur to one that nobody has succeeded or could succeed in demonstrating inductively that all men are mortal. It does not appear at all necessary to do so. The assumption, all men are immortal, may appear quite as reasonable in the light of an animistic tradition and the conclusion quite as obvious that "A" is immortal since "A" is a man. And so it is theoretically demonstrated that man is a moral or religious being, an economic unit, a rational person, a miserable robot, a political animal, a son of God, a happy savage, or an intellectual abstraction according to one's desire. Such assumptions as the following: all is nature; all is attraction and repulsion; all is matter; all is mind; all is love; all is fire, air, water, and earth; illustrate the premise. From the premise, observations are made and conclusions are drawn. In this way, the most ingenious webs of human fancy have been devised involving all of the varied aspects of human life and human experience: a Christian Science cult, a materialistic philosophy, an idealistic cosmogony, a medieval alchemy, a biological analogy of society, an economic interpretation of history, a mechanistic explanation of behavior, a physiographic theory of life, a technological explanation of culture. The thought of certain Old Testament writers, or of St. Augustine, may be taken to illustrate the theological category; the thought of Plato, Aristotle, Kant or Rousseau may be taken to illustrate the metaphysical category; the work of men like Dante and Thomas Aquinas combines the theological and metaphysical points of view. In the first case, truth is absolute and discoverable in the will of God; in the second case, truth is again absolute and discoverable in the nature of things; in the third case, truth is revealed not only in the will of God but also in the nature of things and again it is absolute and irrevocable. The premises assumed are identified with vital forces, essences of life, natural elements, and if these terms are vague it is because the process of reasoning is not inductively established. That many an intricate and fascinating pattern of thought has been pieced together in this way

is clearly apparent. The work of Hegel and Marx are good examples. Nor is the human spider who spins a web of this kind accomplishing no valued end. He may perform a service of the first magnitude by reducing still further the margin of human fear of insecurity, by adding measurably to the dignity and poise of man, by destroying the cultural basis for the terror of a capricious divinity, by greatly expanding the range of knowledge, human experience, and observation, by integrating the structure of thought and the solidarity of human life, and by stimulating the sensitivity of the individual to the thought and feeling of others. The writings of the Physiocrats in France—Quesnay, Mirabeau, Turgot, and du Pont de Nemours—belong to the metaphysical category; so also the thought of the classical school of political economists—Adam Smith, Malthus, Ricardo, James Mill, and John Stuart Mill; also the work of Carlyle, Montesquieu, and Emerson, not to speak of countless other thinkers. Theories which emphasize natural rights, natural order and natural law, *laissez faire* and freedom of contract characterized seventeenth, eighteenth, and early to middle nineteenth century writers. They represent the movement of the cultural cycle from a theological to a metaphysical phase. Comte, however, did not interpret the theory in this way as previously pointed out. To him the theory was orthogenetic or monotypical in a universal progressive series and not in the form of a cultural cycle.[15]

The Positive Phase—Autumn

The metaphysical phase of the cycle merges into the positive phase which is marked by a "scientific" procedure of inductive reasoning. The characteristic movement of the thought process is now from the particular to the general, rather than from the general to the particular. A sensory theory of knowledge emphasizing direct observation, objective testing, and accurate recording is substituted for intuitive assumption and *a priori* methods. Rationalized mythologies and mythological rationalizations of the theologians and metaphysicians are unacceptable. It is assumed that the "miracles" achieved by science in the realm of the inorganic are no less possible of achievement in the social and political fields. There is expression of impatience with the vague generalizations of the pseudo-scientists and builders of utopias who have not come to grips with reality; intuitive and philosophical speculation are condemned. Truth is not absolute or irrevocable; it is relative; "natural laws" are illusions.[16] To assume that individuals are born with natural and inalienable rights is to say that these rights are biological, that is, unit characters transmitted through the germ

[15] R. Flint, *History of the Philosophy of History*, New York, 1894, pp. 599-600.

[16] Karl Pearson has stated that there is more meaning in the view that man attributes laws to nature than in the opposed view that nature gives laws to man. Karl Pearson, *The Grammar of Science*, London, 1911, p. 82 *et seq.*

cells in Mendelian ratios. The rights of an individual obviously depend upon the social status or position acquired by reason of his own achievement, or the achievement of his ancestors, relatives, or friends; and this is manifestly dependent upon the external structure of life in which he lives. This structure viewed inclusively is so varied and multiform that the mores seem to make anything right. How then can there be such a thing as a universal moral law so long as standards of right reverse themselves from place to place and time to time? Hence there can be no absolute standard of right; the conscience of the individual is always relative to the conditions of life of a certain area at a particular time. The varied elements in terms of which such conditions are described must be analyzed, their movements correlated. Coefficients of correlation are ingeniously devised to measure the extent to which the movement of one series is interdependent with the movement of another series. In this way, statistical studies, or historically detailed studies inform us of the factors which control crime, vagrancy, unemployment, insanity, the birth rate, longevity, destitution, wages, prices, standards of living, the distribution of wealth, movement of population, disease, or a hundred other problems which have been investigated in this way. Biological, economic, psychological, physiographic, and cultural factors are defined and detached from the totality of the situation in which each occurs. Thus we come to understand the dependence of two or more series of variables upon each other, and the interrelation of biological, social, and other factors which control a situation. Some, or all of these factors, are subject to human manipulation in different ways, to various degrees, and so man attempts to pull himself up by his own bootstraps, endeavors to control his surroundings by steady mastery of the scientific technique in pure and applied aspects. Knowledge is thus conceived to give man the power to master his own destiny. By such a process of reasoning men like Spencer, Ward, Condorcet, and Comte came to believe in a theory of telic progress and human salvation by means of science. Positivism was given a great stimulus by the work of Roger Bacon, and later, by Francis Bacon, but it belongs essentially to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Let no one misunderstand. The positive phase briefly sketched is here interpreted as an aspect in the rhythmic movement of the cultural organism subject to its own inherent process of growth and decay.[17] If such a theory destroys the faith of men in their own power or in the power of science, let them re-establish their faith on a more substantial basis. It will save the world many a shortsighted and extravagant experiment in social salvation. Positivism, like the theological and metaphysical speculation which preceded

[17] Comte recognized the limitations of positivism during the closing years of his life when he stressed the importance of his "religion of humanity." Thus Comte experienced the completion of the cultural cycle in the life-cycle of his person, having passed successively through theological, metaphysical, positive, and neo-mystical phases of development.

it, has made, and is making, a hitherto incredible contribution to the spiritual achievement of man. It is reflected clearly in the social idealism of writers like Ibsen, Nietzsche, and Tolstoi. The development of scientific methods of dealing with every conceivable form of mental or physical defect, social or political maladjustment, is one of the greatest of all human accomplishments. One has only to think of the work of a man like Robert Koch and his discovery of the tubercle bacillus to appreciate the point; further illustrations are entirely gratuitous. Other men have caught the mystic vision and achieved results which would have been thought impossible a century ago; cures for syphilis and certain types of epilepsy are examples. Still others, catching the same vision, have not had the good sense to appreciate the limitations of individuals as human beings; very few have sensed the limitations which are inherent in the movement of the cultural organism itself. Today, many people have a vague feeling or even a well-reasoned judgment that positivism has promised too much, far more than can possibly be fulfilled. Meanwhile it has contributed to the creation of new conditions of life and new problems of maladjustment which we strive vainly to solve: rapidly declining birth rate, particularly among the social élite; widespread reliance upon propaganda to create the desired effects; democratization of education; urban domination with increasing concentration of population in metropolitan centers; stabilization of population with accumulating evidence to show the probability of a subsequent absolute decline in numbers; increase in the staggering indebtedness of nations; rising national and racial consciousness of subject peoples everywhere—as witness the Negro movement in the United States and the resurgence of a dozen or more hitherto unknown nationalities in Europe since the World War; increasing rate of divorce; materialization of the standards of value; larger proportions of abnormally dependent provided for directly or indirectly by the independent balance of the population—in short, a world in which individuation and socialization have proceeded to the point where the social and racial demands for cultural integrity are slowly disintegrating. If anyone doubts that positivism is related to any one of the above-mentioned effects, let him think in terms of capitalistic ascendancy, national imperialism, the democratic movement, or any other closely connected cultural correlative of positivism and the conclusion will become manifest.

The Neo-Mystical Phase—Winter

Positivism is already moving in the direction of a "new mysticism." The faith in the popularization of knowledge by means of a democratic system of public education has been jolted badly; individuals inevitably and unavoidably organize into highly self-conscious and purposive groups based

upon their own special interests; the better informed they are and the higher their standard of intelligence the more unselfishly do they devote themselves to the cause of their own special groups. Accordingly, democratic methods present new problems; it took Congress nearly three years to pass the Smoot-Hawley tariff law. In public estimation, science does not sit upon the high pedestal it once enjoyed. The language of the experts is too often contradictory, too far removed from the common run of man's everyday desires, too abstruse and prolix if not altogether esoteric, too manifestly a failure in the world of practical affairs to merit the continued plaudits of the populace. This same populace understands best the things that make life comfortably secure and tolerably happy from day to day. Here science has failed miserably, not because it ever had a chance to begin with, or because it omitted to take advantage of an opportunity, but because engineers could speak with promise of the coming abolition of poverty; because socialists, pseudo-scientists, and reformers raised the hopes of the masses beyond all possible prospect of realization, only to see them dashed to pieces. The boundaries of the special sciences have been pushed beyond the cultural foundations upon which they were founded and reared; accordingly they are less effective instruments in the maintenance of a social and racial integrity.[18] The forces of science viewed culturally are increasingly centrifugal, rather than centripetal, and this is quite as true of the natural sciences and philosophy as of the social and historical sciences. Moreover, the anarchic individuation of purely intellectual effort has become more than disturbing from the point of view of cultural conservation and the desire for security; it has become positively disruptive as shown for instance in Joseph Wood Krutch's book, *The Modern Temper.*[19] This disruption is felt in modern music, literature, and painting as well as in the natural and social sciences, and the *actual*

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[18] An example is the Heisenberg Principle of Uncertainty which emphasizes the fact that the process of measurement itself influences the object measured in such a way that subsequent observations cannot be exactly correlated. The product of the uncertainties in any two properties of an entity cannot be less than Planck's quantum constant "*h*." Therefore it has been stated that *we can be certain of nothing but uncertainty.* The faith of the physicist in the omnipotence of his measurements has been destroyed. Moreover, the ideal of complete comprehension of the physical universe appears more remote and elusive than ever. It is evident that such concepts as Natural Law and a Self-Regulating Universe along with such philosophies as Determinism and Mechanism have been given a crushing blow. These concepts and philosophies are open to criticism on other grounds, but when intellectualism and skepticism reach an agnostic position of helpless uncertainty as extreme as this the reactive tendency of mysticism and faith is sure to follow. V. Pareto, *The Mind and Society,* edited by A. Livingston, New York, 1935, Vol. IV, p. 1672 *et seq.*

[19] J. W. Krutch, *The Modern Temper,* New York, 1929. This author shows clearly the inherent conflict between the demands of civilization upon the individual in the process of adjustment and the requirements of nature for survival. The human organism, increasingly dominated by the exacting requirements of a complex civilization, becomes more specialized, more delicately balanced, and therefore less adaptable to the exigencies of survival. Every high civilization is therefore doomed in the end. Krutch makes the best of this situation by stating that it is better to die like a man than to live like an animal.

behavior of people is controlled accordingly.[20] It is reflected also in secondary as well as in higher education. Hence the "new mythology" places a high valuation upon religion. The conception of the state as a metaphysical entity over, above, and apart from, the individuals who make it up, as in Fascist Italy, is in keeping with the new mythology. Self-abnegation in devotion to the cause of the state is praised; the self-centered and hedonistic accumulation and enjoyment of material wealth is condemned.[21] The reverend worship of the past, the substitution it may be of Wotan for Moses or, in other lands, the elevation to sainthood of a Lenin, illustrate the same mood.[22] Among the privileged classes, the Oxford Movement, known also as Buchmanism, has made substantial headway in England as well as in the United States. At the opposite extreme, the Marxian creed is accepted increasingly as a religious faith—a way of salvation for the masses. In the middle groups various religious and quasi-religious cults such as Nudism, Bahaism, Theosophy, New Thought, Christian Science, Spiritualism, and even Psychoanalysis reflect the same mystical trend.

The scholarly spade work of highly specialized scientific research is deplored for its lack of interpretative and co-ordinating value. Intuitive and metaphysical methods of thought and proof are restored to the high place they formerly enjoyed. These are also current symptoms of the new mythology; it is a reaction against positivism with its centrifugal and disruptive implications and effects. In its more intelligent aspects it is essentially a conservative movement; accordingly, war is declared against the alien spirit of communism which aims at nothing if not the destruction of the very foundations of Western civilization.

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[20] According to A. N. Whitehead the great nineteenth-century progress in science, industry, and the arts has worn itself out. The close of this epoch is marked particularly in literature by the rise of satire as illustrated in the work of Sinclair Lewis and Lytton Strachey. Satire appears as a "last flicker of originality" at a time when the World War destroyed the faith of people in the integrity of their own civilization. A slow decadence is reflected in the prolongation of the outworn forms of life. See A. N. Whitehead, *Adventures of Ideas,* New York, 1933, pp. 358-359.

[21] At the first harvest thanksgiving service of Hitler youth, held at Leipzig in 1935, six million boys and girls were consecrated to the following creed:

"I believe in the community of all Germans, in a life of service to the community.

"I believe in the revelation of a God-given creative force, in the purity of bloodshed in the war of peace by the sons of the community of the German people who are buried in the earth and hallowed by it, resurrected and living in all for whom the sacrifice was made.

"I believe in the eternal life of this bloodshed and resurrected blood on earth in all who acknowledge the meaning of this sacrifice and are prepared to bow themselves. Thus I believe in an eternal God and an eternal Germany, and eternal life."

Quoted by Sigrid Schultz, *The Chicago Tribune,* September 30, 1935.

[22] See T. S. K. Scott-Craig and R. E. Davies, *Germany's New Religion,* New York, 1937. This book includes a brief introduction by the authors and translators, three chapters by Wilhelm Hauer, the leader of the German Faith Movement, a chapter by Karl Heim, well known Protestant writer and lecturer, together with a chapter by Karl Adam, a leader of German Catholic thought. Hauer's chapters are entitled as follows: (1) The Origin of the German Faith Movement, (2) An Alien or a German Faith, (3) The Semitic Character of Christianity. The German Faith Movement is not based upon the old pagan mythology.

The cultural cycle comes to a close after having passed through theological, metaphysical, positive, and neo-mystical phases. A summary of the splendid development of this thesis as worked out by Oswald Spengler would be out of place at this point; references will be made in their proper connections. Roughly speaking, the Springtime, Summer, Autumn, and Winter phases of the cultural cycle, according to Spengler, correspond to the theological, metaphysical, positive, and neo-mystical periods. Spengler has shown conclusively that this organic series is characteristic of the great cultures of history beginning with the Egyptian and closing with the Western European.

He has written as follows:

> . . . I see, in place of that empty figment of *one* linear history which can only be kept up by shutting one's eyes to the overwhelming multitude of the facts, the drama of *a number* of mighty Cultures, each springing with primitive strength from the soil of a mother-region to which it remains firmly bound throughout its whole life-cycle; each stamping its material, its mankind, in *its own* image; each having *its own* idea, *its own* passions, *its own* life, will and feeling, *its own* death. Here indeed are colours, lights, movements, that no intellectual eye has yet discovered. Here the Cultures, peoples, languages, truths, gods, landscapes bloom and age as the oaks and the stone-pines, the blossoms, twigs and leaves—but there is no ageing "Mankind." Each Culture has its own new possibilities of self-expression which arise, ripen, decay, and never return. There is not *one* sculpture, *one* painting, *one* mathematics, *one* physics, but many, each in its deepest essence different from the others, each limited in duration and self-contained, just as each species of plant has its peculiar blossom or fruit, its special type of growth and decline. These cultures, sublimated life-essences, grow with the same superb aimlessness as the flowers of the field. They belong, like the plants and the animals, to the living nature of Goethe, and not to the dead Nature of Newton. I see world-history as a picture of endless formations and transformations, of the marvellous waxing, and waning of organic forms. The professional historian, on the contrary, sees it as a sort of tapeworm industriously adding on to itself one epoch after another.[23]

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[23] O. Spengler, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 21-22. Reprinted with permission from Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. This interpretation does not deny or preclude the importance of cross-cultural influences. It is widely known that the Magian and Classical civilizations had significant and far-reaching effects upon European culture; still earlier civilizations had equally significant and quite as far-reaching influences upon the Magian and Classical cultures. These and similar relationships are brought out in appropriate connections in this text. It has not been said that the similarities of cultures—morphological parallelisms—have more meaning than the differences which distinguish them. Every culture has its own essential features, its inherent quality, its characteristic physiognomy, and it is quite as serious an oversight to neglect the differences as it is to avoid the similarities. The theory of independent origin of all culture traits may be exaggerated at the expense of the diffusion theory; so also the diffusion theory may be developed to an unwarranted extreme.

Problem Questions

1. Give the names of several cultures which appear to have reached high levels of development followed by a gradual decline and final disintegration. Would you include the North American Indian in this list?

2. Is it possible to characterize any one of these cultures in terms of a *physiognomy* which distinguishes it from all of the others?

3. State the names of great cities which were recognized centers of high civilization in ancient times and identify these cities with the cultures which reared them. Does a modern map show all of these cities? If not, what has become of them?

4. Is the city of Rome eternal in the sense that it has always been a center of high civilization?

5. What is meant by saying that Napoleon and Alexander the Great are "contemporaries"? Are Socrates and Rousseau contemporaries in the same sense? Plato and Goethe? Caesar and Mussolini? Mohammed and Cromwell? Aristotle and Kant? Can you give any other examples?

6. What is meant by a morphological parallelism? Is feudalism an example? Give a dozen or more illustrations.

7. It may be stated that the Crusades occurred at the *only* time in the history of Western Europe when they could have occurred. How do you account for this fact?

8. Is there any exception to the statement that all of the truly creative cultures of history have their origin in the differentiation of the first and second estates, nobility and priesthood?

9. If culture is an organism in the sense that it has a life-history and a life-cycle of its own, how would you distinguish it from other organisms such as plants and animals?

10. Does the concept of culture as organism necessarily lead to a pessimistic philosophy of fatalism and despair?

11. Spengler has said that there are many victories to be won before the sun sets forever upon the civilization of Europe and America. Does this view imply a negative philosophy of resignation and despair?

12. What becomes of the freedom of man's will if it is assumed that every culture passes through a rhythmic movement of growth, achievement, exhaustion and final decay?

13. The eugenists have shown that the superior stocks fail to reproduce their kind while the inferior stocks comprise an increasing proportion of the total population. We need a "biological new deal," says E. A. Hooton. "Intelligent, artificial selection should replace natural selection." Comment on these passages.

14. Civilized man aims at nothing less than the conquest of nature, but nature always wins in the end. Why should this be so?

15. Is there any conflict between the demands which a complex civilization makes upon ambitious young men and women of talent and the requirements of nature for survival?

16. Are individuals of this type likely to migrate from the city to the country or from the country to the city?

17. As an individual becomes specialized along particular lines by virtue of training and experience is he more or less adaptable to new conditions of life which require sharp changes in habit and attitude? Is he more or less sensitive to unfavorable circumstances? If he is less adaptable and more sensitive is this also true of plants and animals which are artificially selected and bred for special purposes?

18. What did J. W. Krutch mean when he said that it is better to die like a man than to live like an animal? Do you agree?

19. Spengler has said that optimism is cowardice. The individual who is afraid to face the realities is like the fabled ostrich who buries his head in the sand. By striving vainly to escape danger he is exposed to greater danger. Is this true?

20. Does the concept of culture as organism paralyze human initiative and the will to action?

21. Is there any more reason why the concept of culture as organism should paralyze the will to action than the concept of the individual as organism?

Suggestions for Additional Reading

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3

THE SOCIOLOGICAL HURDLES

Sociology aims to be a scientific study. But science is a big word, and only recently the enlightened scholars of the world have realized more fully the implications of the term. For science is something more than an organized body of authentic information and hypothetical generalization. It is a procedure of testing, experimentation, and accurate recording; a method of observation, formulation, and analysis of problems; in short, a technique of research especially adapted to unravel the tangled skeins of cause and effect in a definitely delimited field of subject matter. But this is not all. Essentially, science is an ideal. It is as if a scientist were able to wear a special type of spectacle which made it possible for him to observe phenomena as they really are, to set down relationships as they actually occur. The rest of us, not having possession of the magical spectacles, must be content to see the world through colored glasses.

The Sex Bias

To begin with, one is male or female, and we are all more or less dominated in our judgments, observations, and conclusions by a sex bias. It may be stated that a female generally finds it considerably more difficult than a male to study a social problem like marriage, divorce, the feminist movement, or mercenary crime with rigid detachment and the most rigorous regard for objective truth. But the scientifically trained woman would put this down as an excellent example of male bias. Moreover, she would undoubtedly insist that the differential impact of the cultural environment has greatly favored the male sex in this respect and still does. She would probably deny the statement that women are more unstable emotionally than men; and if this were demonstrated scientifically, she would hardly agree with the implication that her greater emotional instability has its roots in primary biological differences of the sexes. The male, admitting the environmental differences of education, training, experience, and opportunity, would be likely to insist that these differences are more than cultural, and that they can only be understood and estimated properly in relation to the hereditary, instinctive, and emotional equipment. Certain it is that the male who feared female encroachment upon his vested interests would find the

latter interpretation very convenient. Equally certain is it that the militant female who resented the favored position of the male in the world of practical affairs would find the former environmental interpretation more useful than the latter. In this and many other ways, the sex bias plays a far-reaching rôle in the varied processes of interhuman action.

The Family Bias

We are members of a family. The elements which contribute to the persistence of the family are not so numerous today as formerly. Hitherto, such factors as occupation, religion, and tradition played more important rôles than they do today. Even the physiological factor appears to be disappearing with the declining birth rate, and there remains only the somewhat unstable and ephemeral psychological basis of family life. Accordingly, family solidarity does not so greatly color the thought and feeling of individuals, but to assume that the family bias has disappeared entirely would be far from the truth. Recently, one Jugo-Slav stole a cartridge from another. Instantly, a family feud broke out and before many moons had passed the two groups had all but exterminated each other.

The Racial Bias

Closely interwoven with the family bias is the racial bias. Feelings of ethnocentrism are no less conspicuous today than formerly in spite of the development of communication and the corresponding shrinkage of the world. In fact, a good deal can be said to support the conclusion that such feelings are more dominating as well as more conspicuous for this very reason. We have all heard of Pan Americanism, Pan Slavism, Pan Gallicism, Pan Anglicism, Pan Teutonism, and other varieties. We have heard of the much discussed superiority of the Nordic race and of the inferiority of Alpine and Mediterranean races. If the Jews considered themselves the chosen people of God especially appointed by Him to carry His message of salvation to all parts of the world, there are other races today who carry the white man's burden in the backward countries of the world. Greenlanders thought that the missionaries from Europe had come to them to learn their manners. Are the magical lenses of the scientist strong enough to correct this racial myopia to which we are all more or less prone? Recently, it has been noted that many Englishmen contribute to American newspapers and magazines and relatively few Americans contribute to English newspapers and magazines. Why should this be so? Leading scholars have carried out the most elaborate investigations in order to show that the new immigration is biologically inferior to the old and that the Alpine race is superior to the Negro, but inferior to the Mediterranean race, while the Nordic tops them all.

The National Bias

The national bias emerged more recently in the process of historical development but it is none the less potent for that reason. What a deluge of national propaganda flooded the world when the war broke out in 1914! Since the Versailles Treaty it has been prominently identified with reparations, war debts, the League of Nations, the World Court, bolshevism, the proposed union of Austria and Germany, disarmament, the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact, the Sino-Japanese conflict over Manchukuo, the American Merchant Marine, and the St. Lawrence Sea-Way. After the Armistice of 1918, Field Marshals Haig and Foch, and General Pershing gave out statements to the press. Marshal Haig attributed the allied victory to the heroism and the stubborn persistence of the English troops; Marshal Foch credited the French troops with a spirit of sacrifice, a devotion to the allied cause, and a fighting solidarity which won the war; General Pershing called attention to the timely intervention of the American forces, and attributed allied victory to the superior fighting quality of the American troops. They were right and they were wrong, each in his own way. Are the scholarly historians of the great conflict any more reliable? Most of them have written national mythology designed mainly to appeal to the patriotic sentiment of adolescents in high school. A few noble spirits setting for themselves the rather painful ordeal of writing an authentic record of the war have won distinction, even though this distinction is limited to a very small group of critical scholars who have been trained by precept, example, experience, and passion for truth, to appreciate real merit. A really great scientist has stated that he finds it necessary to be human most of the time. He realizes what the social scientist is up against. But he does not thereby excuse the rationalized mythologies which purport to be authentic sciences.

The Religious Bias

In that curiously complex configuration of plurality patterns which distinguishes one people from another, one society from another, we disentangle the religious bias. This bias may be strongly identified with national sentiment where political independence and statehood have been destroyed, as among Armenians. It thus represents a strong defensive reaction to obtain that degree of solidarity and unity without which security and survival are doomed. It has been stated that if the national church of England were Catholic, the Irish would be as good Protestants as they now are Catholics.[1] We do not need to remind ourselves of the political campaign of 1928 to appreciate the religious implications of political problems. In recent years the Pope of the Catholic Church has issued encyclicals on a broad

[1] Herbert A. Miller, *Races, Nations and Classes*, Philadelphia, 1924, p. 39.

range of social, economic, and political questions. Protestant organizations like the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America are equally articulate. A student indoctrinated by his church with a belief in free will, predeterminism, or fatalism, finds it exceedingly difficult to understand the problem of scientific determinism. In these and countless other ways the religious bias conditions the individual response to all problems which fall within the field of sociology, not to speak of history, politics, and economics.

Aim of Sociology

Sociology essays to analyze and understand the common-human as well as the circumscribed relations of individuals. It detaches and abstracts from the historical actuality the typically social processes of association and dissociation, superordination and subordination, inducement and deterrence, individuation and socialization, invention and imitation, not to speak of other similar and universally valid processes of human interstimulation and response. The plurality patterns which at once arise from these processes and react upon them are unravelled from the intricate skeins of interwoven strands which hold them all together. There are sex prejudices, family, racial, national, religious, cultural, class, and moral bias, all of which represent so many hurdles to be overcome as far as may be possible in the given case. The sociologist does not assume that these hurdles are cleared by taking a course in the subject, or by reading a text book in the field. He simply sets down what is evident at this point, viz., that the scientific method is an ideal which requires the most rigorous and exacting self-discipline, a training and experience in the use of scientific tools under the inspiration of an unrealized aspiration. Achievement is measurable, and a person submitting to such discipline and training can readily detect the difference between works of varying degrees of scientific merit.

The Cultural Bias

The cultural, class, and moral prejudices of individuals are also noteworthy. Every person is born in a cultural milieu of ideas and feelings which condition and recondition his response to stimuli from infancy onward. He is part and parcel of a Western Occidental civilization or he is adapted to an Eastern Oriental civilization. Having adjusted himself accordingly he may be required to interpret an ancient culture or a more recent one different from his own. He may travel and find himself confronted with heavily veiled Moslem ladies smoking narghiles and dressed in clothes that make them look like bundles of bed clothes. He may see the muezzin standing in the minaret of a Moslem temple and hear his call to prayer at certain hours of the day. He may see a native longshoreman suddenly stop his work and, spreading his carpet on the deck of a freighter,

face Mecca in prayerful genuflection as he responds to the call of the muezzin. Such customs appear absurd, but this characteristic feeling is hardly more than an expression of one's own cultural bias. Life among the Mohammedans appears slow and easy; the unfair observer puts them down as bovine, porcine, stagnant, and lazy. His own people have built great skyscrapers, factories, bridges, tunnels, and canals, not to speak of ocean liners, telephone, telegraph, radio, and automotive transportation, all of which is identified with progress, industry, and excellence. Again, he displays his own cultural bias. He reads a summary of Spengler's *Decline of the West* and considers the author one more example of German pessimism. Like the eternal city of Rome, the achievement of the West can never be superseded by anything superior. Nothing superior is conceivable! And here again the judgment has been conditioned by the cultural milieu, and an impartial evaluation of the achievement of various cultures falls outside of the pale of human effort. The more a scholar submerges his life in the cultural achievement of an alien people the more surely he appreciates the superiority of his own. The conflict of tastes, values, feelings, and ideas becomes increasingly sharp and he simply cannot turn his own skin inside out no matter how hard he may try. He has made his own adjustments to his own society and to break these bonds is spontaneously felt as a menace to his own happiness, his own safety, and security. And so it is. But that is not all there is to say. Spengler may be more of a Westerner than ever in spite of almost incredible erudition and sensitivity to the feelings of other people; the Egyptology of a Breasted makes him more appreciative than ever of things distinctively Western; the circle of appreciation and authentic knowledge widens considerably meanwhile, and the sensitive-minded person finds himself a little more of a citizen of the ages as well as a more appreciative student of the achievement of his own place and time.

The cultural bias has proved the pitfall of scholars everywhere. Only recently has it been understood that the scientific achievement of the Western physicist, chemist, and mathematician rests upon assumptions which distinguish a great civilization, to be sure, but are none the less arbitrary for that reason. Another civilization basing its studies upon different assumptions builds a series of special sciences which are no more related to Western science than Arabian and Western music, or Greek and Egyptian architecture are related to each other. An Einstein is possessed of an imagination powerful enough to transcend the work of his Western predecessors and contemporaries; he destroys the old epistemology and establishes a new series of theoretical formulations. People feel uneasy, as if a god had been destroyed, but the more gifted and curious among them make their adjustments. Human experience is enriched and purified, and the scholar continues his task enlightened and encouraged. The cultural bias is no less an obstacle to scientific achievement than other forms of bias.

The Class Bias

The class bias is closely related with the cultural and racial forms of bias. Conquest and propinquity have differentiated the rulers and the ruled, and the resulting stratification has frequently followed racial lines. The myth of a biological and racial inferiority of the exploited classes is favored by circumstance and easily promulgated. The sanctions of religion, morality, and law crystallize the mythological patterns of thought and feeling identified with class until a rigid caste system emerges and holds sway for centuries. This was the case in ancient India. The handicaps and disabilities of untouchables in India and Negroes in America have been challenged again and again, but the movement toward moral emancipation is slow. It is believed that God created the Negro to serve the white man and that he is destined accordingly to remain a hewer of wood and a drawer of water. His social and economic subordination are considered the natural results of a biological inferiority which represents the will of the Creator of all forms of life. In this way class bias becomes interwoven with legends, religion, government, and rationalized mythology. Ruling classes are believed to carry the mandate of God himself, and the social significance of fiction and bias in creating a balance of opposed groups and a resulting order and harmony of life is forgotten if it was ever understood. In a democratic society, such as England, the economic élite are identified with the landed aristocrats by conferring knighthood and titles upon them; thereby they become the social élite, and it must follow that they are gifted with an excellence of inherent quality which is divinely ordained. Thus we have divine sanction for the rulership of families. In America, a similar social process developed in the South even though the hereditary aristocracy was lacking. In the North, the economic élite are generally considered the equivalent of moral and psychophysical superiority. The dilemma of the *nouveaux arrivés,* and the comedy that has been made of it, shows how the characteristic tone and pattern of behavior becomes interlaced with class rule and assumed merit. Extravagant philanthropy and generous endowments for many kinds of enterprise help substantially to maintain the fiction and the bias. No scientist of merit nowadays can take these prejudices, mythologies and fiction for granted as truths. Along with the other forms of bias, this hurdle too must be cleared in any sincere effort to offer a dispassionate and detached analysis of social processes and social structures.

The Moral Bias

The moral bias is enthroned upon the conscience of the individual. It represents a personal structure of ideas and feelings of right and wrong. The sociology for this form of bias is similar to the sociology of other forms. In the process of human interstimulation and response the behavior of the indi-

vidual is conditioned and reconditioned; approved reactions are cultivated until they become fixed habits powerfully reinforced by the strongest sentiments; a constellation of moral fixations which we call conscience is the result. The prevailing ethical code which is typical of a particular culture is the important controlling factor. There are as many such codes as there are cultures; moreover there is an evident latitude within the culture frequently correlated with the racial and class differentiation of society. What is right for one class or race may not be proper for another. What is wrong for one society may be quite right for another. The mores seem to make anything right, and we are interested when Nietzsche refers to man as the most prejudiced among the animals. These plurality patterns too are intricately organized in the cultural, the racial, the class, the religious, and family structure of society. They represent adjustments to the real or fancied exigencies of security, survival, and welfare, and it by no means follows that because people think and feel differently that they are not thinking logically and sensibly so far as their own happiness is concerned. The moral ideas and feelings are prejudices so long as they direct the choices and control the behavior of individuals without regard to objective standards of individual and group welfare.

The Social Spectrum

Eight forms of bias have been distinguished and illustrated, i.e., sex, family, racial, national, religious, cultural, class, and moral. They represent so many obstacles to scientific candor which can be overcome only in so far as they are recognized and understood. The significance of a scientific approach to the problems of sociology is realized more fully with a brief delineation of the broad range of attitudes and viewpoints which represent the opinions and conclusions of men and women in their dealing with certain problems of sociology. This broad range of opinion covers such subjects as marriage, divorce, parenthood, birth control, immigration, armament, nationalism, imperialism, internationalism, the Negro, industrial relations, urban-rural conflict, prohibition, socialism, religion in politics, the Ku Klux Klan, the League of Nations, war and peace, democracy in industry, the distribution of wealth, poverty, and crime. The clash of views here represented is accentuated in modern life by the economy of printed matter; by the formation of purposive associations and functional groups in all the fields of human interest; by the democratization of education; by the emancipation of individual minds from the bondage of tradition in all classes and races; by the increasing tensions of life as the standards of competition and human achievement are measurably raised. The growing disparity between the demands of efficiency in the production of economic goods, and the demands of equity in maintaining a high standard of mass purchasing power intensifies these tensions.

Detachment in approach to such problems as above enumerated is given a new meaning in an age of growing apprehension, confusion, instability, and disorder.

The social spectrum of ideas with regard to such a problem as the Eighteenth Amendment includes all degrees of moisture and dryness ranging all the way from the extreme of unregulated production and distribution of intoxicating beverages to the opposite extreme of rigid enforcement of prohibitory enactment at any cost; it includes the personal and political drys, the personal and political wets, those who are personally dry but politically wet, and those who are personally wet but politically dry. Organizations such as the Association Against the Eighteenth Amendment, the Anti-Saloon League, the Crusaders, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and many others, have been active in carrying out their aims. In the political and economic field the spectrum of thought and feeling covers a range from the extreme radical left to the extreme conservative right. Again, political parties and supporting groups are visibly active in carrying out their aims. In the matter of marriage the variation covers a range from the idea of free civil procedure based upon mutual consent, to the idea of a holy sacrament. The views on divorce vary all the way from those who would make the matter entirely free, for any reason or no reason at all, to those who recognize no valid grounds for divorce whatsoever. The pacifists and the militarists illustrate the same spectrum in connection with the problem of war and peace. Similarly with regard to birth control, immigration, and other problems above cited. We need sanity, balance, dispassionate detachment, rigid objectivity, in short a scientific attitude even in the discussion of these problems. The cultivation of science for the sake of truth is one thing; the cultivation of science for the sake of socialized understanding and rationalization of the controls over behavior is another thing. It is firmly believed that the latter is best achieved by placing the primary emphasis upon the former. Otherwise science degenerates into pseudo-science. The correlation between strong conviction and positive views on the one hand, with wishful thinking and blissful ignorance of the extreme complexity of social problems on the other hand, should make us wary indeed of the person who places a higher valuation upon salvation than upon science. All too many well-meaning people have suffered the most miserable disillusionment because they lacked the knowledge and the method of a scientific sociology.

Analysis of Bias

A further analysis of bias is in order at this point. We do not see things as they actually are because our desires, our feelings, our habitual response to stimuli condition our observations. Again, our recollection of events is

similarly conditioned by emotional elements and subconscious processes of which we are only dimly, if at all, aware. Moreover, and especially in our judgments, generalizations, and logical thought processes, we are conditioned by deeply ingrained sentiment, wishes, and association of ideas which represent a crystallization of personal experiences. This crystallization of personal experience is in the last analysis unique for every person. It follows logically that no two persons see things exactly alike, and the philosophical problem of the ultimate nature of reality emerges. But the sociologist is not concerned with this problem. He knows that there are relatively reliable standards of objective truth. Two general questions are here raised: (1) How are these errors of observation, errors of recollection and errors of judgment to be explained? (2) How are these errors related to individual bias on the one hand and to the accepted uniformities of thought and feeling on the other?

Errors of Observation

Professor Münsterberg has fully established the unreliability of testimony of eye witnesses appearing in court.[2] Although present at the time of a certain event in question under equally favorable circumstances such witnesses frequently give contradictory testimony. The objective actuality produces certain mental images and association of ideas which condition the observation. These pictures in the head may be so vivid and engaging, so vitally associated with the most poignant emotions, that they are transferred and identified with the external object. The witness merely sees the picture in his own head. More frequently the witness observes certain aspects of the external situation with a fair degree of accuracy, but the observation as a whole is a function of two variables, i.e., the subjective and the objective realities. A person well trained in accurate observation and not taken entirely off his guard will give reliable testimony. If the situation offers a stimulus to stereotyped reactions such as religious bias, racial bias or any of the other forms of bias, the observation is more than likely to be highly colored and unreliable—for instance, such a situation as involves the crime of a Negro observed by a white person. Mitigating and extenuating circumstances drop out of the picture if they were ever there, and the witness is able merely to testify to the criminal act with exaggerated emphasis upon the naked horror and brutality of the crime. In this way errors of observation are related to the bias of the individual on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to the collective stereotypes which standardize the thought and feeling of people living together under common conditions of life.

Herbert Hoover, in a campaign speech of 1932, referred in his address to the "recent" depression. He had been chasing the horrid monster so long,

[2] Hugo Münsterberg, *On the Witness Stand*, New York, 1908.

and had seen prosperity just around the corner so many times, that he had almost unwittingly come to believe in the truth of his cherished desire. Quickly, he corrected his error, but that little mistake now remains a record of history. Like the mirage, the wearied traveler crossing the vast wastes of a burning desert sees cool running streams of water under shady palm trees where none whatever exists in the range of his vision.

The trained mind is not entirely anaesthetic to errors of observation. An experiment was conducted with a group of presumably trained psychologists at a convention in Göttingen. It is quoted in Lippmann's *Public Opinion* as follows:

> Not far from the hall in which the Congress was sitting there was a public fête with a masked ball. Suddenly the door of the hall was thrown open and a clown rushed in madly pursued by a Negro, revolver in hand. They stopped in the middle of the room fighting; the clown fell, the Negro leapt upon him, fired, and then both rushed out of the hall. The whole incident hardly lasted twenty seconds.
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> The President asked those present to write immediately a report since there was sure to be a judicial inquiry. Forty reports were sent in. Only one had less than 20% of mistakes in regard to the principal facts; fourteen had 20% to 40% of mistakes; twelve from 40% to 50%; thirteen more than 50%. Moreover in twenty-four accounts 10% of the details were pure inventions and this proportion was exceeded in ten accounts and diminished in six. Briefly a quarter of the accounts were false.
>
> It goes without saying that the whole scene had been arranged and even photographed in advance. The ten false reports may then be relegated to the category of tales and legends; twenty-four accounts are half legendary, and six have a value approximating to exact evidence.[3]

More than half of the psychologists who sent in reports saw a scene that had not taken place. All forty had seen something that represented a curious hybrid offspring of the external actuality and the subjective pictures in their heads.

After the Russian Revolution of 1917 the downfall of the new government was reported again and again. Lenin died a hundred deaths before his final departure from the scene of political strife; and Trotsky, who died as many times, is still very much alive. It mattered not that the Allied expedition to Archangel had proved a costly fiasco; the White Russian Army under Kolchak had been beaten; Denikin and Wrangel had met a similar fate. Observers like Raymond Robbins had reported with feeling the unparalleled enthusiasm of the Russian people for the leaders of their new

[3] Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion*, New York, 1922, pp. 82-83. Cited A. von Gennep, *La formation des legendes*, pp. 158-159. Cited F. van Langenhove, *The Growth of a Legend*, pp. 120-122.

régime. All of this did not matter. Lenin and Trotsky continued to die and the Russian government continued to fall. A wave of anti-bolshevist hysteria swept over the United States and any person whose political, social, or economic ideas were a bit "queer" was put down as a bolshevist. Bolshevism became a synonym for everything undesirable from the point of view of the ruling powers. The crusade was instrumental in paving the way for "normalcy," that is, for financial racketeering and mercenary crime on an unprecedented scale. The individual-class, national, religious, and cultural forms of bias were stimulated under pressure of the collective stereotypes to produce errors of observation equalled only during the war when similar conditions produced pictures of a huge German expeditionary force running British blockades and forcing an occupation of American soil.

During the Coolidge prosperity era, advocates of the Eighteenth Amendment found much evidence to show that the unprecedented prosperity was due to prohibition legislation. After 1929 they were curiously silent about such matters. In 1928 Republican leaders displayed not the least modesty in attributing Coolidge prosperity to the political wisdom of the Republican Party. Herbert Hoover definitely prophesied the disappearance of poverty in the near future. In 1932, however, after four more years of rule the same leaders were a little shy about assuming responsibility for the Hoover depression. Instead, some blamed the Democratic Party, which controlled the House of Representatives, while others placed responsibility upon a disorganized Europe, or upon radical insurgents. A skeptic, wisecracking his criticism of the far-reaching reforms proposed by the technocrats, voiced his anonymous views as follows: "What's the use of tilting at windmills. Before I get into an argument with these fellows I want to be assured that they are not just a lot of unemployed engineers telling each other and a press agent their bad dreams behind closed doors."

Errors of Recollection

Errors of recollection are quite as significant as errors of observation. We are all inclined to forget what is unpleasant and disagreeable and to remember what is pleasant and agreeable. The veteran of a dozen campaigns will recall with arrogance and pride the part he played in successful battles and the glory of war; he is inclined to forget the misery of privation, the sweat and agony of wounded comrades, along with the stinging humiliation of defeat. We do not like to be reminded of unpleasant episodes of our own experience. We love to be reminded of public recognition for meritorious service, successful ventures, happy occasions, "lucky breaks," and personal honors. The pleasant recollections are usually identified with personal bias and cherished feeling in some form or other. And these cherished feelings in turn are usually identified with the collective representations, as Émile

Durkheim calls the plurality patterns and the dominating sentiments of a group. We receive recognition for conformity with the current standards of approval and disapproval; we suffer ignominy, disgrace, and discriminatory treatment for violating or questioning these same standards. Thus the wish for response, for recognition, and for security, conditions the association of ideas and the recollection of events. An external actuality of the past is not recalled in complete detail. Unpleasant details slowly drop out of the picture and we suffer a partial amnesia. The Republican, campaigning in 1928 or 1932, easily forgot the scandal of Teapot Dome and the Harding Administration; he liked to remember the Coolidge prosperity era. Harry F. Dougherty and his associates in Ohio had the greatest difficulty in securing Mr. Hoover to give an address at the unveiling of a monument in memory of former President Warren G. Harding. The half-baked scholar loves to recall studies and illustrations which lend plausibility to, or appear to demonstrate, his pet theories; he rides his hobbies with pleasure and ignores, or forgets, contradictory evidence. He gives a grateful recognition to the critic who voices an agreeable thought, and contradicts with irony, ridicule, or downright denunciation, the critic who voices a dissenting thought. In his files he possesses the copy of an article which is the rankest error from his point of view, but he likes to use it as a good example of how foolish some scholars can be. He uses it, but with a feeling of disgust he returns it somewhere with his collection of notes and articles. Later he wishes to use it again for a similar purpose, but he cannot find it. Unwittingly he has placed it out of reach in some out-of-the-way place and forgotten where. Unconsciously his desires and prejudices help him to keep the troublesome study out of reach and out of recollection.

Raymond Robbins has told the story of his adventurous life many times. Some time ago, he was found in a Southern village suffering an acute case of amnesia. He had been gold prospecting in the hills; he built himself an altar for private worship on a lonely mountainside; he organized the boys and took them for long walks, and he campaigned for Herbert Hoover. But he had forgotten his past in certain very important particulars. As a young man he had dug gold in Alaska; he had been converted to Christianity, and saved from physical exhaustion by a Catholic priest on a bitterly cold night in an isolated part of the country while returning home with his treasure of gold; he became interested in Young Men's Christian Association work with boys and young men, and delivered many an inspiring address in their hearing, and he had worked actively for Herbert Hoover in the campaign of 1928. These were the most thrilling and pleasant episodes of his life and he remembered them. The remainder of the story will have to be left to the psychoanalyst.

Unpleasant and painful experiences are vividly recalled when they are identified with the collective representations and the controlling bias of the

individual. This would show that the personal bias, and the plurality pattern, are more important factors than the pleasantness or unpleasantness of sensation. Alfred Holt Stone tells the following story:

> A picture comes to my mind of a gentle, almost womanly tender old man, telling in the monotone of age, around a winter's fireside, some of his Reconstruction experiences—the kind which only Southern children have heard from reminiscent lips, *the kind which find no place in Reconstruction histories.*[4] He had surrendered in good faith at Appomattox, and had found his way back to the place he had once called home, thinking in his heart that war and invasion were really over, now that the fighting was done. He told of the humiliations and heartburnings and bitter things which followed the second invasion. And of how mild and commonplace by comparison became the incidents of real war, in which he had been given a fighting man's chance. He told of how he had been arrested by a Negro bureau officer upon some trivial charge. He was a peaceable and law-loving man, and accompanied his custodian without hesitation or suspicion. The bureau headquarters were some distance away and the night was bitter cold. Darkness coming on, the officer suggested stopping at a Negro cabin for the night. He demurred, but finally consented. While standing in front of the fire he was suddenly seized by the officer and his Negro host. He was tied hand and foot and taken to the stable lot. Here a rail fence was raised and his head thrust under it, his neck resting on the bottom rail. In this position he was left during the long winter night, his face beat upon by driving sleet, his warworn body racked with pain. That was a long while ago, and he all but smiled as he told the story—a queer, nonhumorous sort of smile. I dare say it would be almost useless waste of time to tell him and his family and his country neighbors that the so-called "horrors of Reconstruction" were in fact, upon the latest scientific analysis, found and actually demonstrated to have been mere creations of the overwrought Southern mind.
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> And how many of such "trivial incidents," as the great world's history is measured, incidents long since forgotten elsewhere, were necessary to create a more or less fixed and definite mental attitude toward the period with which they are inseparably associated? Scattered throughout all this region there were enough and to spare. Each county, each little community or isolated group, has in its own simple way its own tales to tell to its children—even though they may not be recounted in the books from which we learn the history of time.[5]

These recollections are still in harmony with the dominating threads of thought and feeling in the South and we cannot wonder that the South is still pretty solid.

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[4] Italics are mine.

[5] Alfred Holt Stone, *Studies in the American Race Problem,* reprinted with permission from Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc., New York, c. 1908, pp. 268-269.

Errors of Judgment

Finally there are judgments, thought processes, and so-called logical conclusions. Here are errors, no less striking than errors of observation and recollection. And these errors, too, are products of the collective representations and the personal bias. Such errors of judgment, and so-called logical conclusions, can be illustrated with an indefinite number of pseudo-scientific studies. For instance, studies of heredity, race, immigration, divorce, the declining birth rate, the *Kriegschuldsfrage,* as the Germans call the question of responsibility for the World War, and countless others. The pathway of progress is literally strewn with the dust of dead gods amid the shattered fragments of the crystal dreams of men of science. In the limbo of forsaken reveries we find epitaphs on the tombstones of such ingenious products of scientific imagination as the economic man of Adam Smith, the pangenism of Charles Darwin, Jean Lamarck's inheritance of acquired characters, Francis Galton's and Karl Pearson's biometrical procedure *as a measure of heredity,* the economic interpretation of history as elaborated by Karl Marx, the Nordicism of De Gobineau and Chamberlain, the instinct theory of William McDougall, Condorcet's law of progress and theory of human perfectibility, the natural rights of the Physiocrats, the social contract of Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau, the organismic theory of society of Spencer, Lilienfeld, and Schäffle, orthogenetic theories of social development, Auguste Comte's law of the three stages, Giddings' consciousness of kind, Albion Small's theory of the six interests, not to speak of others numerous enough to provide subject matter for a dozen doctoral dissertations devoted to the task of tracing, analyzing, and thus accounting for these many scientific errors. Speculation on such matters as the soul, the conscience, immortality, the origin of man, the nature of man, the origin of life, human destiny, and the nature of God, is replete with the most curious vagaries of human thought, many of them, if not most of them, purporting to be scientifically established conclusions.

The chain of cause and effect which links these theories with the individual bias in the first place, and the controlling stereotypes of the *Zeitgeist* in the second place, is reasonably clear in many cases. It would be out of place here to enter into a detailed analysis of Mercantilism and various related developments such as the Industrial Revolution, and the rise of national imperialism. The student of social history is able to trace relationships between the emergence of *laissez-faire* theory, Adam Smith's economic man, the natural rights of the Physiocrats, and the several historical conjunctures which developed from Mercantilism, the Industrial Revolution, and the rise of national imperialism. Again, it has been well stated that the social contract theories of Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau, were not at all authentic explanations of the origin of society in either a historical or theo-

retical sense, but merely moral justifications intended to prove the social desirability of certain forms of government very badly needed at the time.[6] These theories too were functions of certain prevailing configurations of plurality patterns and the individual bias. A dominating race or nation of people finds that a well-established theory of hereditary determinism provides the most convenient sanction for the prevailing distribution of political and economic power and privilege. A scientific tradition built up in a milieu of this kind by such powerful thinkers as Charles Darwin leads easily enough to the hereditary mysticism of such men as Galton, Pearson, and McDougall. What purports to be a science, with a most elaborate technique of mathematical and statistical guarantees of accuracy and impartiality, proves to be little more than a most ingenious ethical vindication of the *status quo*. Again the scientific conclusions, so-called, turn out to be a function of the individual bias and the collective stereotypes.

A more recent study will serve to substantiate the point in some detail. H. H. Laughlin, of the Carnegie Institution's Eugenics Record Office, has made an elaborate investigation of "undesirable aliens."[7] Hearings were conducted before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization of the House of Representatives of the Sixty-Seventh Congress. In a document entitled *Analysis of America's Modern Melting Pot* the committee published the results of Mr. Laughlin's study. The main purpose was "to gauge the relative soundness and stability of the different racial groups in the United States, which gauge, in turn, would constitute a measure of their relative long-time value to the nation, especially when viewed in the light of the inborn quality of future generations."[8] The following conclusion was reached: "the recent immigrants as a whole, present a higher percentage of inborn socially inadequate qualities than do the older stocks."[9]

The method of investigation required an examination of 445 of the then existing 667 state and federal custodial institutions. The 210,855 inmates of these institutions were classified according to nativity and descent. These classes were then studied with respect to the distribution of insanity, crime, feeblemindedness, dependency, tuberculosis, epilepsy, deafness, blindness, and deformity. A group which provided inmates of these institutions in the same proportion as it provided inhabitants of the United States was said to fulfill its quota by 100%. If a particular nativity or racial group provided a larger proportion of inmates to these institutions than it provided inhabitants of the United States, the disability index exceeded 100%; if the propor-

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[6] H. P. Farrell, *An Introduction to Political Philosophy*, London, 1917, Ch. 3.

[7] H. H. Laughlin, *Analysis of America's Modern Melting Pot*. Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, House of Representatives, Sixty-Seventh Congress, Third Session. Released by the Superintendent of Documents as Serial 7-C, Washington, 1923.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 731. See also H. S. Jennings, "Undesirable Aliens," *The Survey*, December 15, 1923.

[9] H. H. Laughlin, *op. cit.*, p. 755.

tion of inmates was lower, the disability index was less than 100%. In this way a mathematical-statistical technique was devised to measure the biological equipment of various racial, national, and nativity groups living in this country. Quota fulfillments, or disability indexes, were worked out for insanity, crime, and the other defects above listed. The foreign-born white showed an average index, obtained by taking all defects together, of 146; the native white of foreign parentage showed an index of 109; native white, one parent foreign, 117; and native white, both parents native, 84. Thus the foreign born show up badly, and the native born of native parents much better by comparison. The new immigration from southeastern Europe showed a higher average index than the old immigration from northwestern Europe. The results show that the Negro has a very high index for crime, but very low indexes for feeblemindedness, dependency and epilepsy. The Germans have high indexes for insanity and dependency, but low indexes for crime, feeblemindedness, and tuberculosis. The Irish have an extraordinarily high index for dependency, and a very low index for feeblemindedness. The British have high indexes for insanity, dependency, and epilepsy, and low indexes for crime and feeblemindedness. The Italians, Russians, and Balkans have higher average indexes than do the Negroes, British, Germans, and Scandinavians.

With all respect and due consideration for the wealth of valuable and interesting information this study affords, it must be stated that the general conclusion above given has not been established. Negroes find their way very easily into criminal institutions; accordingly this index is high. They have the greatest difficulty in obtaining admission to all of the other institutions, and accordingly we find their indexes very low for insanity, feeblemindedness, dependency, tuberculosis, and epilepsy. This obvious fact vitiates any conclusion with regard to the implied superiority of biological equipment of Negroes. The public institutions here studied are more likely to draw the less securely established families of foreigners than the expensive private institutions which draw the older and more securely established families. Moreover, Laughlin himself estimates that only 5% of the feebleminded needing custodial care are actually provided for in institutions. Thus, if this estimate is reliable, 95% of the feebleminded are excluded from the study. He also estimates that about 1,000,000 defectives are taken care of in institutions of some sort. His survey covers about 20% of these.[10]

The categories in which the immigrants show up least favorably, i.e., insanity, crime, pauperism, and tuberculosis, may all be characterized in terms of mental, moral, or physical breakdown. There are also important differences with respect to exposure to occupational disease and industrial accident. The newcomer must make his way under great handicaps in the

[10] For a detailed criticism and evaluation of Laughlin's study see J. M. Gillman, "Statistics and the Immigration Problem," *The American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1924.

competitive struggle for livelihood. These handicaps include economic insecurity, ignorance of the language, customs, and laws of the country, the transfer of adjustments from a simple, rural environment, to a complex, and often degraded, and miserably overcrowded and insanitary, urban environment. The very low index of the foreigner for feeblemindedness is largely due to the selective influence of our immigration laws. The corrections for sex and age are closely co-ordinated with the corrections for occupational and demographical status. There is little left indeed to support the conclusion that the new immigrants are biologically inferior to the old. And this little completely disappears when it is realized that crime, dependency, and tuberculosis are obviously acquired and not inherited traits. Deformity is certainly acquired in the great majority of cases, and the studies of feeblemindedness and insanity also show a substantial proportion of acquired cases. The same may be said for deafness and blindness. Nor has it been established that epilepsy is inherited in all cases. These problems are admittedly complex because of the difficulty of unravelling and discriminating between inherited and acquired traits; but to assume that the distribution of defects of this type is highly correlated with the distribution of biological traits is totally unwarranted.

The desirability of a policy of rigid selection and restriction of immigrants is imposed by the social and economic circumstances of life in America. Laughlin's so-called scientific conclusion again emerges as the product of the individual bias and the collective stereotypes. The ethical justification, and the social expediency of a particular policy is one thing; the scientific demonstration of a conclusion should not be confused with either the appeal for a desired end, or the social expediency of a particular policy. For when science becomes nothing more or less than the handmaiden of social reformers and ethical philosophers, whose imperious desires eclipse the finer considerations of truth and objective accuracy, it is doomed to decay.

In conclusion it is clear that the individual bias is traceable to the collective stereotypes; variations in individual bias are partly accounted for in terms of multiple contacts, and the variations in the plurality pattern. The essential process is one of human interaction which fixes or modifies not only the individual bias, but also the collective representation. It is just this process of interhuman action which marks the point of departure in a scientific study of sociology.

Problem Questions

1. Define prejudice. Compare with Webster's *Dictionary* definition.
2. Is science a prejudice?
3. What may be said to prove Nietzsche's statement that man is the most prejudiced of animals?

4. Why is it desirable to study the problems of present-day society "without prejudice"?

5. Describe some of the relationships between prejudice and politics.

6. The following quotation is taken from E. C. Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology,* p. 4. "Sociology aims at nothing less than the transfer of ethics from the domain of speculative philosophy to the domain of objective science." Would such objective standards of value cease to be prejudices?

7. It has been said that an educated person is skilled in the fine art of concealing his prejudices whereas an uneducated person makes "no bones" about them. Is this true?

8. "Sociology is not a normative science. Science as such has no room for value judgments." This quotation is taken from Wiese and Becker's *Systematic Sociology* (pp. 3 and 7). Compare this quotation with the quotation in question 6.

9. Titchener said that no man can be a scientist for more than about four hours every day. The scientist presumably requires about 20 hours out of every 24 to be human. Does this imply that the scientist possesses a double personality?

10. Is it possible to prove the statement that neither the physical scientist nor the social scientist is able to approach his problems without prejudice?

11. In the disciplined effort to be objective and impartial does the physical scientist have an easier job than the social scientist?

12. Inasmuch as man is *par excellence* an "evaluating animal" how do you account for the fact that blatant prejudice is considered disgraceful and a mark of ignorance?

13. When the physicist, the chemist, or the biologist is hard at work in his experimental laboratory does he cease being an evaluating animal?

14. Plato said that some philosophers are like a dog who stands at the gate and barks at every passing stranger. What did he mean, and would this statement also apply to some scientists?

15. How does science differ from philosophy?

Suggestions for Additional Reading

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PART II

THE SOCIAL PROCESS

4

INVENTION AND IMITATION

THE CONTINUOUS SOCIAL process which organizes and disorganizes, fixes and modifies, stimulates and represses the collective patterns of thought and feeling may be analyzed in terms of reciprocal sub-processes such as: (1) invention and imitation, (2) conflict and co-operation, (3) association and dissociation, (4) incentive and deterrence, (5) individuation and socialization, (6) differentiation and integration. The next nine chapters are devoted to an analysis of these sub-processes.

THE FACTORS OF INVENTION

Invention may be defined as a new synthesis of existing experience. It is quite obvious that this synthesis is first manifest in the mind of the inventor; as such it is a psychological phenomenon. It is also clear that the gifted individual of talent or genius in whose mind a new combination of idea-elements occurs is the product of superior heredity. The differentiation of inherited traits in the composition of any population is a recognized fact; the distribution of these traits conforms in a general way to the so-called normal probability curve. Superior intelligence at one end of the scale and inferior intelligence at the other end stand in marked contrast to the mediocre mass. While intelligence is not inherited as such, a variable biological base is generally recognized by sociologists as well as psychologists and biologists. From this point of view, invention is a biological phenomenon. It is also accepted that the idea-elements in terms of which every invention may be analyzed are known facts and recognized aspects of knowledge in the cultural environment where the inventor lives and works. Accordingly, the new synthesis which we call invention is a product of an existing environment, a level of cultural development. The North American Indian could not have invented the radio, a Fuegian Islander could not have invented the Darwinian theory of evolution, an Australian aborigine could not have invented the symphony orchestra or the principle of social insurance; the prerequisites of knowledge and the necessary conditions are lacking in each case. Thus we recognize a cultural aspect of invention; it is this aspect which constitutes the point of departure of the sociologist. He is not strictly concerned with the biological or the psychological problems involved any more than he is with the physiographic conditions of climate or soil or

topography. These geographic factors manifestly condition the foci of interest and attention, the nature of concurrent, recurrent, and non-recurrent crises in the lives of people. But this is not a distinctly sociological aspect of the study. This aspect may be differentiated still further: an invention, such as the co-partnership in industry, the limited liability corporation, a tractor, or a harvesting machine, may, by increasing output and lowering the unit costs of production, demonstrate its economic efficiency. Thus, under proper social conditions, such an invention would gain in the spread of its influence. This is an economic aspect of the subject and the professional economist is obviously interested primarily at this point. The sociologist approaches the problem from the cultural aspect and this is equivalent to the interstimulation and response within a milieu of ideas, beliefs and practices, in short a social environment which in civilized society takes the form of the culture cycle. There are inventions such as commendation and the comitatus which are typical of feudalism, the freedom of contract and doctrine of natural rights typical of a growing nationalism triumphant over localism, extraterritoriality and the doctrine of the sovereign state typical of imperialism. Again, there are myths and legends explaining the origin and destiny of life, inventions characteristic of the theological phase of the cultural cycle. Theories of natural order and natural law are characteristic of the metaphysical phase of the culture cycle. Methods of scientific study such as the use of statistics for purposes of social control are characteristic of the positive stage. Inventions such as ethical socialism, stoicism, and Buddhism are symptoms of decline, since each in its own way is a form of nihilism which implies the negation of life.

The Cultural Aspect of Invention

The Western mind has learned to identify invention with material things and economic utility: the electrical generator, the steam turbine, and the like. But mechanical inventions are simply one class of inventions; we recognize invention in art, science, religion, and philosophy, such as the Corinthian column and entablature, the symphony orchestra, differential calculus, the doctrine of a personal Father-God, the cabinet-parliamentary form of government, the unity of the church in the vicarious atonement of Christ, the economic interpretation of history, the doctrine of the superman. It is no doubt due to the preoccupation of Western man with physical science and mechanical contrivances that inventions are so commonly restricted in conception to labor-saving devices. But this point of view is myopic. The West has no monopoly of inventions of this character. The invention of paper, gunpowder, the compass, the press, are attributed to other cultures; so too, the alphabet, the calendar, Arabic enumeration, Euclidean geometry, algebra, and trigonometry. These inventions were ap-

propriated by Western man when the level of enlightenment had risen to the point where such inventions could be understood, utilized, and appreciated. Gauss made the discovery of a non-Euclidean geometry but concealed it for thirty years because he felt the time was not ripe for publication. Leibnitz, finding the science and philosophy of the ancient Classical and Magian civilizations available through the influence of the Renaissance, was able to make the most far-reaching inventions in mathematical method and theory, the differential calculus in particular. In the same manner, and for similar reasons, the factory system of production, the intensive utilization of power machinery, and the limited liability corporation, are understood and utilized increasingly by Oriental countries as Japan, China, and India. Such inventions are seen as instruments of national survival and aggrandizement; accordingly, they are appropriated and exploited as the culture of a people becomes amenable to their introduction. The hostility of a Gandhi to Western machine methods serves to enlighten as well as restrict for the simple and obvious reason that people, natives of India, begin to learn just what it is to which their great leader is so energetically and fervently opposed. Thus there is first, human interstimulation and response, a reciprocal interhuman action which explains the origin as well as the spread by imitation of invention; second, this action and reaction takes place within a distinctive milieu of ideas and feelings which explains the particular form and pattern of creative activity; third, the culture as a dynamic and organic movement assimilates the adaptable inventions of other people and generates its own according to the phase of culture realized.

It is certainly no accident that the credit for a particular invention is difficult to determine. Wallace, for instance, developed a theory of organic evolution as a contemporary of Darwin, and if Darwin is generally given the honorable mention it is due rather to the generosity of Wallace than to any priority in Darwin's claim. The general level of biological knowledge and the particular foci of interest in biological problems had developed to the point where both Darwin and Wallace were able to create the new synthesis of existing experience. Their predecessors and precursors made contributions to biological knowledge which laid the necessary foundations for the invention of the organic theory of evolution. For instance, Darwin himself gave the names of 34 writers who had expressed the idea of a connected organic series suggesting the development of higher and more complex forms of life from the lower forms. Travels, study, and observation of the fossils of South America, and of the species on the Galápagos Archipelago, impressed him with the idea of the "common descent of species." Malthus had written an essay on population in which the thesis was developed that the human species tends to reproduce and increase at a rate far in excess of the means of subsistence available for maintenance. Darwin, having read this essay, writes of it as follows: "being well prepared to appre-

ciate the struggle for existence, which everywhere goes on, from long continued observation of animals and plants, it at once struck me that under these circumstances favorable variations would tend to be preserved, and unfavorable ones destroyed. The result of this would be the formation of a new species. Here then I had at last got a theory by which to work."[1] Moreover, Lamarck in 1809 had published his *Philosophie Zoölogique* in which he developed the theory, now rejected, that all species are gradually changed through the inheritance of acquired modifications. We know that Darwin was familiar with this and many other works in the same field. Thus a foundation was laid, not only for Darwin's work, but also for such theories as Weismann's continuity of the germ cell, De Vries' theory of mutations, Mendel's theory of unit characters, the work of Galton and Pearson in the field of biometrics. Presently new fields of special interest emerged upon the established level, such as endocrinology, and the theory of the hormones. And it is just this principle of *functional continuity* of invention which establishes firmly the cultural factors involved. But how are we to account for the development of similar ideas on the subject of organic evolution among ancient Greeks and ancient Chinese, ideas which seem to have been embalmed for eternity so far as the thinking of later Greeks and Chinese is concerned? The answer is clear. The culture of the ancient Greeks, and of the ancient Chinese, passed through a series of dynamic and organically related phases in which idea fertilized idea, invention stimulated invention. Moreover, inventions such as the Darwinian theory are not made when the tone and pattern of thought are theological or metaphysical. It just can't be done. Hottentots in Africa do not invent mathematical formulae for the determination of correlation between two series of variables. Such inventions are conditioned by a high level of scientific knowledge. They are made when the tone and pattern of thought are positive and scientific, and this is as markedly true of the Classical and Chinese civilizations as it is of Western culture. It becomes clear that the status and the movement of a culture are primary control factors in the determination of the character and tempo of the inventive process, and the latter cannot be understood or intelligently analyzed unless the reference to these factors is established.

The Co-ordination of Inventive Effort

The co-ordination of inventive effort of a particular time and place in accordance with the dominating trends in collective thought and action may be illustrated by the early industrial revolution. Inventions of new mechanical techniques revolutionized the textile industry at this time. The steam

[1] *Life and Letters of Charles Darwin,* D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1889, Vol. I, p. 68.

engine had made possible the use of power machinery in large factories. Hargreaves had invented the spinning jenny, Arkwright the water frame. Crompton combined the characteristic merits of both of these inventions in a new machine called the mule, and Cartwright invented a loom which could be worked by mechanical power. Large units of singly directed capital together with large aggregations of labor were necessary for the efficient exploitation of the economic and social possibilities of these inventions. Hence the limited liability corporation which coupled the minimum of risk with the maximum investment of capital. High death rates, insanitary conditions in mushroom factory towns, employment of women and children called for investigations and early factory laws. The political and ethical trends of thought favored industrial development: the economic theory of the classical school in England, and even the Physiocrats in France, with all their emphasis upon agriculture and talk of the sterility of industry, contributed to the destruction of Mercantilism and the rise-to-power of the middle class. Liberty, fraternity, equality: such were the slogans.

More recently, we have witnessed the substitution of electrical for steam generated power. The dynamo, the transformer, telegraph, radio, and wireless communication illustrate a similar co-ordination of inventive techniques; likewise, a whole series of inventions centering in the internal combustion engine, and making possible the substitution of oil and gasoline for coal. Such changes as these do not emerge from people who attribute the origin and nature of all phenomena to an animistic world of personal spirits, or to a world of vague and mystical impersonal forces. The Industrial Revolution gave a tremendous impetus to scientific research, not only because of unprecedented profits and surplus of accumulated capital, but also because the new freedom of the human spirit, a gradual development of Western civilization easily traced to the Reformation and the Renaissance, seized upon its opportunity to push the boundaries of knowledge to their farthermost limits. Like the eagle on the wing, flying upward in concentric circles, ever higher and farther from solid earth, the eminent inventors rose to successive heights of achievement. Mechanics stimulated the interest in mathematics, physics, and chemistry, and parallel to this movement, a new interest and growing achievement in economics, biology, history, psychology, and sociology. These latter sciences have slowly been laying a foundation in law and action for new solutions of the old problems of the utilization and adaptation of natural and human resources, that is, for a new co-ordination of inventive techniques. The principle of contract, and an ideal of social justice, is gaining precedence over the ideal of unrestricted personal freedom. A doctrine of rational order in the distribution of rights is substituted for the doctrine of natural rights. Personal liberty as a principle of law and social control is declared to be 200 years out of date. Dictatorship displaces democracy while communism, fascism, and socialism

of many brands contribute to the idea complex of modern life. Accordingly, there can be no question about the conclusion that the co-ordination of inventive effort of a particular time and place occurs in accordance with the dominating trends of thought and action. But it is not enough to draw attention to human interaction; one must understand as well the movement of the cultural cycle through theological, metaphysical, positive, and neo-mystical phases, for these aspects of the organic movement determine the general temper of the cultural environment in which invention and imitation proceed, and therefore also, the particular co-ordination of invention as it becomes manifest in an actual historical situation.

Simple and Complex Forms of Culture

It is precisely this co-ordination of invention and imitation in time and place which organizes and disorganizes, crystallizes and modifies the slowly or rapidly changing patterns of thought and feeling which distinguish and characterize a particular society. By resort to simpler forms of social structure, such as pre-literate hunting and pastoral society, it is possible to clarify and substantiate this principle. These examples are less complex in outline, as well as in detail, than the dynamic culture of a generally literate and civilized society. The more complex forms are distinguished by their pleasure economy as against the pain economy of simpler people. They are characterized also by a margin of reserve energy and capital as compared with relative want and privation; by capitalized leisure and differentiation of interest in art, science, religion, and philosophy in contradistinction to a more narrowly circumscribed routine of satisfying, insuring, and re-insuring, by primitive magical and superstitious means, the crude physical needs of man; by a highly diversified standard of living in contrast with a plain and rudimentary standard of living. The process of selective accumulation and co-ordination of culture elements in the changing patterns of invention and imitation is continuous. Feudalism appears everywhere to have emerged from Tribalism, Nationalism from Feudalism, Imperialism from Nationalism. If Feudalism is assumed to be the initial phase of the dynamic culture cycle, it cannot be ignored that tribal forms of social organization preceded the development of feudal forms. These tribal forms are often helpless in the face of an expanding civilization, such, for instance, as the North American Indian. Unlike modern Japan in contact with the West, the North American Indian was not able to assimilate and adapt himself to the dynamic movement of Western culture. This conflict of cultures is an aspect of the social process to be treated more in detail in the next chapter. It is sufficient here to point out that such conflict may result in virtual extinction and annihilation, as among the North American Indians, and the natives of Hawaii. It may emerge in defensive assimilation as in the case

of Japan or Russia, or exploitative domination as illustrated in India and China.

The Dynamic Viewpoint

The precise reasons why Hellenic, Arabic, Western, and other civilizations arose and dominated the world at the historic time of each cannot be analyzed at this point. These and many other similar problems such as the distinctive elements of each culture, and reasons therefor, the reciprocal relations between succeeding or contemporary cultures, as Classical and Arabic, Classical and Western European, Egyptian and Classical, Arabic and Western, need to be restated and restudied from the viewpoint of the culture cycle. The older viewpoint that all is a *continuous progressive* stream which may be divided into three parts, ancient, medieval, and modern is both futile and misleading. Likewise, no effort is made here to explain why culture conflicts result in extinction in one case, defensive assimilation in another, exploitative domination in a third. Again, it is a matter of the utmost importance to restate and restudy these problems from the viewpoint of the culture cycle. There can be no question today, considering the work already done, of the fruitfulness for the fulfillment of the human spirit and the understanding of life, not to speak of more intelligent solutions of the pressing and practical problems of social control, in the study of these problems in this way. In drawing upon ideal-typical forms of tribal society, such as hunting and pastoral peoples, for the purpose of substantiating and illustrating certain principles, it is not necessary to have solved all of the above-mentioned problems. These and many more will suggest themselves to the active mind of an intelligent student. It is sufficient at this point to show that the Feudalism of Western Europe was a gradual development from tribal forms. Similarly, convincing evidence has accumulated to show that tribal forms preceded the early feudal organization of the Classical, Arabic, Indian, Chinese, and Egyptian, as well as Western European culture. Many unsolved problems necessarily remain because of the limitation of source material, the limitation of knowledge and energy of any one student, and particularly, the limitation implied in approaching all of these problems from the viewpoint of the cultural bias. Western scholarship has not transcended this bias, cannot fully transcend it in the very nature of the situation, but through the work of men like Goethe, Comte, Nietzsche, Spencer, and Spengler the quest for truth, and the triumph of the human spirit is ever new.

The Configuration of Hunting Society

Clark Wissler points out that "tribal structures have life cycles, like individuals of a species. They spring from parent cultures, grow, mature,

beget other cultures, decline, and eventually die." [2] In this respect the cultures of primitive, tribal societies resemble the advanced, dynamic, and literate cultures which culminate in creative achievement of high merit, and the type of complex civilization which is associated with large urban centers of congested and specialized population.

Tribal structures may be based upon a hunting economy, pastoral economy, or horticultural economy. They are reflected in the clan, sib, moiety, phratry, tribe, and may develop into ethnic nations or consolidations of independent tribes, such as the Iroquois Confederation. Kinship, blood relation, real or fictitious, is the controlling principle of human interrelation. The patterns of social economy may be mixed, as where hunting and pastoral methods are combined, or hunting, fishing, and horticulture, or the domestication of animals combined with a rudimentary agriculture. Primitive handicraft techniques are more or less combined with all of these depending upon knowledge of the utilization of stone, metal, wood, and fire. Weapons, tools, and implements, such as the bow and arrow, spears, stone axes, wooden plows, and the like, appear in endless variety of combination. In any case the characteristic pattern stands out in the ideal-typical form. This pattern is a co-ordination of invention and imitation highly rigid, or relatively elastic and responsive to new ideas, as the case may be. It is this co-ordination of invention and imitation in time and place, as previously stated, which organizes and disorganizes, crystallizes or modifies the slowly or rapidly changing patterns of thought and feeling which distinguish and characterize a particular society. What has been called a pattern, may be better described as a configuration of patterns, or possibly a constellation because of the many ramifications of thought and feeling in matters of religion, family life, government, the economy of material existence, education, law, morality, recreation, ceremony, and art. In no situation is it fixed for eternity. It is ever subject to further differentiation, integration, and disintegration, in certain aspects, or in whole. Communism in property, totemism or animism, in some form or other, forms of group marriage, recreational activities such as the *corroboree* and the *borboby,* the metronymic system of relations, a differentiation of sex functions, which has suggested to some students the existence of a matriarchate, and a narrow margin of security against natural calamity because of direct subsistence methods of living are generally distinctive features of hunting society.[3] The scarcity or abundance of game naturally varies from season to season, from year to year; accordingly, the mode of life is more or less nomadic, precluding such beliefs and practices as private property in land, or private inheritance of land. The aleatory factor is so great that the tribe could not survive if each individual were given private rights in the successful issue of a

[2] Clark Wissler, *Man and Culture,* Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1923, p. 212.
[3] N. S. B. Gras, *An Introduction to Economic History,* New York, 1922, Ch. 1.

hunting expedition; accordingly, the most elaborate rules are developed for dividing up and parcelling out various parts of a slain animal.[4] The weapons and tools used for luring, baiting, trapping, killing, skinning, cutting, and cooking represent a co-ordination of inventive and imitative techniques which organize the collective patterns of thought and feeling, the social structure on the one hand, and the characteristic individual psychosis on the other hand. Reorganization and disorganization is identified with incompatible and obstructive patterns, organization is identified with the extension and co-ordination of compatible and harmoniously consistent patterns. Totemism creates group solidarity, and a feeling of common interest and common purpose. It usually postulates common descent from some animal progenitor, naming of the clan after the particular animal, certain taboos, such as against eating or killing the animal, together with the idea of the sacred which leads to attitudes of worship, awe, reverence, and various superstitious and magical rites centering in the animal.[5] The general consistency and compatibility are unmistakably clear. Forms of drama, such as the *corroboree* illustrate the same point. Mimetic representation of men hunting game animals gives occasion for calling friendly tribes together for common celebration and festivity. All aspects of the chase are faithfully represented, including the rising pitch of emotional excitement as the animal is tracked, cornered, attacked, and slain.[6] In the *borboby* a similar quality of emotional interest is portrayed. Men of one tribe who have captured wives from another meet at appointed places to settle their rivalries in personal combat. The captured wives are present to give encouragement and comfort to their favored lovers. The tracing of descent through the mother line is related to ignorance of the male sex function in the reproductive process, to be sure, but it is supported by the nursing, rearing, and education of children by the mother, functions which could hardly be assumed by hunting and fighting husbands. Because of the frequency and length of absence from home on hunting and fighting expeditions the women at home are bound to assume responsibility for keeping the peace, and maintaining order and industry. Animals are prominent subjects of artistic interest as shown in interior mural paintings in the caves of primitive hunting people.

The Configuration of Pastoral People

Certain types of animal are more easily domesticated than others and the uses of these animals are slowly understood and developed. Certain obvious sources of insecurity of life are partially overcome. The food supply is more continuous. As flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, swine, and goats increase in number and importance, the maintenance and protection of these

[4] A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of S. E. Australia,* London, 1904, pp. 756-770.
[5] J. G. Fraser, *Totemism and Exogamy,* London, 1910, Vol. I, pp. 3-24.
[6] E. Grosse, *The Beginnings of Art,* New York, 1897, pp. 207-231.

new forms of tribal wealth increase in importance. Men are drawn off the chase and the warpath for these new purposes. The mode of life continues to be nomadic because of dependence upon good pasture, but meanwhile the tribal wealth in various products of domesticated animals increases. A new co-ordination of inventive and imitative techniques slowly emerges to take the place entirely, or in part, of the old, and the collective patterns are disorganized and reorganized accordingly. The newly acquired wealth offers margins of security hitherto unknown, and the male functions of maintenance, protection, and defense against enemies, whether wild beasts or hostile tribes, explains the male ascendancy and gradual substitution of patronymic and patriarchal institutions. Private property, and private inheritance of movable wealth, develop, and male ancestor worship takes the place of totemism. Forms of polygamy are buttressed and encouraged by surplus wealth and the *patria potestas*. A degree of centralized authority and power in the tribal chieftain co-ordinates political, civil, religious, and economic functions of leadership in the male head. Predatory raids upon rival tribes, the subjugation of their male leaders, enslavement of their women, and appropriation of their wealth greatly strengthens the power of the victorious chieftain. Something akin to kingship is developed, and voluntary federations of several tribes strengthen the institution. A cultural, pastoral nomadism is slowly evolved as the accumulation of surplus wealth and organization of government liberates a leisure class of professional retainers in the service of the chieftain. In short, the collective patterns of thought and feeling, of belief and action assume a new form, and if the plurality patterns of society have changed in accommodation to a new co-ordination of invention and imitation, so too the distinctly mental patterns of the individual have changed accordingly.[7] The macrocosm is reflected in the microcosm and the microcosm is reflected in the macrocosm. The selective accumulation of inventive and imitative techniques has given rise to a new co-ordination of experience, and this in turn has interacted with the collective patterns of behavior to produce a new order of life.

The Agricultural Configuration

The primitive hunter not only learned to domesticate animals; he also acquired the arts of a rudimentary cultivation of the soil. This required the collection of seed, the preparation of the soil, planting, and harvesting in due season. Where physiographic conditions were favorable, a settled, village economy gradually took the place of nomadic existence. The settled life proved more satisfactory in many ways: it favored the construction of more permanent dwelling places, it economized time and energy by avoid-

[7] J. Dewey, "Interpretation of Savage Mind," published in *Source Book for Social Origins*, W. I. Thomas, editor, Boston, 1909, pp. 173-186.

ing the necessity of recurrent migrations, it fostered the differentiation of interest in arts and crafts, it provided the basis for a wider margin of security against the uncertainties of the food supply, it precluded, to some extent, the conflict with other tribes which followed intentional or unintentional invasion of their pasture and game preserves, it made possible the organization of slavery, the private ownership of land, and, under favorable circumstances, the accumulation of a great surplus of wealth and a compact organization of government which again allowed the support of a leisure class devoted to the arts.[8] Inventive effort is focused upon such tools as the plow, the scythe, the sickle, the harrow, together with devices for storing and transporting grain, preserving and preparing food. The stratification of society into classes such as slaves, serfs, freeholders, bailiffs, and overlords becomes increasingly rigid as a territorial and feudal basis of political and economic structure displaces the tribal lines of organization. Mythology and religion assume some form of nature worship, such as propitiation of the sun god, gods and goddesses of rainfall, fertility, and vegetation. The production of surplus wealth promotes trade, the development of towns and the gradual introduction of money economy. In short a new configuration of plurality patterns is unmistakably correlated with the new co-ordination of inventive and imitative techniques centered in the cultivation of the soil. The inconsistent folkways and mores lose power of controlling behavior; a new order of folkways actually controlling behavior gradually crystallizes into customs, mores, laws, and institutions. Again the essential process of human interaction disorganizes and reorganizes the collective thought, feeling, belief, and action in matters of religion, family life, political and economic structure. Viewed from a psychological aspect the new order of life represents a new and characteristic organization of neuro-psychic patterns of behavior, a new and distinctive individual psychosis; viewed from a sociological aspect the new order of life represents a generally consistent and harmonious structure of plurality patterns better adapted to the requirements of security and survival under the new conditions of life.

Society is never simply organized. The ideal typical form never corresponds precisely to the actuality. Horticulture, agriculture, hunting and fishing, pastoral and industrial society, occur and recur in endless variety of combinations. The North American Indian learned the domestication of certain animals, he acquired the rudimentary arts of a primitive horticulture, and he was a hunter. In fact, Wissler has distinguished nine distinct types of culture among the Indians of the United States and Canada.[9] Generally considered, the Indian was primarily a hunter, and accordingly we are not surprised to find the hunting pattern predominant in social and individual structure. The same pattern is dominant among Alaskan Eskimos and the

[8] N. S. B. Gras, *op. cit.*, Ch. 3.
[9] Clark Wissler, *The American Indian*, New York, 1922, p. 218 *et seq.*

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Australian aborigines. Endless illustrations may be found to show the existence of the pastoral pattern, early Hebrews for instance, or Arabs and Kurds. The horticultural-agricultural configuration is seen in process of development in early Western Europe, in ancient Greece and Rome, and in ancient Egypt and China.

The Feudal Configuration

The settled farmer is at the mercy of the pastoral nomad. If the fighting quality and adventuresome life of the hunter is removed one step in the pastoral nomad, it is still further removed in the life of the peasant. By experience and training the pastoral nomad is an active fighter; the settled farmer finds his energies exhausted in long hours of patient toil on the land. But the nomad lacks the security achieved by the peasant, and hence we find literally countless instances of predatory pastoral raids upon the domain of the tiller of the soil. Such raids are still all too common in the Near East where the pastoral Kurds devastate the settled villages from time to time. The tiller of the soil requires a defensive equipment and organization, and herein lies the origin of feudalism. The nomadic chieftain and his retainers, skilled and experienced fighters, could offer protection to the peasant in exchange for the latter's freedom and productive labor. An oath of allegiance was required of every retainer, while the serf who was bound to the soil produced the necessary means of livelihood. A class of warriors developed as conquest increased the power and the following of the victorious chieftain, and a dual morality arose, the fighting morality of a dominant class of nobles, the slave morality of a subservient class of serfs and villeins. For the former, honor, integrity, courage, and skill in combat were required; for the latter, docility, obedience, patience, industry, and humility. Allegiance to a recognized chief or noble constituted a new bond of relationship which stood in marked contrast to the tie of blood kinship in tribal society. The process of infeudation extended as lesser chieftains were forced to rely upon the protection and power of greater chieftains in exchange for tribute and fighting services. We are told that in the days of Homer kings were judges and priests, as well as leaders in battle, and the wealthy nobles constituted a warrior class:—they alone were able to supply themselves with expensive armor, horses, and chariots. And the age of Homer represents the early Springtime in the movement of the ancient Greek culture cycle; the early medieval period of Western Europe when knighthood was in flower was contemporaneous in a morphological sense. A feudal structure of society was clearly and unmistakably characteristic of both.

Noble, Priest, and Peasant

Three distinct orders of life are differentiated with increasing sharpness during the feudal period: the noble, the peasant, and the priest. The felt

need of protection against invisible and mystical forces and spirits to which good and evil are attributed establishes the power of the priesthood, specialists in necromancy, magic, and propitiatory rites. Theological methods of thought and proof are relied upon to solve the deeper problems of life such as the origin and destiny of man, the nature of good and evil. In this way a kind of adjustment is made to a world of baffling events, the conquest of fear is measurably achieved and a peace of mind established. Myth and legend are curiously interwoven with sentiments of loyalty to church and king. The struggle for power beween priest and noble is particularly manifest in this early phase of the culture cycle. It may result in a gradual ascendancy of the noble, as in ancient Greece, or medieval Europe, or in victory of the priesthood, as in Mohammedan Arabia. The manner of life of the noble stands in marked contrast to the life of the priest. The habits of the latter are sedentary and reflective while the former is a man of action. If a distinction may be made between the indoor and the outdoor types of mind the priest illustrates the former, the noble the latter. The priest is most at home in a monastery, the noble on the field of battle. One dominates by intellectual subtlety and the power of ideas, the other by the power of superior physical force. Each in his own way is a civilization builder, and the peasant who tills the soil of his lord, or the handicraftsman who fashions his armor is subject to priest as well as noble. For the priest is custodian of the sacred, and the peasant looks to him for guidance and instruction in matters of right and wrong affecting the common-human relationships of life from day to day and year to year. The ideology of the priest supports the power of the noble, and the noble gives due homage in return. A great thinker, such as St. Thomas Aquinas, finding himself in such a situation as here described, is able to lay the foundation for scholasticism, immeasurably strengthening the power of the Church over the people. But the Renaissance prepares the way for the Reformation, and the third estate struggles with the second as the human spirit is liberated under the influence of a dynamic cultural movement; the *"ancien régime"* gives way to a "new order" in which the "fourth estate" struggles with the third for control of the organs of social control, government, and religion. Two principles are significant for the purposes of sociological analysis: (1) creative achievement of a high order is synchronous with the cultural movement; (2) assimilation and imitation of new ideas proceeds on the established cultural level. These two principles will be illustrated in some detail at this point.

Creative Achievement and the Cycle of Culture

The ancient Egyptians are credited with a series of notable inventions: the lunar calendar, and later the more accurate solar calendar, the latter having come into use about 4000 B.C.; the hieroglyphic form of writing, in

which sounds were first represented by means of abbreviated pictures, came into use about the same time as the solar calendar; papyrus, a kind of paper made from the pith of the papyrus plant increased the value of hieroglyphics; stone masonry, which was introduced about 3050 B.C., made possible the development of tombs, pyramids and temples.[10] These four inventions by no means exhaust the list of Egyptian contributions; that they had the most far-reaching effects, having laid the foundation for a historic civilization, is surely clear. The calendar provided an accurate sequence of time; hieroglyphics and papyrus made written records possible. Memory and oral tradition could now be supplemented with accurate data; the writing of history and literature was possible for the first time in human history. Stone masonry laid a necessary basis for architecture, sculpture, and ornamentation. The utterly amazing thing is the short period of time over which these inventions were made. Breasted points out that at most 150 years elapsed from the earliest stone masonry to the Great Pyramid of King Khufu at Giseh, the largest of all pyramids, and the greatest stone structure ever erected by man. This period corresponds with the earliest sea-going ships crossing the Mediterranean, with a remarkable development of glass, metal, pottery, and other industries, together with a compact organization of government, and unprecedented progress in the fine arts.

Imitation of Invention and the Level of Culture

It is recognized, not only that creative achievement is synchronous with the culture cycle, but also that imitation and assimilation of new ideas proceeds on the established culture level. Copper, for instance, was the first metal to be used for practical purposes. Authorship for this discovery is not known, but that the metal was widely used in ancient Egypt is certain. Here it appears to have been used as early as 5000 B.C., and there is evidence to show that it was mined by the Egyptians as early as 3700 B.C. Bronze answered the need for a harder metal, being an alloy of copper and tin, and it was certainly in use in Egypt before 3000 B.C., long before its introduction in Greece, Italy, or Western Europe. The Egyptian potter's yard included long rows of closed furnaces of clay, as tall as a man, where the pottery was packed and burned evenly because of protection from wind. The walls of tombs show craftsmen making glass, an art discovered by the ancient Egyptians. Houses and palace walls were beautifully decorated with glazes, and gorgeously colored glass vases and bottles were exported. The best work of the modern machine loom is coarse in comparison with the linen fabrics made with the ancient Egyptian hand loom. Likewise, the use of wheels, horse-drawn chariots, the potter's wheel, and methods of irrigation, introduced in Egypt, contributed to the development of the first great

[10] J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Times*, New York, 1916, p. 42 *et seq.*

civilization.[11] About 3000 B.C. the court physician in Egypt also bore the title of court dentist, and an archaeological discovery of a human lower jaw of about 2500 B.C. shows signs of a successful operation on an abscess below the lower right first molar. Clearly, scientific methods of medical, surgical, and dental treatment were understood and introduced in ancient Egypt during the period of the culture cycle at a time when Western Europeans were organized in barbarian tribes, and relied upon magic and superstition to accomplish similar purposes.

It is evident that many of these inventions and discoveries have been appropriated, and capitalized, directly or indirectly, through the knowledge of other cultures. The influence of the Renaissance brought an understanding of many new things to Western man. The contributions of the Classical and Magian civilizations, in particular, were mediated through this influence. In the thirteenth century, the heavy dream-laden eyes of Western Europe were slowly awakening. Roger Bacon, an early advocate of the scientific method, and one of the first to suffer in that memorable struggle between science and theology, lived in this century.[12] In the same century Arabic numerals, invented earlier by the Hindus, were introduced in Europe. The production of paper was widely practiced in France and Italy at the same time; this process came from China through the Arabs. The compass appears to have a similar history; it came into widespread use in Europe about 1300. Gunpowder made its appearance about this time, and while that important and far-reaching invention may have been made independently in Europe, its formula having been known to Roger Bacon, it certainly was known over a longer period in China. The significance of these inventions can hardly be overrated in the bearing of each upon European development, and yet the ancient Chinese are entitled to credit for many of them. Recently two Chinese scholars, one from Johns Hopkins University, and the other from Harvard, shocked the composure of Western scientists by showing that a Chinese biologist antedated by 2,000 years Harvey's discovery that blood circulates through the body.[13] It was pointed out that in the third century before Christ, the Chinese administered anaesthetics before surgical operations. Chloroform was not used in the West until after 1847 A.D. The catheter, ascribed to Nélaton of Paris, in 1850, was one of the "thousand golden remedies" of the seventh century A.D. in China. Tson Tse, and other Chinese philosophers of the sixth century B.C.,

[11] W. O. Brown, "The Transition to Historic Cultures," published in *An Introduction to Western Civilization*, G. A. Hedger, editor, New York, 1933, Ch. 9.

[12] While Roger Bacon was manifestly a pioneer in scientific thought, and apparently far ahead of his age, it is noteworthy that he worked on medieval problems of alchemy and believed in the doctrine of signatures, astrology, and the philosopher's stone which theoretically transformed baser metals into gold and silver. The theological epoch in which he lived is thus clearly reflected in his ideas.

[13] Amos Benkov Kuan Chin Penn and Pei Sungtang, addresses, American Association for the Advancement of Science, Atlantic City, December 29, 1931.

advocated the Darwinian principle of evolution of species. This theory met with most active criticism in ancient China, just as the nineteenth-century work of Darwin, Haeckel, and others produced violent repercussion in ethics, philosophy and religion. Two conclusions may be drawn from this series of illustrations: first the imitation and assimilation of the inventions and discoveries of other people depends upon the established level of cultural achievement, and second the independent origin of important inventions and discoveries among different cultures is synchronous with the organic movement of these cultures. Due to lack of contact, cultural isolation, and the natural bias of an advancing civilization, these independent origins may not become known for centuries of intervening years. It is clear that the organic movement of the culture is decisive, not only in determining origins, but also in determining the spread by diffusion and imitation.

The independent crystallization of these new ideas in the minds of several individuals at about the same time is further evidence of the significance of the cultural factor. It must be remembered that these inventions and discoveries are made without the knowledge of the work of other men. Ogburn reproduces 148 cases collected by Dorothy Thomas.[14] Only a few need be given here: calculus, by Newton in 1671, and Leibnitz in 1676; discovery of sun spots, by Galileo in 1611, Fabricus in 1611, Scheiner in 1611, and Harriott, in 1611; nebular hypothesis, Kant in 1755, and de Laplace in 1796; discovery of oxygen, by Scheele in 1774, and Priestley in 1774; doctrine of chemical equivalents, by Wenzel in 1777, and Richter in 1792. These and many more were made independently during a phase of the Western culture cycle when scientific methods of analysis, particularly in the fields of mathematics, physics, chemistry, and mechanics were making startling progress.

Dr. Breasted, in his address at the dedication of the new Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago, defied the claims of those he called the "old school theologians" who believe that man's conscience and character were produced by divine revelation or inspiration. "It was the outgrowth of man's own social experience," he proclaimed. "It sprang out of his own soul and no outworn theological doctrine of inspiration, no conception of a spotlight of Divine Providence shining exclusively on Palestine, shall despoil man of this crowning glory of his life on earth, the discovery of character."[15] The world-famous Egyptologist fixes 2,000 years before the birth of Christ as the time, and Egypt the place, where this memorable event transpired. A treatise on surgery was here written nearly 5,000 years ago. The ancient astronomers set down an eclipse of the moon in 2283 B.C., and later they measured the annual movements of the sun and the moon with

[14] W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change*, New York, 1922, pp. 90-102.

[15] J. H. Breasted, address at the Dedication of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, December 5, 1931, quoted by John Boettiger, *The Chicago Tribune*, December 6, 1931.

such accuracy that they erred only by one second in a year's revolution. The pyramid of Giseh, designed by the ancient Egyptian architect, Khufu-onekh, is declared to be the greatest of all masonry buildings. It gave birth to a sense of eternal values described as follows:

> The great pyramid of Gisch is a document in the history of the human mind. It clearly discloses man's sense of sovereign power in his triumph over material forces. For himself and for his sovereign the pharaoh's engineer was achieving the conquest of immortality by sheer command of material forces—an immortality that consisted in survival of the king's body sheathed in an imperishable husk of masonry. Here, then, was a man still under the impression of the physical world, the world about him, but not yet aware of the world within him. When five or six hundred years of desert storms had buffeted the Great Pyramid of Giseh and its companions on the Sahara plateau, a thoughtful Egyptian looked up at the pyramids and sang of the colossal futility of merely physical survival of the body. The human soul had entered the first great age of disillusionment. We begin to hear remote voices that proclaim the utter futility of material conquest. As if through the dust and tumult of an engrossing conflict man for the first time caught something of the veiled splendor of the moral vision. He began to hear the voices within himself and out of the conflict of social forces he gradually became conscious of the inner values. Thus the Egyptians were the discoverers of character. Not projected from the outside into a world of unworthy men by some mystic process which our old school theologians called inspiration or revelation, but springing out of man's own life, illumining the darkness of social disillusionment and inner conflict, a glorious vindication of the worth of man, the dawn of the age of conscience and character broke upon the world, a historically datable event, about 2000 B.C.[16]

The organic movement of the culture of ancient China tells a similar story of creative achievement, assimilation and imitation of new ideas as invention enhances invention, discovery brings new discoveries, and idea fertilizes idea in the social process of interhuman action. Likewise, India, Greece and Rome, Sumeria, Arabia, and most recently, Western Europe. Some inventions and discoveries are independent in origin, others are clearly imitated and assimilated from outside sources. In any case, the culture cycle is an organic movement in which the building of a civilization is followed by decadence, and finally, destruction. The great achievements of man can only be explained in terms of interhuman action and the culture cycle.

Problem Questions

1. Bernard classifies inventions as follows: (1) physical, such as a boomerang or a bow and arrow, (2) social, such as exogamy, or monogamy, (3) conceptual,

[16] *Ibid.*

such as Galton's coefficient of correlation "r," or the atomic theory. To this may be added a fourth category, i.e., art forms. Are the mental and social processes identical in these four categories?

2. To which category do the following inventions belong: the craft gild, the thermostat, the pipe organ, the limited liability corporation, the Heisenberg principle, the Doric column, the alphabet, the Gothic cathedral, Archimedes' principle, the symphony orchestra, the steam turbine, the calendar, the electrical generator, the Mendelian laws of heredity, psychoanalysis, the doctrine of the unity of the Church in the blood of Christ, the compass, the Bill of Rights, the spinning wheel, totemism, parliamentary government, rushlights, the city-state, the Diesel engine, the domed basilica, the potter's wheel, companionate marriage, the flying buttress, and the economic interpretation of history. Give additional examples of each category.

3. Invention may be defined as an abstract process of symbolical reconstruction which interacts with a corresponding empirical process of experimental projection. What does this definition apparently mean? Do all four classes of invention fit into this definition?

4. Compare the invention of a can-opener with the invention of television, or the moving picture camera, from the point of view of the above definition. Compare the invention of Euclidean geometry with the invention of calculus from the same point of view. Compare the invention of the Greek city-state with the modern national state in the same manner; also the lyre of the ancient Greeks with the violin, or Wagnerian opera.

5. To what cultures do the following inventions belong: the pyramid, the X-ray, the Ionic column, the microscope, the round arch supported by columns, the telescope, the composite column and entablature, mosaic ornamentation, trigonometry, the electric eye, geometry, calculus, numerals, the calendar, the dome, the alphabet, the spire, the drama, the minaret, the symphony orchestra, the viaduct, the aqueduct, the sarcophagus, the Acanthus motive, the obelisk, the flower capital, the compass, the printing press, paper, gunpowder, the steam engine, and the dirigible? Give other examples which are accredited to the Classical, Chinese, Magian, Egyptian, and Western European cultures.

6. What distinct types of invention are characteristic of the theological, metaphysical, positive and neo-mystical phases of the culture cycle?

7. What do the terms Romanesque, Baroque, Rococo, and Gothic mean? To which phases of the dynamic culture do these artistic styles belong?

8. Identify the following general types of invention with the culture periods to which each belongs: the canon law, the doctrine of natural rights, mathematical science, history, social science, philosophy, natural science, socialism, power machinery, symphony music, the skyscraper, rapid communication and transportation, the Roman Catholic faith, scientific management, humanism, syndicalism, Christian Science, Gothic Christianity, the Oxford movement, humanitarianism, and the Protestant faith.

9. The Elliot Smith-Perry school of ethnologists believes that all the basic elements of culture and significant inventions originated once and for all in the ancient Near East, particularly in Egypt. Is this theory tenable?

10. Another school holds that all significant inventions have independent

origins in the several cultures depending upon the level of knowledge and the dynamic movement. Is this a plausible theory?

11. A third school holds that inventions are cumulative in a continuous and progressive series which leads to ever closer and nicer adjustment to the requirements of life. Evaluate this theory.

12. How do you explain the independent and approximately simultaneous occurrence of significant inventions in the minds of two or more persons?

13. Compare the mechanical inventions of Western European man with the mechanical techniques of other civilizations from the point of view of the human triumph over the hidden forces of nature.

14. Glenn Frank has stated that "the results of research in the physical sciences, as these results have been translated into action by the technologists, have been among the most important factors in producing the current phase of instability." Is it true that the application of this research has actually wrought havoc? (See *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*, December, 1936, pp. 518-519.)

15. Is the machine technique of Europe and America a Frankenstein's monster?

16. Do you observe any significant attributes of the inventions of Western man which stamp them apart from the inventions of Classical man, Egyptian man or Magian man?

17. Spengler has called the inventive techniques of Western man "Faustian techniques." What thought does this phrase appear to connote?

Suggestions for Additional Reading

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5

CONFLICT AND CO-OPERATION

CONFLICT AND CO-OPERATION are inherent in the social process, as much so as invention and imitation. The modern emphasis upon the thought that conflict, particularly in its more violent and destructive forms, is an unmitigated evil has no historical validity. It is supposed that the motives leading to conflict may be sublimated, and that the establishment of a co-operative commonwealth will forever remove the causes of war and disruptive revolution. This is an idle utopian dream, an unmistakable symptom of exhausted energy and cultural decadence. The problem of the sociologist is not an ethical problem of evaluating certain forms of human relationship. Rather, it is a problem of understanding and explaining these interrelationships in a detached and impersonal manner. This is not intended to imply that the problem of evaluation is less important. It *is* extremely important and properly belongs to the field of ethics and moral philosophy. The sociologist recognizes this importance when he insists upon an objective analysis of the social process of interhuman action. It is certainly clear that the clarification of the ethical problems is dependent upon such analysis.

THE INTERRELATION OF CONFLICT AND CO-OPERATION

It may be pointed out that co-operation is often a synonym for the kind of green meadow happiness which spells stagnation, vicarious complacency, a negative attitude toward all forms of positive action and slow but sure social disintegration. It may gnaw at the vitality of a society like a disease. Conflict may of course be foolhardy, tragically destructive and wasteful of human energy and accumulated capital; but the hard fact remains that it may be, and often is, a positive socializing and organizing factor, creative for the reason that human interest is definitely and positively focused, human resources stimulated and released as they could not be under conditions of passive co-operation. Conflict and co-operation are reciprocal aspects of a form of the social process; they are interdependent as invention and imitation. War establishes peace and peace creates conditions which lead to new wars; the Versailles Treaty, for instance, as a formulation of the terms of peace, is loaded with dynamite. So too, conflict reorganizes the factors of a given situation to produce new levels and forms of co-operation, while co-operation creates conditions of conflict which may be resolved to avoid

hostility where they do not produce an open breach. In the family, in the school, in the church, or the state, the line which separates relationships of conflict, and relationships of co-operation, can never be drawn sharply. To assume otherwise would be to say that an understanding and established basis of co-operation were fixed for eternity. This is never the case. The relationships between individuals as between groups and states are like a kind of human spectrum the colors of which represent a gradual shading of attitudes from one extreme of cordial understanding and feeling of common purpose to the opposite extreme of open hostility and fight to a finish. The intermediate attitudes may include a mutually respectful toleration without either an active mutual support or active mutual conflict; an apparent co-operation with external manifestation of support coupled with more or less suspicion, mistrust, and struggle for advantage behind the scenes of action; an apparent conflict coupled with a mutual recognition of strong common interests. Various degrees of consistency or inconsistency of purpose may characterize one or all of these attitudes. There are smoke screens, conscious or unconscious suppression or exaggeration of certain issues, and a maneuvering for advantage in the relationships between individuals as well as in the relationships between states. A man may show downright contempt, and unmitigated abuse, for certain persons under certain circumstances; he may maintain a wary and defensive reserve under other circumstances; he may speak with the praise that stings, or with the highest esteem, apparently sincere in each particular situation, and meanwhile feel that his fundamental attitude has remained consistent. A state may display all of the niceties and proprieties of a diplomatic etiquette toward a neighbor, and at the same time negotiate for military alliances with the purpose of crushing that neighbor. The requirements of public consumption at home often stand at variance with the requirements of consumption abroad, with the result that newspaper editors are saying one thing at home, while diplomats at international conferences are saying the very opposite. Statesmen at home, meanwhile, are endeavoring to carry out a consistent policy toward certain objectives very well understood; the services of the editor as well as the services of the diplomat are used to advantage. Situations of conflict and co-operation are manifestly complicated and varied. Moreover, new factors enter a given situation from time to time, old factors for various reasons assume a new aspect, with the result that organization for common purpose may be more substantial, and conflict more remote, or just the other way around, depending upon the facts of the situation. It must be perfectly apparent, even to the most skeptical reader, that there is no substitute for intelligence in the analysis of the problems of conflict and co-operation. One may console oneself with compensatory day dreams, or one may become addicted to narcotics and soporifics of a spiritual or chemical kind; the facts will remain, and our understanding of these facts will help us to solve many a tangled prob-

lem of human relationship and thus help us to control our own behavior in respect to the desired ends.

The Presumed "Instincts" of Love and Hate

It is not assumed here that there is an instinct of pugnacity, or a fighting instinct; neither is it assumed that there is an instinct for peace. The effort to explain differences in people on the ground that the behavior of some conforms instinctively to the patterns of the wolf-pack, while the behavior of others conforms instinctively to the patterns of the Good Shepherd and his sheep, as Trotter has attempted to do in his *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War* is little more than an inexcusably silly revelation of national bias.[1] The intellectual circumlocution of distinguished individuals, who purport to be pacifists, while a particular war is justified on the ground that it is a war to end war, reveals something more than the lack of fundamental sociological knowledge: it shows that the shepherd's clothing may hide the wolf within, and that people who pretend to be ethically superior to others may have everything to gain, and nothing to lose by just such attitudes. There are dualisms in human nature—love and hate, courage and fear, good-will and ill-will, and the delicate balance in which these ambivalent feelings often hang is well known to every psychologist. Let the skeptical reader re-read, if he has already read, Jesus of Nazareth's passionate denunciation of the Scribes and Pharisees in which he likens these religious leaders of his day to "whited sepulchres, beautiful without, but within full of dead men's bones and all manner of uncleanness."[2] Intellectual leaders and pacifists such as Woodrow Wilson, Anatole France, H. G. Wells, George Bernard Shaw, and Albert Einstein are no exceptions to the dualism in human nature here pointed out, as every student of history knows perfectly well. They, with their colleagues in spirit, the professional peace advocates, appear to stand on a superior moral pedestal, and thus they gain for themselves a certain distinction among people who do not understand these problems. All too frequently this audience is generally stupid or ignorant enough to suppose that if a person is not an enthusiast for peace it must follow that he is a proponent of war, and therefore, brutally wicked, particularly if he accepts seriously the historical facts which indicate that war is inherent in the process of social change. All nations and races want peace in a deeper and truer sense than the international evangelists appear to know anything about, that is, they want their own peace, a peace which is at least equivalent to the security of their living standards, with perhaps freedom added; freedom for growth, achievement, dominion and power.[3]

[1] W. Trotter, *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War*, London, 1917, p. 156 *et seq.*

[2] *Gospel of St. Matthew*, 23:27.

[3] L. A. Boettiger, "The Peace Movement and the Theory of Conflict," *The Scabbard and Blade Journal*, November, 1931, pp. 12-21.

The Struggle for Existence and Other Forms of Conflict

Conflict on the lowest spiritual plane is a struggle for existence; on the highest spiritual plane it is a struggle for power. Intermediate within these two extremes there are struggles for the security of status, for higher status, for public recognition of achievement, and for the response of intimate associates. The struggle for existence is often the result of a disparity, and corresponding lack of adjustment, between economic resources and biological reproduction. Redundant population is a term which designates this situation; but the further analysis of this concept shows that the level of the culture, and the arts of social organization are inseparable aspects of the total situation. The population of Europe increased from about 200 million to about 600 million in the nineteenth century, an unusually rapid rate of increase. The production of food and raw materials, as well as the production of manufactured goods, and the accumulation of wealth, proceeded at a still more rapid rate over the same period. Obviously the Industrial Revolution had effects upon the arts of production which increased the efficiency of labor at a more rapid rate than the increase of population. The struggle for mere existence became transformed into a struggle for higher standards of living, a struggle for status, for recognition, and for leadership as well.

In the course of the depression of 1929-1936 there was, for many, a bitter struggle for mere existence, for the indispensable requisites of life; for many others there was a struggle for the security of achieved and recognized status; for still others a struggle for leadership, and power of political and social control over the situation. The arts of production had so developed that a surplus of supplies of all kinds had accumulated in the stocks of goods in the factories and warehouses of the country. People were actually starving while food was being destroyed in incredible quantities in order to keep prices from falling further. To explain the forms of conflict above distinguished solely in terms of redundant population would manifestly be incomplete and inadequate. The social and economic machinery was obviously out of gear. This incompatibility between the requirements of mass consumption, and the methods of production and finance, cannot be understood without a knowledge of the cultural antecedents of the system of social economy in which we live. Chronic unemployment of several million men and women may be taken as an index of redundant population to be sure; in a sense it is such an index. But to assume that this redundancy has come about because people reproduce more rapidly than it is possible to provide the means of their maintenance is totally inadequate. The means of living are available with plenty to spare whether considered from the viewpoint of natural resources, or from the viewpoint of the arts of production and labor efficiency.

The student reading these lines may be inclined to comment on the

stupidity of men who permit such a condition of affairs. Why don't we find means of distributing more equitably the things we are able to produce so efficiently in such vast amounts? The answer is not simple; it requires a consideration of historical backgrounds, a knowledge of the movement of the culture cycle. This movement liberates and enlightens us, making us civilized men and women, and appears at the same time to be strangling us in the very process of liberation.

The Struggle for Liberty and Enlightenment

This struggle for liberation and enlightenment had its cultural origin in the feudal period. It may be considered from the aristocratic point of view of Humanism and the Renaissance, or from the point of view of the peasant and the collapse of medieval serfdom. For Western Europe it is reflected in the peasants' revolt of 1381, the peasants' war of 1524 at Stühlingen in the Black Forest, and the Jacqueries of 1358 in France. The manorial system gradually broke down under the influence of a variety of causes which need not be unravelled at this point. A system of social economy which had its basis in customary tenure, customary services, and customary court slowly disintegrated as the villein gained his emancipation from serfdom.[4] The Renaissance provided some inspiration and leadership, not only for this movement, but also for the Reformation. The great Protestant reformers were identified with every country of Western Europe. A new system of values gradually evolved, a system which released the ambition and energy of individuals regardless of status or hereditary rank. The doctrine of natural rights had significant corollaries in freedom of competition, *laissez faire,* and the interesting concept of a divine harmony of life based upon the pursuit of individual self-interest unmolested by the state.[5] Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations* described a beneficent order of nature in which the individual is led "as by an invisible hand, to promote the public interest while trying to promote his own." The puritanical code of ethics emphasized industry, thrift, frugality, salvation by faith and a high sense of individual responsibility—traits which condition a high rate of accumulation of capital. Under these circumstances the Industrial Revolution flourished, the arts of production increasingly centered in the factory system as the invention of labor-saving devices driven by power machinery augmented the efficiency of labor many fold. Colonial development and foreign trade received a tremendous stimulus as private profit became the all-powerful incentive to business enterprise, and the accumulation of private wealth became the controlling standard of human excellence. Years ago Veblen pointed out that under the old medieval régime industry and trade

[4] L. A. Boettiger, *Employee Welfare Work,* New York, 1923, Ch. 3.
[5] Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations,* London, 1925, Vol. I, Bk. 1, Ch. 2, p. 16.

were a quest of livelihood; under the new order industry is directed by the quest of profits.[6] (In the early order of things hard times were identified with an actual scarcity of the requisites of life. But in the modern order of things hard times are identified with the falling prices brought about by an "overproduction" of the requisites of life.) The profit incentive coupled with the material standard of success creates a situation which leads to a rapid extension of credit for investment in productive undertaking; this process runs its course until the supplies available are too great to maintain existing price levels. Liquidation, retrenchment, and widespread unemployment necessarily follow. (Low prices commonly mean privation and starvation to some extent, whereas in medieval days privation and famine were identified with the high prices brought about by an actual scarcity of the necessities of life.) The present system is seen to be an organic aspect of the culture cycle of Western Europe; it is deeply entrenched in statute law. It is sanctioned by a system of moral and religious teaching which is centered in the family, the school and the church. It is idle twitter, therefore, to talk of the incredible stupidity of men who have not learned to distribute the product of their labor equitably and intelligently—as if historical precedent could be totally ignored and the social structure in which we live made over in a day. An order of living which is buttressed by the folkways and mores of a people, by their institutions, and their laws, cannot be refashioned overnight unless a terrible crisis such as Russia faced in 1917, Germany in 1918 and 1933, Italy in 1923 and France in 1789 requires a sudden and drastic revision of social procedures. But even in such circumstances, when people are in the throes of social and political revolution, and a new leadership displaces the old, the break with the past is not so sharp as it appears. In fact, the aim may be to conserve and to glorify all that is best in the past, as in the case of Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler.

The Conflict of Cultures

(The struggle for existence has received an exaggerated emphasis at the hands of writers such as Thomas Malthus and Charles Darwin.) Malthus, during the early part of the nineteenth century conceived of this struggle as a result of disparity in the rates of increase of the means of livelihood and the number of stomachs to be filled, the rate of the former corresponding roughly and generally to a mathematical series, the rate of the latter corresponding roughly and generally to a geometrical series. The scourge of war was interpreted as a natural corrective of redundant population. Internal stress and dissension were the result of a food scarcity relative to the subsistence needs of a population.[7] It is admitted that the biological potential

[6] T. Veblen, *The Theory of Business Enterprise*, New York, 1904, pp. 177-178.
[7] T. R. Malthus, *An Essay on Population*, London and New York, 1927, Bk. 1, Chs. 1, 2.

for reproduction is a power so great that the human species would presently not have standing room on earth if somehow the psychological and cultural checks which limit this power should cease to operate. The increasing competition of life on higher social and intellectual planes is reflected in widespread decline of birth rates; human reproduction never occurs in a social and moral vacuum. It is also admittedly true that international diplomacies, wars, commercial imperialisms, and colonial rivalries have considerable to do with the subsistence standards of rapidly growing or even stationary populations. The imperialistic march of Japan beginning with the defeat of China in the last decade of the nineteenth century, the defeat of Russia in the first decade of the twentieth century, appropriation of German possessions under convenient circumstances in the second decade, the more recent occupation of Manchuria and Jehol with consequent withdrawal from the League of Nations, is a case in point. Subsistence needs of a rapidly swarming people, coupled with limited natural resources and a compact social organization, determined to maintain independence in the face of Western Imperialism accounts in part for these conquests. The conflict of cultures has, in this instance, resulted in the defensive imitation and assimilation of Western economic, political and technical procedures for the purpose of maintaining and strengthening the autonomy and integrity of an indigenous civilization. Thus it is seen that subsistence needs and natural resources are significant factors of conflict, or relatively insignificant, depending upon the cultural status of a people. The Hawaiian Islander, faced with the same problems of culture conflict, was largely exterminated; so too the North American Indian, the Australian aborigine, the Tasmanian Islander and many others. A culture may, or may not, possess the resilience, toughness, and power of adjustment necessary to survive such a conflict. Russia, like Japan, is successfully pursuing a policy of defensive assimilation imitating the West in methods of machine production as well as in imperialistic diplomacy with a view to power and freedom for the natural development of an indigenous culture. China and India, on the other hand, are being exploited, not only by the nations of Western Europe, but also, and increasingly so, by Russia and Japan. Perhaps China and India, having completed the phases of the culture cycle centuries ago, and having lain culturally dormant during the centuries intervening with the present, are slowly awakening under the impact of the West and the New East, sluggishly preparing for a new dawn, a new high noon, and a new twilight which will surpass the old in the glory and magnificence of its achievement. But the possibility of this development is more than doubtful since the historical precedent is lacking. In view of these conflicts of cultures which struggle tenaciously, and with all the power at their command, for survival, for glory, dominion, and power, it hardly appears too much to say that social inter-

course, however gracious and refined, is shadowed by potential tragedy and will be so to the end of time.[8]

Exaggeration of the Struggle for Existence

Other writers have given an undue and misleading emphasis to the struggle-for-mere-existence—as if men are like cattle who need only enough to eat to be at peace with one another. Darwin was concerned more with the struggle of species than with the conflict of cultures; his main problem was biological and not sociological. But Darwin did not ignore the struggle of the human species. He wrote as follows: "In the survival of favored individuals and races, during the constantly recurring struggle for existence, we see a powerful and ever active form of selection. The struggle for existence inevitably follows from the high geometrical rate of increase which is common to all organic beings."[9] The difficulty with this point of view is that it tends to assimilate man to the lower orders of animal life—men do not multiply like rats in a barn or rabbits in a warren. In civilized society the arts of production and the efficiency of labor have been raised to a level sufficient to guarantee a comfort standard of living for everyone. While the problem of distribution has not been solved to this extent, the fact remains that every civilized state has assumed responsibility for providing the vast army of unemployed with the necessities of life. Moreover, the most strenuous efforts are being made to distribute employment and to raise and measurably stabilize the purchasing power of the mass. Furthermore, the Malthus-Darwinian point of view fails to take account of the fact that men will die for a cause, that "man does not live by bread alone," or as expressed by a great philosopher, that "much is reckoned higher than life by the living one." In modern society, with its guarantees of minimum wages and maximum hours for the employed, the conflict of individuals is obviously not so much a struggle for existence as a struggle for opportunity, for position, in short a competition for status and for jobs.

Aspects of Conflict in Feudal Society

It is thus seen that the forms of conflict change as the cultural organism moves from one phase into another. Feudalism set the stage for a many-sided conflict which centered in priest, peasant and noble. The development of craft gilds and merchant gilds with the growth of medieval towns increased the tension between city and countryside. Kings and princes were able to maintain their balance of power by pitting lesser lords against the

[8] F. H. Giddings, *The Principles of Sociology*, New York, 1916, p. 102.

[9] Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species*, Chicago and New York (no date given; first edition in 1859), Vol. II, Ch. 15, p. 169. The sub-title of this book is *Or the Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life.*

wealthy burghers. Religious wars, crusades, and persecution of heretics recurred repeatedly. The struggles of noble families against each other, such as the Houses of Lancaster and of York, played an important part in destroying the old landed aristocracy. Nobility vied with priesthood for temporal power, the struggle resulting in Western Europe in a gradual ascendancy of the secular state. The villein who was "stuck" to the soil struggled for his freedom. Journeymen organized yeomen gilds and struggled with their masters for economic advantage as the open lines of promotion from journeymen to masters were closed. And yet, with all of this many-sided conflict medieval society represented a moving equilibrium of forces in which the idea of status, or of class, was dominant. It is not too much to say that the established system aimed "to keep all the organs of society in their accepted relations to each other and to preserve all in activity in the measure of the social needs." [10] Feudalism was essentially a system of vested interests based upon a privileged and landed aristocracy. The Church taught that men had been placed by God in ranks or orders, each with his own work to do, each with his own appropriate mode of life. "That gain was justified, and that only, which was sought in order that a man might provide for himself a fit sustenance in his own rank." [11] Ideas of just prices as well as ideas of fair wages were determined by the accustomed standard of living. Sumptuary laws contributed to the fixity of class lines while the laws governing usury, forestalling, regrating, and engrossing prevented unfair competition. In the gilds laws governing apprenticeship, the number of apprentices, terms of apprentices, the wages and terms of journeymen, contributed toward the stability of the system.

Rise-to-Power of the Middle Class

But this system of relationships in which conflict and co-operation played a mutually conditioning rôle was completely reorganized with the rise-to-power of the middle class. The period of discovery gave a tremendous impetus to foreign trade and colonial development. The struggles of Holland, Spain, France, England, and later Germany, for maritime power and colonial possessions reflect the situation. As commerce increased men began to develop industries dependent upon a supply of imported materials and to produce for distant markets. Obviously the moneyed man came to have an advantage in the pursuit of these interests. Hence the rise of a class of capitalists who naturally resented restrictions, such as those on the number of apprentices, and many others, which interfered with the development of its business enterprises. In England, manors were converted into enclosures for pasturing sheep in order to take advantage of the profitable markets

[10] W. G. Sumner, *War and Other Essays*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1919, p. 216.
[11] Sir William Ashley, *An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory*, Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1920, Bk. 2, p. 389.

for wool. Whereas formerly the ideology of the priesthood had strengthened the power of the noble, now it was the ideology of the Protestant reformers which supported the power of the bourgeoisie. The consequent ascendancy of the middle class of merchant princes and large-scale producers inspired by the Reformation culminated slowly in a politico-economic struggle with the noble allied with Catholic priest. Political constitutionalism was established with the advent of the new national state and a set of vested interests slowly arose: property restrictions of suffrage and representation, indirect taxation, control of education and the press, and dishonor attached to those whose sole maintenance was labor. By various devices, such as intermarriage between second and third estates, and the granting of knighthood and peerage upon wealthy traders and manufacturers, the stabilizing influence of the aristocratic tradition was perpetuated. The Industrial Revolution greatly extended and enriched the class of merchant princes and wealthy manufacturers while the new stratification of society gave rise to new forms of conflict. The status of the laborer was now determined by freedom of contract and his power increased as he organized craft unions and learned to use the tools of collective bargaining. The growing significance of this conflict between third and "fourth" estates was reflected in the work of Marx, Engels, Lassalle, Proudhon, Saint-Simon, and many other social thinkers of this period.

Marxian Theory of Class Conflict

Karl Marx developed a theory of conflict which is significant in so far as it mirrors the changing structure of human interrelationships which followed the consolidation of the national state under the influence of the middle class. The doctrines of class struggle and surplus value were coupled with an economic interpretation of history. Marx and his followers looked deeper than some of their contemporaries into the historical process of social change, as others certainly have in turn since their time. Let us be fair and give them credit for seeing considerably more than the struggle-for-mere-existence. History, according to the Marxians, is not primarily a food quest, but rather a series of class struggles, conflicts between ruling and oppressed classes, exploiters and exploited. Surplus value is the difference between the reward given to the worker for his labor and the actual contribution made by the worker to the creation of wealth; in short, his wages do not measure up to what he actually produces, and the difference is appropriated by the owners of capital who also control the management of business enterprise by virtue of their property rights. This conflict creates a strain upon the established order of life which crumbles and disappears as the power of the exploited workers is sufficient to overwhelm their rulers and employers. For this prolix but ingenious writer maintained that the political and intellectual

history of a period can be explained only in terms of the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange and the social organization which necessarily follows from it. To quote from the *Communist Manifesto,* written by Marx with the collaboration of Engels:

> In every historical epoch the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch; that consequently the whole history of mankind (since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding land in common ownership) has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes.[12]

It is worth noting that another influential writer, whose ideas were anything but Marxian, wrote the following lines about a half century after the *Communist Manifesto:*

> [The industrial organization and its expansion] controls us all because we are all in it. It creates the conditions of our existence, sets the limits of our social activity, regulates the bonds of our social relations, determines our conception of good and evil, suggests our life philosophy, molds our inherited political institutions, and reforms the oldest and toughest customs, like marriage and property.[13]

This interpretation manifestly reflects not only the remarkable industrial development of the nineteenth century, but also, and more particularly, the quest for profit, and the materialistic standard of success which dominated the time.

Marx transformed in theory the idealistic dialectic of Hegel into an economic dialectic. He developed an explanation of the business cycle in terms of overproduction, and a theory of value in terms of the exclusive productivity of labor. He predicted increasing severity of economic crises and increasing misery of the masses of unemployed, overworked and underfed workers. He also prophesied that a stupendous increase in the production of wealth would become concentrated in fewer hands. This concentration of ownership of increasing wealth he identified with the political power of control over the state, the school, the press, and the family. The increasing disparity between the poverty of the masses and the wealth of the few finally results in catastrophe according to the Marxian prognosis. The masses of the exploited appropriate the wealth of the few, and with the appropriation of their wealth, their political and social power

[12] K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party,* Chicago, 1902, Preface by F. Engels. Cited and discussed by Spargo and Arner, *Elements of Socialism,* The Macmillan Co., New York, 1916, Ch. 11.

[13] W. G. Sumner, *War and Other Essays,* New Haven, 1919, p. 197. Reprinted with permission from Yale University Press.

as well. Class lines are destroyed, as a theoretically democratic control of industry, and of the state, guarantees an equitable distribution of wealth and income. A new imaginary society is created in which justice and liberty prevail, and the source of conflict, economic disparity in the stratification of society, is forever removed with the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth.

Evaluation and Criticism of Marxian Theory

It sounds like a chapter from the book of Revelation according to St. John. Karl Marx belongs to that unbroken line of Hebrew prophets which goes back to Isaiah, Amos, and Hosea. His work is certainly the most ingenious, and the most devastating, indictment of capitalistic society ever penned by the hand of man. Moreover, it reflects the growing intensity of the conflict between wage-earners and their employers in the course of the nineteenth century. It must also be admitted that Marx had an understanding of the interdependence of political, economic, and legal aspects of the social structure, and an appreciation too of the relation between this structure and the dominant intellectual and ethical tendencies of a particular historical epoch. As such it merits a closer analysis and more careful consideration than those theories of conflict which emphasize crudely the struggle-for-mere-existence and the survival of the fittest.

But Marx erred seriously. In one sense his work is a utopian dream, a vision of the apocalypse, which serves the purpose of compensating for the feeling of pain which arises from the contemplation of human misery and social injustice.[14] Our ethical and aesthetic sensibilities may serve us well, but they need to be tempered with the hardest kind of science. Only in this way can we make any headway at all in the mastery of surroundings, and the solution of our problems, within the limits of human possibilities. For we cannot make gold out of egg yolks as certain medieval alchemists endeavored to do, and most of us have learned that the moon is not made of green cheese. The bureaucracy of labor which Marx aimed to set up would not remove the sources of friction, misunderstanding, fear, suspicion, and conflict. Certainly such has not proved the case in the United States of Soviet Russia where society has been reorganized along Marxian lines. The destruction of the economic forms of competition and conflict by establishing a socialistic state can only have the effect of intensifying the political forms of conflict and competition.[15] And this intensification of political struggle necessarily has the effect of revising democratic ideals and democratic forms of life. The inference that the democratic way of life is ethically superior in an absolute sense to all other ways of life is not intended. This

[14] L. Mumford, *The Story of Utopias*, New York, 1922, Chs. 1, 11, 12.
[15] T. N. Carver, *Essays in Social Justice*, Cambridge, 1915, pp. 93-94

problem is referred again to the moral philosopher. What is intended is just this (that socialism aims to ride the crest of democratic idealism, preaching a gospel of world peace and social justice, in spite of the obvious fact that socialism of the Marxian brand is entirely incompatible with democratic institutions. It means essentially the destruction of the middle class, the clergy, and the aristocracy, and the substitution for these of a proletarian dictatorship, just as took place in Soviet Russia. This means the creation of a bureaucratic officialdom responsible for the management of industry, agriculture, and trade as well as for the governmental functions now generally representative of the countries of Western Europe. This officialdom does not let out rope for its own hanging. It controls the school and the press, as well as the courts, foreign relations, domestic relations, the police, the army, and navy. By means of party organization, that is, an exclusive one-party organization, it is able to maintain its political power and prestige. There can be no place for free labor organizations, a free press, freedom of speech even in higher intellectual circles, let alone the common schools and the universities, in an organization of this type. It rules by force. It may make a measurable progress in destroying the sources of conflict and friction within the state, but to assume that its interests can be so reconciled with the interests of other states as to avoid the cultural forms of conflict is totally unwarranted.

Western civilization does not view the struggle with communism in a disinterested manner. There is too much at stake. The explicit and implicit aim of communism is the destruction of Western culture. And it is this aim, not too well understood, which explains the united front of the Catholic clergy, the landed aristocrats, and the leaders of business, industry and finance, not to mention the smaller traders, farmers and manufacturers whose interests are equally identified. But there is strife too within the communistic bureaucracy as testified by the expatriation of Trotsky from Russia, by the forcible appropriation of the wealth of the more independent and substantially situated kulaks as compared with the miserable moujiks, by the transportation of the former to Siberia, by the necessity for creating the G.P.U., perhaps the strongest organization of secret police in the world, by the confessions of Radek, Zinoviev, and Kamenev, by recurrent differences of policy and consequent struggles for power within the higher ranks of the bureaucracy itself, by an unformulated, but nevertheless effective, policy of mass sabotage on the part of the workers in industry from time to time, and by the necessity of wholesale trials, convictions and punishment by death of political non-conformists. Sovietism may be good for the Russians. The first five-year plan accomplished the most remarkable results. (The Russian army is probably the strongest in the world today. Mass education and development of social welfare agencies represent achievements which Tsar Nicholas could never have accomplished. Today, illiteracy in Russia

comes close to being an anachronism. But all of this is beside the point. The point is that Marxian socialism does not eliminate the sources and causes of conflict, whether considered on the levels of physical violence, or on ethical and intellectual levels, whether considered from the viewpoint of international conflict, or intranational conflict. In Russia, too, the movement of the cultural organism will produce changes in structure and the forms of conflict just as it has in the case of every other civilization of history.

Conclusions

Two conclusions are stated at this point: (1) conflict and co-operation are an inherent aspect of the social process, and (2) the forms of conflict change with the movement of the cultural organism. No theory of a struggle for existence and survival of the fittest races and nations by the process of natural selection is adequate in explaining the nature and the forms of conflict. No theory of redundant population and a niggardly nature is a sufficient explanation of these problems. No theory of class struggles and economic interpretation of history will suffice. It is necessary to view the culture history of a people as an organic phenomenon in order to gain a proper perspective and a scientific insight into the problems of conflict and co-operation.

Human Traits, Conflict, and Co-operation

No theory of conflict can overlook such fundamental interests of human nature as hunger, love, vanity, and fear.[16] The consideration of whether these traits are human instincts would be out of place at this point. This problem will be considered in some detail in the proper connection. The physically organic nature of hunger, love, and fear is not open to contradiction. These terms may be variously defined and endless debate of course hangs on the definitions. But whatever the definition, it is obvious that a race which lacked reciprocal sex interest would fail to perpetuate itself; that a race which had no interest in nourishment of any kind would die of starvation; that a race which knew no fear would perish for lack of knowledge of the most elementary essentials of self-protection against unfavorable circumstances; and that a race which never felt even the mildest intoxication of vanity and *amour propre* would presently disappear for lack of interest in life and a desire to live. These traits are woven into the very biological texture of human nature. No one has yet succeeded in pointing out a single race which lacked any one of these traits; in fact, *from a scientific standpoint,* no one has as yet succeeded in pointing out a *single normal individual* who lacked any one of them. They have been selected for survival in the

[16] W. G. Sumner, *Folkways,* Boston, 1906, pp. 18, 19.

evolutionary process *for the very reason* that they guarantee the normal growth of the individual and the consequent perpetuation of the human race. There may be other such traits, but that question is not considered at this point.

The revelant matter for consideration here is that these traits have a functional relationship, direct or indirect, as the case may be, to certain human desires such as the desire for response, which is closely related to sex desire, the desire for security, which has a bearing upon hunger and the food interest, the desires for recognition and for new experience, which are related to vanity.[17] These desires for recognition, response, security, and new experience may, and do, have a relation to fear. For instance, a hungry individual bent upon a quest for food may identify this fear with certain individuals or situations which make his quest a difficult one. Again, a person whose sexual desires have been thoroughly aroused may fear the failure of his love-quest, and identify this fear with various individuals or situations which seem to thwart his aims. And again, a person having spent years upon some cherished project, a work of art, or of science let us say, may fear the lack of recognition, and may identify this fear with certain persons or certain situations which obstruct his desires. These desires in human individuals take the form of acquired traits due to cultural impacts and environmental influence. Indirectly, however, they are based upon fundamental biological traits which are generally characteristic of the species.

Now the important thing for our purposes is to point out that these desires may be obstructed, thwarted, frustrated, or discouraged at the same time they are being stimulated by various environmental situations. This creates a condition of conflict between individuals; it may, and often does, create a condition of conflict within the individual. But these desires and cherished aims are no less true of races, nations, and civilizations considered as organic units in a social sense. Co-operation is characteristic of the human type because the satisfaction of these wishes is manifestly dependent upon division of labor, and the integration of many persons in a single whole of associated effort. The French have coupled the demand for security with so many issues that it has become a kind of national complex. In fact, it appears at times as if the French have cause to believe that they alone possess the right to security. Obviously, this trait, as a plurality pattern, is not peculiar to this nation. The desire for recognition may also be a mass phenomenon, as is sufficiently demonstrated by all of the modern clamor for favorable publicity—Russian conspiracy trials, and the spectacular flight of the Balbo air armada to Chicago, are cases in point. The collective desire

[17] W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America,* New York, 1927, Vol. II, pp. 1859, 1882. See also W. I. Thomas, *The Unadjusted Girl,* Boston, 1927, p. 4 *et seq.*

for new experience is particularly manifest in the movement of the cultural organism with its passion for liberation and enlightenment, its driving incentives to scale the heights and to sound the depths of the human spirit, its amazing achievement in science, religion, and art. It is reflected in Humanism and the Renaissance. The wish for response is a matter of intimate and personal appreciation, but this too has a collective manifestation in the desire of Englishmen to be esteemed by others *as Englishmen,* and so with Germans, Frenchmen, and Americans. *Reichsführer* Hitler has been quoted as saying, "Let it be written in our epitaphs that we have been hard, that we have been ruthless, but let it not be written that we have failed to be good Germans."

These collective aspects of desire are also subject to frustration, as when an English court conducts an unofficial trial in order to determine the guilt for the burning of the Reichstag building; as when the American naval fleet is stationed in the Pacific waters, and the American government actively supports China while Japan extends her military control over Manchuria and Jehol. Further examples are endless, but needless.

This basic theory of conflict has its roots in the biological nature of the human organism and its behavior-manifestation in the changing mental patterns of the individual as conditioned by the status and the movement of the cultural organism. The mental patterns of the individual as well as the plurality patterns of the collective whole are the result of a social process of interhuman action. If this theory appears complex it can only be said in extenuation that the sociological problems of association and dissociation, of conflict and co-operation, are not simple. A simple theory is bound to be unilateral and inadequate for the reason that biological, psychological, and cultural factors are interwoven in every human situation, not to speak of the dynamic aspect and consequent complexity of the cultural cycle itself.

Problem Questions

1. Nicolai, in a book entitled the *Biology of War,* argues that war does not respond to a biological urge since men are armed by others through the power of persuasion which is mightier than brute force. Men live according to laws of their own, and therefore human action differs from any natural event, such as an earthquake. Comment on this view.

2. Has the League of Nations been an effective instrument for the prevention of war?

3. Has the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact, which outlaws war as an instrument of national policy, effectually prevented war among the nations which signed it?

4. William James wrote an article entitled *The Moral Equivalent of War* (*Popular Science Monthly,* Vol. 77, pp. 400-410) in which he held that the impulse to war may be sublimated and directed toward the solution of the problems of poverty, misery, health, and crime. Is this a plausible view?

5. Is war inevitable? Are all wars inevitable? Are some wars inevitable?

6. Describe the stratification of medieval society differentiating as many forms of conflict as appear evident. Does this analysis support the Marxian hypothesis of a two-sided class struggle between rulers and oppressed, owners of wealth and their slaves, exploiters and exploited?

7. Consider the same question from the point of view of (1) the stratification of European society in the eighteenth century, (2) the stratification of American and European society in the twentieth century.

8. What forms of conflict are characteristic of (1) the theological epoch of Western culture, (2) the metaphysical epoch, (3) the positive, and (4) the neo-mystical?

9. Identify the following examples of conflict with certain phases of the movement of Western culture: (1) the Crusades, (2) the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, (3) colonial rivalry of aristocratic national states, (4) struggle between Empire and Papacy, (5) persecution of heretics, (6) peasants' revolts, (7) the Thirty Years' War, (8) the French Revolution, (9) the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688, (10) the uprising of 1848, (11) struggle of journeymen's societies with masters' gilds, (12) conflict of science and religion, (13) struggle of women for moral and economic independence, (14) imperialistic rivalry of democratic national states, (15) persecution of Jews, (16) the revolution of the colored races, (17) the white revolution (communism), (18) the revolt of youth, (19) the struggles of monopoly power, (20) fascism and democracy, (21) fascism and communism, (22) communism and democracy, (23) the Protestant revolt against the Roman Curia, (24) the Haymarket Riot, (25) the struggles of noble families, such as Lancaster and York, (26) conflict of sacred and secular authority.

10. Are any of these examples also characteristic of other cultures in "contemporaneous" or parallel periods? Consider for instance the woman's movement of the late Roman Empire.

11. Bertrand Russell wrote a book entitled *Proposed Roads to Freedom* in which he distinguished between *creative* and *possessive* impulses. He associated the former with love and good-will, the latter with hate and selfishness. Accordingly, the mitigation of the martial spirit depends upon the encouragement of the creative and discouragement of the possessive tendencies in human nature. Evaluate this view.

12. How do you account for (a) the conflict of races, (b) the conflict of cultures, (c) the conflict of nations, (d) the conflict of classes?

13. Is civilization a process in which the intellectual and ethical forms of conflict continuously displace the physical and the military forms of conflict?

14. The view implied in the preceding question was developed by J. Novicow who drew the following conclusion: *"Oui, c'est le parti socialiste qui, seul, nous prépare de meilleures destinées. Il semble malheuresement qu'il ait peu de chose à attendre des classes supérieures. Elles paraissent plongées dans une incurable torpeur."* (*Les Luttes entre Sociétés Humaines,* Paris, 1904, pp. 737-738.) Evaluate this view.

15. Comment on the Darwinian view that the most favored races are preserved in the struggle for life.

16. Socialists and communists often declare their refusal to fight "imperialistic" wars and their willingness to fight the "class" war. Meanwhile they call themselves pacifists. Is this a logical position?

Suggestions for Additional Reading

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6

INDIVIDUALIZATION AND SOCIALIZATION

Meanings

What is the meaning of individualization? Essentially, it is a process of interhuman action as seen from the point of view of the mental and moral development of the human being. What is the meaning of socialization? Essentially it is a process of interhuman action as seen from the point of view of the mental and moral similarity of two or more individuals. It is evident that one term implies the other. Individualization could have no meaning in the absence of socialization; socialization could have no meaning in the absence of individualization. Individual variation from the group, not in physical terms, but in terms of idea, feeling, belief, and purpose is a universal aspect of the social process. It is identified with leadership, individual ascendancy, and the great-man theory of history so eloquently elaborated by Thomas Carlyle and William James.[1] This type of variation is a purely natural phenomenon which may be analyzed in scientific terms in a manner similar to the scientific analysis of any other phenomenon. The sociologist has not learned everything there is to be known about it; but he knows enough to be able to define his terms, formulate his problems, and suggest a method of objective procedure of analysis. And this at least is a fair beginning which holds the highest promise. Resort to the pseudo-scientific methods of astrology, physiognomy, and phrenology is, of course, entirely futile.

Similarity and identity of idea and feeling, of belief and purpose, is the sociological counterpart to dissimilarity and variation. If this were expressed in mathematical terms it would be in the form of an infinite series ranging from absolute identity in every thought and feeling at the one extreme to absolute contradiction of thought and feeling at the other extreme. In the consideration of the relationships of two persons this series remains relatively simple, whereas in the consideration of the relationships of large aggregations of individuals such as nations, cultures, or races, the series becomes infinitely complex. For even "identical" twins are never completely identical in a physical sense, much less in a mental and moral sense. And yet it

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[1] W. James, *The Will to Believe*, New York, 1911, pp. 216-262. Thomas Carlyle, complete works, edited by H. D. Traill, London, 1896-1901, specifically, Vol. V, *On Heroes and Hero Worship;* Vols. VI-IX, *Oliver Cromwell, Letters and Speeches;* Vol. X, *Past and Present;* Vols. XII-XIX, *History of Frederick II of Prussia.*

must be recognized at the same time that no two individuals, however unknown to each other, and dissimilar in racial or cultural antecedents, completely lack similarity of idea and feeling in every respect. This fact is sufficiently accounted for by the unity of the human species, by the universality of basic biological traits such as hunger, sex, vanity, and fear, and by the universality of type wishes such as the desire for security, for new experience, for recognition, and for response.

Contradictory Philosophies

This duality in the social process which produces likenesses and differences at the same time, accounts for the misplaced emphasis of many distinguished writers. Extreme individualists who extol the high destiny and superiority of the superman[2] stand in marked contradistinction to the extreme organicists who extol the solidarity and high calling of the group as a whole—a race, a nation or a culture, as the case may be.[3] In the first instance the distinguished individual is given credit for every notable achievement of history; men like Alexander the Great, Napoleon, Bismarck are the master builders of civilization. In the second instance these leaders are regarded as the convenient means employed by the great mass of men and women whose interests and desires have become so completely interlaced and interdependent, so completely socialized, that they determine for themselves the conditions of effective leadership and therefore also the type of leader desired. Leaders are literally driven into power or out of power under the propulsion of a social organism which creates the historical conjunctures and therefore the exigencies of a time. Thus selection is bound to favor the type of leadership which most nearly and effectively answers and fulfills the unrealized dreams and aspirations of the collective whole. Tolstoi in his *War and Peace* consistently develops this point of view.[4]

Exaggerated Emphasis of the Great-Man Theory

At this point it is important to show that the exaggerated emphasis of the first school has done more to distort our views and block our understanding of events than the exaggerated emphasis of the second school. The glory of individual achievement is more easily dramatized than the movement of a civilization. The tendency of writers to explain great events of history in terms of leaders is strengthened by the fact that a single person can be held responsible for his failures more easily than an organized mass of persons. Somebody must pay the price for social catastrophe, and an

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[2] Friedrich Nietzsche, *Thus Spake Zarathustra,* translated by T. Common, New York, 1916, pp. 350-363.

[3] O. Spengler, *Decline of the West, op. cit.,* Vol. I, pp. 3-50.

[4] Lyof N. Tolstoi, *War and Peace,* New York, 1925, Vol. III, pp. 232-289.

individual can be made an easy scapegoat. It is possible also to give recognition of honor to a distinguished leader with the result that he is more highly exalted than he deserves, more highly than he often desires. For such honor is a symbol, not only of the achievement of the individual but also of the expectation of the mass, and the leader knows that failure to fulfill this expectation may lead to dishonor and even disgrace. The spectators who paid their admission to a ball game to see "Babe" Ruth "swat" the ball over the fence for a home run may have been visibly thrilled or manifestly disappointed. And the "Babe" remarked with understanding of the situation, "Today you're a hero and tomorrow you're a bum, so what the hell." On the other hand, "Collective crimes involve nobody," an aphorism attributed to Napoleon, and it is no accident of circumstance that the English people held the Kaiser and his war lords responsible for all of the privation and misery they endured over four long and terrible years. "Hang the Kaiser" proved to be an expedient political slogan after the war and it was actually supposed, certainly in England, that the former Kaiser and his military leaders, von Ludendorff and von Hindenburg in particular, would be tried in an English court and condemned to death. The naïve mind of the child thinks easily in terms of personality causation. And if events cannot be explained conveniently in terms of living individuals, resort to the spirits of the dead satisfies the human desire without violating a principle. Explanation in terms of movements such as Scholasticism, Mercantilism, the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Industrial Revolution, National Socialism, and the like, is of course somewhat unsatisfactory. This kind of explanation borders on vague theory and metaphysical abstraction, and therefore lies beyond the apperceptive range of naïve children. So too, with regard to the theory of the cultural organism. The knowledge here implied is necessarily assimilated slowly and with some difficulty. It requires a degree of intellectual and moral discipline to which the mass is not inured. It is easier to understand Carlyle's *Heroes and Hero Worship* than Tolstoi's *War and Peace.* It is considerably easier to read a conventional history which fixes responsibility for events upon individuals than it is to read Spengler's *Decline of the West.*

The Isolated Sacred Structure and the Accessible Secular Structure

Individualization is conditioned by the cultural status of a people. The hill-folk of Tennessee who identify the organic evolution theory with the work of Satan demanded legislation to protect their smug and provincial complacency. In the course of a sensational trial of a Tennessee school teacher by the name of John T. Scopes who violated the law, William Jennings Bryan, thrice candidate for the high office of President of the United

States, presented the case for the prosecution. Ridiculed by Clarence Darrow in the course of the trial, the former leader of American democracy lost considerable prestige, even in Tennessee. "God is great," it was said, "but William Jennings Bryan is not his prophet." The trial ostensibly had the effect, not only of measurably disturbing the moral foundation of a law, but also the poise and equanimity of a great American leader. Here in epitome a great conflict is dramatized: the conflict between the isolated sacred structure on the one hand, and the accessible secular structure on the other hand. The isolated sacred structure is clearly unfolded in the early movement of the culture cycle; the accessible secular structure develops from it and marks the later movement of the same cycle. The former is identified with the rural community, and the development of a theological foundation of social order and stability; the latter with urban society, and the growth of science and philosophy. Thus the isolated sacred structure is characteristic of peasant villages, whereas the accessible secular structure is typical of the asphalt wilderness of large urban centers.[5] The cultural isolation of Tennessee mountain folk contributed to the perpetuation of the sacred tradition; individualization accordingly was circumscribed, not only by law, but also by close-knit public opinion. The liberating influences of cities created a Clarence Darrow, apostle of liberty and justice, iconoclast, free thinker, and arch foe of bigotry, superstition, and smug complacency. The rolling plains of the Middle West created a William Jennings Bryan, defender of religious orthodoxy, apostle of conventional Christian respectability, evangelical pacifist, and arch foe of free thinkers and critical scholars. Accordingly, it is false to say that leadership is free and independent, that individualization has no relation to the process of socialization. It is definitely conditioned by the cultural status of a people, a status which changes with the changing historical conjunctures in the life history of the cultural cycle.

Exaggerated Emphasis of the Extreme Organicists

On the other hand, it is also important to point out that the extreme organicists have erred on their part. This mistake is chiefly in the nature of a misconception of the reality and character of social structures and social processes. For the extreme organicists conceive of society as a kind of biological leviathan, a huge organic being in the physical sense.[6] The structures and functions of this organism are conceived to be differentiated and integrated very much in the manner of a single human organism. Individuals in society are like the cells of the body. As these cells are differentiated in various types of structure such as the brain, the nervous system, the muscles of the body, the viscera, and the ductless glands, so individuals in society

[5] L. von Wiese and H. Becker, *Systematic Sociology, op. cit.*, pp. 222-224.
[6] L. M. Bristol, *Social Adaptation*, Cambridge, 1915, Ch. 7.

are differentiated into special structures we call political, economic, matrimonial, religious, educational, legal, and moral, each with its special function to perform. These special structures with their special functions are so interrelated and interdependent that any modification in one entails readjustments of a corresponding character in all of the others—just as a modification of one of the organs of the body results in corresponding changes in all of the others. In this way a balanced equilibrium of the organism is maintained, and the integrated functioning of the whole as a unit is guaranteed.

These analogies are certainly suggestive and valuable, but they fail to describe the essential nature of social structures and social processes. The brain is similar to government from the point of view of the organismic conception; the circulatory system of the body is like the system of distribution in the economic structure of society; the nervous system of the individual, including receptors, effectors, co-ordinating neurones, afferent and efferent nerve connections with sense organs and muscles of the body, is like the social system of communication through the medium of language in the press, the pulpit, the classroom, the telegraph, telephone, radio, and the like. And as the nerve connections are regulated centrally in the cerebral cortex so the social system of communication is centrally regulated by the government. The fact that this assumption often contradicts the actuality is conveniently overlooked. The production of economic goods fashioned out of raw materials in endless combination of physical and chemical elements is like the process of assimilating vitamins and maintaining the chemical and physical metabolism of the human body:—both provide for the requirements of physical maintenance. Social pathology corresponds to pathology in the accepted medical meaning; the problems of crime and poverty are like the problems of human disease. Moreover, there are special qualities which distinguish the human organism in various phases of the life cycle—infancy, youth, middle age, and old age; so too there are special and corresponding qualities which distinguish successive phases of the life cycle of the societal organism. Just as there are special diseases characteristic of infancy, childhood, middle age, and old age, so there are special and corresponding pathological conditions which distinguish the infancy, childhood, middle age, and old age of the collective organism. As the individual being is in process of becoming, so too, the collective being; each fulfills its destiny according to the law of its own being. The state is male and the church is female. Accordingly, a race, nation, or civilization would be male or female depending upon whether it was dominated by church or state.

Manifestly, the extreme organicists have carried their analogy close to the point of absurdity. Biological terms are used to describe the very nature of social structures and social processes; obviously these terms are not well

suited to this purpose. For the structure of society is not biological; it is definitely mental and moral. The term spiritual has varied connotations; it is easily misunderstood and misapplied, but if this term is assumed to mean a combination of mental, emotional and ethical qualities characteristic of individuals and of groups, it would be entirely proper to say that the structure of society is essentially spiritual in nature. If the term is used in other ways implying ghosts, goblins, or immortal souls which, paradoxically enough, have a kind of physical existence after death, it carries no descriptive accuracy. However, in the sense explained, it is certainly plain enough that the essential quality and characteristic of social processes and social structures is spiritual. The extreme organicist, therefore, whose nomenclature embraces such descriptive terms as social physiology, social anatomy, social pathology, social histology, and the like, is clearly confusing the problems with which the sociologist deals. Sociology has developed, and is further developing, a distinctive terminology more accurately descriptive of the actual conditions under observation. Resort to the terminology of biology, physics, or chemistry is symptomatic of the youth of a scientific discipline which did not emerge until after physics, chemistry, biology, and even economics and history had crashed the gates of academic monasticism. For the institutions of higher learning are founded upon the tradition of the priest, upon Scholasticism; and the gradual substitution of an accessible, secular structure for the older isolated, sacred structure has been a slow and painful process.

Individualization and the Unity of the Cultural Movement

This criticism of the extreme organicist applies also to mathematical conceptions of collective unity, illustrated in the work of Pareto, as well as to biological, physical, and chemical conceptions, as illustrated in certain types of behaviorism. Ample consideration of these interpretations would be entirely out of place at this point. All of these interpretations, however, emphasize a great truth, namely, the interdependence of the interrelations of human individuals as they are variously organized under greatly different conditions of life for the realization of their common purposes. They show, one and all, that the human individual is part of a collective whole; more accurately stated, he is part of many collective wholes—the family, the tribe, the nation, the race, the culture to which he belongs and from which he can never fully detach himself except upon pain of death. Among these various relations, the cultural relation plays a predominating rôle in the determination of individuality. For the various groups of a society, whether they be religious, political, or otherwise, inevitably and unavoidably reflect the cultural status of the society of which they are a part. A culture slowly releases the energies of a people by steadily increasing the incentive upon

creative achievement, a movement which is mirrored in religion with the advent of the Renaissance and the Reformation; in politics with the trend from absolutism in government to constitutional monarchy and later democracy; in the family with the gradual disintegration of the formalism of the *patria potestas* and the steady approach to socialized understanding not only in matters of relationship between the sexes, but also between parents and children. The movement in economics is reflected in the trend from Mercantilistic theory to the theory of the Physiocrats and the classical school of political economy; it is shown also in science which first looks at man from the greatest possible distance as if he were a sacred object in a very special sense and therefore not to be scrutinized too closely. Astrology, astronomy, mathematics, and the external world of nature were studied first; history, economics and political science followed later, while psychology and sociology trailed along seemingly belated at the end of the procession. Man at first represented the supreme object of divine creation and the earth upon which he lived was the grand, geographical center of the universe about which all other planets revolved. No marvel that Copernicus and Galileo were not as popular as they might have been. Like children reaching out for the moon these men were making their adjustments to the external world of material things as well as they could. Can anyone imagine a Spengler writing *The Decline of the West* in the sixteenth century? Literature and art reflect the same movement. One may think of Dante's *De Monarchia*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, or Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and conjecture the possibility of some literary genius writing a work of this kind in the world today. The temper of the writing of men like Dreiser, Lewis, Anderson, Cabell, Mencken, Connelly, and Krutch stands in rather marked contrast to say the least. *Per contra*, one may conjecture the possibility of Henrik Ibsen's *Doll's House* or *Enemy of the People*, having been written at the time of Dante. One could as well imagine a Shakespeare writing Shavian dramas, or a Thomas Carlyle writing *Beyond Good and Evil*. Such things don't happen for the very simple reason that creative achievement in the fine arts can never be divorced from the cultural milieu in which it occurs.

Individualization and the Cultural Movement in Religion

Creative achievement is not only the essence of the cultural movement; it is also the essence of individualization. The type of individualization which is dominant and controlling, whether it be the priest or the warrior-aristocrat, the merchant prince or the capitalist entrepreneur, the saint or the scholar, the bureaucrat or the benevolent dictator, depends clearly upon the changing demands of cultural integrity as the cycle moves from one phase into another. The movement in religion is continued with the Reformation,

and the consequent differentiation of denominations, sects, and cults, in apparent endless succession on the flimsiest kind of pretext. But it does not reach a conclusion at this point. The rule of reason continues to press its claims as the simple faith is questioned, ridiculed, and destroyed. If the farmer prays for rain in time of drought, or continues to sow his seed in a certain phase of the moon in order to guarantee a good crop at harvest time, his conduct is scrutinized and questioned in the current religious periodicals, in pulpit sermons, as well as in the scientific discussions of behaviorism. The Church rationalizes its major conceptions, and adjusts itself not only to the accepted conclusions of science, but also to the conditions of effective leadership of the time. Theological seminaries for the training of ministers and priests change their curricula in order to meet the new requirements. The Church at the present time is greatly engrossed with the consideration of social, economic, and political problems.[7] The Protestants under the leadership of Bishop James Cannon, Jr., have supported the Anti-Saloon League, and the Prohibition movement; the Interchurch World Movement, led by John R. Mott, made a detailed analysis of industrial relations in the steel industry, and published a sensational indictment of the methods of labor management in this industry; the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America is deeply concerned not only with the peace movement, but also with the creation of a new social order in which business shall be for service and not for profit; in 1935 the Methodist Federation for Social Service joined the League Against War and Fascism, an association which appears to be committed to communistic principles. These varied interests and connections of the Protestant Church clearly reveal an internal lack of unity in the effort of adjustment to modern conditions of life. His Holiness Pope Pius XI has issued encyclicals dealing with the distribution of wealth, marriage, and divorce, the legitimate status of the wage worker in industry, and the social obligations of the employer. Before the World War the Christian churches were not interested in social, political, and economic questions from the *present point of view*. Individualization proceeds accordingly. Father John A. Ryan and Father Charles Coughlin are examples of a new type of leadership in the Catholic Church. Bishop Francis J. McConnell, the Reverend Harry F. Ward, and the Reverend Raymond B. Fosdick appear to fulfill the new demands for religious leadership in the Protestant Church. The sermons of leaders of an age past, Cotton Mather, and Jonathan Edwards, for example, would be as out of place under modern conditions as the sermons of Harry F. Ward in the time of Edwards.

The Church in Western civilization has always played an important rôle in the world of affairs. It has been demonstrated without any question that

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[7] A. J. Todd, *Industry and Society*, New York, 1933, Ch. 30.

the economic interpretation of history is miserably inadequate as well as dangerously fallacious. The economic and political ascendancy of the middle class was preceded by the teaching of the Protestant reformers who developed a scale of values which sealed the doom of the *ancien régime* and laid a foundation for capitalism at the same time. In like manner the earlier teachings of the Roman Catholic Church developed a scale of values which prepared the way for a consolidated feudalism, and the gradual rise-to-power of the warrior-aristocrat. Today the third estate has lost its sense of sureness; in certain Western countries it has relinquished much of its power. The social movement which gropes instinctively for security and survival demands a greater concentration of political power; this may be inconsistent with democracy and the scale of values vested in the old Bill of Rights. The greater and the more inclusive liberty of the nation upon which the liberty of the individual is dependent seems to require a restriction of the traditional rights proclaimed in the Constitution of the United States. However paradoxical this may appear to be, it is nevertheless understood and made effectual in the gradual restriction, and, in certain countries, the complete nullification of parliamentary powers. Democracy guaranteed life, liberty, property, and the pursuit of happiness, and so long as it proved an effective instrument in the service of these ends it represented a religious ideal fully sanctioned by the Church, most conspicuously by the Protestant half of it. It is no accident that Roman Catholic Italy was the first Western power to place a fascist dictator in control of the state. Liberty of thought and action as sanctified especially by the teaching of the Protestant Church was not present in Italy to obstruct the movement. The Protestant Church in Germany was literally ripped wide open by the conflict between the requirements of socialization *(Gleichschaltung),* as represented by the fascist movement, and the requirements of individualization as represented by the tradition of the Protestant Church with its emphasis upon personal faith as a unique experience within the soul of man. In America, too, the Church is obliged to pull in its far-flung ramifications of separatism, schism, and sect. The consolidation of autonomous churches proceeds apace in the union of separate denominations, in such structures as the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America and in such movements as the Interchurch World Movement. With the measurable achievement of consolidation the Protestant Church in America will exercise a more potent and far-reaching influence. Whether the advantage of the Catholic Church in this respect will be sufficient to effect a unity of Protestant Churches, and revival of influence, without the necessity for indirect political action remains to be seen. In any event, the pressing demand of the day for the re-integration and consolidation of Christianity brings the movement of the culture cycle in the realm of religion to its last great era.

Individualization and the Cultural Movement in Politics

In politics the same movement begins with absolute monarchy and closes with some form of political consolidation which theoretically represents the welfare of the nation. The corresponding intellectual movement of ideas is represented in the work of Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, and Spengler in the order named. Monarchy, which is at first absolute, becomes increasingly circumscribed; it is then called limited monarchy or constitutional monarchy. As limited monarchy gives way to democracy the rights of suffrage are gradually extended until they include both sexes without regard to property qualifications. The differentiation of functional groups of all kinds is greatly stimulated; rural groups may represent huge cotton and tobacco plantations, cattle ranches, diversified agriculture, dairying, wheat, or corn-hog production, and other economic interests. Urban groups represent a greater diversity of interests. These groups are organized for the furtherance of their own special purposes; they participate actively in politics, organize lobbies, and tend to disrupt the balanced equilibrium of social economy. Such voluntary and purposive associations also include various groups of manufacturers, financial interests, laborers, professional organizations, youth movements, aggressive feminism, prohibition, tariff, peace, war, national defense, communism, socialism, syndicalism, and the like. The medley of competing interests is so utterly staggering, the job of maintaining a balanced harmony of interests compatible with democratic principles is so difficult of attainment, the endless clash of bickering voices in halls of legislation, the muddle of endless logrolling, gerrymandering, favoritism and bribery—the waste of time and energy while millions may suffer for lack of bread and work—all of this becomes so manifest that traditional values and historical theories are sometimes forgotten in the clamor for positive action. The critical discussion of democracy becomes increasingly an ethical vindication for a greater concentration of authority.[8] Just so, many years ago, Hobbes developed a theory of the social contract which purported to be a historical statement of the origin of government, but which was in reality an ethical vindication for absolute monarchy.[9] John Locke, shortly afterward, developed a different theory of the social contract which also purported to be descriptively accurate in the historical sense, but which was in reality an ethical vindication of limited or conditional monarchy.[10] Jean Jacques Rousseau, writing still later, made the same mistake;

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[8] Charles Beard, "A Five-Year Plan for America," *The Forum*, July, 1931. Roscoe Pound, Charles Merriam and other American political scientists have also pointed out the current trend toward greater concentration of authority.

[9] Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, London, 1651 and many subsequent editions.

[10] John Locke, *An Essay Concerning the True Original, Extent, and End of Civil Government*, London, 1690.

his written work, however, reflects positively the democratic trend of his time.[11] Oswald Spengler, writing before the World War, definitely prophesied the coming dictatorship, a prophecy partly fulfilled before most people anticipated anything of the kind.[12] But this writer did not confuse his history with his ethical philosophy. The movement in the political realm here outlined reflects the same changing equilibrium between individualization and socialization in the life history of Western culture observed in the religious realm. The gradual development of the power of the state provides the basis in government for a relative stabilization of life which definitely marks the last phase of the cultural cycle. This final stabilization finds a morphological parallelism in the history of ancient civilizations such as India, Egypt, Rome, and China.

Individualization and the Cultural Movement in Economics

The changing form of equilibrium or adjustment of centrifugal and centripetal forces of individualization and socialization is quite as apparent in the economic realm as in the religious and political realms. The Roman Catholic Church, in supporting the divine right of absolute monarchy, emphasized the authoritarian principle. Central state policies of relatively rigid politico-religious control of economic life were a necessary result. With the advent of the aristocratic national state this movement developed into what is known as Mercantilism in Great Britain, and Cameralism on the continent of Europe.[13] The actual administrative practice of such men as Lord William Cecil Burghley was buttressed and vindicated in theory by the work of Thomas Mun, William Petty, and Josiah Child.[14] Richelieu, Mazarin, and Colbert, in the order named, were powerful exponents of Cameralism in France. That both Richelieu and Mazarin were Cardinals is interesting evidence of the close liaison between Church and State in the administration of economic policy. Frederick the Great and his father, Frederick William I, were influential German representatives of Cameralistic theory. In essence Mercantilism and Cameralism mean direct political control of economic life; *laissez faire* and freedom of competition had no place in it. Tariffs, bounties, drawbacks, special patent rights, franchises, government subsidies, protected companies, such as the East India Company, and discriminatory taxes on production were the order of the day. The criterion of this policy was the strength, the self-sufficiency, and the wealth of the state. Interclass mobility was obstructed by the teaching of medieval thinkers who emphasized the hereditary principle. It was taught that men

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[11] Jean Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract,* New York, 1893.

[12] O. Spengler, *Decline of the West,* Vol. I, pp. 37, 38 and table iii; see "The Return of the Caesars," *American Mercury,* February, 1934.

[13] G. von Schmoller, *The Mercantile System,* translated by W. J. Ashley, New York, 1931.

[14] L. H. Haney, *History of Economic Thought,* New York, 1912, pp. 91, 92.

had been placed by God in ranks or orders, each with his own work to do, and each with his own appropriate mode of life. Gain was justified only to the extent that it provided a fit sustenance according to the customary standard which distinguished one social class from another. Ideas of just prices, as well as of fair wages, were determined by this principle. Mercantilism not only justified the appropriation by the state of large revenues above these accepted standards; it also developed an increasingly effective instrumentality for the assessment and collection of these revenues. They were used to build and maintain armies and navies, to wage warfare, to develop colonies, to finance a magnificent royal establishment, and to stimulate industry and commerce for the enrichment and the glory of the state.

But with the breakdown of feudalism, the gradual ascendancy of the middle class, and the trend from sacred to secular authority, Mercantilism and Cameralism gradually gave way to *laissez faire* economics, and freedom of competition. A philosophy of natural rights and natural liberty was slowly substituted for the authoritarian principle. The hereditary doctrine gave way to the idea of equality as interclass mobility was greatly stimulated. Certain theories, such as the divine right of kings, were ridiculed by philosophers; Voltaire was a conspicuous example. The Physiocrats in France were led by men of high calibre, such as Turgot, Quesnay, and the elder Mirabeau. They denounced the old order of things a full half-century before the French Revolution actually occurred. Industry and commerce, they taught, had been unjustly favored at the expense of agriculture, and the strength of the nation was slowly being sapped. Agriculture was the source of all wealth according to these writers and leaders, and it was important therefore to subordinate commerce and industry to agriculture.[15] But this was not the nub of their teaching. The individual was exalted, the state relegated to a diminished rôle of functions. *Laissez faire,* natural rights, and freedom of competition developed into the revolutionary slogans: liberty, fraternity, equality. The Huguenots who supported this movement were recruited mainly from the prosperous, intelligent middle class—the bourgeoisie. In Germany, similar changes in economic life were encouraged and stimulated by the work of Martin Luther and the Protestant reformers. The movement here, however, was retarded by the division of Germany into petty kingdoms. The *Zollverein* which bound seventeen German states in a single customs union, and brought about more favorable conditions for the development of free enterprise in business did not take place until 1834. In England, the essential teaching of the Physiocrats was paralleled in the work of Adam Smith who published his *Wealth of Nations* in 1776. This author, with his successors Thomas Malthus, James Mill, John Stuart Mill, and Herbert Spencer, developed the tradition which is known as the classical school

[15] *Ibid.*, Ch. 9.

of economic theory, and sometimes referred to as the Manchester school. It was conceived that the free-play of individual self-interest resulted in a divine harmony of life, the fulfillment of the nation as well as of the individual. The functions of the state were reduced and restricted accordingly. Ideas in Germany were never developed to this extreme for various historical reasons, but that the spirit of the movement was manifest and effectual is unmistakably clear. It is shown in the work of men like Baron von Stein, who, in 1807, issued the famous edict of emancipation which abolished the institution of serfdom throughout Prussia. Free trade in land was established, and it was now possible to pass land freely from person to person and class to class. Wilhelm von Humboldt, who gave to Prussia the basis of her present common-school system, and to the world the great University of Berlin, belongs to the same period. These far-reaching administrative reforms are linked not only with the social theory which is implied in them, but also with the trend of teaching in German philosophy as represented especially by Fichte, and the idealistic development of thought in the work of Kant, who preceded Fichte, and Schelling and Hegel following him.

Under these influences the Industrial Revolution flowered and flourished. Private profit emerged as the motive to business enterprise, and with it natural science became the handmaiden of the Industrial Revolution. Nations waged war upon each other for colonial aggrandizement, not only to find sources of raw materials, but also markets for manufactured goods. The struggles of Spain, Holland, England, France, and Germany centered increasingly in the control of overseas communications as naval power became the all-important criterion of world leadership. Industry and trade became an obsession to the extent that leading thinkers actually subordinated the moral, religious, and political structure to the economic life. It was thought that the forms of production, distribution, and exchange of wealth actually determined the forms of family life, religion, law, politics, government, and morality. Achille Loria, Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and Ferdinand Lassalle developed an economic interpretation of history with correlative doctrines of the class struggle, surplus value, and cataclysmic theory of social change. History was rewritten from this standpoint, until practically every important work of this kind received the stamp of the economic interpretation. The socialistic, and the trade-union movements found these doctrines very convenient, and, as the influence of these organizations upon public life and action increased in power, the state found it necessary and desirable to enact protective legislation for the benefit of the wage earner. Suffrage was extended, free public education provided, child labor laws, workmen's compensation laws, and social insurance laws were passed; trusts and monopolies were regulated or outlawed, taxes levied upon incomes, and public utilities supervised, or purchased and managed by the state. It became evident that a kind of "neo-mercantilism" had come back to life again as the

state concerned itself increasingly with matters of public health and sanitation, education, agriculture, industry and commerce. But this neo-mercantilism is not to be confused with the Mercantilism of Burghley and Colbert; it is different in several important particulars. The series of factory laws enacted in England in the course of the nineteenth century did not seriously infringe upon the rights of private ownership and management of the means of production any more than the social insurance legislation sponsored by Prince Bismarck in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, freedom of contract was circumscribed, and every time the state passed a minimum wage law, an hours of labor law, or a woman's labor law, this same freedom of contract was further restricted.

Individualization in the Family

Meanwhile, the spirit of freedom and the consequent individualization of interest and differentiation of structure which accumulated increasing momentum from the time of the Renaissance entered into the most intimate relations of life—the relations between the sexes and the relations between parents and children. The free and equal right of the wife in relation to her husband over matters of property ownership, inheritance, divorce, control of children, occupational and professional choice of career, education, and suffrage was registered in one statute after another. Marriage ceased to be a sacrament administered by the church as it became increasingly a contract regulated by the state. Feminism, woman's rights, and increasing rate of divorce accompanied these changes. The prerogatives of parenthood were circumscribed by a series of laws as responsibility for the health, morality, and education of the child was assumed by the state. It is unmistakably clear that the process of secularization which resulted first in the substitution of the secular state for the religious state, became manifest also in the secularization of law, education, marriage, parenthood, and morality. Thus it is evident that the secular state is concerned not merely with the regulation of economic life, and the restriction of freedom of contract in matters of business, but that it is also equally and vitally concerned with the regulation of education, health, marriage, parenthood, and morality. That the prohibition movement carried this principle to an unwarranted and undesirable extreme has been fully demonstrated by repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Neo-mercantilism is a misnomer, for the modern secular state is a general as well as a primary agency of social control.

The Current Scene of Social and Political Action

The cultural cycle enters its last major phase as the economic side of Western civilization becomes relatively stabilized under the direct leader-

the instrumentality of National Socialism as in Germany; Fascism, as in Italy; or the New Deal, as in the United States, is a matter of secondary significance. The right of labor to strike for "any reason or no reason whatever" is not compatible with the public interest and accordingly it is not generally recognized.[16] Also, the right of private property to manipulate the commodity and the security exchanges in its own interest is equally incompatible with the public interest. This applies also to the organization of holding companies, the issuance of capital shares, and the free production of economic goods. Private profit ceases to be an exclusive incentive to business enterprise. The reorganization of like industrial units into codes or syndicates is accompanied with restrictions on output and on new investment of capital, as well as with the regulation of hours of work, wages, and the conditions of employment. Labor is organized vertically as distinguished from the horizontal organization of labor illustrated in the American Federation of Labor. This vertical type of organization facilitates government control and restricts the liberties of owners as well as of workers. With this type of organization as an instrument, a Mussolini finds it possible to effect a general reduction of production costs by lowering wages and prices, thereby strengthening his competitive position for drawing foreign trade. Freedom of contract tends to become an anachronism. Moreover, it is now possible for the state to establish a more desirable balance between industry and agriculture. The state assumes responsibility not only for the direction of its natural and capital resources, but also for its human resources. Organization of syndicates and codes for the regulation of the productive enterprise of the nation favors the enactment of job insurance, bank deposit insurance, and many other measures designed to protect the security of the common man. The hectic struggle for competitive economic advantage becomes transformed into a struggle for political preferment as a man's badge of honor is shifted from his bank-roll to his service in behalf of the state.

This state of affairs does not come about by chance. A series of related circumstances makes it a necessary condition of cultural integrity and collective security. The high premium upon capital shares results in oversaving, oversaving causes overinvestment, overinvestment stimulates overproduction, with the consequence that markets tend to be glutted. As prices fall the revenue producing power of business is not adequate to meet obligations; credits are frozen and unemployment is widespread. The rhythmic form of this movement is known as the business cycle. Accumulation of countless deposits in savings banks provides a basis for the reckless extension

[16] This became dramatically evident in the state of Ohio in the course of a series of sit-down strikes organized by the Committee for Industrial Organization (C.I.O.) during the summer of 1937. Governor Davey first called out troops to protect the strikers, but when public opinion reached the conclusion that the function of government in protecting the right to work is more important than safeguarding the right to strike, the governor reversed his policy.

of credit which contributes to the lack of adjustment between productive capacity and purchasing power. Banks flounder as business is unable to pay interest and principal on loans, and the savings of millions are jeopardized. The exportation of capital goods gives to backward countries the means of supplying their own demand for manufactured goods. In these circumstances increased economy of production by invention of labor-saving devices tends to throw workers out of employment. Foreign loans in unprecedented sums cannot be paid except in goods which are not permitted to pass high tariff walls. Hitherto backward countries are able to compete advantageously with the advanced industrial nations of the West for foreign markets because of low wage standards and depreciated currencies. Exchanges are disorganized as nations repudiate the gold standard in order to conserve their supplies of the precious metal. Stabilization funds and open-market purchases of gold at artificial prices are manipulated for the purpose of protecting gold reserves, as well as for the purpose of drawing foreign trade by lowering the exchange value of the monetary unit. The fixation of import quotas, taxable import licenses, and tariff duties reduces international trade to the level of barter, for now nations will not purchase from abroad unless they are guaranteed an equivalent sale of surplus goods made at home. National economy tends to become self-sufficient as the dependence upon external markets is corrected by internal measures. Protection of the small depositor, the free exchange of commodities within the state, and the maintenance of mass purchasing power now call for heroic measures on the part of the state. Hence the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Agricultural Adjustment Act, National Industrial Recovery Act, Emergency Relief Administration, Public Works Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, Civil Works Administration, Farm Credit Administration, Home Owners and Farm Mortgage laws, National Securities Act, Deposit Insurance Law, Social Security Act, and many similar enactments. Not one of these laws deals with economic matters in an exclusive sense.[17]

It is thus seen that the religious, political, and economic aspects of Western culture have passed through closely parallel phases of individualization and socialization. In the course of this evolution the dynamic energy of a culture is released in process of creative achievement. Some of the parallel developments in law, morality, education, the family, science, and art have been suggested, but the similar detailed analysis of each of these aspects of the common life is reserved for subsequent treatment.

Problem Questions

1. If it is true that the individual is a product of society—socialization—is it more or less true that society is a product of distinguished leadership—individualization?

[17] Beard and Smith, *The Future Comes, A Study of the New Deal*, New York, 1933.

2. Did the individual precede society in the order of evolutionary development or did society precede the individual?

3. Feral man is defined as a member of the human species who never had the opportunity of establishing normal contacts and relationships with others of his kind. How would you expect Feral man to differ from a normal person? (See Park and Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 239 *et seq.*)

4. Is modern society in America more or less tolerant of extreme variation in belief and purpose than colonial society in the time of Benjamin Franklin?

5. Is unqualified tolerance a virtue? If not, where would you draw the line between bigotry and tolerance?

6. What were the characteristic traits of the early medieval peasant? How were these traits created?

7. Answer similar questions for the warrior-aristocrat, the priest, and the tycoon of modern industry.

8. Is there any relationship (1) between the ethic of Catholicism and the spirit of Feudalism, (2) between the ethic of Protestantism and the spirit of Capitalism?

9. Is it true that the type of successful leadership is conditioned by the utilitarian requirements of collective security and survival? Entirely so?

10. Is the popular type of hero of the present hour a great military leader, a great religious leader, a great industrial leader, a great political leader, a great intellectual leader, or a synthetic combination of two or more of these types?

11. The processes of socialization are manifestly given a stronger emphasis in Germany and Italy than in England and the United States. Has this always been so? How do you account for these differences?

12. Is the selection of leaders guided consistently by rational judgment and utilitarian consideration of the greatest good of the whole? Is is accidental?

13. Does a dynamic culture in the course of development create its own conditions of effective leadership? If so, what are these conditions in the early, middle and late periods of the culture?

14. Contrast the Forgotten Man of Franklin D. Roosevelt with the Forgotten Man of W. G. Sumner. (See W. G. Sumner, *War and Other Essays,* Chs. 11 and 12.)

15. Consider the rôle of tradition in the effectual discipline and training of leaders. Did the early priesthood have such a tradition? The early nobility? The clergy of the Protestant Church? The leaders of industrial and commercial enterprise? The Russian and German armies? The American Civil Service? The English and French Civil Service?

16. Does the more or less anonymous and disorganized mass of men and women possess a tradition? Does this part of society ever play a significant rôle in the selection of leaders?

17. What are the characteristics of democratic man in a democratic state? (See H. L. Mencken, *Notes on Democracy,* Ch. 1.)

Suggestions for Additional Reading

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7

SUPERORDINATION AND SUBORDINATION

IT HAS BEEN shown that invention and imitation, conflict and co-operation, individualization and socialization are universal aspects of the social process. Wherever and whenever men and women are congregated in groups of one type or another there is evident an exchange of feelings and ideas, communication, stimulation and response, human interaction. This reciprocal exchange of desires and interests may take the form of invention and imitation, conflict and co-operation, or individualization and socialization. These aspects of the social process have been abstracted from the total actuality to provide an intelligible method of analysis and description. The universality of these aspects is precisely the reason for their scientific value. It is a method, therefore, which holds in all time and in all place so long as we are dealing with human situations.

RECAPITULATION

It has also been shown that these processes never occur in a moral or mental or emotional vacuum; they are definitely conditioned by the cultural medium in which human individuals live their lives. This cultural medium is never entirely static. It is in continuous flux. The condition of movement may be revolutionary or evolutionary; it may be a highly stabilized and a more or less stagnant condition or it may be highly unsettled, tense with uncertainty, and latent with creative or explosive possibilities. In any case it is orderly, for even explosions have their antecedents and their consequences, often far-reaching. This *orderliness* in the process of social change is exactly the reason for drawing our attention toward the rhythmic nature of the movement. Rhythm is the very essence of change.[1] Inasmuch, therefore, as we are bound to consider the social processes of human interaction in time and place as occurring within a cultural milieu of ideas and feelings,

[1] F. H. Giddings has summarized the principle of rhythm as follows: "Social activities are periodic. Harvests and food supplies are alternately abundant and meagre. Exchanges, in fairs and markets, are rhythmical, and the balance of international trade is ever changing; prices rise and fall. Industrial depressions alternate with periods of industrial prosperity. The tide of immigration rises and falls. War and peace, conservatism and liberalism, alternate. Religion, morals, philosophy, science, literature, art, and fashion are all subject to the law of rhythm." *Principles of Sociology*, New York, 1916, p. 370. Reprinted with permission from The Macmillan Co.

and not in some metaphysical sense as if these processes had any meaning or existence apart from the historical actuality, the analysis of the social process must be supplemented with a corollary method. While these two methods are in essence one method of sociological study because of their interrelation and interdependence, it becomes desirable to make a distinction in intellectual terms for the purpose of clarity. No steady path to progress is supposed in this procedure. The so-called laws of progress, the assumed inherent urge to perfection are interesting concepts which played their part and had their day in eighteenth and nineteenth century thought when the cultural situation was favorable to the development of ideas of this kind.[2] These concepts have no ultimate or absolute validity. They represent a *Weltanschauung* which is relative to the *Zeitgeist.* An objective sociology weans itself at least to some extent from the dominating and characteristic beliefs of a particular historical epoch. And this is accomplished by means of the corollary method of analysis in terms of the cultural cycle. The continuous social processes are manifest in the changing patterns of the cultural organism as it moves from early Springtime to late Winter, from birth to death. This does not mean that people cease to live where once there were flourishing industries, a prosperous countryside, and populous cities. It may be necessary to repeat that the cultural organism is a mental and moral, that is to say a spiritual phenomenon, and not a physical phenomenon. The meaning intended is that the life cycle of a culture is completed in due time, that a world ferment, a politically active and dominating spirit, a creative achievement which culminates in the development of new and distinctive forms of science, philosophy, and art runs its natural course. Inasmuch as the civilizations of ancient India, China, Arabia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome are identified with distinct periods of human history, it is possible to chart the rise and the fall of these great cultures.[3] Western Europe and America are no exception to the rule.

Sociological Method Corrects the Cultural Bias

The conflicts of cultures may throw a particular movement off its natural course—pseudo-morphosis; it may be completely suppressed or sharply deviated. Moreover, there are accretions and accumulations of the old which are carried over into the new and adapted to it. Moonlight civilizations such as the Carthaginian, which reflected the Arabian culture, and the Japanese, which first reflected the Chinese and now reflects the European, come and

[2] Condorcet is an example. According to this writer history is continuous progress toward the goal of human perfectibility. The human race, having passed through nine successive epochs of steady progress, will continue to march forward toward its goal of "perfection." See Flint, *History of the Philosophy of History,* New York, 1894, p. 327 *et seq.*

[3] See charts in Spengler's *The Decline of the West, op. cit.* The span of the culture cycle according to this author approximates 1200-1400 years. The Western European movement started about the year 1000 A.D.

go. It is possible, also, to distinguish secondary and tertiary rhythms which occur within the major movement. Thousands of new and special studies now arise within the vista of sociological study. The unit of consideration is the major culture cycle and all of the former problems are given a setting which is more real, more fruitful, richer by far in the possibilities of human understanding and social control than any previous method of analysis. A new level of detachment and a broader perspective of observation is realized in a way that brings ancient achievement within the range of vital interest in contemporary problems; and this holds true regardless of the phase of the cycle with which these problems are associated. It breaks down barriers of ignorance and misinterpretation due to the prevailing misapprehension of the cultural bias, and it avoids a thousand pitfalls and errors which are easily traceable to this bias.

There are other universal aspects or forms of the social process which remain to be considered. This chapter is devoted to a consideration of superordination and subordination, a type of relationship which is as universally general as invention and imitation, conflict and co-operation, individualization, and socialization.

Staff and Line Organization of Domination and Obedience

In all society, individuals are arranged in orders or ranks. Superordination and subordination are clearly illustrated in a military structure in which the range of distinction in status varies all the way from the private in the ranks to the commanding officer in supreme authority. The colonel in charge of a regiment who takes orders from his superior officer is responsible in turn for translating these orders to his subordinates. A captain in charge of a company takes orders from his major in charge of a battalion, while first and second lieutenants in turn take orders from their captain. Expert engineers, intelligence bureaus, and the like provide the supreme command with important advisory information invaluable in the determination of plans, strategy and decision. The line and staff organization here illustrated is a structure of *überordnung und unterordnung* in which the concentration and distribution of responsibility is related functionally to quick decision and effective co-operative action.

Now this type of human relationship is inherent in all sorts of situations. It is by no means confined to the army, even though the rigidity of structure is more conspicuous, and the margin of individual freedom less noticeable than it is in other types of social structure, as for instance, the church, the state, industry, the family, and education. Nevertheless, it is evident enough that responsibility and authority are concentrated and distributed in each of these structures, and that the relationships of superordination and subordination are characteristic of each.

Common-human and Circumscribed Relations

The common-human relationships of individuals stand in marked contrast to the military type of structure; instead of the noticeable rigidity and small margin of freedom characteristic of the latter one finds the greatest possible liberty of movement. Circumscribed relations stand more or less in opposition to the common-human relations. The latter are strengthened or weakened, made or broken, intensified or diluted, according to the free choice and the free desire of those immediately concerned. Human nature and experience place limits upon the freedom of choice and desire of individuals, but this kind of limitation is qualitatively different from the limitation imposed by a religious hierarchy, a bureaucracy, a line and staff organization of rights and duties definitely fixed and rigidly enforced as in industry or in an army. Nevertheless, the relationship of inferiority and superiority quickly asserts itself even in the simplest and the most elastic of common-human relations. The stronger of two individuals may find superiority of physical strength a sufficient sanction for domination; but the sanction may also be superior knowledge, intellectual subtlety, superior skill in games or in work, or a dozen other qualities and combinations thereof. If the relationship of superordination and subordination is indeterminate because of a conflict in values of mutual recognition, this conflict produces a condition of instability and uncertainty in the relationship. The relationship is bound to cool and break unless the indeterminate condition is resolved in favor of one value or the other. And this of course is only one way of saying that a relationship of superordination and subordination, of obedience and command, becomes clarified in the common-human as well as the circumscribed relationships of life.

It is often assumed in discussions of social and political theory that men are created free and equal, and that the relations of domination and submission do not exist, except insofar as a higher authority, such as church or state, is responsible for fixing them.[4] Such high authorities do of course circumscribe the relations of life and assume responsibility for maintaining a system of superordination and subordination; but it does not follow by any means that men and women are free and equal in the sense that they do not dominate each other in the common-human relationships. Institutions and laws develop from folkways and mores; the circumscribed relationships of life develop of necessity from the common-human relationships of life. If the former imply a condition of domination and submission it is because this same condition is inherent and implicit in the latter. It may be neither

[4] These assumptions are characteristic of the work of Rousseau and his followers. The opening sentence in the first chapter of the *Social Contract, op. cit.*, reads: "Man is born free, and he is everywhere in chains." In *Émile* he states, "Everything is good as it comes from the hands of the Author of Nature; but everything degenerates in the hands of man." Translated by W. H. Payne, New York, 1892, p. 1.

desirable nor possible to exercise physical force in the common-human relationships; but this does not mean that the flow of obedience and command is equal and reciprocal in the sense that one person exercises no more influence over a second person than the second does over the first. It may be stated that there is no such thing as freedom and equality; that all men are born unfree and unequal, and the student of sociology will understand precisely the meaning that is intended. A human relationship is reciprocal; A controls B and B controls A. People may not stand over each other like ironhanded taskmasters; the word is not necessarily the law. Moral persuasion, and even artful deception, may be the means of establishing a desired superiority. Self-deception too may play its part, for an individual who is dominated may be led to believe that he is playing a superior rôle. In any case there is a qualitative distinction between the control of A over B and the control of B over A. This distinction rests upon differences in personal powers according to an accepted scale of values with the result that a tentative condition of domination and submission is established. And this in turn provides a basis for orderly relations, division of labor, emotional stability, and group cohesion. Nothing can be more apparent in the more or less wild and random movements of a disorganized mob, as for instance the passengers on a sinking ocean liner, than the dependence of the safety and security of the individuals upon an accepted command. The more or less instinctive human groping for leadership in authority may be and often is a pitiful spectacle. Answer to the need may be prompt and clear, or it may be vague, confused, and long delayed. The crew of the sinking *Titanic* did not know how to handle the lifeboats; there had been no safety drills or rehearsals; the seriousness of the collision with a floating iceberg was realized all too slowly; the ship was considered invulnerable; the wireless operator of a nearby vessel was asleep at his board when the SOS was sent out; rockets were fired high in the air within observation range of the nearest vessel, but to no avail. The results are history.[5]

Selection and the Accepted Scale of Values

The significant matter for the student of social structures and social processes is the scale of values which controls the appreciation or the depreciation of certain human powers and human traits, and which, therefore, also controls the selection of individuals for the rôles of domination and submission. This scale of values may be based upon the consideration of racial differences, and thus explain the greater frequency of members of one race than members of another race in rising to positions of distinction and domination. It may be based upon certain combinations of traits and apti-

[5] H. W. Baldwin, "R.M.S. Titanic," *Harper's*, January, 1934.

tudes which are requisite to the successful rise-to-power in military, religious, industrial, financial, or intellectual circles. An analysis of the desired and necessary human qualities in each case would point out very marked differences.

The controlling scale of values which concerns the differences between the sexes explains in part the division of labor and the corresponding selection for authority. An excellent discussion of this theme may be found in Mathias and Mathilde Vaerting's book entitled *The Dominant Sex.*[6] While these authors carry their thesis to an unwarranted extreme, the principle here set forth is greatly clarified. The relations of domination and submission between the sexes is, according to these authors, entirely a function of the current standards of value. Ideals of masculinity and femininity, the womanly woman and the manly man, vary greatly in quality and intensity. Women are dominant in the "woman's state," men are dominant in the "man's state," and the historical rôle of each swings like a pendulum from one extreme to another according to the Vaertings. Cases are cited of the former in which the housework is performed by the husband, who also takes care of the children; he is more restricted in his relations with the opposite sex; he strives to appear beautiful and attractive by permitting his hair to grow long, and in various other ways obviously characteristic of women in the man's state. Meanwhile the responsibility for economic support is assumed by the female whose preferred selection for leadership in church, state, education, and industry completely shifts the conventional status of *überordnung und unterordnung* as most people look upon it today. The conclusion is drawn that this rôle is controlled entirely by the current standard of values which shifts with the rhythmic movement of the culture. Biological differences have nothing whatever to do with the relative status of the sexes and the distribution of authority among them from this point of view. That there is considerable substantial truth in this general thesis is all too evident in the civilized world today. The vital question is the social division of duties of the sexes in the historical movement of the culture and, accordingly, the survival or extinction of a race and the culture which it represents. It is no accident that the reaction against liberal, democratic notions of sex relations is strong, and, as some say, "medieval." The hard facts are plain: a race of people may be increasing in number, diminishing in number, or just holding its own. Increasing emphasis upon the "sacred" liberty and equality of the individual has resulted in diminished births, increased divorces, and unstable family life. Other factors, such as modern industrialism, complicate the situation. Nevertheless it is clear that the nineteenth and twentieth century movement toward equality of sexes

[6] Mathilde and Mathias Vaerting, *The Dominant Sex,* translated by Eden and Cedar Paul, New York, 1923, Chs. 1, 2, 3, 18.

has gradually set up a new scale of values with regard to the division of labor of the sexes, and in many individual cases the conventional distribution of authority and obedience has been completely reversed. The marriage law of the new fascist state of Italy provides ample guarantee against such reversal of rôles and aims to stimulate a higher birth rate. Writers in many countries of the Western world are calling attention to the dangers of feminism and race suicide. In Germany the individualistic, liberal-democratic movement has run its course and new ideals of marriage and the family have taken the place of the old. These ideals also aim to re-establish the traditional division of labor between the sexes and to stimulate the birth rate.

It is very evident that the shifting standards of excellence control the relation between the sexes, and that these standards are social rather than strictly biological. Nevertheless, this biological factor is not to be ignored. Men are not equipped to bear and suckle children, and no amount of democratic legislation can change this fact. Likewise, there are emotional and mental differences between the sexes which make the mother more apt in early discipline and moral training of the child. Her sympathetic sensibilities are the deciding factor in this connection. The Vaertings do not appear to recognize these differences, and their treatment of the problem must therefore be regarded as inadequate. It is recognized, however, that the cultural evolution of a people implies a certain regularity of change in the respective domination and submission of the sexes.

Modern Tendencies and the *Patria Potestas*

It has been demonstrated without a remnant of doubt that all great cultures emerge into the dawn of day with a strong patriarchal form of organization. This has been shown with respect to the Arabs, Greeks, Romans, Egyptians, Indians, and Chinese; and the Western Europeans are no exceptions. If it is true that some writers have attributed the decline of Greece and Rome to the gradual disintegration and demoralization of family life, similar explanation also has a basis in fact for earlier civilizations, such as the Egyptian, as well as later civilizations, such as the Western European and American. The moral instability of the family today is not only reflected in political and civic equality of the sexes, in woman suffrage, increased competition of the sexes in practically all professions, and many occupations, not to speak of a variety of other influences centering in art and the press, all of which lead to confusion with respect to the acceptable rôle of each sex. Any one who doubts that the principles of unrestricted liberty and equality are destructive in the long run must shut his eyes to the obvious facts. It is all very well for an artist and scholar such as Joseph Wood Krutch to say that he would rather die like a man than live like an

animal. If the intellectual and aesthetic tendencies of a civilized society are racially, and therefore also culturally, destructive, the desire of the gifted individual nevertheless remains imperious, pessimistic nihilism notwithstanding, according to this brilliant and fascinating writer. But the cultural evolution does not follow either the desire or the command of a gifted few, however great this influence may be; it follows its own inherent law in realization of its own destiny. The true leaders, men of destiny, will battle for the power and supremacy of a race, and the culture with which it is identified.

The patriarchal structure of the family in the early culture period is no static condition. The liberating influences we call the Renaissance, Reformation, Industrial Revolution, and Democracy react upon the status of the sexes as well as upon all of the other relationships of life. In the Western world this movement reached a high climax in the work of Henrik Ibsen, particularly in the character of Nora in the drama, *A Doll's House*.[7] Woman is here conceived as the equal competitor of man in all of the vocations and avocations of life; children, husband and home are matters of secondary concern.

However, the historical rôle of domination and submission is never completely reversed. Some women may accept high political office, and even show some aptitude in the world of public affairs. The reaction to this situation, however, is sharp and strong under the leadership of men like Benito Mussolini and Adolf Hitler. That similar voices, though not so strong, are heard in other countries of the Western world still nominally dominated by the liberal, democratic tradition is unmistakably clear. Men and women who have learned to love the beautiful creation of science, religion, philosophy, and art simply cannot be indifferent to the backwash of these same influences when they threaten the very life of society. For the creator is himself first created and society is greater than any single individual; the culture transcends the artist however great the latter's contribution may have been. The process of *gleichschaltung* in Germany can only be understood from this point of view. Likewise anti-Semitism, which has an analogy in American history in the rise of the Ku Klux Klan after the collapse of the South following the Civil War. No impartial observer can deny that the equalitarian legislation of Congress at the time of the second invasion threatened to destroy the Southern white man's control of his own future. Carpet-baggers, and black and tan legislatures, very nearly destroyed the South, and extra-legal methods of liberation and control were developed quite effectively when legal methods proved futile. These "extra-legal" methods are still in force in the form of suffrage legislation restricting the Negro's right to vote.

[7] Henrik Ibsen, *A Doll's House*, translated by William Archer, collected works, New York, 1908, Vol. VII.

Human Traits and Ruling Classes

The ascendancy of the priesthood, the warrior class of landed nobility, the middle class of merchant princes and capitalist manufacturers and, later, bureaucratic officialdom is, each in turn, identified with an appropriate scale of values. In each case this scale of values is in part the creation of the class concerned, since it strengthens, solidifies, and guarantees the domination and power of that class. It is quite as important to point out, however, that the scale of values is selective in the sense that men of certain quality are drawn into the particular class for which their traits are especially fitted. Men who love the field of battle to vindicate honor with the means of physical violence are not drawn into the priesthood; the reflective, scholarly type of sedentary recluse does not make a good soldier. Men who scorn the subtlety, indirectness and shrewdness of competitors in an open market for trade are not drawn into commerce and industry. The capitalist manufacturer is not selected for the qualities that make for success in the secluded cloister, the field of battle, or the administrative office with its desks and swivel chairs, its filing cabinets, reports of experts, endless records, and departments of legal aid. The effeminate type of male is not selected for the rôle of bold and masculine self-assertion any more than the dominating masculine type is selected to play a part which requires a high development of sympathetic and ethical sensibilities.

The Physiognomy of Culture

These ruling classes play their part, have their day of glory and power in the course of the cultural cycle. The political and social philosophy of Herbert Spencer had very little place for the militarist or the bureaucrat; he provided plenty of room for the capitalist manufacturer and the merchant prince. But Herbert Spencer was influenced profoundly by ideas and values which naturally responded to the Industrial Revolution; for him industrial society was ideal; military or bureaucratic society was anathema.[8] The priest and the noble are first to appear upon the scene of action, the bureaucrat, and his trust of brains appears last, merchant prince and capitalist manufacturer follow the priest and noble, preceding the brain-trusting administrator. But these events are more than historical for the society of Western Europe and America. They represent morphological parallelisms which portray the sequence of events in the history of other civilizations. There are qualitative differences to be sure. It is not as if the unfolding of a culture were like a cinema, precisely the same in all respects every time it is produced. Each culture has a meaning, a significance, a distinctive character

[8] According to Spencer compulsory co-operation is characteristic of military society; voluntary co-operation is characteristic of industrial society. See Bristol, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

which makes it a thing apart. If the Greeks have nowhere been excelled in sculpture, the Germans have nowhere been surpassed in music and philosophy. If in the ancient Magian world the priest was more influential than the warrior noble, the respective rôles of these classes were reversed in the ancient Greek world as well as in Western Europe. The tombs, temples, and pyramids of the ancient Egyptians appear to symbolize a great passion for immortality. Not so the Greeks who were much more concerned with perfection of form and enjoyment of life in the immediate present. The Arabs created intricate mosaic patterns and a type of architecture which appear to symbolize the unfathomable mystery of all things. This spirit may perhaps explain the more influential character of domination of the aristocratic priesthood among the Arabs. The science, the philosophy, and the art of the Western European suggest a great longing to unravel all mysteries, to bring all powers to the service of man, to conquer the infinite. And this spirit, symbolized in a great variety of forms of creative achievement, may explain why the man of action, the aristocratic warrior won a decisive victory over the aristocratic priest. It is the spirit of a culture which is distinctive and the forms of creative achievement are symbolic of the spirit.

The Warrior Noble and His Scale of Values

Every culture has received its first great impress of spirit from an aristocratic priesthood. This has been conclusively demonstrated to hold true for the Egyptians, Arabs, Chinese, Indians, Greeks, Romans, and Western Europeans. The Christianization of Western Europe under the influence of the Roman Church firmly established the power of the priesthood. For the Church acquired great lands, built schools, churches, monasteries and hospitals, created a pattern of morality and folk-belief, developed a system of philosophic thought and social control that is called *Scholasticism*. Without this great and far-reaching socializing influence, the feudalism of early Europe could never have been stabilized. If the priest was indebted to the noble, the noble in turn had much reason to feel grateful to the priest. But as the religious hierarchy was established and the Church consolidated its power, the type of quality represented by priest on the one hand and noble on the other stood in sharper contradistinction. The warrior noble was a man of action. He loved the field of battle for the occasion it offered to vindicate his honor, to sense his physical powers. Courage, loyalty, courtesy, generosity, and chivalry were ideals of a class of knights, gentlemen and warriors. They created for themselves a scale of values, a code of ethics by which the quality of men was tested on the field of play as well as on the field of battle. So far as physical sustenance was concerned, they lived on the products of the toil of others and manual labor was scorned accordingly.

The virtues of the dominated classes stood in marked contradistinction. For them humility, industry, duty, obedience, piety were demanded. And this dualism of values growing out of the distinction of classes with their respective rôles of domination and submission is in all likelihood the origin of good and bad, of noble and base.[9] The values of the knightly aristocrat are based essentially upon an overwhelming consciousness of physical powers, a rich and overflowing healthiness that far exceeds what is necessary for maintaining life. And this healthiness and consciousness of physical power maintains itself on war, the tourney, adventure, the chase, the dance, everything that is contained in strong, free and joyous action.

The Priest and His Scale of Values

The standards of excellence of the priestly aristocrat are otherwise. The power of the word is substituted for the power of the sword; a word which may suggest the intimate interdependence of the two classes. Accordingly, the priest is not so much a man of action as a man of thought, for whom the powers of mental subtlety, indirection, and moral persuasion far transcend the means of physical violence in importance. For the priestly class is self-constituted authority for answer to all of the great questions of life: the origin and destiny of man, the nature of good and evil, the way to salvation, the origin and nature of truth, the purpose of life. Moreover, this class is the custodian of the sacred, supernatural power itself, or objects and persons endowed with supernatural power. And it is this authority which gives the priest the exclusive right to deal with the hidden, occult, mysterious, necromantic, and supernatural forces of nature. Here we see the secret of his great control over the feelings, desires and behavior of men. For he is able not only to inspire men with a feeling of reverence and awe; he threatens with dire consequences those who do not recognize his authority. It is easy to say that the fear and ignorance of the mass of men is the only ultimate basis for this authority. It is more important, however, to state that hope, faith, cheer, and courage have filled the hearts of men through the exercise of this authority. For the Church brought its high blessing upon those values without which the life of the common man could hardly have been endured: docility, forgiveness, obedience, industry, piety and humility—qualities which created a social division of labor upon which the stability of society was dependent at the time. In this way the priest made his contribution to feudalism, since the scale of values essential to serfdom was sanctified by the Church. But this was not the only contribution: philosophy, science and art were positively encouraged. The teacher, the scholar, the artist, and the scientist are the direct lineal, spiritual descend-

[9] F. Nietzsche, *The Genealogy of Morals*, translated by H. B. Samuel, New York, no date given, pp. 1-39.

ants of the aristocratic priesthood however loathe they may be to admit it at the present time. Mind and spirit, the quest for truth, devotion to inspiring ideals, such as the freedom of the human spirit, and the sacrifice of self for the happiness of others, are qualities which have distinguished the priest in the past and created for himself and his spiritual descendants a scale of values which stands in marked contradistinction to the values which characterized the warrior noble or his dependent serfs. This quality too reveals a will to rule, not by physical might, but by the superiority of mind and spirit. First and second estates, the castle and the cathedral, have played their far-reaching rôles in a similar manner in all of the great cultures of history.

The Ethic of Protestantism and the Spirit of Capitalism

The type of character nurtured by the aristocratic priesthood had much to do with the Protestant revolt against the absolute authority of the Roman Church. Luther, Calvin, Knox, Zwingli, and their associates were men of high calibre, devoted as were their predecessors to the quest for truth, and the freedom of the human spirit. They, however, modified the dominant scale of values in very important particulars. The effects were far-reaching, involving the total structure of life. Middle class virtues of thrift, sobriety, industry, prudence, frugality, self-denial and the avoidance of luxury were emphasized. The salvation of the individual by grace, a free gift of God, was the very essence of Protestant theology. Since the witness of the spirit was the voice of God within the soul of man the authoritarianism of the Church was definitely challenged. The individual was now encouraged to read his own Bible, and to make the discovery of salvation a matter of personal experience. Protestantism was centrifugal since the individualism of the movement encouraged the endless multiplication and diversification of denominations, sects and cults. It was obviously instrumental in preparing the way for democracy, and the rise-to-power of the merchant prince, and the capitalist manufacturer. Just as the priesthood of the early Church was closely linked with the domination of the landed nobility, so now the Protestant clergy was allied with commercialism and industrialism. The breach between civil and ecclesiastical authority slowly developed to the point where the Church was forced to take more seriously and literally the teaching that the Kingdom of God is not of this world. Meanwhile the scale of values of the reformers laid the foundation for the development of capitalism.[10] For thrift, frugality, industry, sobriety, self-denial, and the avoidance of extravagant expenditure and self-indulging luxury to the point where pleasure was regarded as a vice were precisely the qualities necessary

[10] Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism*, translated by Talcott Parsons, New York, 1930.

to the accumulation of wealth. And the extent of the accumulation was regarded as a fair measure of the virtue. Considered from a social or collective standpoint, the qualities now emphasized meant an unprecedented rate of increase in the multiplication of capital, cultivation of respect for honest labor, and a rapid industrial development. Invention was stimulated since it gave increased opportunity for the investment of capital; the rights of property, particularly in capital goods as distinguished from real estate, were protected by law. Whereas formerly the acceptance of interest for loans of money was considered dishonorable, and prohibited by laws governing usury, now the practice was approved by custom and morality as well as by law. For the Puritan under Cromwell contributed to the overthrow of the old order of things centered in the authoritarian state by acceptance and emphasis upon the rights of private conscience and salvation by grace, and grace alone. The similarity of meaning of Pythagoras, Cromwell, and Mohammed, each for his respective culture, has been unravelled in illuminating detail by Oswald Spengler in *The Decline of the West.*[11] The Puritan thus prepared the way for the ultimate triumph of democracy, industrialism and commercialism in the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688. The new respectability, high standard of comfort, worldly success, social leadership, and political power of the middle class did not harmonize too well with certain aspects of Calvinism, for instance, frugality, simplicity, and the ascetic virtues. It seemed to appear that a man's very virtue was the instrument of his damnation; but this contradiction of spirit and teaching did not interfere perceptibly with the rise-to-power of the bourgeoisie.[12] The third estate firmly established its right to rule, and at the same time created a new class alignment in which the so-called fourth estate, the proletariat, provided an opposing force.

Democracy—Rise and Decline

Democracy, individualism, and the physical science which gave ever new means of exploiting the forces of nature, and stimulated ever new desires as it offered the means of satisfying them, created an increasingly complex order of political and economic life. The mass of men demanded suffrage rights regardless of property qualifications. Women demanded the right to vote together with equality of economic opportunity. And since industrialism had found it convenient to employ women in rapidly increasing number these demands appeared reasonable. Labor organized and demanded protection not only by the method of collective bargaining, but also by the method of legal enactment. Accordingly there occurred a rapid development of trade unionism on the one hand, and labor legislation on the other

[11] O. Spengler, *The Decline of the West, op. cit.*, Vol. I, Ch. 9.
[12] von Wiese and Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 635 *et seq.*

hand. Child labor laws, workmen's compensation laws, social insurance, factory sanitation, health and safety laws, contributed to the rapid development of bureaucratic officialdom. The tendency toward monopolistic control of natural resources and public utilities required legislation to guarantee the freedom of competition. This legislation only diverted the form of the movement; it did not change the reality since holding companies, amalgamations, mergers, interlocking directorates, and gentlemen's agreements were easily substituted for the trusts outlawed by the Sherman anti-trust laws. Socialism, communism, and later fascism appeared upon the scene of public action. The state directed its attention not only to matters pertaining to big business, but also to health and housing, education and recreation, child welfare and infant welfare, the conservation of human resources as well as natural resources, public works, unemployment insurance, emergency relief, together with sweat shops, minimum wages, hours of work, vocational education, and the regulation of competitive practice. Public expenditures increased by leaps and bounds as legislators racked their brains to find new sources of tax revenues. Expert knowledge was required in all of these departments of public administration, and the net result was a tremendous expansion of bureaucratic control—in short, a brain trust. The regulation of the press and the radio, not to say all other means of communication as well as transportation, appears to be a logical consequence. Democratic liberalism is compromised in the process of extending the public, official control over the common life. Two antagonistic political movements now challenge the democratic way of life: communism and fascism. Victory of either one spells the death knell of democracy and the age of the Caesars dawns. *Panem et Circenses* is the slogan of the masses of unemployed who congregate in the great cities of the Western World.

The New Scale of Values

A new philosophy and a new scale of values now emerge. Iron discipline, devotion, fortitude, duty, courage, and self-sacrifice are demanded of those who would face the realities of life. The white revolution within, and the colored revolution without, call for heroic measures. Recognizing that these measures affect many adversely, such for example as the recent decree of Mussolini sharply limiting the employment of women in industry, the sacrifice of self for the common good is demanded. "There can be no victory without death" is the phrase used by the Italian dictator when he issued the preceding decree. When the very security and survival of a nation are at stake at a time of great crisis there must be authoritarian leadership and a spirit of co-operation toward the greater goals. This spirit was also manifest in the United States in 1917, 1918, and 1933. It means discipline—an iron discipline and a determined will. For the ideals of liberty and equality as

reflected in a democratic constitutionalism are not ends in themselves. When this very liberty and this same equality endanger the security of life and property, and menace the degree of control which a people may enjoy over their own future, new ideals and values are necessarily substituted for the old. The ideal of liberty does not die; it is conceived and interpreted differently. And this means devotion to those ideals of the spirit without which life can hardly be endured—ideals which are centered in one great thought, and one only: the survival of the culture as conditioned upon the supremacy of the West in its impending struggle with the East. For the success of communism, with its violent radicalism and demand for a complete rupture with the past, means the loss of Western supremacy without a battle.[13] Fortitude and completely unconditional consecration to one's task are equally essential for in the end the cards will be stacked against the Western cause, and no leader can face the thought of final defeat and maintain his courage without these qualities.

And thus it is that the scale of values which controls the appreciation or the depreciation of certain human powers and human traits, and therefore also the selection of individuals for the rôles of domination and submission, is never absolute. The scale changes with the succession of phases in the life history of a culture and can only be understood in relation to these phases. Finally, it is the scale of values which determines the character of the ruling class in each successive phase of the cultural organism.

Problem Questions

1. Contrast the relationships of domination and submission in a caste system such as India with the corresponding relationships in American democracy.

2. Is domination immoral?

3. Give the names of ten or fifteen women who are or have been prominent in national politics during the last decade. Is it possible to give a similar list of names for *any other* period in American history?

4. Compare the line and staff organization of a typical modern corporation with the line and staff organization of the army. The former, said Spencer, is volurtary whereas the latter is compulsory. Consider the accuracy of this view.

5. Anarchism is a political theory which abolishes all forms of domination and authority. It creates a Utopia in which all are "free and equal." Is such a structure of life compatible with the requirements of human nature?

6. What evidence is there to indicate a tendency toward the reversal of sex rôles in the world today? Was this tendency characteristic of Rome during the late Empire?

7. Are the psycho-physical élite and the economic élite identical?

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[13] David Kinley, president emeritus of the University of Illinois, passed judgment on communism as follows: it is "economically unsound, religiously atheistic, socially destructive, ethically indefensible, and morally debasing." Quoted in the *Chicago Tribune*, February 1, 1937.

8. What is meant by the term "matriarchate"? Did the "matriarchate" ever exist in fact? (See Clark Wissler, *The American Indian.*)

9. Compare the structure of authority and obedience in the following religious organizations: (1) the Roman Catholic Church, (2) the Methodist Episcopal Church, (3) the Lutheran Church, (4) the Congregational Church.

10. Achille Loria comments on the economic élite as follows: "The history of great fortunes goes to show that most often great patrimonies are created, not so much by supreme genius, as by shameful and iniquitous practices." This suggests the "economic royalists" and the "malefactors of great wealth" who have been denounced in recent years. Evaluate Loria's opinion. Quoted by Wolfe, *Readings in Social Problems,* p. 170.

11. Why does the dominating scale of values change in the course of cultural evolution? Does this mean that all values are relative?

12. How do you interpret Sumner's statement that "the mores make anything right"?

13. Describe the accepted scale of values of the following classes of society: peasant, nobility, priesthood, industrialist. How are these values created?

14. In Bertrand Russell's *School of Free Spirits* the circumscribed relations are totally abolished in favor of "free association" and the common-human relations. Coercive measures, the pressure of authority, intimidation, and the restraint of natural impulses are avoided. What theory of education is implied in this procedure? Is this theory sound?

15. What becomes of superordination and subordination, of domination and submission in a school of this kind?

16. Contrast the common-human relations in the isolated sacred and the accessible secular structures.

17. Contrast the circumscribed relations in the isolated sacred and the accessible secular structures.

18. In January of 1937, a Tennessee mountaineer twenty-two years of age married a girl nine years of age. For a Christmas gift he had given her a doll. "They love each other," said the bride's mother, "it is better to leave them alone." The statutes of Tennessee at the time placed no restrictions upon the age of marriage, while the common law permitted the marriage of girls at the age of twelve and boys at the age of fourteen. What conclusion would you draw with respect to the common-human relations which permit such situations to occur?

Suggestions for Additional Reading

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8

INCENTIVE AND DETERRENCE

The Family

Incentives and deterrents are implicit in interhuman relations everywhere; they constitute a form of the social process as universally valid as the other forms analyzed in previous chapters. Children are controlled in their behavior by incentives and deterrents. In this way reflexes are conditioned, habits are formed and the integration of personality is defined. Repressive measures vary all the way from the infliction of physical pain more or less cruel, as the case may be, to the milder ways of withholding trivial, perhaps, but nevertheless cherished privileges, such as a small allowance of money from week to week, or sitting at table with other members of the family. The mental anguish of compulsory isolation and solitude may be more dreadful than corporal punishment. Psychologically speaking, fear is the great deterrent to all of the varieties of behavior considered undesirable. And there can be no exception anywhere on earth so long as man is human. The assumption that behavior can be controlled exclusively through incentives, avoiding all forms of repression, is a very stupid error.

Industry

The employer has a similar problem. His employees find their relations with each other, and their relations with their management rigidly controlled. The fear of discharge, demotion, or loss of status deters unruliness, irregularity, and inefficiency. High standards of production are increasingly desirable as competition weeds out the apathetic and indifferent type of management, and discipline is a necessary result. Men are required to punch clocks, and conform to many other annoying regulations, not to please a more or less autocratic or whimsical management, but rather to create a discipline without which efficiency in production can hardly be maintained. When a labor organization demands joint control of discharge, hiring, layoffs, promotion, demotion, and wage scales it must assume responsibility for maintaining a high standard of production. This diffusion of responsibility creates new and complex relationships with a correspondingly greater risk of instability, uncertainty, and failure. Incentives are operative simultaneously. Distinguished workmanship, exceptional ability, and faith-

ful devotion to duty, are rewarded in many ways. There is the prospect of promotion through mastery of the task, higher standards of living made possible by higher wages, the accumulation of savings to set up an independent enterprise, or to enter a partnership. Rivalry between individuals, or between groups of individuals, may be stimulated by a thousand varied methods of applied incentive. Elaborate schemes of welfare work, Thanksgiving turkeys, and Christmas baskets are not to be ignored. Every employer recognizes the problem, and works it out according to his ability and the circumstances of his business.

Education

Consider a liberal arts college. What an elaborate system of inducements and deterrents is here illustrated! There is the graduation from year to year, from grade to grade, marks, points, and credits to indicate the standard of achievement; recognition and honors of all sorts, including membership in honor societies, prizes, scholarships, *summa* and *magna cum laude,* teachers' recommendations for jobs and fellowships, to mention the more common. The deterrent may be considered as merely a kind of negative aspect of the incentive, since behavior which interferes with successful achievement is repressed when the incentive is operative. But similarly, the incentive may be merely a kind of negative aspect of the deterrent. In other cases various combinations of the two effectively control the behavior and choices of the individual. A pattern of ideas and values is created, personality is more or less integrated and re-integrated, whether in the home, the factory, or the school.

Church and State

The structure of church and state is likewise conditioned upon an organized network of incentives and deterrents. While the former has coupled the desire for salvation and immortal bliss with the fear of damnation and eternal torture, the latter has linked civic and social preferment in a variety of ways with the loss of status, political impotence, and social ignominy. It is true, of course, that these varied incentives and deterrents overlap greatly in church and state; it is equally true that they supplement and reinforce each other in every well-ordered society. This generalization also holds for farm, factory, home, and school, not only in their relationships to church and state, but also in their relationships with each other. Nevertheless there are significant distinctions in each case which are dependent upon the particular function or functions. A clever criminal may escape detection and repeat a serious offense many times; he cannot conceal his action, not even his inward thoughts and feelings from the all-seeing eye of a great divine

power, the ultimate Source of Justice. The teaching and the law of the church may, or may not, be enforced by the police-power of the state. The process of secularization has affected, and vitally so, the law, morality, marriage, the family, the school, the farm, and factory in the course of the cultural cycle. And this same process of secularization is evident in the history of the ancient Classical world as well as in the history of other great cultures. Characteristic incentives and deterrents manifestly change in the course of the cultural rhythm, and it becomes necessary to correlate these behavior controls with the moving phases of the cultural organism.

Penalties for Crime and the Cultural Movement

For example, we are informed by competent authorities that the number of capital offenses without benefit of clergy in London in the year 1797 was 160 and that this number actually rose to 222.[1] When Sir S. Romilly endeavored to reform this situation he succeeded only in removing pocket-picking from the list of capital crimes. This offense was considered capital above one shilling. In the course of the nineteenth century the humanitarian movement in all of the countries of Western Europe and America greatly ameliorated the severity of these repressive penalties. Capital punishment was abolished by many states and the number of capital offenses greatly reduced. And if anyone is inclined to doubt that these capital penalties were actually regarded as deterrents he may be referred to the English judge who sentenced a man to be hung for stealing a horse. When the defendant remonstrated saying that the penalty was out of all proportion to the crime the judge replied by saying, "Sir, I condemn you to die on the gallows, not for stealing a horse, but in order that horses may not be stolen."[2] Medieval punishment is shocking to the modern world for it included among other penalties single and triple ordeals by fire and water, breaking on the wheel, burning at the stake, pushing over a precipice, gouging out various organs of the body, and starvation in a dungeon. In due time the encyclopedists, such as Voltaire and Beccaria, the reformers, such as John Howard and Elizabeth Fry, wrought changes not only in public sentiment, but also in penal practice. Today there is some evidence of reaction, but the situation is not to be confused, as many ignorant and mischievous people now are doing, with the medieval situation. The tendency is to restore capital penalties for felonious crime, to increase the list of capital crimes, and even the most passionate agitators for individualization of punishment argue that the indeterminate sentence should be administered in a way to provide guarantees that no criminal may be released until he has given assurance that his

[1] M. Parmelee, *Criminology*, New York, 1921, p. 410.

[2] M. Parmelee, *Anthropology and Sociology in Relation to Criminal Procedure*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1922, p. 132.

future career will not run afoul of the law.[3] This prospect of indefinite confinement, considered not from the point of view of the crime committed, but rather from the point of view of the character of the criminal, is justified in terms of the social defense. It is tantamount to a life sentence for many criminals who are now released on parole or complete the maximum term of confinement as imposed by the court. The same reaction toward a firmer social defense against crime is illustrated by contemporary laws providing for the compulsory sterilization of criminals.

Correlation of Incentives with the Cultural Movement

It is desirable at this point to develop in further detail the dependence of typical incentives and deterrents upon the movement of the cultural organism. Speaking negatively, it is apparent that ideas of minatory terror and eternal bliss in a heavenly city where the streets are paved with shining gold, where the gates are studded with rubies, sapphires, and pearls, and angels play their harps in ecstatic abandonment, could hardly have sprung up, gained favor, and spread widely in an age of rationalism. Compulsory sterilization of criminals is not an idea that could have developed at a time when the requisite knowledge of physiology and surgery was lacking. Public recognition and political preferment are not common incentives at a time when the functions of the state are reduced to the lowest possible level, and the accumulation of wealth is the prevailing badge of moral excellence. In a highly developed bureaucratic society the situation is otherwise. The recognition of individuality in labor whereby pride of workmanship is encouraged and the superior quality of goods is highly valued is no characteristic of an age of mass production, greatly extended division of labor and the use of power machinery. Or again, the desire to rise in the social scale, to achieve the higher standards of respectability and comfort, has no part in a rigidly stratified society in which the lines are closed and individuals live out their lives in the classes to which they are born. The desire for new experience surely was a more dynamic incentive after the work of the great explorers and discoverers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries than it could have been before. Protestant reformers emphasizing the individualistic idea of salvation by grace contributed to the same incentive. The open lines of opportunity in the financial and business world were a great stimulus to ambitious youth a half century ago; Schwab and Rockefeller who started their careers working twelve hours a day for five dollars a week reached the very heights of fame according to the current standards. These open lines of opportunity in the financial and business world do not exist today. Illustrations of this kind need not be extended further.

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[3] *The Report of the Pennsylvania State Parole Commission to the Legislature*, 1927, Part 1, pp. 10-16, cited in F. E. Haynes, *Criminology*, New York, 1930, p. 349.

The Politico-theological Pattern

When the Roman Catholic Church had succeeded in creating the dominating patterns of thought and feeling in the medieval period the criminal was commonly regarded as an instrument of Satan. A crime was a violation of divine law, and God was believed to deal with the criminal through his chosen representatives on earth. Judges, like the kings who appointed them, were clothed with a divine authority. They determined questions of law as well as questions of guilt. This arbitrary power was sometimes associated with extreme methods of repression and torture. In effect the criminal had two accounts to square, one with his God and the other with his king, and the judge acting in behalf of both had a double incentive to do justice in full measure: he was obliged to propitiate an offended Deity as well as an injured king. The voice of the king was the voice of God, and, accordingly, the forms of repression were severe.

This roughly sketched system of controls may be called politico-theological, as distinguished particularly from the politico-economic and the politico-cultural. The politico-theological pattern of incentives and deterrents was conspicuously characteristic of Western Europe during the feudal period, the Springtime of the culture when the heavy dream-laden eyes of people were just beginning to awaken. This pattern was certainly not dominating in the eighteenth century; it is not dominating today. But to assume that the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries witnessed the *complete* displacement of this pattern by some other is a mistake. There are very definite traces and survivals in the world today. As late as the nineteenth century the form of the English indictment accused the defendant not only of violating the law but also of "being prompted and instigated by the devil and not having the fear of God before his eyes."[4] In 1862 the Supreme Court of North Carolina declared: "To know the right and still the wrong pursue proceeds from a perverse will brought about by the seductions of the evil one."[5] In October, 1930 a Wisconsin farmer brought a legal action against another farmer on the ground of the evil eye. The plaintiff in the case said that the udders of his cows had run dry and that his harvests had been ruined. All of this was due to the "evil eye" of the defendant, claimed the accuser. Now this belief in the evil eye is identified with demonism, witchcraft, black magic, and the spirit of Satan. It is believed that individuals are obsessed, their behavior controlled by wicked spirits. The malicious work of these agents of the devil may be thwarted, mitigated, or warded off by talismans, amulets, and charms of various kinds, possibly beads, neck-

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[4] F. H. Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology*, J. B. Lippincott & Co., Chicago and Philadelphia, 1934, p. 43.

[5] Quoted by Sutherland, *op. cit.*, p. 43, cited by H. Shepard, *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Vol. 13, p. 486, February, 1923.

laces, rings, figures carved upon wood, stone, or metal blessed by the priest perhaps at time of baptism. This politico-theological type of incentive and deterrent is by no means peculiar to the West. The traveler in Syria finds endless cases not only of children, but also of cows and sheep wearing these luck charms in order to ward off the evil eye. That a belief of this type enhances the power, and therefore the political influence, of the priesthood goes without saying. The fear of ghosts, goblins, demons, and devils of all kinds combined with the hope of favor in the eyes of beneficent deities, patron saints, friendly spirits, and guardian angels create a pattern of behavior controls—incentives and deterrents—which is distinctly politico-theological.

The mystical, animistic belief in the soul, with the prospect of salvation and immortality in the company of the blessed, was the very core of this pattern. It was of course coupled with the fear of eternal damnation, the everlasting torture in a nether world of fire and brimstone. And as the former was the reward of the righteous, so the latter was the punishment of the wicked. This was no mere Sunday School lesson in medieval days. It controlled the behavior of men and women of *all classes* whether they worked on the manor or in the town. Let us consider for instance the craft gild of the medieval town. This organization was a great deal more than merely a means of livelihood. To argue as some writers have that the craft gild was exclusively economic is manifestly an error. It too, like all of the other institutions of the day, reflected the dominating politico-theological mode of thinking. For the craft gilds sponsored pageants of a religious character, pilgrimages to Rome, and to the Holy Land, chantries, schools and almshouses, primarily for the benefit of the souls of its members, living and dead.[6] Services were conducted by the gildsmen for the commemoration of all of their departed brethren on the festival day of their patron saint with precisely the same motive. Special funeral ceremonies were held by the gilds for the same purpose, and the rich even went so far as to provide endowments to pay for religious rites on the anniversaries of their deaths. These rites were definitely related in belief to the salvation of the soul of the deceased donor. Offering of alms was taught by the Church, not primarily to relieve the destitute, but rather to ensure the salvation of one's soul. The gildsmen not only provided almshouses for their poor and "decayed brethren," but also yearly doles for distribution in charity. A certain gild ordained that "respecting every man who has given his 'wed' in our gildship, if he should die, that each brother shall give a 'gesufel' loaf for his soul, and sing a fifty, or get it sung within thirty day."[7] Journeymen and masters joined in yearly processions to offer up lights before the altar of their patron saint; this was followed by drinking and fellowship. The yeomen gilds were

[6] L. A. Boettiger, *Employee Welfare Work*, New York, 1923, pp. 60-64.
[7] J. M. Lambert, *Two Thousand Years of Gild Life*, London, 1891, p. 46.

organized by journeymen in opposition to their masters in order to raise their wages by collective absence from work. But the men were careful to meet on the "Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin," or else on some other day of religious significance. In this latter instance the economic incentive was quite obviously dominant. But it is significant that even in matters of this kind a certain religious atmosphere was considered important. One could hardly imagine Big Bill Haywood in his best days concerning himself with a matter of this kind, or John L. Lewis, William Green, Samuel Gompers, Sidney Hillman, and Matthew Woll.

The mutual solicitude of the gildsmen in one another's welfare and security was inspired by the same considerations. This was so much in evidence that Brentano in his historical study of the development of the craft gilds was able to say that "the object of the early craft-gilds was to create relations as if among brothers; and above all things, to grant to their members that assistance which the member of a family might expect from that family."[8] The common box was a fund to which the masters contributed periodically. It was used to provide benefits for poor masters covering various kinds of disability such as sickness, accident, incapacity, old age, and unemployment. Provision was made for the dependent members of a deceased workman's family and funeral payments were allowed in case of need. Financial assistance was also given in case of loss by fire, flood, robbery, shipwreck, and imprisonment. Dowries were provided for the daughters of poor brethren. Also aid was given in the event of penal mulcts or legal exactions, and loans, or outright gifts to young members struggling for a place in the world. On the continent the wandering journeyman who found no work received a sum of money to support him on his journey to the next town; this sum was called *das Geschenk* and was taken from a fund to which the masters contributed as well as the journeymen. Ruinous competition was prevented by regulations which restricted the hours of work, defined the number as well as the term of apprentices, prohibited night work, and the employment of women and children, fixed prices and wage scales, and guaranteed to consumers a high quality of workmanship. Men were taught to believe that mutual solicitude and brotherly helpfulness were necessary for salvation. The town economy in which the gilds developed gave way in time to broader units of control, and new incentives superseded the old. The yeoman gilds were organized during the later medieval period when the lines of promotion and advancement were closed. In the early period the apprentices became journeymen and the journeymen in due time became masters, but the journeymen found their ambitions blocked as the gilds became highly exclusive monopolies. There were strikes, demands for a "closed shop," and protracted, often bitter, negotiations for

[8] L. Brentano, *On the History and Development of Gilds and the Origin of Trade Unions*, in T. Smith, *English Gilds*, London, 1870, pp. cxxiv-cxxv.

the conciliation and arbitration of disputes. Penalties were provided for violation of agreements. It is plain that the medieval gild was no Utopia. Nevertheless the conclusion is clear that the typical and dominating incentives and deterrents were ordained by the Church. They were politico-theological in an isolated sacred structure.

No more quaint and picturesque illustration can be found than the gild pageants of Corpus Christi Day. These pageants were religious plays performed on the streets of the towns.[9] All gildsmen participated, and journeymen as well as masters contributed the necessary funds. Certain parts of the Biblical story were dramatically rendered by the crafts who selected episodes akin to their trades. Thus it was the vintners who performed the marriage feast at Cana; the shipwrights presented God warning Noah to make an ark out of planed wood; the armorers acted the parts of Adam and Eve and an angel, with a spade and distaff, appointed them their labor. Each craft had charge of one scene in the whole series. It was performed on a platform carried on wheels to each appointed station in the city. In this way each station was permitted to witness the entire series of performances. So important was Church patronage in those days that the gilds passed resolutions which required every gildsman to contribute his share of the expense under penalty of losing his job if he failed to do so.

Rise of the Politico-economic Pattern

The medieval town was a gradual differentiation of the village community identified with the early manor. Villeins, freeholders, and copyholders together with the lord of the manor required the services of an increasing number of skilled workers to grind their wheat, shoe their horses, fashion their spurs, saddles and armor, prepare the skins of animals for harness and other uses, build barns, huts, manufacture furniture, tools, and weapons, spin flax and wool into threads and yarns for the weavers and the tailors. Hence, there arose the gilds of saddlers, spurriers, armorers, leather dressers, tailors, weavers, carpenters, shoemakers, barbers, palmers, furriers, sawyers, goldsmiths, spinners, and glovers, to mention the more common. The gradual ascendancy of a new and distinct pattern of incentives and deterrents transformed the medieval structure of life. This new pattern may be called the politico-economic as distinguished from the politico-theological. The profit motive interwoven with a great variety of closely related ideas gave rise to the political and social ascendancy of the merchant prince and the capitalist manufacturer. And a great variety of factors and movements contributed to the evolution of a new order of human relationships. As the gilds developed into highly exclusive monopolies, their vested interests were threatened from within and from without. Exploration and discoveries of

[9] L. A. Boettiger, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries opened up new markets, new sources of raw materials and trading opportunities. Commerce increased, and men perceived the advantage of industries dependent upon cheaply imported materials along with the advantage of manufacture for distant markets. The man with an accumulation of capital was in a favored position in the exploitation of these new opportunities. Whole manors were converted into sheep-runs in order to take advantage of favorable markets for wool. Long before the invention of power-driven machinery factories of a kind were built. These large buildings housing many workers extended the division of labor, and made possible new methods of mass production which lowered costs and increased profits. Men and women also worked in their homes where they were paid by the piece; agents who were paid commissions were authorized to organize the work of production in this way. These agents provided the workers with their raw materials and other necessary equipment, taking away the finished goods for profitable sale in distant markets. Hence the development of the so-called domestic or commission system of production. The capitalist traders and manufacturers quite naturally resented restrictions, such as the limitation of apprentices, and long terms of apprenticeship, since they interfered with business success. The medieval journeymen whose hopes of becoming masters were dimmed as the gilds became exclusive monopolies accepted work in their homes in increasing numbers. As wages were depressed their wives and children aided in the work in order to increase output and maintain a customary standard of decency. The wardens of the gilds controlled the politics of their towns, and this meant greater restrictions on trade and freedom of economic opportunity—a situation which defeated its own purposes in the end. For these wardens and their political representatives could not meet the competition of the capitalist manufacturers and traders who organized the workers in their homes, and also to some extent in large factory-like buildings, at lower production costs. The growing significance of the politico-economic type of incentive and deterrent becomes increasingly apparent as the localism of the medieval towns gave way to territorial, and in time to national organizations of political economy. As the study of economics was stimulated it came to be called political economy and it is only in relatively recent years that economics has been differentiated from politics. Princes, dukes, and barons who dominated their territorial units became great borrowers of money loaned to them by wealthy traders, manufacturers, and financiers for due consideration and valuable favors. In the wars that followed, the princes and barons very nearly succeeded in exterminating each other. Nevertheless it was the aristocracy which succeeded finally in creating a national type of political economy which slowly superseded the smaller territorial units, provinces, communes, princedoms, or dukedoms as they were variously called. Kingly courts competed with each other in ostentatious display,

organized alliances, and waged wars against foreign countries on money largely borrowed from the wealthy middle class. Representatives of this class were formerly snubbed and scorned; now they sat with the mighty to advise on matters of state.

Movement from the Aristocratic National State to the Democratic National State

The so-called Industrial Revolution greatly increased the power of this class. But if we are to accept the word of historians who place this revolution at about the middle of the eighteenth century, it is important to show that the middle class was a power to be reckoned with in politics as well as in business before the revolution took place. This revolution, too, was a slow and gradual development. The capitalist manufacturer was naturally interested in cheaper methods of production. There was a premium, and a very heavy premium, on the work of the inventor. The scientist who unraveled the mysteries of nature whether in physics or chemistry was valued highly—from the point of view of the middle class. The priesthood did not value these services so highly for they tended to destroy the ideology of the Church, and the ensuing struggle between science and religion has not ended to this day although at present it is abating somewhat with some signs of an approaching victory for religion. The Copernican theory gave a severe jolt to the cosmogony of the theologians, and when Galileo traveled to Florence in order to demonstrate his discovery of satellites on Jupiter he found the scholars more interested in the study and comparison of texts than in the direct observation of nature. But the new class of business promoters and financial adventurers did not require the blessing of the priesthood of the Roman Catholic Church. They created their own priesthood, the Protestant clergy, who in turn created them, however paradoxical this may sound. One can argue the question either way with a certain degree of plausibility. One may say that it was the individualistic ideas of personal liberty and salvation by grace fostered by the Protestant reformers which paved the way for closely related ideas of *laissez faire,* natural rights and freedom of competition so dear to the hearts of middle class people in later days; and thus we should have a religio-idealistic interpretation of history. One can say on the contrary that the gradual extension of markets, the discovery of cheaper sources of raw materials and the invention of more economical methods of production literally pushed the moneyed man to the front, and therefore created a situation which required a new ideology.[10] Hence the Protestant Reformation. And thus we have an economic interpretation of history. Both interpretations are unilateral, and therefore inadequate. They nullify each other. The correlation and interdependence of

[10] R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism,* New York, 1926, p. 66 *et seq.*

economics and religion are no greater than similar connections with politics and ethics. Culture is an organism as previously explained. In the course of time it fulfills its own destiny in process of becoming, assuming only that rival or hostile cultures do not throw it off its natural course. The Renaissance is an inseparable aspect of the Reformation, just as the Reformation is an inseparable aspect of the Industrial Revolution.

It is important to point out that the economic interpretation of history did not become a well-defined theory until the middle of the nineteenth century when Karl Marx wrote his *Das Kapital.* At this time it provided a very convenient tool for the underprivileged classes of Western Europe. The middle class had developed democratic institutions in the course of a bitter political struggle with the established aristocracy of landed nobility and priesthood of the Roman Catholic Church. And so it happened that the institutions which served to entrench the political authority of the third estate became also a source of weakness. Liberty, fraternity, and equality were effective slogans of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from the point of view of the middle class, but they laid the necessary foundation for socialism, communism, trade unionism, syndicalism, feminism, and a great variety of other less well-known movements equally subversive in character. If it is objected that some of these movements are constructive, for instance a moderated feminism, or a responsible trade unionism, it may be pointed out that the moment democratic institutions become discriminating they cease to be democratic. It is not to be forgotten that liberty of conscience, freedom of press and speech, and the right to independent organization for political purposes, are prerogatives of everyone in a democratic society.

Thus it is seen that the politico-economic type of incentive slowly gained increasing momentum in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and became an overwhelming force in the eighteenth century as it swept all obstacles away. In the course of the nineteenth century it reacted sharply against the firmly established power of capitalism as it descended to the level of the common man.[11] In the twentieth century, particularly after the European war of 1914-1918, it lost its drive and sense of sureness as a new pattern of incentives and deterrents slowly, but inevitably, superseded the old. The problems of taxation, unearned increment, public relief, and public works, social insurance, and the like are not handled by young and ambitious sociologists and economists today, as they were in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Adam Smith wrote his *Wealth of Nations* in 1776. This author maintained that the free and unrestricted initiative of the individual seeking and exploiting his own economic opportunities was part of a natural order of things. But this was not all; he went farther and tried to show that the divine harmony of life was dependent upon it. Thus

[11] F. A. Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe,* New York, 1919.

laissez faire was exalted to the very heavens, receiving not only the sanction of natural law, but also the sanction of God himself with whom it was identified. Restrictions on trade such as bounties, tariffs, drawbacks, monopolies were condemned. The functions of government were reduced to the minimum level, and taxes on incomes, profits, and inheritance, were regarded as unwarranted, or even vicious inasmuch as they interfered with the free play of economic incentives. In England the poor laws of the time were condemned by Malthus and others who accepted the classical theory of Adam Smith on the ground that the laws subsidized indolence and irresponsible fecundity, at the same time restricting the accumulation of wealth in private hands. Later economists, Taussig, for instance, played very skillfully with the problem of incentives as they tried to point out just how far the government might reasonably go in taxing incomes, inheritance, unearned increment and corporate profits without crippling the private incentive to the accumulation of wealth.[12] Today the position of Taussig appears unduly circumspect in the views of many. States have developed contributory and non-contributory pensions, unemployment insurance, sickness and accident funds; at the same time they are spending billions of dollars for public relief and public works, and debasing their currencies in order to invite trade and help pay their bills. Government aid, however, is not restricted to the underprivileged and the unemployed; it is extended to banks, railroads, insurance companies, in fact every conceivable form of enterprise. Farmers are assisted in various more or less intricate and interesting ways by expenditure of vast sums of public money. It is not to be forgotten that the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the Federal Farm Board were not creations of Franklin D. Roosevelt. They were creations of Herbert Hoover, arch foe of all forms of radicalism and protector of the old order of things.

Decline of the Politico-economic Pattern

Thus it must appear quite obvious to the reader that the politico-economic pattern of incentives and deterrents has broken down. Why did it break down? This question is manifestly complex. Suggestions in answer to this question have already been stated. A parallel may be pointed out in the medieval gild of the later period: the normal and natural ambitions of apprentices and journeymen who formerly had become master craftsmen in due course of time found their desires blocked as the gilds became highly exclusive monopolies, directly or indirectly protected by government power. So today, the youth of the nation understands very well indeed that the much vaunted equality and freedom of economic opportunity of decades past does not exist. Many great business concerns have become highly exclu-

[12] F. W. Taussig, *Principles of Economics*, New York, 1918, Vol. II, pp. 248-251, 509.

sive monopolies directly or indirectly protected by the government. But this is not all. The invention of labor-saving devices, and rationalization of production under the spur of private gain has forced millions of workers out of their jobs. Hitherto it was explained that the invention of such labor-saving machines and processes of manufacture merely resulted in a transfer of labor from the factory primarily concerned to the factory which manufactured the labor-saving devices. Moreover, it was urged, many of these inventions stimulated new desires, actually created new wants, thus increasing the demand for labor, and making room for increasing population and further extension of industry. The expansion of industry reabsorbed the displaced, unemployed worker. These arguments are considered fallacious today and quite properly so.[13] The factories manufacturing linotype machinery do not absorb as much labor as is released when the linotype is substituted for less efficient and more expensive methods. In agriculture a similar situation is manifest. The effective extension of new wants is obviously dependent upon the requisite mass purchasing power, and this of course is lacking when income is low and large numbers of laborers are out of work. The incentive to save tends to throw off the proper balance between spending and saving, thus creating a condition of oversavings which in turn contributes to a condition of overinvestment. Overinvestment in its turn tends to create a condition of overproduction and underconsumption which throws the economic mechanism completely out of gear. The employer finds himself crushed between the two jaws of a terrible vice: cost and price. Service must be maintained on investments in great accumulations of fixed capital at the expense of foreclosure and receivership. The continuous process of substituting more efficient machinery before the displaced machinery has been fully paid for results in higher fixed charges. From the standpoint of cost the employer must reckon with labor organizations and their demands for higher wages, and various forms of protection, such as the insecurity of old age and unemployment insurance, requiring increasingly heavy liabilities. And from the same standpoint, it must be reckoned that the rapid extension of government bureaucracy and multiplication of public expenditures means rapidly mounting taxes. All of this is symbolized in one of the two jaws of the vice. The other concerns price. For the employer today must compete with low-labor-cost industries in other countries. If Japan can manufacture a cotton shirt to market in London at a cost of twenty-five cents and the British textile producer must sell the same quality of garment for at least one dollar in order to pay his bills, the result upon the market is plain enough. Countries may protect themselves by tariff regulations but this does not help competition in foreign countries. Moreover, nations naturally retaliate in matters of this kind.

[13] A. Dahlberg, *Jobs, Machines and Capitalism*, New York, 1932, pp. 21-42. The panacea offered by this author is not acceptable.

The employment of very cheap labor in Japan, and other countries where factories have been built by native as well as foreign capital, has given a tremendous competitive advantage in the struggle for markets. Currency wars and open-market operations contribute to differential price levels in international markets, meaning particularly that the price received by the native producer in Western countries is depressed. The lack of balance in international indebtedness contributes to the situation, since in the last analysis people cannot pay their debts unless they find markets for goods and services. These factors are symbolized by the other jaw of the vice which crushes the employer in the Western world today. He looks to the government for aid. This may help provided it does not contribute to the vicious circle of events.

The Politico-cultural Pattern

A new pattern of incentives and deterrents is in process of clarification and precise delineation. It is here called the politico-cultural. The politico-theological, and the politico-economic, are of course cultural patterns, but they are as easily distinguished from the politico-cultural as they are from each other. For the politico-cultural type of incentive and deterrent seeks above all to maintain the lines of historical continuity with the past. It opposes all efforts to break these lines. Unbridled economic individualism is subordinated to cultural integrity. For the culture of a people is felt to be something distinctive and vital without which life would cease to be worth living. The great masterpieces of literature, music, drama, painting, sculpture, architecture, philosophy, and science are cherished not merely because they are great, but because the life of the spirit is identified with them. Violent attack upon the institutional forms of property, family, religion, and education are deeply resented, not because these forms are conceived to be perfect, but because they are the acceptable means of communicating the finer values of life. The spirit of Western Europe will not surrender to the alien spirit of communism or to the alien spirit of any other hostile culture without completely exhausting its resources and energy. It seeks to control the conditions of work, and the conditions of life, in a manner to guarantee victory. The threat of danger may be considered real, or imaginary, or merely the means of sounding a false alarm in order that selfish-minded individuals and their friends may rise to power and fame. No matter how it is considered in particular instances the hard fact remains that the politico-economic pattern of incentives has run its course, and that a new pattern is being substituted for it. No sensible person nowadays asks the naïve question, What shall it be? It will be what it must be, and not what the fancy of any particular individual might wish it should be. Already the facts are plain enough to state what it is.

The Colored Revolution

For the Western world, and the Faustian spirit which created it, is faced today with two revolutions: the revolution from within, and the revolution from without.[14] The former has been called the White Revolution and the latter the Colored Revolution. Ever since the World War the colored races under the domination of the European nations and America have been restless. Revolutionary outbreaks have occurred from time to time in China, Egypt, India, and Africa, and the condition today is one of latent insurrection. The fear of a Moslem awakening under the leadership of a strong man such as Mustapha Kemal Ataturk has given British statesmen sleepless nights on more than one occasion. Meanwhile the rise-to-power of Japan has brought great concern to the Western world. Up until 1853, when Admiral Matthew C. Perry opened up the means of communication and trade with Japan, this country was governed by a powerful feudal aristocracy of warrior nobles. While power rested with the emperors in theory, these high potentates lived in comparative seclusion for nearly seven centuries prior to Perry's landing, leaving the affairs of the nation in charge of a *shogun* who was the supreme war lord. The feudal organization of the country was divided into fiefs or domains, each of which was under the control of a warrior noble who paid allegiance to the *shogun* and exacted the same from his subjects. These were divided into two classes, first, the *samurai,* who were knights with administrative and military duties, and second, the *heiman* who were common people. Not long after Perry's arrival the war lords revolted against the *shogun* removing him from power. Since the nobles were not well organized the resulting confusion made them dependent upon the emperor. The Imperial Restoration followed in 1867, an assembly was convoked for impartial discussion, and in 1889 the emperor promulgated a constitution.[15] Since then the gradual assimilation of Western methods of industry, science and warfare has been coupled with a steady political ascendancy in world affairs. In 1894 a war with China resulted in the acquisition of Formosa and the Pescadores. Ten years later Japan won a decisive victory over Russia. The efficiency and effectiveness of her army and navy took the great powers of the world by complete surprise. Spoils of this war included Port Arthur, the Liao-Tung Peninsula, control of Korea, which was annexed in 1910, and the southern half of Sakhalin. After another interval of ten years, war with Germany resulted in the possession of Kiao-chau on Shantung Peninsula. In 1931 war with China in the Kellogg style gave Japan complete control of Manchuria and Jehol. Manchuria was made an independent puppet state and rechristened Manchukuo, with a

[14] O. Spengler, *The Hour of Decision,* translated by C. F. Atkinson, New York, 1934, Secs. 10-20, p. 81, *et seq.*

[15] *The American Observer,* Washington, D. C., Vol. I, No. 38, June 8, 1932.

direct descendant of the famed Manchu Dynasty in nominal control. And the end is not yet in sight by any means. The Washington Disarmament Conference gave Japan a 5-5-3 ratio in capital ships; the London conference raised the ratio to 10-10-7 for cruisers, and in certain other categories of fighting craft parity was granted. Today the slogan is "parity or death." All efforts to reach an accord on naval armament have failed. Coupled with all of this is a tremendous power of population increase, great pressure of population on resources and low standards of living which greatly reduce labor costs and give Japan a sharp advantage in the world's competitive markets. Already heavy inroads have been made in the commerce with India, China, Africa and South America. Recently Turkey gave Japanese naval yards a very substantial order for fighting ships, and there are no signs that the competition is abating. On the contrary it inevitably becomes more intense from year to year, and there is at present no apparent alternative to war, particularly since Japan has withdrawn from the League of Nations. The political supremacy of European Powers and America is plainly challenged, and as the Star of the East rises slowly in the heavens the Sun of the West sinks slowly to the horizon. Meanwhile, there will be the hardest kind of fighting, and the toughest sort of discipline in peace time as well as in time of war for the purpose of holding the acquired gains and maintaining the position of supremacy. The nations of the West which are not fully awake to the challenge, or refuse to submit to the necessary discipline in meeting it, are doomed to defeat even without a battle. Defeat in battle may be bad but defeat without a battle is contemptible. Thus the culture of the West is forced to adjust itself to the hard exigencies of survival, and this means greater subordination of the individual to the state and the substitution of a politico-cultural for the politico-economic incentives. The governments of England, Germany, and Italy have already accomplished much toward the realization of this end.

The White Revolution

The drive and the significance of the White Revolution from within is no less significant. In every country of the Western World communism, syndicalism, socialism, and trade unionism are organized in various forms of relationship to each other and to the state. They may be outlawed, suppressed, or restricted in many ways but this does not prove by any means that the spirit is dead. The revolution in Germany following the World War placed the Social Democrats under the leadership of Fritz Ebert in control of the state. The Labor Party in England under the leadership of Ramsay MacDonald and Philip Snowden established its right to rule the nation. A general strike conducted some time after the Peace of Versailles challenged the very foundations of constitutional government in England.

From time to time the socialists under the leadership of Herriot and Blum have gained control of the French government. Spain today is torn wide open as the revolutionary parties challenge the authority of the government, and civil strife takes the form of physical violence and open rebellion. In San Francisco an effort to organize a general strike was narrowly averted by groups of private citizens who raided communistic headquarters. A traction strike in Milwaukee in the summer of 1934, riots in Kohler, the textile strike of the summer of 1934, the truck drivers' strike in Minneapolis, and the general upheaval in the motor and steel industries in 1937 were marked with many violent scenes, considerable destruction of property, and loss of life. The reddening dawn of the twentieth century in America has witnessed an unprecedented organization of racketeering sustained by outspoken force politics and resort to physical violence.[16] Earlier incidents, as the Haymarket tragedy, and the Pullman strike, show the nineteenth-century background of the movement.[17] Events such as the McNamara affair and the blowing up of the Los Angeles *Times* building are not sporadic, isolated occurrences; they reflecf the temper and the mood of labor. The communist movement in Germany, before the final victory of the National Socialist Party, gained staggering proportions. In the July elections of 1932 the communists actually succeeded in electing 89 delegates to the Reichstag, and the Social Democrats 133, out of a total of 608 seats.[18] Leaders Thaelmann and Torgler of the red front communicated directly with Moscow, the seat of the *Third Internationale*. Nor did the spirit die with the movement of *gleichschaltung* under Nazi leadership. The Roehm Revolt, promptly and decisively suppressed in the summer of 1934, represented left-wing ideals and aims within the Nazi party.

Democratic institutions are manifestly none too effective in combatting the White Revolution from within. The iron discipline and grim determination of the left can be countered only by an equally iron discipline and grim determination of the right. On either side there is no respect for the spirit of parliamentarianism, and accordingly democratic institutions are slowly but certainly crushed between the upper and nether millstones: communism and fascism. But the integrity of Western civilization is not dependent upon the parliamentary form of government. It was not so in the seventeenth century; it is not so in the twentieth century. The combined fire of the heavy guns of the Colored Revolution from without, and the White Revolution from within can result only in the sharpest kind of retaliatory and defensive fire. And this is equivalent to a political and economic reorganization along the lines that are well known in England, Germany,

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[16] Alva Johnston, "Seattle's One-Man Revolution," *The Saturday Evening Post*, January 16, 1937.

[17] L. Adamic, *Dynamite*, New York, 1931, Chs. 30-33.

[18] C. B. Hoover, *Germany Enters the Third Reich*, New York, 1933, p. 62.

Italy, and to some extent also in the United States. For in England the general and sympathetic strikes have been outlawed, and pickets may not interfere with workers going to or coming from work. Literature and the press are indirectly censored, and all public gatherings of a dangerous character are closely policed. Above all trade unionism has been severely disciplined.[19] Ramsay MacDonald, before his death, appeared a tragic figure, his health broken, his ideals shattered, while Philip Snowden was elevated to the peerage. It is plain that the conservative forces of the nation are well in control of the situation. Fundamentally speaking, the situations in Germany and Italy are closely parallel. In short a politico-cultural pattern of incentive and deterrent is superseding the politico-economic pattern.

Problem Questions

1. Compare the incentives of workers in modern industry with the incentives in the medieval craft gilds.

2. A distinction may be made between persuasive and coercive incentives. May the desired behavior be elicited and the undesirable behavior deterred by exclusive use of persuasive incentives?

3. Veblen wrote a book entitled *The Instinct of Workmanship.* Is the desire to excel in creative workmanship an inherited trait?

4. Is the capital penalty a necessary deterrent to felonious crime under modern conditions of life?

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[19] Laws enacted in 1927 severely restrict the activities of labor organizations in England. The immediate aim was to prevent a recurrence of the general strike which paralyzed British trade and seriously threatened to undermine constitutional government shortly after the World War. These laws forbid the general strike; restrict the sympathetic strike; prevent intimidation by pickets; prohibit civil servants from joining any union affiliated with the trades' union congress; render officials liable to criminal prosecution if implicated in an illegal strike; outlaw strikes which aim to coerce the government or which inflict hardship upon the community; limit strikes to strictly trade disputes; permit the Attorney General to demand an injunction preventing a union from using its funds in furtherance of a strike before the legality of the strike has been determined; render officials of unions liable to civil action for damages; indirectly require registration of all unions and therewith government inspection, auditing of books and regulation of investments; prohibit the use of union funds for political purposes; outlaw membership or non-membership as a condition of employment; release contractors from any obligation to employ union or non-union labor as a condition of contract. In 1934 there were fewer strikes than occurred in any other year over the last forty years during which records have been kept. John Steele, The *Chicago Sunday Tribune,* April 14, 1935.

Regulation of the press is equally inclusive and severe. It affects all manner of publicity. The rigidity of this governmental control was shown in 1936 in connection with the series of events which finally led to the abdication of former King Edward VIII. Englishmen were able to obtain information and satisfy their curiosity only through foreign newspapers. Domestic newspapers completely suppressed the affair until the final *dénouement* became evident. Crime news, divorce news as well as all information of political import is rigorously censored. Injurious publicity is sufficient ground for a libel suit, and the proof of actual damage suffered is not required according to legislation now in force. The facts indicate that a government censorship of political news actually exists; the legal basis of this regulation has not been revealed up to the present time.

In an article for the *Chicago Sunday Tribune,* August 22, 1937, Colonel Robert R. McCormick analyzes and summarizes the authoritarian trend in England. He concludes that the government has become fascist. This was Publisher McCormick's personal reaction to observations made in England at that time.

5. Would euthanasia—mercy killing—react unfavorably upon the incentive to scientific medical research?

6. How do you account for unprecedented epidemics of kidnapping, auto theft, and bank robbery over the last generation?

7. Can such epidemics be prevented? If so, how?

8. Evaluate the life sentence as a deterrent to serious crime.

9. How do you account for the prevalence of "force politics" in the present age? (See Alva Johnston, "Seattle's One-Man Revolution," *The Saturday Evening Post,* January 16, 1937.)

10. Has the work of the G-men been effectual in the prevention of crime? Why has this work been criticized so much?

11. Define the term "racketeering." Why do rackets thrive in the United States at the present time?

12. Are the theological incentives of early medieval days totally ineffectual in the world today?

13. Distinguish humanism and humanitarianism. Contrast the incentives of these two historical movements and identify each with its appropriate phase of the cultural cycle.

14. In what respects do the incentives of the Roman Catholic Church resemble the incentives of the Protestant Reformation? How do they differ?

15. What were the incentives which led to the unprecedented accumulation of wealth, growth of population, and increasing concentration of population in large cities during the nineteenth century?

16. Are these incentives operative today?

17. Are the incentives which lead to creative work in the fine arts the same as the incentives to scientific research?

18. Does a materialistic age such as the nineteenth century favor creative achievement in the fine arts?

19. John Rae declared that changes in the birth rate are due to corresponding changes in the "effective desire for offspring." Is this a valid statement?

20. Why do nations today offer economic inducements in order to stimulate the birth rate? Are these inducements effectual?

21. Was the "effective desire for offspring" a prevailing incentive to bear children in the medieval period?

22. Is it reasonable to account for the labor movement on the ground that the desires for security, recognition, response and new experience have been repressed by the prevailing conditions of work in industry?

Suggestions for Additional Reading

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9

ASSOCIATION AND DISSOCIATION

Meaning

The term association implies reciprocity in the exchange of feelings and ideas. An Italian immigrant living in the city of Chicago may look upon Benito Mussolini as a great hero. Every word and move of the dictator is followed and read with the fervent devotion and intensity of interest of a true hero-worshipper. He comes to believe that *Il Duce* was sent by God himself to lead the Italian people out of the wilderness and into the promised land. But no idea of his, no expression of feeling or attitude ever reaches Mussolini. The latter does not know him, never heard of him. Strictly speaking, this is not association since the necessary reciprocity is lacking.

But the term dissociation likewise implies a mutual interaction. For two individuals whose relations have been cordial may come to feel that certain characteristic qualities and desires of each cannot be harmonized easily. These differences are so basic that the points of friction and sources of misunderstanding multiply constantly. Efforts of friends to effect a rapprochement from time to time are futile. The result is competition, contravention and conflict. The chasm of the spirit deepens and the social distance widens until finally the areas of common interest do not overlap in any particular whatever. Dissociation has been complete.

Levels of Association and Dissociation

Thus it is clear that there may be various levels of association and dissociation. Such terms as advance, adjustment, accordance, co-operation, and amalgamation indicate some of these levels from the point of view of association. On the other hand, such terms as rivalry, competition, contravention, and conflict suggest a variety of levels from the point of view of dissociation. But the movement of levels in the process of interstimulation and response need not be in the nature of a progressive series from the point of view of cordiality and warmth of common feeling. In other words the social distance may move in the direction of a progressive series, and, having reached a certain point, recede along the line of a retrogressive series only to move back again, and so on indefinitely. Time and circumstance together

with differences in personal quality, and changes in the areas of common interest, are all factors to be reckoned into the situation. Nevertheless, it cannot be emphasized too strongly that there is manifest a tendency toward stabilized forms of relationship. People reach understandings, implicit or explicit, and regulate their behavior accordingly. They come to feel that association is desirable, or perhaps necessary, under certain circumstances up to a certain level of intimacy but no farther. There is no appreciable movement of the series. Or again the relation may be terminated as a result of irreconcilable differences more or less combined with circumstances as the case may be. The process of dissociation completes its course and rapprochement is entirely out of the question. Sociation ceases. Or in yet other instances the relation becomes relatively stable on a level of friendly rivalry, recognized competition, a mutual toleration of differences with a common purpose to ignore them, or amalgamation of ideas and a consciousness of kind. But no relationship ever becomes stabilized to the point of being fixed for eternity. Love and hate stand at opposite poles, but nevertheless they are ambivalent qualities, and it has often been noted that love turns to hate and then again to love, as when divorced couples remarry only to become divorced again that they may marry a third time. Many cases are on record.

Thus the term association is used not only to imply reciprocity in the exchange of feelings, attitudes and ideas, but also a tendency in the direction of greater intimacy as illustrated by such terms as advance, accord, co-operation, assimilation, and amalgamation. The term dissociation is used to imply reciprocity and a tendency toward an increase in the social distance as indicated by such terms as contravention and conflict. The term sociation is a general term which includes the processes of association and dissociation. If the relation is apparently stabilized due to an understanding with regard to the proper or desired limits of sympathetic accord, introspection usually reveals associative and dissociative tendencies from time to time. Some reasons for these distinctions will appear in the discussion at this point.

Mistaken Conceptions

In the first place the word association has been used by sociologists to denote an all-inclusive social process of interhuman action. All of the varieties of human grouping, the origin and evolution of plurality patterns and complex institutions have been explained in terms of association. In the process of spreading the term to include all possible forms of the social process, and using it at the same time as a guiding explanation of the origin and development of all forms of social structure, the meaning of the term is so rarefied that it ceases to have much, if any, scientific value. Obviously there are clear and useful distinctions between such forms of the social proc-

ess as invention and imitation, incentive and deterrence, and others discussed in preceding chapters. It is also clear that no satisfactory explanation of social change can be achieved by a generalized use of the term.

In the second place the term has been given an ethical content which is not at all desired in this type of discussion. Association has been used in opposition to such terms as the struggle for existence, survival of the fittest, and ruthless competition in order to prove that the tooth and claw version of human nature and social progress is fallacious. Prince Kropotkin wrote a book entitled *Mutual Aid* in which he essayed to prove that association and co-operation actually explain the origin of species, the development of higher forms of organic life as well as the origin and evolution of human culture.[1] Man is not a beast of prey, he is more like the bee in the hive from this standpoint. Accordingly, warlike qualities, hate, self-assertion, and pugnacity are depreciated; opposed qualities such as mutual aid, sympathetic co-operation, love, and brotherhood are appreciated. When a pack of buffaloes is attacked the males form a ring; the females and young ones are protected inside the ring as the more powerful animals ward off the attack. This example shows clearly enough that mutual aid with regard to relations within the group is a vital principle, but at the same time it shows that relations between species are not controlled in this way. The spirit of communism in the early medieval manor, the ethical teachings of the Church with respect to mutual solicitude and helpful assistance, the brotherhoods of the early gilds are given as historical illustrations of the true nature of man—a little lower than the angels. But how are these statements reconciled with a series of peasants' revolts in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with crusades and religious wars, or with journeymen's societies and yeoman gilds? Obviously, the more sociology concerns itself with homiletics the less valuable it becomes as an acceptable and reliable explanation of social structures and social processes. Sociology is not conceived to be either a theological or an ethical propagandist discipline, and this use of the term association must be rejected. This does not imply that a true sociologist accepts the tooth and claw version of human nature. Such an interpretation is equally inadequate, and for equally cogent reasons.

A good example of overemphasis of association is Giddings' theory of the consciousness of kind.[2] The stages of association are four according to this author: zoögenic association, anthropogenic association, ethnogenic association, and demogenic association. The first means association among animals, the second association among the anthropoids, the third association

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[1] P. A. Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid,* New York, 1925, Chs. 1-5. See also this author's *Conquest of Bread,* New York, 1927.

[2] F. H. Giddings, *Readings in Descriptive and Historical Sociology,* New York, 1911, Part 2, Chs. 3, 4.

in ethnic society, and the fourth association in civil society. Consciousness of kind is considered the grand consummation of association, and in this way highly organized forms of human grouping actually evolve. This theory may be valuable as an offset against the exaggeration of such theories as the struggle for existence of Malthus and Darwin, but it cannot be accepted as an explanation of cultural change. Association and dissociation are closely interwoven forms of the social process, and it is just as serious an error to ignore the one as it is to ignore the other.

Sociation and the Common-human Relations

Sociation may be treated from the standpoint of common-human relations or from the standpoint of circumscribed relations. In the former case association and dissociation are controlled by the free choices and desires of individuals. People are free, we say, to select their friends, to become intimate with some and not so with others. They are not free of course in the sense that their choices have no relationship to experience; they may be free, however, in the sense that the considerations which determine the various degrees of sympathetic accord do not concern anyone else, or in the sense that they are not thought of as concerning anyone else. This, however, is by no means generally the case, especially when there is a great deal of mutual satisfaction in company. The reference to third, fourth, and fifth parties quickly becomes a certainty. It is precisely this reference which explains the transition from the common-human to circumscribed relations. For the multiplication of references implies the restraining influence of conventional standards, moral codes, religious beliefs or even laws enforced by the police power of the state. It may be said that nobody can force the movement of the series which defines the level of association or dissociation, that this is entirely a matter of personal taste and desire. In a sense this is true. An individual may cultivate a relationship or not according to his powers and desires. But there may be a question of caste involved, a question of religious affiliation, possibly a question of nationality or race, a question of morality, or even a question of law. Individuals do not select their friends from all classes of society; some societies enforce sumptuary laws which restrict relations severely. The caste lines are closed lines. Or again, if one is devout and orthodox in matters of religion what will others say of association with a person whose ideas are plainly heterodox? The situation may result in excommunication from the Church, but that is only a way of saying that one form of circumscribed relation is substituted for another. Relationships between Negroes and whites are circumscribed not only by convention and morality, but also by law. Thus it is clear that the external references and the circumscribed relationships become increasingly significant as association proceeds to higher levels of common accord, or as dissociation proceeds to higher levels of misunderstanding and conflict.

For others are more vitally concerned as the relationship becomes increasingly cordial or increasingly hostile.

The critical reader may be inclined to object at this point and say that association and dissociation are exclusively and necessarily controlled by circumscribed relationships. He objects to a position which allows even a small margin of individual freedom on the ground that it is anarchistic, and more or less disruptive. Also, he objects on the ground that the experience of the individual is built up from infancy in a controlled environment of ideas and values. The very choices and desires of individuals are therefore governed by circumscribed relations, and the term "common-human relations" may as well be deleted from the sociologist's vocabulary. He may be well enough informed to quote Ludwig Gumplowicz who wrote as follows: "The great error of individualistic psychology is the supposition that man thinks. . . . The whole belief in the freedom of human action is rooted in the idea that man's conduct is the fruit of his thoughts, and that his thoughts are exclusively his own. This is an error. He is not self-made mentally any more than he is physically. His mind and thoughts are the product of his social medium, of the social element whence he arose, in which he lives."[3] And this line of argument may be strengthened with a second quotation from the same author. "Rarely can the maturest minds so far succeed in emancipating themselves from this medium as to undertake independent reflection, while complete emancipation is impossible, for all the organs and modes of thought, all the organs for constructing thoughts have been molded or at least thoroughly imbued by it."[4]

Interplay Between the Common-human and Circumscribed Relations

The line of distinction between the common-human and the circumscribed is not a hard and fixed line. But to assume that the latter excludes the former is not warranted. For example, consider the behavior of a crowd when deeply stirred in the presence of a person believed to be guilty of a shocking crime. Under favorable circumstances the depth and intensity of feeling is uncontrollable; anger is followed with revenge more shocking than the crime committed by the guilty person. It matters not that the object of anger may be innocent; it is enough to believe that he is guilty. Considerations of fairness, prudence, justice are thrown to the winds as the accepted standards of morality, law and common decency are violated in a spirit of "righteous indignation." Circumscribed relations are not in evidence in this type of situation; the controlling relations are common-human. It is of course admitted that the individualistic psychology is in error, that

[3] L. Gumplowicz, *Outlines of Sociology*, translated by F. W. Moore, Philadelphia, 1899, pp. 156, 160. Publications of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 157.

men seldom undertake the type of independent reflection which produces great discoveries and inventions, that a person's thoughts and feelings are thoroughly imbued with the cultural milieu in which he lives, that the customary methods of thought and proof are not original with the individual, that man's action is restricted by the mores of his associates and that the common standards of morality are not ordinarily violated with impunity.

Thus, man is not self-made mentally any more than he is physically. If the most mature minds rarely emancipate themselves it must follow logically that they do so in some instances. Gumplowicz does not say that rules and regulations governing conduct are prescribed for every possible sort of situation. Within the limits of these regulations there is a wide latitude for the free play of impulse, choice and desire. And it is precisely within this range that the relations are described as common-human. Obviously, the term is quite as indispensable as its opposite. Association and dissociation are manifestly conditioned by both.

There is interplay, however, between the common-human and the circumscribed fields of stimulus and response. It is this interplay which governs the changes in the rules and regulations laid down as well as changes in the quality and temper of the common-human relations. One may picture a society in which detailed rules of etiquette and convention narrowly circumscribe the relations of individuals and therefore rigidly govern the processes of association and dissociation. Parents select mates for their children and the young bride goes to live in the home of her husband's parents, as in China. Here she finds her relationships governed by code. Her attitudes toward the various members of the newly acquired family are prescribed along with the routine duties of day-to-day existence. Betrothal, marriage, birth, death, and baptism are occasions of the most elaborate ceremony. The son is bound by the rules which prescribe his filial duties, not only to his living parents, but also to the spirits of their ancestors, particularly on the paternal side. Religious ceremonies and festivals do honor and commemorate the spirits of forefathers departed from this world, and these spirits in turn are pleased to secure the welfare and happiness of their living descendants. And thus the living and the dead are bound together in a spirit of fraternal accord and mutual solicitude perpetuated generation after generation according to the rules laid down. Lines of interclass mobility are closed, individuals being born in certain ranks of society in which their obligations and rights are rigidly fixed.[5] And thus the relations between sexes before as well as after marriage, between parents and children, between the living and the dead; between various ranks and classes and between these in turn and public officialdom,

[5] See the Roman type of patriarchal family. W. Goodsell, *A History of the Family as a Social and Educational Institution*, New York, 1920, pp. 112-129.

whether secular or religious, are narrowly and rigidly circumscribed. It appears that the range of free choice and spontaneous expression of the individual has been reduced to little or nothing. But such is not the case. The scope of the common-human is still appreciable, and sufficiently so to provide occasion and the means for the modification and revision of plurality patterns and prescribed controls. Factory workers in China know what it means to lay down their tools collectively and strike for higher wages; consumers as well as workers have learned the meaning and the power of the boycott; foreign concessions and extraterritoriality have been challenged repeatedly; husbands have learned the meaning of divorce and Chinese students educated in foreign lands have departed from the teachings of Confucius and Mencius. Under the leadership of Sun Yat Sen the form of government was thoroughly overhauled and democratic ideas were given a wide circulation. An old Chinese proverb states that "When the man of high station is well instructed, he loves men; when the man of low station is well instructed, he is easily ruled."[6] This teaching served well during the long period of stabilized forms of social relations which followed the age of Chinese civilization; under the impact of the West this teaching has not served so well. Education, industry, and government have not been developed along Western lines by reason of the recognized superiority of European institutions but rather because the exigencies of cultural integrity and racial survival have required modifications and adjustments. And these changes are reflected in the associative and dissociative processes of the family, religion, industry, and agriculture. That the old equilibrium has been severely jolted is perfectly manifest; that the resultant situation is one of disequilibrium, disorganization, and instability is equally certain. Under the impact of Western Imperialism the interplay of the common-human and the circumscribed relations has produced new conceptions of both. The associative and dissociative processes have been vitally affected in consequence. For the range of the common-human is broadened as the older circumscribed forms break down and new forms are in process of development. The older forms were adapted very well indeed to check revolutionary movement from within, to guarantee stability and order. They were not at all well adapted to cope with Western Imperialism since Western methods of production, commerce and warfare proved to be far more effective instruments. Thus the defensive assimilation of Western science and Western methods was forced upon an ancient people. A loosening of the traditional restraints and inhibitions was necessary in the process of readjustment and the area of the common-human was extended accordingly. The Japanese did likewise, but they did not stop there; a defensive assimilation was transformed into a most impressive offensive.

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[6] Quoted by E. S. Bogardus, *A History of Social Thought*, Los Angeles, 1929, p. 46.

The Substitution of New Forms of Circumscribed Relations for the Old

The Turk under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal Ataturk bids fairly well to do likewise. For in Turkey the Caliphate is no more, the indomitable Ghazi having abolished it; that symbol of the ancient empire, the picturesque red fez, which once adorned the brow of every Turkish subject, has disappeared; women have removed their veils and participate in politics; the harem has been abolished; archaic methods of jurisprudence have been thoroughly revised and religious control of education has been taken up by the very roots. A republican constitutional form of government had been substituted for the despotism of Abdul Hamid, but Kemal is a dictator and democratic methods are pliable in his hands. Education has been modernized, and so also the civil and criminal codes. Not only European dress, but also the Latin alphabet has been adopted. The Mohammedan priesthood objecting to all of these reforms fought vigorously, but the Ghazi dealt with them firmly. Recently the newspapers reported a walkout of two thousand Turkish factory women who went on strike for higher wages. They were receiving only half the wages of men for the same work; hence they demanded equal pay for equal work. And if anyone thinks this sweeping and marvelous transformation of ancient custom and law, this deliberate assimilation of Western ways was the natural result of a consciously recognized superiority of the European, he is very naïve indeed. It is again a case of defensive assimilation, for the War of the Great Powers did not deal kindly with the Turk and he was forced to learn and apply Western science, methods of communication, transportation, commerce, and last but by no means least, Western methods of warfare.

The Medieval Manor

The interplay of the common-human and the circumscribed forms of relationship within the movement of the cultural organism shows how the associative and dissociative processes are governed and how these in turn are related to the dissolution of old structures and the integration of new structures. The early medieval society of feudal days is often described as static. It was believed that God ordained the existing stratification and the corresponding rights and duties of each class. Social distances depended upon the rank in which one was born, and levels of intimacy, association, and dissociation were controlled accordingly. One is impressed with the circumscribed forms and the common-human appears inconspicuous. Nevertheless it was significant. For illustration one may consider the medieval manor which was controlled by a system of feudal relationships. In England

it reached a high level of stability during the generation which followed the Norman Conquest and preserved untouched for centuries the lord's demesne and the common fields.[7] Customary tenure, customary services, and customary court were essential features of the manor. The common fields were divided up into strips which the villeins cultivated for their own purposes. They were also required to cultivate the demesne of the lord of the manor, to render carrying services, and to provide special foods at certain times of the year such as cocks and hens at Christmas. Obligations such as heriot, relief, merchet, tallage, the great tithe, the little tithe, corvée, amercements, and court charges from time to time were recognized. The tithe was equivalent to a definite share, usually less than a tenth of the annual crops;[8] the "great tithe" which figured in the revolt of 1524-1525 was a portion of the corn crop; the "little tithe" was generally a head of cattle; amercements were fines, as upon strangers who violated the hunting preserves; tallage was a tax, usually paid annually, imposed by the lord upon his tenants; relief was a payment made by a villein to his lord when he entered upon a holding; heriot was a similar payment made by his heirs at the time of his death; merchet was a tribute paid for the privilege of marrying his daughter to an acceptable suitor. The serf was not free to move to town or from one manor to another, and the opportunity of improving his status to that of a copyholder or a freeholder was inconsequential. Born a serf he was "stuck" to the soil of the lord of the manor, and bound to render many kinds of service and pay many sorts of tribute according to the customary rules without hope of favor except insofar as the lord and his officials administered these rules with due regard for the equal rights of all who belonged to the same rank and assumed responsibility for military protection. While these relations were highly circumscribed the play of the common-human was also much in evidence. For example, when boon works were rendered at harvest time, the lord provided "love meals" in order to stimulate greater exertions, and the villeins in return did "love bones" or extra boon works without any gratuities.[9] Occasionally the lord and his family patronized holiday games and dancing on the green.

[7] Bland, Brown, and Tawney, *English Economic History*, London, 1915, p. 54.

[8] The tithe has survived in England to this day. In the autumn of 1934, 12,000 British farmers pledged themselves to disobey the law which requires the payment of a tithe for the particular benefit of the Church of England. Thousands of warrants were issued for the distraint of various kinds of farm property, but less than one-tenth of these were successfully executed. Both sides employed violence. Infuriated farmers, armed with sticks and guns, fought the bailiffs who attempted midnight raids in order to seize cattle, sheep, and farm implements. Trenches were dug, barricades thrown up, wire fences electrified, and the gates buttressed by tree trunks. Farmers organized night patrols and fired rockets to give warning of approaching raiders. Friends of the farmers purchased the distrained goods at auctions for little or nothing and then returned them to their original owners—sheep sold for 2 cents apiece, haystacks at 85 cents, and $22,000 worth of furniture sold for $7. All of this is reminiscent of many attempted foreclosures of farm property in the United States during the administration of Herbert Hoover. John Steele, *The Chicago Tribune*, November 18, 1934.

[9] E. Lipson, *An Introduction to the Economic History of England*, London, 1920, p. 35.

The reeve, who represented the interests of the villagers as the bailiff represented those of his lord, not only safeguarded the rights of his fellow serfs, but sought to gain special advantages in their behalf. For the bailiff was required to know the number of acres to be plowed, and the amount of seed necessary for sowing, "lest the master should be defrauded by cheating reeves." And if the master saw fit on occasion to turn down the screws and increase his share of service and tribute he was also under pressure at times to release the screws and relieve the burdens of his villeins. The interplay of common-human and circumscribed relations is also shown by the offering of alms to the destitute, by tax exemptions, remissions of rents and fines, reduction of the tribute due when a new holding was taken up or when death and marriage payments were due. Under more pressing circumstances these obligations were cancelled entirely. Base tenures were converted into copyholds and freeholds; manumissions were granted. The status of the copyholder whose rights were secured by the written testimony of the roll of the manor also shows the interplay of the common-human, since only the customary obligations could be enforced under a copyhold. The villeins who were not protected in this way looked to the reeve to relieve their burdens when the master imposed excessive requirements upon them. And in the later period the lord and his bailiff had more to fear than "cheating reeves." The "great tithe" was one of the grievances of the peasants who precipitated the Black Forest revolt of 1524-1525. We are told that the Countess of Lupfen who commanded her serfs to gather strawberries on some church holiday and to collect snail shells on which to wind her skeins after spinning was responsible for the first serious outbreak of this same insurrection.[10] The Jacqueries, a revolt of French peasants, took place in 1358, and a similar peasants' revolt occurred in England in 1381. Villeins were granted stretches of woodland to ease their rents. And if they persisted in a rebellious spirit their good-will was courted in various ways. In one instance a charter of liberty was granted to all of the villeins of a manor; they became freeholders bound only by a contract they had signed with their masters. Here, as in other cases, the customary tenants were inclined to be rebellious and the grant of freedom was designed to preserve an understanding.[11] Many villeins escaped from the manor to the town, and it was very difficult if at all possible to trace them, especially when the relations between town and countryside were not as friendly as they might have been. The corvée was a thorn in the side of the villein for it was indefinite, not only as to time, but also as to amount; it was listed among the peasants' grievances and abolition demanded on more than one occasion. Thus it is quite clear that the common-human was as significant as the circumscribed, in fact it became increasingly significant during the

[10] E. B. Bax, *The Peasants' War in Germany*, London and New York, 1899, p. 37.
[11] Bland, Brown, and Tawney, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries as the first symptoms of disintegration resulted finally in the complete collapse of serfdom.

The Balanced Equilibrium of Forces

In every society the forces identified with the common-human and the forces identified with the circumscribed forms of relation are balanced; they may be firmly balanced as in the feudalism of the twelfth century, or they may be delicately balanced as in the feudalism of the fifteenth century. The movement of a culture therefore represents a changing equilibrium of forces in terms of which the dissolution of old structures, and the integration of new structures may be explained. No society could possibly be organized on the principle of the common-human; no more could society be organized exclusively on the principle of circumscribed relations. For in the first case the associative and dissociative processes would be determined exclusively by human impulse and free choice. This means anarchy or complete negation of environmental controls over behavior. In the second case the associative and dissociative processes would be determined exclusively by prescribed rules; human impulse and freedom of choice would play no part—in short a compulsory communism, which in effect means complete stagnation, would come into being. In the case of anarchy common-human relations are all-inclusive; in the case of communism the circumscribed relations are all-inclusive. Both violate the essential requirements of human growth and human existence, and it is just as impossible to conceive of the one as a superior principle of social organization as it is to conceive of the other in like terms. The reason is that each violates the necessary requisites of security and survival, and so long as man is human the concepts of anarchism and communism can be understood only as ideals in relation to actual historical situations. The slave dreams of freedom; the born ruler dreams of a better order of circumscribed relations. But the pendulum swings now in one direction—enlargement of the area of the common-human; now in the opposite direction—enlargement of the sphere of the circumscribed. And thus the great configurations of plurality patterns we define as feudalism, the medieval manor and the gild, capitalism and national socialism have their periods of growth, development, integration and consolidation as well as their periods of decadence, disintegration and dissolution.

But these are minor rhythms which occur within the major cultural movement. Feudalism, capitalism, and some kind of national socialism represent the characteristic sequence of forms in the order named. And each in turn represents a characteristic balance of the common-human and the circumscribed relations which control the associative and dissociative processes.

The Craft Gild

The urban gild which evolved gradually as a differentiation of the rural manor is, of course, identified with the feudal period. Religious, political, and ethical patterns of thought which determined the content of life were substantially the same for each. The gild along with the manor decayed and disintegrated with the dissolution of feudalism. In England town economy developed its best form in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[12] Here the gilds were largely under the sway of custom until the end of the thirteenth century. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the gilds enacted regulative measures—gild ordinances—which in the main were based upon custom, and the town authorities passed similar laws for similar reasons. The Elizabethan legislation of the sixteenth century summed up and rounded off the work of the previous two hundred years as shown particularly in the Statutes of Apprentices, but by this time a national political economy was taking more positive and definite form.[13] On the continent these lines of development were closely paralleled although the time factor varied considerably. National political economy did not assume definite lines of organization in Germany until the nineteenth century.

The interplay of the common-human and the circumscribed relations in the medieval craft gild again determined the associative and dissociative processes. For the apprentice was bound by his indenture to live with his master during the term of apprenticeship. This term varied somewhat but the seven-year period appears to have become a recognized standard in England. The relation between master craftsman and his apprentices was paternal. Guardianship as well as instruction was provided by the master who assumed responsibility for feeding, clothing, housing, teaching, and training his apprentices.[14] These in turn were responsible for their general good behavior as well as for faithful and obedient performance of duties in the shop. Thus to all intents and purposes the apprentice became a member of his master's family for a seven-year period of time. There were limitations upon the number of apprentices as well as upon the term of apprenticeship. The status of the journeyman was different. Like the apprentice he worked for his master in the latter's shop, but unlike the apprentice he lived in his own home with his own family on an income received from his master for service rendered. In the early period of gild development he was able in time to accumulate savings sufficient to set up his own shop, indenture his own apprentices, and employ his own journeymen. As a master he now contributed to the common box which protected

[12] W. J. Ashley, *The Economic Organization of England*, London, 1921, p. 28.
[13] Bland, Brown, and Tawney, *op. cit.*, p. 153.
[14] L. A. Boettiger, *Employee Welfare Work*, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

him against every conceivable risk as previously described, and he also participated in the lawmaking activities of his fellow masters. These covered every possible aspect of production. The quality of wares was standardized, wages and hours were fixed, child and woman labor, along with night work, were prohibited, and in many other ways the freedom of the individual was restricted. The relationships were closely circumscribed, and the interplay with the common-human does not become apparent until some attention is concentrated upon it. For instance let us consider the gild ordinances. Why did the gildsmen find it desirable to enact laws binding each other in so many ways? Why did not the customary standards suffice? It becomes evident that, as the trade with the countryside increased, certain gildsmen sought to gain competitive advantages over their colleagues. They used an inferior grade of material, or they worked nights, employed their wives and children, offered special inducements to their apprentices, such as substantial Christmas gifts, or shortened their terms for the consideration of longer hours of work, or other competitive advantages similar in kind.[15] This endangered standards of living in many ways for it threatened to lower prices below costs; it increased the number of competing gildsmen too rapidly; it undermined the conditions of health; it made them suspicious of each other, and set each to work for his own advantage at the expense of the other craftsmen. And when the authority of the gilds proved inadequate as an enforcement agency, the authority of the towns was added; and when these in turn failed to suffice, the national state passed the necessary laws. There was such intense rivalry among the gilds in connection with the religious plays and the procession of Corpus Christi Day that the expense increased until many of the smaller gilds were nearly ruined. And this in turn explains why these smaller gilds united for the support of a common pageant during the latter half of the fifteenth century. Thus the interplay of the common-human and the circumscribed behavior controlled the associative and dissociative processes throughout the gild period. And this interplay was especially noteworthy when the journeymen organized independent groups for purposes of collective bargaining. The lines of advancement were tightened by direct as well as indirect obstructions; entrance fees were required of the journeymen before becoming masters; a masterpiece of workmanship—*meisterstücke*—was also demanded, with the result that more capital was needed to set up independently. This meant new types of leadership, and new forms of conflict and co-operation. The journeymen remained away from work collectively for various purposes: they desired a complete transformation of status from that of servant to that of associate or partner; they wished to substitute a piece-work system of wages for the time wage;

[15] F. B. Bickley, *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, London, 1900, Vol. II, p. 106.

they demanded a contractual form of employment relation, and a preferential shop in which all applicants for employment had to be introduced by a recognized official of the yeoman gild; higher wages were requested, and the truck system was opposed with varying results.[16] On the continent the yeoman gilds became independent societies, whereas in England they became adjuncts of the master gilds.

Common-human Relations and the Protestant Reformation

The sphere of the common-human was greatly enlarged with the success of the Protestant Reformation. Martin Luther, Ulrich Zwingli, John Knox, and John Calvin belong to the sixteenth century. The battle for freedom of religious belief and sanctity of the individual conscience resulted in a victory for the forces of individualization. Salvation was dependent on grace and grace was a free gift of God dependent only upon the contrite heart. As previously shown the ethic of this movement was closely allied with the rising spirit of capitalism. For as the former demanded and obtained liberty of conscience, the latter demanded and obtained *laissez faire.* But this extension of the sphere of the common-human did not produce a condition of anarchy; rather it developed slowly into a new order of circumscribed relations. For the Protestant Churches developed their own distinctive creeds and their own codes of ethics. And if the Puritanical creed and code stimulated the play of human impulse and freedom of choice along certain lines, it certainly succeeded in restricting those same impulses and choices along other lines. The conscience of the Puritan was a circumscribed conscience.[17] And while the spirit of capitalism demanded abolition of restrictions on the freedom of business enterprise, and stimulated the initiative of the individual in the pursuit of his chosen calling—a calling which was defined mystically in terms of God Almighty and His Will—it succeeded also in breaking the power of the feudal nobility. At the same time the Protestant reformers succeeded in checking the temporal power of the Roman Catholic priesthood. Moreover, the spirit of capitalism set up its own institutions of government and law—institutions which guaranteed and protected the political rights, and the accumulated wealth of merchant prince, financier, and capitalist manufacturer alike. A new balance of centrifugal and centripetal forces was attained as the interplay of common-human and circumscribed relations established a new basis of cultural stability in the rise-to-power of the middle class allied with the Protestant faith. In the course of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries these influences established a definite authority. Liberty, fraternity, and equality did not mean an indefinite extension of

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[16] G. Schanz, *Zur Geschichte der Deutschen Gesellenverbände,* Leipzig, 1877, pp. 109-116.
[17] J. M. Mecklin, *An Introduction to Social Ethics,* New York, 1920, Ch. 2.

the common-human. They meant rather the creation of a new order, a new scheme of life with reasonably clear conceptions of law, government, religion, ethics, education and family life. And this new order achieved its best form in the nineteenth century as an integral phase of the movement of the cultural cycle. It released the mightiest manifestation of human effort and human energy that the world has ever known. As Western man sailed the "seven seas" no bounds were recognized to limit his discoveries and explorations. The trader and the missionary followed in the footsteps of the discoverer and explorer as successive waves of colonists, Spanish, Dutch, English, French, and German established settlements in almost every habitable area of the globe. The pursuit of science achieved victories which led to a seemingly endless succession of inventions utilizing the forces of nature in the service of man. Physical sciences were followed first by the biological sciences, and then by history, and the social sciences. Every nook and cranny of nature was scrutinized by the trained eye of the scientific investigator as marvel followed upon marvel, invention led to invention, and new discoveries made the old look pale in comparison. The Industrial Revolution signified a complete transformation of the processes of manufacture, transportation, and communication as these inventions and discoveries piled up. The entire world was finally subdued, not only in a physical sense, but also in a spiritual and cultural sense, as the moving civilization of Western man established commercial and political relations with every country of the world. And it is precisely this dynamic spirit of conquest and discovery, which reaches out toward the infinite and knows no limitations to the possibilities of human achievement and seduction of the hidden forces of nature, that Oswald Spengler calls the Faustian Spirit of Western man. The same spirit is reflected in Gothic architecture, orchestral music, the cabinet-parliamentary form of government, the mathematics and physics of Leibnitz, Newton and Gauss, the paintings of Leonardo da Vinci and Rembrandt, the literature of Shakespeare and Goethe, as well as in the work of the great philosophers like Descartes, Kant, and Nietzsche. All of these perfected forms of artistic and scientific effort stand as symbols of the Faustian Spirit. And this perfection of form was achieved in all of the major fields of artistic and scientific interest during the period from the thirteenth to the ninetetenth centuries.

Democracy

The overwhelming power of the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism inevitably resulted in the most extreme statements of social and political theory. The effort to extend the sphere of the common-human to the utmost possible limits is reflected especially in the work of Jean Jacques Rousseau, a French political and social philosopher of the eighteenth cen-

tury. He preached the doctrine of the happy savage—*le bon sauvage*—who was good because he was free. This freedom was conceived in relation to the restraints and restrictions which circumscribed the associative and dissociative processes of Europe at the time. Men were wicked, trouble was forever brewing, and disaster appeared imminent, not because man was evil by nature, but because his best traits and highest impulses were constantly thwarted and suppressed by the formal requirements of life in a highly artificial society.[18] The primitive savage, according to this philosopher, was not burdened with oppressive demands of church and state; he was free, and therefore he was happy. Human nature, accordingly, is essentially good if left alone to seek its own happiness; if the spontaneous play of free choice and instinctive impulse is severely circumscribed by the cumbersome laws and institutions of a civilized society, human nature becomes evil in the process of perversion. And hence, Rousseau's doctrine of the social contract—*le contrat sociale*—which builds upon the preceding premises and offers a moral justification of democratic institutions. But Rousseau, presumably, was writing history, and not moral philosophy. The social contract was described as the origin of orderly relations in human affairs. By it men reached an agreement, a consensus, and the will of the majority became the Will of God. It was neither the voice of the king nor the voice of the priest which represented the voice of God; it was the voice of the people as expressed by the majority. As the former aristocratic theory piled up injustice upon injustice, so the latter democratic theory realized justice by identifying it with human freedom. The function of a political official was merely to carry out the expressed desires of the majority of his constituents representing a consensus or agreement; it was purely administrative. Liberty, fraternity, equality were natural rights, endowed freely upon everyone by the Source of all wisdom and power. The violation of these inalienable rights thus became in effect a violation of the will of God Almighty. And thus religion and morality combined to vindicate man in the exercise of these inalienable rights. The triumph of democratic institutions was assured. This was indeed a barrel of dynamite from the point of view of the ruling classes in France at the time. It had much to do with creating the mood which resulted finally in the Revolution of 1789. It represented the Jacobins rather than the Girondists and overstated the case for the rising bourgeoisie. Merchants, manufacturers, foreign traders, and financiers after all were not madmen. But the mischief was done, and that is the point in this discussion, for it was precisely this spirit of democracy which slowly but surely compromised the authority of the capitalist class as it led step by step toward some form of national concentration.

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[18] F. N. House, *The Development of Sociology*, New York and London, 1936, pp. 53-58.

Democracy Creates New Conditions of Life

In the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries voluntary organizations of every conceivable kind—religious, fraternal, economic, political, social, philanthropic, recreational, juridical, and educational—multiplied very rapidly. Workers in industry organized for purposes of collective bargaining, and although their efforts were restricted at first by the conspiracy laws, they were given increasing legal protection and recognition in the course of the century. Such apparently harmless tools as the strike and the boycott developed into far more dangerous weapons such as the sympathetic strike, the general strike, the folded arms strike and physical intimidation by pickets. This type of organization led to the development of a powerful trade union movement in England, and ultimately to the organization of the Labor Party. This party under some degree of conservative Tory discipline has actually controlled the destinies of the British Empire. A very similar story, varying in particulars to be sure, but essential in all important respects, may be told for France, Germany, and the United States. The weapons of organized labor, previously described, plus an increasing political power guaranteed by the democratic safeguards of free speech, press, and assemblage, appeared harmless enough on the surface; but with the success of the communist revolution in Russia, and the avowed objective of the *Third Internationale* to "liberate the masses" by breaking the back of capitalism in every country of the Western world, the situation assumed an entirely different aspect.

The voluntary organizations of manufacturers likewise assumed an increasingly menacing significance. By various devices such as the sale of "loss leaders," cutting price below cost for a temporary period, special rebates and discounts from the big railroads, together with a great variety of governmental favors such as franchises, tariffs and patent rights, certain business enterprises were able to crowd out all or nearly all of their competitors, domestic and foreign. The gigantic trusts, amalgamations, holding companies, and mergers in transportation, oil, rubber, steel production, tobacco manufacture, aluminum, power, and other types of big business cracked down on their competitors both at home and abroad. Increasingly the government appeared to become little more than an agency for serving the interests of these great establishments. The struggles of states for colonies, strategic waterways, and lines of land communication became disturbing as well as bitter. No less an authority than Woodrow Wilson is quoted as saying in effect that everybody knows the Great War of 1914-1918 was a commercial war. The governments of the Western powers supported great speculative ventures abroad by providing the necessary diplomatic facilities and agencies, by subsidizing some of these enterprises, by military and naval protection of

foreign investments in productive undertaking, by a system of preferential tariffs, and in certain other less creditable ways.[19] And all of this became a danger, not merely because of the incredible costs and the human sacrifices incident to warfare in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but because finally it produced an economic stalemate. Overinvestment led to overproduction, and consequent underconsumption because of widespread unemployment hitherto unknown in the countries of Europe and America. While the capacity to produce far exceeded the requirements of consumers, nations found it necessary to feed and clothe their unemployed by the millions. It was a many-sided process which may be viewed from the standpoint of finance, and the part played by the great banks, bondhouses and stock exchanges of the country; or it may be viewed from the standpoint of the "rationalization" of productive processes which meant rapidly increasing investment costs per unit of labor; it may be viewed from the standpoint of imperialistic rivalries of national states; or it may be viewed from the standpoint of the spirit of capitalism with its correlative in the ethic of Protestantism. In any event the structure of nineteenth century capitalism has collapsed, and the spirit is dead or dying, except in so far as confused and tired business men are not able to understand what is going on before their eyes.[20] Communism in Russia supplanted the old order modelled essentially along the lines of Western capitalism even though the country was mainly agricultural; fascism supplanted the old order in Germany and Italy. In England, France, and America there are definite tendencies toward the organization of some form of national concentration whatever it may be called in the final outcome. While the New Deal in the United States may appear to some as a movement toward the left, it is, nevertheless, in certain fundamental aspects, a movement toward the right. To be sure, the state now assumes responsibility for the security of the masses whereas heretofore individuals were taught and expected to provide for their own maintenance exclusively by their own efforts; the state assumes responsibility for regulating the banks, bondhouses, and stock exchanges of the country whereas formerly these institutions manipulated their resources freely in their own interests; the state assumes responsibility for wages and hours in industry whereas hitherto these questions were largely left to the free play of competitive factors; the state assumes responsibility for such projects as housing, slum clearance, rural welfare, child welfare, public health, recreation, and

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[19] P. T. Moon, *Imperialism and World Politics*, New York, 1926, Ch. 4.

[20] This is well illustrated by the Congressional enactment in the summer of 1937 of the Miller-Tydings price maintenance act. After being blocked by President Roosevelt and the Federal Trade Commission, this law slipped through Congress as a rider on the District of Columbia appropriation bill. It validates for interstate commerce the resale price pegging measures of 42 states, called fair trade laws. Operation of anti-trust legislation is manifestly qualified. This law was strongly favored by such organizations as the 22,000 members of the National Association of Retail Druggists. It was signed by the President.

education, while in the not remote past these problems were left to private agencies for their solution. The concentration of executive and administrative functions, and the recession of parliamentary procedures, is the necessary consequence of these new responsibilities of the state. And this means the gradual substitution of national authoritarian patterns of thought and action for the older patterns associated with *laissez faire*. The old order of circumscribed relations gives way to the new as the Western culture fulfills its destiny. And the associative and dissociative processes are conditioned accordingly.

Extreme individualism threatens finally to destroy the spirit of a culture, and the former is sacrificed because the latter is more vital and fundamental. The enlargement of the sphere of the common-human in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries meant a woman's rights movement, and demands for sex equality which increased the divorce rate, and lowered the birth rate to the point where the future of the race as well as the family become uncertain. It was the eighteenth century theory of liberty and equality which gave the moral impetus to this movement. The same democratic ideals assimilated by subject races in foreign lands were not compatible with ideas of racial inequality and imperialistic oppression. Hence the movement of self-determination and the revolt of the colored races is justified in terms of democratic idealism.[21] The overemphasis of sex in picture shows and fiction, crime for profit and organized racketeering, semi-religious nudistic cults, jazz in music, and the perversion of good taste by means of extravagant and deceptive advertising are end products of the same libertarian movement. Democracy tends to destroy itself, and the liberal-scientific mind which it helped to create readjusts itself to the new order of circumscribed relations.

These relations may be imposed by the authority of a minority exercising physical force through a *coup d'état;* they may be established by the will of a great majority. While the former method tends toward indefinite chaos, protracted upheaval, and latent insurrection, the latter offers better guarantees of a peaceful régime of law and order. This was well expressed by Alfred M. Landon in the course of an address at Topeka, Kansas on July 23, 1936, as follows:

> It is not my belief that the constitution is above change. The people have the right, by the means that have been prescribed, to change their form of government to fit their wishes. If they could not do this, they would not be free. But change must come by and through the people, and not by usurpation. Changes should come openly, after full and free discussion, and after full opportunity for the people to express their will.

[21] The truth of this statement is elaborated in detail by Herbert Miller in his book, *Races, Nations and Classes,* Philadelphia, 1924.

Problem Questions

1. How does the association of two persons change when a third party becomes equally intimate with both?

2. According to Giddings association tends to create a consciousness of kind on four ascendant levels: (1) a purely reflexive level of like response, (2) an emotional level of like response, (3) on the level of sentiment, which is defined as an organized system of reactions centered in some object, (4) on the level of reason. Is the consciousness of kind increasingly stable as the level of association rises in this scale?

3. Contrast the following factors of association in the isolated sacred and accessible secular structures: race, intellect, nationality, money, religion, and traditional morality.

4. Is the consciousness of kind any more significant or vital as a conditioning factor of sociation than the consciousness of difference?

5. Contrast in some detail Darwin's theory of the origin of species with Kropotkin's theory.

6. Israel Zangwill wrote a play entitled *The Melting Pot* in which he appeared to advocate the amalgamation of all racial stocks living in America. Is this a reasonable ideal?

7. Evaluate the following factors as determinants of the level of intimacy or the social distance between two individuals: (1) religious belief, (2) economic status, (3) race, (4) nationality, (5) mental status.

8. Did these factors function in a similar order during the medieval period, say the twelfth century?

9. Giddings explains social progress on the ground of increasing extension and intensity of the consciousness of kind. Is this a valid theory?

10. Pareto declares that the native convert of the foreign missionary loses his morality in the process of changing his religion. He may acquire the religion of the missionary but not his morality. Why should this be so?

11. Is there any parallel between this situation and the situation of the native-born American of foreign-born parents?

12. Why does association lead to more stable forms of relationship in the country than in the city?

13. How do you rate the following factors as instruments of like-mindedness: (1) the newspaper, (2) the radio, (3) the election campaign, (4) the popular magazine, (5) the public school, (6) sports.

14. It has been held that the characteristic traits of the American are (1) originality and resourcefulness, (2) optimism, (3) rugged individualism, (4) humanitarianism. What can be said to support this view?

15. Is there any evidence to show that these characteristics are changing or have changed?

16. Does the extension and diversification of the means of communication favor or impede the creation of a wider base for the consciousness of kind?

Suggestions for Additional Reading

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COMPETITION AND REGULATION

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF these terms and certain relationships between them will be illustrated before they are defined. Everyone understands in a more or less general way the meaning of these processes. That competition, as well as regulation, implies interhuman relations within a certain cultural area is obvious enough. It is also plain that these processes are thought beneficial or harmful depending upon a variety of circumstances. But the sociologist does not approach the study of these processes from a normative point of view. To do so would be disastrous. He wishes to understand; he does not wish to praise or blame. One person will say that competition is a great creative and energy releasing process, the very life of society; another person will say that competition is the most destructive, disruptive, and vicious of all of the forms of the social process. And both persons may bring an amazing wealth of historical citation, statistical proof, and philosophical argument to support their contentions. Since the arguments nullify each other, the process of analysis must be started all over again anyhow. For the benefit of the reader it is desirable to emphasize from time to time the importance of a non-normative approach. If the reader remains skeptical let him judge for himself.

TYPES OF COMPETITION AND REGULATION

Manifestly a competitive situation is one in which two or more persons or two or more groups of persons are striving for the same desired ends. The cherished prizes of human effort are limited in relation to the number of individuals or groups desiring to enter the lists of contestants. Therefore competition. But free competition leads to intensification of rivalry, conflict, and physical violence. There must be safeguards against the destruction of life and property. Therefore regulation. Human situations, however, are never simple. One may distinguish three distinct types of competition and two distinct types of regulation. In the first type competing individuals or groups are not handicapped in any way whatever except by their own inherent limitations of mind, body, and spirit. We say the competition is free. In the second case the contestants agree upon certain rules of fair competition which they proceed to impose upon themselves. It is difficult to find a good term for this type of situation. One may say that the competition is free since

the competitive effort is not restricted by any outside agency, such as church or state, and since individuals or groups concerned are free to subscribe to the code or not, according as they find it convenient and desirable, or inconvenient and undesirable. But this merely confuses situation number one with situation number two. We must say that the competition is restricted in the second case by self-imposed rules or codes of fair competition agreed upon by all parties to the code. In the third situation the competition of individuals or groups is restricted by outside agencies, such as church or state. The competing individuals or groups may like the laws or not; they may find them very annoying, or very convenient, desirable, or undesirable. This makes no difference. The rules are enforced by the authority of the church, or by the police power of the state, all objections to the contrary notwithstanding. Here competition is regulated. Church and state may develop the most involved and elaborate system of regulation imaginable, such as the caste system in India. But competition does not disappear completely. Even the low caste untouchables in India assert themselves from time to time and demand a revised statement of their customary rights and duties. Thus it is clear that competition is inherent in the social process; it is equally clear that regulation is also inherent in the social process. Competition may indeed be relatively free in certain fields of human interest such as economic activity, educational activity, etc., but to assume that it is simultaneously free in all fields of human interest is simply to state a theoretical position of anarchy which never existed and never will exist. The functions of regulation therefore are (1) to define the fields in which competition may be free, (2) restricted only by self-imposed rules, and (3) restricted by the rules imposed by outside agencies.

Illustrations are by no means confined to economic activity. Colleges of higher learning may compete for students without any restrictions whatever, or they may compete in conformity with self-imposed codes of fair competition, or they may be required to follow laws and procedures imposed by outside agencies of church and state. The same may be said for professional groups of lawyers, doctors, and teachers, religious denominations, trade unions, and trade associations. The steel manufacturers who attended the famous Gary dinners entered into gentlemen's agreements with respect to prices and other matters of common interest.[1] Thus the steel industry was regulating competition from within. Many trade associations have been organized for similar purposes. In this way the energy formerly dissipated in internal competition and dissension is released for more effective competition with outside associations. When the codes of fair competition were worked out all over the country following the enactment of the National Industrial Recovery Act two orders of regulation were plainly apparent:

[1] L. H. Haney, *Business Organization and Combination*, New York, 1916, p. 147.

(1) the general regulations applicable to all industries, and (2) the self-imposed regulations agreed upon by competitors within a particular industry such as paper, textiles, iron and steel, coal mining, power, and many others.[2]

Relationships Between Competition and Regulation

There are certain relationships between competition and regulation which are apparent at this point. For example, the regulation of groups may have the effect of removing sources of friction and strife within these groups, thus maintaining a higher level of internal discipline. In this way the power of one group in competition with other groups is strengthened greatly, and the chances of success are enhanced. Thus the regulation of competition within a group often has the result of intensifying competition between groups. Whether it does so or not, in actual fact a higher level of discipline within a group increases the competitive power of the group. That is the meaning of nationalism in Turkey and the dictatorship of Mustapha Kemal Ataturk; fascism in Italy and Germany has a similar significance; so also the trend toward some kind of national socialism in other countries of the world. Competition between these national states grows more intense in the course of the process of *gleichschaltung,* and the equilibrium of power between states becomes more delicately balanced. Similar relationships between competition and regulation are manifest within a state. For the areas of free and partly qualified competition may be identified with economic activity, political activity, religious activity, military activity, or professional activity. A great extension of free competition in the field of business simply is not compatible with similar application of the same principle in the political field. On the other hand, the extension of free competition in the political field is incompatible with enlargement of the same area in the economic field. In other words, the competitive energies of a people need not necessarily be released in any particular field of interest, or in any particular combination of fields. One does not find them equally released in all fields at the same time; no more does one find them equally suppressed in all fields at the same time. Nevertheless one does find the type of society in which the ostensible aim is to release the competitive energies of people in all possible fields of human interest—*le carrière ouverte aux talents.* But this movement is necessarily conditioned by the existing balance of competitive and regulative relationships in the several fields of human interest. On the other hand one finds the type of society in which the manifest aim is to restrict within very narrow limits the same competitive energies in all possible spheres of human activity—the Dharma principle of caste in India serves to illustrate.[3]

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[2] S. E. Harris, "Economic Legislation of the Seventy-Third Congress," *The Economic Journal,* December, 1933, pp. 634-640.

[3] Wiese and Becker, *op. cit.,* pp. 258, 259.

But here too there are variable margins of freedom of competition within the prescribed limits in the political, business, military, religious, and educational activities. Thus, while there are varying levels of social mobility in a society as a whole, and varying degrees of social mobility in different fields of human effort, the conclusion is warranted that no society is absolutely mobile and no society is absolutely immobile. Accordingly energetic individuals with unusual resources of a mental and physical kind will be found moving away from areas of interest in which relations are closely circumscribed and in the direction of other interests in which the competition is free, and opportunity is offered for the self-assertiveness of the individual. Thus intensification of competition in one field is likely to be accompanied with relative inactivity in another field. Today the manifest trend toward increasing regulation of business means a decline of opportunity in the economic field and a corresponding dilution of competition; at the same time it means an increase of opportunity in the political field with a corresponding intensification of competition. A very similar situation developed during the era of Mercantilism. In the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, however, this type of relationship was reversed. The trend was *laissez faire,* at least up to the middle of the nineteenth century, and this meant increasing opportunities in business with corresponding intensification of competition in the economic field; it also meant a decline of opportunity in the political field with a corresponding dilution of competition. Mercantilism, *laissez faire,* and "neo-mercantilism," in the order named, indicate the movement of the cultural cycle.

Functions of Competition and Regulation

The function of competition is place assignment in the social system;[4] the function of regulation is to order the process of competition along desired lines, and within the prescribed limits. Such a principle as merit in the determination of the status of the individual stands in marked contradistinction to the principle of hereditary rank. As the first principle means open lines of achievement and a high rate of social mobility, the second means restriction of the lines of achievement and a low rate of social mobility.[5] The method of place assignment in the Roman Catholic Church will serve to illustrate. Inasmuch as the rule of celibacy is required of the clergy the hereditary principle of birth does not control the competitive process of place assignment. Thus ambitious individuals of the very lowest station in life are offered opportunities of great achievement and personal distinction in the work of the Church. The principle of merit controls the selection of competing individuals for official preferment. This is not to say that family

[4] E. A. Ross, *The Principles of Sociology,* New York, 1920, p. 181.
[5] P. Sorokin, *Social Mobility,* New York, 1927, p. 136 *et seq.*

influence, wealth, and the political implications of certain appointments play no part. The training for the priesthood is a long and arduous discipline which requires considerable sacrifice of self. A loyal devotion that is capable of placing the Church above all personal consideration, above everything in fact, is the ultimate test of merit, and competing individuals are selected accordingly. Thus the governing hierarchy of the Church is self-perpetuating, a high standard of competence is maintained, and above all a spirit of absolute devotion to the Church capable of the most rigorous self-discipline. Heredity plays no rôle. The stability of the Church throughout the vicissitudes of centuries must be accounted for largely in terms of this ingenious system of place assignment. In this instance the process of regulated competition does not provide much scope for the revision of structures and procedures from time to time; on the contrary it provides the most certain guarantees of maintaining intact the traditional structures and procedures. A growth of power based upon a highly stabilized form is the ideal aim. The turmoil of the centuries witnessed the greatest imaginable conflicts between papacy and empire, crusades and religious wars, battles between Church and state, the secession movement of Protestantism, conflicts with science, the rise-to-power of the unsympathetic middle class, and yet all essential features of the Church remain the same. In a sense the Mother Church is always the same; it never changes. And this is one of the great thoughts that explains the continued devotion of millions of faithful followers.

It was this Church that taught that all men are born into certain ranks ordained by God, and that the customary rights and duties of each individual depended upon his hereditary class. And thus the Church supported the power of the landed nobility. Here the competitive process of place assignment was quite different. The eldest son of a noble inherited his father's lands as well as his title, and along with these he inherited his father's responsibilities. And often the responsibilities were not desired nearly so much as the title and the lands. The hereditary principle of rank does not guarantee a high level of competence from generation to generation. There was discipline, of course, and the sons of nobles were well trained in the art of fighting. But this did not make them masters of men in the sense of being able to understand them, to lead them, to win their confidence, and to dominate them. While the struggle for temporal supremacy between noble and priest resulted in a victory for the former, the latter has been able to maintain the essential features of his organization in a more intact form than has the former. Many sons of the nobility preferred a Church career, partly because of primogeniture no doubt, but also because their personal traits and inclinations favored the more sedentary life of the priesthood. Noble competed with noble for the maintenance and extension of his feudal holdings, and the struggles that followed sadly decimated the aristocracy

to which he belonged. Adjustments were made, such as the recognition of the offspring of extra-legal union, grants of nobility to outstanding individuals of great distinction and also similar grants to persons of great wealth. The recognition of these, however, meant a loosening of the class lines, and infusion of blood from without; at the same time it provided for the perpetuation of the aristocratic tradition. While this tradition is conspicuous for its absence in countries like the United States of America, it is a very remarkable stabilizing and conservative influence in some of the European countries. This means that present and future problems are interpreted in the light of their historical connections. All efforts to thwart the natural movement of the cultural organism are firmly and vigorously resisted, not only by the "rejuvenated" aristocracy, but also by the priesthood. That this aristocracy has connections with Americans of great wealth, and exercises a profound if subtle influence upon American life through these relationships, is perfectly manifest in the great number of family ties.

Competition and Cultural Change

The social import of competition is only partly realized when it is stated that the function of this process is place assignment. For competition is closely related to the development of new structures in the course of the cultural cycle. The tendency of competing individuals and groups is to form new alignments and associations which strengthen their competitive power. These new alignments and associations may represent only the loosest kind of understanding, agreement, and co-operation. But as the competition is intensified these understandings are established on higher levels of accord and increasingly rigorous internal discipline. In this way new structures are built, old methods of competition become obsolete or ineffective, and new methods take the place of the old. The old village community of feudal days was complete in itself, self-sufficient, and closed against the outside world in an economic as well as in a social and political sense. The removal of products was forbidden, as also the alienation of land to a non-member of the community. Hunting, pasture, and fishing grounds were used according to communal regulations and the division of strips was arranged so that every member of the community had an equal share of good, bad, and mediocre soil.[6] The first settlement of a village community was never a matter of individuals, but rather a matter of tribes and clans. It was the competition with the outside world which resulted in the series of protective measures above described, and accordingly the gradual development of the village community as a self-sufficient politico-social unit. It was an integrated structure.

The medieval town was also very exclusive, dominated largely by self-

[6] E. Lipson, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

interest, and quite complete in itself. Economic affairs were regulated with a view of maintaining and strengthening the town as an independent unit. Various local interests in the town, such as craft gilds and merchant gilds, slowly worked their way into agreement under pressure of the competitive process. Thus uniform feelings and ideas arose out of the common local interests as the town authorities stood ready to represent these interests with a complete array of protective measures: prohibition upon exports, duties upon imports to prevent competition from outside, tolls and licenses which made it almost impossible for an outsider to do business with the town or within the town. There were other regulations similar in purpose and inspired by similar conceptions; these included among others the prohibition of industry in the country; the obligation imposed by every town upon people of the surrounding countryside to carry all of their produce to town, and to buy there all that they needed. It is clear that the more powerful towns were able to dominate the countryside for we are told that the producers of the rural districts complained against these requirements. Whereas at first the town was an appendage, a kind of service station for the peasant villagers and their knights and lords, the importance of the town gradually developed to the point where it was able to dominate the countryside. And this was the result largely of a competitive process which involved not only the town and surrounding countryside, but also other towns. Schmoller informs us that the countryman's complaints against the town included the charge that the farmer was shamefully cheated when he carried his corn and wool, and drove his cattle to town for sale; also that price lists were drawn up without the assistance of representatives of squires; that the squires were overreached in weight and measure; that the craftsmen were united against them; that the countrymen were prevented from selling to strangers and dealers at their own doors; that all legislation with respect to markets was devised to their injury; that the towns received runaway peasants; that brewing was prohibited in the country in order to compel knights and peasants to purchase their beer and ale in the town where they were overcharged; that people were forced to make payments in barley when it would have been more profitable to export it.[7] The city of Berne threatened its hinterland with an embargo on corn and salt if it did not bring all of its butter to Berne.[8] Nuremberg forced all of the cattle that came within a circuit of ten miles to its own market. Ulm did not allow a single head of cattle fed on the common pasture to leave its territory. In Florence and Milan official permission was necessary for the transportation of grain from place to place in order that these cities and countryside might be sure of food. Thus the competitive process became highly circumscribed, but the important matter here is that in the process of restricting and defining the limits of competi-

[7] G. Schmoller, *The Mercantile System*, New York, 1931.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

tion *new structures* arose in the course of the cultural movement. The village became a politico-social unit; the town became an integrated structure; the territorial princedom, and later the national state, became independent political units with their own characteristic social and economic policies.

The Consolidation of Territorial Princedoms

In Germany a territorial princedom rested on the corporate estates of communes and knights. These estates were characterized by close association of town and countryside and were founded on primitive tribes. In the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, state ordinances (*Landsrechte*), territorial police regulations, and the judicial decrees of the courts of the princes began their triumphant march.[9] The system of poor relief, newly instituted schools, the press, and the church were given a territorial organization as distinguished from the local organization of town and village. The territorial regulative measures penetrated every aspect of life as markets and fairs, industry and trade, weights and measures, currency and highways were governed by the princedom. For instance, in Württemberg the "Ordinances of the Land" from 1495 onward brought the economic activity of the country within their regulative lines. A series of crafts were subjected to the whole duchy before the Thirty Years' War: butchers, bakers, fishmongers, clothmakers, coppersmiths, pewterers and workmen in the building trades. In 1601 the entire body of merchants and dealers was included within these measures.[10] The practice of princes in granting concessions to towns, which partly explains how the town came to dominate the countryside, prepared the way and helped to create the right of the prince to issue general ordinances. In the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries these were commonly decreed. As early as 1538 the governor of the archbishopric of Magdeburg imposed a duty of one-fourth gulden per wispel on the export of corn to last until the following midsummer's day so as to keep a sufficient supply in the country, and yet not prevent the peasant altogether from making a livelihood.[11] The transition from a municipal to a territorial policy in Germany is clearly shown by the regulative measures affecting raw materials of great importance to industry, such as wool, and the textile industry. First the towns legislated for the purpose of making the export of wool difficult, but this proved futile. In 1548-49 the empire made an equally futile attempt to prohibit the export of wool. Then the territories of Württemberg, Bavaria, Hesse, Saxony, and Brandenburg repeatedly enacted measures designed to hinder not only the export of wool, but also the import of cloth. Soon afterward the wool trade and the clothing

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 19.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 21.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

industry were given a territorial organization.[12] The previous practices of towns in regulating coinage, the prohibition of foreign currency, the prohibition against exporting their own currency, the pre-emption of old gold and silver were now imitated by the territorial governments. It was considered a duty of the government to provide the country with a good and uniform coinage and to close it against the outside world. And now the territorial governments more or less adequately protected their people against the competition of merchants, manufacturers, and farmers who lived beyond their boundaries. These boundaries too were pushed back in time as the state asserted its superiority over the territory even as the territory had previously asserted its domination over the town. The demand for broader areas of competition moved hand in hand with the demand for broader areas of regulation, for the former was dependent upon the latter. The dynamic spirit of the moving cultural organism would not be confined within the narrow limits of village, town or territory. Opening of trade routes within and without, the new discovery of important sources of raw materials, opportunities in distant markets, the enclosure of vast areas for specialization in corn and sheep, the invention of new processes, and the competition of the growing industries for oversea and overland trade proved disastrous not only for the town, but also for the territory. In fact, the territorial type of organization did not develop in England as on the continent. Here the movement was more directly from the town to the national state. It has been stated that internal free trade always existed in England, but this is an exaggeration since we know that the towns protected their monopolies by means of tolls and many other restrictions on trade.

Competition and the Emergence of the National State

The development of the national state is identified with a similar coordination of social and economic life. And this is the meaning of Mercantilism in its broadest sense: it is a process of state building which has its foundations in territory, town, and village. It implies an elaborate network of protective regulations which now prove effective instruments in the competition with other states.[13] It means the gradual disappearance of the older measures which were based upon smaller political units of socio-economic control. And it was this type of policy which gave riches and superiority to Milan, Venice, Florence, and Genoa; later to Spain and Portugal, each in its own time; and then to Holland, France, England, and Germany, and to some extent to Denmark and Sweden. The state policy in social and economic affairs was as superior to the territorial as the latter was superior

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

[13] E. F. Heckscher, "Mercantilism," *The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, New York, 1931, Vol. X, pp. 333-338.

to the town. For the state was bound together, not only by armies, fleets, and civil services, but also by unifying systems of finance, currency, and economy. The internal history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in France, England, and Germany as elsewhere may be summarized in the competitive opposition of state policy to the policies of town and territory. Rapid development of oversea and overland trade required the victory of the former since now the nations in the European circle were competing for trade in America and India. Thus again it was the external competition which required the internal cohesion. England promoted the export of corn and the prosperity of agriculture by a system of bounties. France checked the exportation of corn for the benefit of industry. Holland enacted measures designed to provide large supplies of grain in order to encourage foreign trade in corn as well as an adequate supply at home. Difficulties were put in the way of free importation of manufactured goods by tariff measures; similar obstacles restricted the free exportation of raw materials; bounties on certain exports stimulated production and trade in these goods; commercial treaties were arranged from the point of view of vital national interest. Trading relations were facilitated by the great privileged companies, such as the East India Companies; coinage, currency, credit, traffic, and transport were unified and co-ordinated by regulative measures enacted by the national state. Practically every state in Europe chartered its own East India Company: England in 1600, Holland in 1602, France in 1664, as well as Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, and Scotland.[14] These great companies and others like them—Hudson's Bay Company—practically monopolized the trade with most non-European countries. But Mercantilism means a great deal more than an involved and elaborate system of legal restrictions upon industry, agriculture, and trade. It means the blending of formerly isolated groups, the development of national feeling in place of local feeling, and the control of the press and education with a view of solidifying the policy of the state in the minds of the people. The intensification of rivalry and competition of the European states thus produced a rapid integration of national feeling and a corresponding development of national egoism and national self-sufficiency resulting in the clash of armadas and armies as the ascendancy of England and France in world affairs was coupled with the decline and disappearance of Spain, Portugal, and Holland from the ranks of first contenders. It was precisely this type of situation which later precipitated the great war of the powers in 1914.

The mercantilistic ideas of distinguished writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries show how the trend of thought followed the line of action. Sir Josiah Child raised the question: "What can we do to improve our national trade?" According to him the aim of Mercantilism was to

[14] C. J. H. Hayes, *A Political and Social History of Modern Europe*, New York, 1918, p. 64.

make the state strong; wealth was the foundation of this strength, and the most important form of wealth was the precious metals.[15] In promoting the accumulation of wealth, foreign commerce was given first place, manufacturing industry was given second place, and agriculture was given third place. William Petty wrote in effect that the great and ultimate purpose of trade was not so much wealth at large, but particularly an abundance of gold, silver, and jewels which are not as perishable or mutable as other commodities, and which accordingly are acceptable in all times and in all places. Sir Thomas Mun claimed that nations handicapped in the lack of possession of gold and silver mines could enrich themselves only by exporting more goods than they imported, thus receiving the favorable balance in precious metals. Only articles of high specific value could bear the expense of shipping; hence manufactured goods were favored above agricultural products. The stability and the exchangeability of precious metals gave them preference over other forms of wealth. Colonial policies emphasized the importance of obtaining a cheap supply of raw materials and a profitable market for manufactured goods. This meant that the colonies had to pay double shipping costs on their manufactured articles since the raw materials had first to be imported by the mother country and then converted into the desired commodities for export to the colonies. Colbert in France carried the mercantilistic policy as far as anyone. By decree of March 30, 1700 he limited to eighteen towns the number of places where stockings might be woven. In a later decree, 1723, manufacturers at Rouen were required to suspend their works in order to facilitate the harvest. Colbert developed a system of tariff protection for home industry, admitting raw materials, excluding manufactured goods, and encouraging promising enterprise in a variety of ways. He imported skilled workers from abroad, prohibited the emigration of his own, placed a premium upon French shipbuilding, encouraged the king to take over certain central workshops, some of which were models of excellence, supported canal and road building, and offered inducements for colonial development. Louis XIV forbade private persons to employ workmen without his permission. Since it was desired to raise silkworms the planting of mulberry trees was encouraged by law, and the planting of grapevines was prohibited. In England the navigation laws which favored British shipping, and the corn laws which favored English agriculture, were enacted in accordance with mercantilistic theory. Frederick William I of Germany placed duties on imports, forbade the exportation of raw materials, and established fuller's mills, dyeing establishments, presses, and wool magazines. He aimed to increase the supply of skilled workers by encouraging artisans to marry with such inducements as low taxes and exemption from military

[15] L. H. Haney, *History of Economic Thought*, New York, 1912, p. 94.

service. Frederick the Great continued his father's policies.[16] This monarch stimulated immigration of skilled workers to his country by granting religious and intellectual toleration, established mines in Silesia, linen textiles in Billefeld, weaving in Barmen, silk manufacture in Crefold, and iron production in the Eberswalde. He also provided credit facilities by creating a system of land banks. While this general policy was known as Cameralism on the continent, the method, aim, and theory did not differ markedly from Mercantilism.[17]

The Reaction Against Mercantilism

But Mercantilism had its backwash, and it piled up heavily in the course of time. The French farmer complained of discrimination against him. Colbert's policy of prohibiting the exportation of grain in order to prevent famine in the provinces from time to time did not work so well. Since the peasants could not export in good years they planted only a minimum crop with the result that bad harvests meant a serious shortage. England's mercantilistic policy meant the loss of her thirteen American colonies. Because of the ease of smuggling, the prohibition upon exportation of gold and silver did not work with entire satisfaction. The natural movement of exchanges corrected one-sided trading, and when this movement was thrown out of gear by mercantilistic exactions industry and commerce paid the price. Adam Smith argued that when the quantity of gold and silver imported into a country exceeded the effectual demand, no vigilance of the government could possibly prevent exportation; similarly, if the quantity fell short the government would have no occasion to import by legal devices, and any attempt to prevent such importation could not work in the circumstances. Commenting ironically on the system of bounties Smith explained that since the government could not force foreigners to buy English goods, they—that is the foreigners—were paid by the government for buying them.[18] The bounty on corn raised the domestic price in years of plenty as well as in years of scarcity since exportation during the years of good harvests diminished the reserve available for years of scarcity. If the original design of the law was to encourage the exportation of corn during fat years, maintaining the domestic price in that way, the law did a great deal more than this; it imposed two taxes upon the people, first the sum necessary to pay the bounty, and second the sum necessary to pay the advanced price for the commodity, the latter being the heaviest of the two. And thus in very masterly style

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[16] L. Sommer, "Cameralism," *The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 158-160.

[17] A. W. Small, *The Cameralists,* Chicago and London, 1909.

[18] For other examples of unwarranted interference of the government according to Smith, see D. O. Wagner, *Social Reformers,* New York, 1934, pp. 16-26.

with effective argument and command of the facts Smith leveled his heavy intellectual guns against all forms of mercantilistic restriction: monopolies, chartered companies, duties on imports, bounties on exports, drawbacks, franchises, patent rights, embargoes on gold and silver, navigation laws, poor laws, and corn laws.[19] It was probably the most devastating indictment Mercantilism ever suffered.

The Reversal of Policy of Whigs and Tories

The most illuminating aspect of the entire situation was the reversal of policy on the part of both Whigs and Tories in the course of a century. Along about the middle of the seventeenth century party government was effectively established in England. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries these two traditional parties swapped horses. Lecky denies that they swapped completely; they may have traded harness, but not horses. The Tories remained conservative in religion, favoring the Roman Church, but they became the war party because they were forced into a war policy with France in the course of the Napoleonic era very much as Wilson was drawn into war with Europe in 1917. For the Tories were pro-royalist representing the old nobility, the gentry class of squires, the peasantry, and the small industrialists who were sweated by the large masters. The Whigs, on the other hand, were anti-royalist, representing the merchants, the large industrial masters, and the manufacturers who dominated their trades. The Whigs were the richest of the bourgeoisie who had gone into the country to purchase great holdings of land, and to build monumental estates to vie with the castles of the ancient nobility. It was the Whigs who favored mercantilistic policy from 1660 to 1700 or thereabout, partly because of competition with the French which made it desirable for them to protect their own industry and trade, partly because home industries required government protection in the process of early development when many of them were still "infants," and partly because the commercial and colonial rivalry of France and England became increasingly intense. In a word the Whigs were large holders of capital, and they needed protection at the time.[20] Naturally they allied themselves with the Protestant faith which set forth a new ethic far more favorable to the interests and feelings of the middle class than the more conservative ethic of the Catholic Church. Canonism, from their point of view, was outmoded, cumbersome, and entirely unrelated to the great requirements of industry and trade. The Tories on the other hand were a buying class who suffered from the changes in business and the high prices favored by Mercantilism. Hence the Tories at this time represented the be-

[19] *The Cambridge Modern History*, New York, 1934, Vol. X, p. 764 *et seq.*
[20] *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 264 *et seq.*; Vol. VI, p. 48 *et seq.*

ginning of a free trade policy. Their conservative interests were allied not only with the Royalist faction, but also with the Catholic Church. They looked to Catholic France for aid, and this made it incumbent upon them to favor trade with that country. This the Whigs opposed because of the menace of French competition to their own industries. They also opposed the alliance of Tories with a Catholic monarch who would be inclined to favor free trade with a Catholic France.

In the course of the eighteenth century the policies of these two parties changed in certain important aspects. The Whigs became advocates of free trade, and in the course of the nineteenth century these ideas were put into effect. The Tories became mercantilists in general outlook as well as in regard to their opposition to *laissez faire*. Further development of home and foreign markets required the gradual substitution of a policy of free trade for the mercantilistic policy. In the course of the eighteenth century the Industrial Revolution had greatly expanded the opportunities of industry and trade. The infant industries meanwhile had grown up considerably and were not particularly in need of protection at the time. Moreover, the colonial empire had been firmly established, and the Napoleonic threat had been removed in the early part of the nineteenth century. English manufacturers could undersell German manufacturers in the latter's home market, and they could also compete on favorable terms with French producers in all of the markets of the world. What need was there of a mercantilistic policy under these circumstances? The further development of trade and commerce required the abolition of mercantilistic restrictions. And thus paradoxically enough it was the force of competition which developed Mercantilism; it was the force of competition which destroyed Mercantilism, and now it is again the same force of competition which is constructing a new policy of national restriction upon agriculture, industry, and trade. The Tories became mercantilistic in outlook and theory as the Whig position reversed itself. This no doubt was partly due to the traditional rivalry of the two parties, but it was also due to certain developments of *laissez faire* theory and practice which demanded the supervision and regulation of the state, and also to the fact that their own landed interests required the protection of government as the middle class gained rapidly in wealth and power. But neither the Whigs nor the Tories saw fit to change their religions; they reversed their economic theories, but their religions remained the same. For the Whigs still represented the middle class interest of the towns as the Tories represented the landed interest of the nobility. Lecky was right; they didn't really swap horses, they merely traded harness. The Puritan revolt in England, and the bloodless revolution of 1688, definitely established the power of the middle class, and the French Revolution of 1789-93 had a similar meaning.

The Physiocrats

About the middle of the eighteenth century, several decades before the *Bastille* was stormed by an infuriated mob, the Physiocrats in France directed their criticism toward the mercantilistic machine.[21] In England agriculture had been dealt with more favorably than was the case in France. The Physiocrats accordingly set up a doctrine that agriculture is the source of all wealth, that industry, commerce, and business are sterile. They argued for the abolition of all taxes, and the imposition of a single tax upon land not to exceed its rental value. Adjustments in price would distribute the burden about equally upon consumers and producers alike. The mercantilistic order of economic activities which placed commerce and trade first, industry second, and agriculture least important in the series was reversed. Agriculture was given first place, industry second, and commerce third. In fact, industry and trade were considered sterile—*L'industrie est sterile*—and agriculture alone was the source of wealth. The *taille* was blasted to fragments. It was a direct tax imposed only upon the goods and persons of common people, and not upon nobles and clergy, who by a relic of feudal fiction owed the king their personal services, but not their money. Patents of nobility which were purchased by those who could afford them included exemption from the *taille*. The *gabelle* was likewise an object of criticism. It was an indirect tax upon salt, the rates varying in different districts. Except in favored districts every person was compelled to pay a tax on at least a certain quantity of salt (*sel de devoir*). The institution of the Farmers' General was thoroughly castigated by the energetic Physiocrats. For the government leased out the collection of taxes to this agency for a stipulated sum payable to the government thus giving the Farmers' General incentive to collect as much as intimidation might suffice to drag out the small savings of a miserable peasant. The *corvée* was an obligation to supply the government with labor or services without payment, chiefly for the construction of roads, partly for other public works. It was indefinite as to time and amount, and cordially detested by the peasants who now found their grievances ably expressed by the Physiocrats. The *milice* compelled each district to supply its quota of soldiers, and the effect was more devastating upon agriculture than it was upon commerce and industry. There were the tithes required by the clergy, and the elaborate system of mercantilistic restrictions previously described, in addition to all of this. Corn could not be freely exported even from one part of France to another until 1754. The state was likened unto a tree, agriculture its roots, population its trunk, arts and commerce its leaves. The life-giving sap comes from the roots, drawn out of the soil by multitudinous fibres. Least enduring, if most brilliant, are the leaves. A storm

[21] G. Weulersse, "Physiocrats," *The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 348-351.

may destroy them, but the life-giving sap will soon renew them if the roots maintain their vigor. If, however, some parasitic insect attacks the roots, then we may wait in vain for the sun and the dew to reanimate the withered trunk. Unless remedy goes to the roots to let them expand and recover the tree perishes.[22] With some such picture as this before his eyes a certain French peasant was given an audience by the distinguished Colbert. The peasant protested against the oppressive burdens of Mercantilism. So heavy were the burdens, he could not provide himself with the necessities of life, much less maintain a decent standard of living. And in the course of his complaints he burst out passionately with the demand, *laissez nous faire.*

Whether the story is true or false is beside the point here. The pendulum of Mercantilism had swung too far, and it was necessary now to reverse the movement. To this task the Physiocrats set their hearts and minds with more than ordinary enthusiasm. Quesnay, Mirabeau, duPont de Nemours, Turgot, and Mercier de la Rivière were the leaders of the movement.[23] They argued that a nation with large territory which depreciates its raw products to favor manufacturers destroys itself in all directions. Economic individualism was advocated and set forth in clear language several decades before Adam Smith wrote his *Wealth of Nations.* According to this teaching every man has a natural right to the free exercise of his faculties provided he does not employ them to the injury of himself or others. Thus the individual right to property, and the duty of the state to defend it was clearly enunciated. The doctrine of individual liberty and natural rights, of *laissez faire,* and freedom of competition were elaborated, defended, and justified in ethical and philosophical terms by the leaders of this school. It was essentially middle class theory, and if members of the school developed something of a complex on the importance of agriculture, the single tax, and the subordination of industry and commerce, it may be explained partly in terms of the slant Mercantilism took in France, and partly because of the splendid farming resources of this country in comparison with her industrial development. The Industrial Revolution got under way in England several decades before it took place in France, and here it occurred several decades before it transformed the manufacturing processes of Germany.

The Rise of *Laissez Faire*

The actual changes wrought in France between 1789 and 1794 concerned chiefly the abolition of privilege and the reconstruction of the state in accord with the middle class theory. Mercantilism received its death blow. "A Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen" was adopted by the

[22] For an excellent summary of the work of the Physiocrats as a reaction against the conditions of the time see Higgs, *The Physiocrats.*

[23] L. H. Haney, *History of Economic Thought, op. cit.,* p. 150.

Assembly on August 26, 1789.[24] It affirmed that men are born and remain free and equal in the matter of rights, that these rights include liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression, and that the same rights are "natural, inalienable, and sacred." Precisely the same social and political theory is incorporated in the Constitution of the United States, particularly in the Preamble, and in the first series of amendments known as the Bill of Rights. But while the theory of Mercantilism was dead, many of the methods of Mercantilism continued to assert themselves. The policy of the government of the United States has been protectionist throughout its entire history. In France there were heavy duties on wool, steel, and grain as late as 1830. Germany was bound to a policy of protection in order to build her own industries and keep her markets from being flooded with foreign goods with which she could not compete in price. Friedrich List opposed the free trade theory of Adam Smith, for he perceived the helplessness of Germany in competition with France and England on these terms. However, he supported internal free trade in Germany and argued for a strong national state, but made himself so unpopular by doing so that he was forced to leave his country and come to the United States. Later his despair led to suicide, so strong was the feeling in Germany for maintaining the system of petty states. The *Zollverein* of 1834 bound seventeen German states in a single customs union, and established conditions more favorable to the independent growth of German industries. It was about this time that the Industrial Revolution was getting well under way. In England many mercantilistic restrictions were abolished during the early decades of the nineteenth century, but the Corn Laws were not repealed until 1846. About the middle of the century Gladstone made his famous free trade budgets which shifted taxation from imported goods to incomes, inheritances, and liquor. There had been 466 articles subject to duty before his first budget of 1853; there were only 48 after his budget of 1860.[25] That *laissez faire,* and consequent extension of internal and external free trade, gave a tremendous drive to industry and commerce, and greatly strengthened the position of the middle class, is fully shown by data indicating not only the increase of national wealth and foreign and domestic commerce, but also by the rapid growth of population in the course of the century. For example, the population of Europe at the beginning of the

[24] F. A. Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe,* New York, 1919, p. 37.

[25] The principles of free trade were popularized in England by Cobden and Bright in their campaign against the corn laws. This free trade movement became known as the Manchester School. It was named after the city of Manchester, the center of the cotton industry. In 1842 Peel cut the protective duties on 750 articles. With the repeal of the corn laws in 1846 about 150 other articles of food, manufactured goods, and raw materials were placed on the free list. The navigation laws, which enforced a mercantilistic policy toward shipping, were repealed in 1849. This movement was carried forward by Gladstone in the reforms of 1853 and 1860 and the removal of the import duty on timber in 1866. See P. T. Moon, *Imperialism and World Politics,* New York, 1926, p. 17.

century was about 200 million; by the end of the century it had increased to 600 million.

The Decline of *Laissez Faire*

But the backfire of *laissez faire* became increasingly deadly. It piled up a mountain of backwash by the opening of the World War; it set counter forces in motion which slowly but surely destroyed it. Shortly after the war it became manifest that a new order of social and economic life was in process of formation. Let it be remembered that Adam Smith had given the theoretical deathblow to Mercantilism nearly a whole century before the famous Gladstone free trade budgets were adopted. Capitalism was criticized and evaluated by Marx, Engels, Lassalle, and others about the middle of the century. The *Communist Manifesto* was published in 1847, and the first volume of *Das Kapital* appeared in 1867. And these works have the same relation to capitalism that the work of Adam Smith and the Physiocrats have to Mercantilism. It is true that Adam Smith set up a Utopia of *laissez faire* social and political economy; he failed to perceive either the resilience or the viability of Mercantilism; he had no conception of the culture as organism. It is also true that Marx set up a Utopia of collectivistic social and political economy; he in turn failed to perceive either the resilience or the viability of capitalism; he too had no conception of the culture as organism. Neither Marx nor Smith understood competition and regulation from the point of view of the social process, the disintegration and integration of historically related structures. Today it can be pointed out that the middle class actually supported Mercantilism, as for instance the Whigs in seventeenth century England; that the same middle class supported the eighteenth century theory of individualism, and that now precisely the same middle class is reverting to a modern mercantilistic position. This class it was that worked in co-operation with the nobility in creating the mercantilistic, aristocratic national states of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; it assumed the major responsibility for the development of the capitalistic states of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; today it is building the national socialistic states of the twentieth century. Whereas formerly it supported constitutional monarchy, and later democratic forms of government, today it lends its brains and purses to the concentration of executive functions and the establishment of dictatorships.

External free trade does not exist any more. Even England has adopted a thoroughgoing protectionist policy; having returned to a gold standard some time following the war she found it necessary to reverse her policy shortly afterward; huge sums known as stabilization funds are manipulated for the purpose of controlling the exchange rates of foreign currencies in terms of her own; the press and picture houses are regulated, and all public

gatherings are closely policed; general strikes, sympathetic strikes, and picketing are outlawed; millions of unemployed are fed, clothed, and entertained on a governmental dole that is called social insurance; parliamentary debate is very closely guarded, while the cabinet formulates the desired laws, and sees that they are properly passed and executed without much fuss of party wrangling; the Whigs as Whigs passed from the scene of action some time ago, some of them becoming Tories while others began calling themselves Liberals; these Liberals are now represented by the solitary voice of Lloyd George who makes an interesting speech from time to time. The Tories administer the government with the aid of the Labor Party if necessary, but without this aid if possible. Meanwhile the British Labor Party had formally repudiated the leadership of Ramsay MacDonald. Having recently won a war for democracy the Tories must be careful of the language they use, but no one in his senses can consider that the government of England is based upon a theory of economic individualism today, for democratic-liberalism is dead, or dying in England. The Incitement to Disaffection Bill of 1934 is probably one of the most reactionary pieces of legislation ever jammed through Parliament under pressure of the National Government. This law empowers the justices to issue warrants authorizing the police, "if necessary by force," to "search the premises or place and every person found therein, and to seize anything found on the premises or place or on any person."[26] All that is required to issue such a warrant is that the justices are "satisfied" that anyone "has in his possession or under his control" papers which appear to "seduce any member of His Majesty's forces from his duty or allegiance to His Majesty." Thus the High Court justices are empowered to violate almost at will the rights of Englishmen hitherto regarded as sacred. Elsewhere no effort is made to conceal these tendencies. *Il Duce* of Italy and *Der Reichsführer* of Germany are forthright in theory as well as in practice—parliamentary institutions have no place in the national regulative order of these modern states. President Roosevelt is certainly more circumspect under the pressure of circumstances; nevertheless he has plainly expressed, and repeatedly reiterated, his political and social theories, and no intelligent person can be guilty of confusing them with economic individualism—they substantiate some form of national integration.

Competition is functionally related to modern Mercantilism, and the redirection of the politico-economic policies of states along the lines of national concentration. Just so it was formerly related to medieval Mercantilism and the integration of the national state; and later to *laissez faire,* the disintegration of medieval Mercantilism, and the organization of the capitalistic state. Today the industrial nations have a mechanical capacity to produce

[26] *Time,* New York, November 12, 1934, p. 20.

which far exceeds effective demand in all of the nations of the world. Moreover, the investment of capital, and construction of great industries, in Japan, Russia, China, and India has had two effects: first, the markets in these countries are increasingly cut off from the West since these countries supply their own needs for manufactured goods to a great extent, and second, the low labor costs in these Eastern countries make possible effective and profitable competition with Western countries in the latter's home markets. In these Western countries the building of a strong home market adequately protected from the competition of foreign goods offers greater possibilities than the development of foreign trade. The per capita exports of the United States in 1931 were only 4% of per capita income and 6% of per capita production. As a result of the dislocation following the crash of 1929 the home market for manufactured goods shrunk 45% to 55% by volume; the loss by volume in foreign trade in agricultural, mineral, and manufactured production was less than 4%.[27] Manifestly the stake in the home market is far greater than it is in foreign commerce. But what is even more to the point, the requirements of the two policies are contradictory. Competition for foreign trade means a sustained and disciplined effort to keep down wages because of the lower labor costs of foreign countries; likewise it means the same kind of effort to lower costs by the development of improved processes. As the former depresses the purchasing power of employed labor the latter tends to increase unemployment. The development of the home market means an effort to increase the general purchasing power by methods of control over the working schedule, extension of plant, installation of new equipment, wages, farm income, employment of women, and the distribution of work over agriculture and industry. Increasing costs per unit of output in this connection are incompatible with effective competition for foreign trade. This by no means implies *autarkie,* and the gradual elimination of all foreign commerce as national states become internally self-sufficient on a rising level of total production of goods. Rather it means a concentration of effort along lines that are eminently practicable with regard to the desired results. Under present circumstances any effort to increase foreign trade at all commensurate with the possibilities of the home market would necessitate a drastic general reduction of tariff duties. This would mean an invitation to foreign industry to compete with our own, and consequent disorganization of our domestic markets and increase in unemployment. If it is argued that tariff reduction implies reciprocal relations and that people cannot sell their goods abroad unless they are willing to purchase foreign goods in exchange for them, it need only be pointed out that markets go to the lowest bidders,

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[27] W. B. Donham, "National Ideals and International Idols," *Harvard Business Review,* April, 1933, pp. 396, 398.

and that European states, and the United States, would be flooded with the low cost products of Eastern countries. We have little choice in the matter since the decision is dictated by circumstances over which there is little control. Clarification of issues and clear-cut determination of policy are the important matters.

The expenditure of huge sums of public money for the aid of business, industry and agriculture will have to be adjusted sooner or later. No modern government can spend its way into the desired balance between production and consumption. Sooner or later the day of reckoning will come. Inflation, a war, or a gamble on a decisive improvement in business, are no substitutes for the hard work of governmental regulation. Improved governmental procedures of regulation, affecting every aspect of the common life, are in process of development. They will result in greater concentration of executive and administrative power as the rôle of legislatures and assemblies declines.

Problem Questions

1. It is claimed in Russia that compulsory communism will establish action patterns and conditioned reflexes in such a way that the need for further regulation will gradually disappear. Controls from within will supersede the external controls as the ideal of anarchistic communism advocated by Prince Kropotkin is realized. Evaluate this position.

2. The slogan "competition is the life of trade" is matched with the counter slogan "competition is the death of trade." Consider this antithesis from the point of view of the history of some great American corporation such as the United States Steel Corporation, or the Standard Oil Company.

3. Is the competition for mates in marriage free, regulated from within by commonly accepted marriage norms, or regulated externally by the law of church or state?

4. Contrast the relative importance of these methods of regulation in the medieval period and the modern period.

5. How do you account for the failure of the National Industrial Recovery Act to regulate the competition of American business enterprise?

6. Medieval gild statutes prohibited night work on the ground that "a man cannot work so neatly by night as by day." Is this a valid explanation of the law?

7. Why did the gilds legislate against certain forms of private generosity such as reduction of the term of apprenticeship, higher wages to journeymen, and substantial gifts to apprentices at Christmas time?

8. Can you mention any utopias in which the competitive principle precludes the regulative principle, or conversely, in which the regulative principle precludes the competitive principle?

9. How would you consider St. Augustine's City of God in this respect? Plato's Republic? More's Utopia? Fourier's Phalange? Campanella's City of the Sun? Owen's New Harmony?

10. Is the right of workers to lay down their tools "for any reason or for no reason whatsoever" compatible with the public interest? Is it compatible with the Constitution of the United States?

11. Is competition ever free in the sense that no restriction whatever is placed upon the rivalry of individuals for the cherished prizes of life?

12. Are professional sports free, internally regulated, or externally regulated?

13. How do you account for the problem of professionalism in the amateur competition of college and university teams? How would you solve this problem?

14. Show how competition is related to the integration and disintegration of the following structures: (1) the village community, (2) the medieval town, (3) the national state of the seventeenth century.

15. Is competition similarly related to the integration and disintegration of the national, democratic state of the nineteenth century?

16. Does the constitutional guarantee of liberty of conscience permit a person to be an atheist or an agnostic? How did the authors of the Constitution interpret this provision?

17. Is it possible to develop regulative measures to the point where all forms of competition are suppressed? Explain.

18. Did *laissez faire* ever mean in practice that people were free to do as they pleased?

19. How do you account for the failure of the Eighteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States?

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11

SOCIAL INTEGRATION—FEUDALISM

Meaning of Terms

The terms differentiation and integration refer to origin and development of social structures. They are closely related to individualization and socialization, competition and regulation, subordination and superordination, invention and imitation, incentive and deterrence, conflict and co-operation, and to dissociation and association. These processes, each in its own way, are also related to the genesis, consolidation, and dissolution of social structures as described previously. The processes of individualization, competition, conflict, dissociation, and invention are differentiating processes; socialization, regulation, imitation, association, and co-operation are integrating processes. As the first series of processes produce variations in the individual type, and corresponding differences in the structure of groups with which the variant type is identified, so the second series of processes produces uniformity of type, and corresponding unification and consolidation of the structures with which the type is identified. In the last analysis the structures of society are synonymous with the neuropsychic patterns of individuals, and therefore it is the interaction of individuals which produces not only the differentiation, but also the integration of the social structures. Thus differentiation may be defined in terms of the totality of centrifugal or separative processes; integration may be defined in terms of the totality of the centripetal or unifying processes. The social equilibrium in time and place represents a balance of differentiating and integrating processes; social disequilibrium as illustrated by revolution or disorganization means a lack of balance in the two types of process. A condition of disequilibrium sets forces in motion which consciously or unconsciously aim to restore the lost balance. A condition of equilibrium, however, is never a completely static situation for the differentiating and integrating processes are forever acting and reacting upon each other to produce a moving balance. It is this movement in the fixation of balance which forces the attention of the sociologist upon the rise and the decline of civilizations, upon the life cycle of the cultural organism.

It is not sufficient to study the likenesses and differences of individuals, and the groups to which they belong, to compare, to classify, and to correlate them. This kind of study produces a static representation of life which

is contrary to real life. On the other hand, to say that all is change, society is forever in process of flux, nothing is changeless but change itself, is simply to state the obvious. The questions to be answered are simple to state: how and why do these changes occur? These questions are not as easily answered. The analysis of the social process in this and previous chapters is an attempt to answer these questions in a manner which is admittedly not conclusive in a final, absolute sense, but which nevertheless aims to be historical. To analyze social processes and social structures from the point of view of an ideal which may be distinguished sharply from the scientific ideal does not produce a historical statement of actual changes and relationships; it merely produces a mythological rationalization which may or may not have value in time and place. Adam Smith and Karl Marx produced just such rationalized mythologies, but they had the most important imaginable significance for the time and place in which they lived. The human spirit does not rest in peace. No one will ever succeed in working out a completely acceptable answer to the questions raised. Every work of science has a manifest dependence upon the culture which rears it. Today the term "social science" appears to many an educated person as an impossible ideal. The disparity between this ideal and the actual accomplishment seems to grow greater as the years go by. As yet no one has been sentenced to death for using the term although it is not inconceivable that some time in the future people will revert to dogma as an expression of their faith rather than science. The idealist-administrator of public affairs who does not perceive the limitations of his own conceptions of "abstract truth" is also likely to find an increasing disparity between events as they actually occur and events as he thinks they should occur.

An Example

A simple illustration at this point will serve to show the nature of differentiation and integration. A certain owner and manager of a large manufacturing undertaking never gave any particular consideration to personnel problems. He hired new men when he needed them, laid them off or discharged them when they were not wanted, promoted them according to his conception of merit, and paid them a little more than the market seemed to require. But during a period of acute scarcity of labor he had difficulty not only in hiring new men, but also in holding his old men. Markets were expanding, prices were rising, and he was losing important business contracts at an increasing rate simply because of his limitations in capacity to produce. Having read a newspaper story which used the term "labor turnover" he decided that this no doubt was the source of his trouble. At any rate he looked into the matter. He went to his town library and peered through the card catalogue under various letters of the alphabet until he ran

across a certain book by a university professor, Sumner Slichter by name. The book was entitled *The Turnover of Factory Labor.* He was lucky, for he had really secured a good book on the subject. He sat up all night reading it, and reached the conclusion that his first intuition was an excellent one. So he had a clerk look into the records of labor turnover in his factory. These records were in bad order, but the clerk was able to show that the labor turnover ran somewhere between 300% and 400%. This was an expensive matter—Slichter had demonstrated that with complete satisfaction. But Slichter had also shown a great variety of causes and remedies for large labor turnover.[1] To study these causes and remedies in one's own factory was a man's job. So the manufacturer hired a personnel secretary. The latter had no authority; he was instructed to study the situation and draw up a report. The owner manager was astounded. Wages were badly out of adjustment to the market for different types of labor; selection and placement of workers was by rule of thumb, mainly guesswork; the loss of time due to sickness and minor injuries was considerable; there were definite occupational disease hazards in certain shops; in certain other shops workers complained of frequent headaches, and it was precisely in these shops that the supervisors occasionally reported spoiled and careless workmanship; some of the men had joined the unions, and the membership appeared to be increasing; many of the workers were not particularly interested in the work they were doing. But what was more to the point, the turnover was highest in those shops which showed the least desirable conditions of work and the greatest dissatisfaction of the workers. The secretary recommended steps for the organization of a company union; the employment of an expert on health and safety; the reorganization of the employment department; a personnel research expert, and a social secretary to look into general and specific problems of labor welfare. The elevation of responsibility for personnel to the level of a major staff function was also recommended. It was a heavy dose to swallow in one gulp, but the costs did not begin to compare with the mounting losses to competitors. The recommendations were carried out. And now the differentiation of structures identified with new tasks and responsibilities proceeded rapidly. Health and safety, employment, research, labor welfare, education, and joint relations were subdivisions of the newly developed personnel department. Each division was placed under the direction of a man specially equipped by training and experience to do the required work. The work of these departments was co-ordinated and the entire personnel division was properly linked up with production, sales, and finance departments. Overlapping authorities were ironed out, and the distribution of responsibility was fixed in such a way as to interfere least with the functions of superintendents and

[1] S. Slichter, *The Turnover of Factory Labor,* New York, 1921.

foremen. In a surprisingly short time labor turnover decreased, average number of workers on the payroll increased, and the total output as well as the output per unit of labor costs increased. The manufacturer fully regained his lost position in the competitive market. The creation of a personnel department, properly differentiated, and effectively integrated had solved his problem.

Differentiation and the Division of Labor

It becomes quite clear in the light of this illustration that the differentiation of structure is synonymous with the specialization of task, in short, division of labor. And this division of labor is often called an economic division of labor. Individuals in society represent various trades, occupations, and professions. Labor may be skilled, semiskilled, or unskilled; the professions are differentiated into medicine, law, and many others equally well known; the fine arts are divided into music, literature, architecture, and the like. Ordinarily the people who represent these various classifications are required to sell their services in an open market. And thus the wages, salaries, fees, or stipends of individuals are largely determined by the relation between the supply and demand for particular services in a market. If there is a large demand in relation to supply, compensation will be high; if the reverse situation prevails, the remuneration will be low. Laws, custom, prejudice, collective bargaining, monopoly control, standards of living, and planes of living play their part in a variety of combinations. But the market situation cannot be ignored unless the labor concerned is forced labor. Accordingly it is argued that the process of differentiation depends upon the market.[2] If there is supply but no demand there can be no market until it is created by advertising and related means; if there is demand but no supply there is no market until the necessary inducements provide facilities for training competent individuals. In either case the resulting relation of supply and demand creates a market and explains the process of differentiation. This manifestly is an economic explanation of the division of labor in society. It is here regarded as a one-sided and entirely inadequate explanation, and the reasons for this view will be developed.

Another Example

One may consider the process of specialization and articulation of distinct types of activity as revealed in the history of the curricula of the universities of Europe. Some of these universities were founded in the medieval period. These early institutions of higher learning emphasized the Classical curriculum: Greek, Latin, mathematics, philosophy, and theology were taught, and manifestly psychology, economics, sociology, and a long

[2] In his *Wealth of Nations* Adam Smith showed how the economic division of labor is dependent upon the extent of the market for economic goods, *op. cit.*, Bk. 1, Ch. 1.

list of other subjects were not recognized at this early time. Later, law, medicine, physics, and chemistry were added to the list of acknowledged fields of discipline. In due time the Romance languages, literature, history, and biology were admitted to the sacred circle; and finally the study of political science, economics, psychology, sociology, and anthropology crashed the gates of academic seclusion. This gradual differentiation of a modern university curriculum required centuries, and had its origin in Scholasticism. The modern faculties of institutions of higher learning thus represent an impressive array of specializations which go back to the priest, and cover the entire period of the culture history of Europe.

But specialization of task, and differentiation of structure—the social division of labor—did not stop with the above divisions. Each of these major departments in turn has become subdivided. Sociology, for instance, may be applied or theoretical, historical, statistical, or philosophical; it may be urban or rural, normative or non-normative; it may be mathematical, biophysical, and biochemical, psychological, or cultural; there is a sociology of religion, a sociology of business, a sociology of ethics, a sociology of the family, and a sociology of the state, to mention but a few of the better known distinctions. The other fields of knowledge are divided into similar extravagant detail. But the process of subdivision has not stopped here. Consider, for instance, the subdivision called applied sociology: here one finds separate fields such as mental hygiene, child welfare, family case work, social psychiatry, prison administration, social hygiene, community recreation, housing reconstruction, and city planning to cite the more commonly known courses of study. If one should happen to be especially interested in one of these, for instance, mental hygiene, he would find the most far-reaching differences between the psychoanalytic approaches of Freud, Jung, and Adler; these in turn would differ from the points of view of the endocrinologists who emphasize defects in the ductless glands, such as thyroid, pituitary, and adrenal; and these differ from various other biochemical, biophysical, psychosocial, and socio-cultural approaches to the problems of mental hygiene. This differentiation of the structure of a university curriculum is manifestly correlated with a corresponding specialization of function of individuals who are trained along the required grooves, and equipped for research work on problems in their particular fields. They are able, therefore, to give expert advice on related matters when their services are required. This of course is only another way of saying that the social division of labor has been extended.

Criticism of the Economic Explanation of the Social Division of Labor

The limitations of the economic explanation of division of labor now become apparent. Early medieval development of a theological tradition

fostered by the Roman Catholic Church explains the emergence and gradual crystallization of the thought patterns we call Scholasticism. Scholasticism defined the nature of man and the nature of the universe; the relation between life on earth and life after death in the world beyond; the nature and functions of Church aud state; the aim of life and the destiny of man; the relation between man and man, and between man and God. It was a system of ethical and religious thought and doctrine which did vastly more than strengthen the authority of the Church; it created a basis for orderly human relations over a vast area, and guaranteed that measure of social stability upon which the further evolution of European institutions was dependent. The work of Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century was effectual in constructing not only a Christian philosophy and a Christian ethic.[3] This great thinker and others of his time were inspired by the ancient works of Plato and Aristotle as well as by the Scriptural texts and interpretations of these texts. The Renaissance introduced the Classical learning, and directed the scholars of the time to the Greek and Latin works of mathematics, theology, and philosophy. Some of the ancient Arabic and Hebrew scholars had used the Greek language which thus became an indispensable requirement of the scholar. Dante, whose career overlapped with Aquinas, wrote his *Divine Comedy* in which the medieval conceptions of good and evil, salvation and damnation were expressed in poetic form. Accordingly the Classical curriculum of the early medieval universities of Europe represents a structure of thought which can only be explained satisfactorily in terms of the cultural influences of the age: the Roman Catholic Church, Scholasticism, and the Renaissance. There were problems of currency and coinage; business organization, and public administration; credit and banking; industry, agriculture, and trade. But these matters were subject to the influence of the theological tradition. Usury was prohibited, and the canonical doctrines defined the moral and religious obligations of merchant, trader, and craftsman. Business was considered to be an inferior calling where it was not scorned outright. Canonism taught that there were two factors of production, land and labor; the function of the capitalist in providing capital was not a recognized factor of production. Jews were held in contempt not so much because they were Jews, as because they were money lenders and traders who bought and sold in order to make a profit. The character portrait of Shylock in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* is the dramatic expression of the current feeling. This type of activity was not only thought to be inferior by the priest; it was scorned by the noble. The battlefield and not the market place tested the qualities of real men according to the ethic of the warrior aristocrat. The feudal order called for allegiance, loyalty, and faithful devotion of the vassal to his lord; the religious order, of which it

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[3] J. P. Lichtenberger, *Development of Social Theory, op. cit.*, pp. 109-113.

was a part, called for the same type of devotion to the Church. These qualities did not blend well with the shrewdness, the more or less deceptive tactics, desire for profit, intellectual and moral flexibility, selfish ambition, and ruthless self-assertion necessary for success in the market place. Plato had taught that men were created by God in three orders of rank symbolized by gold, silver, and copper. Gold, the most precious and rarest of the metals, was the symbol of the born ruler, the magistrate of society. Silver, next in order of value, was the symbol of the soldier, and defender of the state. Copper, the basest metal of the three, designated the masses of inferior men who tilled the soil, bought and sold their goods in the market place, or fashioned a variety of utilities for which they were skilled; in short, peasant, trader, and craftsman. Scholasticism expressed a similar conception: the priests were the magistrates; greater and lesser nobility constituted the guardian class of soldiers; merchants, husbandmen, and craftsmen performed the menial tasks. And this order of life was created by God.

But Aquinas had identified God with nature, and both of these in turn with Scriptural revelation and reason. He allowed plenty of margin for growth in the comprehension of revelation, recognized that knowledge is cumulative, and that the different requirements of various ages must be suited by a process of gradual fulfillment. Nevertheless, the life of Christ, and the work of his apostles represented the complete revelation. A papal order of 1279 made the work of this great medieval thinker the basis of all religious and ethical teaching.[4] The scholar whose inclinations were mathematical had recourse to the geometry of Euclid, and the algebra, trigonometry, and astronomy of the Arabs of the Magian culture. Mathematics thus established a direct foundation for physics, metaphysics, and philosophy based upon a mathematical form. And this was the structure of knowledge which led step by step to the most amazing and far-reaching discoveries and inventions of all time: conspicuous examples are found in the work of Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, Leibnitz, Newton, Descartes, and Pascal in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the differentiation of knowledge proceeded rapidly as chemistry, biology, economics, psychology, sociology, and anthropology gained positions of substantial and definitive form. These forms considered in connection with those from which they evolved fully demonstrate the movement of the culture from theological methods of thought and proof to metaphysical methods, and from the metaphysical to the positive methods. It is this *dynamic movement* of the culture as a natural organism in process of becoming, unfolding itself through the centuries as it realizes its own destiny, which explains, not only the division of labor and specialization of

[4] G. A. Hedger, *An Introduction to Western Civilization, op. cit.*, p. 243.

functions of individuals, but also explains the parallel differentiation and integration of social structures in each culture as new forms of life replace the old. Interpretation of these phenomena from the viewpoint of economics and the so-called laws of supply and demand must be accounted for in terms of the characteristic conditions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which created this particular type of bias. It can only be understood as an ephemeral aspect of cultural change. But this is not intended to imply that it is of no consequence in the world today. Quite otherwise. Economics plays a most impressive and far-reaching rôle in the world of contemporary affairs. Market factors are probably more vital today than they have been at any time in the history of Europe and America. It is desirable to trace the cultural factors which led to this contemporary economic emphasis, and likewise to trace its implications and consequences with respect to the present and future cultural trend. For in this way it will be possible to gain a more adequate conception of the processes of differentiation and integration.

The present age is dominated by a scale of money values which slowly gained ascendancy over a long period of time, and which represents the complete inversion of the early medieval ethical system elaborated in Scholasticism. An adequate analysis of the processes of differentiation and integration which resulted in this inversion of values calls for a description of feudalism, and for several reasons: (1) because of the interrelation and interdependence of the feudal and the religious orders of life; (2) because the early consolidation of feudal structures in the tenth and eleventh centuries marks the Springtime of the cultural movement not only for Western Europe, but also for the earlier civilizations of the world, each in its own time; (3) the association and dissociation, co-operation, and conflict of the "lord's temporal" and "lord's spiritual" estates set the stage for the drama of the culture in process of revelation and fulfillment; (4) the differentiation of feudal structures with simultaneous specialization of tasks parallels the differentiation of religious and ethical structures with a corresponding social division of labor.

The Structure of Feudalism

Feudalism embraced two distinct sets of relationships: (1) relations between lord and vassal, (2) relations between noble and husbandman. The first type of relationship was between social equals who belonged to the fighting class; the second was between superior and inferior classes of society. The first was bound by the honor of gentlemen who recognized no higher law than the solemn pledge of fealty. The second was bound by the superior physical force of the ruling class. The first is identified with a great network of feudal relations which bound greater lords to lesser lords and

these in turn to their vassals. The second is identified with the customary tenure, customary services and customary court of the medieval manor. The first concerns the differentiation of the nobility into various levels of power and prestige: kings, princes, greater lords, lesser lords, dukes, counts, barons, knights, and their retainers. The second concerns the differentiation of husbandmen into freeholders, copyholders, tenants-in-villeinage, and common slaves as well as a differentiation of disciplinary supervision over the work of these classes, that is, bailiffs, provosts, seneschals, reeves, and haywards.

Commendation was the essence of the feudal system. It expresses a type of voluntary co-operation between vassal and lord whereby the former placed himself and his property, if he had any, under the protection of the latter and agreed to serve loyally. The vassal received from his lord a fief, which was usually land, but occasionally other rights were conferred such as an office, a revenue in money or kind, the right to operate a mill, or to collect a toll. Commendation became a ceremony of homage and investiture when the vassal knelt before his lord, placed his hands between his lord's hands, and gave his word of honor to serve faithfully. The loyal discharge of his obligations constituted the vassal's right and title to his fief. And just so long as these duties were fulfilled he held his fief as his own property in relation to his tenants. Moreover, these rights were hereditary and passed automatically to his heir upon the occasion of his death. Obligations were determined by custom rather than by the precise and formal language of a written contract. While these varied widely from place to place, in general it may be said that the vassal's duties comprised military service upon summons with a force which was often specified; sometimes the vassal was required to guard the lord's castle or to hold his own subject to the latter's plans. In general it was his obligation to protect and promote his lord's interests. More specifically he was usually obliged to make payments to his chief under certain conditions; he sat in the feudal courts where he gave counsel. In exchange for these services he received and occupied his land. There was infeudation and subinfeudation which ranged from the king at the top, who held his kingdom from God and who was supreme landowner, to the smallest, the knight's fee, at the bottom of the scale. These feuds were customarily graded into ranks. A great conquering chieftain or king, as William the Conqueror, assigned jurisdictions over his acquired territory to his companions or vassals-in-chief. This relationship of the noble to his immediate companions or vassals was known as comitatus. The chief vassals in turn granted fiefs to lesser lords who were bound by solemn oath and honor to render military service just as their lords in turn, the chief vassals, were bound to provide fighting forces for their king. It was this process of infeudation and subinfeudation which finally knit an entire territory into a complex network of vassalage and subvassalage. In England this system reached its highest and most complete form after the Norman Con-

quest in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[5] But fiefs had become hereditary in the tenth century, indicating a high level of integration at that time. The superior lords, princes, barons, counts, and dukes not only received military support and feudal revenue from their vassals. They exercised judicial powers through their own courts, commanded independent armies, exacted dues from outsiders for transporting goods across their estates, and levied amercements upon strangers who violated their hunting preserves. In many cases the lord had the right to issue his own coinage, and to enter alliances with other nobles or with kings. Practically the whole of Europe became an extensive political checkerboard of countless fiefs over which the feudal lords commanded their armies as they waged frequent warfare upon each other.

The Relation of the Church to the Feudal Order

The gradual integration of feudal structures parallels the Springtime of the cultural movement when the heavy dream-laden eyes of European peoples were slowly awakened to new worlds of thought and feeling and the human soul longed to enrich its experience by deeper understanding of the common life of which it was a part. This longing was stimulated and satisfied in large measure by the teaching of the Church. For the feudal structure was a part of the Church, and obversely the Church was a part of the feudal structure in a vast network of interdependent relations. The nobility developed a distinctive class ethic based upon ideals of courage, honor, magnanimity, chivalry, courtesy and last but not least, loyalty. And these were the ideals of a class which scorned all manual labor. They produced dignity and strength of character in ancient Egypt, Greece, and modern Japan, as well as in Europe, and constitute one of the most vital and valuable aspects of the cultural heritage. The dominated classes were taught to cultivate industry, forbearance, sympathy, long suffering, obedience, humility, piety, and forgiveness. To this task of religious and ethical discipline of the masses the Church was dedicated. Christian teaching emphasized precisely the qualities that were desired. The Gospels taught men to love their enemies, to turn the other cheek, to do good to those who persecute their fellow men, to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are of God. The Kingdom of Heaven was not of this world, and if life on earth was hard, cruel, and bitter the righteous soul was rewarded with overflowing good measure in an immortality of peace and happiness beyond the veil of death. God's Only Begotten Son had made the supreme sacrifice for the salvation of men and the burdens and misery men suffered were as nothing in comparison with the divine anguish. The Gospel story was dramatic, vivid, and impressive. What could be more

[5] Bland, Brown, and Tawney, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-22.

beautiful than the story of the three wise men of the East and the birth of the Christ-Child; what could be more tragic than the story of the crucifixion; what more inspiring, more comforting than the final triumphant victory over death? And if the verbal story did not quite impress itself for the dullness of human sensibilities, the Stations of the Cross were there to instill the story into the very fibre of their inmost thoughts and feelings. What could be more soothing than the Twenty-Third Psalm:

> The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want
> . . . . . .
> Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death,
> I will fear no evil; for thou art with me;
> . . . . . .[6]

And thus people were taught to love mercy, to do justly, and to walk humbly in the sight of God. It was the Church, and the moral and religious discipline it provided, which established the final integration of feudalism.

There were other connections between feudalism and the Church. King John of England held his realm as a fief from the Pope. The Church owned extensive territories which were sublet to vassals on feudal tenure. In fact the priesthood constituted one of the richest of the feudatories. For instance, St. Paul's Church in London held a demesne amounting to about three-eighths of its property, the remainder being occupied by tenants who paid tribute to the Church and cultivated the demesne. That the monasteries held extensive territories is well known, and it is also known that large revenues were drawn from copyholders, freeholders, leaseholders, and tenants-at-will. Moreover, the Church was instrumental in the early development of feudal relationships. The practice of the Church in loaning its land nominally for three lives enabled the establishment of a lordship involving not only obligations with respect to revenue, but also predial services. This practice was called *lænland*.[7] The revenues tended toward impoverishment and dependence, particularly the tithe, which represented a tenth part of the produce of the soil. This, together with other taxes imposed by the Church, had the effect of maintaining manorial communities and serfdom. The alienation of crown lands, and the integration of freeholds whose owners were reduced to a condition of economic dependence contributed to the formation of village communities controlled by the Church. Domanial centers established by monasteries were surrounded with territories occupied and cultivated by a community of dependent tenants. According to the practice of *benificium* an individual who surrendered title to his lands, temporarily or permanently, could receive them back again in exchange for a nominal sum. And there were certain periods during which the Church

[6] 23rd Psalm.
[7] E. Lipson, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

holdings increased rapidly as a result of this practice. In this way the landowner who gave up his holding secured the protection of abbots and bishops and promoted the salvation of his soul. The feudal holdings of the Church also increased as a result of the will and testimony of copyholders and freeholders who died without heir. In this connection also the motive of salvation was important. Thus it came about that the interests of the priesthood were tied up with the interests of the landed nobility in the maintenance of the feudal structure: both were dependent upon the feudal dues and services which were rendered in exchange for salvation, patronage and protection. The hierarchy of the Church was at once a highly differentiated and closely integrated structure. Every official statement of the Pope was and still is regarded as the word of God himself; it is law so far as the Church is concerned. In medieval days before the dissolution of the monasteries and the gradual separation of Church and state the temporal power rested upon the spiritual sanction of the Church. Dunstan, the Archbishop of Canterbury in the tenth century, had so much influence over King Edgar that the latter was moved to do penance at the behest of the former. The King was fond of royal pomp, but when he was forbidden to wear his golden crown for seven years as a measure of penance, he submitted meekly. Supported by an elaborate organization of cardinals, archbishops, bishops, abbots and priests the Church of those days dominated the community life: it built schools, distributed alms, conducted the ceremonials of baptism, marriage, birth, and death, constructed monasteries and hospitals, and established the level of ethical and religious discipline which meant in effect also the economic discipline.

The Renaissance

The solid integration of the feudal structure by the "lord's temporal" and the "lord's spiritual" estates constituted the foundation upon which European institutions evolved. Such differentiating movements as the Renaissance and the Reformation can only be understood from the point of view of the basic structure of feudalism. While these movements were disturbing and individualistic in character, threatening to undermine the prevailing order of life, the fact remains that the Schoolmen themselves had recourse to the works of the ancient writers of Greece and Rome, that they translated many of them and created a structure of knowledge in terms of philosophy, theology, and mathematics which fertilized and stimulated the thought process. Without this background and impetus the Renaissance could never have occurred. It was not an isolated phenomenon but an integral event within the European cultural movement. Since medieval scholasticism had placed revelation above reason, it was just that much easier for Frederick II of the thirteenth century, King of Sicily, and Holy Roman Emperor, to re-

verse the relation by placing reason above revelation. The work of Thomas Aquinas, far from closing the doors to the pursuit of knowledge, had literally thrown them wide open. Churchmen and nobility participated in the spirit of the Renaissance even though this movement was identified with the growth, enrichment, and corresponding splendor and extravagance of early medieval cities; it represented the origin of the conflict between the isolated sacred structure and the accessible secular structure. For the Renaissance was the beginning of that process of secularization which increasingly restricted the influence and authority of the Church as it extended the influence and authority of the secular state over education, law, marriage, family, and morality. In the early part of the sixteenth century Pope Leo X could say, "Let us enjoy the Papacy now that God has given it to us." [8] For the spirit of the Renaissance had moved the Church to pompous ceremonial, extravagant expenditure for public works, luxurious display, and generous patronage of the fine arts. In the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Italian nobles moved to the great cities of the Renaissance: Milan, Venice, Florence, Rome, and Naples. Here they turned to commerce and manufacturing, taking advantage of the strategical location of these cities as centers of trade with the Orient. Thus the aristocratic tastes and traditions of the nobles were united with the interests and activities of the merchant class. The Italian cities became political powers of consequence, dominating the rural districts and the smaller cities, entering into diplomatic alliances as they held each other in check. Great accumulation of wealth made possible the patronage of the fine arts as achievement in painting, architecture, and sculpture adorned these early cities. The Medici, rulers of Florence, were merchants, farmers, and bankers; at the same time they were students of Classical literature and learning, and patrons of scholars and artists. Lorenzo "the Magnificent" was himself a poet. This movement of unparalleled artistic creation reached its high noon with the work of Raphael of Urbino, Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci, and Titian.

Humanism

The Renaissance developed a spirit which is known as humanism. It took issue with the piety, penitence, asceticism, and other-worldliness of the early Church. Man was prized not only for his soul, but especially for his human qualities. The full enjoyment of his powers, and the greatest development of his personality were the ends of life. And thus the man of the Renaissance revolted against the authority of the clergy by inverting many of the teachings of the Church. Recognition for achievement on this earth, the multiplication of new experiences for which nature provided so abun-

[8] G. A. Hedger, *An Introduction to Western Civilization*, Doubleday, Doran and Company, New York, 1933, p. 264. Quoted by G. F. Howe.

dantly, the search for knowledge, and discovery of truth by direct observation of nature rather than by the meticulous comparison of texts,—in short a fullness and richness of the life of the individual for his own sake inspired the many and varied discoveries, inventions and artistic achievement of the Renaissance period (about 1300-1600). The great thinkers and artists of the time felt pride in versatility: Leonardo da Vinci was mathematician, scientist, inventor, and painter; Michelangelo was painter, sculptor, architect, and poet; Alberti was musician, composer, painter, sculptor, architect, and author in two languages; the Medici were collectors of manuscripts, coins, and works of art, patrons of science as of art, and bankers, farmers, and merchants in addition to being rulers of Florence. The specialization of interest and function which developed in the nineteenth century was no part of the Renaissance. Nevertheless the spirit of detached inquiry and scientific candor was there. Leonardo summarized it when he taught his students of painting to "try to be a calm spectator of how people laugh and weep, hate and love, blanch from horror, and cry out in pain; look, learn, investigate, observe in order that thou mayest come to know the expression of all human emotion."[9] But the Church held to its guns: Bruno was burned at the stake for his views of nature, and Galileo was forced to his knees to recant his belief in the Copernican theory. The spirit of the Renaissance was not confined to the Italian cities where first it flourished. The integration of feudal Europe led to the differentiation of towns and cities which in time dominated the countryside. As these towns developed their profitable industries and trade with other towns and other lands they grew wealthy and powerful. The conflict between the accessible secular and the isolated sacred structure became increasingly apparent. Education, and learning as well, centered at points of distinctly secular interest in the cities imbued with the spirit of humanism. The scholastic emphasis, as previously shown, was upon philosophy, theology, mathematics, Greek, and Latin. The humanistic emphasis was much broader including natural science, particularly physics and chemistry, medicine, law, Romance languages, literature, and the fine arts. Inasmuch as the older universities repelled the humanistic studies as long as possible, the free cities of the north became the principal seats of the new Classical scholarship. And the courts of the princes likewise encouraged the humanist movement. Here students and scholars with their patrons among the wealthy burghers, and the ruling princes waged a warfare against the now obsolete medieval system built by the Schoolmen. Humanism triumphed in the end, for the universities reluctantly recognized the new studies on terms of equality. Eighteenth and nineteenth century developments in biology, history, economics, psychology, sociology, and anthropology met with a similar opposition, but one by one these studies too have been admitted in many, although not in all of the universities.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 259. Quoted by G. F. Howe.

The Reformation

The Renaissance thus led to a new differentiation and integration of knowledge. But it led to more than this: it led to the Reformation and consequent cleavage of Protestant and Catholic branches of the Christian Church. The free cities of the north, chiefly Lübeck, Bremen, Hamburg, Cologne, Brunswick, Königsberg, and Dantzig supported the humanistic movement of the Renaissance. These rich and powerful cities organized the Hanseatic League which flourished in the fifteenth century. At one time there were more than seventy towns in this league, the great majority of them in northern Germany, a few of them in the Dutch and Belgian Netherlands. The league was organized to develop trade among its members, to encourage and regulate their trade with foreign countries, to pool their resources in providing protection at sea from pirates, and to secure privileges from the ruling princes such as low customs duties, and protection from highway robbers.[10] Trading ports were established in foreign towns such as London, Bruges, and Novgorod where the league's hall and fortified grounds were managed by native-born Germans who swore to serve their league. Thus while the Italian cities were supporting armies and navies, negotiating alliances, and waging frequent warfare upon each other—all of which led the brilliant Machiavelli to write his famous treatise, *The Prince*—the northern cities of the Hanseatic League worked together in a spirit of friendly rivalry which lasted until Holland, England, and France, organized as powerful national states, were able to destroy the league. The more compact organization of the national state bound by common national feeling, and governed by autocratic kings with mercantilistic wizards to advise them, proved to be more than a match for the Hanseatic confederation.

These towns and cities stand, however, as proof of the power and wealth of the middle class merchants and manufacturers. And this explains the phenomenal success of the Reformation in the course of the sixteenth century. For Martin Luther and his collaborators in spirit could never have broken from the Church without the support of middle class interests. The conflict was there long before Luther brought it to a climax as shown by the humanistic interests and sympathies of the northern cities.

It becomes clear that the Reformation was the inevitable fulfillment, the logical culmination of the Renaissance.[11] Martin Luther was a pious Catholic priest who believed the Church had gone altogether too far in surrendering to the worldly spirit of the Renaissance. Paradoxical it is, but nevertheless true, that the Reformation, which emphasized the freedom, and the sanctity, of the individual conscience, and formulated the doctrine of salva-

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[10] N. S. B. Gras, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

[11] *The Cambridge Modern History*, New York, 1934, Vol. I, "The Renaissance"; and Vol. II, "The Reformation."

tion by grace, stimulated a renewed interest in certain medieval religious attitudes against which the Renaissance had revolted. At the time of the controversy with Luther the Church used all means available to increase the papal revenues in order to complete St. Peter's Church in Rome. The indulgence was one of these methods of raising money; it was simply a relief from the obligation of penance granted by the authority of the Pope to a repentant sinner. It became a kind of money commutation for penance, and inasmuch as it was sold rather indiscriminately to sinners in no sense repentant, in order to raise funds, it became an object of criticism and center of discussion. There were other points of difference which need not be considered here. The controversy led to the question of the authority of the individual human conscience in opposition to the institutional inspiration of the Church. What appeared at first to be a more or less harmless quarrel developed into a widespread revolt. And there were many elements of society which in the past had been forced to suppress their grievances, but now found opportunity to express them forcibly by throwing their resources, financial and moral, behind Luther's rebellion. There were the teachers and scholars in the northern cities whose inclinations and sympathies were decidedly humanistic; there were manufacturers and traders whose standard of ethics, and philosophy of life, did not blend with the canon law of the Church; there were disgruntled and exploited masses of the population which resented the heavy taxes imposed by the Church; there were nobles and kings who desired freedom from the political interference of the Pope and emperor; the Church held rich and extensive territories upon which many a poverty stricken duke and baron looked with envious longing; and there were leaders who dreamed of creating powerful national states, and whose ambitions were constantly thwarted by the Church. The time was ripe, and the Reformation resulted in the secession of practically the entire area of northern Europe from the Catholic faith. There emerged a new conception of religion, a new doctrine of faith, and a new ethic of life. For Luther insisted that the ultimate guide to matters of conduct must be the informed conscience of the individual, and that not only a Pope but even a church council could make mistakes in matters of religious interpretation and belief. And this of course was the rankest kind of heresy from the point of view of the established Church. The individualism of the Renaissance had developed in the mind of Luther to a position which most of the humanists considered extreme and dangerously radical. This religious explosion was certainly not the work of the humanists, with the possible exception of the German vagabond scholar, Ulrich von Hutten, whose written work emphasized the need of reform. However, Erasmus, in his *Praise of Folly,* criticized the Church sharply, chiefly on the grounds of ignorance, superstition and worldliness. Likewise Sir Thomas More who wrote *Utopia.* These three men, von Hutten, More, and Erasmus were contemporaries

who lived at the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries.

The Spirit of Individualism

The Renaissance brought a spirit of individualism in matters of thought and feeling which was expressed chiefly in science, education, and the fine arts. But this movement also had its economic, religious, and political aspects. The Reformation carried the spirit of individualism definitely and aggressively into questions of religious belief and doctrine; and this movement too had the most far-reaching political, economic, and ethical implications and repercussions. The Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century represents the fulfillment of a similar spirit in the general field of economic interest and activity; it too had antecedents in the total structure of society, which linked it up with every conceivable type of human interest, and consequences which did likewise. And finally, the gradual development of democratic institutions in the nineteenth century is symbolic of the same spirit in the realm of politics; these institutions likewise have a complex root system which may be traced all the way back to feudalism, and extensive branches which carried forward its effects upon every single aspect of the culture of which it was a part. Each movement considered in itself, whether it be Scholasticism, Renaissance, or Reformation has its distinctive attributes, and its correlations with all aspects of the cultural organism; each has its antecedents in the total life of society, and its effects upon the same. The cultural equilibrium is maintained as changes in one direction are countered by supplementary changes in other directions. Differentiation of new structures occurs simultaneously with the modification or dissolution of old structures. And this is the meaning of integration: the new and the old condition and recondition each other as the changing configuration of plurality patterns effectually balances the centrifugal and centripetal forces. Sociological analysis of such movements as have been discussed in this chapter gives insight into the interdependent relationships of change which affect the entire cross-section of a culture and accordingly include the varied interests and activities of man in the work of science, art, religion, economics, education, and politics. This may put something of a tax on our powers of assimilation and understanding, but the age of specialization is passing; we are living in an age of closer consolidation, nicer co-ordination, and more effectual integration. There is increasing need for the more versatile type of man of the Renaissance period although we do very well not to emulate all of his characteristics.

Problem Questions

1. Are the processes of superordination and subordination differentiating or integrating processes?

2. Are the processes of motivation—incentives and deterrents—differentiating or integrating processes?

3. What forces and factors seem to have been particularly effectual in establishing the integration of feudalism? The dissolution of feudalism?

4. Was humanism an aristocratic movement or a democratic movement? Was the Reformation an aristocratic or a democratic movement?

5. Compare the modern humanist movement, as represented by Professors Babbitt, Sherman, and their followers, with the medieval movement.

6. Recent books, such as Glenn Frank's *Thunder and Dawn,* use terms like the "New Reformation," the "New Renaissance," the "New Humanism," the "New Industrial Revolution," and the "New Democracy." What, if anything, do these phrases suggest to your mind?

7. Pythagoras, Mohammed, and Cromwell are regarded by Spengler as "contemporaries." Do you see any reasons for supporting this view? For rejecting it?

8.What reasons do you see for objecting to the view that the Renaissance, after a brief intermission of several centuries known as the "dark ages," was the continuation and diffusion in Europe of the Classical civilization?

9. Is there any evidence to show that the Magian civilization had an influence upon the Renaissance?

10. It may be argued that the Magian influence was far greater than the Classical influence. Support this view.

11. Was Roman Catholic Christianity of the twelfth century the same as Roman Catholic Christianity of the fifth century?

12. How do you account for the fact that the Reformation profoundly influenced the northwestern countries of Europe, but not the southern and eastern countries of Europe?

13. Is there any correlation between the countries in which the Reformation succeeded, and the countries in which the Industrial Revolution made the greatest progress?

14. How do you explain the fact that humanism and the Renaissance first developed in the cities of northern Italy?

15. What evidence is there to show that the Reformation reasserted the older, austere values of the Roman Church at a time when these values were in process of decadence?

16. In which country of Europe did the Industrial Revolution make the earliest and most rapid progress? How do you account for this fact?

17. Is there reason for saying that the Reformation created a new discipline of life and therewith a new aristocracy?

18. Glenn Frank has referred to himself as an aristo-democrat. What appear to be the qualities of this type?

19. What does the term "Machiavellian" mean? Does Machiavelli's *The Prince* have an application to the politics of the present age?

20. Do the Classical scholars of today interpret humanism and the Renaissance as these movements are interpreted in the preceding chapter?

Suggestions for Additional Reading

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12

SOCIAL INTEGRATION—NATIONALISM

THE DISINTEGRATION OF feudalism parallels the development of the national state. It has been pointed out that the cities of the Hanseatic League declined with the rise-to-power of the national states of France, Holland, and England. Venice, and other Italian cities, lost prosperity, influence, and power after the discovery of an all water route from Europe to the East. This meant that the position of these cities near the head of the Adriatic no longer favored them in importing goods from the Orient for distribution to western and central Europe. It was about this time that the mercantilistic policies of Lord Burghley were taking form in England. Explorations and discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries represented a desire to fathom and to master the forces of nature in all of their manifold aspects; this was the spirit of the Renaissance. But it was these states in which local interests had been subordinated to the more inclusive national interests that profited most from the work of Vasco da Gama, Magellan, and Columbus.

THREE TYPES OF NATIONAL STATE

The national integration of politics and economics produced a power, wealth, and resourcefulness against which the cities were helpless. The reign of Queen Elizabeth during the latter half of the sixteenth century marks the definitive organization of the national state in that country. It was mercantilistic, and it was autocratic. In France it was the reign of Louis XIV in the seventeenth century, and the work of men of the type of Colbert which signified the integration of the national state. It too was mercantilistic and autocratic. Frederick William I of Prussia in the early part of the eighteenth century consolidated the power of his state, and his son, Frederick the Great, carried out the mercantilistic policies of his father. The Prussian state also was autocratic as well as mercantilistic. Austrian history tells a similar story. These national states evolved a co-ordination and integration of politico-economic power over an extensive and delimited territory under the sovereign rule of autocratic kings. They were evolutionary developments from the localism of early feudal days as already described. But these national, autocratic, mercantilistic states gave way to national, democratic, capitalistic states of the nineteenth century; some of these in turn are being superseded today by national corporative states under rule of dictators. And

since all of these states are national states the question must be raised at this point and answered: What is nationalism?

Meaning of Nationalism

This term invariably implies the likemindedness which is due to ethnic similarity. There may be nationality where there is neither political independence nor territorial concentration. For instance we speak of Jewish and Armenian nationality. Centuries have elapsed since these people enjoyed the rights of sovereign power. Nevertheless they have retained a consciousness of kind, a mental, moral, and religious resemblance which is based partly upon a common racial ancestry, and partly upon a cultural crystallization which has held together in spite of, perhaps because of, certain manifest obstacles. It becomes apparent that nationality may be a myth so far as ethnic origin is concerned. Madison Grant describes the immigration of a large number of Alpines into a section of Poland inhabited largely by Jews.[1] These Alpines were converted to Judaism and completely assimilated. No doubt, if they had continued to live in the same communities they would have been assimilated biologically as well as culturally. But a large number of them emigrated to the United States before this occurred. The striking fact is that these Alpines in America belong to Jewish communities, are members of Jewish synagogues, and think of themselves and speak of themselves as Jews. And that, of course, makes them Jews so far as their relationships are concerned. Nevertheless, they are Alpines in terms of race. It is precisely this process of cultural assimilation, whereby people become likeminded, not because of common ancestry, but because they go to the same schools and churches, read the same newspapers, speak the same language, and see the same moving picture shows, that distinguishes the term nationalism. We speak of American nationality. Is it ethnic? If so we should have to invent a new term to define a congregation of 127,000,000 people 11,000,000 of whom are Negroes; 30,000,000 were born abroad or are children of parents born abroad, mainly in the countries of southeastern Europe. And yet it is recognized that the Anglo-Saxon influence which *is* bound by ethnic resemblance has been, and still is, the dominating cultural influence in the United States.[2] England is not an ethnic unit by any means; neither is Germany, France, Italy, or Russia. What has been said with respect to the heterogeneous collection of ethnic elements which comprise the American nation may also be said in modified terms of each one of the countries mentioned above. There are Mediterranean, Alpine, Celtic, and Nordic elements in England; Alpine, Nordic, and Slavic in Germany; Celtic, Nordic, Alpine, and Mediterranean in France; Mediterranean, Alpine, and Nordic

[1] Madison Grant, *The Conquest of a Continent*, New York, 1933, pp. 224, 225.

[2] H. M. Kallen, "Democracy versus the Melting Pot," *The Nation*, February 18 and February 25, 1915.

in Italy. The proportions vary greatly. But the national feeling is pronounced in each case.

Historically considered, it is clear that the vital issues of these European countries do not always concern their populations as wholes. They do, however, most vitally concern their ruling classes and landowning aristocracies. These classes were Nordic and still are to a variable extent. Alpine and Mediterranean races do not constitute the primary ruling classes of Europe any more than they do in America. Just as the Anglo-Saxon in America fixed the cultural standard for the growing population of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, so in Europe, from the feudal period to the present day, the Nordic aristocracies did likewise. That the relative ethnic purity of feudal days has been diluted considerably in the course of centuries is obviously true. That this process of fusion has completely obliterated the earlier type is just as obviously false. Let anyone who desires look over the Scandinavian countries, eastern England, northern France, or northern Germany, and he will see the ethnic sources of the great migrations which set up ruling classes of Nordic ancestry in all of the European countries as well as in the United States. Nationalism therefore is based upon the ethnic resemblance of the ruling classes, and the cultural domination of various other ethnic types within a delimited territory under sovereign rule. The organic unity of European and American civilization cannot be fully explained without reference to the common racial ancestry of its ruling classes. This, of course, does not explain the dissimilarity of national units such as England, Germany, France, and Italy. It is plain, however, that these states constitute linguistic and politico-economic units as well as national units within the cultural area of Europe. Tension and conflict between these national states have been great ever since they were formed; it will not cease until some great and powerful external enemy which threatens to extinguish their common civilization forces them to unite in self defense. It is not yet clear, however, that they would not prefer the extinction of their common civilization. The great cultural movements swept over all of them: Feudalism, Scholasticism, Renaissance, Reformation, Mercantilism, Industrial Revolution, Democracy, Capitalism, and today some form of national integration which is quite distinctly different from the mercantilistic national state as well as the capitalistic national state. The differentiation of conflicting and competing nationalisms occurred within the total cultural structure conceived as an organic whole.

The Industrial Revolution

It has been pointed out that the first national states of Europe were autocratic and mercantilistic. Likewise the influences and factors which led to the gradual integration of this type of structure have been explained. In the

course of the nineteenth century, however, a distinctly different type of national state emerged; it was democratic and capitalistic in form. Some of the cultural forces which led to the integration of the democratic national state have been suggested in various connections discussed in previous chapters. For instance, the close correlation between the ethic of Protestantism and the spirit of capitalism has been emphasized. Also the intimate connection between the interests of the rising middle class and the democratic theory of government. It has been shown that the Renaissance was linked with growing interests in natural science, and with the philosophy of humanism which not only favored the breakdown of the medieval system, but also laid a foundation in knowledge upon which the great inventions of the Industrial Revolution were constructed. Moreover, the Renaissance led to an era of discoveries and explorations which opened trade routes as well as opportunities for colonial settlement. The differentiation and development of new types of manufacturing industry paralleled the rapid development of overseas commerce. Requisite knowledge for the improvement of old methods of production as well as the invention of new methods was provided by brilliant research work in mathematics, physics and chemistry. The net result was the Industrial Revolution. By the close of the eighteenth century this far-reaching transformation of ideas and methods of production was well under way in England. In France the same series of events occurred two or three decades later. In Germany the Industrial Revolution was plainly in evidence by the middle of the nineteenth century. These differences may of course be explained on various grounds; there were greater differences in time with respect to the integration of the national mercantilistic states in these same countries. The student may investigate these historical problems to his own satisfaction. At this point the vital matter is an understanding of the Industrial Revolution which is generally taken to comprise the following particulars: (1) the utilization of power machinery in large factories employing many workers; (2) the acceptance of the principle of *laissez faire* as a definition of the desirable relations between government and business, and between competing employers; (3) the intensive utilization of science for the purpose of improving the mechanical, physical, and chemical processes of production.

The Industrial Revolution is linked on the one hand with the energetic self-assertion of the middle class, and on the other hand with the gradual development of democratic institutions. For this form of government guaranteed the maximum scope for the voluntary initiative and enterprise of the owner of capital who wished to exploit his newly found opportunities; at the same time it guaranteed the minimum of governmental regulation of business. It meant in effect an unparalleled development of the wealth and natural resources of the national state, an intensification of nationalism in terms of democratic theory, a growth of cities, and a rapid increase of popu-

lation. In short, it effectuated the integration of a new type of national state: democratic and capitalistic. Great accumulations of wealth owned and controlled by individuals meant that the government responded increasingly to the needs and demands of this class. Democracy in government at first made representation dependent upon the ownership of property. But these restrictions upon the right of suffrage were modified or entirely removed along with other limitations such as sex and age. The strategic importance of trade routes such as the Dardanelles, Gibraltar, Suez Canal, and Panama Canal became points of friction in the policies and diplomacies of the contending states; likewise ownership or control of extensive overseas territories which were rich in inorganic resources such as coal, iron, and oil, and sources of supply for indispensable raw materials such as rubber, cotton and wool. Political, diplomatic, and economic histories of the nineteenth century have been written from this point of view.[3] The effects upon the total structure were most far reaching. For instance, the factory system of production favored the employment of women and children in industry. The proportion of women gainfully employed in industry steadily increased; United States Census returns for 1930 show about 11,000,000 females ten years old and over gainfully employed in all occupations. Less than 10% of these were employed in agriculture; the remainder were chiefly in industry. The total number of men gainfully employed in agriculture was about 1,200,000 less than the total number of women in all occupations.[4] This movement is directly related to the problems of family instability of the twentieth century inasmuch as the increasing economic independence of women raised the level of their political influence to the point of amending the laws of marriage, divorce, property, inheritance, education, professional freedom, and suffrage. Increased differentiation of manufacturing industry transferred many household tasks to the factory, leaving a margin of leisure available for activity in social, civic, and political organizations. These effects, considered in connection with the rising standards of comfort and education of children, and corresponding increase in the cost of rearing and training children, explain the birth control movement as reflected in a steadily declining birth rate.

The Political and Economic Influence of Labor

The new type of national state at first opposed but later favored the organization of workers in industry. Originally the purpose of these organizations was to provide mutual insurance against accident and sickness. But these interests were quickly extended to include collective bargaining in all aspects of the labor contract: wages, hours, and the conditions of work.

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[3] For instance, P. T. Moon, *Imperialism and World Politics*, New York, 1926.
[4] *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, Washington, 1935, p. 55.

Such instruments as the strike, boycott, sympathetic strike, and the union label were found effective in negotiations with employers. Revision or amendment of the conspiracy laws gave the workers the right to independent organization for collective bargaining, and legalized the strike, peaceful picketing, and related methods used to realize their ends.[5] At the same time these organizations constituted a nucleus of political activity. The political power of labor is reflected in laws which protected their interests. It is shown also in the organization of labor parties, and the increasing strength of representation of these parties in halls of legislation. Democratic principles guaranteed the equal rights of labor to freedom of speech, freedom of organization, freedom of press, and of assemblage.

Legislation was passed to protect the welfare of the working classes. English factory legislation goes back to the early decades of the nineteenth century. At this time the employment of pauper apprentices at the ages of six and seven years, the long working day of approximately fourteen hours, the bad sanitary conditions in factories, and the unsettled conditions of community organization in mushroom industrial towns indicated the need for protective laws.[6] The development of this kind of legislation was partly the result of public-minded men of the type of Robert Owen and Sir Robert Peel, and partly the result of direct or indirect political pressure of organized labor. Prince Bismarck sponsored a comprehensive program of social insurance in Germany. His proposed sickness insurance law went into effect in 1884, the accident insurance law in 1885, and the old age and invalidity measure in 1891.[7] Unemployment insurance legislation was not enacted until after the World War. In England and the United States the old common law doctrines of employers' liability for damages suffered by injured workmen placed the responsibility for accident squarely upon the shoulders of the employee. These doctrines—assumption of risk by the worker, contributory negligence of the injured worker, and the contributory negligence of a fellow worker, called the fellow servant doctrine—were nullified or amended by employers' liability laws which shifted the responsibility from employee to employer. All of the industrialized countries of Europe and America passed laws to make factories reasonably safe and sanitary. The employment of children was prohibited below a certain age, and this standard was generally fixed at a later age for minors employed in hazardous occupations. Night work of children and women was prohibited, and the hours of work of women in all industrial occupations were limited. In hazardous occupations the employment of women was prohibited, and the hours of work of men were restricted. Many states passed minimum

[5] J. R. Commons and J. B. Andrews, *Principles of Labor Legislation*, New York and London, 1927, pp. 106-122.

[6] Robert Owen, *Life of Robert Owen*, London, 1857, Vol. I, p. 60.

[7] H. R. Seager, *Social Insurance*, New York, 1910, pp. 70, 79, 129-132.

wage laws, voluntary arbitration of industrial disputes laws, and compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes laws.[8] The government of Lloyd George in the first decade of the twentieth century carried on an elaborate program providing for a non-contributory old age pension law, contributory sickness and health insurance, as well as minimum wage regulation in certain industries, and contributory unemployment insurance.[9] Other states, France, Holland, Belgium, Norway, and Sweden provided various forms of protection of workers against the risks and losses of accident, sickness, old age, maternity, invalidity, and unemployment.

State jurisdiction in the United States as distinguished from federal jurisdiction retarded the movement of labor legislation. Nevertheless, nearly all of the states had passed child labor laws and workmen's compensation laws by the opening of the World War; many of them limited the hours of women in all occupations; some of them limited the hours of men in hazardous occupations, and about a dozen enacted laws providing minimum wage standards for women and children. At the present time there is a distinct tendency in favor of federal jurisdiction over this type of legislation as shown by the codes of the National Industrial Recovery Administration which controlled the hours and wages of men as well as women in all industries, and prohibited the employment of children.[10] It is also shown by the enactment of the Social Security Act.

The Regulation of Monopoly

A somewhat different type of legislation, curtailing and restricting the power of monopoly, was also a result of the nineteenth century situation. The trust was an ingenious device whereby competing enterprises exchanged their stock certificates for trust certificates. Holders of the trust certificates elected a directorate which held and voted the stock certificates of the separate companies, thus controlling their directorates. In this way policies were integrated, competition was stifled, and prices were manipulated in the business interests of the trust. The Sherman Anti-trust Law of 1890 was designed to guarantee freedom of competition by outlawing this type of monopoly power. But it merely resulted in the organization of holding companies, amalgamations, mergers, gentlemen's agreements, pools, and

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[8] J. A. Estey, *The Labor Problem*, New York, 1928, Ch. 19.

[9] F. A. Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, New York, 1919, p. 265 *et seq.*

[10] C. A. Beard and G. H. E. Smith, *The Future Comes*, New York, 1933, Ch. 4. The National Industrial Recovery Act was outlawed by the United States Supreme Court on May 28, 1935 in a unanimous decision on the Schechter poultry case. It was held that neither the President nor Congress has the power to regulate wages and hours in intra-state transactions. President Roosevelt in 1937 explained the failure of the National Industrial Recovery Act on the ground that too much was attempted. Meanwhile other devices may be employed for similar purposes as shown by the Court's approval of the Ashurst-Sumner Law, enacted in 1935, which forbids the shipment of convict-made goods into states which prohibit the sale of such goods.

combinations which were able to circumvent the law in various respects.[11] Earlier abuses in connection with the railroad industry resulted in a law which created the Interstate Commerce Commission. The Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, which created this commission, prohibited unjust discrimination by special rates, rebates, or similar devices, and also forbade the pooling of freight and the division of earnings. The commission was empowered to investigate complaints, and to enforce its rulings. The Trade Commission Act and the Clayton Act became laws in 1914; they aimed to regulate capitalistic monopoly in a more detailed and effective manner than was possible under the older laws.[12] The National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 relaxed the price fixing regulations of the previous laws, but the policy of government regulation was carried farther by organizing industries into codes, and establishing minimum standards with respect to hours of work, wages, child labor, expansion of plant, installation of new machinery, and methods of competition.

Public Education

The responsibility of the state for public education was another important consequence of the combination of factors which produced the national, democratic, capitalistic state of the nineteenth century. As late as the beginning of this century the great majority of Englishmen could neither read nor write. In 1807 a member of Parliament objected to working class education on the following grounds: "it would be prejudicial to their morals and their happiness; it would teach them to despise their lot; instead of teaching them subordination it would render them fractious and refractory as was evident in the manufacturing counties; it would enable them to read seditious pamphlets, vicious books and publications against Christianity; it would render them insolent to their superiors."[13] There was certainly more truth than poetry in this statement. Enactments of 1833, 1839, 1847, and 1858 improved the situation, but it was not until 1870 at the time of the first Gladstone government that a measure was carried designed to provide England for the first time in her history with a national educational system. As early as 1833 Guizot in France carried a measure which required every commune to maintain an elementary school, and to compensate the teachers. In Germany the appointment of Wilhelm von Humboldt to the Ministry of Public Instruction in 1809 marked the development of a new, compulsory system of free instruction for all boys and girls between the ages of six and fourteen. Nowhere in Europe were the general educational standards raised to a higher level than in Germany. The local organization of civic life in the

[11] L. H. Haney, *Business Organization and Combination*, New York, 1916, p. 146.
[12] W. H. Hamilton, *Current Economic Problems*, Chicago, 1916, pp. 441-443.
[13] F. A. Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, The Macmillan Co., New York, 1919, p. 327.

United States obstructed the development of a tax-supported public school system. Industry had developed but little by the beginning of the nineteenth century and the rural structure of the country might be described as a collection of isolated towns, villages, and communities. By 1850, however, every northern state had provided for a tax-supported public school system. Similar developments in the South did not take place until after the Reconstruction period which followed the Civil War. One of the important factors which led the Gladstone government to provide for a national system of public instruction was the victory of the industrial North over the rural South in the Civil War. The value of such a system in creating a high degree of mental and moral similarity over large and scattered elements of a population, and thereby establishing a high level of national unity, is perfectly manifest. That the ruling classes of society were instrumental in determining the pattern of education is just as obvious. No single factor has been more effective in generalizing and crystallizing the feeling of nationality than the tax-supported public school system of free, compulsory education for all boys and girls between the approximate ages of six and fourteen.

Urban Growth and the Increase of Population

The rapid increase of population, and the increasing concentration of population in large urban centers also mark the era of the national, democratic, capitalistic state. In the course of the century the population of Europe increased from about 200,000,000 to 600,000,000 inhabitants; the population of the United States as shown by official census reports increased from 5,300,000 in 1800 to 76,000,000 in 1900. This increase of population was not due to a rising birth rate; in fact, the second half of the century witnessed an accelerating decline of the birth rate. It was due to the application of medical and biological science to the problems of human disease and longevity which steadily lowered the death rate. The solution of problems of municipal sanitation and hygiene by the application of the requisite knowledge of engineering had the same effect. Increase in population was also due to higher levels of efficiency in production and expanding trade which made possible the support of larger populations. Immigration was a notable factor in the case of the United States. The proportion of urban population of the total population in the United States in 1800 was 4% and in 1900 it was 33%.[14] In 1910 this ratio was 46%, in 1920 it was 51%, and in 1930 it was 56%.[15] In 1860 there were 32 cities which had a population of 25,000 inhabitants or over, while in 1910 there were 229 such cities; in 1930 there were 376. The concentration of urban population is greater

[14] *Statistical Abstract of the United States, op. cit.*, p. 6.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

in Germany than in the United States, and greater in England than it is in Germany. In England the ratio in 1921 showed 79.3% urban; in Germany the same ratio at the same time was 64.4%; in France it was 46.4%; in Italy 65.8%. The same phenomena described for the United States occurred in each of these countries: population increased rapidly, and the proportion of urban population at the end of the century was very much greater than at the beginning of the century. These phenomena are also correlated with an unprecedented increase in the total national wealth. The United States Census Bureau has estimated that the per capita wealth increased from $308 in 1850 to $1,836 in 1912, and that the total national wealth over the same period increased from approximately seven billions of dollars to 175 billions, exclusive of tax exempt real property.

Capitalistic Imperialism

The nineteenth century also witnessed the development of a new type of imperialism. Mercantilistic imperialism was transformed into capitalistic imperialism. Extension of domain under sovereign rule was the main object of the earlier imperialism of the mercantilistic, autocratic states. New land was valued as a means of colonization, and as a source of gold and silver. Growing colonies provided markets for the manufactured goods of the mother countries for which payment was made in raw supplies such as lumber and fish. The colonies in the Far East exported foods and luxury goods which could not be easily produced in the Western world. Favorable balance of trade with these colonies meant in theory the importation of precious metals which measured the wealth of a nation. Thus the motives and the methods of imperialism in the period of the mercantilistic national state were limited by the instruments available for commerce and industry: the sailing vessel, crude methods of land cultivation, simple handicraft methods of manufacture, the difficulties of land transport, and the lack of mobility of capital.

A new imperialism emerged with the capitalistic state of the nineteenth century. The extension of domain now became valuable for many additional reasons. It opened up new markets for the investment of capital which was accumulating rapidly; the limitation at home of raw materials necessary for rapidly expanding industries created interest in foreign lands which provided the necessary supplies; ownership or control of foreign countries gave almost boundless opportunity for extending the markets for manufactured goods. Limited liability joint stock corporations in conjunction with the stock exchanges gave fluidity to capital. Steam transportation overseas and overland opened up hitherto inaccessible markets and increased the rate of profit by multiplying the turnover of commodities. Minute division of labor and the factory system of mass production driven by power machinery in-

creased the rate of output and the level of efficiency. The development of agricultural techniques not only provided food for expanding populations but created a surplus which competed in the export market. Lands which supplied coal and iron were valued highly because coal could be converted into steam power while iron was indispensable for the construction of machines, tools, naval, and military equipment. Points of command over strategic waterways such as the Suez, Gibraltar, and Dardanelles made the control of surrounding territory objects of imperialistic rivalry. New methods of gaining ownership or control of valued territory developed rapidly. The French, for example, secured concessions from the Egyptian government for the construction of the Suez Canal; French engineers actually constructed the canal. But the English at the time of Disraeli did not wish to see this important waterway under French control. By purchasing a large block of shares in the canal from the Egyptian government Disraeli was able to thwart the designs of the French. The Great Powers obtained leaseholds over rich sources of inorganic materials; concessions for the construction of highways, harbors, canals, and railroads were purchased; foreign politics were manipulated by bribes and intimidation in order to gain the desired ends; rich territories were added to the rule of sovereign states by outright conquest; the contending powers parcelled out zones of influence and negotiated treaties for the settlement of outstanding differences; the special privileges of extra-territoriality guaranteed political stability and freedom of economic activity in foreign areas; increasing financial indebtedness of backward countries made them the pawns of political diplomacy and intrigue; heavy fortifications of strategic sites kept the sea lanes open, and served to blockade enemy ships in time of war. The net result of all of this was that the European powers and America acquired ownership or control of the greater portion of the earth's surface.

Summary

In summary, the integration of the national, democratic, capitalistic state of the nineteenth century is correlated with the following movements: (1) freedom and equality of women, (2) the economic and political organization of workers in industry, (3) protective legislation for the working classes, (4) legislation restricting the growing power of monopoly, (5) compulsory public school education supported by tax revenues, (6) growth of population, (7) increasing urban concentration of population, (8) increase in the national wealth, (9) imperialism, and the political and economic conquest of the earth.

Rise of the Authoritarian State of the Twentieth Century

A dynamo must be constructed with the utmost care in order to offset the reverse currents generated by the coils as they cross the magnetic field.

Similarly, the high momentum of the nineteenth century cultural movement has produced repercussions which have a disintegrating influence, seriously disturbing the unity and the stability of Western civilization. Safeguards are indispensable in order to maintain a balanced equilibrium of conflicting cultural movements. The net result is the gradual clarification of a new type of national state based upon ideas and principles definitely opposed to the characteristic conception of the capitalistic state. *Laissez faire* as a statement of relations between government and business, and between business and business, is a basic principle of the capitalistic national state. Closely related to this idea is the democratic notion of the widest possible extension of suffrage, majority rule, and the principle that there can be no government without the consent of the governed properly represented in some kind of legislative assembly. In addition to these is a third idea, according to which it is believed that the fullest possible development of the individual personality is dependent upon the moral freedom guaranteed by democratic institutions. And finally it is maintained that the solution of problems in a progressive and law abiding manner cannot be realized without the catharsis afforded by a liberalist tradition. This of course means the right of individuals in small groups as in large groups to organize politically for the protection of their special interests.

These assumptions are criticized in the new integration of national life. *Laissez faire* is considered an outworn dogma; it is held that democracy tends to lower the level of leadership to the least common denominator. This tendency to mediocrity in a democratic order of life does not always support the notion that high standards of individual competence are dependent upon a concept of natural rights. Nonviolent solution of problems, and evolution of culture has no exclusive connection with the liberalist tradition. Thus certain national states of the twentieth century are noted for their emphasis upon the concentration of executive functions—the trend toward dictatorships. The co-ordination and integration of all aspects of the national life appears to be dependent upon the restriction of legislative powers with corresponding enhancement of executive and administrative functions. These national states of the twentieth century are decidedly regulative in all essential characteristics. In Germany it is called the National Socialistic State, in Italy the National Corporative State. A person would have to be woefully ignorant indeed to confuse National Socialism in Germany with the communism of Soviet Russia, the co-operative commonwealth of Karl Marx, or the aims and principles of the former Social Democrats of Germany. Similarly no one confuses the national corporative state of Italy with syndicalism, communism, or socialism of the Marxian variety. The particular nomenclature used to designate this twentieth century reorganization and reintegration of national life is of secondary consequence. It is the actual historical situation, the dominating tendencies and move-

ments, which are significant. And these are also apparent to a certain extent and in certain characteristic ways in England and the United States.

Each movement previously described as correlated with the national, democratic, capitalistic state developed its own particular "reversal of current," its own negative, counter influence which may be interpreted from one of two standpoints: (1) the disintegration of the national state of the nineteenth century, and (2) the integration of the national state of the twentieth century. The discussion which follows will combine both of these points of view.

Instability of the Family

The movement for freedom and equality of women has had the effect of greatly exaggerating the sex interest and the sex motive in newspaper accounts of crime and divorce, in moving picture shows, in drama, and in current fiction. It has led to a rapid increase in the rate of divorce, particularly in the United States, with consequent instability of family life and interference with the normal relations between parents and children. Children have been sacrificed for the thought and prospect of a career, and there can be no question with regard to the conclusion that the rapid decline of the birth rate and the spread of the birth control movement are partly attributable to feminism. When the question of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States was before the public it was frequently argued that woman suffrage would purify politics in the democratic state. It has had no such effect. It had the effect of contributing to the differentiation of a greater variety, and a greater number, of societies, clubs and organizations of women for political, social, and civic purposes. If there were conclusive evidence of moderation this would be well, but the evidence is lacking. Increasingly, women are harried, worried, and exhausted by interests in organizations of this kind which they often join not so much because they have a keen desire to do so, but because they are made to feel that it is the proper thing to do. The political pressure of women's societies does not allow all of them the freedom to follow their own calm and wiser judgments. For some women the stakes are heavy: 11,000,000 gainfully employed in all occupations is no mean sum. What would happen if someone should suggest that the future of the race and the welfare of society demand that 5,000,000 of these positions be made available for unemployed men with family responsibilities? There can be no doubt. The result would be political pressure of appreciable strength, and the people's representatives probably would be overwhelmed in the next election unless they responded to the crack of the whip. All of which has led the National Socialistic State of Germany and the National Corporative State of Italy to formulate new conceptions with respect to the rights of women. And these "new concep-

tions" have been cordially welcomed by the women themselves. That exceptional women desire opportunity for a career and political power may be readily granted. History testifies as much. There is no proof, however, that all women, or the great majority of them, or even a significant proportion of them, have such desires. But even this consideration is not basic. The future of the race is vital in the long run, for the earth belongs to those who are fruitful and multiply. The aims and methods of Hitler and Mussolini with respect to marriage and the family are not the ideas of irresponsible madmen as certain American critics appear to think. They are the ideas of men who have come to see that the future of the race is dependent upon the proper regulation of marriage and the family, and that the gradual diminution of the race is equivalent to the disintegration of the culture.

Conflict of Labor and Capital

The economic and political organization of workers in industry has become increasingly aggressive since the middle of the nineteenth century. Total costs of labor warfare over this period of time have been stupendous. The history of the class struggle in the United States as written by Louis Adamic in his book *Dynamite* demonstrates that the use of violence and destructive methods has steadily increased.[16] That the nonviolent efforts of workers to improve their social and economic status, and to correct unwarranted abuses, have been successful and beneficial to some extent must be granted. This is particularly evident in the United States where the unparalleled opportunities for making money have intensified the profit motive and resulted in much unnecessary waste of human as well as natural resources. As late as 1934 Mr. Samuel Insull could testify that he was "in the business of making money" as if this were a sufficient vindication of the spectacular rise and disastrous collapse of his "Utilities Empire" and the stock conversions, reorganizations, overcapitalizations, and secret deals which tell the story. The "business of making money" in a "public utility enterprise" illustrates a contradiction of principle which is not completely reconciled by saying, as some theorists have said, that the money you make is the measure of the public service you render. And if the "big shots" at the top are in "the business of making money" who can blame the leaders of labor for cracking their whips over the heads of the workers and urging them to "go in for their share"? The net result is something in the nature of a class struggle which is disruptive, anarchic and a threat to social stability. Syndicalism, communism and Marxian socialism are working class movements and represent the political side of this economic struggle for "a fair division of profits." These movements are effectuated on the theory that the workers have "nothing to lose but their chains," and the "expropriators" of the

[16] L. Adamic, *Dynamite*, New York, 1931.

wealth of society must some day be expropriated.[17] So long as the self-assertion of the speculator, promoter, and entrepreneur is unbridled and undisciplined, and the "business of making money" is the all-powerful incentive to political as well as economic activity, why should workers in industry express the Christian spirit of humility and say "kick me, but let me live"? Obviously enough this situation is no mere reflection of the cupidity and perversity of human nature; it is a product of the general individualistic, *laissez faire* theory of the capitalistic, democratic, national state. To understand the cultural antecedents and implications is also to understand the repercussions and the consequences. Some people would like to "discipline labor" and let capital run wild; others prefer to see capital disciplined while labor runs wild. Manifestly there is only one reasonable solution and that is a measure of discipline over both. This is equivalent to some concentration of governmental authority over employment relations; as a result the freedom of contract of worker and employer becomes circumscribed. Sacrifices are required on both sides. No moral evaluation is here intended. The manifest trend in America, as well as in Europe, is in the direction of governmental restriction upon the traditional liberties of both sides. Enactment of the Wagner Labor Relations Law in 1935 is an indication of the trend in the United States.[18] The apparent aim is to dissolve the class conflict with all the waste, violence, misery, hatred, and suspicion which it breeds, and to substitute for it an orderly basis of negotiation and understanding under state control. As this becomes manifest democratic principles are necessarily compromised to a certain extent.

Section 7-A of the National Industrial Recovery Act gave the workers the right to organize for the purpose of collective bargaining.[19] Naturally this weakened the moral position of the employer who maintained a closed anti-union shop since the use of the so-called "yellow dog contract" in some form or other, formal and written, or informal and oral, was practically outlawed. This was a restriction upon the freedom of the employer. But when the code approved for the automobile industry gave the management the right to promote and demote, hire and discharge, on the principle of merit, the organized workers in the American Federation of Labor were given a jolt. This was a restriction upon the freedom of the worker. The process of circumscribing the traditional rights of employers and employees until a more stable form of employment relations has evolved may be expected to continue. Extension of governmental powers of investigation, conciliation, arbitration, regulation, and adjustment of labor disputes as a more stable form is achieved is a logical implication.

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[17] These clarion calls to the workers were used by Marx and Engels in their *Communist Manifesto, op. cit.*

[18] See *Time*, May 27, 1935.

[19] M. Parmelee, *Farewell to Poverty*, New York, 1935, p. 282.

The steady development of protective legislation for workers in industry similarly restricts the free contractual relation between employers and employees. *Laissez faire* and freedom of contract are substantiated in identical terms of social and political theory. Governmental interference with the latter is essentially the same as restriction of the former. Every successive enactment of labor legislation extends the authority of the state, and at the same time restricts the free contractual rights of workers as well as owners and employers. The conclusion is therefore warranted that nineteenth century industry by creating conditions which required the intervention of the state at the same time contributed to the extension and consolidation of the authority of the state. In this way the capitalist, democratic state has encouraged the integration of a national authoritarian state. For the enactment of legislation implies execution, administration, and enforcement, all of which necessitates the continued differentiation and co-ordination of state bureaucratic activities. The multiplication of officials on the governmental pay roll is a necessary consequence.

Subversion of *Laissez Faire* by the Growth of Monopoly

The history of the Standard Oil Company, the railroads, the United States Steel Corporation, and other great business corporations and trusts demonstrates conclusively the nineteenth century trend toward monopoly. This trend became particularly apparent in the United States during the period following the Civil War. Methods were developed which had two aims in view: (1) to guarantee the power of monopoly by stifling the competition of other establishments; (2) to secure the protection of government through the enactment of tariff duties, patent rights, franchises, land grants, loans, and outright subsidies. Both of these aims violated the theoretical premises of the capitalist, democratic state. Under political pressure the government has aimed to guarantee the equal rights of all competitors, and to prevent the abuses of monopoly power. As already explained, the Sherman Anti-trust Law, the Trade Commission Act, and the Clayton Act were intended to serve these ends. The basic conception of these laws was a vindication of *laissez faire*. Nevertheless these laws contributed to the extension of the power of government over business, and developed the bureaucracy by providing appropriations for the support of commissions with powers to investigate, administer and advise. But these laws did not break the power of monopoly, and the National Industrial Recovery Act is a tacit admission of the fact. For this law not only recognized this power by providing for the organization of codes under the leadership of the large and influential industries, but also sanctioned the use of price fixing powers under government regulation. It becomes questionable, therefore, whether the nineteenth century assumptions of Jeffersonian democracy have a place in the national

state of the twentieth century. For the government is not only regulating business; it is in business; not the business of making money, however. It is ostensibly the business of developing the human and the natural resources of the country. The Tennessee Valley Authority is an illustration. This vast government project employing approximately twenty-five thousand people was created by law in 1933. It was organized with a five-fold purpose: (1) to develop the water power resources of the Tennessee River, (2) to promote flood control, (3) to manufacture and distribute a high grade of fertilizer, (4) to improve navigation on the Tennessee River, and (5) to maintain equipment necessary for the manufacture of nitrates in time of war. Thus the government is in the business not only of manufacturing and selling phosphates for fertilizing purposes; it is also in the business of manufacturing and selling electrical energy. The aim, however, is not to compete with private enterprise; it is rather to develop the natural and the human resources of the valley as suggested. This aim is obviously in accord with the policy of a state which serves to co-ordinate and to integrate all aspects of the national life in the interest of the common welfare. It is synonymous with the continued development of an authoritarian state.

Education and the Philosophy of the State

Laws which provided for tax-supported public schools strengthened the grip of the state upon public opinion. These laws manifestly violated the individualism of certain nineteenth century philosophers such as Herbert Spencer. From the point of view of a philosophy of this kind they also violated the premises of the libertarian state. Nevertheless it is clear that the public school system was used as an instrument of inculcating the theory and the philosophy of the democratic, national state. In the course of the depression following 1929 many educational institutions were in distress for lack of funds. A large share of local and state revenues had been used for maintaining the educational system. Since certain budget items could not be reduced as easily as the expenditure for educational purposes the latter were cut. This predicament naturally provides the state with a leverage which is useful in shifting the emphasis of educational work from the characteristic nineteenth century conception of life and of things, over to a twentieth century conception. In Germany a good deal has been accomplished in subordinating the methods and the content of education to the conception of a national totalitarian state. The Italian government has proceeded in the same direction to some extent; the obstacles offered by the Catholic Church are more formidable in that country. Notable educational reforms are imminent in the United States. It is totally inconceivable that the movement of government can proceed in one direction while the movement of education is in another direction. The emphasis is sure to change

from the qualities which make a successful business man in a highly competitive and individualistic society to the qualities which make a useful and intelligent citizen in some kind of co-operative national state. President Franklin D. Roosevelt has expressed his keen interest in educational problems, and this may be followed up by more energetic action such as the appointment of a national secretary of education. Thus in due time the system of public instruction will become an instrument of twentieth century philosophy of the state just as formerly it was an instrument of the prevailing nineteenth century conception. As hitherto it was an agency for maintaining integrity, order, and stability according to the individualistic point of view, so now it is in process of becoming an agency for maintaining the same values of integrity, order and stability according to modern needs and accepted values. This is bound to be so.

The Decline in Births

The phenomenal growth of population in the Western world during the nineteenth century is not at all characteristic of the twentieth century. Actual rates of increase of population show steady declines since about the middle of the last century, moving slowly at first but gaining momentum as time passed. This is not only due to the fact that there are biological limitations to the possibilities of lowering the death rate; it is particularly due to the rapid decline in the birth rate. A detailed statistical analysis would be out of place in this connection. A few statements will indicate the trend. The crude birth rate in the registration area of the United States in 1915 was 25.1 per 1,000 persons; in 1928 it was 19.9; in 1931 it was 18. The rate of increase of population in the United States over the period from 1790 to 1860 was about 3% per year; from 1870 to 1910 it ranged between 2% and 2.2% per year; for the decade 1911 to 1920 it was 1.4% and during the following decade 1.2%.[20] These figures show conclusively that the declining birth rate is reflected in a declining rate of increase of population in spite of heavy immigration into the United States, particularly in the period from 1870 to 1914. There is no guarantee that the population in the near future will not show an actual percentage decrease from year to year. This would mean not only a decrease of total inhabitants; it would mean racial and cultural decadence, with increasing vulnerability in competition with aggressive nations such as Japan. The Scripps Foundation estimated that the increase of population in the United States was 797,000 for the year 1933. This represents a 0.6% gain, exactly one-half of the annual increase for the decade 1921-1930. The foundation estimates that if the rate of decline continues the population will reach an upper limit of 130,000,000 inhabitants about the year 1940. There were about 110,000 less births for the year 1933

[20] G. C. Whipple, *Vital Statistics*, 2nd ed., New York, 1923, p. 213.

than for the year 1932. The deaths on the other hand were about equal to a twenty-five-year average. Both years showed a greater number of emigrants from the country than immigrants into the country: departures exceeded arrivals by about 68,000 in 1932 and 57,000 in 1933.[21]

If birth rates and death rates are corrected in order to make due allowance for abnormal age composition of the population it is clear that the actual decline of total population from year to year has already set in. This is only another way of saying that if the age composition of the population of the United States conformed to the standard distribution of various age groups toward which it is moving, the deaths from year to year would actually exceed the births. We should need more coffins than cradles, and the disparity would continue to increase unless corrected by energetic action of the public authorities. A country with resources as vast as the continental United States can support a population twice as large as the present population of approximately 127,000,000 without recourse to lower standards of living.[22] That this would require political and economic revision to some extent is obvious enough. Political and educational leaders are slow to understand the import of this situation. A shrinking population is a form of Nirvana, racial and cultural suicide. *Der Reichsführer* of Germany and *Il Duce* of Italy understand the situation and have taken the necessary steps to correct it. This is, of course, equivalent to inducements of many kinds which are intended to increase the rate of marriage as well as the birth rate, and to check the divorce rate as well. It means a stubborn resistance to the birth control movement. Measures of this kind call for authority of government. Thus the nineteenth century way of life has differentiated movements which must be corrected in order to guarantee the security and welfare of the people of a state. The means of correction are dependent upon the continued integration of a national commonwealth, chiefly because the solution of these population problems cannot be achieved without the parallel solution of certain very important problems of production and distribution. The simultaneous solution of basic ethical questions is equally imperative.

Megalopolitan Culture

Certain great cities of the Western world have become the centers of cultural dissolution. Here one finds the home of the ward boss, the gangster, racketeer, hoodlum, the stock exchange speculator, the financial buccaneer, the corrupt politician, the predatory wild cat stock promoter, the labor agitator, the professional criminal, the illicit dealer in drugs, gambling, and white slaves, the paid assassin, and the political machine. The political machine sells patronage and buys votes; it disposes of franchises and huge

[21] *Statistical Abstract of the United States, op. cit.*, p. 95. In 1934 the surplus of emigration over immigration was 10,000.

[22] W. S. Thompson, *Population Problems*, 2nd ed., New York, 1935, p. 63 *et seq.*

contracts for public works at a price; it guarantees immunity to the violators of law in exchange for heavy contributions to campaign funds; it offers protection to the big "interests" against undesirable legislation; it dominates the courts and controls the police to suit its own purposes. In the great cities birth rates are low, and divorce rates are high; extravagant display and ostentatious expenditure stand in contrast with the congestion of slums and the misery of unemployed masses; sensational newspapers vie with one another in catering to the vulgar curiosity of the mob. Palatial moving picture houses where ushers and attendants are dressed like grenadiers reflect the common craving for luxury. There are concert halls, symphony orchestras, civic operas, magnificent cathedrals, institutions of higher learning, museums, art galleries, libraries, and theatres, some of which are distinguished chiefly for their inconsistencies and cosmopolitanism, that is, lack of cultural integrity. And this is a product of the nineteenth century. Morphological parallelisms are readily distinguished in the ancient cities of Babylon, Alexandria, and Rome.

Modern Racketeering

The emergence in the large city of racketeering and the racketeer is symbolic of this process of cultural disorganization. A racketeer is a person who is getting something for nothing in violation of law at the public expense, and a racket is the means of accomplishing this end. For instance, a gang in New York City organized a bogus "Milk Dealers Association," and all the milk dealers were required to join and pay dues, the alternative being sabotage, blackjacking, or assassination.[23] Frank Loesch, as a member of the Wickersham Commission appointed by President Hoover, and former president of the Chicago Crime Commission, sent a 2,000-word telegram to Senator Borah in which he stated that two-thirds of the labor organizations in the city of Chicago were controlled by racketeers. Ninety distinct rackets were listed as in active operation. When miniature golf became popular a racket was organized; contact men interviewed the proprietors demanding $25 per month for protection against certain persons who might bomb or wreck the property. The owners paid the tribute, or went out of business knowing that the racketeers paid officials for police protection. Recourse to the law enforcement agencies produced quick reprisals in the form of physical violence. Illicit business in gambling, liquor, vice, and drugs is actively managed by racketeers. Armed with high-powered automobiles and motor boats sheathed in steel and bullet-proof glass; equipped with machine guns, automatic pistols, radio stations, engraving and printing plants for manufacturing spurious labels and other documents; provided with bomb factories, secret service organizations, private codes, and powerful political con-

[23] C. J. Ettinger, *The Problem of Crime*, New York, 1932, p. 126 *et seq.*

nections, the racketeers wage against society a ruthless warfare as subtle and effective as it is insidious and devastating. The less overt forms often suggest the more extreme practice. Large corporations are interested in legislation which affects their earnings; they secure the desired laws and obstruct the undesired laws by active support of the political machines. They have been known to support rival machines in order to minimize their risks. Police officials and judges are made or broken by the machine depending upon their active co-operation. Patronage is linked with favors received; and this applies to contracts for gigantic construction undertakings, materials and supplies for many public uses, as well as franchises and appointments to office. That the predatory speculators and the financial pirates who appear to operate within the law and the racketeers who violate the law are kindred spirits is plain enough.[24]

It thus appears that democracy as a system of values and structure of government centered in the rights of individuals for the protection of their property and lives and for the enhancement of their well-being ceases to be as effective as formerly. Particularly in the large cities this system does not give adequate protection to life and property. On the contrary, it provides public enemies with the opportunities and the protection needed for the development of their predatory interests; it brings intelligent people to the conclusion that corruption in public office is inevitable and unavoidable; men of calibre are reluctant to enter what they call the disreputable business of politics; a kind of fatalistic cynicism, a feeling of abject helplessness develops in people's minds. It is appreciated that democratic institutions are not ends in themselves, but means to ends. And when these ends are frustrated because the means lend themselves too readily to all sorts of sordid and illicit exploitation, democracy will have to evolve new procedures and better ways of solving our common problems.

Maladjustment of Production and Distribution

Stupendous increase in per capita and total wealth is a nineteenth century development as previously explained. It has a direct bearing upon the consolidation of the twentieth century national state. The proportion of this

[24] A New York gangster, interviewed by Louis Adamic, vouchsafed the information that he was going on a spending spree with a Hollywood actress who accompanied him. A queen might have envied the shoes, stockings, purses, dresses, jewelry, and coats he purchased for her. He controlled several rackets, and his income ran into hundreds of thousands of dollars every year. He was extravagant, of course, but so were respectable people. He violated laws, of course, but the social élite who made their money in a mad scramble for dividends and profits employed the best attorneys in the process of circumventing the law. He was no common killer, since he hired gunmen to do this kind of work for him. And that, he claimed, was just what respectable people in high society were doing, the only difference being that the latter turned out the army when the police forces were not adequate for the job in hand. If a well-known financier could build himself a yacht and call it the "Corsair," why couldn't he build a floating palace and call it the "Racketeer"? L. Adamic, *op. cit.*, pp. 369-372.

total wealth measured in terms of capital shares in many kinds of productive undertakings increased rapidly since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The summation of these shares of stocks and bonds represents the capitalized value of all the forms of productive undertaking financed in this way. It measures the investment of savings in transportation, communication, mines, quarries and factories of all kinds. So long as the favorable combination of factors such as low cost, extensive markets and profitable price hold together, the earning capacity of these productive undertakings is sufficient to meet the overhead charges on capital investment. When the combination breaks, the prices of securities collapse, retrenchment is necessary and unemployment widespread. Efforts to maintain such a favorable combination of factors have resulted in repeated substitution of new and more efficient processes of production for the old, with two effects: (1) it has piled up capital indebtedness, and (2) it has thrown men out of work.

Actual capacity to produce has been multiplied many times while the effective ability to consume measured in terms of the total spending power of individuals has not increased in proportion. Thus the overhead charges on capital obligations have increased while the markets for goods have shrunk. Unemployment and lack of sales in one industry create additional unemployment and lack of market in other industries; this action and reaction within the vicious circle of events continues as the actual level of production moves downward and unemployment upward. Is it reasonable to assume that foreign markets may expand to the point where employers can throw their productive resources in full operation, thus taking up the slack in employment? The answer is no. This situation is the same substantially in all of the industrialized nations of the Western world. They are forced to compete with each other for their own home markets as well as for the foreign markets. Investment of capital in the countries which formerly provided foreign markets has proceeded to the point where these countries supply many of their own needs for manufactured goods. Witness the industrialization of Russia and Japan in particular. The same process is apparent on a less spectacular scale in China, India, Africa, and South America. But this is not all. The dumping of Russian and Japanese products in the markets of the world is well known. Both of these nations enjoy the competitive advantage of lower labor costs. Moreover, the socialistic organization of Russia makes it possible to disregard the connection between cost and price which holds in a competitive society. The Russians can take heavy losses on special classes of exports and make up for them on other articles of trade. In this way new markets are developed among people who formerly purchased heavily from the countries of Europe and America. By reason of lower labor costs the Japanese have already made heavy gains in the world markets formerly exploited by the Western nations. European states have been forced in self-defense to concentrate on their home markets.

Inability to meet obligations on heavy foreign loans is due largely to the lack of foreign exchange and this in turn is due to the lack of foreign markets. Thus these states are driven to protect their home markets in order to save their own currencies and maintain some sort of economic and social stability. And this explains the trend toward *autarkie,* i.e., national economic self-containment. It is not regarded as an absolute end—this would be preposterous; it is regarded as a necessary line of action under present circumstances. A national policy of regulated industry and agriculture naturally follows.

It is desirable and important to encourage private enterprise, private ownership and management, to the utmost limit compatible with national security. Ideas of fair prices and fair profits are necessarily substituted for the idea that only the sky is the limit when it comes to profitable business enterprise. The ideal aim of course is to establish the highest possible level of national welfare and security. This aim implies the co-ordination of all forms of productive enterprise with each other, and the parallel co-ordination of economics with all other aspects of the national life such as population, education, employment of women, labor organization, marriage, and the family. A new type of national state, call it corporative, authoritarian, totalitarian or socialistic, is in process of formation. Only recently the street mobs in Paris shouted "Down with the deputies," "Down with the assembly," when Doumergue's cabinet broke on the issue of a greater concentration of executive power, and a corresponding restriction upon the power of the assembly. The intelligence of leadership and the capacity for discipline will determine the degree of success.

Imperialism and Counter Imperialism

Nineteenth century imperialism of the capitalistic states has also produced a series of counter influences. The dominated races of the Orient have repeatedly called attention to the contradiction between the premises of a liberal democracy and the premises of imperialistic domination. The notes of freedom, equality, and fraternity make music in the ears of the slave who dreams of liberty. He develops his compensating techniques according to circumstance and opportunity. Bereft of the means of physical force he may find fruitful recourse in the ideas of nonviolent nonco-operation of an inspired leader such as Mahatma Gandhi. But the reaction of oppressed classes is one thing; the reaction of classes accustomed to rule is different. The latter may patiently absorb the learning of their Western teachers, adapt it to their own uses, and then defy them with their own weapons as the Japanese have done. They may study the ways of the Western world with a view of detecting every contradiction, of understanding every weakness, and then set about the task of organizing a society which represents

the exact antithesis of belief and feeling as Lenin and his friends have done in Soviet Russia. Today, the Russian leaders of foreign policy understand very well indeed how to exploit every subversive influence, every disruptive force, every contradiction and weakness of the states of Western Europe and America in order to hasten the death of the Faustian spirit which they loathe. They preach pacifism and thereby strengthen the pacifist organizations abroad; but this is not for home consumption where the Russians have built one of the strongest armies of Europe. They preach trade unionism and the rights of labor, but this also is for consumption abroad. A trade union leader at home would be shot to death for treason. They support woman's rights and the absolute equality of sexes—for foreign consumption. At home the state is governed by men while women are taught the importance of bearing children. They preach the doctrine of racial equality and argue for the rights of subject races,—again for consumption abroad. Negroes in America may make good communists. Meanwhile, Jews are congregated in Bira-Bibjan just north of Manchukuo where they are bound to bear the brunt of hardship and suffering in the event of war with Japan; Mennonites are persecuted, and kulaks are deported to Siberia where they die of privation. Of course, every good diplomat understands the difference between talking to friends at home and enemies abroad, but the propaganda of Russia is manifestly intended to destroy the entire structure of Western civilization. It represents the Russian counter thrust to the imperialism of Europe and America.

The Japanese counter thrust to the imperialism of the West also focuses attention upon public opinion abroad. If the nations of Europe can sign Kellogg-Briand peace pacts, Locarno treaties, and sit at the council tables of the League of Nations, meanwhile preparing for the next war with all energy and efficiency, the Japanese are not to be outdone. They too can talk peace and wage war at the same time. Chinese bandits must be brought to terms from time to time, and if this means military expeditions through Manchukuo and Jehol the Japanese cannot be held responsible. Moreover, Manchukuo is an independent state which proves that Japan has no aggressive designs. It is clear that the continued success of the imperialistic policies of either one or both of these countries can have no possible beneficial effect upon Europe or America. The final purposes of these imperialisms simply cannot be realized without the destruction of our own. The conflict is unavoidable, however far in the future; the final test of arms will tell the story of history. The imponderable aspect of the present international tension is immense.[25] Accordingly, the nations of the West are facing the realities, looking to their guns with more concern than ever and strengthening their internal structures. All elements of weakness, disorganization, disinte-

[25] Nathaniel Peffer, "If Japan and Russia Fight," *Harper's*, March, 1934.

gration, and decay are overcome to the limits of human possibilities and determination. Internal strife and friction, class riots and race warfare, economic breakdown, and political corruption may be resolved in terms of unified national policy with the utmost energy and discipline possible. In the United States this was accomplished in 1917. A similar effort was made in 1933. It will be repeated when the crisis is felt to be serious enough to warrant the action.

Problem Questions

1. What were some of the social, economic, and political conditions of life in the United States at the time of the inauguration of the New Deal in 1933?

2. In what respects has the program of the New Deal fallen short of its aims?

3. Is there any parallel between the *latifundia* of the late Roman Empire and the economic maladjustment in the United States today?

4. How did the federal system of checks and balances actually work in Hoover's administration from 1929-1933? In Roosevelt's administration?

5. Is this type of government adapted to cope efficiently with the complex problems of an advanced civilization?

6. Does the origin and development of this form of government have any relation to the autocratic states of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries?

7. How do you account for the fact that many liberals such as United States Senators Wheeler, Shipstead, Nye, Borah, and Johnson opposed President Roosevelt's plan to retire the aged members of the United States Supreme Court?

8. How would you describe the social theory which gave impetus and momentum to (1) the woman's movement, (2) the labor movement, (3) the anti-trust movement, (4) the compulsory school education movement, (5) anti-imperialism and the self-determination of small nations?

9. Is this theory valid today?

10. Compare urban and rural areas in the United States with respect to (1) crime, (2) divorce, (3) relief work, (4) mendicancy, (5) unemployment, (6) pauperism, (7) insanity, (8) tuberculosis, (9) sex composition, (10) the death rate, (11) age composition, (12) the birth rate, (13) marriage rates, (14) shelters for vagabonds and homeless men.

11. Show that each one of the movements mentioned in question 8 has violated the premises of the social theory which was employed to vindicate it.

12. What were some of the social, political and economic conditions in Italy at the time of the fascist revolution in 1922? In Germany at the time of the Nazi revolution in 1933?

13. Is the regulative policy of the British Government based upon democratic theory? Consider in particular the policy governing the publicity of crime, divorce, and political events; laws governing the search and seizure of private possessions, and the regulation of labor organizations and collective bargaining.

14. The success of the fascists in Italy has been attributed to the weakness of the liberal governments which followed the war. Why were they weak?

15. Similarly the success of the Nazis has been attributed to the weakness of the Social Democrats and other liberal parties in Germany after the war. Why were they weak?

16. Wallace Donham has written an article entitled *National Ideals and International Idols.* What implications are suggested in this title? Are these implications valid? (See suggested readings.)

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PART III

HUMAN TRAITS IN THE SOCIAL PROCESS

13

HUMAN TRAITS AND THE SOCIAL PROCESS

PRECEDING CHAPTERS HAVE suggested connections between human traits and the social process. Invention and imitation, for example, raise certain questions which require a knowledge of human characteristics. Is imitation an instinct? Some writers have explained this process very conveniently by assuming that it is. Other writers believe that imitation is a generalized tendency of adjustment to surroundings. Habits are formed in the process of accommodation of the individual to his environment and these habits become ingrained with repetition. But the purpose of this chapter is not to analyze problems of this kind with a view of drawing conclusions; it is rather to demonstrate conclusively the relation of social processes to human traits and to show that the study of the former must proceed hand in hand with the study of the latter.

INVENTION AND IMITATION

How can it be determined whether imitation is simply the repetition of acquired reactions to typical situations or an innate behavior mechanism? The only answer can be in terms of the scientific understanding of human nature. What traits are inherited? What traits are acquired? What traits are partly inherited and partly acquired? What is an inherited trait? What is an acquired trait? Can inherited traits be modified? What methods are reliable for determining whether a trait is inherited or acquired? These and many related questions are necessarily involved.

Consider invention. It has been pointed out that invention is a process of analysis and synthesis which occurs in the mind of the inventor. Inasmuch as the inventor is a rare type of individual how may we account for his superior powers? Is it reasonable to assume that these powers are adequately explained in terms of education and opportunity, teaching, and training? Some writers have assumed that the human brain at birth is a kind of *tabula rasa* and that all individuals are alike in this respect. If the writing on the tablet varies greatly as the years go by it is because of different contacts, impressions, and stimuli afforded by different surroundings. Robert Owen could write that "Any general character, from the best to the worst, from the most ignorant to the most enlightened, may be given to any community, even to the world at large, by the application of proper

means."[1] "I know," he wrote, "that society may be formed so as to exist without crime, without poverty, with health greatly improved, with little if any misery, and with intelligence and happiness increased a hundredfold; and no obstacle whatsoever intervenes at this moment, except ignorance, to prevent such a state of society from becoming universal."[2] Owen obviously overrated environment and underrated heredity.

Sir Francis Galton, on the other hand, could argue that genius overcomes the handicaps of unfavorable environment; as in the case of D'Alembert, the force of heredity renders the superior type immune to the depressing influences of poverty, the taunts of school fellows, and the ridicule of a foster mother. The "powers of extrication" by which the man of genius becomes the master of his destiny are the gift of nature according to this author. Nietzsche regarded the man of genius, the superman, as he called him, a "lucky stroke"; he is born and not made. Intuitions may be happy and illuminating, but when they contradict each other we are forced to rely upon the more patient, fact-finding, experimental studies of Darwin, Mendel, and Weismann for wise guidance in the solution of these problems. The interrelated rôles of heredity and environment have not been fully unravelled even by the painstaking researches of these men; nevertheless, they have contributed a knowledge of biology and heredity without which the analysis of human traits in the social process would be the crudest kind of guesswork. It is clear that a thorough understanding of such processes as invention and imitation depend upon a knowledge of human traits as conditioned by internal hereditary and external environmental factors.

Conflict and Co-operation

The processes of conflict and co-operation imply similar relationships and problems. According to William McDougall, there is an instinct of pugnacity which varies greatly in overt manifestation but is constant with respect to the emotional correlate of anger; hence, conflict.[3] Carleton Parker discusses the fighting instinct and explains the class struggle in terms of the abnormal repression of normal desires which arouses anger and forceful opposition.[4] Certain sociologists analyze human traits in terms of characteristic wishes, type wishes as Thomas calls them: recognition, response, security, and new experience.[5] When these wishes are thwarted repeatedly, anger is aroused and conflict is the result. Individuals may work together in large groups or in small for the purpose of realizing these desires; the result is co-operation. But what precisely is the nature of these type wishes? And

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[1] Robert Owen, *Life of Robert Owen*, London, 1857, p. 266.
[2] R. D. Owen, *Threading My Way*, London, 1874, p. 101.
[3] W. McDougall, *Social Psychology*, Boston, 1916, pp. 59-61.
[4] C. H. Parker, *The Casual Laborer and Other Essays*, New York, 1920, pp. 149, 150.
[5] This interpretation has been described in Chapter 5.

why just four? Why not four hundred? Is a theory of type wishes indispensable for the purpose of explaining social processes and social structures?

One may rest content with a "solution" like this until confronted with another sociologist who develops a different theory. Albion W. Small, for example, had a theory of interests: health, wealth, knowledge, beauty, sociability, and rightness.[6] The health interest covers certain specific needs: namely, food and sex. Similarly, the other interests are identified with human needs. There is conjunction of interests and opposition of interests; the former leading to co-operation and the latter to strife. The social process is defined as the incessant reaction of persons prompted by interests that in part conflict with the interests of others and in part comport with the interests of others. How is one to determine whether this theory of interests is more acceptable than the theory of type wishes? What precisely are these interests? Are they organic needs, like food; instincts, like sex; acquired traits, like knowledge; standards of good taste, like beauty and rightness; or extrovert characteristics, like sociability?

Perhaps there are just two basic interests and desires: food and sex. The race cannot live and reproduce unless these desires are satisfied. Nature would, therefore, favor the survival of individuals and groups who found the means abundant for satisfying their interests in food and sex. It is learned that these interests can best be realized when certain codes and rules are commonly observed. And this is co-operation. It is also learned that unruly and self-assertive individuals are inclined to violate the rules and that they must be punished for doing so. This is conflict. But here it is assumed that individuals have the power of learning by experience which implies the additional power of modifying the rules from time to time. Evidently, there is something besides food and sex. But what is it?

William Graham Sumner says vanity and fear. For there are four basic human traits according to this author: hunger, love, vanity, and fear.[7] All else is secondary and derivative from the point of view of Sumner. Human nature is the same everywhere and these are the traits in terms of which it is defined. Sumner believes in the "laws" of population growth and diminishing returns. Hence, there is a struggle between groups—conflict. But the group develops a "we feeling," and hence the prevailing sentiment within is one of co-operation. Folkways and mores are evolved which aid the "we group" in strengthening this sentiment of co-operation. In relation to the "out group," however, the prevailing sentiment is one of hostility. But why just four such basic traits? Is it certain that vanity and fear are inherited? Perhaps these traits are not "first nature" at all, but rather "second nature." Isn't anger a basic trait, or parenthood, or gregariousness, or curiosity, or acquisitiveness? Manifestly, these questions cannot be answered with any

[6] A. W. Small, *General Sociology*, Chicago, 1905, Ch. 14.
[7] W. G. Sumner, *Folkways, op. cit.*, pp. 18, 19.

degree of satisfaction whatever until a systematic analysis has been made of human nature and human traits. Manifestly, also, any descriptive statement of the process of conflict and co-operation implies some theory with respect to the human traits involved.

Individuation and Socialization

Similar problems are implied in the processes of individuation and socialization. And these problems are complex. It is easy to assume the existence of an ego instinct and to say that individuation is a function of this innate behavior trait. Likewise, it is a simple matter to take the gregarious instinct as a thing for granted and to account for socialization in this way.

But the differences in human traits which are associated with varying levels of individuation and socialization may be temperamental rather than instinctive. C. G. Jung has characterized the introvert and extrovert types;[8] E. Kretschmer has characterized cyclo-thymic and schizoid types.[9] These types are, on the whole, regarded as representing inherited constitutional peculiarities; the exact nature of these traits is by no means clear, however. The introvert is described as reflective, self-contained, and inclined to be shy. He loves to take long solitary rambles; his mental activities are sustained and concentrated, while his emotional expression is restrained and complex. The extrovert is very sociable, but his friendships, while made more easily, are likewise more easily broken; he is never seen taking a long walk by himself; emotionally he is much more expressive and decidedly more responsive. This is not to say that all people are introvert or extrovert; there are all possible combinations of traits ranging from the extreme type in one direction to the extreme type in the other direction. Manifestly, the introvert type is more easily individuated, less easily socialized; the extrovert type is more easily socialized, less easily individuated.

The cyclo-thymic type exhibits marked oscillations of exaltation and depression; a high level of sensibility to social stimuli is connected with an emotional intensity of response and nervous excitement which tend to exhaust the energy resources; a period of depression follows as the organism recuperates. This type appears to be an extreme case of extroversion. The schizoid, on the other hand, appears to be an extreme case of introversion. His reflective tendencies take a definite introspective turn, the inward brooding becoming a kind of morbid entity. When this type develops a neurosis, the form is neurasthenia; when it develops a psychosis, the form is dementia præcox. The cyclo-thymic type, developing a neurosis, becomes hysterical,

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[8] C. G. Jung, *Psychological Types,* New York, 1923, translated by H. G. Baynes, pp. 416 *et seq.*, and 471 *et seq.*

[9] E. Kretschmer, *Physique and Character,* New York, 1926, translated by W. J. H. Sprott.

or, developing a psychosis, becomes manic-depressive. Thus, there are relationships between the extrovert, cyclo-thymic types, and hysteria or manic-depressive insanity which suggest a common denominator in the innate structure of the nervous system. Likewise, the relationships between the introvert, schizoid types and neurasthenia or dementia præcox indicate a common denominator in the inherited constitution.

The movement of the extrovert in the direction of the cyclo-thymic type, hysteria, and manic-depressive insanity is psychopathic. Normally, this type is well integrated; it may develop power over men and assume responsibility for political and social leadership. Likewise, the movement of the introvert in the direction of the schizoid type, neurasthenia, and dementia præcox is psychopathic. The normal integration of this type often coincides with significant work in mathematics, science, religion, government, law, metaphysics, and philosophy. Leadership, discovery, invention may come from either type, or from individuals who represent combinations of both types. Nevertheless, the reflective, introspective tendencies of the introvert are more easily individuated than the socially inclined, emotionally excitable extrovert type. For the extreme extrovert is miserable in solitude, whereas the extreme introvert finds joy and satisfaction in solitude. The introvert can keep his head above the level of the mass and make whatever sacrifice may be necessary in doing so. The extrovert, on the other hand, does not find this possible.

But it cannot be overlooked that purely environmental influences play a significant rôle in the determination of type. The lack of personality and significant character development of a child brought up in an orphanage is due in large measure to various repressive influences of such an institution. Rudyard Kipling in *The Light that Failed* has given an interesting character study of this type. *Per contra,* the more fortunate child whose talents and traits are encouraged and developed by close personal attention of parents, nurses, tutors, and teachers from infancy through adolescence is bound to be more highly individuated. The biochemist, however, who has studied the theory of the hormones, claims that differences in temperament are due to variations in endocrine balance. Inner secretions of the ductless glands—called endocrine secretions, or hormones—are believed to play a significant rôle.[10] The chief organs of inner secretion are the germ glands, the thyroid gland, the parathyroids, the suprarenal or adrenal bodies, and the pituitary gland. How is one to assess the relative significance of instinctive differences, glandular differences, temperamental differences, and environmental differences in the process of individuation and socialization? The scientific analysis of human traits, both inherited and acquired, is indispensable for this purpose.

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[10] L. Berman, *The Glands Regulating Personality,* New York, 1928.

Superordination and Subordination

This all too sketchy consideration of certain basic problems is intended to show the relationship between the systematic study of the social process and the scientific analysis of human traits and types. The process of superordination and subordination implies closely related problems of human nature. Again, the theories of instinctive behavior give us convenient explanations. McDougall has described the instinct of self-assertion with its fixed emotional correlate of positive self-feeling; this is taken to account for the social phenomena of domination and rulership. The instinct of self-abasement with the corresponding emotion of negative self-feeling explains submission.[11] But is there such a thing as a human instinct? Some psychologists say no; others list varying numbers of them ranging all the way from a few to several hundred. L. L. Bernard has shown conclusively that the social scientists have played fast and loose with the term instinct, using it as a convenient cover for their ignorance on many questions.[12] The detailed consideration of human traits in the social process should contribute toward the solution of the problems of instinct.

After many years of discriminating observation and brilliant work Nietzsche wrote his two volume book entitled *Will to Power.*[13] This phrase seemed to him to be the ultimate explanation of human nature and human history. From this point of view, man is a beast of prey; his struggles with nature and with foes is not a struggle for existence, but a struggle for supremacy and domination. It is the conflict of wills to power which makes history and the social process. The victor rules; the vanquished obeys —subordination and superordination are the result. But what is this "Will to Power"? Is it simply the desire of one person to dictate to another? Is it the high determination to fathom the mysteries of his own destiny? Is it a racial idea which would make of one race the rulers of the earth? Is it a similar national idea? Or is it symbolic of the spirit of a culture which cannot rest in peace until it has subdued, not merely the earth, but the infinite universe? These questions cannot be answered here; they show the complexity of problems involved and the futility of simple, unilateral explanations. For human nature is no less complex than the social process which it generates, or the high culture which it creates. Domination may be conceived in terms of individuals, groups, classes, races, nations, and civilizations; it may be described in terms of the idea patterns which actuate, motivate, and energize the people concerned. In any case there are biological, psychological, and cultural aspects of these idea patterns which must be analyzed in a study of human traits and types.

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[11] W. McDougall, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-66.
[12] L. L. Bernard, *Instinct,* New York, 1924, Chs. 14, 15.
[13] F. Nietzsche, *Will to Power,* Edinburgh, 1909, translated by A. M. Ludovici.

The rôle of sex in the process of superordination and subordination is significant because of the traditional status of domination on the part of the male; it is especially important in the United States, because here the latter-day tendency toward reversal of functions is particularly marked. The rôle of race in the same identical process is equally vital because of the traditional status of superiority and inferiority of certain races. As the former brings up the question of sex differences and sex traits, so the latter brings up the problem of racial characteristics. The analysis of these problems is obviously dependent upon a knowledge of the biological, psychological, and cultural aspects of sex and race.

The Dominant Sex

In regard to the rôle of sex, the problem has already been given a brief consideration. It will be given a more exhaustive attention in appropriate chapters dealing with the division of labor of the sexes. When responsible writers who document their statements with considerable care talk of a "woman's state," the "matriarchate," and the "reversal of rôles" of domination and submission, the time is ripe for a searching analysis of the problems involved. And when it is stated that the status of the sexes in a society has nothing whatever to do with inherited differences, that this status depends entirely upon the social and moral standards of a changing culture, and that the movement of the cultural pendulum swings alternately in the directions of male and female domination, the question of scientific accuracy must be raised. It is stated that, in Russia, forewomen boss gangs of men operating heavy machinery; these women evidently know more about the machines than some men. In Moscow, women are employed at heavy manual labor building subways; they have been seen tearing down the heavy stones of large buildings in process of reconstruction; they drive the heaviest trucks and are widely employed as street car conductors and motorwomen; many of them do heavy work on the farms; and some are being trained for military service. In the United States, Ruth Bryan Owen Rohde served as Congresswoman in the House of Representatives and as Minister to Denmark. Ruth Pratt and Ruth McCormick Simms have also served terms in the House. Frances Perkins was appointed Secretary of Labor by President Roosevelt; Nellie Ross, Director of the United States Mint; and Josephine Roche, president and manager of the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company, Assistant Secretary of the United States Treasury. Annette Abbott Adams was Assistant Attorney General during Wilson's second administration. Mabel Walker Willebrandt was the second American woman to attain sub-cabinet rank, having served as Assistant Attorney General from 1921 to 1929. Mrs. Caroline O'Day was elected United States representative-at-large from the state of New York and Mrs. Hattie Cara-

way of Arizona was chosen to fill the seat left vacant in the United States Senate by the death of her husband. Huey Long's widow was appointed to complete her husband's Senate term. A number of women, including "Ma" Ferguson and Nellie Ross, have served as governors of states. Ruth McCormick ran for the United States Senate in the state of Illinois, but was defeated by James Hamilton Lewis. Over ten million women are gainfully employed in all occupations, and the proportion continues to increase. The political and social organizations of women have been bound together in powerful national groups, as the National League of Women voters and the American Association of University Women. There are organizations, such as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Daughters of the American Revolution, the Colonial Dames, the peace leagues of women and labor organizations, all of which have learned the meaning of political and economic pressure. The ease of securing divorce and the separate maintenance "racket" reflect the growing female influence. European writers, such as Count Hermann Keyserling, looking over the American scene, see a great deal more than Marlene Dietrich wearing men's clothes.[14] America, they say, appears headed for a communistic matriarchate. All of which shows quite conclusively that the consideration of sex differences in relation to the process of superordination and subordination has considerably more than an academic interest.

The Dominant Race

The rôle of race is no less vital. Racialists such as Vacher de Lapouge, Count Arthur de Gobineau, Stewart Chamberlain, Ludwig Gumplowicz, Madison Grant, William McDougall, and Lothrop Stoddard have called attention to the distinction between the superior, dominating races and the inferior, dominated races. The characterization of the European races by Vacher de Lapouge is typical.[15] According to this writer, the Nordic possesses a vigorous spirit of self-reliance and independence; he is highly intelligent, energetic, enterprising, daring, and aggressive; his emotional stability is marked, his manner reserved, and his religious convictions are deeply sincere; his capacity for war, statesmanship, and rulership is pronounced; his contribution to theology, science, art, and philosophy is brilliant. The Mediterranean type is more excitable, impulsive, and unreliable; he is attached to religious form, but lacking in depth of religious feeling; his artistic sensibilities and creative imagination are pronounced, as also his intellectual finesse and keenness of perception and discernment. The Alpine type is considered inferior in intelligence, imaginative powers,

[14] Count Keyserling has traveled extensively, not only in Europe and Asia, but also in America. He is author of several articles published in American magazines and editor of *The Book of Marriage*, New York, 1927.

[15] V. de Lapouge, *L'Aryen, son rôle sociale*, Paris, 1899.

and genius for artistic creation; he is stolid, passive, patient, and industrious; he lacks not only a spirit of self-reliance and independence but also capacity for government and administration; he is slow to take offense and disinclined to protest or revolt. *"Il est le parfait esclave, le serf idéal, le sujet modèle."* The characterization of the Nordic shows a high proportion of introvert traits; the characterization of the Mediterranean shows a high proportion of extrovert traits. It was the Nordic race, chiefly Anglo-Saxons, which subdued and conquered the great wilderness of the West, North America.[16] Also, it was predominantly the Nordic race which took up the individualistic cause of Protestantism in the northwestern countries of Europe. Likewise important, because of the cultural antecedents of the Anglo-Saxon, is the fact that the patriarchal tribes who made European history fifteen hundred to two thousand years ago—Goths, Lombards, Franks, Teutons, Normans, Vandals, Visigoths, Ostrogoths, Burgundians, and Gauls—were also Nordic. Still more significant is the fact that the Nordic race set up ruling aristocracies in all of the countries of Europe; the culture of the European is essentially a Nordic culture. But what is race? Is it a biological term, a zoölogical term, a psychological term, or a cultural term? Can a race be defined in terms of a stable group of inherited physical and mental traits? Since a culture is acquired and transmitted socially from one generation to the next, how is one to distinguish between the inherited and the acquired aspects of race? Is there such a thing as a pure race or have all races been so diluted as a result of migrations and crossbreeding that the term had better be deleted from our vocabulary? These and similar questions can only be answered in a thoroughly detailed analysis of racial traits and types, a study which closely parallels the consideration of human traits and types; in fact, the former is a division of the latter.

Incentive and Deterrence

Incentives and deterrents have been discussed from the point of view of the social process; they may also be considered from the standpoint of human traits and human nature. It has been stated that fear is the great deterrent. Institutional agencies such as church and state play up certain objects of fear as over against other objects with a view of controlling behavior. The well-disciplined soldier learns to face the fire of machine guns, trench mortars, hand grenades, bombs, and bayonets with a degree of composure and self-control. The fear of death at the hands of a court martial which orders deserters shot is substituted for the fear of the fire of the enemy. Fire may be returned with fire and the good soldier always has a fighting chance; the deserter who has been caught and brought to

[16] M. Grant, *The Conquest of a Continent*, New York and London, 1933.

trial in a military court knows that his doom is sealed. All agencies of control administer and balance the objects of fear in a very similar manner. The fear may be directed toward excommunication and loss of status, as in the church; discharge or demotion, as in industry; the loss of public confidence and official preferment, as in politics; suspension or expulsion, as in a college or university; fines, imprisonment, expatriation, or death, as in civil society. Is it a conditioned reaction due to association with others in the course of a learning process? or is it an innate trait? Experimental studies of the psychologists have not led to a consensus; some say it is an instinct, some a more complex predisposition or biological reaction to certain types of stimuli; while others insist that it is entirely acquired and that the individual knows fear only because his behavior has been conditioned in this way. The sociologist who places his reliance upon the psychologist for answers to these questions finds himself in a muddle of contradictory opinion supported by experimental studies which do not always prove what they appear to prove or intend to prove. If this is taken as a criticism of the psychologist, let it be noticed that the same criticism may be made of the sociologist, the economist, the political scientist, and the historian. Each one of these is bound to pursue his own problems in his own field, according to his own methods, with due regard for all of the relevant discoveries and conclusions of his colleagues in related fields, to the extent of his interest and capacity. For these fields of knowledge overlap and interrelate in so many vital ways that they cannot be regarded as mutually exclusive compartments. They must be distinguished basically in terms of point of view, problem matter, and methods of study. For, the sociologist who is interested in the problem of fear is concerned with it from the point of view of the social process primarily, and not from the point of view of anatomy and physiology, biophysics, and biochemistry.

Rationalistic Interpretation of Motives

Incentives like deterrents imply hypotheses with respect to human nature. Certain psychologists have assumed that human behavior is motivated by a desire to avoid pain and to court pleasure. Inasmuch as a "free will" is taken for granted, the individual may evaluate all possible modes of behavior from the point of view of agreeable and disagreeable consequences. Punishment can only be effective, according to Beccaria, when the pain inflicted upon a criminal just a little more than offsets the pleasurable satisfactions of criminal conduct. Thus, the individual is motivated by a kind of hedonistic calculus. The algebraic summation of the painful consequences of contemplated behavior is compared with the algebraic summation of pleasurable effects, and if the balance favors the former, the behavior is avoided; if, on the contrary, the balance favors the latter, the

contemplated behavior is pursued. Presumably, the extent of the balance will determine the emotional intensity of avoidance or approach. This intellectualistic interpretation of behavior, of which Jeremy Bentham was one of the most distinguished exponents, developed into a philosophy of utilitarianism according to which the intelligent self-interest of the individual in terms of his own happiness coincided with the principle of the greatest good of the greatest number. Adam Smith, Thomas Malthus, James Mill, and John Stuart Mill were leading apostles of utilitarian theory. Economic incentives play a very important rôle from this point of view. The desire for private profit in a competitive society is interpreted as a socially and politically co-ordinating incentive. In due time, the wealth amassed in private hands becomes so great that scholars talk of the "acquisitive instinct" and the "acquisitive society."[17]

But the question must be raised: is the hedonistic calculus an acceptable theory of behavior? That people seek pleasure and avoid pain is obvious enough; that their choices and actual behavior are controlled by complex calculations of this kind is not generally the case. But this whole problem raises the question of the rôle of intelligence in the social process. It shows how the consideration of incentives involves the subject matter of human traits and human nature, particularly with respect to the intelligent side of behavior. Certain aspects of these problems may be suggested here. Thorstein Veblen's *Instinct of Workmanship,* for instance, is important because it contrasts sharply with the incentives of the "Economic Man" of the utilitarians.[18] The development of the life of man from the brute to the human plane and the subsequent evolution of culture has been pervaded by the "instinct of workmanship" according to this writer. Other writers have described in similar terms what they call the "instinct of construction." Here, the incentive is manifestly to excel in creative achievement; to do a piece of work which expresses the feeling and the idea as well as the skill of its author. It is quite the opposite of aggrandizement and acquisition. The form may vary all the way from a pair of spurs or a saddle skillfully fashioned in the workshop of a medieval craftsman to a Burne-Jones painting or a Wagnerian opera. Veblen is interested in showing that the modern machine process has played havoc with this "instinct." But the incentive to workmanship is one thing; the question of the instinct is another matter. The so-called "instinct of workmanship," like the "instinct of construction," and the "instinct of acquisition" are all too simple explanations of the incentives described. It is manifest that the discussion of incentives and deterrents in a social process implies certain hypotheses of human nature, intellectualist-utilitarian or biological-instinctive, to cite

[17] R. H. Tawney, *The Acquisitive Society,* New York, 1920. See also C. Parker, *op. cit.,* pp. 145, 146.

[18] T. Veblen, *The Instinct of Workmanship,* New York, 1922.

the two examples here illustrated, which cannot be evaluated without a systematic study of human traits.

Association and Dissociation

Associative and dissociative processes also have a common basis in the distinctive quality of the human species. Certain basic traits such as fear, anger, love, and hunger lead to associative relations; precisely the same traits may lead to dissociative relations. The recognition and fear of a common danger may result in co-operation for common defense; the mutual support of comrades in arms gives a feeling of confidence. If the object of fear continues to be a threat or a menace, the collective reaction is likely to be one of anger. Fear is defensive; anger is offensive. Similarly, the common needs for food and sex lead to associative and dissociative relations. The co-operative effort implied in an economic division of labor is a better guarantee of an adequate food supply than the independent efforts of separate individuals. The sex code also represents a common associative effort to avoid the jealousy, fear, anger, and strife generated by inadequately regulated relations between the sexes. Association thus provides the safeguards of a high level of common interests; it also provides the guarantees of family stability and the propagation of wholesome generations. Manifestly, the security and survival of group life is dependent upon it. Hunger is bound to lead to dissociative tendencies when nature is niggardly or the food supply inadequate for this or other reasons. Sex will lead to dissociative relations when the self-assertion of individuals leads to violation of the code. Hence, it is not at all necessary to assume the existence of a "gregarious instinct," even on the primitive level above described, in order to explain the phenomena of association. On the higher culture levels this assumption is even more superfluous because the differentiation of a great number of interests and activities produces an almost infinite variety of associative and dissociative tendencies. Moreover, the acceptance of the gregarious instinct to explain the associative tendencies would require the invention of another instinct to account for the dissociative processes.

The complex assortment of human traits which enter into the associative and dissociative reactions of individuals requires no detailed analysis in this connection. There is a differentiation of type, however, especially on the higher culture levels which deserves notice. C. G. Jung has characterized the intellectual, emotional, intuitive, and sensational types.[19] People who represent the same types are more likely to respond similarly to the same or similar stimuli than people who represent different types. Accordingly,

[19] C. G. Jung, *op. cit.* These types may be introvert or extrovert. In the discussion which follows consideration of the intuitive type is omitted. The sentimental type is discussed instead.

individuals who belong to the same type reinforce their common feelings, tastes, and scale of values; they find a pleasurable sense of satisfaction in one another's company. Association is very likely to follow the levels of advance, adjustment, accordance, co-operation, and possibly even amalgamation. And this is partly what Professor Giddings had in mind when he talked about the consciousness of kind. When people represent different types they are likely to irritate and annoy each other; association is disagreeable, and if common levels of accord have been reached by pressure of circumstances, the relationship is bound to be cool and formal. When the pressure of circumstances is removed, the dissociation is more than likely to follow the levels of discord, rivalry, competition, and conflict until the point is reached where sociation completely ceases. For the intellectual type not only appeals to reason; he responds to the appeal of reason. The emotional type appeals to feeling and responds to the appeal of feeling. The sentimental type is bound by certain complex patterns of idea and feeling; his emotional reactions are identified with certain objects such as communism, fascism, socialism, trade unionism, feminism, democracy, or other objects such as the home, the church, the motherland, the fatherland. He is blind to criticism of these objects even when the criticism is intelligent and constructive. Accordingly, he lacks a sense of humor since he cannot put himself in the position of the other fellow—empathy—and fails to see his object from all possible angles of approach. Thus, the sentimental type appeals to prejudice and responds to the appeal of prejudice. The sensational type makes his appeal to the senses and responds similarly. He exploits the vulgar curiosity of the mass and the common relish for the seamy side of human nature. The muckraker is a sensationalist. But Jung doesn't stop here. He distinguishes the extrovert and introvert subtypes of each of the four main types. Thus there is an introvert and extrovert type of intellectualist, emotionalist, sentimentalist, and sensationalist.

Are these distinctions purely verbal abstractions? That there is a great deal of overlapping of type and trait must be freely admitted; that it is more frequently impossible to distinguish the type than it is possible to identify the type is also admitted; that examples of relatively pure type may be observed among notables of the past and present is certainly true. Woodrow Wilson and Albert Einstein are clear cases of the intellectual type. Huey Long and Billy Sunday illustrate the sensational type; so do Gloria Swanson, Mae West, and Aimee Semple McPherson, however loath these distinguished people may be to see their names placed in the same category. Among the politicians, William Jennings Bryan and Norman Thomas are examples of the sentimental character; among the screen stars, Mary Pickford stands out as a representative of the same classification. Greta Garbo is not to be confused with Mary Pickford, Gloria Swanson, or Mae West; she represents the emotional type. Among the politicians, the

balanced emotional type has been represented by many distinguished orators, but none so eloquent as Robert M. LaFollette, Sr. These statements are not intended to imply value judgments, whatever conclusions the reader may be inclined to draw. They are intended to show that these distinctions of type are more than verbal abstractions, and that the differences are so marked and fundamental that the associative and dissociative tendencies of individuals are necessarily conditioned by them.

Competition and Regulation

What human traits are reflected in the process of competition and regulation? What theories of human nature are implied in the description of these traits? These theories range all the way from anarchism at one extreme to communism at the other extreme. The human traits emphasized vary accordingly. As the former concentrate attention upon desires, wishes, interests, aptitudes, and instincts, the latter are more interested in habits, reflexes, conditioned reflexes, and acquired traits generally. For the anarchist believes that children should be brought up without punishment or coercion and left free to follow their own inclinations, interests, and desires; Bertrand Russell's school for "free spirits" is a case in point. In this way, children varying all the way from two years to eighteen years of age are presumably prepared for life according to the Russell creed.

Communist Utopia

A thoroughgoing communist is not interested in "animistic" theories of behavior. He is an environmentalist and his methods of observation and study are "objective" and "scientific." Inasmuch as human behavior simply reflects the environmental stimuli which condition it, the matter of paramount importance is to rationalize the external control agencies. This theory is strengthened by experimental studies of the conditioned reflex. Pavlov's well-known experiment is typical.[20] A dog is offered meat at the same time a bell is rung; symptoms of hunger, such as the flow of saliva, are manifest. This is repeated a number of times, after which the bell is rung at the usual hour, but the meat is not offered. The symptoms of hunger, the flow of saliva, are quite as evident as if the meat had again accompanied the bell ringing. And similarly, breaking toast causes saliva to flow in some dogs' mouths, but not so in others, depending on whether or not they have been fed toast. Moreover, conditioned reflexes may disappear as when a dog hears the crumbling of toast but is never fed on it. Also, the conditioned reflex may be modified, as when a dog is scratched

[20] E. G. Boring, *A History of Experimental Psychology*, New York, London, 1929, pp. 581, 582.

at the same time the toast is crumbled, or immediately afterward, with the result that he fails to react in the same way toward the crumbling alone. And thus, the conditioned reflexes are built up in combination with unconditioned reflexes. It is claimed that human behavior in the main is reflexive, and that it can, therefore, be reduced to objective terms. Such words as mind, consciousness, desire, spirit, feeling, emotion, instinct, and passion have no place in such a scheme of things since they refer to subjective elements. And this kind of study is supposed to lead to a scientific order in human society. Inhibitions and excitants must be properly classified and the environmental stimuli controlled accordingly in order to condition the reflexes in the proper manner. It is the function of the intelligent and gifted minority to decide upon the "proper manner" and to administer it. Thus, there is established a "rationalized" order of social controls. John Dewey falls into something like this manner of thinking when he says that the "habits formed in process of exercising biological aptitudes are the *sole* agents of observation, recollection, foresight, and judgment."[21] The environmental determinism, or behaviorism so-called, of John B. Watson is very similar in approach and method, and so is the work of G. P. Zeliony.[22] It is assumed that the experimental methods of natural science are applicable to the study of social structures and social processes; ***this assumption is incorrect.*** The very significant matter here is that the theory of reflexes and conditioned reflexes is developed as an ethical vindication of a highly regulated society—compulsory communism. And thus it is that the ideal, the aim, the spirit, the desire of the individual selects the tools to suit the purposes. Reflexes and conditioned reflexes are the essential human traits; a highly organized pattern of human relationships, regulated in detail according to the teachings of "science," is the goal.

Anarchist Utopia

Now let us contrast this teaching with the work of Charles Fourier whose active career coincides with the first decades of the nineteenth century.[23] This author considered civilization to be a thing corrupt and artificial, the result of perverted human institutions due to a misunderstanding of human nature and the will of God. This misunderstanding is based essentially upon a misconception of human passions and desires, which are assumed to be bad in a civilized society, whereas, in fact, according to Fourier, they are simply natural. There is but one solution of the problem: give a free, healthy, and complete opportunity for the development

[21] J. Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct,* Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1922, p. 176. Italics are mine.

[22] Boring, *op. cit.,* pp. 582-587. Also C. A. Ellwood, *Methods in Sociology,* Durham, 1933, Ch. 3.

[23] T. Kirkup, *A History of Socialism,* London, 1913, pp. 31-40.

of the passions very much like the manner of Bertrand Russell in his school for "free spirits." Fourier's psychology was developed accordingly. He recognized and described twelve passions connected with three points of attraction. Five passions are identified with the sensations, the first point of attraction; they lead to the enjoyment of sight, hearing, taste, smell, and touch. Four passions are connected with the emotions: they lead to the pleasurable satisfactions of love, friendship, ambition, and parenthood. The remaining three are called *passions rectrices* and are called alternating, emulative, and composite. The alternating passion, called also *le papillone passion,* explains the need for variety; the second, emulative, explains intrigue and jealousy; the third, composite, leads to a combination of pleasures of sense and pleasures of soul enjoyed simultaneously. All of these desires are harmonized, according to this author, by a great social passion called *unitéism,* the passion for unity. And thus harmony is evolved out of the free play of all of the passions. This can only be accomplished by a complete break with civilization and a new system of social arrangements. At the basis of this new society is the *phalange*—a group of four hundred families living in an area of land about three miles square. The *phalange* is considered self-sufficient and self-contained. Occupation is determined by inclination, since the more disagreeable work can be accomplished by machinery. Individuals arrange themselves in groups of seven to nine persons; twenty-four to thirty-two of these groups constitute a series of which about eight go to make up a *phalange*—all according to the principle of free elective affinity. Elected officials reduce the compulsory aspects of government to the lowest possible level. Living in vast, commodious and beautiful structures, these groups and series become world wide by imitation, the elected chief residing in Constantinople, the capital city of the world. Fourier believed in free love, free unions, and free dissolutions. The distribution of wealth provided for a vagabond's wage—a comfortable minimum assured to everyone whether he worked or not. Of the remaining wealth, five-twelfths was the right of labor, four-twelfths the right of capital and three-twelfths was allowed for talent. The economic independence of women and children over five years of age was assured, and everyone had an opportunity of developing his talents and of becoming a capitalist. Talent was rewarded according to services rendered. The hard and common work was best paid, useful work was next in order, and pleasant work was paid least of all.

This naïvely detailed Utopia was not the work of an inspired lunatic. Fourier expressed the dominating thought currents of his time. He manifestly provided the maximum margin of individual liberty in a highly competitive society. The ideals of the French Revolution thoroughly permeate the structure of his thought. Moreover, the resemblance in spirit between this work and the contemporary work of the physiocrats and the

utilitarians is quite obvious. Jeremy Bentham, Adam Smith, Charles Fourier, François Quesnay, and Jean Jacques Rousseau looked at life and the world from much the same angle of vision. In this case, the theory of human traits and human nature is intended to vindicate a conception of competition and regulation which provides for the largest possible scope of individual initiative and freedom; it is essentially anarchistic in spirit. That this spirit is related to humanism, the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Industrial Revolution, and to capitalism has already been pointed out. It seems obvious that the proper procedure for the scientific study of human traits and human nature must be divorced from the preconceptions of an ideal society. Since these preconceptions change with the historical movement of a culture, it is all the more urgent to study the problems of human nature with the utmost rigor of detachment and scientific discipline possible of attainment. The historical cultural approach offers the best guarantees of such a discipline.

Differentiation and Integration

Differentiation and integration as a social process has been described in some detail. Again, it is true that the analysis of this process is based upon certain assumptions with respect to human nature. Cooley's study of *Human Nature and the Social Order* is enlightening in this connection.[24] This author considers the individual human mind as a differentiation within the general mind. The latter is conceived as an integrated whole made up of human individuals who co-operate together very much as the musicians of an orchestra who produce a harmony of greatly varied but closely related sounds. Social organization is a differentiated, organic unity of mental and moral interactions capable of indefinite development and extension. This unity comprises nations, races, classes, and cultures everywhere throughout the period of man's life on earth. All prejudice is dissolved in this conception—that is, theoretically speaking. Confucius, Buddha, Zarathustra, Mohammed, Moses, Jesus, Plato, Luther, and Carlyle—are spiritual "contemporaries" along with the mass of men who have come and gone since the dawn of man's life on earth. Each has played his part, contributed his bit of thought and feeling to the common life which is passed on from generation to generation throughout all time. The human traits emphasized are typical of primary groups which are distinguished by face-to-face relationships: sympathy, kindness, co-operation, and love. Human nature is essentially a social nature developed in the primary groups; the family and the neighborhood are necessary to its genesis and nothing more. The generic impulses of human nature, such as sympathy, sufficiently account for the similarity of human traits everywhere. In short,

[24] C. H. Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order*, New York, 1902.

human nature is something intermediate between the purely biological type of reaction and the purely institutional type of reaction, since the first is a form of internal coercion while the second is a form of external coercion. It is sympathy, and the innumerable sentiments into which sympathy enters. Thus, the co-operative values are primary: gentleness, self-denial, and others like them. Self-assertion, greed, pugnacity, and similar fighting qualities are secondary. Lest the reader misunderstand, let it be stated bluntly that Cooley places a higher moral valuation upon the qualities of sympathy, co-operation, and the like than he does upon the qualities of self-assertion, pugnacity, and their kind. With the advance of civilization, conflict is brought under the control of the primary principles and ideals of sympathy, kindness, and loyalty. Democracy and Christianity are extensions of the primary ideals. For democracy as a historical movement may be traced to the village communities of the Teutonic tribes of northern Europe. As an ideal it springs "naturally" from the family and the community which embrace equal opportunity, fair play, and loyal service in the common good. Christianity teaches a gospel of love, brotherhood, and unselfish devotion to the happiness of others; it is, therefore, a direct product of the ideals of primary groups. Inasmuch as the selective processes of society favor the survival of the sympathetic type, all opposition to the universal rule of democracy and Christianity is bound to disappear in time. And thus the future progress and happiness of mankind is guaranteed. And thus, also, this thesis is not entirely void of a certain positive, imperialistic drive. It has been unravelled in three volumes: (1) *Human Nature and the Social Order,* (2) *Social Organization,* and (3) *The Social Process.* Every American sociologist knows that it has had a widespread influence in this country not at all confined to academic circles.

Again, it appears evident that the conception of human nature and the corresponding ethical evaluation of certain human traits is little more than the logical implication of a democratic ideal. Cooley's delineation of the differentiation and integration of social structures fits neatly into the same pattern of thought. This pattern of idea and feeling may be described as a sociological translation of the scale of values emphasized by the French Revolution; it is a refined analysis and synthesis of the "liberty, fraternity, and equality" of the Age of Enlightenment with due regard for nineteenth century achievement, such as the development of the means of communication and capitalistic ascendancy. It is itself an illustration of how the mental and moral integrity of an individual is determined by the dominating movements and thought currents of a time. The present age demands a broader analysis and synthesis simply because it sees tottering everywhere the eighteenth century scale of values and the democratic way of life which it created. This is provided by a cultural historical approach to the problems of human nature as well as to the problems of the social process.

Differentiation has been defined as the summation of the separative or centrifugal processes; it, therefore, comprises individuation, conflict, invention, dissociation, and competition. Integration has been defined as the totality of centripetal or unifying processes including socialization, co-operation, imitation, association, and regulation. The consideration of human traits in the differentiating processes has been indicated to some extent in connection with the preceding discussion of invention, competition, and other corresponding processes. So, also, the problems of human nature in the process of integration have been suggested in connection with the previous analysis of imitation, socialization, regulation, and other corresponding processes. It follows that the problems of human nature involved in the study of differentiation and integration are similar to, if not identical with, the problems implied in the related processes comprised in these terms as above defined.

But a whole is always more than the sum of its separate parts; it has a meaning in and of itself which no divided analysis of the related parts could possibly suggest. What theory of human nature could possibly account for the differentiation and integration of new social structures as the old disintegrate and dissolve in the historical course of the cultural organism? How is one to explain the dramatic rise and fall of civilizations in terms of human traits? Assuming that satisfactory answers to these questions are forthcoming, how is one to account for the differences in mental and spiritual quality which distinguish the great cultures of history? It is possible to undertake a study of differences in climate, soil, and topography, thereby explaining differences in race. In pursuance of this procedure, it may be possible in the future to explain differences in the quality of cultures and civilizations in terms of these racial differences. Meanwhile, one cannot avoid taking into account the historical conjunctures and cross-cultural influences which favor or impede the social and political evolution of a people. The distinctive forms of culture appear to be a product of soil and race. But spirit is not exactly definable in terms of genes, chromosomes, endocrine balance, enzymes, reflexes, conditioned reflexes, and instincts. At this point, the sociologist must look to the philosopher of history for guidance and inspiration. The tools of science simply are inadequate for a task as gigantic as the one here outlined. It may be assumed that the culture is an organism, which, like all other organisms, has a life history. Further, it may be assumed that this culture is essentially a metaphysical thing and that it responds to the law of its own being in the process of revelation and fulfillment of its destiny. Every scientist must build his structure of thought upon certain assumptions which involve the theory of metaphysics, philosophy, and epistemology. Invariably, certain assumptions or presuppositions are implied whether they are formally stated or not. And thus it follows that the discussion and analysis of differentiation and integration of social struc-

tures proceeds upon the assumptions made or implied. That the culture as organism has a life history which may be delineated and described according to the methods of sociology is an assumption here considered far more fruitful and far more valid than other assumptions or combinations thereof that have served as points of departure in the analysis of social structures and social processes.

Conclusions

It is apparent, therefore, that the study of the social process, whether viewed analytically or as a whole, necessarily implies the consideration of human traits and human nature. It is also clear that the discussion of these traits and processes by various writers shows that certain ideals are taken for granted, that certain preconceptions and assumptions are supposed to be true, and that the thought pattern which follows evaluates the human traits accordingly. And finally, it has been demonstrated that no simple or unilateral theory of human nature can be made an adequate explanation of the social process. A more detailed analysis of the individual in relation to society will disclose the more significant human traits and their interrelation and interdependence with the social process. The series of chapters to follow at this point is devoted to this task.

Problem Questions

1. Do the selective processes of an advanced and complex civilization favor the survival of the gifted, ambitious, and intelligent type of individual?

2. Is human nature the same everywhere among all peoples?

3. Has human nature changed since the time of Christ? If so, how?

4. A. Sutherland has written a book entitled *The Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct* (London, 1898). In it he argues that human nature has changed because the selective processes favor the survival of the sympathetic type of individual. Is this view acceptable? Consider in relation to the humanitarian movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

5. Is there such a thing as a "moral instinct"? An "acquisitive instinct"? An "instinct of workmanship"?

6. Is the social process, viewed as life history of culture as organism, moral, immoral or amoral?

7. Several writers have held that equality between the sexes in all respects is the ideal form of relationship. Would this kind of relationship favor a stable family life and the reproduction of wholesome generations?

8. Studies of sex dimorphism among primitive, now extinct, types of man show differences of anatomy with respect to the size and shape of bones and the strength of muscles which are considered typical today. Would this demonstrate the early existence of a social as well as biological division of labor?

9. Some writers consider that the races of mankind are potentially equal; others believe that they are potentially and actually unequal. Are they equal or unequal?

10. Is the Nordic type generally introvert or extrovert? The Mediterranean type?

11. Does the introvert type or the extrovert type adjust itself most readily to the confusion of values and the complexity of life characteristic of a large modern city?

12. How do you account for the correlation between extroversion, cyclothymic personality, hysteria, and manic-depressive insanity?

13. How do you account for the correlation between introversion, schizoid personality, neurasthenia, and dementia præcox?

14. Characterize the following types of personality and give examples of each: (1) intellectual type, (2) sensational type, (3) emotional type, and (4) sentimental type.

15. Is there any evidence to show that these characteristics are due to the overactivity or underactivity of the endocrine glands?

16. What assumptions with regard to human nature were made by the rationalists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries? Is Adam Smith's *Economic Man* based upon these assumptions?

17. Is it possible to mold human nature in accordance with a preconceived pattern of ideals? With *any* preconceived pattern of ideals?

18. How do you account for the development of biological conceptions of human nature during the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?

19. Are these conceptions generally accepted today?

20. Does modern behaviorism as represented by Pavlov, Watson, Zeliony, and their followers have any relation to the current scene of political and social action?

21. What assumptions with respect to human nature are made by this school of behaviorism?

22. What did Spencer mean by the "law of inverse correlation between individuation and genesis"?

Suggestions for Additional Reading

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14

HEREDITARY TRAITS

SOME TRAITS ARE inherited, other traits are acquired, and still others are partly inherited and partly acquired. The pigmentation of the iris, for example, is inherited; the ability to read or write is acquired; the longevity of an organism is partly inherited and partly acquired. A human trait may fall in all three categories: the lack of viability of an infant may be due to inheritance or environment, or to both. Likewise, defective mentality. Either condition may be due to defective genes in the germ cell, or it may be due to abnormal organic environment, or it may be due to both. It must be recognized at the outset that the identification and classification of human traits is a complex matter, since the same trait is inherited in some cases, acquired in other cases, and partly inherited and partly acquired in still other instances. The relative and interrelated rôles of biological and cultural factors in the determination of human traits is a sociological problem of the first magnitude.

What is an inherited trait? What is an acquired trait? How can it be determined whether a particular trait is inherited or acquired? These questions may be answered. Fortunately, the biologists have reached at least a general consensus in reply to these queries. There is clash of opinion and conclusion in the discussion of some of these problems, and nothing can be gained by minimizing this clash. One needs only to call attention to the conflict between the Mendelians and the biometricians to clinch the point. Nevertheless, the student is free to read Jennings' *The Biological Basis of Human Nature,* Conklin's *Heredity and Environment,* Wolcott's *Eugenics,* Watson's *Heredity,* and Castle's *Genetics and Eugenics.* A comparison of these and similar studies shows a well-organized body of knowledge and substantial agreement on most if not all of the basic questions.

THE METHOD OF INHERITANCE

Inheritance is identified with the germ plasm which is generated by the genital cells of the germ gland. It may be defined as the direct transmission of traits from parents to offspring through the media of male and female germ cells. These cells have been studied under the microscope with the utmost care. A single cell is made up of protoplasm contained within a very fine membrane. But this protoplasm is not homogeneous. A nucleus is

visible which has affinity for certain chemical dyes; these dyes stain the nucleus more deeply than the remainder of the cell—hence the word chromatin to designate the substance of the nucleus. The protoplasm outside of the nucleus is known as cytoplasm. This substance varies in consistency and may contain nonliving food matter, waste substance remaining after digestion of food and other solid, liquid, or gaseous products of cell activity.

The nucleus contains a number of particles which look much like a chain of beads or a row of peas in a pod. These particles are known as chromosomes and the number is the same for the cells of a particular species. Thus the cells of the human species carry 48 chromosomes arranged in 24 pairs. The chromosomes are composed of tiny, nonmicroscopic chemical substances which are called genes. It is these genes within the chromosomes which carry the hereditary units. The genes, like the chromosomes, occur in pairs so that there are two determiners for each hereditary trait of the human body. Let us say that one of these genes produces a blue pigmentation of the iris and that the other produces a brown pigmentation. These two genes are paired, one being dominant over the other. This means simply that the dominant trait, brown iris, becomes the manifest, visible trait of the human body; the other trait, blue iris, which is called recessive, is carried in the germ cells, but it does not appear in the developed organism. The genes may be homogeneous with respect to a particular trait, as when each of a pair lays down a blue pigmentation of iris; here the cells are referred to as homozygous with respect to the particular trait. But the allelomorphs—pairs—may be different in kind, as when one gene determines brown eyes and the other blue eyes; in this instance, the cells are heterozygous with respect to the particular trait.

The cells multiply by division. In this process the substance of the genes and the chromosomes is divided into two parts exactly equal. Thus, the daughter cells contain equal amounts of chromatin and exactly the same number of genes and chromosomes as the parent cell. This division takes place with such mathematical precision that the conclusion is warranted that the genes within the chromosomes are the actual carriers of hereditary characteristics. The equal division assures to each daughter cell a precisely similar inheritance. Thus, there is a differentiation of functions within each germ cell: the functions of the nucleus are to protect and carry the hereditary unit characters; the functions of the cytoplasm are those which require exposure such as irritability, absorption, digestion, excretion, and respiration. There is a continuous interaction between the genes and the cytoplasm which begins before the fertilization of the ovum by the sperm.[1] This interaction is more characteristic of the ovum than the sperm, for the latter contains much less cytoplasm than the former. After conception, this inter-

[1] H. S. Jennings, *The Biological Basis of Human Nature*, New York, 1930, pp. 76, 175 *et seq.*

action continues as the cells multiply by division, slowly and gradually producing differentiated cell structures which may be muscle cells, nerve cells, digestive cells, and the like. As these cells become highly differentiated, they completely lose the power of giving rise to new cells. Some authorities say that certain cells, as those of the brain, cease to multiply by division at birth or shortly before birth; others say that the process continues some time after birth. In any case, the examination of a brain cell under a microscope shows cytoplasm and a nucleus with diffused chromatin; it does not show the chromosomes.

The Continuity of the Germ Cell

Thus the germ cells, called gametes, are sharply distinguished from the differentiated cells which make up the bulk of the body; the latter are designated somatic cells. There are two types of germ cells: the active, mobile male sex cells known as sperms, and the large food-laden female sex cells or ova. Fertilization occurs when the sperm unites with the ovum to constitute the beginning of a new individual. As the gametes mature before fertilization takes place, the number of chromosomes and the number of genes is reduced to one-half the characteristic number.[2] Thus, when the zygote is formed by impregnation of the ovum by the sperm, the number of chromosomes is again equal to the characteristic figure for the species, namely, 48 arranged in 24 pairs for the human species, as previously stated. It is clear that the load of hereditary qualities is derived in equal parts from the two parents. The process of reduction by which one gene of each pair of genes is separated from the cell is very significant. Before this occurs in the ovum of the female, the nucleus pours a contained fluid into the cytoplasm. At this stage, the genes and the chromosomes are present in the nucleus in the usual pairs. In the process of maturation before fertilization occurs, the nucleus divides twice in such a way as to separate one of each of its pairs of chromosomes and one of each of its gene pairs. The rejected parts pass to the outside of the cell where they are known as polar bodies. These are ejected from the original cell, leaving the ovum with one member of each pair of genes and chromosomes. Similarly, the matured sperm cells carry but one member of each pair of genes. Thus, if the germ plasm is heterozygous with respect to a particular trait, each gamete will carry one gene for the trait, but never both. Some gametes carry the gene for the dominant trait, while other gametes carry the paired gene for the recessive trait. If the germ plasm is homozygous, again, each gamete carries but one gene of the pair, but in this case both genes of the pair are identical with respect to the chemical substance determining the unit trait. The fertilized egg contains a pair of genes for each trait, one from each parent, and when

[2] R. W. Hegner, *College Zoölogy*, New York, 1936, p. 107.

this cell divides, the 24 pairs of chromosomes together with the contained genes are separated into equal parts. Thus, the daughter cells contain a double series of genes and chromosomes just like the parent cell. Continuous interaction between the genes and the cytoplasm parallels the multiplication of cells by division; at the same time, there is a continuous interaction between the exposed cytoplasm and the organic environment in which it lives and grows. Meanwhile, the differentiated structures of the body are gradually formed. The genital cells of the germ gland in the mature individual, male or female, produce gametes which carry precisely the same genes received from the two parents. Thus, the germ plasm is continuous from generation to generation, and the characters which distinguish the species, the race, or the strain are maintained essentially intact. This is the meaning of Weismann's principle, known as the "continuity of the germ cell," and the closely related principle of the "nontransmissibility of acquired traits." The consensus of opinion among the biologists today is in accord with Weismann. The inheritance of each individual is 50% from each parent, 25% from each grandparent, and so on back through countless generations.

Inherited and Acquired Variations

Interaction between genes and cytoplasm is significant, because it demonstrates the potency of the hereditary units; interaction between the cytoplasm and surrounding conditions is quite as significant, since it shows the importance of the organic environment. This environment may be abnormal for a variety of reasons: undernutrition, malnutrition, toxic and parasitic conditions of the parental organism. A syphilitic condition, for instance, may result in physical and mental deformities of offspring. This, manifestly, is not traceable to the genes, and, therefore, it is not inherited. It is, however, traceable to the organic environment which interacts with the cytoplasm, producing modifications of structure in the offspring. Similarly, various toxic conditions which may be exogenous, as extreme addiction to alcohol, or endogenous, as a poison generated by a diseased condition of some organ of the body, will produce variations in offspring which are acquired and not inherited. Variation may be due to internal chemical changes within the genes not in any sense traceable to the external environment of the germ cell. This type of variation is, of course, inherited. It has been shown that deficiency of endocrine secretions as well as the lack of important vitamins have far-reaching effects upon physical and mental development. Likewise, it has been shown that organic abnormalities of this kind have important effects upon the embryonic growth of the individual. These effects are mediated through the interaction of the cytoplasm and the organic environment in which the cells live, either before fertilization or

after fertilization. Biological studies indicate that important structural changes occur in the cytoplasm of the ovum, in particular, before conception.

Noninheritability of Acquired Traits

Now, it must be evident that undesirable hereditary traits can be weeded out only by the methods of selective breeding—eugenics. If the traits are acquired in the interval before fertilization, or in the interval between fertilization and birth, or after birth, no amount of selective breeding can be relied upon to weed them out. The actual procedures of control are social and environmental in both cases, but in the first instance the aim is to prevent the union for reproduction of individuals who carry defective genes, whereas in the second instance the aim is to provide the environmental conditions which tend to guarantee the physical health and mental integrity of a normally constituted person. This latter study is called euthenics. It is often desirable to prevent the union for reproduction of individuals whose defects are acquired. But the social problem here involved is a different matter than in the case of individuals handicapped with defective hereditary units. The social problems of sterilization, segregation, and education for marriage and parenthood obviously depend upon a sound knowledge of heredity for their partial solution.

Herbert Spencer attributed his small hands to the fact that his father and grandfather were schoolmasters. This idea clearly implies that acquired traits are inherited. At one time, the controversy over this question was spirited, but today the interest is mainly historical. Pregnant mothers, who desire children greatly talented with the gift of musical rendition and composition, will practice on their pianos with daily regularity month after month on the theory that acquired traits are inherited. Many people, possibly most people, look to their ancestors for biological explanations of personal idiosyncrasies, peculiar defects, conspicuous talents, special abilities or disabilities, ranging all the way from flat feet to a pronounced proclivity for high finance. Lamarck, Darwin, and Lombroso believed that acquired traits are inherited, and there is considerable evidence to show that Galton and Pearson are inclined to favor this tradition. Dugdale's study of *The Jukes,* Goddard's study of *The Kallikak Family,* Davenport and Danielson's work on *The Hill Folk* and other similar investigations of the Smoky Pilgrims in Kansas, the Tribe of Ishmael in Indiana, and the Zeros in Switzerland show a similar disinclination or disability to distinguish properly between inherited and acquired traits. Some of the more significant data bearing upon the question of the transmissibility of acquired characters are summarized at this point.

In Syria, the broad head is considered beautiful, the long head ugly. Solicitous parents, whose infants are born with rather long heads, wind

bandages about the head, shaping it to the desired form in this way. The trait so acquired does not modify the genes of the germ cells in any way whatever. Aristocratic Chinese babies have had their feet shaped by a similar method for centuries on end; but the feet of each new generation require the same treatment. Lamarck's theory of evolution was based upon the accumulation of the effects of use and disuse. The long neck of the giraffe, the legs of an ostrich or a deer, the rudimentary eyes of cave fish, and other physical characters are explained in this way. The development of function, as the giraffe's use of his long neck in reaching food from the tops of trees, produces a corresponding development of structure. This growth of structure facilitates a further development of function, which again draws the energy resources of the organism toward building a longer and more powerful neck. As regards the ostrich, the members of this species, who waste least food and energy for producing wings, have more left for the development of their legs. These survive since their legs are more useful in flight than their wings could have been under existing circumstances. With regard to the cave fishes, we are told that the degree of degeneration corresponds closely with the length of time lived in the caves. The conclusion is drawn that the effects of use and disuse are inherited and that new species of animals originate in this way. This, essentially, was Lamarck's theory. His explanation does not stand the test of analysis for many reasons which need not be reviewed here. Suffice it to say that Darwin's theory of natural selection in a struggle for existence may be used to explain the same phenomena. One may correctly assume that inheritance produces variations in type due to new combinations of the genes and also to chemical changes within the genes. Nature plays selectively upon these variations, favoring the survival of the type best adapted to the requirements laid down by nature. Thus, the long neck of the giraffe, the fleet feet of deer and ostriches, and the rudimentary eyes of cave fish are the result of a selective process. Nature would not favor the survival of developed eyesight in a cave where it served no purpose. No more would nature favor the survival of an ostrich whose wings were larger than the median, since they are useless in flight in comparison with the long legs.

Darwin's theory of natural selection in a struggle for existence likewise purports to explain the origin of species. But this theory does not necessarily assume that acquired traits are inherited. It does assume that variation is the result of heredity and that the conditions of life are so adverse that a struggle for existence is inevitable. This struggle may be directed against nature, or against foes of other species, or against foes belonging to the same species. But Darwin also emphasized the environmental causes of variation such as the effects of use and disuse as well as the direct and indirect effects upon the organism of the conditions of life. He was inclined to accept the view that acquired traits are inherited although many of his

followers emphasized the Lamarckian principle a great deal more. The following direct quotation from *The Origin of Species* illustrates Darwin's view: "Changed habits produce an inherited effect, as in the period of the flowering of plants when transplanted from one climate to another. With animals the increased use and disuse of parts has had a more marked influence; thus I find in the domestic duck that the bones of the wing weigh less and the bones of the leg more, in proportion to the whole skeleton, than do the same bones in the wild duck; and this change may be safely attributed to the domestic duck flying much less, and walking more, than its wild parents."[3] Many similar examples suggest that acquired traits are inherited. Alpine plants brought to low altitudes become taller and remain so, but when they are again returned to the higher altitudes the original trait reappears. The "shepherd's purse" of Turkestan is a highland variety which follows certain trade routes from the lowland. The lowland type is larger than the highland variety and bears white flowers, while the latter bears pink flowers. When the lowland plant is transferred to the highland, it develops the characters of the native type; but, when the highland variety is transplanted in the lowland, it retains its characters—pink flower and smaller size. It has been noted that the colors of the wings of certain butterflies vary according to the temperature under which the insect passes its chrysalis stage. When the ordinary fruit fly—Drosophila—is reared in moist air, some of the males show deformed abdomens. This defect is transmitted as a sex-linked trait through daughters; but not through sons, very much like the human disease known as hæmophilia, but when the same defective flies are permitted to reproduce in a dry atmosphere, the abnormality disappears. The Chinese primula, like the lowland shepherd's purse, produces white flowers under one set of external conditions and red flowers in a different environment. When grown in a hothouse the flowers are white, but under the usual outdoor conditions of summer red flowers are produced.[4] These illustrations are innumerable and need not be extended further. They are cited here to show the nature of the evidence which appears to support the contention that acquired traits are inherited.

This conclusion, however, is not warranted. The illustrations here cited show that the genetic factors respond in one way to certain external conditions and in a quite different way to other surroundings. There is no proof that the gene structure of the organism is modified and that these variations constitute a new and distinct type of inheritance. Phenomena of the kind here illustrated have been satisfactorily explained in terms of what is called "organic plasticity" or the differential response of the same unit genes to various environmental conditions. Warmth and moisture produce white flowers in the case of the lowland shepherd's purse as well as in the case of

[3] C. Darwin, *The Origin of Species*, Rand McNally & Co., Chicago and New York, p. 8.
[4] Other similar examples are cited by Jennings, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

the Chinese primula. Cooler and drier atmosphere produces pink or red flowers. Nothing is gained by efforts to strain the actual facts of a given situation in order to support a preconception. It has been shown that there are two important varieties of interaction: (1) between the genes and the cytoplasm, and (2) between the cytoplasm and the external environment. Heat and moisture are external conditions which affect directly the interaction of the exposed cytoplasm and the environment. It is evident that precisely the same genes respond in different ways to various conditions. Is the color of the flower inherited or acquired? Manifestly, it is partly the result of the hereditary unit—the gene—and partly the result of the external situation. In short, it is partly inherited and partly acquired; the gene structure remains the same since the reversal of conditions produces the original characters. It is manifestly impossible to disentangle the hereditary and environmental effects in many such cases. The two sets of influences operate simultaneously and the effects are obviously the products of both. Traits that are full-fledged acquired such as the powerful swimming stroke known as the Australian crawl are not transmitted through the genes. Two "Australian crawlers," male and female, will not give birth to children whose swimming reflexes are all ready-made to do the stroke of their parents. The stroke must be learned by patient instruction, practice, and continued effort to improve until the model pattern has been realized. This pattern is a habit structure which has nothing to do with the genes except in so far as the genes produce a type of anatomy essential to the proper coordination of movement. But this is something entirely different. A good deal of confusion is avoided if it is remembered that human traits may be inherited, acquired, or partly inherited and partly acquired. Castle excised the ovaries of a white albino guinea pig, and in place of these he put the ovaries of a pure-bred black one.[5] The albino was then mated with a black male. All of the offspring were black. Jews have been circumcised for centuries, but this has in no wise altered the necessity of repeating the operation with each new offspring. The strong arms and shoulders of the blacksmith are not transmitted to his progeny through the media of the germ cells. Not one single clear and authentic case of the inheritance of acquired traits has been recorded, and the conclusion stands that acquired traits are not inherited. This conclusion is of the utmost importance in dealing with the social problems of disorganization and degeneration. For instance, in the case of the Jukes family, it was found that 1,000 descendants of "a good natured, lazy sot of defective mentality" were distributed as follows: one-third died in infancy, one-third were professional paupers, 440 suffered from disease of their own wickedness, one-half of the women were immoral, 130 were convicted criminals, 7 were murderers, and 60 were

[5] W. E. Castle, *Genetics and Eugenics*, Cambridge, 1916. See photographs and explanation opposite p. 22.

habitual thieves.[6] Among 1,394 descendants of Jonathan Edwards, there were 13 college presidents, 65 college professors, 60 physicians, 75 officers in the army and navy, 60 authors and writers, 100 lawyers, 30 judges, 80 public officials, one Vice President of the United States, and three United States Senators. This type of study assumes that acquired traits are inherited and grossly confuses the distinction between the two. The conclusion that defective mentality is the widespread cause of personal and social disorganization and degeneration is not warranted.

The Origin of Species

Darwin and Lamarck were interested in explaining the origin of species. Their theories contradicted each other, but nevertheless certain assumptions were held in common such as the inheritance of the acquired effects of use and disuse. The Dutch biologist, de Vries, developed a different theory of the origin of species. All members of a particular species may be grouped about a mean with respect to any particular trait. This variation about the mean will conform approximately to the so-called "normal" distribution curve, showing a small number representing the extreme variations and a very large number grouped around the median. In order to demonstrate that the variant members belong to the same species, one has only to breed the type. The offspring will show a tendency to revert to the mean. Galton has called this tendency the "law of regression." De Vries believed that a qualitative difference may set up a new mean with regard to a particular trait, succeeding generations grouping themselves about this mean. Regression is again the test of identity, and when this actually shows that a new mean has been established, the resultant trait is called a mutation. This is the only way in which new species may arise according to this author. Such traits as hexadactyly, brachydactyly, and many similar departures from the representative type are examples of mutations. The mutation is inherited: it may be the result of new combinations of genes in the male and female germ cells or, more probably, the result of internal chemical and physical activity of the genes. That mutations have occurred in countless numbers and that they recur continually cannot be denied. That nature plays selectively upon these highly variant types is equally certain. That two similarly variant types, one female and the other male, should occur at about the same time, and that precisely these two specimens should unite for reproduction in a state of nature with innumerable other specimens available for reproductive union, places something of a tax on the imagination. Moreover, it does not follow by any means even under these most favorable conditions that the offspring will represent the new type and that a new species will

[6] R. L. Dugdale, *The Jukes*, New York, 1910. For a parallel study see H. H. Goddard, *The Kallikak Family*, New York, 1912. For an interesting criticism of this type of study see Clarence Darrow, "The Edwardses and the Jukeses," *The American Mercury*, October, 1925.

arise. If the variant trait, or mutation, is a dominant, the recessive traits carried in the germ cells of male and female parents may unite to form the normal character for the species represented. For the traits of the offspring will depend upon the combination of genes which occurs with the union of male and female germ cells. The question of the origin of species remains an unsolved mystery. There is no single, actual historical case of a new species emerging by the method of mutations; neither is there a single similar example of a new species emerging by the Darwinian method of a gradual variation. That the theory of organic evolution is a tenable theory, more acceptable by far than any other hypothesis hitherto formulated, is certainly true. That the problem of the origin of species has been solved cannot be admitted. The hypotheses of de Vries and Darwin not only contradict each other; they cannot be harmonized as some writers have endeavored to do, for the reason that neither explanation has a sufficiently impressive array of data to demonstrate its plausibility.

Manifestly, the question of the origin of species has a bearing upon the problems of the nature of man. If man is related to the higher animals now living, through innumerable types now extinct—missing links—the evolution of human nature must be interpreted accordingly. There is much evidence dealing with anatomy, physiology, psychology, paleontology, and embryology which concerns chiefly the similarities and homologies of the structures and functions of human organs as compared with the higher animals; all of which gives credence to the theory of organic evolution. Similarly, the study of extinct types of man such as the recently found Chinese Man of Pekin, the famous Pithecanthropus Erectus, and many others, leads to the same conclusion.[7] Nevertheless, the question of the origin of species remains problematical. The general theory of organic evolution is one thing; the determination of the mechanism of interaction in the production of new species is another matter. But it does not follow by any means that the general theory of organic evolution must be rejected because the origin of species remains a mystery. The theory stands as the most notable contribution of the nineteenth century to the study of biology in general and to our knowledge of the nature of man in particular. For the consideration of the instinctive and emotional equipment of the higher animals has a bearing of the first magnitude upon the study of the psychophysical traits of *homo sapiens.*

Emergent Evolution and the Distinctive Human Traits

Certain human qualities are distinctive of the species: the hand, the erect posture, the brain, and the vocal organs. These traits are inherited. The hand is a marvelously flexible and adaptable structure for the manipulation

[7] F. H. Hankins, *An Introduction to the Study of Society, op. cit.,* pp. 67-77.

of things; here the sense of touch is concentrated to distinguish between rough and smooth, hot and cold, hard and soft, weight, form, and the position of bodies in space. These functions of touch and action are greatly facilitated by the erect posture of the body. For the hands are thereby given their freedom for use in the performance of a great variety of tasks, some of which are simple and easily acquired while others are complex and highly specialized. The brain commands the inner scene of thought and feeling much as the eye commands the external field of action. And these functions are also facilitated by the upright position of the body. Movement of the hands and movement of the eyes as well are co-ordinated and integrated through the action of the brain and nervous system. Similarly, the organs of speech, which employ sounds as symbols in a process of communication, are co-ordinated, through the action of the brain, with the use of eyes, hands, and ears.

The traits distinctive of man, namely, the hand, the erect posture, the brain, and the vocal organs, obviously hang together. It appears, therefore, that they must have evolved together, but probably not as a slow and gradual process of hereditary variation and natural selection. Why should nature favor any particular trait, or any particular combination of traits, until they have actually developed to the point where they manifest advantages and, therefore, survival value? A partial development, somewhere short of the point of advantage, would be more of a drawback than a help. A chimpanzee born with a partly developed or even a fully developed pair of human hands would find them more of a nuisance than an aid. The necessary prehensile powers would be badly compromised or entirely lacking. Such a mutation simply does not co-ordinate with the other organs of the body as well as the hands typical of the species. Imagine a cow born with a human brain; what possible use could he make of it? A hand could have no value to an organism moving on all fours; organs of speech would be no advantage in a struggle for existence unless the brain had developed to the point where vocal symbols could be interpreted, invented, and co-ordinated with the sense organs. To explain the hand, or any of the other distinctive traits here considered, as an isolated mutation, places a heavy tax on the imagination. To explain it in terms of hereditary variation and natural selection is also too great a strain on our powers of understanding. For the survival value of the traits here discussed—hands, upright posture, brain, and vocal organs—depends upon their simultaneous occurrence *in developed form*. Sometime, somewhere in the evolutionary process this favorable combination occurred, not in one single specimen, or a pair of specimens, male and female, but in many individuals. How and why? When and where? Whole libraries are full of volumes purporting to answer these questions, but the simple, modest truth is that nobody really knows. The theory here described is known as *emergent evolution*.

Mendelism

Much less pretentious but far more positive have been the biological studies of Gregor Mendel, an obscure Austrian monk who did his work about the middle of the nineteenth century. Mendel was interested in the mysteries of heredity and followed the method of crossing different types and strains. His experimental studies of the tall and short pea will serve to illustrate. He crossed a pure-bred tall pea with a pure-bred dwarf pea and found that all the resultant offspring were tall. When he crossed the members of the first hybrid generation to produce a second hybrid generation, he found his results somewhat varied but the long-run distribution of type showed 75% tall and 25% dwarf. Experimentation with the 75% tall variety showed that two-thirds of these were identical in type with the first hybrid generation and that one-third were pure tall. When the pure tall members were crossed, they bred true to type generation after generation, and when two pure dwarf specimens reproduced, the result was similar. But when two tall specimens representing a mixed parentage were crossed, three-fourths of the offspring were tall and one-fourth dwarf. Thousands of experimental studies with a great variety of plants and animals have produced the same identical results. The crossing of pure-bred brown eyes with pure-bred blue eyes gives birth to a first hybrid generation, all members of which have brown eyes. But the ancestry of the new type is mixed. When this hybrid type is crossed, 25% of the offspring have blue eyes, 75% brown eyes. These brown-eyed individuals vary in type, one-third of them being pure bred and two-thirds mixed. When the mixed variety is again crossed, the result is the same as above described for the second hybrid generation.

Manifestly, the tall character is dominant over the dwarf, the brown eye is dominant over the blue eye. This would explain the uniformity of type in the first hybrid generation. But how explain the distribution of characters in the second hybrid generation? The germ cells of the first generation carry the male and female parental genes, one of which produces tallness, the other dwarfness. Since this pair of genes is present in the germ cells of all members of the first hybrid generation, there are just four possible combinations of genes when the female cell is fertilized by the male: (1) the tall unit of the male may combine with the tall unit of the female producing the pure-bred tall variety; (2) the dwarf unit of the male may combine with the dwarf unit of the female producing a pure-bred dwarf variety; (3) the tall gene of the male may combine with the dwarf gene of the female producing a mixed type, but since tallness is dominant over dwarfness, the former character is manifest in somatic structure; (4) the dwarf gene of the male may combine with the tall gene of the female with the same result as in case number three. Thus 25% are dwarf and 75% are tall; but two-

thirds of these tall specimens are mixed types whereas one-third are pure-bred tall. Therefore, the second hybrid generation actually shows one-fourth pure tall, one-fourth pure dwarf, and one-half mixed, the latter appearing as tall. The same explanation would hold for the distribution of brown and blue eyes in first and second hybrid generations.

In the experimental studies, the segregation of original types in the second generation does not always occur according to the formula. It is quite possible to find a series of offspring in this generation all of which represent the recessive character; all may represent the dominant trait; all may represent the mixed type. This appears to disprove the formula, but such is not the case. It is necessary to take into account the mathematical principle of probability. A penny tossed up four times in a series may turn up a head each time; it may turn up a tail each time; it may turn up three heads and one tail or three tails and one head; it may turn up two heads and two tails. The first series is least likely, the second series is more likely and the last series is most likely. If the same penny is tossed up a hundred times the distribution of heads and tails is approximately equal. This same principle of probability holds true for the second hybrid generation. In the first hybrid generation there is only one possible combination, namely the union of tall and dwarf determiners producing a tall pea since this trait is dominant. But in the second hybrid generation there are four possible combinations of the paired genes as previously stated. The chances of occurrence for the combination T-T producing the pure-bred tall variety are exactly equal to the chances of occurrence for the combination D-D producing a pure-bred dwarf variety; meanwhile, the likelihood of the combination T-D is just twice as great as the probability of the first two combinations. And hence, there is bound to be a long-run distribution of characters which approximately corresponds to the formula stated.

Principles of Heredity

Mendelism implies the recognition of a series of principles of heredity which may be summarized at this point: (1) that the hereditary traits are unit characters called genes which are carried in the nucleus of the germ cells; (2) that these genes are paired in the male and female germ cells and may be alike or unlike with respect to the characters produced; (3) that the unlike genes are either dominants or recessives; (4) that these paired genes combine independently with the paired genes of the opposite sex; (5) that these combinations of genes are subject to the mathematical law of probability; (6) that the genes are segregated in the gametes so that any particular gamete, male or female, will carry one gene of a pair but never both; (7) that the distribution of the paired genes among the germ cells produced is about equal where the genes are heterozygous. It is possible to state four

Mendelian laws of heredity. The principles so designated are as follows: (1) *The law of dominance,* meaning that the allelomorphs may be homozygous or heterozygous, the former being alike with respect to the character produced and the latter unlike; in the latter case, one of the gene pairs is dominant while the other is recessive. (2) *The law of independent combinations.* This means simply that the allelomorphs combine independently with each other and that the male and female gene pairs may enter into certain definite combinations, producing the same result in each case when the allelomorphs are homozygous but different results when the allelomorphs are heterozygous. These results vary according to the mathematical principle of probability. (3) *The law of segregation,* which means that the gametes never carry the paired genes as pairs, but only one of each pair. This is the result of the process of reduction, previously described, in which the germ cell matures preparatory to fertilization. In this process the chromosomes and the genes divide in such a way as to retain but one chromosome and one gene of each pair; the rejected genes form polar bodies within the cell after which they are separated from the cell. In this way, the fertilized ovum, or zygote, contains 24 pairs of chromosomes or 48 in all. This number is characteristic of the human species. (4) *The law of hybridization,* according to which the original types and characters are segregated in the second hybrid generation. In other words, the hybrids do not reproduce as one type with respect to a particular trait, but as two types contained in one. When the hybrid type reproduces itself, the proportion of pure type in offspring is approximately equal to the proportion of mixed type. The hybrid is manifestly not a stable type. However, it is to be remembered that the gene pairs may be heterozygous not merely with respect to one particular trait, but with respect to a very large number. Thus there is an almost infinite variety of possible combinations and an almost infinite diversity of type and trait in offspring. It has been stated that the number of distinct gene combinations for a pair of human germ cells could give rise to 1½ billion different individuals. Nevertheless, the genes identified with the same chromosome are generally passed on together. But they do not always pull apart integrally in which event there is bound to be some interchange of genes, called crossovers.[8] It has been observed that a particular trait inherited from a grandparent is often identified with a series of traits also inherited from the same grandparent. This is due to the linkage of the genes in the chromosomes. Studies of various types of fruit fly indicate that there are as many linked chains as there are pairs of chromosomes. But sometimes the links are broken by genes which cross over from one chromosome to another. This, however, is the exception rather than the rule.

Mendelian segregation of inherited traits has been demonstrated in a

[8] S. J. Holmes, *Human Genetics and Its Social Import,* New York and London, 1936, Ch. 6.

great variety of characters among plants and animals: color in mice, guinea pigs, rabbits, fowls, and pigeons; length of hair in certain animals; feather characteristics in some species of birds; leaf form and coloration in certain plants; presence or absence of horns in cattle; resistance to rust disease in wheat; the color of flowers in a great number of varieties; the shape of potato tubes. Dark eyes are dominant over blue eyes, hornlessness over horns in cattle, polydactylism over the normal number of toes in several species of animals, red eyes over white in certain types of fly, short hair over angora hair in guinea pigs, the crested head over the plain head in canaries, and rumplessness over long tails in poultry. Inherited deaf-mutism in man behaves like a simple recessive; brachydactyly, in which the fingers of the human hand are short, having but two joints instead of three, is a dominant; the union of two or more fingers side by side is a dominant defect; hexadactyly in man is also a dominant defect in which there are six fingers on each hand and six toes on each foot; dark hair and dark skin are dominant over light hair and light skin, although these traits are manifestly blended in many crosses; certain types of dwarfism behave as dominants over normal stature; pigmented skin is dominant over albinism; hereditary feeblemindedness appears to be recessive; one type of chorea is dominant while another type is recessive; hæmophilia, a disease in which the blood does not coagulate normally, is a recessive sex-linked trait. It is apparent that some defects are dominant while others are recessive. This is important because the recessive trait may be carried in the germ cells without being manifest in the somatic structure.

Inheritance of Mentality

Thus it follows that normally minded parents may give birth to feebleminded children when the germ cells of both parents carry the defective genes which, in combination, produce defects in brain structure and corresponding feeblemindedness. This is far from saying that all feeblemindedness is inherited. That much of it is inherited entirely or in part has been conclusively demonstrated. H. S. Jennings makes an interesting calculation in this connection.[9] He cites data which indicate that the feebleminded make up about one-third of 1% of our population. This is a conservative estimate which affords a contrast with the results of draft army tests. In a population of 100 million there would be about 330,000 feebleminded on this basis. Assuming that all of these are cases of defective genes which are homozygous pairs it is possible to determine the approximate proportion of normal individuals that carry one of the defective genes. The result is about 10% of the population. Thus the conclusion is drawn that there are about thirty normal individuals who carry one defective gene for every

[9] H. S. Jennings, *op. cit.*, pp. 240, 241.

single individual who carries two such genes. Manifestly, the reproduction of feeblemindedness from generation to generation must be attributed to the heterozygous as well as to the homozygous groups. When the defect is dominant, there is, of course, no such distinction of groups. But here, too, the germ cells may be homozygous or heterozygous; the trait, however, is manifest in both types. In this case the situation described above is reversed, since defective parents may give birth to normal offspring. For instance, brachydactylous parents may be heterozygous, in which case the normal gene for a normal hand is carried in both male and female cells. These may combine to produce a normal offspring with respect to this particular trait. Thus, where the defect is recessive, normal individuals may have abnormal children; where the defect is dominant, abnormal parents may give birth to normal offspring.

Blended Inheritance

There are instances of blended inheritance: the crossing of black and white races shows a great variation in pigmentation of skin; at the same time there is substantial evidence to show that the genes, nevertheless, function as unit characters, since two individuals of mixed ancestry whose skin color is very light may give birth to children whose skin color is much darker. When the "Chinese" and "star" primula are crossed, an intermediate type is produced which is easily distinguished from the parent types. The characteristics appear to blend in offspring. Nevertheless, the first hybrid generation produces a second hybrid generation in which 25% are "Chinese," 25% "star" and 50% intermediate.[10] All members of the first hybrid generation represent the intermediate type. Obviously, the process of segregation is the same as in other characters which appear as dominants and recessives

Sex-Linked Traits

Reference has been made a number of times to sex-linked traits. Experimental studies of this type of inheritance have produced the most fruitful results. Hæmophilia, previously defined, is transmitted from parents to offspring as a recessive sex-linked trait. This painful disease, which is not curable, much less understood, has disturbed the equanimity of more than one aristocratic household of Europe.[11] As a recessive, sex-linked trait hæmo-

[10] For a similar example, the four o'clock, see E. C. Conklin, *Heredity and Environment,* Princeton, 1918, pp. 271, 272.

[11] The deceased Tsarevitch Alexis of Russia, only son of Tsar Nicholas II, suffered from this malady. The medical resources of Europe were exhausted, but to no avail. Thoroughly disappointed and ready to grasp at any suggestion that offered a ray of hope, the Tsarina listened one day to a story people were telling about a pious Russian monk, Rasputin, who had the miraculous gift of healing. Rasputin was called to the royal household. Seated at the bedside of the suffering heir to the throne of Russia and stroking the boy's hand, Rasputin

philia may be carried in the germ cells of the mother and transmitted to some of her sons, but not to any of her daughters.

Sex Inheritance

Special chromosomes are known to carry the determiners of sex. These chromosomes are known as X and Y. In certain species, the male cell carries only one chromosome for the determination of sex, whereas the female carries a pair of X chromosomes. Thus, the female cell actually contains one more chromosome than the male cell in these species. The odd chromosome of the male was designated X. Thus, the male contains a certain number of chromosome pairs, plus one X; the female carries an equal number of pairs plus two X's which are paired. In the human species, the X chromosome of the female is paired with another X chromosome. The male germ cells, however, carry only one X chromosome which is paired with another chromosome known as the Y chromosome. And this is also the situation in the fruit fly and many other species. Individual sex is determined by the combination of genes carried in X and Y chromosomes. Thus, the combination XX produces a female, the combination XY produces a male. Again, it is apparent that there are four possible combinations: (1) the X chromosome of the male may combine with one X chromosome of the female, producing a female; (2) the same X chromosome of the male may combine with the other X chromosome of the female, producing a female; (3) the Y chromosome of the male may combine with one X chromosome of the female, producing a male; (4) the same Y chromosome of the male may combine with the other X chromosome of the female, producing a male. Thus, it is plain that the mathematical principle of probability favors the equal distribution of sexes in offspring. Parents of children may have four girls to be sure, or four boys, but the long-run distribution is bound to be approximately equal. It is true, however, that the male birth rate is higher than the female birth rate; it is also true that younger parents are more likely to have male offspring than older parents. Inasmuch as both sex chromosomes of the female are alike, the difference must lie in the male germ cells. The explanation has been offered that the sperm carrying a Y chromosome is more active and considerably smaller than the sperm which carries the X chromosome. Moreover, this differential activity appears to diminish with advancing age of the male. The conclusion is drawn that the active Y carrying sperm is more likely to fertilize the ovum than the somewhat sluggish X carrying sperm. This hypothesis would also explain the increase in male births in a country immediately following a war.

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fastened his large hypnotic eyes upon Alexis as he told stories of great forests and wild animals in a far-away country. His deep, rich voice sounded like soft organ music. The boy fell asleep, rested peacefully, and woke up feeling much relieved. But there was always danger of relapse, and Rasputin was needed when the trouble returned. In this way, his political power grew steadily, until it was whispered that Rasputin was the power behind the throne.

Inheritance of Sex-linked Traits

A sex-linked trait may be carried by the X chromosome or by the Y chromosome. It cannot be carried by both chromosomes. A son invariably receives his X chromosome from his mother since it was a Y chomosome of his father in combination with an X chromosome of his mother which produced him. Moreover, the X chromosome of a father always passes to his daughters, never to his sons, since the Y chromosome is necessary to produce a male. If the X chromosome of the mother produces a different effect than the X chromosome of the father, it is possible to trace these effects through successive generations; for an effect produced exclusively by the father's X chromosomes may appear in the daughters, but not in the sons. Whereas an effect produced exclusively by the mother's X chromosomes must appear in her sons; it may or may not appear in the daughters since these have both types of X one of which may be dominant over the other. Hæmophilia is carried by the X chromosome. A mother carrying one such X will not manifest the trait since it is a recessive. She may marry a normal person. In this case she will transmit the disease to one-half of her sons, but not to any of her daughters. One-half of her daughters, however, carry the defective X chromosome. In case a defective male, who manifests the trait, since it is carried only in the X chromosome, marries a normal female, the defective gene is transmitted to all of the daughters but not to any of the sons since the Y chromosome which produces the male does not carry the defect. Inasmuch as the trait is recessive, the daughters do not manifest the trait. In this instance, none of the offspring actually manifests the trait although the father is afflicted with the disease.

Sex-linked traits may be carried by the Y chromosome of the male as well as the X chromosomes of the male and female. They may be dominant or recessive. In each case the traits so linked are transmitted in characteristic ways. The student who is interested in tracing the possible combinations and the succession of certain traits through the generations needs only to make a simple diagram representing two X chromosomes for the female which are paired and two chromosomes, X and Y, which are also paired, for the male. If one or both of the X chromosomes of the female are defective, they may be marked accordingly; if the X or Y chromosomes, or the X and Y chromosomes of the male are defective, they may be marked accordingly. The possible combinations and probable results are easily traced.

Literally tens of thousands of experiments have been conducted with sex-linked traits and the hereditary transmission has been found to accord with the principles described in every single instance. A great deal of the work on the fruit fly has been done by Thomas Hunt Morgan and his associates.

One of these experiments dealt with an abnormal condition of the eye described as a broad "bar" across the eye. This is a dominant, sex-linked trait, carried by the X chromosome. Thus if a bar-eyed male is mated with a normal female, all the daughters have abnormal eyes while all the sons have normal eyes. But if a homozygous bar-eyed female is mated with a normal-eyed male, all the children, sons and daughters, have the defect. This is because either one X chromosome of the female or the other, both of which are defective, enters into every possible combination. On the other hand, the white eye of the same species is a recessive, sex-linked trait carried again by the X chromosome. The usual eye color is red. White-eyed individuals produce only white-eyed offspring. When a white-eyed female is mated with a red-eyed male, all the sons have white eyes, whereas all the daughters have red eyes. But these red-eyed daughters carry white-eyed chromosomes. If they are mated with red-eyed males, half the sons have white eyes, while all of the daughters are red-eyed. One-half of the daughters, however, carry the recessive trait in their germ cells. This trait manifestly behaves like hæmophilia. In the fruit fly more than fifty such sex-linked recessives are known.

In man, certain types of color blindness and a kind of muscular atrophy known as Gower's disease, together with hæmophilia and other defects, are known to be sex-linked traits. Color blindness is approximately ten times more common among males than among females. This is explained on the ground that the more prevalent types may be carried in one of the X chromosomes of the female without being a somatic trait. Like hæmophilia, the trait is transmitted from the mother who married a normal male to one-half of her sons as a manifest trait. It is estimated that one out of every 25 males is color blind. Tests for the identification of this trait are obviously important in the selection and employment of locomotive engineers, street car motormen, bus drivers, and taxi drivers. Color-blind automobile drivers who cannot distinguish between red and green lights are dangerously handicapped.

A large number of experimental studies show that any of the 50 or more sex-linked traits of the fruit fly can be brought together into one X chromosome and later separated again into different chromosomes. The conclusion, therefore, is inevitable and unavoidable that this chromosome has 50 or more separable parts. It is these parts that are called genes. And hence it would be inaccurate to say that the gene is a hypothetical, mystical entity which is assumed by the biologist in order to demonstrate his preconceptions on the subject of heredity. The gene is a reality even though it cannot be seen under a microscope. It represents a most substantial achievement of biological science. Many far-reaching social implications of this discovery are fully revealed in the current literature on the subject of eugenics. It is clear that the scientific work of Weismann and Mendel in particular laid the

foundation of an authentic and highly valuable knowledge of human heredity.

Problem Questions

1. Army intelligence tests showed more than 47% of the white draft below the mental age of thirteen and of these 30% were below the mental age of twelve. According to Jennings' data the feebleminded make up ⅓ of 1% of our population. Account for the disparity of these figures.

2. How do you explain the fact that the male birth rate of a nation rises after a war?

3. Since the individual inherits equally from both parents how do you account for the fact that color blindness is approximately ten times more prevalent among men than women?

4. If it can be shown that a trait is transmitted from parents to children in a series of generations, does this prove that the trait is inherited?

5. Would you favor a law which made the issuance of automobile drivers' licenses dependent upon a reliable test for color blindness?

6. Certain types of color blindness are recessive sex-linked traits carried by the X chromosome. Assume that a color-blind male marries a normal female. Will color blindness appear in their offspring?

7. Assume that one of the daughters of the above union marries a normal male. How will color blindness be distributed in their offspring?

8. Assume that one of the daughters of the same union marries a color-blind male. How will color blindness be distributed in their offspring?

9. How does the eugenist propose to weed out recessive defects from a population?

10. Suppose the defects are dominant, like hexadactyly, would the eugenist recommend the same method of elimination?

11. What are the aims and methods of the modern eugenics program of Germany?

12. The former marriage law of the state of Wisconsin required a physical examination of the bridegroom but not the bride. Is this a valid distinction?

13. Wisconsin has repeatedly tried to enact sterilization and segregation laws which would safeguard society more effectively against the reproduction of defective mentality. Why have these attempts failed?

14. Distinguish the aims and methods of positive and negative eugenics.

15. What was the nature of Goddard's study of the Kallikak family? What conclusions did he draw? Are these conclusions reliable?

16. Is syphilis inherited? Are the defective traits of the children of syphilitic parents, such as idiocy, inherited?

17. Certain writers speak of an inherited tendency to certain diseases, such as cancer and tuberculosis. What is the nature of this tendency? Is it a Mendelian unit trait?

18. An examination of 2,000 school children given in 1937 in a highly congested and industrialized low-rent section of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, showed that 36.2% responded to the tuberculin skin test. How do you account for this abnormally high rate?

19. Evaluate the biological causes (inheritance) of mental and physical defects in comparison with social and cultural causes.

20. Are the effects of drug addiction, such as excessive alcoholism, inherited? Are the children of alcoholic parents more or less likely to be defective? Are these defects inherited?

21. How do you account for the rudimentary eye structure of fish living in caves? Does this prove that acquired traits are inherited?

Suggestions for Additional Reading

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15

HEREDITARY AND ACQUIRED TRAITS

How CAN IT be determined whether a particular trait is inherited? The answer to this question is contained in the data of the previous chapter. The test of inheritance is the Mendelian method of crossing opposite or paired traits in the reproductive process. If the distribution of traits in first and second hybrid generations conforms to Mendelian ratios of segregation and combination, the particular character tested is manifestly an inherited trait. For thereby the trait is definitely identified with the genes carried in the chromosomes of the germ cells. But the problem of human heredity is not always so simple. When one considers the hundreds of thousands of characters which combine to constitute the human organism and also the fact that only a relatively few of these human traits are conclusively known to be Mendelian units, it is plain that a further consideration of the problems involved becomes imperative. Moreover, the biometricians have developed a technique for the measurement of heredity which is markedly different from the Mendelian method. The use of this method has led many students of the problem to draw the conclusion that heredity is far more important than environment. Karl Pearson, for instance, has stated that the former is approximately seven times more important than the latter.[1] If this is true, then it must follow logically that heredity plays a far more important rôle in the historical social process than the conditions external to the germ cell. If it is false, we are bound to draw different conclusions. The solution of this problem depends upon a detailed analysis and evaluation of biometrical procedures.

THE QUESTION OF DIATHESIS

Let us consider by way of example the disease called tuberculosis. The brilliant researches of Robert Koch in the course of the latter part of the nineteenth century resulted in the isolation of the tubercle bacillus, a tiny parasitic microbe which feeds on lung tissue, among other things, and multiplies rapidly while the tissue is destroyed. As this process continues, the power of the lungs in absorbing oxygen from the air is reduced. It must be quite obvious that the great white plague is an acquired trait, since it can

[1] F. H. Hankins, *An Introduction to the Study of Society*, 1st ed., New York, 1928, p. 262.

be transmitted only by microbes which infect the vulnerable somatic tissue of an organism. But the question is raised: does heredity have anything to do with the vulnerability of tissue exposed to the tiny bacillae of tuberculosis? It is known that some people and certain races are far more susceptible than others; Negroes, for instance, appear to have little or no resistance to this disease. Likewise, the Negroes show high mortality and morbidity rates for other maladies, such as syphilis and pneumonia. At the same time, they are relatively immune to scarlet fever, measles, and diphtheria.[2] It is clear, therefore, that such racial differences, whether inherited or acquired, have a good deal to do with the questions of diathesis. And thus, it has been assumed that people inherit a tendency to acquire tuberculosis. The nature of this tendency, however, is not usually explained. Nevertheless, the biometricians, in this instance and in many others, proceed on the assumption that tuberculosis is partly inherited and partly acquired. Accordingly, they have devised a mathematical method for determining the extent to which this trait and many others are inherited.

The Biometrical Method

Attention is concentrated by this school of heredity upon the determination of the frequency in the distribution of a particular trait in certain related groups. These frequencies are compared by the method of correlation. The coefficient of correlation, known as *r*, measures the extent of concurrence in the variations from the average for a given trait in two related groups or series, such as parents and children, brothers and sisters, husbands and wives. With respect to tuberculosis, Pearson found the correlation low between husbands and wives. The correlation for parents and children was found to be substantially higher. Moreover, he found *r* to be about equal to the correlation for height and other physical traits of parents and children. The relative frequency of the variable in question, namely tuberculosis, was found to have very little relation to bad environmental factors such as poor housing. It is argued that if tuberculosis were primarily due to infection, *r* would be higher for husbands and wives than for parents and children. Pearson claims that the higher correlation between parents and offspring shows that the trait is due mainly and primarily to heredity.[3] And thus, the tubercle bacillus is regarded as a selective agent attacking the vulnerable tissues of the less well-endowed hereditary strains. The "fittest" manifestly survive in a process of natural selection. This interpretation is very closely related to the tradition developed by Darwin and Galton on the subject of heredity, variation, and selection.

It is not accepted, however, that the biometrical studies show the greater

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[2] E. B. Reuter, *The American Race Problem*, New York, 1927, pp. 178-180.
[3] Hankins, *op. cit.*, pp. 297, 298.

and more significant rôle of heredity in the determination of tuberculosis. In the first place, the higher correlation between parents and children is bound to be due, in part, to the very selective process which the biometricians describe. The weaker and more susceptible children are weeded out in the selective process; the stronger and hardier survive. Since the diathesis may be acquired as well as inherited the likelihood of a relatively high level of immunity is greater as children become adults of marriageable age. Therefore, the correlation between husbands and wives would not be as great as between parents and children. In the second place, the exposure of an infant to a diseased parent is not at all subject to the control of the infant. If parents are ignorant and careless in matters of this kind, there is nothing an infant or a growing child can do about it. An adult of marriageable age may take proper precautions. In the third place, it is generally agreed that the vulnerability of lung tissue of an infant is greater than that of an adult, not only because of the operation of selective agents, but also because of differences in the organism which vary with age. The chemical agents of the body which attack and destroy parasitic infections of this kind are not as active or potent in an infant or child. That there are varying levels of immunity and resistance to parasitic infections of all kinds is admitted. That these levels are often correlated with racial differences is also true. It is certainly not correct, however, to say that the higher value of r for parents and offspring than for husbands and wives is proof that heredity is more important than environment.

Pearson found that the correlation between tuberculosis and certain environmental agents is low. But the consideration of a single environmental factor, such as wages or housing, can give no idea of the effect of environment as a whole—a term which must include, among many other things, the organic environment of the germ cell itself. Tubercular infection, as a trait, is acquired. Various hereditary factors condition the degree of resistance and level of vulnerability. It is also certain that prenatal environmental influence of the maternal organism upon the embryo, and also preconceptual environmental influence of the paternal or maternal organism upon the germ cells, may have similar effects. The method of correlation certainly does not disentangle these varied factors of heredity and environment, much less actually succeed in measuring them.

The Coefficient of Correlation r

The biometricians believe that the coefficient of correlation, r, is an actual measure of heredity. It is important therefore to understand the mathematics of correlation in some detail.[4] Correlation may be positive or negative, that is, direct or inverse. Plus one is the measure of perfect, direct

[4] G. C. Whipple, *Vital Statistics*, 2nd ed., New York, 1923, pp. 445-468.

correlation; minus one is the measure of perfect inverse correlation. Thus, if tall parents invariably give birth to tall children the correlation would be plus one; on the other hand, if tall parents invariably give birth to short children the value of r would be minus one. Ordinarily, as in this instance, there are two related series or groups of individuals which are compared with respect to a single variable trait—stature in this case. The parents constitute one series; their heights are measured and arranged in order. The mean height of the series is determined by the simple process of adding all the items and dividing by the number of individuals in the series. Deviation of each item from the mean is then calculated, and this may be a positive or negative quantity. Standard deviation is now computed. This is found by squaring the deviation of each item in the series from the mean, adding the squares, dividing by the number of items in the series, and determining the square root of this quotient. The result is the standard deviation for the first series. Precisely the same procedure is used for determining the standard deviation of the second series. This series, in the case at hand, consists of the heights of children arranged in order to correspond with the first series. The next step in this somewhat involved procedure is to determine the products of the corresponding items in the two series of deviations. These products are added together and the result divided by the number of items in the series to determine the mean. When this quotient is divided by the product of the standard deviations, the result so obtained is what Sir Francis Galton called the coefficient of correlation, r. Thus if x and y represent deviations from the mean in the two series and $0(x)$ represents standard deviation for the first series, $0(y)$ standard deviation for the second series and n the number of items in each series, then r, the coefficient of correlation, is represented by the following formula:

$$\frac{\text{summation } x\,y}{n\,0(x)\,0(y)}$$

Useful Applications of the Formula

Is the value of r, so calculated, a reliable measure of heredity? The answer given here is definitely in the negative. But before this question is considered in further detail, it is desirable to avoid confusion which may arise at this point. Correlation is a very useful procedure for certain purposes. Many economic, psychological, and sociological studies have profitably used the statistical procedures of correlation. These are valuable in business, government, education, and many other administrative units. For example, a business desires to know the reliability of certain employment procedures involving mental and physical examinations, among other things. Graphic personnel rating scales based upon experience records after six months or more of employment may show a high or low correlation with

the results of employment methods. If the correlation is high, manifestly the techniques of selection and placement preliminary to employment are valuable indexes of future success; they have a prophetic significance. A college administration may correlate the high school records of students with the results of preliminary mental tests, and these in turn with the achievement records in college. This may lead to positive conclusions with respect to (1) the value of high school records as an index of future performance; (2) the value of mental tests as a similar index; and (3) defects in the grading methods of high schools and colleges as well as defects in the mental tests. These studies have demonstrated their value in connection with the problems of personnel guidance and personnel administration. But this type of application of the mathematical procedure of correlation does not show that the same procedure may be used to measure the extent of heredity. Such a problem is qualitatively different and the data of the previous chapter fully warrant this conclusion.

Does *r* Measure Heredity?

A number of biometrical correlations intended to measure the force of heredity are reviewed at this point. It was found that the value of *r* for eye color of father and son was +0.55.[5] This is taken as the measure of the force of heredity in comparison with environment in the determination of eye color. But the Mendelian studies show that the pigmentation of the iris is a unit trait, entirely inherited. Moreover, these traits are paired as dominants and recessives. Brown-eyed parents, for instance, may give birth to blue-eyed children. And this does not mean that environment has anything whatever to do with the blueness of color as the biometrical studies appear to assume. The procedure of correlation has no value whatever for the purpose in view, when the trait is known to be a Mendelian unit. Coefficients of correlation measure the degree of concurrence; they do not measure heredity.[6]

It was found that the value of *r* for stature of father and son was +0.51; stature of mother and son, +0.49; stature of brother and brother, +0.51; stature of brother and sister, +0.55; stature of father and daughter, +0.51; stature of mother and daughter, +0.51; stature of sister and sister, +0.54.[7] These correlations are high; moreover they run closely parallel. Do they measure the force of heredity in the determination of stature? Not at all. Inheritance is certainly a very significant factor in this instance, probably more important than the values of *r* would appear to suggest. Family strains

[5] Hankins, *op. cit.*, p. 232.
[6] Holmes, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-96.
[7] Hankins, *op. cit.*, p. 232. See also J. Davis and H. E. Barnes, *An Introduction to Sociology*, New York, 1927, Ch. 5, "Heredity in Human Society," by F. H. Hankins, p. 360. Cited Raymond Pearl, *Medical Biometry and Statistics*, Philadelphia, 1923, p. 310 for reference to original sources.

and various races are known to be tall or short or of medium height, as the case may be. This does not mean that all members of a related group are equal in height; it does mean that the median height is typical and that it is greater or less than the median height of other groups. Mendelian studies show that certain types of dwarfism are dominant over normal stature; they also show that tallness of stature is, in part, dominant over short stature. But external factors have a very important bearing upon growth and stature. Conditions of warmth and moisture produce typical colors and taller varieties of the lowland shepherd's purse and Chinese primula, as previously described. The Drosophila will produce giants when the proper genes are permitted to combine in the proper surroundings. If these surroundings are lacking, the same unit characters will not produce the giants; likewise, if the proper genes are not combined, the environment necessary to reproduce the taller type is of no effect. In this instance, a certain gene of the X chromosome will give rise to offspring nearly twice the size of the ordinary fruit fly, provided the insects are well fed during a particular period of their larval existence.[8] In the event they are not well fed, the same gene will not produce the giant type; individual specimens without the gene do not become giants no matter how well they are fed.

The Rôle of the Hormones

The hormones also play an important rôle in this connection, and while the ductless glands of the body which generate these hormones are the products of genes, the significant fact remains that the activity of these glands and the kind of hormones produced is subject to modification by external influence. It is known that the lack of iodine in drinking water or in food may result in imperfection of the thyroid hormones. It is also known that one of the two hormones produced by the pituitary gland promotes growth; if the action of this gland is unusually great the process of growth extends beyond the usual size and giants are produced. Deficiency of this hormone causes dwarfism.[9] The germ cell, like the fœtus in embryo, is imbedded in an organic environment—somatic cells in contact with it; moreover, it is literally bathed in hormones. These external conditions interact with the cytoplasm, which in turn interacts with the genes. And this process of interaction, involving both the internal hereditary units and the external environmental conditions, is a continuous process. Coefficients of correlation simply measure the extent of the concurrence produced by the genes and the external conditions in the case of stature here under discussion; or, where heredity is the exclusive agent, r simply measures the extent of the concurrence as produced by the genes. R does not measure the po-

[8] H. S. Jennings, *op. cit.*, p. 133.
[9] H. V. Neal and H. W. Rand, *Comparative Anatomy*, Philadelphia, 1936, p. 463.

tency of heredity in the determination of stature. Heredity may be more important or less important than the value of *r*. If the trait in question is partly inherited and partly acquired, *r* measures the degree of concurrence produced by hereditary *and* environmental influences. If the trait is inherited and environment has nothing to do with it, *r* will measure the extent of the concurrence as produced exclusively by the genes. If the trait is acquired and heredity has nothing to do with it, *r* will measure the extent of similarity in the frequency of distribution as produced exclusively by the environment.

The biometrical studies show that the value of *r* for the distribution of tuberculosis among parents and offspring varies from +0.40 to +0.60; for pairs of siblings, it is +0.48. Some of the biological factors here involved have already been discussed. Parasitic infection is the direct cause in this instance; various environmental and hereditary causes may condition the level of resistance and the vulnerability of somatic tissue. In any case, the coefficient of correlation measures the extent of the concurrence in two related series as produced exclusively by environmental conditions which may or may not favor the communication of the disease, or by a combination of hereditary and environmental conditions which may or may not favor the spread of the infection. It is not a measure of the force of heredity in either case.

The Nature of Intelligence

In a previous connection it has been suggested that intelligence is partly the result of the genes. As an organ of the body, the brain is inherited, just as the human hand, the erect posture, and countless other physical characters are transmitted from parents to offspring via the germ cell. It requires some skill to milk a cow, to play a violin, or to operate a typewriter by the touch system. Manifestly, these specialized abilities of the human hand are acquired. So also, the mental abilities of individuals are acquired. People are not born with ready-made vocabularies. They learn the use of speech in association with their fellows, and so also, in time, the ability to read and write. In the process of manipulation of things, the infant learns to distinguish between the objects of pleasurable sensation and the things identified with painful sensations. Fixed impressions of this kind condition the future reaction, which may be modified under new conditions of stimulation. What people call intelligence develops in this way; it is the result of experience which, broadly speaking, includes the manipulation of things and communication with others. It has been variously defined: (1) as the power of abstraction, which means ability to distinguish between a symbol and the thing or quality which is designated by the symbol; (2) as the power of reasoning logically from cause to effect, by which is implied the ability to

draw logically consistent inferences from certain generalizations or from certain actual situations; (3) as an innate capacity to analyze a given situation into its constituent elements, and then to reorganize these elements in accord with some ideal pattern—the power of analysis and synthesis; (4) as the capacity of an individual to learn by experience and to manage his own affairs with ordinary prudence. Now, it is evident that none of these abilities, capacities, and powers is transmitted directly by the genes; all of them certainly imply cultural influences of many kinds. Moreover, no intelligence test has yet been devised which actually succeeds in distinguishing the innate powers from the effects which are acquired by the use of these powers. The intelligence of the individual is acquired in the process of developing a great variety of skills and abilities which may vary all the way from clutching a bottle and sucking a nipple to the composition of an orchestral symphony score. The trouble with some intelligence tests is not that they are generally useless, but that they pretend to do a great deal more than could possibly be the case.

Biometrical Studies of Mentality

Biometrical studies of the inheritance of mentality show interesting results. The coefficient of correlation for mental ability of brother and sister is +0.49; mental ability of brother and brother, +0.52; mental ability of father and son as shown by Oxford class lists, +0.49.[10] These values are high enough to be significant and merit consideration. Correlation of mentality with environmental factors was found to be negative or inconsequential. For instance, the value of r for the intelligence of sons correlated with the employment of their mothers was found to be —0.16. The conclusion is drawn that heredity is far more important than environment in the determination of intelligence. It is unmistakably true in all instances that the genes place limitations upon mental development. And this holds for the entire range of mental quality, from idiocy and imbecility at one extreme to the highest type of genius at the other extreme. Moreover, the genes play a very important rôle in fixing the actually realized levels of mental growth.[11] But this is far from saying that r is a measure of the force of heredity in the determination of intelligence. It is no such thing. What it really does is to measure the degree of similarity of the distribution about a mean in two series of related variables. The concurrence may be high or it may be low. In any case it is bound to be the result of all of the factors which bear upon the situation. And these factors are external as well as internal. Among the external factors, the hormones are not to be excluded. There is a certain type of the feebleminded known as the cretin; the imbe-

[10] Hankins, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

[11] L. M. Terman has made important studies in this connection.

cility of this type is usually identified with dwarfism. It is known to be the result of serious defectiveness of the thyroid gland. The secretions of this gland may be supplied to the cretin from without, along with other suitable nourishment. When this is done, the process of mental and physical growth continues, and the person becomes normal in both respects. Important elements of nourishment—the vitamins—have been isolated and are now produced synthetically. These will be discussed in further detail in a subsequent connection. It will suffice to say here that these vitamins have the most important effects upon physical health and the growth process, and that the serious lack of them produces diseased conditions. Mental activity and mental growth is conditioned accordingly. Parasitic infections and toxic conditions of the organism may attack the cytoplasm, producing pathological conditions of the brain and nervous systems. Certain glands of the body generate secretions known as enzymes which have important catalytic powers. Some of these have also been isolated and are now produced synthetically. They, too, have important mental as well as physical effects and are conditioned in their activity by exogenous or endogenous toxins, as well as by parasitic infections. To disentangle these varied influences in the determination of intelligence is manifestly an impossible task. To assume that r has the magical power of doing so, and that it actually measures the force of heredity, is unwarranted. The varied influences of heredity and environment interact in such a way as to produce great similarity or great diversity in the distribution of what is called intelligence in two related series. If there is great similarity, r will be positive; if there is great diversity, r will be negative. R measures the extent of the concurrence, and this is partly the result of the gene combinations and partly the result of a most complex variety of external organic and social environmental influences.

Inheritance of Intelligence

It is of course undeniably true that many gene pairs build up the structure of the brain, and that defective genes will produce a defective structure which no possible combination of environmental influences could correct. Just as the human hand may be born brachydactylous, syndactylous, or hexadactylous due to the combinations of defective genes, so also mental disability and incapacity may be the result of similar causes. And as the use, flexibility, and adaptability of the hand for various requirements are necessarily conditioned by the inherited structure, so also the abilities, capacities, and powers of the brain are limited by the effects of the gene combinations. There are many cases of idiocy, imbecility, and feeblemindedness which cannot be corrected or improved by any known methods of treatment or training. Some of these are due mainly, if not entirely, to parasitic infection, such as syphilis, which accounts for a large proportion of idiocy, and others

are due to toxic conditions, such as produced by extreme and habitual addiction to alcohol. In the case of the cretin variety, defective thyroid is responsible. There remains a proportion of cases variously estimated at 25%, 50%, and even as high as 75%, which cannot possibly be accounted for except in terms of defective genes. Some writers insist that feeblemindedness may result from a defect in a single pair of genes. Other writers emphasize the polymerical determination of feeblemindedness in which several pairs of genes, or even many pairs of genes, contribute directly to the condition.[12] So fair and thorough a writer as H. S. Jennings infers that feeblemindedness may result from a single pair of defective genes. Inasmuch as one defective gene in the X chromosome of a mother will produce hæmophilia in one-half of her sons, and since all of the inherited characters are produced by gene combinations, it appears logical to draw the conclusion that feeblemindedness may be a simple Mendelian unit in some cases. When mentally normal parents give birth to a feebleminded child and no amount of treatment or training will improve the condition in any appreciable degree, and when there is all the reason in the world to believe that no conceivable external condition could possibly explain the defect, the inference appears logical that feeblemindedness, in this case, is a simple Mendelian recessive. On the other hand, it may be argued with force and cogency that since normal differences of faculty are polymerically determined, the slighter degrees of feeblemindedness may be similarly inherited in many instances. But this does not exclude the possibility that a defective pair of genes may produce feeblemindedness in offspring. Some studies appear to indicate that the hereditary factors of feeblemindedness are dominants; other studies show that they are recessives. The conclusion is reasonable that differences in mentality are the result partly of inheritance, partly of environment, and that the rôle of either in given cases may vary over a wide range.

Biometricians have supported their procedures and conclusions with the argument that the range of variation of inherited traits is much greater than the range of variation of acquired traits. Thus a high value of r would show a predominance of biological influence. It has not been demonstrated, however, that the range of variation of the innate factors is greater than the range of variation of the complex and greatly diverse conditions external to the germ cells.

Biometrical Measurement of Environment

A series of correlations between certain traits and certain external factors has been elaborated by the biometricians in order to measure the effect of environment. The value of r for eye disease and overcrowding in the home

[12] E. Baur, E. Fischer, and F. Lenz, *Human Heredity*, New York, 1931, translated by E. and C. Paul, p. 431.

was found to be +0.05; for weight of the child and wages of father, the coefficient was +0.10; stature of child and "unhealthy" trade of father, +0.07; liability to tuberculosis and destitution of home, +0.02; stature of child and alcoholism of parent, +0.06; myopia and the age at which children begin to read, —0.08.[13] This list of citations by no means exhausts the studies of this particular kind. The average value of *r* in this series was found to be +0.07. This is taken as the measure of the force of environment. The average coefficient of correlation for the measurement of heredity in the studies previously cited in this chapter, together with many more similar investigations, was found to be +0.50. From this data, the conclusion is drawn that heredity is at least seven times more important than environment in explaining the physical characteristics of people. This conclusion is unwarranted. It is surely obvious that the potency of environment as a factor is not to be measured by the more or less arbitrary selection of one among a great number of external influences. Some of these conditions may be difficult to identify and even more troublesome to measure exactly, but they are no less significant for these reasons. As previously stated, a human trait may be inherited, acquired, or partly inherited and partly acquired. Moreover, the same trait, feeblemindedness for example, may fall in all three categories. If a trait is known to be a Mendelian unit or a sex-linked trait, the use of the biometrical procedure is entirely gratuitous; such is also the case when the trait in question is manifestly acquired. And where the trait is partly inherited and partly acquired, all that one can say for the coefficient of correlation is that it measures the extent to which the internal and external conditions produce concurrence in the deviations from the mean when two related series of variables are compared in this way.

Environmental Agents

The organic environment of vitamins, hormones, parasitic infections, toxins, and enzymes modifies the hereditary characteristics in many important respects. Some of these acquired traits have already been described. A brief summary of the method of action of these external agents—external to the genes—and their significant and vital effects upon physical structure, as well as mental and physical activity, is given at this point. These effects are often confused with the innate characters; a brief consideration will show the importance of intelligent and authentic distinction between inherited and acquired traits. As the study of the former is related to the sociological problems of eugenics, so the study of the latter is related to the sociological problems of euthenics. Eugenics concentrates attention upon the agencies of social control which aim to improve the hereditary quality of a people by the methods of selective breeding. Euthenics, on the other hand,

[13] Hankins, *op. cit.*, p. 262. See also Davis and Barnes, *op. cit.*, p. 360.

is concerned with the effects of environment and the agencies of social control which are directly or indirectly responsible for these conditions. Eugenics is spoken of as negative when it segregates, sterilizes, or otherwise prevents the reproductive union of the carriers of defective genes. It is positive in so far as it stimulates and encourages the marriage and parenthood of the bearers of normal genes. Euthenics may also be subdivided into negative and positive aspects. In dealing with measures which prevent the spread of undesirable acquired traits, it is positive; when it is concerned merely with the ameliorative treatment of defects and disease already acquired, it is negative. The homely and timeworn aphorism that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure may be repeated. But the positive and the negative aspects of eugenics and euthenics cannot be beneficial unless they are based upon the authentic knowledge which science has provided.

The Vitamins

The vitamins are nutritional substances upon which the normal and healthy development of mind and body are dependent. Very small amounts promote growth and prevent disease.[14] They are contained in varying proportions in a great number of foods and the best known have been designated A, B, C, D, and E. Some of these vitamins are produced synthetically and the proportion of each in a long list of foods has been determined.[15] Harry Steenbock has done important work with vitamin D, in particular. This vitamin is sometimes called the sunshine vitamin because it has been discovered that the sun's rays effectually counterbalance the lack of vitamin D in food. It is contained in various animal fats, butter, the yolk of egg, cod liver, halibut liver, and is needed for the development of bone structure. A common disorder known as rickets is the result of deficiency of this vitamin; as the vitamin is supplied, the symptoms of this disease gradually disappear. Bowlegs, crooked limbs, stoop shoulders and other bodily deformities may be due to this cause. These malformations cannot be cured if they have proceeded too far. Children exposed to little sunlight require larger amounts of vitamin D, for this substance contains the calcium which is necessary to transform the cartilage of the bones into the firmness of structure which prevents bowlegs and similar abnormalities. In climates where the winters are very long and the days short, larger quantities of vitamin D are needed in order to make up for the lack of sunshine.

Vitamin C is equally important. The lack of it produces a disease known as scurvy. This disease is common among sailors and soldiers because of the lack of certain fruits and vegetables in the diet. Oranges, tomatoes, lemons,

[14] R. W. Hegner, *op. cit.*, pp. 375, 376. See also P. and R. de Kruif, *Why Keep Them Alive?* New York, 1936.

[15] W. M. Smallwood, I. L. Reveley, G. A. Bailey, *The New General Biology*, New York, 1929, pp. 347-349.

raspberries, apples, onions, and cabbages contain this vitamin. When the diet of infants is lacking in this element of nourishment, the weight is subnormal, intestinal difficulties and other troublesome symptoms appear. Fruit juices will not only prevent, they will also cure scurvy.

Leafy vegetables, such as lettuce, and certain cereals, together with milk and the yolk of eggs, contain vitamin E. This vitamin has an important relation to the fertility of males in certain species of animals. It is indispensable for early development of these animals and the lack of it produces stillbirths.

The absence of vitamin B causes a nervous and muscular disease known as beri-beri, common in India and Ceylon; it is also a cause of digestive derangement. Milk, yeast, fruits, and the outer coats of grains contain this vitamin.

Another substance, vitamin A, is found in milk, butter, yolk of eggs, liver, green leaves, whole wheat, and carrots, among other foods. Eye disease and stunted growth is sometimes due to the absence of this vitamin in the diet.

The Endocrine Glands

Located in various parts of the body are the endocrine glands, sometimes called the ductless glands because they generate secretions which empty directly into the blood stream; these glands condition the mental as well as physical activity of the individual in a truly remarkable manner.[16] Their secretions are called hormones, some of which are prepared from the glands of animals and administered as a substitute for deficiency in the natural product. Others are produced synthetically. It is known that certain defects and disabilities, resulting from abnormalities in the glands themselves, may be corrected in this way. The hormones and their substitutes affect many bodily functions as definitely and positively as strong rays of light affect a photographer's plate. Extensive research has shown that the endocrine glands may be abnormally active or inactive in producing hormone secretion, and that the mental and physical activity of the individual is directly affected. Moreover, it is known that diseased conditions and toxic substances may seriously impair the glandular functions, producing disabilities which understanding and wise treatment correct. The glands and their secretions are the direct products of genes; but like other organs of the body they may be modified by a variety of environmental influences.

The thyroid gland, located in the neck, may secrete too little or too much of the hormone which it produces. A deficiency causes myxedema in adults and cretinism in infants and children. Symptoms of the former are slowness of speech and gait, sensitivity to cold, languor, and depression of spirit

[16] Neal and Rand, *op. cit.*, Ch. 12.

to the point of inability to go about alone. Cretinism is characterized by mental backwardness and retarded growth in particular. These characters of the cretin are often combined in the form of idiocy and dwarfism. The artificially produced hormones, known as thyroxin, correct both myxedema and cretinism. Toxic goiter also is the result of deficiency on the part of this gland. It is endemic in regions which are noted for lack of iodine in drinking water, as around some of the Great Lakes of the United States. This indicates the importance of iodine in the thyroid hormone, a conclusion which has been fully substantiated in other ways. The thyroid controls the iodine balance of the body. Many cases of toxic goiter have been relieved by thyroxin An overactive thyroid, producing large quantities of the hormone, has an important effect upon metabolism: the tissues and foods are burned up at a rapid rate. In consequence, both mental and physical activity are greatly accelerated. An individual with overactive thyroid is likely to be energetic, underweight, and nervous. When the thyroid is underactive, the rate of metabolism is retarded and, likewise, the rate of expenditure of both physical and nervous energy.

The parathyroid glands are located on the back of the thyroid proper; there are four of them, each about the size of an ordinary garden pea. Cases of toxic goiter often require the removal of the thyroid, and if, perchance, the parathyroids are also removed in the course of the operation, marked symptoms of excitability and involuntary muscular contractions result. There is a definite diminution of calcium in the blood, and the conclusion has been demonstrated that these glands regulate the calcium phosphorus balance of the body and play an important rôle in the development of bone structure. Parathormone is an extract prepared from the parathyroid glands; individuals deficient in the hormone of these glands may be returned to a normal condition by use of parathormone. When tumor growths or other diseases of these glands increase the secretion, the resulting oversupply of calcium may cause deforming disease of the bones.

Closely related in function with the parathyroids are the adrenal glands, or suprarenals, which are located close to the kidney. Each of the two parts of this gland produces a distinct secretion. Removal of both glands in animals causes death within a few days. Adrenal secretions combine with the hormones of the parathyroids to maintain the calcium balance of the body. A malady called Addison's disease is known to be the result of deficient secretion in one of the adrenals. When this hormone is administered in the form of an extract called cortin, the symptoms of chronic fatigue, and the desire to do nothing but rest and sleep, slowly disappear. The synthetically produced hormone of the other adrenal gland is known as adrenalin. It plays an important rôle in regulating heart beat, in utilization of carbohydrates, and in maintaining the blood pressure. Certain diseases, such as diphtheria, are known to interfere with the activity of these glands; a

decided lack of the powers of physical and mental endurance has been traced to defects in the adrenals caused by diphtheria.

The pancreas is a large gland located near the stomach. Synthetic production of insulin, the hormone secreted by this gland, has approached a degree of success. Insulin enables the body to burn and to utilize the carbohydrates. Lack of insulin causes diabetes in some individuals. The diabetic patient suffers from excess of sugar in the blood due to failure of the pancreas to supply a sufficient amount of insulin. When this is administered artificially under proper conditions of diet the symptoms of diabetes tend to disappear.

At the base of the brain is located a small gland known as the pituitary. This gland also has an important bearing upon the growth process; inactivity in the production of hormones is reflected in a slowing down or cessation of growth, marked reduction in the secretions of the adrenals and the thyroid and a failure on the part of sex organs to develop. Absence of one of the two hormones produced causes dwarfism; overactivity produces giantism together with marked enlargement of the bones of the face, hands, and feet. The second pituitary hormone is known to have a close connection with the germ glands of the female. This hormone will stimulate sexual maturity in females only if the ovaries function properly. A widely known test for the determination of pregnancy has been devised on the basis of this information. Thus it has been demonstrated that the pituitary and ovary hormones are essential for the female sexual cycle. Many disagreeable symptoms of women, such as headache, irritability, hot flushes, and premature change of life, have been successfully treated because of these discoveries. Sterility in women has been relieved to some extent by the combined action of pituitary and ovarian hormones.

The internal secretions of the germ glands have important bearings upon the development of the secondary sex traits. Berthold discovered about the middle of the last century that the complete removal of the male germ glands from a cock resulted in the disappearance of the secondary sex traits of voice, comb, and wattles. But when he transplanted this gland at some point under the skin where the internal secretions could be absorbed by the blood stream, the secondary sex traits did not disappear. In this way Berthold, who was an obscure teacher in the University of Göttingen, demonstrated conclusively, and for the first time, the importance of the internal secretions.[17] A good deal of evidence has accumulated to show that the secondary sex traits of the male and female are due to the internal secretions—hormones—generated by the germ glands.[18] Steinach, C. Moore, and others have transplanted the germ glands from the body of one sex to the body of the other sex. The substitution of the male germ gland, or testis,

[17] L. Berman, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 32.
[18] Jennings, *op. cit.*, pp. 110, 111.

for the ovary in the body of a young female results slowly in the development of the secondary sex traits of the male. Likewise, when the ovary of the female is substituted for the testis in the body of a young male, the secondary sex characters of the female are gradually developed. Thus, it appears certain that these traits are due to hormones secreted by the germ glands. The germ gland of the female which carries two X chromosomes produces one type of hormone; female characters are the result of this hormone. On the other hand, the germ gland of the male which carries but one X chromosome induces the development of male characteristics.

Germ Disease

When the genes are normal, the hormones well balanced, and all essential vitamins are present in the diet, a most formidable defense is established against the attacks of parasitic microbes and toxins. But even this defense is vulnerable when little colonies of bacillae plant themselves in the lung tissue, intestines, or other organs of the body. And when toxins gain entrance into the body in sufficient quantities to lower the level of resistance to the continued invasions of the tiny parasites and also disturb the normal balance of vitamins and hormones, the vulnerability of the organism is accelerated. The germ diseases, called zymotic diseases, are carried by microscopic or nonmicroscopic animals known as bacillae. They multiply rapidly in favorable media, called cultures. Such maladies as diphtheria, scarlet fever, influenza, measles, tuberculosis, pneumonia, malaria, syphilis, typhoid fever, cholera, smallpox, typhus fever, amœbic dysentery, and many others are communicated from person to person by means of polluted water, milk, mosquitoes, flies, green vegetables, and similar microbe carriers.

Scientific studies of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in particular, have succeeded not only in isolating the germs; they have identified the carriers and developed effectual methods of prevention as well as ameliorative treatment and cures in countless cases. Morbidity rates and fatality rates of germ diseases have been greatly reduced. The general decline in the death rate over the last century has been due largely to work in this field. Antony Leeuwenhoek, a Dutchman of the seventeenth century, worked with lenses until he succeeded in inventing a powerful microscope, strong enough to see single-celled protozoans swimming about in stagnant water, vinegar, and many other media.[19] Spallanzani, in the eighteenth century, devised the most ingenious experiments for studying the behavior of microbes and learned, among other things, that the air is full of them, that an hour or so of hard boiling will kill them, and that they multiply very rapidly by the process of division. In the nineteenth century, Robert Koch isolated

[19] P. de Kruif, *Microbe Hunters*, New York, 1926.

the germ of tuberculosis and learned how to prepare cultures and raise his own colonies for experimental purposes. Louis Pasteur, at about the same time, did important work vaccinating sheep against anthrax, dogs and human beings against hydrophobia; he also discovered bacteria in milk and invented a method, called pasteurization, of destroying them.

Now the strides were more rapid. The deadly germs of cholera were isolated and cultivated artificially by Koch; in this way he studied the behavior of the deadly microbe and brought a cholera epidemic in Calcutta well under control. Émile Roux learned how to produce diphtheria bacillae; Behring discovered an antitoxin for diphtheria; Theobald Smith learned that the protozoan in the blood of cattle suffering from Texas fever is also found in ticks and carried from cow to cow by these infected insects. Ross and Grassi won a decisive victory over malaria, for Ross discovered how the gray mosquito carries malaria to birds, while Grassi showed how mosquitoes carry malaria to men. Walter Reed proved that yellow fever is also carried by mosquitoes, but he was never able to isolate the germ.

Ehrlich worked on syphilis and, after many elaborate experiments, succeeded in developing a formula for an arsenic compound which brought positive results. He called it 606 because it was the 606th combination of chemical elements which he injected into the bodies of his white rats and white mice after having infected them with syphilis. Since then, other methods of attacking syphilis have been discovered. On the theory that it takes a germ to kill a germ, malarial microbes have been injected into syphilitic patients with positive results in some cases.[20] Then the theory was formulated that a high, prolonged fever, induced by the safest means possible, is sufficient to kill the protozoa of syphilis. Electrical current has been used for this purpose, again with positive results in some cases. But the tiny trypanosomes of the white man's horror have a way of hiding out in obscure tissues of the body, multiplying under favorable conditions, and repeating their deadly attacks after all traces of them appear to have been destroyed. Syphilis accounts for a large death rate; its varied effects upon the organism include a significant proportion of mental defectives, paresis, diseases of the arteries, heart disease, locomotor ataxia, cerebral hemorrhage, aneurism, apoplexy, encephalitis, and Bright's disease. Like tuberculosis, however, it is diminishing in frequency and fatality. This is certainly due in part to greater precautions and effective treatment, especially in the early stages, but reliable authorities assert that the level of immunity of the white race against these two plagues is rising, not only on account of natural selection, but also because these bacillae have a life cycle of their own and become less deadly in consequence.[21]

[20] P. de Kruif, "The Pale Horror," *The Forum*, August and September, 1932.
[21] M. Fishberg, "The Tuberculosis Game," *The American Mercury*, February, 1928.

Toxins

Toxins may be generated within the body by a great variety of infections and disturbances. A chronic condition of fatigue resulting from habitual overwork is manifest in the lack of neuro-muscular co-ordination. It is registered in a diminished capacity for work, lowered levels of resistance to disease, increase in accident risk and growing symptoms of many varied nervous and physical ailments. Fatigue means a disturbed metabolism whereby the toxic products of waste and burned tissue are not carried off; the process of renewal of tissue lags until a condition of complete exhaustion follows. Toxins are also generated by parasitic infections such as tuberculosis, diphtheria, and scarlet fever; the glands, heart, kidneys, and other organs often suffer irreparable damage in consequence. In the case of extreme addiction to alcohol, the toxin is not generated within the body but introduced from outside. This is also true of drug habits. These exogenous poisons produce greatly varied effects depending upon the nature of the noxious substance, the quantity consumed, and related circumstances. Alcoholism is known to have connections with heart disease, ailments of the liver and digestive tract, together with certain nervous and mental disorders. Many types of defect are due to industrial poisoning, such as lead, phosphorus, arsenic, mercury, tetrachlorethane, and trinitrotoluol. The causes, nature and effects of these toxins are generally well understood, and the risks of occupational disease can be greatly lessened, if not entirely prevented, by the proper use of scientific information. These toxins may gain access into the body by breathing contaminated air, by eating food which has absorbed the noxious substance, or through the pores of the skin by direct contact. Manifestly, all of these diseased conditions and disturbances may produce permanent defects which are obviously classified as acquired traits. They have been fatal in countless instances.

Enzymes

In recent years considerable attention has been given to the enzymes. These are external secretions of the pancreas, gastric, intestinal, and other glands which act in the nature of a ferment. They are catalytic agents dissolving food particles and making them available for distribution in the blood stream. The pancreas, previously described, is an organ of external as well as internal secretion.[22] It is provided with ducts which carry the enzymes into the intestine. These enzymes are of three types: trypsin, which makes proteins soluble; diastase, which breaks up molecules of carbohydrates; and steapsin, which renders fats soluble. Similar enzyme-producing glands are located in the stomach and the intestines, as well as other parts

[22] Neal and Rand, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

of the body. Pepsin is an important enzyme generated by the gastric gland of the stomach. The enzymes are found not only in the external secretions of special glandular organs but also in the bioplasm of most if not all of the cells.

Scientific classification of these chemical substances, their reduction to chemical formulae, and consequent reproduction by synthetic process, together with the study of varied effects upon the organism of a deficiency or excess of these secretions, has produced notable discoveries. Toxic and parasitic conditions of the organism interfere with the normal production and activity of the enzymes.

Conclusions

The conclusion may be drawn that the organic environment of vitamins, hormones, parasitic bacillae, toxins, and enzymes produces many and greatly varied effects upon the somatic structure. These effects are not to be confused with the genes, since the latter produce inherited traits, whereas the former are acquired traits. It is also concluded that the biometrical method of correlation is inadequate and unreliable not only in identifying innate and acquired characters but also in evaluating the relative importance of heredity and environment. Scientific studies have identified the genes as the carriers of inherited traits; other scientific studies, equally exact and painstaking, having identified the vitamins, hormones, microbes, toxins, and enzymes. Many effects, both mental and physical, of these environmental agents have been considered inherited; it is clear that the scientific basis for clarification has been established. The traits of the individual are not only preconditioned by the genes of his mother and father; they are also preconditioned by the organic environment of the parental cells before fertilization of the ovum by the sperm. In addition to this, there are the direct environmental influences of the maternal organism upon the developing embryo during the period of pregnancy. For the hormones, vitamins, microbes, toxins, and enzymes play a significant rôle after, as well as before, conception. Moreover, they play an equally vital part in the body of the infant before, as well as after, birth. And this they continue to do throughout the cycle of a man's lifetime.

Problem Questions

1. In what order would you evaluate the following factors as causes of the changing incidence of tuberculosis and syphilis: (1) public health work preventing infection, (2) natural selection and higher levels of immunity, (3) the life cycle of the bacillae with corresponding change in virulence.

2. Brown-eyed parents with heterozygous gene pairs will give birth to brown-eyed and blue-eyed children in the ratio of three to one. Does this prove that the importance of heredity in producing brown eyes is three times as great as

environment? Would the biometricians say that blue eyes are due to environment in this case?

3. What are the mental and physical characteristics of a eunuch? How do you explain these traits?

4. F. R. Lillie discovered a type of cattle known as free martins. The free martin is sterile and possesses male as well as female traits. It is invariably one of a pair of twins, the other twin being a normal male. Account for the characteristic traits of a free martin.

5. Texas Guinan died of amœbic dysentery after a visit to the Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago. An epidemic of this disease broke out in Chicago at about this time. Investigation revealed that the water supply systems of certain hotels were connected with the systems of waste disposal. Can such epidemics be prevented? If so, how?

6. De Kruif uses the phrase "hidden hunger" in his book *Why Keep Them Alive?* He means that the essential vitamins are lacking even though sufficient food is consumed. What are some of the effects of hidden hunger?

7. A bulletin of the Wisconsin Anti-tuberculosis Association for February 10, 1937 points out that the death rate from tuberculosis in the fourteenth ward of Milwaukee was 133 per 100,000 population per year. This is three times the state rate for the same period and four times the rate for the upper east side. Since the fourteenth ward is a poverty-stricken area, is hidden hunger a likely factor?

8. Is heredity a factor in producing the differences described in the preceding question?

9. Early in the year 1937, the *Chicago Tribune* conducted a campaign against syphilis. This campaign was dropped rather suddenly, and the failure to accomplish anything was explained editorially on the ground that it is difficult to discuss a matter of this kind over the radio. Is this an acceptable explanation?

10. Several European countries, notably Sweden, have succeeded in practically eliminating syphilis from their people. How was this accomplished?

11. Why is the United States backward in matters of this kind? Would not the same methods of elimination work in this country?

12. How do you explain the fact that several well-known scientists have advocated the biometrical procedure as a method of measuring the importance of heredity?

13. One of the effects of syphilis is encephalitis, an inflammation of the brain sometimes described as sleeping sickness. It has been found that the correlation between juvenile delinquency and the victims of this disease is high. How would you explain this correlation?

14. Certain studies show that the incidence of paresis is high in the crowded, low-rent areas of large cities. It is lower in the outlying districts, and lowest in the suburbs. How would you account for this variation?

15. The distribution of dementia præcox shows a similar geographical variation, but the distribution of manic-depressive insanity does not. Explain. (Consider the temperamental differences described in Chapter 13.)

16. In 1935, Dr. Irving S. Cutter estimated that there are 500,000 *new* cases of syphilis in the United States each year. How do you account for this enormous rate of increase?

Suggestions for Additional Reading

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16

CHARACTERISTICS OF RACES

RACE MAY BE defined tentatively as a relatively stable group of inherited characters. This definition approaches the subject from a biological standpoint. It is desirable, however, to point out at the very beginning that race may be studied from distinctly different angles and that there is a positive value in each one of these. For instance, there is an anthropo-geographical point of view, a psychological, and a cultural, as well as a biological aspect of race. The literature of the subject is so replete with exploded theories, contradictory conceptions, and unilateral interpretations that the student of sociology should be fully aware of the complexity of the problems of race. Previous discussions have shown that race is an important factor of social and cultural evolution and the sociologist is interested in the subject primarily in this connection. Biological, anthropo-geographical, and other aspects of race contribute to the knowledge which is essential in working out the problems of social structures and social processes. These aspects will be delineated at this point, with special concern for the sociological applications and implications of each one of them.

PHYSICAL TRAITS OF NEGRO, MONGOLIAN AND CAUCASIAN

The biological approach differentiates the great races of mankind in terms of inherited bodily characters such as stature, head form, pigmentation, color of eye, shape of nose, facial angle, color and structure of hair. For instance, the Negro skull is narrow, long, and squat; the nasal bones are small and flat; the jaw is markedly prognathous, and the nasal orifices are low and round. The "Nordic" skull is easily distinguished by its large, strongly arched, long and narrow cranium; long, narrow and prominent nasal bones; upright, orthognathic profile; long and narrow face, and strongly developed chin. Mongoloids, like Negroids and Caucasians, are subdivided into many branches, but certain features are generally marked: the prominent cheek bones; flattened face; broad and flat nose, but not so much so as the Negroids; the Mongolian fold, which is a loose covering of skin stretching in front of the upper lid from the side of the nose to the middle of the eye disappearing gradually as it passes outwards; the yellowish pigmentation of skin; stiff, black hair with quadrangular cross section; variable stature; and head form which ranges from medium-broad to broad.

It is important to add that these characterizations are generalized in order to illustrate the biological approach. From this point of view, the races represent subspecies of *homo sapiens*. A more complete characterization of the Negro would call attention to the following typical traits: the tumidity of the lips gives the mouth a distinctive aspect; the nose is extremely flat and wide; cheek bones, jaws, and chin are prominent and well developed; the nostrils come very near to showing as transverse slits; the dark brown tint of the skin varies in depth; the hair and eyes are black; the rounded forehead and flattened vertex of the skull are peculiar; stature varies, but the mean is high; body hair is not prominent, but the hair on the scalp has a curious spiral twist.

European Races: Physical Traits and Geographic Distribution

The white race is very composite, so much so that a generalized characterization is impossible. European races are commonly described as Nordic, Mediterranean, Alpine, and Dinaric. Nordic groups are marked by tallness of stature; well-developed body build; the cranium is long and narrow with a conspicuously projecting occiput; the nose is long and slender often marked with a high bridge; the chin is well developed, but the cheek bones are not prominent; eyes are light in color ranging from blue to grey; the skin is fair and extremely sensitive to the sun; the hair is fair or reddish, soft, straight, or slightly waved; the face is long and narrow.

Mediterranean people are small in stature; the cranium is long and narrow, but smaller than the Nordic; the face is small and oval; the nose is straight and rather prominent although smaller and wider than the Nordic; often the frontal-nasal angle is flat like the characteristic "Greek profile"; eyes and hair are dark brown and the skin also has a brownish color which varies considerably in depth. This race occupies the coastal region of the Mediterranean and is especially numerous in Spain, Portugal, southern Italy, the northern territory of Africa from Egypt to Morocco, the islands of the Mediterranean, and the southern part of the Balkan peninsula. The Nordic race occupies northern and northwestern Europe and is especially dense in the coastal region of the North Sea and the Baltic. This race has almost exclusive possession of certain parts of Sweden and Scotland; it is prominent in parts of England and northern Germany and extends as an inconspicuous element of the population in southern and eastern Europe. It is found in northern Italy, Austria, Switzerland, and parts of France, but in these more central and southern European sections intermixture with other races has caused considerable dilution of the typical features.

The Alpine race is commonly found scattered over a wide area of central Europe from east to west across the Alps. In central and southwestern France it is relatively free from admixture; it extends in more diluted form

from Tyrol and the eastern Alps to central and eastern Germany overlapping with Nordic territory. This race is found southward as far as central Italy, where it overlaps with Mediterranean country. Alpines are moderate of stature; the cranium is round and the forehead upright; hair and eyes are medium brown in color; the skin is not so light as the Nordic but lighter than the Mediterranean; the face is broad and round and the chin pointed; the frontal eminence is well marked and the occiput is moderately curved but not especially prominent; the nose is shorter and broader than in other European races. A fourth European race, called the Dinaric race, is prominent in the Balkan countries, particularly in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and less so in Albania, Slavonia, and Croatia; it extends in one direction to the southern point of the Balkan peninsula where it is diluted with the Mediterranean type, and spreads in a southeasterly direction across the straits into Asia Minor. Here it can scarcely be marked off from the so-called "Near Eastern Race." It also extends into the Alpine region across the Austrian highlands and far into southern and even central Germany. The type is clear cut: hair is straight and almost black; the head is short, high, and not very wide, giving a medium cephalic index; the occiput is so flattened that it appears as if the back of the head had been chopped off; the nose is large, prominent, and often conspicuously hooked; an aquiline type of nose and a sharply curved hawk nose are about equally represented; the face is long, and the stature is considerable; the growth of beard is particularly heavy.[1] While these four races, variously intermingled, make up the bulk of the European population, certain other types are represented: Mongoloids have pushed in from the east to some extent, Arabs from the southwest, and Jews are found in scattered settlements all over Europe.

Sociological Meaning of Race

It is noteworthy that races often stand in relationships of domination and submission. This was conspicuously true of the Negro in the United States before the Civil War and is still substantially the same in spite of the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln and the subsequent amendments to the Constitution of the United States guaranteeing legal and political equality. Superordination and subordination of the races of Europe show that the Nordic has been the ruling race. The stratification of society along racial lines has been obliterated to a large extent in Europe and still more so in other countries, such as India, where the caste lines remain as symbolic survivals of the earlier racial divisions. A conquering race of

[1] Description of the physical characteristics of the European races and their geographical distribution may be found in H. F. K. Günther, *Rassenkunde Europas,* München, 1929, pp. 9, 14-30 (Nordic), 30-44 (Mediterranean), 44-52 (Alpine). See also Baur, Fischer, and Lenz, *Human Heredity,* translated by E. and C. Paul, New York, 1931, pp. 186-200. These references include valuable illustrative plates.

people provides a ruling aristocracy, as William the Conqueror did in England; the conquered must submit to the will of their overlords. In this way, the structure of a society is built upon the division of races; a dual morality develops, one for the victors, the other for the vanquished.[2] Economic and social division of labor becomes fixed as the dominant race produces a leisure class devoted to philosophy, religion, science, and the fine arts. Hence the biological characters of the dominated races become *symbols of inferiority* while the biological characters of the dominant races become *symbolic of superiority.* The common ideal of an aristocracy, such as French *noblesse,* and Prussian *landadel,* creates a sense of unity which is reflected in bodily characters as well as in moral and mental attributes. And this is essentially the sociological meaning of race: the moral and mental unity of thought and feeling is forged out of the common physical resemblances in the course of the historic process of social interaction. Race in this sense is achievement, not something to which a person belongs, but something which a person possesses. When the cultural unity slowly begins to disintegrate and disappear, the distinctive biological characters of race likewise disappear. This is largely the result of direct and indirect selective influences which steadily increase intermixture with other races and dilute the original purity of the race.

Scientific Analysis of Race

Scientists have done some work with the concept of race and if there is anything left of it after all of their critical scrutiny they cannot be held accountable. For some of them have reached the conclusion that there is no such thing as race; that race is an abstraction, an intellectualized ideal for which there is no corresponding reality in nature. The process of reasoning, carried on by one investigator where his predecessor left off, is most illuminating, for it shows how the procedures of scientific research may lead step by step to a position which is tantamount to the negation of the values of life. This process will be described in some detail.

Earlier definitions and classifications of race were relatively simple. Blumenbach used skull forms as a criterion of race; Topinard classified according to skin color and shape of nose; Friedrich Müller conceived of race in terms of language structure and hair; Huxley relied mainly upon skin color. Cuvier produced an interesting interpretation in 1817 based upon three sons of Noah—Shem, Ham, and Japheth—who founded the Semitic, Hamitic, and Japhetic races. This was a theological counterpoise to the more realistic studies of Blumenbach who worked out the following classification in the latter part of the eighteenth century: Caucasian, Mongolian, Malayan, American, and Ethiopian. With this stimulus to research, the knowledge of

[2] L. Gumplowicz, *Der Rassenkampf,* Innsbruck, 1928.

races and sub-races increased rapidly. Ernst Haeckel discovered 12 races in 1873, 34 in 1879. Paul Topinard found 16 in 1878 and 19 in 1885; Deniker identified 13 races with 30 subdivisions in 1889, 17 with 29 subdivisions in 1900.[3] Huxley produced a classification different from all of these. Faced with this medley of contradictory conclusions, there was nothing left for the anthropologists to do but get busy with their calipers and meter sticks for the purpose of making some kind of order out of all of this chaos. But it was discovered that there is no final order; that the races of man defy all efforts of scientific classification; that no scientific definition and conception of race is possible. And this was only one step removed from saying that there is no such thing as race, and that the scientists interested in the subject had been chasing an illusion.

Skin Color as Criterion

It was perceived quickly enough that skin color can be no criterion of race. There is so much variation and overlapping. The skin color of many a dusky Egyptian or Persian is very dark indeed, much more so than the pigmentation of many a mulatto living in the United States; but this does not make a Negro out of an Egyptian or a white man out of a mulatto. In Washington Island, just north of Door County, Wisconsin, one will find a considerable settlement of Finlanders. Certain characteristic features clearly mark the Mongolian ancestry of these people, but the complexion is fair. By the test of pigmentation they belong to the Caucasian group, but by other tests they belong to the Mongolian group. A Turkish gendarme of Konia will show many typical Mongolian features; but the tint of his skin could easily be mistaken for a mildly sunburned Yankee. The composite character of many biologically stabilized groups due to intermixture, the wide range of variation within the primary and secondary racial groups, and the consequent widespread overlapping of character from group to group make it futile to classify races according to skin color.

Skull as Criterion

The skull has been used for the same purpose. Mathematical determination of indexes places this work upon a high level of precision. If the ratio between the width and length of the cranium is less than 75%, the type is called dolichocephalic; if it is 80% or more it is called brachicephalic; when the ratio varies between 75% and 80% it is called mesocephalic. It was Blumenbach who used skull form as a criterion of race. Nordics are typically dolichocephalic; Alpines are brachicephalic. Mongolian people vary from a medium broad to a broad form of head; Ethiopians are com-

[3] F. H. Hankins, *The Racial Basis of Civilization*, New York and London, 1926, pp. 262, 263.

monly long-headed. Mediterranean people are dolichocephalic, and the Dinaric race is mesocephalic. But of course this conception would not place Nordics, Negroes, and Mediterraneans in the same racial group simply because each is dolichocephalic. There are many other characteristics of the skull not to be ignored: the occiput, the frontal angle, the curvature of the dome, projection of the forehead over the eye sockets, and shape of forehead, to mention the more conspicuous ones. Nevertheless, there is considerable variation, and when the skull is considered in terms of a combination of characteristic features, this variation becomes multiple in form. It often happens that certain features of the skull characteristic of one racial type and other features characteristic of other races are combined. Identification becomes impossible. This may be attributed to intermixture; it is important to add, however, that changes in habitat cause changes in the vitamin content of food as well as changes in the endocrine balance. The studies of Franz Boas have shown how quickly the head form may alter markedly in a new environment, but whether these variations are due to vitamins, hormones, or both has not been clarified. Even so, it is found that the skulls of a particular race may be arranged serially with respect to a single cranial trait or a combination of cranial features; it is found that there is great variation about the mean, which extends far beyond the point of overlapping with the variations of other races about their means in respect to the same characters. And now the conclusion must be drawn that the averages so calculated are not representative of "race" at all, but rather of the land or territory from which the specimens are selected. And this is exactly the observation made by J. Ranke in his consideration of this problem.

Variation and Overlapping

Sumner has stated that great confusion in the use of the term "race" is due to the attempt to define races by their boundaries, and that this difficulty may be avoided by thinking of race as a group clustered around a mean with respect to some character such as skin color, head form, and the like. In this way the factors of variation about an average over a wide range and consequent overlapping are taken into account. Professor Hankins recognizes the value of this distinction when he defines race in terms of a combination of traits which are inherited together within a limited range of variability. This point of view makes it necessary to fix the limits of variation, and this is not an easy matter. Moreover, the anthropologist naturally makes his studies and measurements of people who are very much alike in many respects and who have lived under common conditions of life over many generations. This is only another way of saying that a generalized type must be taken as a starting point. This type is manifestly a

more or less intuitive creation which exists in the mind of the observer. Hence the selection of variants for the determination of a mean within fixed limits of variation begs the whole question from the beginning, since it is assumed that individuals so chosen are representative of a "race" for which the criteria are in process of calculation. If the limits of variation of certain characters for different races were mutually exclusive, that would be one thing; but such is not the case. This means widespread overlapping and impossibility of identification. Franz Boas in his *Mind of Primitive Man* has called attention to the fact that the variations within ethnic groups with respect to certain traits are greater than the variations between such groups.[4] Thus, it is again pointed out that there is widespread overlapping with respect to skull formation, cranial volume, and other traits. The explanatory factors are by no means restricted to the new and ever renewed gene combinations which result from cross breeding. There is widespread variation of type due to the requirements of acclimatization in different habitats. These habitats are known to be related not only to the vitamin content of food but also to the activity of the hormone-producing glands. That the skull form will change definitely under new conditions of life has been conclusively substantiated. What has been said with respect to skin color and skull formation may also be said with respect to other traits, such as hair and nose form, which have been used to identify races.

Typical Combination of Traits

Hence it became necessary to conceive of race in terms of several characters associated into types. And this led logically to the statement of generalized types as illustrated in the beginning of this chapter. If race is a complex of traits, inherited together within a limited range of variability, the question must be raised: precisely what traits are included in this combination? Obviously, one may conceive of two or more traits inherited together in this way. Will the selection of skin color and skull form be sufficient? Is this combination superior to the selection of facial angle and hair, or nasal index and stature? As the number of traits combined increases, manifestly the number of individuals who actually conform to the type diminishes. If skin color and head form used separately as means of identity lead to confusion, it follows readily enough that the use of both in combination only adds to the difficulties. And when several characters are combined, the situation becomes hopeless. An illustration will clarify the situation. Suppose stature and hair color are selected. It must be shown that these characters are associated, as for instance, tall stature with blonde hair and short stature with dark hair. It must now be shown that light hair

[4] F. Boas believes that all races are equally endowed in their innate aptitudes and abilities. See his *The Mind of Primitive Man*, New York, 1911, Ch. 1.

is more often associated with tallness than with shortness of stature. But we are dealing now with two variables; it is self-evident that the mathematical probability of variation is multiplied as the number of characters combined into a single type increases.

Every individual possessing the proper combination would belong to the "race" so identified. Jews are often tall and blonde, so are Turks. Manifestly, it would be absurd to place them in the same race with the Nordics of Sweden and Scotland. In the Mediterranean race, dark hair is associated with small stature, but in the Dinaric race, dark hair is associated with tallness of stature. The combination simply doesn't work; neither does any other combination. Overlapping of characters is multiplied, as the number of traits selected increases; when Ripley asked Otto Ammon, a German anthropologist, for an example of the Alpine type, the latter, who had measured great numbers, replied that he had never seen such a specimen.[5] Ammon's brachicephalic Alpines were either too tall or too fair or else they possessed other features which they should not have had. Ripley points out in his *Races of Europe* that the most frequent combination of hair color and eye color would exclude two-thirds of the population in nearly every area of Europe. When he added a third trait, the proportion found combining all three was much smaller. Adding a fourth or fifth reduced the proportion to insignificant ratios.

Intellectual Idealization of Type

The process of scientific scrutiny and detailed analysis comes to a conclusion at this point. A distinction is drawn between the "racial" type as conceived in the imagination and the reality found in nature. Such a generalized type of Mongolian or Ethiopian as described at the outset of this chapter is reached by a process of selecting or abstracting certain traits found more or less commonly in a given area and recombining these into an ideal type. It would not be a matter of amazement to find that no single example of the ideal type could actually be found in a given area. Hence the conclusion appears valid that there is no such thing as race; that race is simply an abstraction from reality, an intellectualized ideal which may exist in the mind of an observer, but has no corresponding objective reality in nature. Nullification of the concept of race is the result. This may prove to be a valuable tool in the struggle for freedom of subject races everywhere, since the symbols of domination and submission are destroyed. It has the effect of breaking up the solidarity of dominating races and strengthening the feeling of unity of dominated races. In short, the negation of race is a very useful

[5] W. Z. Ripley, *The Races of Europe*, New York, 1899, pp. 107, 108. This book contains a detailed statement of the physical and ethnic traits, together with the geographical distribution of the races of Europe.

and convenient instrument in the struggle for the collapse of a culture on the part of those who have no interest in its integrity and survival. The scientist, who represents in many ways one of the finest products of the culture which reared him, inadvertently and unwittingly becomes an instrument of destruction and dissolution. If the process is slow and escapes the eyes of all but a wary few, it is none the less real. And this is precisely the reason why certain writers of today have rejected the scientific methods of studying such problems as race and substituted the methods of intuition in their stead. Intuitive methods, of course, are unreliable and useless when they are employed by people who have no appreciation of the meaning of scientific discipline and training; but when they are used by thinkers who understand very well the meaning of this discipline and training, and who understand as well the limitations of science and its tools, these methods of analysis and reasoning may produce positive results. Race is only one example of a condition of intellectual chaos which the purely detached and presumably impersonal procedures of science have contributed to our modern life. These methods have given us many good things which need not be enumerated here; it is an indefensible stupidity to assume that these blessings are unmixed. Science and invention have given us our modern economic system and along with it a number of things that do not appear to anyone as unmixed blessings. Today people are coldly and carefully evaluating the negative aspects of some of these discoveries and achievements from the point of view of cultural integrity and survival. They feel the rising tide of color, and not without reason; or it may be the rising tide of communism, and not without reason.

Ultimate Criteria of Race

There are many characteristics of race which defy the so-called scientific methods of the anthropologists. For instance, the races have characteristic body odors which are pleasant or unpleasant, depending mainly upon the race to which a person belongs. Facial expressions, gestures, and grimaces are often characteristic of race. The sound of voice in song, speech, and laughter is frequently far more significant as a mark of race than the usual bodily characters. Most people who have lived among colored folk have no difficulty at all in identifying the rich, resonant bass voice of the male Negro. There is an unmistakable quality about the Russian Slavic sound of voice in song, speech, and laughter which marks it off from other races. Movements of the head, particularly in combination with other bodily movements, are often typical. The distribution of flesh over different parts of the face and head may and often do afford a distinctive aspect of appearance. Characteristic quality of facial expression is more often identified with the distribution of flesh than it is with such a mark as the cephalic index. A man who

has lived and worked with race horses all of his life knows a thoroughbred when he sees one. So also, the well-trained and experienced observer of racial types and traits has little difficulty in identifying his specimens. He does not have to use his measuring sticks and calipers. Literally thousands of associations are established in his memory, and these do not have to do with one or two or even a dozen characters of race; they include a wide range of features, some of which lend themselves to precision of measurement; others do not. It follows conclusively that the generalized statement of type as made by the trained expert and widely experienced observer is the only valid criterion of race we possess. The politician knows well enough that race is no mere fiction of the imagination even if there are a few scientists who seem to have unlearned all they ever knew about the subject.

The Temperament of the Negro

Race has a psychological aspect which is quite as significant as the biological point of view. The mental and temperamental qualities of race are not invariably distinguishable as inherited traits; they are often acquired traits or conditioned reflexes which represent adjustments to environment; more often they are combinations of inherited and acquired characters. It is impossible in many instances to distinguish between the effects of heredity and environment. A generalized statement of characteristic reactions again offers the best approach to the consideration of these problems. The Negro, for example, is typically extrovert; his sensory response to stimulus is more active than his analytical processes, for he lives largely in a world outside of his head; he shows a tendency to select the artistic rather than the utilitarian values of the culture in which he lives; he is commonly described as good-natured, improvident, excitable, convivial, and pleasure-loving. Like a child, his feelings may be exceedingly intense for the moment, but they do not run very deep; he finds it easy to forget, more difficult to remember; aggressive self-assertion is not a characteristic aspect of his psycho-physical endowment.[6] These are qualities which may be taken to explain the fact that the Negro was well accommodated to his slave status throughout most of the period of his legal subjection to the white man in America. As a rule the Negro lives cheerfully and light-heartedly from day to day; foresight and independence of judgment are not well developed; momentary successes are likely to intoxicate him; his good-natured indifference often fluctuates with a feeling of hopeless depression; ambition, the spirit of enterprise and tenacity of will are not at all marked in the Negro. His musical talents and oratorical gifts are pronounced. A person attending a colored religious service is impressed by the verbosity and emotional self-intoxication of the orator; also by the frenzied enthusiasm and exuberant exaltation of his congregation.

[6] E. B. Reuter, *The American Race Problem*, New York, 1927, pp. 103-105. J. Dowd, *The Negro in American Life*, New York and London, 1926, Ch. 52.

Jazz music is a creation of Negro endowment. After the great war of the powers, 1914-1918, it served to release the tension of European belligerents and gained a temporary conquest in consequence. Experience with Negroes in the army at that time demonstrated their loyalty and fighting ability; but it also revealed a lack of initiative and fitness for responsibility of leadership. Under the stimulus of the white man's civilization the Negro maintains a certain level of sobriety and self-discipline. When thrown back entirely upon his own resources, his plane of living reverts to lower levels of fetishism, voodooism, and direct dependence upon nature. Experience of the Negro in Haiti and Liberia afford evidence.[7] The relatively high development of sensory and emotional faculties helps to explain their natural gifts for music, song, and oratory; the relative lack of critical and intellectual faculty explains their corresponding weakness of political and organizational structures. It is more than significant that the Negro in America, after nearly a century of "freedom," tacitly accepts the superiority of the white man's ways; the ideal patterns of the latter are models of excellence for the former. Hundreds of mental tests and intelligence scores appear to demonstrate the inferiority of the Negro. These measurements are open to criticism on many points which cannot be enumerated in this connection. It is sufficient to point out that the Negro in America is forced to make the best possible adjustment to a civilization which is essentially alien. Under these circumstances, it is entirely defensible to evaluate his powers and capacities in terms of the requirements of life under the conditions as they actually exist for him. From this point of view, it can be said with assurance that the occupational distribution of the Negro, which finds him well represented on the level of menial tasks and simple handicraft performance, but not well represented on the levels of responsible leadership and professional achievement, cannot be attributed merely to historical accident. The innate factors have to be reckoned into the account. And these may well be interpreted from the point of view of the exigencies of adaptation to the climate and geographical environment of a tropical country. The necessities of adaptation to a different environment, both cultural and physiographic, are manifestly the only controlling criteria of success so long as he endeavors to work out his problems of existence and survival under these new conditions.

Racial Subdivisions

There are types of Negroid people for whom the above characterization does not hold: Pygmies and Bushmen in Africa, Negritoes of the Philippine Islands, and the Blackfellows of Australia. These paleolithic subraces illustrate the richness of the differentiation of the human species. It would be

[7] J. K. Vardaman, United States Senate Speech, February 6, 1914. Published in A. B. Wolfe, *Readings in Social Problems,* Boston, 1916, pp. 705, 706.

out of place, however, to venture a characterization of these types in this connection, either from an anthropological or a psychological point of view.

This differentiation of type is paralleled, not only in the Caucasian race, but also in the Mongolian race. Eskimos of Alaska, Indians of America, Chinese, Japanese, Burmese, and Siamese are Mongolian types. The Alpine race of Europe is often described as Eurasian because of Mongolian admixture which occurred centuries ago. The Mongols are civilization builders. Incas in Peru, Aztecs in Mexico, and the Mayas in Yucatan built three great empires on the continent of America. Each one of these races was closely related to the Mongols. Chinese culture has existed in the form of an organized state for 4,000 years and bears witness to the high endowment of these people. The Japanese are more diluted, racially, than the Chinese: admixture of the Mongol with the earlier native non-Mongolian inhabitants of Japan (the Ainu), together with infusion of Polynesian stocks, accounts for the Japanese type of today. Mongolian ancestry is also apparent, although greatly diluted, in the Hungarian of Europe, the Turk of Anatolia, the Russian Slav, Esthonians, and Finns of the Baltic region. The yellow race today, under the leadership of the Japanese, is making a strong bid for world dominion.

Psychological Characterization of the Japanese

The Japanese are particularly noted for their fighting quality, power of self-control, collective discipline, capacity for self-sacrifice, indomitable perseverance, and high intelligence. In California they have a reputation for frugality, simplicity of life, self-denial, industry, loyalty, and steadfast determination to reach their goals. These traits are reflected in low standards of living, high rates of reproduction, a stable family life, and unremitting effort to realize their ambitions. Hence they underlive and outbreed the white man, competing favorably and successfully on the terms of moral and legal equality. Their knowledge and appreciation of health and hygiene makes it possible for them to capitalize their biological gains in the form of a high net increase of population from decade to decade. At the same time, they have prudence, foresight, and initiative, by which they have learned how to capitalize their economic gains. These qualities mean in effect a slow but steady process of substitution of Japanese children for the unborn children of native Americans. And this, of course, is equivalent to a tendency toward the realization of dominating majorities in certain areas, with consequent displacement of cultural values—in short, the ascendancy of the Mongol and the decline of the Caucasian. This merely expresses a trend. The small numbers of Japanese in California give no occasion for concern, much less alarm. Nevertheless, the situation was considered serious enough to warrant the enactment of anti-alien laws in California and the Oriental

exclusion clause of the Johnson Immigration Act of 1924. In the year 1934, there was trouble in Arizona which resulted in the forced migration of some Japanese families.

Tests of school children in California show that the Japanese are quite equal in performance and ability to the children of European origin.[8] Their astonishing powers of adaptability and assimilation have been fully demonstrated in the remarkable growth of the Japanese Empire over the last fifty years. The Japanese diplomat is generally shrewd, farsighted and clever, but at times he displays a certain impetuousness and impatience which lead to indiscretion. Such a practice as hara-kiri bears witness to the self-abnegation of the Japanese and their high devotion to the common cause of patriotism. After the Japanese signed the Washington Disarmament Pact of 1922 which guaranteed the territorial integrity of China, the Covenant of the League of Nations which sealed the finality of the territorial *status quo* and provided amicable means for settling disputes, and the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact which outlawed war as an instrument of national policy, the subsequent military invasion and political domination of Manchukuo and Jehol reveal an intellectual subtlety, diplomatic finesse, and tenacity of purpose which are not often combined so effectually.

Stories which tell of the powers of endurance of the Japanese soldier, his amenability to the severest kind of collective discipline, his unfaltering loyalty to his superior officers, and the devotion of both officers and men to their Emperor, the Son of Heaven, testify fully to the fighting resourcefulness of the Japanese. They have a high sense of the practical in the grand style, and their capacity for learning and imitation is matched only by their determined discipline in placing the intangible values of future empire and the welfare of unborn generations above the epicurean values of immediate existence. This is a rare combination of qualities. There are probably no people alive on earth today who can live on less and accomplish more than the Japanese; the hedonistic calculus is nowhere more conspicuous for its absence.[9] That they have produced high genius in the European sense of creative achievement has not been shown. They are imitators rather than originators. Their civilization, like Carthage of old, is a brilliant reflection of the glory and achievement of other people. Will it become something which is inherently distinctive and superior, or will it go the way of Carthage? The decisive battles will be fought out in the not far distant future.

Chinese Temperament

The Chinese also understand the competitive power of extraordinary frugality. Like their half-brothers, the Japanese, they too have great capacity of bodily endurance and set themselves to the task of earning their livelihood

[8] Baur, Fischer, and Lenz, *op. cit.*, p. 635.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 637.

with great tenacity. Europeans and Americans find it impossible to adapt themselves to the life conditions in which the Chinese are able to multiply not only their numbers but also their wealth. It is stated on good authority that even the Japanese are not able to compete on these terms with the Chinese whom the former rule in Korea and Manchukuo.[10] Chinese, like Japanese, greatly excel the Negro in mental quality and organizing ability; handicraft and agriculture reached a high level of development thousands of years ago.

Veneration of the past is especially marked among the Chinese people, who have kept detailed genealogical records and careful historical data not merely for generations or centuries, but for millennia. The absence of noteworthy achievement in philosophy and architecture, as compared with the Aryans of Hindustan, indicates relative lack of imaginative power and aptitude for thought in the abstract. They have little taste for science and metaphysics, but considerable understanding of the practical needs of everyday life in society. Confucius and Lao-Tse were much more concerned with the rules and regulations of etiquette, good manners, and good taste in all of the manifold aspects of social intercourse and human interrelations than with the problems of higher mathematics and epistemology. Wars of religion in the Far East are practically unknown; positive self-assertion in a bellicose manner is not at all characteristic of the Chinese. They are distinguished for quick apprehension and excellent memory, but not for critical faculty or power of abstract conception. When Chinese discussions of problems reach the higher intellectual levels, they are likely to be confused and incoherent.

The Chinese written language is symbolic of temperament, since it is made up of thousands of ideographs which the scholars must memorize. Emphasis upon the traditional is associated with a high appreciation of the formal, ceremonial side of life and strong trends toward the fixity of institutional as well as individual types. A corresponding lack of individuality, in comparison with the European, and a more highly developed sense of cultural solidarity are certainly distinctive. Chinese aptitude for the amenities of social intercourse is no doubt closely related to their concern for saving their faces under all circumstances; it is associated also with such qualities as personal dignity, sobriety, and self-control. Æsthetic gifts and sensibilities are pronounced, although not as marked as among the Japanese. In business, the Chinese excel; in sports, they are not particularly interested; the formal, institutional side of life—state, family, education, religion, and law—is all-important.

These stabilized aspects of Chinese culture continue to express the spirit of the race.

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[10] W. Thompson, *Population Problems*, New York, 1935, pp. 391-393.

Chinese Culture

But the dynamic aspect of Chinese culture as a living, vital force ceased to exist nearly 2,000 years ago. Over this period of time, the essential forms of life have not changed except in so far as the imperialistic impact of the Western world during the last century has required readjustments: China was forced out of her seclusion and entered into treaty obligations with European states in 1842. The great Chinese inventions, discoveries, and works of literature and art did not occur over this period; they did occur during the time when the culture was an active ferment, beginning approximately 1,300 years before the Christian era and closing about the first century A.D. Confucius and Lao-Tse were contemporaries who lived during the fifth and sixth centuries B.C. Mencius lived shortly after Confucius. These leaders of Chinese thought were not metaphysicians and philosophers, but rather moral and religious teachers who emphasized the social ritual and the formal ceremonial aspect of life. They lived during the "Autumn" of the Chinese civilization, the period of the perfection of social forms. And these forms constitute the basis of the stability which was realized after the completion of the cycle of the culture. To the Chinese, credit is due for a long series of important inventions, including gunpowder, printing, paper, compass, telescope, spinning and weaving silk, manufacture of porcelain, and breeding of silkworms. These discoveries, like those of the Arabs, the Egyptians, and the Western Europeans, occurred during the period when the cultural movement was an active form-creating organism.

Certain aspects of Chinese temperament are easily associated with the static condition of the culture which has existed nearly 2,000 years. For instance, Chinese speakers often call attention to the peace-loving nature of their people, and European writers and missionaries make the same point. But this trait is merely a symptom of the sleeping sickness from which the people have suffered so long, and from which they appear so loath to recover. There was no evidence of this during the early Chou period when Wang, the central ruler, was pressed hard by his feudal nobility. Revolutions and wars which followed the fall of the Chou dynasty during the fifth century B.C. do not support the thesis of the "peace-loving Chinese." Chinese war lords of today, the national resurgence under Sun Yat Sen and Chiang Kai-shek, and the roving bands of brigands whom the Japanese call "bandits" do not exactly manifest a peace-loving disposition. Jenghiz Khan led his conquering Mongols in a triumphal march over the whole of Asia and seriously threatened Europe at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Certain writers have called attention to the highly developed formal side of the relations between the sexes and the lack of romantic attraction between them, as if this were inherent in the Chinese character. It may be pointed out that concubinage is an accepted institution in China, and thus occasion for

romantic love is left wide open in one direction, even though it is precluded in another. These traits—love of peace, lack of romantic love, and one might add, the submergence of the individual—are best interpreted in the light of a stabilized culture which passed through the stages of its active form-creative history a long time ago.

Human Bias and the Psychology of Races

Many European and American writers have attempted to distinguish Nordic, Mediterranean, and Alpine races in the terms of psycho-physical endowment. There are literally tons of critical literature on the subject. Most of it affords a much more instructive study in the sociology of prejudice than it does in the psychology of races. If no bias were involved except the racial bias, the problem would be relatively simple; the difficulties are greatly multiplied by religious, national, and class prejudice as well. The Anglo-Saxon Nordicist, the Teutonic or German Nordicist, the Celtic, Gallic, and Irish Nordicist, and the Aryan Nordicist have shown plainly enough how national bias and racial psychology are interwoven. Protestantism swept over those countries of northwestern Europe which have large proportions of Nordic elements represented in their populations: Sweden, Norway, northern Ireland, England, Scotland, Denmark, Holland, and northern Germany. In the central, southern, and eastern countries of Europe, inhabited chiefly by Mediterranean, Alpine, and Dinaric races, Roman and Greek Catholicism, chiefly the former, continued in power. Thus, Nordicism is identified with Protestantism, which unavoidably introduces the religious bias. Moreover, it is precisely these Nordic, Protestant countries of Europe which have become most highly industrialized. Hence an economic class bias is inevitably injected into the question.

Of course, there are situations which appear to nullify these generalizations; for example, southern Ireland and Belgium, which are Catholic. Political controversy with England is partly responsible for the Irish situation. Herbert Miller shows insight into the problem when he points out that the Church has been a symbol of national independence and cultural unity—an effective weapon against English economic exploitation. He suggests that the Irish have held to their Catholicism because the Church of England became Protestant; a Catholic England would have meant a Protestant Ireland. It is well known, however, that a large number of Nordic Presbyterians migrated from Scotland and England to the northeast corner of the island, known as Ulster. Many of these settlers, called "Scotch-Irish," later emigrated to the United States. The earlier settlement of these "Scotch-Irish" in Ulster was largely forced by the policy of Catholic monarchs in England from about the time of James I to William III. Southern Ireland is not the only nucleus of Catholic influence in northwestern Europe; there

are others in Belgium, England, and Germany. This influence, however, is negligible in comparison with the Protestant movement in the predominantly Nordic countries of Europe.[11] Sweden and Norway are nearly solid in Protestant affiliation and this is also true of a large part of Germany, particularly in the northern and western area, England, Scotland, northern Ireland, Denmark, and Holland, together with scattered areas of France. Nordicism is closely linked not only with Protestantism, but also with industrialism over a great sweep of territory in northern and western Europe.

It has been pointed out that the Nordic race set up ruling aristocracies in all of the countries of Europe; hence the racial bias may be reinforced with political as well as religious, economic, and national elements of prejudice. Out of all of this there has grown a welter of confusion and contradictory opinion with respect to the mental and temperamental qualities of the great European races. Nevertheless, these characters are marked. The problem is involved, but not to be avoided for that reason. As anthropological types, these races have been distinguished;[12] likewise, the descriptive statement of characteristic mental attributes may be sufficiently objective to afford a relative validity.[13] Races are not equally endowed mentally any more than they are physically.[14] This does not mean that the same standard of values may be fairly applied to all races; it does mean that there are racial differences of a mental and temperamental character which play a very important rôle in the social process. There are inferior and superior individuals in all races; there is great variation about the mean with respect to any trait, and consequent overlapping of types. A detailed and generalized statement of mental type has a subjective as well as an objective aspect. As the descriptive details are multiplied, it becomes increasingly difficult to find a single example which corresponds to the abstract statement of type in every particular. Crossing of types in more than one direction has added to the complexity of the problem. Nevertheless, no one in his senses would argue that the previous characterization of the Negro or the Mongol has no basis in actual fact. Untutored children are able to see some of these distinctions. Widespread observation and study, the careful testing of facts and findings, and a disciplined personal morale which is able to discount prejudice of statement and conclusion, are more essential than ever to the solution of the problem here set forth.

The Mediterranean Type

The Mediterranean type has marked qualities of intellectual finesse, keenness of perception, and powers of discernment. Likewise, the artistic

[11] E. A. Ross, *Social Psychology*, New York, 1917, pp. 6-9.
[12] Ripley, *op. cit.*, p. 121.
[13] H. F. K. Günther, *Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes*, Munchen, 1935, Chs. 13, 14, 16.
[14] A. de Gobineau, *The Inequality of Human Races*, translated by A. Collins, London, 1915.

sensibilities for color, line, and form are well developed. Attributes which mark a gift of sympathetic imagination are more pronounced than the essential qualities of an inventive imagination.[15] This type has made important contributions to several civilizations which have developed at different times along the shores of the Mediterranean Sea: the Egyptian, Hellenic, Roman, Arabian, and Western European. Competent authorities, however, do not regard the Mediterranean race as the real creator of these cultures.[16] Qualities distinctive of extroversion are far more conspicuous than the qualities of introversion: the emotional expression in word and gesture is lively and little, if at all, restrained; the degree of dependence upon social stimulation and sustained relationships with others is relatively high. The type is somewhat impulsive, excitable, and unreliable; these qualities are closely connected with a characteristic liveliness, restlessness, and alertness. Certain traits are suggestive of the temperament of the Negro, although more or less marked as the case may be: for instance, pronounced musical and oratorical gifts with a tendency to be intoxicated by words. The inclination to live for the moment and to respond decisively to the immediate impressions of the senses illustrate the same point. A gaiety, frivolity, and vivacity of mood often alternates with a feeling of hopelessness and depression when circumstances are unfavorable. Ceremony and formalism are valued highly; the inner meaning, however, is less appreciated than the outer impression upon the feelings. Hence the Mediterranean, while devoted to the ritual and the eternal requirements of religious life, is likely to lack a depth and sincerity of religious conviction. The quiet and persistent industriousness of the Mongol are quite as lacking as the enterprising spirit and the energy of the Nordic. Some intelligence tests show inferiority, others show superiority to the Nordic. No doubt this contradiction of conclusion may be explained by the fact that certain special faculties of intelligence are characteristic of each. Each excels in certain particulars, but not in all.

The Nordic Type

Introversion is peculiarly characteristic of the Nordic. Emotionally, the Nordic does not respond freely and easily as does the Mediterranean.[17] His feelings when aroused are likely to be mixed, with the result that they are not readily expressed in word, gesture, and manner. When a pointed statement is made in his presence, he is more likely to think of an effectual reply sometime afterward than at the moment. The introversion of the Nordic is also manifest in a decided tendency to reflective self-analysis and introspection, which, in extreme cases, approaches a condition of morbid brooding.

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[15] Günther, *Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes, op. cit.*, pp. 215-222.
[16] Baur, Fischer, and Lenz, *op. cit.*, p. 642.
[17] Gunther, *Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes, op. cit.*, pp. 190-214.

His moral integrity and emotional balance are not as directly dependent upon social stimulation as in the case of the extrovert Mediterranean type. Occasional solitude is imperative; in extreme cases, the longing for solitude results in a suicidal isolation. Unlike the extrovert type, he may often be seen taking long solitary rambles. For him, to be at peace with others depends upon the peace of his own conscience. Hence he may have high powers of resistance to suggestion and great independence of judgment, traits which stand in marked contrast to the corresponding qualities of the Mediterranean.

The Nordic, accordingly, is markedly self-reliant. His distinctive attributes make him an ardent individualist and pioneer, which explains his leadership in the Renaissance and his sympathetic response alike to the ethic of Protestantism and the spirit of capitalism. He is adventurer, explorer, colonizer, and empire builder. In the seclusion of his solitude, his dreams of conquest and dominion take definite form. But his dreams are not likely to be "castles in the air." Together with marked powers of imagination, there is coupled a determined will and great resourcefulness. His energy often appears boundless. That he is characteristically aggressive, domineering, and warlike is agreed by all reliable commentators. His courage and capacity for organization and administration explains his success in war and statecraft. If he is found giving expression to the sentiment of universal peace and brotherhood, it is likely to take the form of speech reactions; it does not find active part in his personal course of action. In short, if the sentiment of peace and universal brotherhood is an instrument of conquest in a dynamic career, he understands it and knows how to use it. For him, there is no evil like the stagnant adjustment to a stabilized condition. His artistic creations reflect the struggle of the spirit for power and dominion, for conquest of the infinite; green-meadow happiness, as Nietzsche called it, is no part of his nature. It is the epic which appeals to his imagination. In matters of religion and art, it is the inner meaning, the spirit of the thing, the animating idea which interests him, rather than the appeal to the senses of excessive ritual and imposing ceremony and display.

Nordic Migrations

Extensive migrations of Nordic races took place long before the Christian era. There is tangible evidence to show that they crossed the straits from Europe into Asia and swept all before them as far as India, where they set up a ruling aristocracy and built the great ancient civilization of that now dismal land. Similar evidence is available to show that the early feudal aristocracies of Greece and Rome were predominantly Nordic. Gauls, Franks, Lombards, Goths, Burgundians, Celts, Teutons, Visigoths, Normans, Norsemen, and Ostrogoths are names given to the better known Nordic

tribes. The Goths and Norsemen pushed their way far into Russia, where they constituted an outpost against frequent Mongolian invasions and successfully protected the original Nordic homeland from conquest. Intermixture of these Russian Nordics with the Mongolian accounts in part for the distinctive traits of the Russian Slav of today. Nordic tribes conquered and reconquered England, France, Spain, and Italy, setting up ruling aristocracies in each one of these countries.[18] The civilization of Western Europe and America is essentially a Nordic civilization. In significant proportion, the great explorers, discoverers, and inventors; the leaders of the Renaissance, Reformation, and Industrial Revolution; the great architects, mathematicians, and philosophers; the painters, sculptors, and composers; the poets, the dramatists, and the scientists of Western Europe and America were men of Nordic ancestry. This is not intended to imply that other races took no part, made no contribution, or played no significant rôle. On the contrary, they made a most noteworthy and indispensable contribution to European development. The characteristic weaknesses of the Nordic are so nicely supplemented and corrected by counter qualities of the Mediterranean, that it appears certain the civilization of Europe could not have attained distinction without the participation of the southern type. Likewise, the Nordic character offsets the distinctive weaknesses of the Mediterranean. But the latter did not dominate. The Faustian spirit of dynamic conquest and triumphant victory over nature is essentially the creation of the Nordic race.

The so-called folk migrations of Nordic stocks constituted the foundations of the Teutonic realms. Lombards were a dominating influence of the Italian Renaissance. Toward the close of the Middle Ages the Visigoths swept across the Spanish peninsula and constructed the basis of the Spanish world empire. In the course of the same period of the Middle Ages, the Teutonic people sustained the German empire. The Nordic population of The Netherlands founded a large and flourishing colonial empire. Voltaire's beautiful account of Charles XII of Sweden describes in detail the career of conquest of this great Nordic leader. Gustavus Adolphus was another leader of the Swedish hosts. The rule of France and the remarkable growth of her colonial empire rested squarely upon the efforts of Franks, Goths, and Normans. Colonization of Australia, North America and South Africa was the work chiefly of northwestern Europeans. These migrations of Nordic people are probably the most extensive in all of human history. Earlier migrations of Celts, Saxons, and Normans from the continent account largely for the present population of the British Isles. Here the Mediterranean infusion is substantial but not nearly so great as in Spain, southern Italy, and Portugal.

The Reformation, like the Renaissance, is peculiarly expressive of the

[18] M. Grant, *The Conquest of a Continent*, New York and London, 1933, Ch. 3.

spirit of the Nordic and it is certainly no historical accident that the Protestant movement made its greatest gains in the territory of northwestern Europe. The work of the great discoverers and explorers is symbolic of the same spirit; so is the Industrial Revolution and the subsequent conquest of the earth. Science, philosophy, and art of the Western European American world reflect the same essential qualities. To the Nordic race, credit is given for the creation of the Indo-Germanic (Aryan) languages and civilizations. The conquest of the Indian peninsula by the Aryans in the course of the second millennium before Christ unquestionably accounts for the civilization of Hindustan.[19] Similar evidence is substantial to show the leading rôle of the Nordic in the development of Persian, Hellenic, and Roman civilizations. Everywhere the gradual decline and disintegration of these earlier cultures parallels closely the diffusion and disappearance of the Nordic constituents of the populations. That this diffusion and disappearance is a striking phenomenon among the peoples of Europe and America at the present time is not deniable. It is all too evident, and explains the racial emphasis of German political leadership of the Third Reich.

The Alpine Type

It is generally agreed that the Alpine type is a combination of Nordic and Mongolian traits. This type has been unfairly depreciated by many writers on the subject. Vacher de Lapouge described the Alpine as a perfect slave and a model subject. According to this writer, the distinctive traits of the Alpine are patience, inertness, mediocrity, submissiveness, and docility. Buckle put him down as bovine, a quality due to the awe-inspiring and depressive influence of imposing and majestic Alpine scenery. More recently, Carl Brigham in his *Study of American Intelligence,* based upon extensive testing and measurement of army recruits during the World War, drew the conclusion that the mental capability of the Alpine is lower than the Nordic though not so low as the Negro. Approximation to the Negro level is closer than to the Nordic level.[20] H. F. K. Günther in his *Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes* inclines to a similar view.[21] This interpretation is open to objections which cannot be enumerated here.[22] It has been shown that the Alpines have high intelligence and a well-developed community feeling. They are diligent, energetic, and capable of a marked tenacity. In many respects, their superior qualities effectually counterbalance certain characteristic weaknesses of the Nordic type. The latter's dominant will-to-power and aggressive self-assertion often lead to frustration and futility.

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[19] Baur, Fischer, and Lenz, *op. cit.,* p. 647.

[20] C. C. Brigham, *A Study of American Intelligence,* Princeton, 1923, p. 197. Brigham's evaluation of the Mediterranean is similar to the Alpine.

[21] Gunther, *op. cit.,* pp. 228-235.

[22] See Baur, Fischer, and Lenz, *op. cit.,* pp. 639-640.

Turbulence, warfare, and rugged individualism have their limitations. It is well known that the Nordic races have shed more blood in fighting each other than in fighting other races. To this day, it remains doubtful whether the characteristic individualism and fighting quality of this gifted race can be effectually sublimated in order to preclude or postpone the impending collapse of the very civilization it has inspired.

The Alpine is more tranquil and peaceably inclined than the Nordic. Many of his qualities reflect the Mongolian type. Russian writers, Tolstoi for instance, are more gifted in psychological insight than in the power of configuration. The more sympathetic imagination of the Alpine type stands in marked contrast with the more soaring imagination of the Nordic. Alpine qualities of frugality, persistence, and high fertility are also suggestive of Mongolian infusion. Russians appear to excel in the powers of suffering and endurance, rather than in the kind of action that brings freedom. Their temperament is characteristically passive and obedient, with a fundamental tone of melancholy which contrasts with the liveliness, vivacity, and gaiety of the Mediterranean type. The mentality of the Alpine is heavy in comparison with the southern type; it clings to the traditional and is easily swayed by mass suggestion.[23] Superstition and formalism are not easily corrected among them. The aptitude for advanced technics, so marked among Nordics, is not conspicuous. Nevertheless, the Alpine learns quickly how to use them. Appreciation of natural beauty is also somewhat weaker than it is among Mediterraneans and Nordics. The marked community feeling, gift of co-operation, patience, persistent industry, tenacity of purpose, fertility, and frugality, though not so characteristic as among Mongols, are conspicuous traits which will enter into the future reckoning as races continue their struggles for possession of the earth. In fact, some writers consider that the future of the earth belongs to this combination of qualities.

Dr. Fritz Lenz, for example, writes as follows: "Notwithstanding the unmistakable technical superiority of the Europeans (at any rate in the technique of war) there is much to indicate that the future of the earth belongs to the Mongols, for the Europeans persistently misapply their military technique to mutual destruction, and, influenced by false valuations of life, encourage the dying-out of their best racial elements."[24] Neverthe-

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[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 639-640.

[24] Baur, Fischer, and Lenz, *Human Heredity*, New York, 1931, translated by E. and C. Paul, p. 637. Reprinted with permission from The Macmillan Co., publishers.

General Sadao Araki believes in the world mission of Japan. Speaking to 80,000,000 Japanese on January 2, 1935, he is quoted as follows: "Japan must save the world. It is her duty. . . . The time has arrived when Japan should show the west its mistakes. We cannot always remain pupils. We must become teachers. If we cannot do this we must be born seven times over until we accomplish this task." *Chicago Tribune Press Service*, January 3, 1935.

The ethical imperialism of this statement is unmistakably clear. For forthright simplicity it could hardly be excelled.

less, the hard fact remains, that in the world today all races and nations look to their guns. And the Russian leaders, no less than the Japanese, have shown marked abilities in this direction under the present conditions of international tension.

Problem Questions

1. Infants are frequently born with very dark hair which is replaced with very light hair shortly after birth. Explain.

2. Is the Negro inferior or superior to the white man in his native tropical habitat where the climate is hot and moist?

3. How do you account for the fact that the physical traits of races are modified in a few generations after moving from one geographical area to another?

4. Negro death rates in northern cities are higher than their birth rates. Explain.

5. Boas argues that the essential characteristics of the human type are present in all races. The conclusion is drawn that all races are potentially equal. Evaluate this position.

6. It is argued that miscegenation neutralizes recessive defects, increases the range of variability, and promotes heterosis (hybrid vigor). Is the crossing of races desirable for these reasons?

7. Would the intermarriage of superior Negroes with superior whites encourage the progress of civilization in the United States?

8. Give historical examples to show that the blending of races has destroyed the superior strains, lowered the general levels of mental and physical excellence, and produced conditions of moral and cultural degradation.

9. How does the Mexican compare with the Negro in mental and other attributes?

10. Is it true that the historical decline of ancient civilizations followed the gradual elimination of their ruling races? If so, how do you account for the disappearance of these ruling races?

11. How do you explain the frequent clashes between Arabs and Jews in Palestine after the ratification of the Versailles Treaty?

12. What is meant by the "second invasion" of the South immediately following the Civil War? How did the South defend itself against this invasion?

13. Compare the aims and ideals of the early Ku Klux Klan with the aims and ideals of the later organization of the same name.

14. Are the anti-alien land laws of California a morally defensible means of protection against the encroachment of the Japanese in California?

15. Summarize the reasons which justify the Oriental exclusion provisions of the Johnson Immigration Act of 1924.

Suggestions for Additional Reading

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RACIAL GEOGRAPHY

MADISON GRANT ESTIMATES the extent and geographical distribution of the Puritan emigration from England for the period beginning in the year 1620 and closing in 1640.[1] Over these twenty years, about 67,300 emigrants settled in New England, Maryland, Virginia, and the West Indies, including Bermuda. The Anglo-Saxon counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex were sources of heavy migration; southern provinces of Sussex, Kent, Devon, Somerset, and Dorset were also well represented in this movement of population. A series of midland counties, stretching into the central portion of England from the neighborhood of London, also contributed in substantial numbers. These counties are contiguous, including an extensive area along the eastern and southern coastal regions of the island, with the exception of Cornwall. The lowlands of Scotland and Ulster in northern Ireland also made substantial additions. This entire stream of population was predominantly Nordic and Protestant.

NORDIC INVASIONS OF THE BRITISH ISLES

When the Nordic first appeared in the British Isles, the racial constituents of the population were mainly short, brunet Mediterraneans with a small proportion of Alpines. The first Nordic conquest of the islands was the work of Celtic-speaking tribes who crossed the Rhine from Germany into France and, subsequently, the channel into England about 800 B.C. Another tribe of Celts called "P" Celts, as distinguished from the former who were called "Q" Celts, conquered most of the same territory again about the fourth century before Christ. Celtic people constituted the ruling, military class, not only in Britain but also in Gaul. The legends of King Arthur are identified with this early Nordic aristocracy which governed an underclass of Mediterraneans in Ireland as well as in England, Scotland, and Wales. Having imposed its language and culture upon the native inhabitants of the islands, this ruling class of Celts gradually disappeared. A third Nordic invasion of Britain occurred in the fifth century A.D. These conquering tribes came from the country around Holstein in northwestern Germany and neighboring Denmark; they are called Saxons, Angles, and

[1] Madison Grant, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-87.

Jutes. While the Anglo-Saxon subjugation of the islands was in process, Norsemen settled around the coasts of Ireland, Scotland, England, and Wales. It was these same Norse rovers, under the leadership of Leif Ericsson, who crossed the Atlantic and discovered the northeast mainland of America about 1000 A.D.

The fourth and last Nordic conquest of Britain was the Norman invasion of the eleventh century under the leadership of William the Conqueror. These Normans originally came from the region of Denmark, where they spoke a Teutonic language, and arrived in Normandy at the beginning of the tenth century. Thus it is clear that they lived in northern France over a period of about 150 years before they conquered England. In Denmark they were pagan tribes; in France they were converted to Christianity. The Normans, likewise, effectually subdued the islands, set up a ruling military aristocracy, and integrated the feudal structure then in process of development. Thus it is clear that four distinct invasions of the Nordic hosts contributed the dominating racial and cultural elements of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales.

An Example of Climatic Selection

The 67,000 inhabitants who emigrated from 1620 to 1640 were mainly, almost exclusively, Nordic and Protestant. About 18,000 of these settled in New England, 9,000 in Maryland and Virginia, and 40,000 in the West Indies and Bermuda.[2] It is a significant and striking fact that the West Indian contingent disappeared from the scene in the course of about two centuries. Some died out, others lost their original characters in process of miscegenation, and still others moved elsewhere. Tropical conditions of climate and inability to compete on equal terms with the low-standard, fast-breeding Negro inhabitants account for the gradual disappearance of the Nordic. This situation contrasts sharply with the steady development of the colonies in North America. In the course of three centuries, the Nordic conquest of the continent of North America was completed. The steady march of these people to the southland, over the Appalachian Mountains into the fertile valley of the Mississippi, and then across the western plains to the Rockies, and beyond, is one of the most thrilling narratives of all time.

Acclimatization

Races are acclimatized to the lands of their nativity. They are products of the mother earth which gave them birth. The term geography is here used to denote something besides the territorial delimitations of various racial groups; it also means soil, climate, and topography. Inability of the Nordic

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[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 86, 87.

to adjust himself to the requirements of life in the tropics is equally marked among other races when they stray afar from their original homelands by force of various circumstances. Negroes find the problems of life more difficult of solution in the northern states of the United States than in the South. Ellsworth Huntington in his *Civilization and Climate* points out that there is practically no such thing as a fourth generation of British-born in India. Tropical conditions are so enervating that children of English officials must be sent to Europe to recover their lost strength. Otherwise, they die out. Succeeding generations become increasingly incapable of meeting nature's tests of survival.[3] Japanese workers in the Hawaiian Islands find it far easier to accommodate themselves to the requirements of survival than do white men. In Australia, the tropical and semitropical areas have been avoided as British immigrants settled along the more temperate territory of the southern coastal regions. Similar problems arise in the Philippine Islands and the East Indies. Future possession and domination of these territories on the part of the white man will become increasingly difficult as the power of the Japanese continues to grow. For the Japanese Mongol is racially adapted to the requirements of life in semitropical countries. This fact certainly explains his preference for the balmy regions of southern California.

Even more striking is the acclimatization of the Negro in a tropical environment. His mental as well as physical endowment shows complete adaptation to the exigencies of survival in hot, moist countries. For example, the dark pigmentation of skin affords protection against the injurious actinic rays of the sun. Processes of natural selection certainly favor the longevity and reproduction of the type of variation here illustrated. The broad, flat nose of the Negro is peculiar; it also represents an adaptation to a hot, moist climate. Short nasal passages favor a rapid intake of oxygen in large volume; the longer nasal passages of the Nordic type make it possible to warm the atmosphere before it comes into direct contact with the sensitive membranes of the bronchial passages and the lungs. This, manifestly, is not required in a tropical zone. The favorable balance of bodily temperature, upon which life is dependent, is partly maintained by evaporation of secretions produced by skin glands. High humidity interferes with this process, and hence the hot, moist air of tropical regions makes the northerner feel suffocated and ill at ease. Short nasal passages of the Negro compensate for this disadvantage by providing a more rapid intake of oxygen in larger volume. Studies made by Huntington show that the climatic optimum for Negroes in the United States doing outdoor work is 68° F., whereas the climatic optimum for white workers is four degrees lower.[4]

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[3] E. Huntington, *Civilization and Climate*, New Haven, 1924, p. 58.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 162, 163.

The Human Body as Heating and Refrigerating Plant

The human body may be described as a combined heating and refrigerating plant. All men, whether they are Negroes living in central Africa or Eskimos of Alaska, must maintain a bodily temperature of 98° F. A few degrees above or below this figure are deadly when continued long enough. Combustible foods taken into the body provide heat in the process of oxidation. Insulation of exposed surface of the body protects against cold and helps maintain the bodily temperature. Evaporation of fluid produced by sweat glands absorbs the surplus heat of the body. When the air is dry, this process of refrigeration proceeds rapidly; when the air is very humid, such is not the case. Foods rich in carbon are needed for heat-producing purposes; the nitrogenous foods are needed for tissue repair and tissue building. Hence there is bound to be wide variation in the vitamin content of food consumed, depending upon climatic conditions. Expenditure of energy in mental or physical labor generates heat which may be desirable or undesirable from the point of view of maintaining an even bodily temperature, depending again upon climate. Physical exertion in cold weather gets things done and keeps the body warm at the same time. In hot weather, however, this extra heat is a burden upon the refrigerating plant, and when the air is very humid at the same time, this burden becomes excessive and people suffocate. Thus it turns out that the capacity for exertion depends upon the capacity of the refrigerating plant, which is manifestly conditioned directly by the heat and moisture of the air.

All of this is simple enough. The bearing it has upon the character of races is complex. For races are products of soil and climate, not only in a physical sense but also in a mental and temperamental sense. The Negro is often described as lazy, improvident, and irresponsible. To be energetic physically or mentally under tropical conditions of great heat and moisture would be suicidal. Laziness implies a value judgment from the point of view of a person who lives under conditions which stimulate activity. Great activity is necessary and desirable, therefore it is good. An intelligent Negro might, with equal logic, employ a descriptive term of derogation to denote the thing Theodore Roosevelt called the strenuous life. From the point of view of a black man living in the tropics, the strenuous life is quite as unethical as the shiftlessness of the Negro considered from the standpoint of the white man.

Acclimatization of the Negro

Many other physical and mental characters reveal the same process of racial acclimatization. The significant point about the Negro brain case is its size rather than its form. Negro males have an average cranial capacity

of about 1,350 cubic centimeters. Mental activity, like physical exertion, stimulates the sweat glands; when a person is driven under pressure of strong emotion, the consumption of energy and corresponding destruction of tissue proceeds more rapidly. The optimum temperature for mental activity is only a few degrees higher than the optimum for physical exertion; sustained intellectual concentration on hot, moist days is quite as difficult, if at all possible, as continued manual labor. Patient and persistent toil, steady and systematic effort, high levels of efficiency in performance of the task represent ideals which are quite as foreign to the Negro from the intellectual point of view as from the physical point of view. Accordingly, the selective influences have produced a lower median of cranial capacity. And this represents an adjustment to the requirements of life in a given climatic situation. Moreover, the level of mental activity of a race is conditioned upon the level of physical effort.

Australian Blackfellows and the Veddahs of Ceylon are living races of today. They wander through the forests and subsist on whatever food can be found. This simple hand-to-mouth economy has been described as collectional. These people have neither learned to breed cattle nor to till the soil. Storage of foodstuffs for future provision is not understood. They do not make clothing out of skin or build durable huts or make weapons or tools of polished stone. Thus, it is evident that their culture has not advanced beyond the early stone age. All efforts to teach them agriculture and make them settle down have proved a complete failure.

The Negroes represent a higher stage since they do not live exclusively from hand to mouth. They have acquired the techniques of simple agriculture, cattle breeding, and some of the handicrafts. As compared with the European, they lack foresight and other qualities upon which the higher levels of culture are dependent. There is relatively little division of manual labor, and the problems of production, distribution, and exchange are likewise simple in comparison with the more complex economic organization of people living in colder regions. Nature in tropical lands is usually bountiful; ordinarily, the earth has but to be scratched, as people say, to produce a crop in a short time. Wild fruits abound.

Dependence upon slain animals for an abundant supply of the necessary fats, proteins, and carbohydrates is ordinarily characteristic of frigid or semifrigid zones. Extensive organization of hunting and fishing implies organization of labor for producing the equipment necessary not only for capture but also for utilization. This places a premium upon leadership, enterprise, and management, which is notorious for its absence in the hot, moist climate of central Africa. Again, the selective influences favor the lower median of cranial capacity among Negroes. Condemned to inactivity, the man of the tropics lacks the stimuli which elsewhere develop the powers of the mind. A study of the physical traits of the Negro reveals

a product of tropical climate and soil. Likewise, the study of his mental traits, including those discussed in the previous chapter, show a similar adaptation to the geographical conditions of life. The active response to sensory and emotional stimuli; the preference for artistic rather than utilitarian values; extrovert as distinguished from introvert inclinations; his convivial, pleasure-loving nature; the sentimental melancholy, the childishness of the Negro; his lack of enterprise and independent judgment; the intoxication of the moment; aptitude for music and oratory expressive of emotion; fetishism, animism, and voodooism, together with lack of sobriety and self-discipline, are traits which may be considered collectively in terms of a pattern of human quality which represents nature's adjustment to the requirements of life in a tropical land.

Acclimatization of the Nordic

Mental as well as physical characters of the Nordic stand in striking contradistinction. The pigmentation of his skin is fair. Gradation of skin color from the Scandinavians, who have lived a long time in the far north, to the darker skinned Europeans of central and southern regions, and from these, in turn, to the heavier pigmentation of Persians, Egyptians, and Aryan Hindus indicates a positive correlation with the range of temperature. Aryan Hindus have become dark skinned, due partly to intermarriage no doubt, but also to the direct and indirect effects of climatic selection. Fair skin, light hair, the size of the brain case, and the shape of the nose represent organic adaptation to the geographical conditions of life in the region around the Baltic Sea where the winters are dry and cold, the days short, and the nights long. The nasal index of the Nordic is described as leptorrhine—a technical term to indicate his relatively long and narrow nose. This makes it possible to warm the air before it is taken into the body. In this way, protection is afforded against inflammation and infection of the throat and lungs. Negroes with their short nasal passages adapted to hot moist regions, as already described, are known to be unusually susceptible to colds, coughs, bronchial pleurisy, pneumonia, and tuberculosis when exposed to the long winters of northern cities. Morbidity and fatality rates of Negroes resulting from these diseases are much higher than for white men living in the same climate.[5] The long, narrow nose is thus the result, in part, of climatic selection in a cold, dry climate; the broad, flat nose is organically adapted to a hot, moist climate; intermediate types are associated with cold moist or dry warm climates.

Cranial capacity of the northern European represents a similar adjustment to the conditions of life. Protection against cold is indispensable to survival. The problems of providing adequate clothing, food, and shelter

[5] W. S. Thompson, *Population Problems*, New York, 1935, pp. 288, 289.

are manifestly more complex and difficult of solution than in torrid territory. Dependence upon wild game for food and clothing accentuates the importance of hunting and fishing. This is not to say that hunting people are found only in colder regions of the earth. They are found in torrid as well as temperate and arctic zones, but the soil is likely to be more fertile and bountiful in the warmer lands, which makes the northerner more exclusively dependent upon the spoils of chase. This dependence is ameliorated by horticulture and settled agriculture, but the growing seasons are short and the problems of maintenance are complicated accordingly. Hence there is a direct incentive upon enterprise, initiative, and ingenuity.[6] The early ancestors of the Nordics lived almost exclusively by the chase. They used clumsy stone weapons, but with them they were able to attack and overpower the cave bear and the great mammoth. Such qualities as courage, skill, resourcefulness in combat, and contempt for death were favored under these conditions.

Uebel has shown how the Nordic wanderlust and the call of the unknown were stimulated and selected under these conditions of life.[7] Love of the sea and the construction of ocean-going vessels were natural consequences. To other races and civilizations, the sea remained a great unknown even as late as the early Middle Ages when the Nordic Vikings set forth across the ocean and discovered North America by way of Iceland. Great mental and physical exertions are stimulated not only by the need for food, clothing, and shelter but also by the organic necessity for action. Exertion maintains the bodily temperature and gets things accomplished at the same time. It is also a necessity because the kind of food consumed must serve the purpose of generating heat as well as renewing waste tissue. Foods having a high content of carbon which combines with oxygen in the process of combustion are essential for this purpose. Animal food is highly valued in this connection as shown, for instance, by the dependence of Eskimos upon whale blubber and the meat of animals generally.

It may also be pointed out that the more extensive organization of physical effort found in cold regions requires a more highly developed and sustained organization of mental activity than is true in torrid countries. Thus, the premium upon intellectual effort is the result of a half-dozen or more closely related factors implicit in the situation. And this is not to say that acquired traits are inherited. It need only be assumed that inherited characters vary greatly about a mean and that nature plays selectively upon them. These assumptions are undeniably warranted and the conclusion may be drawn that the larger cranial capacity of the white man as compared with the Negro is the result of a long-drawn-out process of acclimatization. The Nordic, like the Negro, is a product of soil and climate. Head size, nose

[6] Baur, Fischer, and Lenz, *op. cit.*, p. 657.
[7] Reference cited, *ibid.*, p. 657.

form, and skin color alike represent organic adjustments to a cold, dry region; likewise, the thickness of the skull. If the Eskimo is pointed out as a notable exception in certain respects, it may be explained that Alaska in all probability is not his native habitat. There is substantial evidence to show that he crossed the Bering Straits from Asia into America and migrated southward sometime during or since the last Glacial period.

The Homeland of Nordic and Negro

All races have a wide range of climatic toleration. They have migrated extensively and mixed up considerably as a natural consequence of propinquity.[8] This, of course, complicates the problem of determining the original homelands of the relatively pure races. The Mongol is found in torrid, temperate, and frigid zones, and the question of determining to which of these he is indigenous remains something of a mystery. Some authors speak of a Caspian race, others of a Baltic race, and still others of a Nordic race. The Nordic homeland may have been a stretch of territory in northern Germany, Norway, and Sweden, or somewhere in Russia. It is here emphasized that these regions are very much alike in their range of climatic variation. Baltic tribes have wandered as far north as Iceland and as far south as India, east to the Ural Mountains, and west across the American continent. Early folk migrations indicate an extensive territory about the Baltic in northern Europe as the most probable land of nativity of the Nordic race. This conclusion is borne out by the studies of racial acclimatization. Likewise, in the case of Negroes, all evidence points to the positive conclusion that tropical Africa is the original homeland of this race, however far they may have wandered from time to time.

Temperament and Climate

Nordic temperament, like Nordic physique, is the product of a cold, dry climate. The accumulation of energy reserves is positively stimulated under these conditions and this may be taken to account partly for such qualities as a gift for action, enterprise, dynamic self-assertion, and adventuresomeness. Emotional release acts as a kind of governor or safety valve to the human heating plant. By consuming the surplus heat energy of the body, the emotions serve a function very similar to the sweat glands of the skin. Hence it may be stated that hot, moist climates, in particular, stimulate a free and active emotional expression. This trait is particularly characteristic of the Negro, and more true of the Mediterranean than of the Nordic. Low temperature and low humidity obviate the necessity for this particular function of the emotions. Dexter's detailed study of weather influences fully

[8] Whitbeck and Thomas, *The Geographic Factor,* New York, 1932, pp. 93, 94.

corroborates this conclusion.[9] He points out that the reserve energy available for intellectual effort and physical activity, other than that of the vital organs, is affected most by meteorological changes. Weather conditions plainly influence the quality of the emotional state, but the effect upon the volume of reserve energy capable of release in mental and physical action is of the greatest import.[10] While Dexter was particularly interested in a meteorological explanation of criminal behavior, it is clear that his conclusions are quite as applicable, if not more so, to normal behavior. The emotional obscurity and hesitation of the Nordic, in contrast with the exuberance and free emotional response of the Negro, are qualities of temperament which can only be understood in relation to the climatic conditions of life.

In all probability, the strong Nordic sense of individuality has a similar explanation. The impact of human interaction in a cultural milieu which places high value upon independence of judgment, self-reliance, and strong feeling of personal pride cannot be easily distinguished from innate mental qualities which tend to produce the same type of character. Since these traits are developed in a social environment of ideas and values, the problem becomes complex. Socially selective influences may coincide with nature's criteria of value in a given climatic condition, and it does not follow therefore that because certain traits can be explained in terms of social standards that the innate factors may be ruled out of the picture. Early Nordic environments did not permit them to dwell in great communities. Only relatively small kinships could outlive the severe northern winter in view of the scarcity of food. The tendency toward isolation and the characteristic introversion were manifestly imposed by necessity and fostered by natural selection as well as by societal values. When the effectual standards of societal selection and the criteria of nature for survival contradict each other, there can be only one consequence, that is, decline and extinction. Long nights by the fireside during cold winter months tend to bind the direct ties of family and give deep roots to individual character. This, however, is an indirect rather than a direct climatic influence. The struggle against nature is direct. Where this struggle is hard, the dependence upon gifted and energetic leadership is correspondingly great. The inventor who produces a new tool or a better weapon is prized in direct ratio to the social utility of his work. When nature provides man with all or most of his needs without a struggle, the social utility of invention and discovery cannot possibly be so important. And when nature not only challenges the ingenuity of man, but at the same time stimulates his energies and quickly renews his spent vigor, the premium upon a strong sense of individuality is bound to be high. Individual exertion and talent are doubly rewarded, partly in the feeling of

[9] E. G. Dexter, *Weather Influences*, New York, 1904.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 266 *et seq.*

conquest over nature—the increased sense of power which comes to a person with every new triumph—and partly in the recognition of others who share in the benefits of every new discovery and invention.

The introvert inclinations of the Nordic are closely associated with his heightened sense of individuality. Again, it becomes evident that a combination of characteristics is arranged in a pattern representing a quality of mind produced by the climatic conditions of life. Struggle against foes is simply an aspect of the struggle against nature. Hence his warlike qualities—aggressive domination, conquering energy, mental ingenuity, organizing and administrative talent, tenacity of purpose, enterprise, initiative, independence, self-reliance, and pioneer adventuresomeness—represent a configuration of typical mental and moral qualities which can only be understood fundamentally in terms of the selective influences of nature. And as the standards of civilized life in a complex and highly developed culture tend increasingly to reverse the criteria of nature, the Nordic pays the price with the gradual disappearance of his personal and racial integrity. Long ago, Spencer pointed out the basic opposition between individuation and genesis.

Mediterranean Traits and the Geographical Area

The Mediterranean race, like other races, is a natural product of soil and climate. By and large, the region around the Mediterranean Sea is a paradise of peasants. It lies between the great deserts to the southeast and the area to the northwest, which at one time was covered by sheets of ice. Wheat culture was developed in this region, and animals were domesticated long before anything of the kind occurred in the northern area. Ready access to the sea favored an extensive development of commerce millennia before the Christian era. Thus, there grew up an economic division of labor which placed a high premium upon such mental attributes as a talent for organization and administration, management, enterprise, and initiative. While the summer months are long and hot, the enervating effects are relieved by low humidity and mild winters. But the stimulus to exertion, both mental and physical, is not comparable to the colder regions of northern Europe. In the range of climatic variation, the Mediterranean area represents a mean between the condition found about the Baltic and North Seas and the condition in tropical Africa. It is neither as stimulating and energizing as the north, nor as enervating and debilitating as the south. Long, dry summers of the Mediterranean lands force the vast majority of people to live near the main sources of water supply. This congregation of inhabitants in village communities and cities naturally places a premium upon the qualities of sociability and extroversion. Traits of this kind are also favored by a warm, mild climate, which brings people out of their homes more frequently for friendly intercourse with each other. The bounty of nature under these

conditions explains a relatively dense population which has suffered from the scourge of famine repeatedly.

Selective influences of this sort have inevitably favored the survival of those individuals adapted organically to the climatic conditions of life. While activity is stimulated a great deal more than in torrid regions, the mild winters and long, hot, monotonous summers do not release human energy as the climate of Norway with its long, cold winters, its storms, variable seasons, and yet freedom from the really severe extremes of temperature, hot or cold, which naturally depress activity of all kinds. Neither the very strenuous nor the very inert type would be selected in the Mediterranean territory.

Since the climatic conditions of life represent something like a mean between the land of the Negro and the home of the Nordic, it may be expected that the type of race would also show a similar intermediate position. In many respects this is strikingly true. The nose, for example, is smaller and broader than the nose of the Nordic; the skin has an unmistakably brownish tinge which may be attributed to exposure to the sun in part but not entirely; the cranium is long and narrow like the Nordic, but somewhat smaller; the hair is dark brown in color and the eyes also. No less striking is the intermediate position with respect to temperament and character. Negro childishness is a conspicuous trait; while this trait is not nearly so prominent among Mediterranean people, it is nevertheless evident. Mongolian as well as Nordic races do not show this particular characteristic. Again, it is true that the Mediterranean people, generally, manifest a strong impulse to express feelings in gestures and words. Oratorical talent is pronounced and with it one observes a tendency to be intoxicated by words. These qualities are more conspicuously developed among Negroes; they are not so common among the Baltic people. Free play and active expression of the emotions is a characteristic of both Negro and Mediterranean; it is not characteristic of the Nordic. In this connection, it is important to add that the emotional balance, the degree of self-control, and discipline of the feelings are more pronounced among Mediterraneans than among Negroes. Qualities like enterprise, initiative, self-reliance, and independence are more noteworthy for their absence among Negroes than among Mediterraneans. They are not as decisively characteristic of the latter as they are of the Nordics.

Both Negroes and Mediterraneans have been described as extrovert; the Nordic as introvert. Sociability, gaiety, vivacity, and personal charm are manifest on a high mental plane among Mediterraneans. Negro inclinations are in the same general direction, but they are not as well developed The Nordic as a race is not noted for a propensity of this kind. Cyclo-thymic alternation of moods, from one extreme of emotional intensity and great activity to the other extreme of depression and exhaustion, is more or less

characteristic of Mediterranean as well as Negro races. Liveliness and melancholy tend to alternate, but the melancholy of the Negro is far more sentimental than the melancholy of the Mediterranean. The Nordic is not typically cyclo-thymic in nature.

The Negro is passionately devoted to the moment and to the immediate impressions of his senses. This is also true of the Mediterranean, but the quality is not so pronounced. Artistic talent and æsthetic sensibilities are characteristic of all races in various degrees. The intermediate position of the Mediterranean is again apparent in certain particulars. It has been stated in the previous chapter that Negroes show an inclination to select the æsthetic as distinguished from the utilitarian values of the cultures in which they live. The same tendency is characteristic of the Mediterraneans, although utilitarian considerations receive a stronger emphasis. If the detailed formulation of a utilitarian philosophy at the hands of Bentham, Bain, Mill, Malthus, and others is any criterion at all, it certainly appears that at least the Anglo-Saxon branch of the Nordics places greater valuation upon the utilitarian standards than do the Mediterraneans.

The Epic and the Lyric

But there is another aspect of this whole matter. It is based upon the distinction between a lyrical form of artistic creation and the epic form. The lyric expresses feeling and sentiment in song, poetry, and music; the epic expresses the qualities of heroism and courage in the struggles of man against man, and man against nature. While the former represents the eternal feminine, the latter is symbolic of the eternal masculine. Again, as the lyric is subjective expressing the momentary emotion, the epic reveals a sense of destiny and a consciousness of history. *Beowulf* and Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* reflect the epic. Keats, Byron, and Shelley, who were strongly responsive to Italian influence, are the three great English lyric poets of the eighteenth century. Shakespeare's tragedies and Goethe's *Faust* are thoroughly imbued with a sense of destiny and a consciousness of history. The music of Brahms, Beethoven, and Wagner expresses the spirit of the eternal masculine; Mendelssohn and Chaminade, the former a Jew and the latter a woman, reveal the eternal feminine. Such heroes as Siegfried, Lohengrin, and Tristan in the operas of Wagner are Nordic in spirit. Heroines like Brünnehilde and Isolde represent Nordic ideals of womanhood. Puccini's *La Bohême,* his *Madame Butterfly,* and Verdi's earlier operas show more of the Mediterranean spirit of the lyric. Great delicacy and subtlety in expressing the finer shades of human feeling reveal the subjective, feminine spirit of the lyric form. The sense of destiny, the consciousness of history, and the call of the future to great and heroic action appear in process of dissolution in these splendid productions. Verdi's *Aïda* is one of

his later works, perhaps the most magnificent of all; certainly the most profitable for him. This opera is distinguished sharply from his earlier creations and reflects the Nordic spirit of the Wagnerian influence to which he responded.

The Negro has no consciousness of history; he understands the lyric, but the epic is foreign to his nature. While the Mediterranean understands the epic, there can be no question concerning his preference for the lyric. The Nordic, on the other hand, has developed the epic in music and poetry in a style which demonstrates once and for all the deep inner response of his nature to this form of artistic creation. And so, again, the conclusion may be drawn that the mental quality of the Mediterranean represents an intermediate type.

The Oppression Psychosis

Attention is called to Herbert Miller's analysis of the "oppression psychosis."[11] Dominated races find their natural impulses balked from this point of view, and since the desire continues to struggle subconsciously as well as consciously for release and satisfaction, certain traits emerge as compensation. Shrewdness, cunning, suspicion, subjectivity, aggressive self-assertion, and hyperæsthesia are symptoms of the "oppression psychosis," according to this author. It follows that certain characteristics often attributed to Negroes, Armenians, and Jews are not racial traits at all, but rather psychopathic developments of domination by other races.

The attention of an oppressed group turns in upon itself, since it is prevented from realizing its own aspirations for freedom. This explains an exaggerated subjectivity, sensitiveness, and hyperæsthesia; for the dominated group is hyperæsthetic to itself. The capacity to view its own problems objectively has been lost completely. Cunning, shrewdness, and intellectual indirection are convenient means of realizing ends which could not be gained by forthright methods of open dealing. Suspicion is intensified, since dominated groups naturally seek to avoid absorption and exploitation by other groups as much as possible. Like other qualities of the "oppression psychosis," it is a protective device. Such qualities as honor and veracity are discounted, since the cards are stacked against them and clever dealing is a more successful instrument of competition than outspoken honesty. The Negro is inclined to make himself conspicuous because this compensates for his feeling of inferiority. Likewise, Jews are analytical, introspective, aggressive, sensitive, and conspicuous because of the compensating value of these characteristics. Adroitness in business and religious solidarity are defensive techniques which contribute to welfare and self-esteem. For the Armenian, the Gregorian Church has been a symbol of national unity and so has

[11] H. A. Miller, *Races, Nations and Classes*, Philadelphia, 1924, Ch. 4.

Armenian language and literature. Bereft of statehood and political independence for centuries, the Church has developed an extraordinary authority over the common life.[12] Its importance is intensified in the process of making up for the loss of statehood. These are co-operative devices, like folkways and mores, which ensure welfare and survival.

From the point of view of this interpretation, the characteristic symptoms of the "oppression psychosis" among dominated people are not racial traits. Certain qualities of the Negro, such as his lack of sense of honor and disinclination to veracity, may be understood in terms of the relationship of domination and submission, rather than organic adjustment and climatic selection. Such intellectual subtleties as nonresistance, nonco-operation and economic boycott as preached and practiced by an inspired leader of oppressed classes of the British Commonwealth of India compensate for the lack of physical force and political independence. Mahatma Gandhi is not the only leader of dominated races who has learned the effectiveness of these instruments in terms of internal cohesion and cultural resistance to exploitation and absorption. Some 2,000 years ago, similar doctrines though modified in certain particulars were advocated in Galilee. With extraordinary poise and self-assurance, the teacher of these precepts could tell his followers to "render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's."

It is of course recognized that all traits which may be attributed to the social process of superordination and subordination cannot be considered racial. Other forms of the social process previously analyzed also contribute to the development of various mental and moral characteristics. The impact of the social environment as mediated especially through language symbols represents a potent influence to be distinguished sharply from racial character. Selective migration and settlement in other lands changes the composition of people who remain at home and the composition of populations among whom the immigrants settle as well. Death rates and birth rates are not exclusively selective in the sense that surviving individuals represent closer approximations to the racial type organically adapted to the climatic conditions of life. Disease germs and germ cells are not always as discriminating as may be assumed in matters of this kind. Hence it is recognized that there are many and varied influences, other than race, which determine the mental and physical qualities of individuals. And it is, of course, a serious blunder to confuse racial characters with cultural and other factors. These considerations do not depreciate the importance of race in the least. In the process of adaptation to the physical environment of climate and soil, certain traits emerge as relatively stable qualities, both mental and physical, of large population aggregates. Such are the traits

[12] M. Ormanian, *The Church of Armenia*, translated by G. M. Gregory, London, 1912, p. 224.

described in this chapter with especial reference to the climate and soil which produce them.

Evaluation of the Oppression Psychosis

That Professor Miller's thesis carries considerable force is manifestly true. It is not admissible to assume, however, that the relationship of domination and submission is abnormal and that psychopathic traits necessarily develop from such a situation. It may be and usually is a *normal* relationship. Negroes living in America as slaves up until the time of the Civil War did not show symptoms of the "oppression psychosis." In the course of time after they were "emancipated," some of them developed certain psychopathic symptoms here under discussion. Enlightened mulattoes, especially, will frequently display traits of this kind. They are often extremely subjective, hypersensitive, superæsthetic as well as markedly subtle and adroit intellectually. But this certainly does not hold for the race as a whole or even for a substantial part of it. The mulatto is not admitted on terms of social equality among white people, and he naturally smarts under the necessity of having to cast his lot with a race of people upon whom the chains of moral bondage still hang. There is no need or desire to depreciate the splendid gifts and great achievement of mulattoes like W. E. B. DuBois. It is significant, however, that DuBois himself, in his book *Darkwater*, tells how he was snubbed as a young man by a white girl and took it so to heart that he swore eternal revenge upon the white race. But if anyone thinks there is anything psychopathic about W. E. B. DuBois, he is encouraged to read this author's books. The Negro race today has no leader more able and gifted than DuBois.

Negroes love gay colors and this makes some of them appear conspicuous, but the truth is that there are a thousand dressed in rags for every one who sports gay colors. Are they aggressive? Perhaps occasionally so, but generally they are meek, obedient, and docile enough to suit the requirements of the Southern white man. The present conditions of life tend to make them somewhat more aggressive. Do they lack veracity and sense of honor? As these terms are used and understood, it appears reasonably certain that the Negro in America is deficient in this respect. It is reported that the Negro in tropical Africa is similarly deficient. And now, are these traits racial or the result of a social process of domination? Both factors are manifestly involved, but of the two, domination is probably the least important in the case of the Negro. In other races, the situation may be quite different. There is no space here to analyze the "oppression psychosis" of other races. It is important to add, however, that democratic idealism, the legend of self-determination coupled with rapid commercialization of cheap means of communication, tends to aggravate the relationships between races.

This does not imply that subject races are doomed to eternal degradation. It does mean that people may do unnecessary mischief, as, for instance, Woodrow Wilson, by preaching a gospel of liberty directed with particular attention to certain groups for the purpose of inciting them to rebellion. If this is politics, let it be understood as politics and not masqueraded in the garb of humanitarianism. And if this, too, is politics, then let the wary beware.

Language Symbols and Value Judgments

Many words imply value judgments. In the characterization of mental and physical types, it is impossible to use language symbols which are so entirely neutral in moral significance that human bias in one way or another is not evoked. The ethical reactions of individuals are invariably charged with feeling and a high measure of interested subjectivity, and no person can keep his emotions under disciplined control when a continuous bombardment of argument and idea is thoroughly resented. To act otherwise would require the complete reorganization of the mental and moral patterns of the individual so bombarded. Let us assume that this actually occurs and that the individual in a spiritual sense is born again. Does this neutralize his value judgments? Not at all. It simply substitutes one set of standards for another and the feelings are quite as active as they were before, when the propaganda came from a different angle. In the world today, the value judgments of individuals are greatly varied and highly differentiated. The moral connotation of such a descriptive term as "warlike" is one thing for a pacifist, another matter for a militarist. Language symbols such as "masculinity" and "femininity" arouse emotional reactions within the same sex which vary over a wider range than the median reactions of both sexes. Words such as individualism suggest a "ragged" sort of thing to one person and a "rugged" kind of meaning to another. And so with adjectives such as self-reliant, independent, self-assertive, aggressive, reliable, utilitarian, excitable, tenacious, clever, æsthetic, tractable, emotional, and so on indefinitely. The bias of a person whose aim is impersonal detachment is of course more reprehensible than the bias of a person who has no such interest. In a sense it is true that a person becomes increasingly inhuman in exact proportion to the rigor and severity of his scientific objectivity. But when observations of this kind are taken as a vindication of human prejudice and folly the intent is sadly misinterpreted. Let the yawning chasm which separates a politician of the type of Huey Long and the type of Grover Cleveland bear witness to the importance of this distinction.

A person may idealize any racial type, provided he has the knowledge, talent and desire to do so. This has been done for the Negro as well as the Nordic, for the Mediterranean as well as the Mongolian. DuBois has

accomplished this feat for the Negro, and countless other writers have done similarly for other races. Idealization is manifestly out of place in a study which aims to set forth the actual relationships between racial character on the one hand and climate and soil on the other hand. It is recognized that ethical language symbols descriptive of race have been used in this and the preceding chapter. Some of these are manifestly complimentary, while others are derogatory, regardless of the race considered. But these ethical implications are by no means uniform for the races concerned. They are actually contradictory in many instances and therefore the value judgments as such have been disregarded.

Mongolian Traits and Climatic Selection

Ellsworth Huntington in his description of north and south Chinese shows how easy it is to transform a more or less neutral characterization of racial types into a description that borders on calumny. The people of the south, he says, are alert, progressive, energetic, and adaptable. They are not averse to changing their habits, inclined to be radical in politics and fiery in action. Northern Chinese are conservative, tenacious, deeply rooted in their own traditions, and very self-assured. "Those who are not so friendly to the Chinese say that the southerners are clever, but unstable, unreliable, and likely to lose their heads, while the northerners are unutterably slow and stupid, but relatively honest."[13] A good deal of evidence is submitted to show that the former characterizations of north and south Chinese are well substantiated. But are these traits racial? The answer is no. Huntington inclines to the theory of selective migration. Famines in the north have been far more frequent and devastating. Moreover, the repeated invasions of Tartars, Huns, and other tribes of pastoral nomads from the regions farther north have not disturbed the southern area as much as the northern. These two factors, repeated famines and frequent invasions, have resulted in a continuous though intermittent selective migration.[14] The more adaptable, alert, and progressive moving from north to south have left behind the more conservative and tradition bound. It is also probable that such traits as thrift, frugality, prudence, industry, and tenacity are partly the result of the disciplinary action of the scourge of famines and partly the result of migration and selective death rates. Only the hardy, thrifty, prudent, frugal, and industrious types could survive under the circumstances.

This explanation allows for climatic selection to a certain extent, and when comparison is made between the far southern types, who live in Siam, Burma, and the Malay Archipelago, and the northern types, the

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[13] E. Huntington, *The Character of Races*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1927, p. 159.
[14] *Ibid.*, Ch. 13.

importance of climatic selection becomes obvious enough. The extent of the diffusion and migration of Mongolian races is so great that it is practically impossible to identify definite types with definite climatic and geographical areas. Ethnologists ordinarily make distinctions between the southern branch of Mongols consisting of southern Chinese and Japanese and the northern branch made up of Manchus, Koreans, and northern Chinese. These branches, in turn, are distinguished from Turko-Tartar stocks and the Ural-Altaics. No trustworthy racial classification of these populations has been made up to the present time; neither is it possible to define their boundaries. Eskimos in Alaska, Indians in North and South America, and various types already mentioned, living in a vast area reaching from Siberia and northern Mongolia to the Malay Archipelago, show the wide range of climatic toleration of the Mongolian people. The anthropological traits of these various subdivisions may be distinguished, but the boundaries between them have not been determined with sufficient accuracy to make possible anything like a reliable study of organic adaptation and climatic selection. The sources of the great Mongolian migrations westward into Europe, southward to the Indian Ocean, and eastward to North and South America are not known. That these extensive migrations occurred and that widespread diffusion of races resulted is well known.

Problem Questions

1. How do you account for the more frequent occurrence of the Nordic type in northern Italy than in central and southern Italy?

2. The male Negro of West Africa has an estimated average cranial capacity of 1,350 cubic centimeters. The male European has an average of 1,490 cubic centimeters. Does this prove that the European is more intelligent than the Negro?

3. Do the characteristic physical and mental traits of the Alpine represent an intermediate position between the Nordic and the Mongol?

4. Is the Mediterranean type a relatively pure race or a product of miscegenation?

5. The army intelligence scores, as analyzed by Carl Brigham, showed the Nordic at the top and the Negro at the bottom with the Alpine and Mediterranean occupying an intermediate position but closer to the Negro than to the Nordic. How do you account for this stratification?

6. Is it possible to account for the characteristic traits of the Mongol in terms of organic adjustment to the geographical conditions of life?

7. It has been claimed that the North American Indian is part Nordic. Is there any evidence to support this view?

8. Does the nasal index of the Eskimo disprove the theory that a cold, dry region favors the survival of a long, narrow type of nose?

9. Is the "oppression psychosis" a valid explanation of the mental traits of certain dominated races? If so, which races?

10. How would you evaluate the following factors in explaining the greater efficiency of the northern Negro in the United States: intermarriage with whites, climate, and social environment?

11. Does the North American Indian represent an organic adaptation to climate and soil?

12. Is the population of the United States likely to become more like the North American Indian as the centuries pass?

13. Is the Nordic temperament adapted to a closely knit structure of society which places a premium upon those values which require the subordination of the individual to established authority?

14. In explaining the differences between the southern and northern Chinese how would you rate the following factors: climatic selection, selective migration, economic opportunity, and foreign domination?

Suggestions for Additional Reading

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18

GEOGRAPHY AND CULTURE

IT HAS BEEN shown that race and habitat are intimately related. Relatively stable physical and mental characteristics of large populations emerge as a consequence of climatic selection and organic adaptation to the requirements of survival in a given geographical environment. Racial types so differentiated are the primary creative factors of all civilizations, past and present. The quality and the temper of a culture are conditioned in this way. Great migrations and conflicts of races have occurred and recurred over uncounted millennia which began long before the misty dawn of recorded human history. Triumphant races have imposed their wills upon the conquered and elaborated the social, political, and economic organs of control, exploitation, and domination. The spirit and the temper of these victorious races is expressed in the ethical and legal patterns of behavior governing relationships between classes which are first divided along racial lines; the same temper and the same spirit is expressed in creative achievement and discovery in the fields of religion, science, philosophy, and art.

THE SPIRIT OF WESTERN CULTURE

Western science has aimed at nothing less than the complete conquest and mastery of nature. In philosophy and literature the same conquering will is reflected in Goethe's *Faust,* Nietzsche's *Will to Power,* and Spengler's *Decline of the West.* There are differences in thought, shades of feeling, and form of expression, but the quality is the same. The Dionysian spirit of Nietzsche and the Faustian spirit of Goethe and Spengler are essentially identical; will to live, love of life, and will to power are quite synonymous even though the language symbols carry connotations which vary widely in subjective interpretation. In short, the world-view and the philosophy of life change with the changing times but the spirit of a race remains substantially the same. That some change occurs from time to time in the inner quality of a race is not denied; the point here emphasized is that the temper of a race is a harder, more permanent kind of thing than the philosophical, religious, and other embellishments of the spirit. When this racial temper has changed appreciably it may be put down and taken for granted that the race has ceased to exist.

Positive Philosophy of Oswald Spengler

Spengler does not view the symptoms of impending dissolution and disappearance of the Western spirit with fatalistic indifference. His philosophy is a philosophy of strong action. Nothing can be gained by wishful thinking and evasion of the hard facts. The real essence of defeatism is reflected in the optimism of the person who is either too cowardly to face the facts squarely or too stupid to understand them. In Spengler's magnificent philosophy the will of man and the will of nature come to grips in a last dramatic struggle. Nature appears beneficent and smiling but in truth she is inexorable and unyielding. Her final triumph is sure. Meanwhile ostriches bury their heads in the sands and weaklings succumb to a hog trough philosophy. Spengler's philosophy calls for defiance; it demands courage, vision, and action. There are many victories to be won before the final tragedy. For man would bend the will of nature to his own while nature places limitations upon these possibilities; her will in the end is inflexible, and man is required to make his adjustments accordingly.

The Struggle with Nature

The imperious desire of civilized man is the continued enrichment of his experience and the growth of his power over nature. Realization of this desire is synonymous with increasing knowledge, continuous differentiation of wants, and accumulation of wealth. Life becomes more complex as standards of living rise. Meanwhile the delicacy of balance becomes more precarious and the difficulty of maintaining the standards achieved becomes greater. But the spirit does not rest content with merely holding what has been gained. As the impulse to move onward is irresistible, the difficulties are enhanced. If the requirements of man for individuation are imperious, the demands of nature for genesis are equally so. Everywhere the higher birth rates are correlated with relatively low standards of living and simple conditions of life. But the process of return to nature is difficult in exact proportion as man has risen above this status. Enjoyment of life and the standards achieved are not surrendered without a struggle, and when they are the spirit is broken. Hence the struggle with nature is unavoidable. The choice is between ignominious defeat, optimistic self-deception, cowardly indifference, inexcusable ignorance on the one hand, and a firm determination to fight intelligently and courageously. Long range planning and prevision are everywhere the order of the day, and instruments such as the corporative state and a sixty-year plan with a man on horseback to guide them can only be understood and evaluated from the standpoint of the struggle here described.

Race and Culture

Racial traits are inherited. Many similar traits are acquired, as for instance the dark tinge of the skin due to exposure to the sun. The interweaving of inherited and acquired traits is so manifestly complicated that there is reasonable ground for doubt in countless instances of traits which may be regarded as racial. Race is a product of climate and soil; culture is a product of race. These statements express important principles which can be clarified only by concentrating attention upon the particular problems involved. It is recognized, however, that these statements oversimplify the actual relationships. To the extent that the spirit of a race is communicated by a process of example and social contagion in a cultural milieu and absorbed by people who belong to the same or to other races, it is not explicable exclusively in terms of biology. Human interaction in a social environment is the obvious explanation in this case. The traits are acquired and not inherited. In this way the temper and the quality of a race are assimilated by people who belong to other races and to the same race as well. Communication is a social and not a biological process. Moreover, there is action and reaction, give and take, which means in effect that the spirit of a ruling race is compromised and appreciably modified by contact with other races. Male conquerors everywhere have invariably cohabited and intermarried more or less with the women of vanquished races. But it is not primarily the dilution of the hereditary stream to which attention is called here; equally if not more significant is the fact that in this way the children of conquerors are exposed to the moral and religious teaching of the conquered. The story is told about the son of an English father and Irish mother. Questioned about the nationality of his parents, he said, "My father is English, and my mother is Irish and I am Irish."

Jewish Assimilation of Western Culture

These cross-racial cultural influences are important, but it is easy to exaggerate them. It must be remembered that when the characteristic values and feelings of one race are assimilated by another they are reinterpreted, revalued, and reëxpressed from a different basis. The result may be a far cry from the original. European Jews of talent have absorbed with unusual sympathy of feeling the spirit of their worldly masters. Mendelssohn in music, Einstein in science, Spinoza in philosophy, and Bernhardt in drama are outstanding examples. Freud is the founder of psychoanalysis, Marx of scientific socialism. Heine was a distinguished poet. There are names like Trotsky and Heifetz which are well known. Ferdinand Lassalle, Ludwig Gumplowicz, Georg Simmel, and Rosa Luxemburg were Jews. Benjamin

Disraeli was a man of letters and a distinguished British statesman of the nineteenth century. Nearly everyone in America is acquainted with the work of Walter Lippmann, George Jean Nathan, and Ludwig Lewisohn. In the fields of business and finance there are such names as Rothschild, Baruch, Stinnes, and Loeb. The Russian Revolution brought Litvinov, Zinoviev, Kamenev, and Trotsky to positions of political power. Among the revolutionists the names of Landauer, Toller, Levinė, and Szamuely are better known in Europe than America. There have been famous Jewish actors besides Sarah Bernhardt: Kainz, Reinhardt, Moissi, Possart, and Moscowitch are well known. Feuchtwanger and Ludwig are prominent European writers of today.

This brief summary of distinguished Jews who have figured eminently in the culture of the Western world by no means exhausts the lists. It is just a mere beginning to show that this highly adaptable race has been extremely sensitive to creative achievement identified with European American civilization. There has been absorption, reinterpretation, and reëxpression in every field of effort with significant exceptions such as agronomy, agriculture, and animal husbandry. Zionism has shown, however, that the Jew is by no means entirely averse to activity of this kind when opportunities are afforded. Nevertheless his home appears to be in the great megalopolitan centers of civilization, partly by natural preference, and partly by force of circumstances.

Refraction in Assimilation

Does the creative work of the Jew merely reflect the spirit of the Western world? Not at all. This spirit is racially deflected in process of absorption and reëxpression. Just as the pathway of a ray of light is deflected in its course in passing from one medium of characteristic density into another of different density, so also the influence of a culture is modified in process of communication from one race to another. For the Jew, race is primarily religion, that is, a profession of faith. To accept Judaism is to become a Jew. Simmel's work in "formal" sociology, Kammerer's work in biology, and Gumplowicz in his *Der Rassenkampf* express the spirit. According to Gumplowicz race is not at all biological or even anthropo-geographical; it is social.

The power lying behind the scenes of action is syngenism, a natural sentiment of social unity and cohesion very much like Giddings' consciousness of kind. Thus race becomes morality and religion, and this interpretation is representative. Simmel's analysis of the social process in terms of typical behavior response gives exclusive attention to the forms of interhuman action in a milieu of ideas and feelings. These forms of human relations are considered quite synonymous with the processes of socialization

which produce like-mindedness.[1] For him, to use his own words, "the personal attitude toward the world" is decisive.[2] Race is not concerned in the physiological sense of the relative persistence of a certain group of bodily characteristics; it is rather a universal social morality of peace and brotherhood which appears to dissolve the prejudice of races in a common profession of faith.

Similarly meaningful is the affinity of the Jews for Lamarckism, the doctrine that acquired traits are inherited.[3] This principle manifestly implies that there are no differences of race which cannot be abridged in a process of cultural symbiosis. In this way Jews living in a Nordic environment would become Nordic, and conversely Nordics living in a Jewish environment would become Jews. And thus the question of race becomes at bottom a matter of belief. Paul Kammerer, a Lamarckian, wrote significantly as follows: "The denial of the racial importance of acquired characters favors race hatred."[4] Hence questions of science become confused, perhaps unwittingly and inadvertently, with the qualitative differences of races. Experimenting with skin spots on a certain variety of toad Kammerer believed he had conclusively demonstrated that acquired traits are inherited, and when in 1926 it was shown that the skin spots were due to injections of India ink, he committed suicide.

From the point of view of Jewish temperament, the consensus is the ultimate criterion of race. When William McDougall published his book entitled *Is America Safe for Democracy?*[5] Walter Lippmann drew him into a discussion of intelligence tests and biological theory by repeatedly referring with scornful criticism to the person as well as the work of his opponent. Finally McDougall's defense appeared in the *New Republic* and Lippmann promptly seized upon it to point out certain weaknesses in the former's case. For McDougall the biological theory of race is a vital matter; for Lippmann this appears as racial snobbishness and unwarranted assertion of Nordic superiority. The latter inclines strongly to the theory of the consensus, and this assertion is fully warranted in the light of the concluding chapters in his *Public Opinion.*[6] These chapters are nothing at bottom if not a moral vindication in terms of impartial science for the substitution of an international organization of politics and economics for the present national organization.

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[1] G. Simmel, *Soziologie,* München und Leipzig, 1923, p. 4 *et seq.* The sub-title of this book is *Untersuchungen über die Formen der Vergesellschaftung.* See also P. Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories,* New York, 1928, p. 501; T. Abel, *Systematic Sociology in Germany,* New York, 1929, Ch. 1.

[2] Quoted by von Wiese and Becker, *op. cit.,* p. 705.

[3] Baur, Fischer, and Lenz, *op. cit.,* p. 674.

[4] Quoted by Baur, Fischer, and Lenz, *Human Heredity,* The Macmillan Co., New York, 1931, p. 675. Translated by E. and C. Paul.

[5] W. McDougall, *Is America Safe for Democracy?* New York, 1920.

[6] W. Lippmann, *Public Opinion,* New York, 1922, Chs. 25-28.

In the arts of persuasion and propaganda, the influence of mind upon mind by clever use of words, phrases and sensory impressions generally, the Jew is past master. A natural affinity for the theory of the consensus calls for aptitude and skill of this kind. It is no accident that Jews commonly favor internationalism as against nationalism. Whether the actual form of internationalism urged is imperialism, communism, socialism, democracy, pacifism, or economics and finance in a theoretical garb of free trade, is entirely beside the point. They favor social democracy in Germany, imperialism in England and world finance in America because each of these movements advocates the enlargement of the consensus by international understanding and agreement. First, second and third "Internationale" have had a peculiar appeal to the Jewish mind. National socialism is anathema. Jewish execration and denunciation of this political form of government, as illustrated for instance by Lewisohn,[7] exhibits a fervency and passion which manifestly comes from the heart. It is reminiscent of the rabbinical imprecations and curses directed against Spinoza at the time of his excommunication from the Jewish synagogue. Untermyer directed the organization of this feeling in the form of an international boycott of German goods. Manifestly the situation in Germany has become involved from the Jewish viewpoint because of the creation of two distinct classes of citizenship, Aryans and Jews. Precisely the same situation developed in the South after the Civil War when Negroes were disfranchised in a variety of interesting ways. In Italy the racial issue has not been raised, but Jews do not sing hymns in praise of Mussolini and his fascist state.[8]

Precisely the same feeling is involved in the rift between Stalin and Trotsky, and the assassination of Kirov in 1934. For Stalin insisted upon a reorientation of policy from the international to the national emphasis, while Trotsky continued to preach the gospel of the impending world red revolution. That the international adoption of a common political creed extends the consensus and actualizes the ideal is self-evident. But there is political strategy as well as racial temperament implied in this question. The strategy runs deep. The rise of national socialism in Germany under conservative leadership is partly the result of the rise of international communism under Jewish leadership. Ernst Thaelmann who commanded nearly a hundred communist votes in the German Reichstag took orders directly from the Third Internationale in Moscow of which Zinoviev was president up until 1928 when the rift between Trotsky and Stalin resulted in the exile of the former Russian Commissar of War. Like the international socialists and

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[7] L. Lewisohn, "The German Revolt against Civilization," *Harper's*, August, 1933.

[8] The catechism of fascist Italy reads as follows: "More than fifty millions of Italians who have the same languages, the same customs, the same blood, the same destiny, the same interests: a moral, political, and economic unity that is integrally realized in the fascist state." Quoted by M. Parmelee, *Bolshevism, Fascism, and the Liberal Democratic State*, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1934, p. 294. Reprinted by special permission.

communists of other countries, Trotsky was ready to fight for the world red revolution but not for national imperialism.

The Strategy of Defensive Assimilation

The conclusion is warranted at this point that a minority race exposed to the influence of a dynamic culture revaluates and redefines the characteristic quality of a ruling race in terms of its own. Dominating ideas and feelings are assimilated, but in the very process of absorption they are modified in ways which reflect the characteristic quality of the subordinate racial group. This process of revaluation and reëxpression is particularly evident when a race of people is as sensitive, gifted, and adaptable as the Jews. Traits which distinguish one race from another imply certain values which are communicated socially in a process of interhuman action. But this process is not in the nature of a melting pot which produces an entirely new amalgam. The quality of a dominating race contributes the tone and the temper of a culture in every active phase of its movement from Springtime to Winter, from birth to death. It possesses vital force, power, and prestige, and therefore it is imitated and assimilated by subject races wherever the contact occurs. But imitation and assimilation do not necessarily mean amalgamation and the consequent loss of identity; neither do they mean that tendency toward the universal consensus which represents the Jewish ideal. Fundamentally they are defensive techniques which imply a deep political strategy and serve to safeguard a dominated race against the loss of identity and subsequent extinction.

When the circumstances appear to warrant, these defensive techniques may be converted into offensive weapons of the first magnitude. Japan is an example. This political strategy would be quickly and vehemently denied by many leaders of subject races; in some instances it appears to be blind and without conscious purpose. Subconsciously it is real and active, and sooner or later it appears in the very forefront of consciousness as in the case of Sadao Araki who believes that only the Japanese can save the world from chaos and destruction. But often the conscious realization of this political strategy is premature as in the case of Mahatma Gandhi, Jewish leadership in Germany before the Nazi revolution, and possibly also Japanese leadership of the present day.

Geography and Culture

It has been shown that climate and soil are conditioning factors in the determination of race. Geographic influences are also important conditioning factors of culture.[9] Ever since the work of Montesquieu who wrote *L'esprit des Lois* during the early part of the eighteenth century, Western

[9] J. P. Lichtenberger, *Development of Social Theory*, New York, 1923, Ch. 9.

writers have given considerable attention to climate, soil, and topography, with particular reference not only to the differentiation of races as discussed in the previous chapter but also to the evolution of culture. We are concerned at this point with the latter aspect of the problem. The names of Montesquieu, Ratzel, Buckle, Semple, and Huntington are particularly well known in this connection.

The Valley and Delta of the Nile

Early civilizations developed on the soil of rich river valleys such as the Tigris, Euphrates, and the Nile. The culture of ancient Egypt may be regarded as the gift of the Nile for this river is without parallel on this earth in certain respects. Egypt and the Nile Valley are synonymous in the terms of geography, and this applies to modern as well as ancient times. There is upper and lower Egypt, the former referring to the valley and the latter to the delta. This delta is composed of rich alluvial soil deposited by the waters of the river at the rate of about four and one-half inches a century. It has a sea front on the Mediterranean of about 155 miles and a depth of about 100 miles. As one moves eastward or westward from the river, marsh land gives way to mud flats and these in turn to drifting sand. With the sea on one side and great expanse of desert sands on all other sides, ancient Egypt enjoyed a degree of natural protection which favored cultural development. Her small and compact territory was accessible not only across the sea but also across the desert sands from south and east as well as west, and it is precisely this balance of accessibility and inaccessibility which hastened the early evolution of her society. Accessibility is desirable since it affords trading and other contacts; easy accessibility on all sides is a disadvantage since it invites invasion of hostile armies. The topography of Egypt played a significant rôle in the early consolidation of her national life for these reasons. So did the fertile soil of the valley along the river Nile.

This soil is unexcelled in fertility. Every summer it is enriched by the overflow of the turbid waters of the river thus providing a natural irrigation of the mud flats which extend on either side. In places the river trench is as much as thirty miles wide, but the narrow strips of soil which flank the river are seldom more than ten miles in width. The sediment deposited by the river every year has slowly built up the delta. There are only some 10,000 square miles of cultivated soil in the delta and the valley above as far as the first cataract, a territory not much larger than the state of Vermont.

It was this little patch of mud land in a dry and mild climate which produced the first great culture and civilization known to man about 3000 B.C. to 1200 B.C.

The Development of Agriculture

The hot sun, the fertile soil, and the water of the Nile in natural irrigation provided a combination of factors which favored the early extensive development of agriculture in this region. Some 6,000 years ago ancient Egyptian peasants were watering their fields of flax, barley, and split wheat by means of a great network of irrigation canals in much the same manner as the traveler may observe today.[10] It was from this country that grain and flax were first imported into Europe. Local chieftains controlled the irrigation trenches of their districts, and the peasants who lived in villages of low, mud brick huts were obliged to carry shares of grain and flax gathered from their fields to the chieftains in control of the irrigation works. Otherwise the supply of water was withdrawn. These early taxes testify to the feudal organization of the period.

Agricultural Divinities

Ancient Egyptians worshiped many gods, but there were two whom they honored and revered above all others. They were agricultural divinities: Ra, the Sun god, and Osiris who symbolized the combined power of the great river, the fertile soil, and the imperishable life which these produced. The pyramids and temples were erected for the worship and sacred memory of these gods.

Early Egyptian Inventions

The river produced a plant called papyrus, and the Egyptian early learned that he could cut up the reeds of this plant into thin strips and write on them much better than on pieces of wood, bone, or pottery. His clay was hardened by the intense heat of the sun, and he learned also that soft clay vessels could be hardened in an open fire. But he knew more than this, for the Egyptian potter's yard shows long rows of closed furnaces of clay as tall as a man. Here the pottery could be burned evenly because of protection from the wind. The hills about Sinai provided him with copper which he learned how to melt, mold, and prepare for many varied uses. He was the first to develop the metallic arts, the first to invent the solar calendar, the first to use a phonetic alphabet, the first to discover the arts of spinning, weaving, pottery, and glass manufacture, the first to evolve a system of agriculture and animal husbandry. That the physiographic conditions of life favored the growth of a relatively dense population, and that this in turn provided a basis for the social division of labor upon which the development of the arts and crafts was dependent must be accepted as self-evident. The corresponding accumulation of wealth and political strati-

[10] J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Times*, Boston, 1916, p. 36.

fication of society provided a distribution of duties and rights, privileges and responsibility which held the organs of society together in a kind of moving equilibrium. The development of the fine arts, the growth of large cities, the consolidation of vested interests identified with bureaucracy and priesthood were natural consequences.

Racial Factors

The dominating racial influence in ancient Egypt is not known. That the Mediterranean race played a significant rôle is very probable. An uninterrupted supply of skulls covering a period of more than 5,000 years shows two main racial types: (1) the Mediterranean race, and (2) the Negro race. Records of various kinds also indicate infiltrations of Semites who invaded the Nile country from across the Red Sea; hordes of blonde assailants, presumably Nordic, contributed to the composite aggregation of racial types. There is evidence also of the broad-headed Near Eastern type as well as Hottentots and Bushman women brought up from tropical Africa.[11]

The Valley and Delta of the Tigris and Euphrates

In point of time the early Babylonian civilization closely parallels the ancient Egyptian. Like the latter it too developed along flood plains of the valley and the delta of a great river system. It also enjoyed the natural protection of desert, sea, and mountain range. This geographical isolation afforded by the waters of the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean, the great Arabian and Mesopotamian deserts flanked by mountains on the east, north, and west was not as complete as in the case of Egypt. The settled agriculturalists of the Babylonian delta had to contend with successive invasions of Assyrians, Elamites, and Semitic Arabians under the leadership of Sargon. But the natural protection was sufficient to provide long periods of peaceful intercourse and a steady evolutionary development of high cultural forms which in some respects compare favorably with the brilliant work of the early Egyptians.

Babylonia is the joint delta of the two rivers of Mesopotamia, the Tigris and Euphrates. Deposits of fine mud gathered over a long course of over 1,000 miles slowly built up the rich alluvial soil of the lower valley and the delta. This soil is incomparable in fertility. In ancient times two and even three crops of wheat were produced each year, and the yields aggregated 200 to 300 grains from a single seed. The region lies in the Mediterranean belt of rainy winter and dry summer, and the rainfall is so scarce that irrigation of the fields is necessary to ripen the grain. So long as the work of irrigation was organized and directed, this region, called also the Plain of

[11] Baur, Fischer, and Lenz, *op. cit.*, pp. 203, 204.

Shinar, supported a dense population. With the dissolution of the ancient civilization, the plain became the desolate marshland and fen which it is today. Ancient Babylonia, like ancient Egypt, was incredibly small in size. The Plain of Shinar contains something less than 8,000 square miles of cultivable soil, approximately equal to the state of New Jersey, but its agricultural resources were sufficient to provide a material foundation for a thriving population and a dynamic culture.

Ancient Sumerian Culture

Sometime before 3000 B.C. an obscure race of people known as Sumerians pushed across the passes of the eastern mountains and settled upon the marshes about the mouths of the two rivers. Monuments of stone show that they wore shaggy woolen kilts and that their heads were shaven. These people built villages of low, mud brick huts which gradually extended northward to cover the entire plain. They built levees to control the spring floods, and distributed the water of the rivers in a great network of irrigation trenches.[12] Their two chief grains were barley and split wheat, and inasmuch as the latter was called by its Egyptian name, it appears that the Babylonians learned of this grain from the Egyptians. Cattle, sheep, and goats were domesticated, oxen were used to draw their plows, and donkeys pulled their wheeled carts and chariots. The cuneiform writing of the Sumerians was at first pictorial but soon developed into the phonetic form. An alphabet, however, was not devised as in the case of the Egyptians. A lunar calendar made up of twelve moon months was corrected from time to time by the simple expedient of adding an extra month whenever the scribe found that he had reached the end of his calendar year a month or so ahead of the seasons. This calendar was inherited by Persians and Jews and is still used by Mohammedans and Oriental Jews. Temple towers were the homes of a wealthy priesthood who supervised and rented the temple lands and property. They served also as the sacred shrines of the great agricultural divinities, the gods of earth, air, sky, and sea. Here the peasants brought their offerings and tribute as they prayed for bountiful harvests and for deliverance from devastating flood. While this tradition of the flood was later taken over by the Hebrews, its Babylonian origin is unmistakable.

The Legend of the Flood

Danger of flood was far greater in the Plain of Shinar than in the valley of the Nile. For the Nile bears only beneficial mud as it moves sluggishly along a navigable fairway from Assuan to the coast. This mud is invisibly fine and causes little trouble in irrigation. The obstructive silt has already

[12] Breasted, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

been deposited far upstream beyond the cataracts where the fall of the river is concentrated at a few points. In Mesopotamia, the situation is otherwise. When the Euphrates enters the fenland, it is laden with silt which blocks one bed after another, thus producing the disastrous floods preserved by Babylonian legends and carried over in the Hebrew tradition.

This situation is reflected in the early religious beliefs of the people.[13] For the dragon which broods in dark waters is symbolic of the creeping silt-shoal which accumulates until it throttles the passage of the river. The binding of the dragon was the first victory of good.

Thus again it is plain that a little patch of extremely fertile, alluvial mud land deposited slowly in the course of centuries as the waters of the two rivers annually overflowed their banks accounts for the early development of the agricultural arts in this region and the subsequent development of Babylonian civilization. The rich flood plains of China and India tell a similar story.

Geographical Differences and Their Effects

It is more than probable that differences in climate in the regions of the Egyptian and Babylonian deltas explain to a certain extent the more impressive and brilliant achievement of the Nile civilization. For the Nile flows from south to north, from the tropical territory of central Africa to the semitropical and even temperate climate of the southern Mediterranean. The two rivers of Babylon flow in the opposite direction, from north to south, and empty into the Persian Gulf where the enervating effects of a hot, summer climate are pronounced. Thus the climatic conditions of the Nile delta were more favorable to the release of energy, sustained activity, and correspondingly productive achievement than could have been the case in the Plain of Shinar. Expansive power of the Babylonian civilization was greater; Sargon about 2500 B.C. pushed out to the Mediterranean coast, conquered Cyprus and styled himself "lord of the four parts of the earth." Babylonian ideas of numbering, measuring, and accounting traveled far into the northern country. In course of time, about 2000 B.C., the first great megalopolitan centers of civilization appeared on the Nile and in Sumer-Akkad: Thebes, Memphis, and Babylon. But the Babylonian realm was more often conquered and reconquered: Arabian Semites, Assyrians, Chaldeans, Medes, Persians, and Macedonians replaced one another as rulers in the capital city. Relatively speaking, the Egyptians were free to develop the arts of peace in contradistinction to the arts of war. The more effective barriers of desert and sea in Egypt were largely responsible for these differences in cultural development; variation in climate had similar differential impacts upon the social evolution of the two regions.

[13] J. L. Myres, *The Dawn of History*, London, 1912, p. 95.

The Flood Plains of India

A glance at the map of India will show two great river systems flowing across the peninsula: the Indus and the Ganges. It will also show that the peninsula is shut off from the outside world by a heavy range of mountains—the Himalayas—on the north, and the Indian ocean on east, south, and west. The rich alluvial soil of the flood plains of India supports one of the densest agricultural communities in the world. In the basin of the Ganges alone there are more people than in the whole of North America. The soil of this flood plain covers approximately one-fifth of the area of the peninsula, but it supports about 160,000,000 people, roughly one-half of the total population of India. Devout Hindus worship the Ganges and make long pilgrimages to bathe in its sacred waters. At Benares, over a thousand temples and shrines have been erected; here the faithful gather to worship the sacred river.

Aryan Culture

India is the birthplace of the Vedic religion and the Aryan hero tales which spread over the land about 1500 to 1200 B.C., marking the Springtime of the ancient Indian culture. In due course of time, great distinction was achieved particularly in the domain of philosophy, literature, and architecture. The culture and the language of these early Hindus appears to have been Indo-Germanic. "Aryan" Hindus settled in the Punjab as a pastoral people during the first half of the second millennium before Christ.[14] About 1400 B.C., they moved southward, pushing the native Dravidian population before them, but fusing with them by degrees. Elements of a more primitive population, called the Veddah race, were also absorbed to some extent. Upper castes, called Brahmans, exhibit the Nordic characters most definitely. Selective elimination of fair skin under the influence of tropical heat has been almost complete, but in shape of head, nose, and stature, the Brahmans in particular still exhibit decisive Nordic features. In Hindustan an individual's social position is usually found to be in inverse ratio to the breadth of his nose. Thus it appears that a branch of the Nordic race is entitled to credit for the creation of the ancient Indian culture and civilization. But here again the great alluvial flood plains of the Indus and the Ganges favored the development of the agricultural arts upon which the increase of population, accumulation of wealth, social division of labor, and corresponding evolution of culture were dependent.

The Flood Plains of China

The ancient civilization of China tells a similar story. A glance at the map of China will show three great river systems flowing in a general

[14] Baur, Fischer, and Lenz, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

direction from west to east; the Sikiang on the south which empties into the South China Sea by way of Canton and Hongkong; the Yangtze Kiang which flows through Nanking into Shanghai and the Eastern Sea; the Hwang Ho in North China which runs into the Gulf of Chi-Li and Yellow Sea just off the Shantung peninsula. Each one of these rivers has created a fertile flood plain adequate for the sustenance of great swarming populations. It is self-evident that these river valleys and their rich alluvial soil could have no value to people who lacked the requisite knowledge of agricultural technique, irrigation, and flood control. Given these conditions, the physiographic factors again favored growth of population, social division of labor, accumulation of wealth, differentiation of the practical arts and crafts, and the emergence of a ruling class devoted to statecraft and the fine arts. Like the Ganges and other great rivers already described, the Yangtze and the Hwang Ho in particular inspired terror and awe as well as reverence in the hearts of the Chinese people. For these rivers also carry enormous quantities of silt washed down from the mountain gorges of Tibet and Mongolia. In the course of millennia this silt built up the rich alluvial plains which in time supported hundreds of millions of people. But as the river gradients gradually flatten, the silt which is deposited accumulates slowly and chokes the rivers thus producing devastating floods and untold misery. Hence the Hwang Ho, also known as the Yellow River, is sometimes called "China's Sorrow" and "The Ungovernable." The problem of mastering the havoc caused by periodic overflow of the rivers stimulated human ingenuity and resources to the very limit of power. Flood control in China is an ancient art. If the early Chinese made the mistake of raising the levees as the river deposits elevated the bed, the later Chinese learned the importance of digging the ditch deep and keeping the dikes low.[15] It is exactly this principle which the Chinese farmer of today follows when he laboriously lifts the mud from the river channel and carries it to his fields where it fertilizes his soil, raises the level of his land and lowers the bed of the river. The importance of this practice was impressed upon the minds of the Chinese people several centuries before the Christian era in the form of stone engravings which cautioned the people to "Dig deep the ditch, keep low the dikes."[16]

Chinese Culture and Civilization

Oswald Spengler identifies the precultural epoch of ancient China with four centuries of time beginning 1700 B.C. From about 1300 B.C. to the beginning of the Christian era China passed through active, formative phases of its culture. Feudalism marked the Springtime of the cultural

[15] Whitbeck and Thomas, *The Geographic Factor*, New York, 1932, p. 242.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 242.

movement. The middle and late cultural periods which followed were featured especially by the gradual perfection of social forms. This led slowly to the age of civilization in which the countryside became subservient to the great city, force-politics and "Caesarism" triumphed over democracy and the domination of money. In the end the cultural forms of family, religion, and politics reached a condition of stability which remained essentially intact for centuries.[17]

Physiography and Culture

It is surely more than merely a noteworthy coincidence that the ancient cultures and civilizations of Egypt, Babylon, India, and China should have emerged on the rich alluvial soil of the flood plains of great river systems. These fertile valleys made possible the development of agriculture and organization of feudalism. This in turn created a material basis for the support of an increasingly numerous and thriving population. Meanwhile the continued differentiation of the arts and crafts led to the growth of cities and increasing complexity of life. Great accumulation of wealth enhanced the power and prestige of ruling families and aristocracies. The fine arts passed through a formative period of development and decline as talent was subsidized and leisure increasingly stimulated to the pursuit of the creative life of the spirit. In the end the balance of life became increasingly precarious and the resources of the people were challenged to avert and forestall impending tragedy. It is the dramatic struggle between man and nature. In the final scene man returns to the soil which ever and again has given birth to his spirit. No one has succeeded nor can succeed in completely unraveling the complex details of this historic struggle exclusively in terms of physiography. Neither is it possible to do so in the terms of race and anthropology. In the last analysis man is completely defied in his effort to tell this story in objective detail. It is a struggle of the spirit of man for the mastery of nature, and the respective rôles of the soil and the blood are intertwined and interraveled with each other and the culture they generate in a most amazingly intricate and fascinating manner.

Buckle's Theory of the Aspects of Nature

Henry Thomas Buckle, whose work appeared about the middle of the nineteenth century, presented a discussion of what he called the Aspects of Nature in his well known *History of Civilization*.[18] His conclusions in this connection have not been fully demonstrated, but they are nevertheless entitled to a brief consideration. For this writer offers us a geographical explanation of differences in the mythologies and religions, the literature

[17] See charts, O. Spengler, *The Decline of the West, op. cit.*, p. 428.
[18] H. T. Buckle, *History of Civilization*, New York, 1897.

and art of various cultures. Aspects of nature, such as imposing mountain ranges, devastating floods, tornadoes, cyclones, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions and rushing torrents of great mountain streams impress the imagination in one way; gently flowing rivers, the absence of enervating and depressing extremes of temperature and humidity, protective harbors, rolling hills, expansive plains and scattered forests together with the absence of havoc producing floods, tornadoes, cyclones, earthquakes, and volcanic eruptions affect the imagination in another way. One set of conditions inspires fear, the other inspires confidence. One stimulates the unbridled imagination, whereas the other develops the powers of intellect. This, at any rate, is Buckle's thesis; it will be commented upon critically after the argument has been developed and conclusions stated. Nature may terrify or pacify and with this there can be no difference of opinion.

Buckle divides the aspects of nature into two classes: (1) those which excite the imagination, and (2) those which stimulate rational processes and logical methods of thinking. When feelings of terror, fear, wonder, and awe are aroused by gigantic spectacles of nature which carry destruction and misery in their wake, the imagination is inflamed and the more deliberate processes of detached and impersonal understanding are suppressed. Instinctively the human individual is interested in the conditions which affect his personal safety. And when this safety is repeatedly jeopardized by certain terrifying and destructive aspects of nature he seeks to control the object of his fear with a view to his own protection. But earthquakes, floods, volcanoes, storms, and the like defy the powers of human reason; they lie beyond the pale of human understanding, and man accordingly finds some satisfaction and peace of mind in recourse to the powers of uncontrolled imagination. Moreover, Buckle argues, the imposing grandeur of these aspects of nature produce a feeling of insignificance and impotence in the individual. But where the works of nature are more modest man regains his confidence, his sense of importance and accordingly also his rational faculties. Thus the effects produced by the sublimity of nature are similar to the effects of occasional phenomena such as hurricanes, pestilence, and the like. Some of these phenomena, earthquakes for example, are sudden and unexpected; these enhance the feelings of insecurity and dread. The terror so excited overbalances the judgment and inclines the individual to superstitious fancies, mythological and religious beliefs and rites of the most extravagant kind.

There must be checks and safeguards against the paralysis of mind and action which results from repeated misfortune and chronic terror. Superstition, mythology, and religion provide the feeling of confidence and the peace of mind which reason fails to achieve under the circumstances. Associations are established in the human mind which give the powers of imagination priority over the powers of understanding. The sublime, im-

posing and terrifying aspects of nature are more characteristic of tropical regions than of temperate zones, and hence the qualities of mind associated therewith are more common among people living in the former climates than among populations found in the latter. Moreover, health is more precarious and disease more common in the tropical than in the temperate climates, and the effects of these conditions upon the imagination and mental qualities are similar.

India and Greece offer illustrative and verifying contrasts. The aspects of nature which stimulate the imagination are characteristic of tropical India. This is not the case in Greece where the works of nature are fashioned on a less imposing scale and are far less threatening to the safety and security of man. Accordingly the understanding rather than the imagination is evoked and encouraged in Greece. These differences are reflected in the literature, mythology, religion, and art of the two regions.

Physiographic Theory of Indian Culture

Ancient Indian literature affords considerable evidence of the uncontrolled ascendancy of the imagination. The priority of poetry over prose writing is one indication of this attribute. Sanscrit is the ancient language of the Aryan Hindus; it contains more numerous and complicated meters than any one of the European languages. As prose writing was despised, the art of poetry was cultivated with religious enthusiasm and zeal. Even the work on such prosaic subjects as history, law, geography, medicine, grammar, and metaphysics takes the form of verse. Cool and deliberate reason is defied, while intuition and fancy reveal an unchecked imagination. In consequence, objective truth is distorted, a result which may be seen conspicuously in the fervent reverence of the Hindu for antiquity. Regard for the age of early man makes the Biblical account of Methuselah look pale in comparison. Ordinary men lived 80,000 years, and holy men upwards of 100,000 according to the Sanscrit texts. Early poets lived 500,000 years, and kings who reigned only 27,000 or 66,000 years were manifestly cut off in their youth. A certain ancient king and saint ascended the throne when he was two million years old, and having reigned 6,300,000 years, he resigned his empire to his sons and lived on another 100,000 years, whereupon he finally departed from this world on the summit of a great mountain.[19] The laws of the ancient Hindus are collected in the Institutes of Manu, a book which Buckle considers to be less than 3,000 years old. But, according to the Indian historians, these laws were revealed to man about two billion years before the present era.[20]

This subjection of the powers of reason to the powers of a boundless

[19] A substantial part of Buckle's work on this general thesis may be found in T. N. Carver, *Sociology and Social Progress*, Boston, 1906, pp. 174-270.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 260.

imagination is carried over and reflected in Hindu customs of the present day. On February 3, 1935, there was an eclipse of the sun. This occasion was accompanied in India with extraordinary scenes of religious frenzy. For the Hindu astronomers believe that the passage of the sun through the constellation Capricorn—the "horned goat"—means that the terrible dragon, Rahu, called "The Seizer," swallows up the sun and world calamity is sure to follow. The Old Testament story of Jonah and the whale is a very feeble symbol of imaginative power in comparison with this story. Literally millions of devout Hindus flocked to the Ganges on the day of the eclipse in order to bathe in the healing waters of the sacred river. In the past, hundreds have been crushed to death as the impenetrable mass of human beings forced its way into the muddy waters of the Ganges. A huge funeral pyre is prepared in case of need and authorities must take extensive precautions against cholera and other epidemics. They fear a repetition of the outbreak of February, 1908, when the dragon last devoured the sun. For weeks preceding the appointed day, thousands of pilgrims march toward Calcutta, Benares, and other great temple sites on the banks of the Ganges. Their religion teaches them that the muddy, polluted water of the river washes away their sins and heals their physical infirmities. On the way they chant, pray, and torture themselves in penance, working up a frenzy of religious excitement. Clashes between Moslems and Hindus are likely to follow, as well as epidemics of disease, but, for centuries on end, these possibilities have not interfered with the repetition of the custom.

This exaltation of the imagination and subjugation of the understanding is also revealed in the character of the Hindu gods, the structure of their temples, and the dogmas of their theology which fill the minds of the people with images of the sublime and the terrible. According to Buckle, it is the grandeur, the magnificence, the awe-inspiring aspects of nature which produce these consequences in terms of mind and culture. The massive mountains seem to touch the sky and the mighty rivers which flow down the great gorges and into the flood plains below are uncontrollable. Impassable forests, interminable jungle, dreary and boundless deserts impress upon man his inability to cope with the forces of nature. Moreover, there are the dangers of tropical disease, drouths, and famines to inspire fear. Earthquakes, tempests, and destructive floods remind the Hindu from time to time of his impotence in the struggle with nature. It is not surprising, therefore, that the supernatural powers regarded as responsible for events which spread havoc and destruction among the people are monstrous creations. Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva constitute the celebrated Hindu Triad of divinities. Vishnu is portrayed with four hands, Brahma with five heads, and Siva as a hideous thing encircled with snakes, a human skull in hand and wearing a necklace of human bones. The latter is also represented with three eyes, a tiger's skin for clothing to mark the ferocity of his temper, and

a deadly cobra de capello rearing its head over his left shoulder. Siva wanders about like a madman, inspiring terror wherever he is seen. His wife, Doorga, called also Kali among other names, is pictured with a dark blue body and red palms to indicate her appetite for blood. She carries the skull of a giant on one of her four arms; her protruding tongue lolls from her mouth; around her waist she carries the hands of her victims, while her neck is adorned with human heads strung together in a ghastly row. The feats of these gods as told in the sacred books are manifest creations of a riotous and awe-struck fancy. Mythology and religion constitute a system of unmitigated terror. Extreme sacrifice and penance are necessary for the propitiation of the gods. In this way, disaster is averted, misery ameliorated, and a certain reconciliation with nature and consequent peace of mind is achieved.

Physiographic Theory of Greek Culture

Most effectively, Buckle contrasts the literature, mythology, religion, and art of the ancient Greeks with the ancient Hindus. These differences are explained from the point of view of the aspects of nature. The natural phenomena of Greece are constructed on a modest scale, inspiring confidence rather than fear, stimulating the more deliberate powers of reason rather than the unregulated fancy of the imagination. For example, the highest mountains of Greece reach only to one-third the height of the Himalaya. Nowhere do they reach the limit of perpetual snow. There are no rivers in Greece at all comparable in immensity to the imposing volumes poured down the mountains of India. A few small rivers in northern and southern Greece are easily forded; during the summer season they are often dry. The climate is mild, temperate, and healthy, earthquakes less frequent, and hurricanes less disastrous than in India. Wild beasts are neither as prevalent nor as ferocious as in tropical countries. Pestilence and disease are not as common. Thus nature in Greece is less terrifying, less dangerous, and less mysterious than in India. Accordingly, the human mind is less alarmed, less appalled, and less superstitious in consequence. Scientific studies became possible as man confidently scrutinized the natural causes of phenomena with the result that he achieved a sense of his own power. As the tendency of Indian civilization was to widen the distance between man and his gods, in Greek civilization the tendency was to diminish it.

Greek gods were invariably represented in human form; the artist might portray them stronger and more beautiful than men, but still they were men. Divinities of this character could never have satisfied the needs of the Hindus who demanded agents conceptually powerful enough to cope with a world of natural phenomena which were as dreadful as they were sublime. Greek gods, on the contrary, not only had human forms; they also had

human attributes, human interests, and human tastes. There were weaknesses and frailties as well as strength and courage. Rivalries of the gods in heaven, in love and in battle, feasts and festivals, peace and war are portrayed vividly enough in the Greek mythology. Cupid was a wanton boy who played with his bows and arrows. Jupiter was an amorous and good-natured king. Mercury was indifferently represented as a trustworthy messenger or as a common, notorious thief. Apollo was a fiddler, a poet, or a keeper of oxen; Vulcan, a smith; and Neptune, a sailor. Minerva symbolized achievement; Juno, pride; Venus, the beauty and sensuality of women; and Diana, the beauty and coldness of women. Mortals were frequently deified, so close was the relationship between the human and divine.

The Greeks were not particularly afraid of their gods; that there was fear is certainly true, but nothing comparable to the feeling of the Hindu. Imagination is also evident enough but the quality is more tempered, more restrained, more refined. The faith of man in his own powers, as distinguished from the powers of supernatural agents, stimulates the rational faculties. Man makes some measurable progress toward the conquest of nature and the control of his own destiny. Feelings of dignity and self-importance may be exaggerated, but they stand in striking contrast with the feelings of helpless dependence and abject impotence. The spirit of inquiry, skepticism, and science was developed to a higher degree among the Greeks than among the Indians. There can be no doubt that the external aspects of nature played a rôle in the determination of these differences, however much Buckle may have exaggerated this rôle in certain respects.

The Interrelation of Factors

It must be accepted that the external aspects of nature play a direct and indirect part in the origin and evolution of cultural forms. This rôle is manifestly direct when the human feelings are immediately aroused by the contemplation of natural forces; it is indirect in so far as the same feelings are mediated and reinforced in a social environment of ideas and values. The social patterns of thought and action can never be attributed exclusively to some single factor such as the external aspects of nature, the innate qualities of the human mind or the cultural tradition which has shaped itself in the course of centuries.

In the United States of America, for instance, a tradition has developed which is centered in a characteristic pattern of individualism, democracy, and humanity. Flood, drouth, pestilence, and famine have occurred and recurred without important modification of this pattern. Race, physiography, and the changing historical conjunctures from time to time have molded this intrinsic cultural pattern. The present and future course of American history is necessarily conditioned by these antecedents. In brief,

it is necessary to restate the principle that culture is an organism subject to its own inherent laws of change. But this is not to say that it arises in a kind of vacuum and completely insulates itself against all external influence as it slowly fulfills its destiny. Climate, soil, topography, and the external aspects of nature do not change greatly in the life history of any single culture.

The decline of Chinese civilization has been explained in terms of soil erosion; the fall of Rome has been attributed to declining rainfall. Such interpretations are manifestly fallacious. Buckle made a similar error when he said that despotic empires hug the equator whereas liberty loving peoples inhabit the colder regions of the earth.[21] Norwegians and Swedes are described as fickle because the relatively severe winters and short days do not permit the steady discipline of unremitting toil which produces reliable character. In Spain and Portugal the lack of rainfall coupled with great heat produces a similar fickleness and instability, according to Buckle. He regarded the Swiss people as bovine, and this quality was attributed to the awe-inspiring effects of imposing Alpine scenery. In this and in many other instances, the explanatory principle of geography was carried too far.

Climatic and topographical conditions may favor a pastoral mode of life, and accordingly the language of a people may be rich in verbal symbols which distinguish many shades of color of the hair of domesticated animals. Manifestly, these symbols are communicated in a process of interhuman action. The preliminary evolution of arts and crafts identified with pastoral life mediates the genesis of such symbols. Therefore they must be regarded as the direct products of a cultural environment, however important the indirect action of physiographic factors.

The North American Indian looked upon Niagara Falls as an imposing spectacle of nature, a manifestation of the Great Spirit, whereas the European-American learned to make it a source of great power. This difference is again obviously cultural. More remote and indirect factors of physiography and race are no less vitally significant on this account. The sociological problem is not to determine the relative weight of these concurrent factors. In the nature of the situation this is impossible. It is a sociological problem of the first order to determine with some precision the *manner* in which these factors condition and recondition the collective patterns of thought and feeling.

Buckle, of course, was dealing with the neuro-psychic patterns of individuals, and these patterns are the direct result of a social process of interhuman action. This process is conditioned by the prevailing cultural forms, and these in turn can only be understood at bottom in terms of race and physiography. Physiography produces race, and it is the latter in

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[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 178, 179.

conjunction with the former which makes the intricate mosaic of life patterns we call culture. But the culture in itself is the direct conditioning factor of its own present and future being. It is something more than the distinctly human form of adaptation to the exigencies of group survival. As a product of nature it aims at nothing less than the complete conquest of nature. In the course of this process the human desire becomes increasingly imperious and nature's requirements of perpetuation and survival are thwarted. Civilization becomes top-heavy and threatens to collapse in wreck and ruin.

To understand these forces of impending destruction, and to bring them under some degree of control requires a new conception of man's struggle with nature. This conception is pre-eminently positive, dynamic, and cultural. It calls for a greater concentration upon the problems of social science and moral philosophy. The amazing and unprecedented technics of Western man may be transformed from agencies of destruction and despair to the means of creating and perpetuating a vitally healthy society. The positive conception also requires a collective discipline, a degree of self-abnegation and consecration to the well-being of unborn generations of the future. It implies enlightened and vigorous leadership which is strong enough to throttle the hedonistic calculus, the philosophy of utilitarianism and the type of unbridled individualism which is fostered by the theory of natural liberty. This trend in the movement of the dominating values of life has become a historical actuality in the Western world.

Problem Questions

1. How is the social and economic organization of the Eskimos influenced by climatic conditions?

2. It has been shown that the early civilizations of Egypt, Babylon, India, and China developed along the flood plains of great river valleys. How then did the Magian, Classical, and European civilizations compensate for the lack of these advantages?

3. Is it possible to identify the Jewish race (1) in terms of a relatively stable group of physical characters, (2) in terms of temperament, (3) in terms of culture?

4. Crimes against person increase during the summer months of the year whereas crimes against property increase during the winter months. Is this a direct physiographic influence?

5. Buckle claimed that despotic government is found near the equator; democratic government and liberty loving people occupy the colder regions of the earth. Is this an acceptable view?

6. Manifestly the Jews have been able to maintain their racial and cultural identity among alien people over a long time. How do you account for this fact?

7. How do you explain the westward movement of the Jewish people to Europe and America?

8. Portuguese are fickle, said Buckle, and so are Norwegians and Swedes. In the former case long days, short nights and excessive summer heat preclude the steady discipline of regular work which produces even temperament and reliable character. In the latter case short days, long nights and excessive winter cold have a similar effect. Evaluate this position.

9. The temperament of the Swiss, said Buckle, is bovine. This he attributed to the awe-inspiring Alpine scenery which has the effect of repressing positive self-assertion and thwarting the development of strong and independent character, according to this author. Is this a reasonable view?

10. Shortly after the World War, Henry Ford expressed a strong anti-Semitic policy in a newspaper which he published under the name of the *Dearborn Independent.* How do you account for this fact?

11. Since the term "Aryan" denotes a group of related languages including Sanscrit, Persian, Greek, Latin, Germanic, Celtic, and other European tongues, does it not follow that Aryanism is a cultural term rather than a racial term?

12. Several authorities regard the Jews as a mixture of Alpine and Mediterranean races. Do you see any evidence to support this view?

13. Is it reasonable to assume that the similarity of Aryan languages is due exclusively to cultural diffusion?

14. How has the geographical isolation of England favored her national development?

15. The Hebrew tradition as reflected in the Old and New Testaments has had a potent influence upon European culture. Was this influence mediated primarily through the Jews themselves or through the Arabs?

16. Among the ancient cultures, which were least accessible and which were most accessible? How did these differences influence the development of their civilizations?

17. Is it a verifiable fact that every great culture of history was founded upon agriculture and feudalism?

18. Contrast the internal history of Germany with the internal history of England from the point of view of accessibility and geographical isolation?

19. What are the advantages and disadvantages of geographical isolation to the United States?

Suggestions for Additional Reading

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SEX TRAITS

TENNYSON HAS BEEN quoted as saying that men differ as heaven and earth while women differ as heaven and hell. Would it not be more correct to say that the angelic side of woman's nature is ambivalent to the diabolical side? It is not as if the nature of some women symbolized all that is good whereas the nature of other women symbolized all that is bad. There is good in the worst of them and bad in the best of them. But how is one to account for their sympathetic understanding, their impulses of tenderness, moods of divine childhood, and explain at the same time such qualities as personal spite, exaggerated emphasis upon petty trivialities, intensity of hate, malicious gossip, backbiting, slander, nagging, and the like?

DUALISM IN HUMAN NATURE

This problem is something more than the general problem of dualism in human nature. In the latter case we recognize that the exigencies of survival call for internal discipline and co-operation within the group. This means in effect that a premium is placed upon such qualities as good-will, mutual aid, gentleness, kindliness, self-discipline, and sympathetic understanding. Precisely the same exigencies of survival call for such qualities as suspicion, distrust, hatred, fear, envy, and even vindictive rage for the purpose of preventing or precluding the predatory and destructive designs of other groups or of public enemies within the group. Appropriate attitudes are developed not only toward the hostile leader of another group, but also toward the traitor within the group. Both are dealt with summarily, or as summarily as possible. In the study of sex traits we are dealing with a different type of dualism, that is to say, we are considering the qualitative differences in the dualism of woman's nature as compared with man's nature.

SEX DIFFERENCES

Havelock Ellis has suggested that the contradictions and inconsistencies in the behavior of the female are due to the greater degree of affectibility in her nature.[1] Since, in woman, feeling is more likely to dominate reason

[1] Havelock Ellis, *Man and Woman*, London, 1914, Ch. 13.

than in the male, the pendulum swings to greater extremes in both associative and dissociative directions. Hence women are likely to be more intolerant of enemies within or without the state. They are likely to be conservative in religion, morality, and politics since radicalism implies hostility toward the prevailing structure of life and the scale of values implied. In the processes of detached and abstract reasoning such as are required in mathematics, they are weak in comparison with the male. A former teacher of physics who desired to raise the general average standing of his boys as compared with his girls gave them a few more mathematical problems to solve. If he desired to improve the grades of the girls, he gave more questions requiring accuracy in the recollection of detailed matters assigned in the books. This procedure never failed to give the desired results.

Preponderant emotional quality gives a sympathetic, an intuitive understanding of problems and situations. It would be extreme to say that woman is governed by instinct, man by reason. Too many men permit their cruder passions to dominate their reason; too many women consider that there is no particular mental or emotional trait which cannot be modified by appropriate legislation, education, and opportunity. Nevertheless, the instinctive response of a woman is more sure of itself.[2] In man it is more likely to be confused by a great variety of conditioned action patterns. Woman lives closer to nature than man. The greater development of her sympathetic powers is correlated with a physiological division of labor. Accordingly there are innate differences between the sexes which no amount of teaching, training, and opportunity, no kind of legislation or education can remove. And these differences have to do primarily with the racial function of the perpetuation of life and the corresponding intimacy of relation between mother and child, not only in a physiological sense, but also in a personal or moral sense.

Correlation of Psychological and Social Division of Labor

Around these primary differences of sex there has been built up in every society that ever existed a psychological and a social division of labor which aims to guarantee the perpetuation of wholesome generations, racial survival, and cultural integrity.[3] Civilization tends to destroy this division of labor, but as surely as it does so, step by step, it disintegrates, declines, and disappears, making room in this way for the more virile type which lives

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[2] L. M. Terman and C. C. Miles found that the female tends to more extreme expression than the male in the emotions of anger, fear, disgust, and pity. See *Sex and Personality,* New York, 1936, p. 413. See also p. 2.

[3] Terman and Miles point out that the characteristic masculine and feminine traits are more definitely rooted in a structural dichotomy than the cycloid-schizoid or the extrovert-introvert oppositions. See *op. cit.,* p. 451.

closer to nature.[4] Accordingly it is clear that the study of sex traits covers not merely the impersonal determination of innate and acquired differences between the sexes, but in particular a consideration of the distribution of these traits in the movement of culture from Springtime to Summer, and from Autumn to Winter. The ideal of the womanly woman, and of the manly man, changes with the phases of the culture cycle. Behavior tendencies in conformity with the ideal pattern are as evident today as in the age of chivalry, the Elizabethan, or the Victorian era. An adequate understanding of sex differences in this modern world is not possible from any other point of view.

The Inheritance of Sex Traits

The basic, characteristic differences of sex are produced by inheritance. This question has already been briefly treated in a previous chapter. With the aid of a microscope the structure of the germ cells becomes plainly visible; the chromosomes are easily identified. Comparing the male and female germ cells of certain species of animal it was discovered that the female carried one more chromosome than the male. With succeeding generations this chromosome was transferred from one sex to the other and back again. Every chromosome is paired, and the two members of each pair are alike in size and form. In the male, however, one of the pairs has but a single member, called the X chromosome, and therefore the number of chromosomes is odd. It was found that the female cells carry a pair of chromosomes which correspond to the X chromosome of the male. Hence the female is distinguished by two X's each of which may have existed in earlier generations as the odd chromosome. In these species of animals, the male cells contain a certain number of pairs of chromosomes plus one X chromosome; the female cells contain the same number plus two X's.

In the human species the cells of the male carry a chromosome which is the paired mate to the single X. This is called the Y chromosome and is found exclusively in the male. The transference of chromosomes from one sex of one generation to the opposite sex of the following generation make it possible to trace and identify the traits linked with X and Y chromosomes. It has been demonstrated conclusively that sex is determined by the characteristic chromosome combinations: two X's producing a female, one X and one Y producing a male. The fertilized egg multiplies by division, building up the somatic structure of the fœtus in embryo. In this process every chromosome breaks up in two parts. Thus it is possible to state two significant facts: first, that the male and female differ at the very beginning as single cells, and second, that every cell in the somatic structure of the

[4] For studies and conclusions relative to the effects of civilization upon the traditional division of labor, see Terman and Miles, *op. cit.*, Ch. 8.

male differs from the cells of the female. Every cell of the body has the same set of chromosomes as the fertilized egg; as specialization of tissue proceeds by continued growth and differentiation in the division process, the chromosomal structure gradually disappears in part or entirely. In the male, every cell of the body differs in its chromosomes from every cell of the female body. And these differences are obviously due to inheritance.

Each germ cell receives one member of each pair of parent chromosomes; it never receives both. A spermatozoan, therefore, carries X or Y. Hence the paired genes are segregated to the gametes. In a heterozygous germ structure each gamete carries a dominant or a recessive, never both dominant and recessive. It follows that the germ cell contains half as many individual chromosomes as the cells of the parent body. The human male produces two kinds of germ cell, one containing the X chromosome, the other containing the Y chromosome. In the female all ova have one X each. The combination XX produces a female, XY produces a male. It must follow that the X chromosome of the father is transmitted to daughters, never to sons; also the son must always get his X chromosome from the mother, never from the father. This follows generation after generation making possible the identification of the sex-linked traits.

Autosomes are chromosomes which do not carry the sex determiners. As the fertilized egg divides every male cell receives all of the autosomes plus one X; every cell of the female gets all of the autosomes plus two X's. Hence the cells of male and female differ throughout life.

Secondary Sex Traits

Early in the development of the embryo a special structure is formed which is known as the germ gland. These germ glands produce the germ cells of later life. The cells of these glands are known as genital cells and there are certain characteristic differences of the male genital cells which develop before analogous differences appear in the female. This is especially true of mammals. These specialized germ glands produce secretions called hormones which are necessary for the development of the secondary sex traits. If the germ gland is removed from the male or female the secondary traits do not develop; the individual remains in a juvenile condition. Beard, voice, bodily form, and mammary glands are examples of the secondary sex traits in the human type. Comb, wattles, voice, and the like are similar examples for the rooster. The genital cells containing one X produce the secondary characteristics of the male through the medium of the germ gland. Likewise the genital cells of the female containing two X's produce the secondary characteristics of the female through the medium of the germ gland. F. R. Lillie's study of free martins among cattle is authentic. He observed that occasionally a pair of twins is produced one of which is male

whereas the other shows a mixture of traits, partly male and partly female. The latter is called a free martin. Since the blood streams of the twins in embryo are in communication with each other, and since the genital cells of the male are first to develop their characteristic peculiarities, as previously pointed out, it follows that the sex hormones of a partly developed male flow through an undeveloped female. Hence the female develops some of the male secondary characteristics and the free martin becomes a mixture of male and female.

The eunuch illustrates the same principle for the species *homo*. Removal of the sex glands of the male results in incomplete development of the secondary traits such as voice, beard, and bodily form. The characteristic psychology of the eunuch is also affected in this way. He lacks courage, forthrightness, sense of honor, and other virtues characteristic of the male. He is usually described as sly, cunning, deceitful, malicious, and cowardly. Ancient Oriental despots have found him valuable in connection with the management of their harems.

The sex hormones are endogenous chemical regulators of great potency. Biological chemists have identified these hormones, ascertained their formulae, and in some instances their functions with precision.

A Statistical Study of Sex Differences

At this point it is desirable to shift the point of view from the biological to the cultural. A study has been undertaken in order to indicate as precisely as possible the differences between the sexes with respect to their standards of selection for marriage. The results of this study are positive. Mixed classes of students taking courses in sociology were given a score sheet containing sixteen items under four headings. These four headings were as follows: (1) Social and Economic Status, (2) Mental Status, (3) Ancestral Status, (4) Physical Status. The four standards of selection included under the first heading, social and economic status, were the following: income, religion, social standing, reputation. Under the head of mental status there were: education, tangible evidence of mentality, temperament, standards of morality. Ancestral status was taken to designate four standards of selection for marriage as follows: race, nationality, occupation of parents, place of birth and childhood environment. Health, sex appeal, beauty, and age were listed as examples of physical status. An example of this score sheet follows:

Standards of Selection for Marriage

I. Social and Economic Status
   (a) Income
   (b) Religion
   (c) Social Standing
   (d) Reputation

II. Mental Status
  (a) Education
  (b) Tangible Evidence of Mentality
  (c) Temperament
  (d) Standards of Morality

III. Ancestral Status
  (a) Race
  (b) Nationality
  (c) Occupation of Parents
  (d) Place of Birth and Childhood Environment

IV. Physical Status
  (a) Health
  (b) Sex Appeal
  (c) Beauty
  (d) Age

Students were requested to indicate their sex by marking their papers with an "M" or an "F" in an upper corner. They were asked not to sign their names. The problem presented was to evaluate the relative importance of these items by distributing one hundred points in a manner indicating as accurately as possible the individual judgment of the student. No special instruction or guidance in the way of lectures or assignments served to prepare the students along certain lines of thought. In one series of classes in which this test was given all of the students were juniors and seniors studying population problems. In a second series of classes the students were mainly sophomores with a small number of freshmen and upper classmen studying introductory sociology. Two classes were tested in this way during the academic year 1927-1928; two for the year 1928-1929; one in 1931-1932; and one in 1935-1936. Thus results have been collected from six distinct groups. The number of students in these groups was as follows:

	Female	Male
1927-28 (Population Problems)	11	4
1927-28 (Introductory Sociology)	28	13
1928-29 (Population Problems)	4	12
1928-29 (Introductory Sociology)	25	13
1931-32 (Population Problems)	13	10
1935-36 (Introductory Sociology)	30	22
	111	74

The Rubrics Defined

Thus the conditions of the tests were varied, first with respect to time, second with respect to course, third with respect to the proportion of men or women in the entire class, fourth with respect to the class year of students tested, and fifth the size of the class. The test came down upon them out of

a clear sky. It was emphasized that the results would be carefully tabulated and presented to the group at the next meeting. If the students desired results that had some value they would give the matter considerate attention. The meaning of each item in the series was briefly defined. Income referred to monetary values or purchasing power which might be earned, inherited, or acquired in some other way. Religion was defined as membership in some formal church organization. Social standing was explained as identification and participation with certain groups providing a means of social life for the individual. These groups and organizations being rated in every community would reflect the social status of the individual. The use of such identification marks in social registers, biographies, *Who's Who,* and the like is widespread. Reputation means the judgment of other people with respect to one's character. Education was defined in formal terms, meaning graduation from or attendance in accredited schools of learning. By tangible evidence of mentality was meant some sort of objective test of one's intelligence such as high scholastic records, membership in honor groups, or distinctive achievement in other ways. Temperament was defined in terms of the qualities of personality. Distinctions between introvert and extrovert types, cyclo-thymic, phlegmatic, choleric, sanguine, emotionally passive, and emotionally active types are clear and simple illustrations in point. Standards of morality were explained in terms of conscious behavior patterns which imply accepted distinctions between right and wrong. Race was defined from the standpoint of the primary divisions of mankind into white, yellow, and black peoples. The secondary distinctions such as Alpine, Nordic, and Mediterranean were excluded. Experience showed this distinction to be necessary in order to avoid the confusion of race and nationality in the mind of the student. Nationality was described as affiliation by birth, descent, or naturalization with a linguistic-culture group of independent organization such as the Italians, Poles, English, Germans, and the like. Parental occupation might vary all the way from bootlegging to the clergy, from tilling the soil to management of a bank. Place of birth and childhood environment may vary from farm to factory, from gold coast to slum. Health and age required no explanation. Beauty was defined in terms of harmony, proportion, balance, and blend of color, feature, line, and form. Sex appeal was explained as a specially potent attraction between the sexes, being in the nature of a psychological affinity even though based upon the physical.

Results—Income

The scores for each sex in each class were tabulated and the averages calculated for each of the sixteen standards of value. In each one of the six classes the women placed a higher value upon income than the men.

FEMALE AVERAGES

Year of Test	1931-32	1928-29	1927-28	1928-29	1927-28	1935-36		
Number in Class	13	4	11	25	28	30		
Course Designation	PP*	PP	PP	Int.**	Int.	Int.	CA†	PS‡
Income	15.1	8.7	6.6	6.6	7.2	9.7	9.0	91
Religion	2.2	4.2	5.3	4.6	5.0	6.0	4.5	75
Social Standing	3.7	3.5	4.1	4.4	5.1	4.2	4.1	81
Reputation	4.4	5.0	4.2	5.8	3.1	4.0	4.4	76
Education	18.3	11.5	10.0	10.1	10.0	8.6	11.4	90
Tangible Mentality	7.2	9.2	7.0	9.4	4.7	9.0	7.7	70
Temperament	5.0	6.2	8.8	6.3	8.0	11.1	7.5	95
Moral Standards	6.2	8.2	9.8	9.7	12.2	10.8	9.4	94
Race	1.2	14.0	11.7	13.0	9.6	11.5	11.9	98
Nationality	0.7	3.2	3.5	2.3	2.4	2.1	2.3	48
Parental Occupation	2.0	0.7	1.0	1.3	2.8	0.8	1.4	42
Place of Birth	2.0	1.7	0.3	2.0	3.1	1.3	1.7	47
Health	20.3	12.2	15.4	12.3	13.6	10.5	14.0	100
Sex Appeal	3.0	4.5	4.2	4.2	5.6	3.4	4.1	72
Beauty	2.0	2.0	1.4	3.6	2.8	2.4	2.3	62
Age	5.7	5.2	6.0	4.4	3.5	4.1	4.8	80

* PP refers to Population Problems.
** Int—Introduction to Sociology.
† CA—Combined Averages.
‡ PS—Per Cent of Total Number Scoring.

The average value for the six classes was 9% for the women, 2.1% for the men. The combined table of averages for six classes summarized shows that the difference was very substantial in each class. It is still more significant that 102 women out of a total of 111 scored this standard. There were but nine "emancipated women" in the total of 111 in the six classes. Only 18 men out of the total of 74 in the six classes scored income. In one class the average of the men was 6.2%—three times as high as the mean. Analysis of the figures here shows that there were only two men out of ten in this class who scored this standard. But these two scored income 27% and 35% respectively bringing the average for the class to 6.2%. These two no doubt may be designated as examples of the modern "emancipated male."

RELIGION

Scores for religion showed marked differentiation between the sexes, although not nearly so striking as in the case of income. The average score for the six classes was 4.5% for the women and 6.6% for the men. In each one of the six classes the men placed a higher valuation upon religion than the women. While this difference was inappreciable in three classes it was striking in the other three. The proportion of men and women who scored religion was the same: 75% of the women and 75% of the men. Manifestly the proportion for whom religion had no particular significance in

MALE AVERAGES

Year of Test	1931-32	1928-29	1927-28	1928-29	1927-28	1935-36		
Number in Class	10	12	4	13	13	22		
Course Designation	PP	PP	PP	Int.	Int.	Int.		
							CA	PS
Income	6.2	1.0	0.0	3.3	2.0	0.5	2.1	24
Religion	3.0	4.5	7.0	5.0	8.6	11.4	6.6	75
Social Standing	3.7	6.1	3.2	5.3	5.4	5.5	4.8	85
Reputation	6.1	8.5	7.7	4.3	4.7	6.2	6.2	67
Education	11.9	12.2	5.5	9.0	11.2	7.4	9.5	97
Tangible Mentality	6.3	5.0	2.2	9.5	4.4	9.0	6.0	85
Temperament	14.0	6.6	12.5	8.5	6.2	10.6	9.7	92
Moral Standards	9.9	10.5	12.5	9.4	10.1	9.1	10.2	96
Race	2.2	8.4	9.5	8.9	9.3	11.5	9.5	100
Nationality	0.1	1.6	1.7	2.1	2.4	2.0	1.6	43
Parental Occupation	2.5	2.5	1.2	2.3	3.0	1.0	2.1	46
Place of Birth	0.6	4.0	1.7	1.6	2.0	1.2	1.8	44
Health	19.0	11.7	13.7	12.0	11.7	12.3	13.4	97
Sex Appeal	3.6	5.5	8.0	7.1	7.5	5.0	6.1	81
Beauty	4.1	5.5	7.5	6.5	6.8	6.8	6.2	92
Age	5.8	5.0	6.2	5.1	4.2	5.1	5.2	88

this connection was the same for each sex. Thus it is clear that the men who did score this item placed a higher average valuation upon it than the women who scored it. Why should this be true? This result appears to contradict the general understanding on the subject. Helen B. Thompson in her statistical study of psychological differences between the sexes found that female students have a stronger religious consciousness than male students, and that the latter have a stronger social consciousness than the former.[5] It is generally assumed that women are more loyal to the church than men; that they participate more regularly and with more enthusiasm in church affairs. They are more inclined to be conservative in matters of this kind. And yet we find the men placing a higher value on religion as a standard of selection for marriage in each of the six classes as well as in the total average. This may be because women are more likely to accommodate their views and feelings to their husbands than vice versa, as when a Catholic is married to a Protestant or other differences are manifest. That women are more suggestible than men has been stated repeatedly by social psychologists, as for instance by Professor E. A. Ross in his *Social Psychology,* and there is no valid reason for doubting this difference between the sexes.[6] The preponderance of male scores may also be explained on the ground that higher education is more or less of an awakening experience for a good many men and women and that men are inclined to hold to their earlier convictions with somewhat more tenacity than women. Hence the

[5] Helen B. Thompson, *The Mental Traits of Sex,* Chicago, 1903, pp. 169-182.
[6] E. A. Ross, *Social Psychology,* New York, 1917, pp. 16, 17.

effects of studying a scientific psychology, biology, geology, sociology, economics, and history would be somewhat more disastrous to the orthodox religious views and feelings of women than of men. In both explanations the underlying factor is greater suggestibility of the female. It is plain that we are dealing with a select group in which the mediate and immediate environmental factors differ markedly from a general cross section of the population. It appears probable that women rate religion lower because they are required to make the necessary adjustments in most cases of difference in religious view and feeling. Hence the inclination to compensate for the situation by a lower evaluation.

Social Standing

With respect to social standing there are no significant differences. The run of scores is rather low for both sexes, and the deviation from the mean is remarkably small. Averages respectively for women and men were 4.1% and 4.8%. The high variations from these averages were 5.1% and 6.1%, respectively; the low variations were 3.5% and 3.2%. It may be significant that the general male average is higher than the general female average since the average for the men was higher in four classes, lower in one class, and equal in one class. The fact that 85% of the men scored this standard whereas 81% of the women scored it is a similar indication. But the similarities are more striking than the differences. It is clear that neither sex looks upon marriage as an occasion for improvement of social status. The correlation between social status and moral status may explain the slightly greater significance of the former standard in the male mind since the reestablishment of lost or lowered moral status is generally more difficult for a woman to achieve than for a man. The social reinstatement of women who have served time in correctional institutions is usually a far more difficult and delicate matter than the social reinstatement of men in similar circumstances.

Reputation

The male emphasis upon reputation is appreciably stronger than the female. General averages for all six classes were 6.2% for the men and 4.4% for the women. This in itself has little if any meaning. Considered in combination with the fact that the separate averages for the men in five of the six classes were definitely and uniformly higher than the corresponding figures for the women, this higher general mean may be significant. However, the proportion of men who scored this standard was somewhat lower than the proportion of women. Because of the existence of a double standard of morality it is probable that reputation figures more prominently in the thinking of a man. The doubtful reputation of a woman is usually consid-

ered more significant. Parents generally find it desirable to watch the conduct of their daughters with more concern than the conduct of their sons. Since a higher proportion of men failed to score this item it appears that the men are more independent in their thinking; they are manifestly more willing to rely entirely upon their own judgment in this connection. This difference between the sexes also appeared evident in the analysis of the scores on religion.

Education

Scores for education were uniformly high for both sexes. The combined average for the women was higher than the men, being 11.4% for the former and 9.5% for the latter. Ratios of both sexes marking this item were high: 97% of the men scored education and 90% of the women. Obviously, these students would not be going to college if they did not think education important. In four classes the women placed a higher average value upon this standard, but this difference was too small to be of any consequence in two of these four. The men scored slightly higher in the other two classes. Evidently the similarities are more important than the differences. Having acquired certain tastes, interests, and appreciations in the course of a college education both sexes manifestly wish to make them a source of common enjoyment. Among college students the sex interest in companionship is more than likely to be greater than one would find in a representative cross section of the entire population. The correlation between higher education and income may explain the higher combined average of the women. There were eleven women out of 111 who did not score education; there were only two men out of 74 who did not do so. It may be that the companionship interest is somewhat stronger in the boys because of the closeness of the mother-child relationship.

Intelligence

In connection with tangible evidence of mentality it may be observed first that both sexes place a substantially higher evaluation upon formal education than they do upon real evidence of brains. Of course there is some overlapping here since institutions of higher learning are selective. On the other hand, in America, where a high proportion of high school graduates attend colleges and universities, and where the standards of graduation vary widely, not to speak of the standards of admission, there are necessarily a good many graduates as well as matriculants who may be said to enjoy wide margins of improvement in this regard. The women gave a higher combined average for this standard. Although this difference was not great, it is appreciable. In four of the six classes the women placed a higher valuation upon tangible evidence of mentality, although in one of these four the

difference was too small to be significant. In the other two classes the scores were substantially even. Only one of the six classes showed a higher male evaluation, but the difference here was only 0.1%. It appears evident that women demand more brains of their husbands than husbands do of their wives, and this distinction is in accord with the traditional division of labor between the sexes. However, the returns on these score sheets showed that 30% of the women did not score this item, whereas only 15% of the men failed to do so. This appears to contradict the previous statement and it is desirable, therefore, to point out that modern life makes heavier demands upon the mental resources of women than in the past. This is also true of men, but the difference is not so great. The sex interest in companionship is also a factor here and this is likely to operate with more force under modern conditions from the point of view of the male than from the point of view of the female. Women, being more interested in brains as an income factor would find the requirement partly covered, so far as they are concerned, in a larger proportion of cases. They would also be more inclined to cover it under the head of formal education, since the correlation between education and brains, as well as education and income, figures more significantly from their point of view. It is also worth noting that the variation about the mean is much greater for the men. With an average of 6%, this range varied from 2.2% to 9.5%. The women with an average of 7.7% varied in range from 4.7% to 9.4%. Evidently the men are not so sure of themselves with respect to the question of brains and marriage. And this is precisely what one would expect in the modern situation since the changes in the values affecting the behavior of women have been greater than the changes affecting the behavior of men.

Temperament

Whereas the men place an appreciably higher appraisal upon temperament than they do upon brains, the women place a higher appraisal upon brains than upon temperament. However, the proportion of both sexes scoring temperament was very high. Only five women out of 111 failed to score here, and only six men out of 74 made similar omissions. The male average for all six classes was 9.7%, while the female average for all six classes was 7.5%. In four classes the men placed a substantially higher value upon this standard; the women scored slightly higher in the other two classes. These figures again reflect the sex interest in companionship being stronger in the male than in the female. They also reflect a growing understanding and appreciation of the psychological elements in the stability of the family. Careful selection from this point of view is an important guarantee against divorce, and the men have more reason to be concerned over this matter than the women because of the economic, parental, and

other factors involved. The divorce rate may reasonably be regarded as an index of the feminine revolt against the scale of values characteristic of a male dominated society. It is correlated with the woman's movement for increasing equality of rights. Since the psychological basis of family integrity has become increasingly important while the religious, economic, and even the biological aspects have declined, the high valuation upon temperament, particularly on the part of the male, can readily be understood.

Standards of Morality

Both sexes placed uniformly high values upon standards of morality. Nearly everyone scored this item. There were only six females and three males out of a total of 111 females and 74 males who did not consider morality important enough to mark. There are clear indications here of a stronger male emphasis. In the first place the male average for the combined six classes was 10.2% whereas the female average corresponding was 9.4%. This slight difference may mean nothing in itself, and must be considered in the light of other facts. In the second place, the men scored substantially higher averages in three classes. In one of the other three classes the averages were nearly even and in the remaining two classes the averages were somewhat greater for the women. More striking is the difference in variation about the mean. For the men the low score was 9.1% and the high score 12.5% showing a small range of variation. For the women the low score was 6.2% and the high score was 12.2% indicating a substantially higher range of variation. This appears to show that the men are more sure of themselves in this regard. No doubt the double standard of morality plays a rôle in explaining the male inclination to score higher and more evenly. A man may have and sometimes does have attractive qualities which compensate for immorality, but such compensating qualities in a woman do not make her attractive from the standpoint of marriage. Most fathers wish to be reasonably certain of the paternity of their wives' children. Mothers have similar desires, to be sure, but the difference is that this matter lies entirely within the limits of their own powers of control. While the reputation of a man depends largely upon masculine achievement of one kind or another, the reputation of a woman depends more upon the consistency of her adherence to the conventional standards. For these and other reasons the difficulty of reëstablishing a lost or doubtful reputation for moral conduct is greater for a woman than for a man. These differences between the sexes are clearly reflected in the scores. It is worth noting that the total averages for mental status, including education, evidence of intellect, temperament, and morality were higher for both sexes in all six classes than the total averages for social and economic status, ancestral status, or physical status.

Race

A glance at the table of averages for the six classes will show that race was rated with considerable uniformity in all cases but one. The percentages were very low for both sexes in this exceptional instance and generally high otherwise. This was the result of different instructions with regard to the meaning of "race." In the five cases race was identified with the major, conspicuous types: Negro, Mongol, and Caucasian. In the other case race was defined in terms of the subdivisions of these major types, such as Nordic, Alpine, and Mediterranean. Hence attention was concentrated upon the racial divisions represented among the students of the class, some of whom were Nordic, others Alpine, Mediterranean, and various combinations of these. No other races were represented in this class; in fact, with one or two exceptions (Jews) no other races were represented in any of the classes. Only five women out of thirteen scored race in the exceptional case; only four men out of ten marked this item. The average for the men was 2.2%, for the women 1.2%.

In the other five classes, where the instructions emphasized the primary types, the results were very different. Ninety-eight per cent of the women, all but two, scored race strongly with an average percentage of 11.9%. Every one of the men scored race with an average value of 9.5%. In four of these five classes the women placed a greater valuation on race; in the fifth class the scores were even. The range of variation was low for both sexes indicating that both felt reasonably certain of what they were doing. The marked and fairly uniform difference in male and female appraisals is significant. This difference in emphasis follows naturally from the closer physical relation between mother and child. As the guardian of the race and the primary means of perpetuation, woman is more than likely to score this standard with a stronger emphasis.

Nationality

Less than half of the men and less than half of the women scored nationality. The percentages were uniformly low for both sexes although the women rated this standard with more emphasis. The combined average for the women was 2.3%, for the men 1.6%. In five of the six classes the female average was higher, in one class the scores were even. Deviation from the mean was low for both series. The identification of nationality with kinship as well as language and culture may account for the sex difference. As in the matter of race, the basic sex differences revealed in this part of the study are biological. These biological differences are correlated with differences in attitudes regarding race and nationality which cannot be fully or satisfactorily explained on the ground of environment alone. The in-

herited differences are seen to function in a differentiated environment which tends to create differences of attitude, feeling, and value favorable to the organic division of labor. It is true that the complex conditions of civilized society tend to nullify and pulverize these differences with the result that attitudes, feelings, and values are created which are not favorable to the biological division of labor of the sexes. This kind of situation is reflected in a declining birth rate and increasing instability of family life. It is fast becoming tantamount to race suicide and cultural decline.

Occupation

Occupation of parents was rated uniformly low by both sexes. In this case, however, the men placed a higher value in each one of the six classes. As in nationality less than half of the students of each sex scored this standard. But there was this noteworthy difference: the percentage of men scoring occupation was higher than the corresponding percentage of women whereas the percentage of women scoring nationality was higher than the corresponding percentage of men. Why should the men give a consistently higher rating to occupation of parents? To be sure the differences were slight in each class, and they may have no meaning whatever so far as attitudes and values of the sexes are concerned. The average value of the women in the six classes was 1.4%, the high variation from this mean being only 2.8%, the low variation 0.7%. For the men the combined mean was 2.1%, the high deviation 3%, and the low 1%. The approximation to evenness in range of variation as well as in the combined means may be more significant than the slight preponderance of the male score even though this was consistently maintained in each one of the six classes. In commenting on this standard before the classes it was pointed out that occupations vary all the way from bootlegging and ditchdigging to preaching the gospel and managing a bank. The moral significance of these vocations may have impressed the men more than the women.

Place of Birth and Childhood Environment

In commenting upon place of birth and childhood environment it was explained that this factor may vary all the way from farm to metropolis or from gold coast to slum. Forty-four per cent of the men scored it, 47% of the women. The combined average for the men was 1.8%, for the women 1.7%. In four classes the women rated this item higher than the men; in two the men rated it higher. The range of variation was not great in either series, the scores being uniformly low for both sexes. No differences are apparent in these figures. Total scores for ancestral status, including race, nationality, occupation of parents, place of birth and childhood environment were lower than the total scores in each of the other three major divisions

for both sexes in each one of the six classes. The evaluation of race, however, was uniformly high for both sexes in all cases.

Health

Health was rated higher than race by both sexes. All of the women scored health and there were only two men who failed to do so. One of these scored temperament 70% and beauty 10%. The other scored sex appeal 15% and mentality 40%. The combined averages for health were 14% for the women and 13.4% for the men. Except for one class,—the class formerly described which received exceptional instructions on race—the range of variation was low for both sexes. The men in this lone class scored health with an average of 19% and the women scored an average of 20.3%. Released from the necessity of having to score race, the women placed their points on health and income, while the men placed their points on health and temperament. In all classes but one the women gave a higher evaluation to health than the men. While the difference is not great, it is sufficiently uniform to suggest the theory that the distinction in value is correlated with a distinction in innate endowment. Women appear to be more eugenic-minded than men as shown by other differences previously described as well as by the difference in health rating. The specialization of biological and correlated social and moral functions which makes woman the guardian of the race in a moral as well as in a physical sense sufficiently explains the sex difference in appraisal of health as also race and income.

Beauty and Sex Appeal

Sex appeal and beauty as standards of selection for marriage will be considered in relation to each other. The scores for these two series run surprisingly even in each sex. With a combined average of 4.1% for sex appeal the women showed a high variation from this mean of 5.6%, and a low variation of 3%. In each one of the six classes the men rated sex appeal considerably higher. Their combined mean was 6.1%; the high deviation was 8% and the low 3.6%. Eighty-one per cent of the men scored this item whereas only 72% of the women did so. These differences of the sexes in attitude and value are certainly significant. They become more significant with a glance at the figures for beauty. Here the women gave a combined mean of 2.3% with a high variation of 3.6% and a low of 1.4%. The men showed a combined average of 6.2% with a low variation of 4.1% and a high variation of 7.5%. It is noteworthy that the high deviation from the mean of the women (3.6%) was lower than the low deviation of the men (4.1%). The latter gave a higher score to beauty in each one of the six classes. While 62% of the women scored this standard there were 92% of the men who did so. Moreover, while the men ran about even in their

evaluations of beauty and sex appeal, the women gave a consistently higher appraisal to sex appeal in each one of the six classes. Also, while a higher proportion of men scored beauty in comparison with sex appeal, a higher proportion of women scored sex appeal in comparison with beauty. The woman appears inclined to feel that there can be no beauty where there is no sex appeal, whereas the man is more inclined to the view that where there is beauty there is also likely to be sex appeal. These differences are appreciable and significant for both series. Whereas the men scored the two standards about evenly, the women gave an appreciably higher percentage to sex appeal than they did to beauty.

These differences in value reflect basic differences in sex rôle. The more passive rôle of the female stands in marked contradistinction to the dynamic rôle of the male. For the male beauty and sex appeal are about equally significant, but for the female sex appeal is more important than beauty. This difference in value is co-ordinated functionally with the organic division of labor. From the standpoint of the reproduction of the species the attraction between the sexes is manifestly more important than beauty. From the standpoint of the male, however, this distinction does not appear. These differences are also co-ordinated with differences in metabolism and variability.[7] The anabolism of the female—energy storing function—has a manifest relation to the passive sexual rôle, whereas the katabolism of the male—energy expending function—is identified with the more dynamic rôle. While the energies of one sex, mental as well as physical, are sharply restricted by the demands of the genesic activity, the corresponding energies of the opposite sex are released and enhanced by the requirements of this same activity. Therefore, also the higher proportion of male genius. Comparing the large, relatively immobile, food-laden germ cell of the female with the smaller, dynamic germ cell of the male, the eighteenth century philosophers claimed that the ovum and the sperm symbolized not only the organic division of labor of the sexes, but also the social and psychological division of labor. While their methods of reasoning were largely deductive, speculative and intuitive, it becomes clear that their conclusions were substantially valid.

Age

The male of the species also appears to show slightly greater concern in age. Beauty and sex appeal are certainly conditioned directly by age; so are the powers of reproduction. But there is this important distinction, that whereas the male procreative ability continues to advanced age, the similar powers of the female are cut off in middle age. The scores of both sexes were amazingly consistent. With a combined mean of 4.8% the women

[7] See W. I. Thomas, *Sex and Society*, Chicago, 1907; also H. Ellis, *op. cit.*

showed a high variation of 6% and a low variation of 3.5%. The men revealed a combined average of 5.2% with a high variation of 6.2% and a low of 4.2%. Manifestly the range of variation was small for both sexes. While 80% of the women scored this standard 88% of the men did so. In all classes but one the male averages were higher than the female. In the single exception the difference was insignificant. It should be added that the preponderant male score in two classes out of the five was insignificant. On the whole the general resemblance in rating is far more striking than the difference, but this difference, though slight, is sufficiently consistent to have some meaning. It is observed rather frequently that young ladies still in their teens or scarcely out of them associate their fortunes in life with elderly gentlemen; it is more rare that young men risk their futures with elderly ladies, although this anomaly is more frequent today than formerly because of the dominance of an economic scale of values. The fact that 20% of the women failed to score this item whereas only 12% of the men failed to do so tends to confirm this statement.

Summary of Results

In summary of results, no differences were found for two standards: (1) social standing, and (2) place of birth and childhood environment. There were slight differences in connection with education and occupation of parents, the importance of which may be doubted. The women gave a somewhat greater weight to education, the men to occupation of parents. For the other twelve standards significant differences were found. The women rated the following standards higher than the men: income, intellect, race, nationality, and health. The men scored heavier on religion, reputation, temperament, standards of morality, sex appeal, beauty, and age.

Inequality of the Sexes

To achieve, to conquer, to master nature, to rise triumphant over the limitations imposed by circumstance, in brief, to be a hero expresses the eternal masculine. To allure, to mother, to attract the hero that he perforce may be father and she the mother of a greater hero, or if fate is not so kind, the father and mother of a future mother of a hero: these impulses appear to express the eternal feminine. Each sex manifestly has its own special tasks to fulfill, its own special difficulties to master in the life of the race. Obviously each sex is fitted for these tasks by the inheritance of typical physical and mental characters. Nothing can be more absurd in the last analysis than to talk of the "equality" of the sexes. It is equally absurd to talk of the inherent superiority of one sex or the other. The sexes are unequal and each is superior to the other in the accomplishment of those special tasks assigned by nature. To be sure, there is a differentiation of

environment according to sex, and certain characteristic traits of each sex are developed by the pressures, influences, and standards in this differentiated environment. Men become the kind of men they are and women the kind of women they are because of the values set up in their respective environments. Girls are taught to sew, they are given dolls with which to play, and admonished to be modest in speech, dress, and behavior as becomes a girl in all circumstances. Boys are encouraged to play rough games, to fight for their rights, to master problems, in short, to develop bone and brawn as well as brain. Thus it is possible to attribute certain differences between the sexes to differences in the learning process, differences of opportunity, education, experience, and training. This type of argument, however, has often been carried too far. When it is assumed that boys will play with dolls, dress them up in fine clothes, and play "house" with their sisters with as much enthusiasm as they ride a pony, make and fly a kite, or choose up sides to reënact the Battle of Bunker Hill with snowballs for cannon and broomsticks for ensigns planted in snow packed forts, the argument is overplayed. And when it is assumed that girls will engage in the latter kind of play with as much enthusiasm as boys, if only they are given the opportunity, the argument is forced to extreme.

The differentiated environment is in general a function of the organic division of labor. There are psychological and social differences between the sexes which are noteworthy for the nicety with which they are co-ordinated with the physical differences. Studies of sex dimorphism in extinct types of primitive man show that the skeletal remains of the male were heavier, stronger, and typical in form as compared with the female, just as they are today. Terman's studies of gifted children show that boys were in a majority from the first, the excess of boys over girls increasing during the later years of adolescence.[8] College and university women have done brilliant work, inspiring high expectations which are seldom realized. Nearly all the great works of genius are the works of men. In the processes of comprehensive and abstract reasoning required in philosophy, science, and mathematics the superior competence of the male has been demonstrated. The interesting correlation between Terman's results and the studies of differences of sex in volume of brain case is noteworthy. It has been found that at maturity the cranium of the female is on the average 10% smaller than the male, and that the female rate of growth slows down at this point as compared with the male. The elaborate structure of the female reproductive organs demands not only a high cost of original construction in terms of energy units, but also a high cost of functional maintenance. Spencer's argument with respect to the inverse ratio between individuation and genesis is borne out in a certain sense by this observation. Women generally mature earlier

[8] L. M. Terman, *Genetic Studies of Genius*, Stanford University Press, 1925, Vol. I.

than men and they are shorter in stature on the average. But they are generally in earnest when it comes to the perpetuation of the race. Their superiority in such qualities as patience, sympathetic imagination, intuitive understanding of situations, memory of details, and careful attention to routine matters is integrated functionally with the physiological differences. And hence it is that the social and the psychological division of labor cannot be understood apart from the organic differentiation of function. Thus it is that the sex differentiated environment normally supplements and magnifies the importance of the basic differences. And when it is assumed that there are no acquired differences between the sexes which legislation, education, and equal opportunity cannot remove, the failure to perpetuate the race demonstrates the fallacy of the premise. Woman lives in closer harmony with nature and her instinctive impulse is often a more reliable guide than the reasoned judgment of her consort.

Helen B. Thompson's Study of Sex Differences

The results of Helen B. Thompson's study of the mental traits of sex confirm the conclusions already drawn.[9] Carefully planned experiments were conducted with the co-operation of 25 men and 25 women who were students in the laboratory of psychology at the University of Chicago. The purpose of these tests was to discover and to measure the mental differences of the sexes. First, with respect to motor ability, it was found that this trait was better developed in men in most of its forms. These included rate of fatigue, strength, rapidity of movement, and precision of movement. The advantage of the male was very definite in the first three factors, but not so decided in the last factor. These differences may all be accounted for on the ground of greater muscular strength of men. It was also discovered that in the development of a *new co-ordination* women are superior to men. With regard to manual dexterity the tests showed that men excel in the ability to make very delicate and minutely controlled movements, while women excel in ability to co-ordinate movements rapidly to unforeseen stimuli. This superiority of women in making new co-ordinations may be due to their keener senses or to higher levels of specialization in the muscular co-ordination of men, or possibly to both factors.

A second battery of tests aimed to bring out the differences in sensibility. It was found that women have lower thresholds in pain through pressure, color, smell, touch; sweet, salt, sour and bitter taste; and in the recognition of two points on the skin. In the perception of light men revealed a lower threshold, whereas there was no difference in the recognition of upper and lower limits of pitch. But the women had finer discrimination in pitch as

[9] Thompson, *op. cit.* A summary of Miss Thompson's conclusions may be found in A. B. Wolfe, *Readings in Social Problems*, Boston, 1916, pp. 552-562.

well as color. Discrimination in odor, temperature, and passive pressure were equal. The men showed finer discrimination in lifted weights, in sweet, sour and bitter taste, in visual areas, and in shades of gray. In comparing the number of cases in which women excelled in sensibility with the number of cases in which men excelled, it was found that women showed a decided advantage. The thresholds of women were lower in general whereas discriminative sensibility was better in men. It is certainly significant that the sensory perceptions which are based upon movement, such as discrimination of lifted weights, as well as of visual lines and areas, were found to be better in men.

This accords with differences in experience of the two sexes. The male is better equipped and better accustomed to full body movement, such as swinging a scythe or a hatchet, carrying heavy loads, shoveling, rowing, and the like. The female is more accustomed and better equipped for short and restricted body movements such as knitting, sewing, rocking a cradle, and the like. Ted Shawn, inspired with this idea, has made a striking success of the male dance. He arduously trained his carefully selected dancers in full arm, full leg, and full body movements. They felled trees, cut grain, shoveled, rowed, and ran until the exercised muscles were well developed and nicely co-ordinated. Then he designed interpretative dances which exploited the full body type of movement. There was nothing of the conventional type of female ballet in any of this. Ted Shawn re-embodied and re-created the male art of dancing, and the success of his work has been widely acclaimed. Differences in degrees of seclusion and related fields of interest and activity, in all probability, account for the variation, not only in sensation of movement, but also in the discrimination of visual lines and areas. These differences require no elaboration at this point.

A third battery of tests dealt with the intellectual faculties. It was found that women are decidedly superior to men in memory and possibly more rapid in associative thinking and that men are superior in inventiveness and ingenuity. These differences have already been stated and comment made. Men excelled in social consciousness, women in religious consciousness. In the degree of domination by emotion little, if any, difference was observed. The conclusion that there is no difference between the sexes in respect to the life of feeling is not acceptable. Studies of Havelock Ellis and many others may be cited to support the view here taken. In all other findings there is the fullest consistency with the results and conclusions developed in this chapter. When Miss Thompson wrote her book compiling the results and conclusions of her careful experimental work she believed that the differences discovered to exist between the sexes were due to environment. That environment is an important factor in the selection, differentiation, and development of the acquired differences between the sexes is incontestable. That there are no inherited differences in the qualities of mentality of the

sexes is absurd. The amazing co-ordination of inherited and acquired differences in spite of all the current upheaval with respect to the proper spheres of interest and activity of the sexes is the most striking conclusion that emerges from the studies described in this chapter.

Problem Questions

1. Suppose a representative sample of the cross section of the population scored the standards described in this chapter. What difference would you expect to find in the evaluation of (1) temperament, (2) education, (3) income, (4) religion, (5) intelligence, (6) morality, and (7) race?

2. Comment on the theory that there are no differences between the sexes which education, legislation, and opportunity cannot remove.

3. In what respects do the conditions of a complex civilization tend to destroy the correlation between innate and acquired differences between the sexes?

4. Is the correlation between innate and acquired differences identical with the correlation between the biological and the social division of labor of the sexes?

5. With the growth of modern cities and the advance of civilization what changes actually took place in the social division of labor of the sexes?

6. Is there evidence to show that similar changes occurred in earlier civilizations?

7. What effects do these changes have upon (1) the birth rate, (2) the divorce rate?

8. Is the declining birth rate due to increasing sterility of the population?

9. Do the changes in the social division of labor have any influence upon the biological division of labor between the sexes?

10. Why do men place a higher evaluation than women upon the following standards of selection for marriage: (1) temperament, (2) morality, (3) religion, (4) sex appeal, (5) beauty, (6) age, and (7) reputation?

11. Why do women place a higher evaluation than men upon the following standards of selection for marriage: (1) income, (2) health, (3) intelligence, (4) race, and (5) nationality?

12. Make a hypothetical comparison of the evaluation of these standards in a rural community with an urban community.

13. How do you account for the wider range of variation in the abilities and aptitudes of men than of women?

14. Is the greater affectibility of women an inherited or an acquired trait? Would differences in this respect be greater or less in a select group of university students?

15. It has been stated that women are more eugenic minded than men. How do you account for this difference?

16. Why was the male dance proscribed in Europe?

17. Contrast the character of Ted Shawn's male dance with a conventional female ballet.

18. Would you agree that Ted Shawn deserves credit for rediscovering a lost art?

Suggestions for Additional Reading

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20

SEX TRAITS AND THE SOCIAL PROCESS

Movement of Values in the Culture of Europe

Acquired sex traits are variable. But the direction of change and the rate of change are not haphazard. The sex differentiated environment into which children are born manifestly changes with the changes in cultural influence and cultural trend. In the early centuries of the Christian era the Church of Rome laid down its canon law governing marriage and the family, the rights and duties of husbands and wives, parents and children. This law considered the bond of marriage indissoluble, made the wife subservient to the husband in all matters and subordinated the personal happiness and freedom of both to the spiritual teaching of the Church and the biological necessity of racial perpetuation. It represented a strong and healthy reaction to the decadent condition of family life at the time of the late Roman Empire. The equality and freedom of the sexes had become bound up with declining births and increasing divorces, lower marriage rates and widespread promiscuity—all based upon a hedonistic philosophy which assiduously cultivated the personal enjoyment of wealth and power.

This philosophy was reasserted in modified form several centuries later in the guise of humanism at the time of the Renaissance. Some time afterward the teaching of the Protestant reformers placed a higher value upon the freedom of the conscience of the individual than it did upon the authority of the Church. In the course of the first half of the sixteenth century Luther and his associates liberalized the teaching on divorce, qualified the sacredness of the marriage bond, and emphasized the temporal, secular power in the regulation of family relationships. But Martin Luther was not exactly a modernist as the following quotation plainly shows:

> The woman's will, as God says, shall be subject to the man, and he shall be her master; that is, the woman shall not live according to her free will . . . and must neither begin nor complete anything without the man; where he is, there must she be, and bend before him as before her master, whom she shall fear, and to whom she shall be subject and obedient.[1]

[1] Quoted by Max Eastman in Wolfe, *Readings in Social Problems,* Ginn & Co., Boston, 1916, p. 475.

If Martin Luther had to manage a mixed congregation today, he probably would not express himself quite so bluntly.

About two centuries later a distinguished Frenchman wrote a famous educational classic entitled *Émile.* It was published for the first time in 1762 and in it Rousseau differentiated carefully and in detail between the proper education of boys and girls. After devoting the greater part of his space to the exposition of the proper principles to govern the education of Émile, the author devotes some incidental attention to the correct education of Émile's future wife, Sophie.

> With respect to what they have in common they are equal; and in so far as they are different they are not capable of being compared. . . . One must be active and strong, the other passive and weak. . . . This principle once established it follows that woman is especially constituted to please man. Thus the whole education of woman ought to be relative to men. To please them, to be useful to them, to make themselves loved and honored by them, to educate them when young, to care for them when grown, to counsel them, to console them and to make life sweet and agreeable to them—should be taught them from their infancy.[2]

Toward the close of the eighteenth century an English woman, Mary Wollstonecraft, published her *Vindication of the Rights of Women.*[3] In America, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage formulated a bill of rights, and, with the assistance of some friends of the opposite sex, organized the first woman's rights convention at Seneca Falls, New York, where their resolutions were adopted in 1848. John Stuart Mill, speaking before Parliament on the twentieth of May, 1867, presented a carefully reasoned case in support of the right of suffrage of women.[4] It was considered impractical and visionary at the time, but since then most civilized states of the Western world have recognized this right legally as well as morally.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century Henrik Ibsen wrote his *A Doll's House* and other dramas in which were voiced a plea for the moral independence and spiritual equality of women. Nora, the heroine of *A Doll's House,* forsakes a comfortable home, a devoted husband, and adorable children in order to discover her own soul, to achieve a moral independence and a spiritual freedom. Thus the changing dicta have been set forth with respect to the proper rôles, spheres of influence, and mutual attitudes of men and women. Ideals of the womanly woman, legal and moral conceptions of her rights and duties have been thoroughly revolutionized

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[2] J. J. Rousseau, *Émile,* translated by W. H. Payne, D. Appleton-Century Co., New York, 1892, pp. 259-281.

[3] M. Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women,* New York, 1890.

[4] J. S. Mill, Speech before the British Parliament, May 20, 1867.

in the course of the cultural movement. These changes were not haphazard. They are closely co-ordinated with the dominant social movements and cultural trends of the earlier, middle, and later phases of Western culture history. Other civilizations, as for instance the Greco-Roman and the Egyptian, passed through parallel metamorphoses of the human spirit. It is impossible to understand Aquinas, Luther, Rousseau, Mill, and Ibsen, not to speak of Mrs. Pankhurst and the militant reformers of a later day, without a knowledge of culture trends. The social planes and currents of an age impress their stamp upon the character of leadership and fix the conditions of creative achievement.

In the world of today, the student of sex traits is absolutely lost, the hapless and hopeless victim of a confused and disorderly swirl of contradictory values, feelings and currents of public opinion unless he comprehends some of the relationships between the situation as it exists today and the situation as it existed a century ago, and so on as far back as the early Springtime of Western culture. Then emerges the problem of ascertaining not only the organic homologies—cultural parallelisms—but also the differences of Western European and other civilizations. In this way, and in this way alone, is it possible to chart out the possible future trends and thus to realize some sense of direction and of order in the almost hopelessly muddled and contradictory teachings evident in the world today. For in this modern age a Bertrand Russell may organize a "School of Free Spirits," people may marry a dozen times in half as many years, and the press may exploit sensational divorce scandals while the Roman Catholic Church continues to preach the doctrine of the indissolubility of the marriage bond.

Upon the ruins of ancient Rome the leaders of the Catholic Church slowly consolidated a structure of thought and a corresponding structure of life. The doctrines of Christianity were spread by fire, sword, diplomacy, and statecraft as the Teutonic tribal hosts of northern Europe bent their stiff necks in forced subservience to the Christian authority. Out of this conjuncture of influences there emerged Feudalism and the Renaissance. The Renaissance produced a glorious age of science, invention, exploration, and discovery together with the greatest imaginable achievement in the fine arts. It also produced the Reformation, and the Reformation produced the political revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Now arose slowly the Industrial Revolution and with it the spirit of capitalism. The gradual development of ethical socialism came into being as a kind of Hegelian antithesis to the thesis of capitalism. This antithesis has produced a new synthesis in the form of fascism, national socialism, and the authoritarian national state. Throughout the entire course of these epoch-making changes, the patterns of thought and feeling which controlled the responsibilities and the privileges of the sexes, their rights and duties, their interests, activities, and spheres of influence were modified in accord with the domi-

nant movement. But through it all there remained, and still remains, the eternal masculine and the eternal feminine.

Division of Labor Among Prefeudal Germanic Tribes

Among the pagan Germanic tribes of preculture Europe the distinctive traits of men and women were clearly revealed in the social division of labor of the sexes. The men hunted wild animals, went to war, made crude weapons and implements, felled trees, plowed fields, and cut grain. Their women were cooks, brewers, and bakers; they were skilled in weaving, spinning, sewing, beating flax, carding wool, and shearing sheep. They accepted responsibility for the care and management of the household, the discipline of children, and helped in the work of tilling the fields, cultivating and harvesting crops. Boys of Anglo-Saxon parents were trained in the use of spear and javelin, running and jumping, the sword dance, hunting and fighting. At the age of twelve the boy was freed from the control of his father or guardian, and at the age of fifteen he was considered old enough to bear arms. The rudimentary and unmanly arts of reading and writing were left to priests and a few women. All of the domestic industries were managed by the busy housewife. In the seventh century the woolen and linen textile industries were carried on wholly by the wives and daughters of the family and this included all of the preliminary work of wool combing, spinning, winding, and drawing out of the yarn. Besides the clothing industry, the women were responsible for planting seed and raising grains and legumes, preparing food and drink and storing them for winter consumption. When the use of rushlights gave way to candles, the housewife acquired the technique of the chandler and soap maker. In addition to all of this, the nurture, care, training, and discipline of children naturally fell upon her shoulders.

The *Hausfrau* of those early days found little time for the enjoyment of leisure. Her busy life was centered in the home. The traits that made her work possible were patience, industry, gentleness, attention to detail, and willing accommodation to the long daily routine of duties. The men roamed far in battle and the chase. Manifestly they excelled their women in physical strength, endurance, courage, prowess, and love of adventure. Tacitus, the Roman historian, tells us in his *Germania* that the men were in the habit of carousing at home, stupefying themselves with drink and inaction, when they were not fighting or doing the heavy field work.[5] The women have been described as domestic drudges, first domesticated animals (*erstes Hausthier*), but the fact remains that they possessed a certain dignity, sense of importance, and responsibility which the carefully painted dolls of a later day conspicuously lacked. Both Thomas Carlyle and John Stuart

[5] Tacitus, *Germania*, see *The Works of Tacitus*, Oxford translation, New York, 1884.

Mill commented frequently on the bored and empty existence of well-to-do women of their day who spent their afternoons riding in carriages through the parks of London in order to relieve somewhat the futile monotony of their dull lives.

Distribution of Property Rights

That the married women of these early Nordic races of the continent enjoyed a certain degree of independence in their own sphere is shown clearly by the distribution of property rights. In the early Middle Ages the suitor was called upon to make a payment—bride price, called *arrha*—to the father of his chosen wife. The *Beweddung* was a contract between father and suitor whereby the former agreed to give over his daughter in exchange for cattle, arms, or money.[6] In the course of several centuries, beginning about the sixth century A.D., *arrha* was paid to the bride herself and gradually transformed into the means of providing for the wife from her husband's property in the event he died first. From about the tenth century onward, *Beweddung* was a formal contract to pay the bride price to the wife in case of the husband's death. During approximately the same interval of time, that is, from the sixth or seventh to the tenth centuries the "morning gift" was added to the bride price. This was simply a gift given by the husband to his wife on the morning following the marriage. As time went on the value of the morning gift exceeded the bride price, and before the tenth century the law called for the payment of morning gift as well as bride price in the *Beweddung*.[7] Later the two merged into each other becoming a means of security for the wife after the death of her husband.

In addition to this there was the *gerade*, a custom of these early Germanic tribes, according to which the bride received a gift from her own family.[8] This gift was personal property, descending exclusively to her female heirs, and included many useful articles of household utility such as furniture, linen goods, money, ornaments, and even sheep and poultry for which she had cared before her marriage. The Teutonic peoples, however, were practically a unit in proscribing women from the ownership of land. It appears that the bride price and morning gift were subject to the authority of the husband so far as the use of this property was concerned, but they could not be alienated and certainly the wife had the full rights of use and possession of this property after her husband's death. The *gerade* belonged to her in a special sense since this property could be alienated without her husband's consent. When a son married he received a portion of the family

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[6] G. E. Howard, *A History of Matrimonial Institutions*, three vols., Chicago, 1904, Vol. 1, p. 259.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 269. See also E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, three vols., New York, 1922, Vol. 2, pp. 421, 422.

[8] Goodsell, *The Family as a Social and Educational Agency*, New York, 1920, p. 199.

estate, and when a daughter married she received her dowry as well as her dower, that is, her *gerade* as well as her bride price and morning gift.

Property rights of women among the Anglo-Saxons were somewhat greater. Daughters could inherit real property as well as personal property. Fathers who chose to do so could divide their real property as well as their personal property equally among sons and daughters. Moreover, the Anglo-Saxon wife became copossessor of the family property with her husband, which meant in practice that the latter could not alienate her property. According to the law she was the absolute owner of her morning gift. In case she received no morning gift the right to an undivided portion of her husband's property was recognized. Therefore her husband required her consent when he sold land or personal property. Her name appears as a consenting party to these deeds of sale. Among the Frisians and Westphalian Saxons the wife who bore a son was entitled to one-half of the joint acquisitions of the family which now took the place of her morning gift. That these early Teutonic barbarians provided amply for the protection and security of their wives, not only in life, but also in death, is fully demonstrated. Moreover, the distribution of property rights definitely implies a differentiation of sex traits which naturally placed heavier responsibilities upon the male head of the household for the protection of this property from destruction by man or beast and for the effectual utilization of it at the same time.

The *Patria Potestas*

The *patria potestas* of these early Germanic tribes was by no means absolute. Descent was reckoned through both maternal and paternal lines. Thus the marriage of a girl did not terminate her relationships with her own kindred. These relatives continued to assume some responsibility for her well-being, and she in turn continued to be under some obligation to them for her good behavior. Women, however, were not persons in a legal sense at this time. If they did wrong, the father, brother, or guardian answered for them in the courts, and, if necessary, paid their fines. Men had the right of bodily chastisement, not only over their children, but also over their wives. But this right was limited by the law of the *sippe,* or *mægth,* the wider kindred group to which everyone belonged.[9] This wider kinship unit, which was both matrilineal and patrilineal, included a group of relatives, descended from the grandchildren of two common ancestors. If a husband or father was unduly severe in the treatment of his wife or children, the kindred of his wife held him accountable to them. The *wergild* represented the value of a life, the worth of a man or of a woman, and this

[9] J. A. Quinn, *The Development of Domestic Institutions,* published in Hedger, *An Introduction to Western Civilization,* op. cit., pp. 625, 626.

sum was demanded by a woman's kinsmen after marriage as well as before in case her life was taken in violation of law or custom. The *bot* was compensation for minor offenses demanded in a similar way under similar circumstances. Occasionally a woman struck her husband in retaliation for bodily punishment, but in such an event she was required to ride an ass through the streets, seated backwards and holding the animal's tail. A man who accepted blows from his wife might expect his neighbors to gather and take the roof off his house on the theory that a man did not deserve to be sheltered from wind and rain if he meekly accepted bodily punishment from his wife.

As late as the eleventh century Anglo-Saxon fathers arranged for the marriage of their daughters without regard to their wishes. Under pressure of necessity children could be sold into slavery before they were seven years of age. Anglo-Saxon law prohibited the sale of children into slavery after the age of seven years in all circumstances. The continental tribes, however, did not so curtail the father's power since wives as well as children could be sold in time of famine. But the larger kinship groups could protect children and women from unreasonably cruel husbands and fathers. Moreover, these groups acted as guardians of widows and children often taking charge of the estates of orphans until the latter were of age. The paternal kin, however, assumed larger shares of responsibility for all of the members of a particular household. Due to the harsh conditions of existence and the lack of control over nature, infanticide and child exposure were not uncommon. Newly born infants did not become members of the kin until they were formally acknowledged by their fathers. Thus the father had power of life and death over his offspring, but this right was restricted by the law of the *sippe* to children who had not tasted food. After milk or honey had touched the child's lips, the father was bound to admit him to the kindred groups of both parents. If a father died before his children reached the age of majority, his kin assumed all rights of guardianship over property. Widows, however, continued to control their children. A father had the right to manage property received by his children from their maternal kindred and this included the right to the income from such property. In addition, a husband had the right to sell a refractory wife whose behavior did not respond to corporal chastisement.

The romantic interest of the sexes in each other was not in the least conspicuous. The *Beweddung* was an arrangement between father and suitor and the bride's consent was not considered necessary. In one of the laws of Æthelbert it was stipulated that, "If a man carry off a freeman's wife, let him procure another with his own money and deliver her to him."[10] Children born out of wedlock had no rights of inheritance since

[10] Quoted by Goodsell, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

they were not acknowledged members of the father's kin. But the illegitimate child had some rights of protection since his *wergild* was paid if he were slain.

The strong concentration of power in the male head of the family did not imply arbitrary use of authority, much less an attitude of despotic dictation or paternal condescension. It implied rather a distribution of responsibility, which, under the conditions of life, gave the best guarantees of family maintenance, family stability, and the perpetuation of the race. The checks against irresponsible authority were well developed among these early Teutonic people. But there was more than this. Tacitus states that the German barbarian believed that "there dwells in his women something holy and prophetic." Women were granted a degree of independence in their own sphere of activity. It was not uncommon to give the wife custody of the household keys. This was especially characteristic of the Danes, and when Cnut became king of England, the Danish privilege was extended to Anglo-Saxon wives. The right of a wife to have a storeroom, cupboard, and chest of her own was also acknowledged at the same time. Worship of household gods was common among the Germans, even as late as the time of Tacitus. All branches of the Aryan people worshiped their ancestors at one time or another. And this practice introduced a spiritual element into the home, binding the ties of family life and giving a certain atmosphere of sacredness to the association of parents and children in the households.

This system of relationships was prefeudal. It included as described a social division of labor between the sexes and a distribution of property rights, authority, and responsibility characteristic generally of Europe in the early Middle Ages. The environment of attitudes, values, and ideas was clearly differentiated with respect to the sexes. A girl was expected to develop the attributes of a womanly woman, and these included subservience to her husband, loyalty to his wishes, industry and frugality, patient devotion to a long, daily round of duties, kind and sympathetic care of her offspring, and attention to a thousand details of the household routine. A boy was expected to develop the qualities of a manly man, and these included ability to defend himself against personal attack, physical strength and powers of endurance, courage, prowess, and skill, in short, the combination of qualities that makes a good fighter. The advent of Christianity affected the division of labor, the distribution of property rights, of authority and responsibility. Slowly the characteristic feelings, values and attitudes were modified, the environment of both sexes changed and there developed new ideals of manly men and womanly women. Feudalism, the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Industrial Revolution had similar far reaching influences. Today the gradual consolidation of the national authoritarian state in certain countries is bearing repercussions on the relationships described with a corresponding new idealization of sex traits.

The Conversion to Christianity

The Germanic races of Europe were converted to Christianity during the period beginning about the fifth and closing about the eighth century. Christianity was a humanizing and a civilizing influence. A new authority over the pagan Teutonic tribes was created; a new scale of values was propagated with the co-operation of strong, military chieftains who were persuaded in one way or another to support the cause of the Church. This scale of values was intended to save Roman civilization from complete ruination, a great task which showed the vision, understanding and consciousness of power of the Church leaders. In this respect the mission of the Church proved to be a failure. Meanwhile it gradually succeeded in imposing its ideas and beliefs upon the illiterate Nordic tribes of Franks, Teutons and Lombards. These tribes of Germanic people were about as far removed from civilization at the time as the Iroquois Indians of America.

The process of penetration, propagation, and conversion to Christianity took time. But the Church had its own private armies and it possessed a relative monopoly of the power that comes with knowledge. Roman legions had invaded the northern lands, and colonies had been established as far away from home as Britain. In the year 597 when Augustine made a missionary visit to Britain he found the invaders securely established in the conquered island. Moreover, this movement of Christianization was closely related to the later crystallization of feudal institutions. The Church set up a religious hierarchy and Feudalism set up a military hierarchy. In diplomacy and statecraft the tribal chieftains were no match for the thoroughly educated and well trained leaders of the Roman Church. These leaders knew how to throw the weight of their power on the side of a favored chieftain who found himself fighting a life and death struggle with a rival claimant for the possession of his lands and the security of his people. It was only natural for the victorious chieftain, now under obligation to the Church, to demonstrate his gratitude by recognizing the authority of the Church.

Feudalism in co-operation with Christianity organized a new economy of life as previously described. This implied a rigid stratification of society together with a religious and a moral discipline which set up one scale of values for the rulers of society and another for the ruled. The authority of superior physical force was reinforced by the religious sanction of the Church. Each class and each sex had its appropriate duties and its proper standards of value. The laboring classes were expected to be industrious, pious, long suffering, frugal, patient, obedient, humble, and forgiving. Warriors were expected to be honorable, valiant, strong, and fearless. Priests were taught to be skillful leaders of men well versed in the arts of government. It was their aim to uphold and to strengthen wherever possible the

authority of the Church. Thus the Churchmen were scholars, statesmen, and diplomats; they provided intellect. The feudal leaders were men of action who loved the field of battle and stood by their promises even in pain of death. They provided moral quality and physical valor. Meanwhile the hard working classes of peasants, tradesmen, and craftsmen dedicated their energies to providing the means of subsistence and the material wealth which slowly accumulated in the hands of their superiors. The advantages of extravagant, impressive display, luxurious ceremony, and conspicuous expenditure were well understood. Christianity and Feudalism modified the status of women, the *patria potestas,* the economic division of labor of the sexes, and the distribution of property rights between them. The ideal of chivalry emerged.

Effects of Christianity upon the Status of Women

The combined influence of Feudalism and the Church strengthened still further the paternal authority and generally lowered the status of woman by restricting her property rights and by making her more dependent than formerly upon her male protectors. In certain other respects, however, the status of woman was definitely improved. It also shifted the economic division of labor between the sexes with the effect of confining women even more exclusively to the household. Private and lay marriages of the Germanic races prior to the conversion were vigorously opposed by the Church. The sacred character of marriage was stressed as the blessing of the priest upon their nuptials was required. Elaborate canonical regulations concerning the marriage of near and remote kin were based upon the Old Testament laws of Leviticus and enforced upon the people with all energy. It became customary for the bride and groom to attend the solemn service of the Mass on the day following marriage when the priestly benediction sanctified and consummated their union. Formerly the engagement had taken the form of a contract between the father of the bride and the suitor which provided for payment of the bride price, or *arrha* as it was called. This contract, known as the *Beweddung,* was followed by the *gifta,* a simple ceremony in which the bride's father formally gave her over to the protection of her husband. By the tenth century it became customary for the *gifta* to take place at the church door in the presence of the priest. Here the bride's dower was assigned and the priest asked the question: "Who giveth this woman to this man?" [11]

Second marriages were discouraged and disconsolate widows were persuaded to take the "vows of widowhood" and to enter a neighboring convent. In this way the Church obtained possession of the lands and the personal property of wealthy widows. As the position of the Church

[11] Howard, *op. cit.,* Vol. 1, p. 299 *et seq.*

strengthened, second marriages were prohibited for a period of one year following widowhood under penalty of forfeiture of the widow's dower. Thus the offense was made ecclesiastical and the bishop exercised the right of seizing the lands of wayward widows for the benefit of the Church. The influence of the priest was used to draw women away from their homes to the Church and the monastery where they were joined in spiritual marriage to Christ. Meanwhile the inheritance of property reverted to the Church.

Education was provided for the more intelligent girls of noble birth. The literary tastes of Alfred the Great, ninth century king of the West Saxons, were awakened by his mother. In this way and in other ways, as for instance in emphasizing the spiritual nature of the marriage bond and in the equal condemnation of both sexes for moral laxity, the Church definitely improved the status of women and softened the manners of both sexes. Quaint Anglo-Saxon prints of the tenth and eleventh centuries represent the wife seated in dignity beside her lord at table whereas formerly she had been required to serve him. From the time of the ninth century queens were crowned and sat beside their husbands on occasions of state. Thus the Church contributed to the chivalrous respect and devotion in which women were held in later times. But this attitude held only for women of royal or noble birth; the position of women of the lower classes was not so favorable.

In other respects, however, the teaching of the Church tended to lower the status of women, not only in the eyes of their husbands but also in the eyes of the world. The writings of St. Paul show little, if any, appreciation of the spiritual quality of the marriage bond. "It is better to marry than to burn," he said in his first letter to the Corinthians. St. Paul obviously looked upon marriage primarily if not exclusively as a physical relationship. "To avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife, and every woman have her own husband," he wrote. His own state of blessed bachelorhood was considered superior, and while the earlier Church Fathers held up a better ideal of marriage, the later Church Fathers inclined to agree with the views of St. Paul as the spirit of asceticism gained headway. This spirit of asceticism became more intensive as well as extensive. It is not to be accounted for psychologically, as Nietzsche did, on the ground of physical necessity, a man having exhausted his energies in extravagant self-indulgence and desiring, perhaps subconsciously, to replenish them in frugal self-denial and rigorous self-discipline.

The early company of Christians aimed to realize the ethical teachings of Jesus in the midst of an increasingly degenerate and shamelessly licentious society the salvation of which became more futile as the centuries rolled along their fateful course. The greater severity of their own asceticism became more definitely imperative as Rome sank finally into utterly hopeless ruin and decay. With their eyes fixed steadfastly upon the inner motive and

ideal of conduct, the great leaders of the Church bent every effort upon the goal of the purification of behavior. It was quite excusable that the irresponsible self-indulgence of their day should be traced to the relationships between the sexes. If the love of the sexes appeared to the Church Fathers as the root of all evil it may have been so because excessive eating, drinking, brutal games, and sordid exhibitions of all sorts served the additional vicious end of stimulating the baser passions and encouraging the unrestrained expression of sexual desire.

Celibacy and virginity were extolled. They served to foster the unseen life of the spirit and therefore represented the highest plane of holiness. But even virgins required parents. Hence marriage was grudgingly recognized as a necessary institution for the perpetuation of the race and the problem appeared of properly circumscribing the relationships between the sexes. Somewhat higher than this ethical level of life, but not so high as absolute celibacy was the tardy and incomplete abstinence of the person who adopted celibacy as the rule of life after a previous marriage, or after the death of husband or wife. It is not surprising, therefore, that women were all too commonly regarded exclusively in the light of their sex qualities: paradise for the body, purgatory for the soul, and hell for the purse as one early medieval wise-cracker expressed it. St. Jerome, writing toward the close of the fourth century, accepted the Pauline doctrine which he expressed as follows: "It is good to marry simply because it is bad to burn." [12]

Clearly the influence of St. Paul and of the early Christian Fathers was reactionary from the point of view of the advanced position of freedom and equality which women had gained in Imperial Rome. It had the effect of restricting the life of women more narrowly than formerly to the home and the Church. And this became increasingly true among the converts to the north as Christianity gained influence and power in Europe. The Church also emphasized the spiritual equality of men and women. It was opposed to the double standard of ethics which excused a man but condemned a woman for the same violation of the moral code. In this respect, even to this day, the Church has failed in realizing its aim. Nevertheless, woman was singled out as the cause of the fall of man in the garden of Eden and hence she appeared as a dangerous, though alluring, seducer. It was her rôle to dress in sober garments, to cover her face, and to walk humbly and discreetly in the sight of the Lord. Hence she was exhorted to remain in the seclusion of her home engaged in prayer and the duties of a faithful and industrious housewife. She enjoyed neither as much freedom, dignity, nor respect as her pagan grandmother did in years long passed.

But the Church recognized as well two other principles: (1) the sanctity of the individual human life, and (2) the universal brotherhood of man-

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[12] Quoted by Goodsell, *op. cit.*, p. 157

kind. Hence it opposed vigorously the exposure of children, and succeeded in checking the practice of infanticide. It also opposed polygyny and was instrumental in destroying the remaining vestiges of this practice among the northern people.[13] By contributing to the organization of a more productive and efficient economy of life it mitigated many of the hazards of existence and rendered unnecessary the sale of women and children into slavery. Loopholes were provided to annul or to circumvent the indissolubility of the marriage bond, but in formulating and teaching a more permanent form of monogamy the Church provided the essential conditions of family maintenance, family stability, and the perpetuation of the race.

Effects of Feudalism upon Property Rights

Feudalism definitely restricted the property rights of women and lowered their status. After the Norman conquest the morning gift of Anglo-Saxon days was gradually superseded by the Norman "dower." This gave the bride the right of use for her lifetime of one-third of her husband's real estate at the time of marriage. Subsequent losses or accumulations did not modify the extent of this right. The life use of one-third of her husband's personal property at the time of marriage was added to the dower. But the Anglo-Norman wife had no right of management over this property during the lifetime of her husband. The latter enjoyed the right to sell the lands composing the dower. In case the wife objected to such alienation of her rights she could claim nothing after her husband's death. Moreover, the husband's heirs could dispute her claim to her dower in the event of his death, and in this situation she was obliged to find a champion willing to uphold her rights in open combat. Ideas of primogeniture developed as it became impossible for a husband to include his dwelling house in the dower. This property belonged to his heir. If a family included daughters as well as a son, the latter became sole heir and succeeded to the whole of his father's estate. The husband also enjoyed the right of use and management of his wife's dowry, presented to the bride by her parents. When her husband died she was entitled to the life use of both dower and dowry if there was anything left of them.

The separate, legal existence of a woman was not recognized. Richard Glanvill, Anglo-Norman lawyer of the twelfth century, wrote that, "Husband and wife are one person and that person is the husband."[14] Thus a

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[13] Monogamy was clearly the prevalent form of marriage among Teutonic peoples. Tacitus wrote about them as follows: "The matrimonial bond is . . . . strict and severe among them; nor is there anything in their manners more commendable than this. Almost singly among the barbarians they content themselves with one wife; a very few of them excepted, who, not through incontinence, but because their alliance is solicited on account of their rank, practice polygamy." *The Works of Tacitus,* Oxford Translation, The Clarendon Press, New York, 1884, p. 308.

[14] Quoted by Goodsell, *op. cit.,* p. 221.

woman was bound wholly by her husband's will. In case of litigation he represented her in the courts, and she was not able to protect her rights in opposition to his will. Widows were not even permitted the rights of guardianship over their own children. These rights were held by their feudal overlords who assigned the children or betrothed them with a view of protecting the landed interests. When orphaned children fell heir to great possessions the overlord asserted his rights with great vigor. He arranged marriages with similar ends in view and if a widow desired to marry a second time she was bound to obtain the consent of her liege lord under penalty of forfeiting her dower. In this way private bargains were arranged with a squire or a knight who sought her hand in marriage and incidentally the management of her estates. The lady was "stuck to the soil" and went with the land even as the villein.

Reasons for this situation are not far to seek. In the feudal system, the value of every unit of land was measured by the number of fighting men it provided. The services of the woman in the household were not rated as highly as the services of a warrior. If the head of a fief died leaving only a widow and several daughters the value of the unit as a fighting organization became worthless. Hence the importance of a second husband who was able to provide the necessary leadership and defend the land. How could an overlord demand the payment of feudal services if a widow held the right of possession of her husband's estate?

The Ideal of Chivalry

Sons and daughters of privileged parents were educated and trained in accordance with the feudal division of labor. They were often sent to the castles of lords and churchmen where they received appropriate training. Boys were taught the lessons of obedience and loyalty to their superiors; they waited on table, served the ladies, and cared for the horses and armor of the lord. Since the word "courtesy" manifestly implies court manners in the home and castle of lord and lady, the page was required to cultivate gentle ways. He became a skillful horseman, and was thoroughly trained in the arts of war and personal service to his lord, at home as well as on the field of battle. Anglo-Saxon youths of the eleventh century were often sent to Normandy where they were instructed in riding, fighting, hunting, grooming horses, and serving at table in Norman castles. Thus there emerged the ideal of chivalry which introduced a new ethical and spiritual quality in the relationship between the sexes. This ideal included loyalty to the Church as well as loyalty to lord and lady. It implied a refinement of manner as well as deferential respect and devotion of men to women. Men became rivals in prowess and service to their chosen ladies. Inasmuch as the knight of the Middle Ages was not born to the honor but achieved it as

reward for manly conduct and valor in battle, he was impelled to show an almost superhuman courage and strength in the eyes of the maiden of his heart. The tournament was the battle ground where lusty knights in heavy and glittering armor strove to vanquish each other in the name of fair ladies who wove girdles and ribbons to adorn the helmets of their chosen warriors. Men were expected to be courteous, accomplished, and handsome, as well as fighters of unquestioned courage possessing great powers of endurance. In this way the sentiment of romantic love arose at a time when battle and the rule of physical might were in the order of the day.

This sentiment spread over the whole of Christendom and became a great civilizing influence and counterpoise to the asceticism of the Church.[15] The love of the sexes became an affair of the heart and mind and accordingly implied an ethical quality as well as a physical necessity. Fair ladies set a spiritual price upon their favor and brave gentlemen willingly paid the price in open combat, loyalty, and devotion. All of this became highly conventionalized and somewhat ludicrous as love making was reduced to codes and the troubadours and minnesingers sang the same romantic and sentimental verses all over the land.

Effects of Feudalism upon the Division of Labor

The lady of the castle assumed responsibility for the education of girls who were assigned to her. Here they learned how to spin and weave, make clothing, and embroider tapestries, girdles and garments. Embroidery was cultivated with great skill. Even queens embroidered with their own hands, and the art of making tapestries was developed to a high plane. In the gardens outside the castle the girls enjoyed the companionship of pages and squires. Rigid manuals of etiquette governed their behavior, for they were instructed to be modest in the presence of men, to walk erect and not too fast, and not to talk too much. Some of these young women received education in reading, writing, and foreign language. The love songs, romances, and epics which idealized the prowess of knights and the charm of ladies constituted the literature of their day. It was faithfully communicated to them by the troubadours and minnesingers who entertained and enlightened them at the same time. Women were also trained as nurses and learned to bandage wounds and prepare medicinal herbs and ointments. References to women's skill in nursing and healing in the romances of the time give ample testimony to the importance of this side of their preparation for life's responsibilities.

Chivalry was essentially an aristocratic ideal. It did not permeate the lower ranks of society. Serfs and tenants-in-villeinage who cultivated their own lands as well as the lord's demesne provided the means of physical

[15] Quinn, *op. cit.*, pp. 627, 628.

maintenance. Chivalry and the sentiment of romantic love had little, if any, place in their dull scheme of life. In the prefeudal period, previously described, the women assumed responsibility for gardening and hoe-culture along with the industries of the household. Feudalism developed a peasant class of men who specialized in the arts of agriculture and animal husbandry. The household ceased to be the most convenient unit for grinding grain, preparing leather goods, metal goods, and many other similar pursuits. These handicrafts became localized in towns where the gilds of saddlers, spurriers, tailors, and the like established themselves.

The employment of women in all of these vocations did not completely disappear by any means. To be sure the men tried to take over brewing, baking, and other tasks that had been centered in the domestic household over so long a period of time, but they were not entirely successful in doing so. Karl Bücher's studies of incorporated industries in the Rhine cities and in Frankfort-on-Main show conclusively that women were not wholly excluded from these interests. The handicrafts, to be sure, were domestic in the sense that master workmen organized and directed them under their own roofs, employing a fixed number of apprentices and journeymen in the process. They also used the services of their wives and daughters until prohibitive legislation was enforced. But in the main and on the whole the skilled trades of the tailor, weaver, and the like were taken out of the control of women and became organized crafts for men. The widow who survived the death of a master craftsman was expected to carry on his work in some gilds. On the continent in particular women became independent members of certain craft gilds. The records of Cologne, Bremen, Strassburg, Ulm, Speier, and Dantzig show abundant evidence of such independent membership. A municipal ordinance of Munich in the fourteenth century restricts the number of apprentices for the *female master weaver* as well as for the master weaver.[16] But such instances are exceptional and may be interpreted as survivals of the prefeudal period when industries were centered in the home under the direction of the housewife.

The medieval gilds were not only industrial societies; they also exercised legal, political, military, and administrative functions. Women were excluded from political as well as military responsibilities. Generally speaking the right to become a full fledged member of a craft gild depended upon ability to render military service and participation in political life. Under these circumstances women were implicitly disqualified. It is certain that the craft gilds and the merchant gilds as well were male dominated institutions, not only in the sense that men organized and directed these economic activities, but also in the sense that they provided all or nearly all of the requisite labor. As measures were enacted by gilds and municipalities prohibiting the

[16] Karl Bücher, *Die Frauenfrage im Mittelalter*, Tübingen, 1882, p. 16.

work of women and children this became definitely the case. Feudalism thus effectuated the differentiation of the handicrafts under male direction and male labor.

But this did not result in the complete elimination of domestic industries by any means. The woman of the household continued to make candles and soap, to pound flax, shear sheep, and card wool, spin, weave, brew, and bake. Craft and merchant gilds catered chiefly to the aristocracy, freeholders, and squires who possessed cash. Women who belonged to these privileged classes were relieved of many duties for which they were formerly held responsible. They cultivated finer arts and made possible the emergence of a new feminine rôle based upon the ideal of chivalry and the sentiment of romantic love. And thus also the masculine rôle came to include the appreciation of beauty, the cultivation of courtesy, delicacy, and refinement in speech and manner.

The extensive substitution of male for female labor in the systematic cultivation of the soil, animal husbandry and manufacturing industry was one of the most significant and far reaching consequences of Feudalism. As a result women became more dependent upon their male protectors, their legal and economic disabilities more pronounced, and their confinement to the tasks of the household more exclusive. This general pattern of relationships was not altered in any significant particular until the eighteenth century theory of liberty, fraternity, and equality prepared the way for the democratic movement and the rise-to-power of the middle class. But theory was one thing and the recognition of implied rights was something else. By the close of the nineteenth century important legal changes were well under way.

General Influence of the Renaissance and Reformation

The Renaissance was essentially an aristocratic movement. It did not particularly effect the pattern of relationships between the sexes described above. But the spirit of individualism which characterized the Renaissance was carried over into the Reformation. The ideology of this latter movement was by no means restricted to aristocratic circles. A new approach to the problems of life and a new scale of values were established as the Protestant movement spread over Switzerland, Germany, France, Holland, Denmark, England, Scotland, Norway, and Sweden. It extended to the shores of North America where it effectuated the conquest of a continent and constructed the foundation of a Nordic and a Protestant civilization. But this movement did not alter in any fundamental way the pattern of relationships between the sexes which had been created by the conjuncture of Feudalism and the Roman Church.

Indirectly, however, this influence was far reaching since it is related to

the religious wars and the political struggles of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Ostensibly it carried the spirit of individualism into the domain of religious belief and worship, but in reality this spirit energized and motivated human activity in the economic and political fields. The growth of science with its ultimate ideal of the freedom of the human intellect in the quest for truth; the application of science to the exploitation of natural resources with the ultimate ideal of the liberty of the individual to pursue his own economic interests without fear of political restraint; the Industrial Revolution and consequent rise of democratic institutions; the organization of life known as capitalism:—this sequence of events was inspired mainly by the leaders of the Protestant revolt. In the course of the nineteenth century most far reaching changes occurred in the economic division of labor of the sexes, the distribution of property rights between them, and the corresponding moral and legal claims to recognition as free and independent agents in a civilized world.

The Ideal of Platonic Love

The Renaissance was no revival of Classical learning for the Germanic, feudal aristocracies of Europe. It represented rather the Dionysian spirit of a dynamic culture in its youth and the consciousness of a growing and vital power. Married women of the ruling classes enjoyed a greater degree of freedom in social intercourse. Educated in the classics and the well spiced romances of Boccaccio and other writers of the time they engaged in learned and witty conversation on equal terms with men. Courts, castles and palaces became brilliant centers of association and culture where wits and talents vied with each other for recognition. In a true sense all of this was but the continuation of the ideal of chivalry already described. Women set standards in manners and morals while nobles and princes pledged their devoted service to the fair ladies of the court and sought to realize their ideals of what was proper and pleasing in conduct and speech.

Slowly there emerged the ideal of Platonic love. This ideal became particularly attractive to young married women, often the mothers of children, whose marriages had been arranged for them by their elders from the point of view of the highest convenience. The ideal of a celestial love, free from all carnal implication, made a strong appeal to women in these circumstances. Spiritual love, so-called, became a kind of cult fostered by ladies of high birth who strove with great earnestness to pass from a state of physical passion to a higher union of mind and soul with the beloved. But Platonic love proved to be a kind of ordeal through which many cultivated ladies did not pass without disillusionment. While men were quite naturally attracted to this ideal, they did not espouse it as wholeheartedly as women. The courtly service of love degenerated from a cult to a fashionable pastime.

Meanwhile, however, many gifted ladies had learned how to use their influence in the more important affairs of statecraft and diplomacy. Their brilliant salons became centers of conspiracy as well as idle court gossip and the cultivation of literary tastes. But so far as the status of woman was concerned and her legal and economic rights, the Renaissance had no effect of particular significance. The person of a married woman continued to be merged in the person of her husband.

Influence of the Reformation

This statement applies also to the Reformation. In attacking the exclusive authority of the Roman Church on matters pertaining to religion, morality, marriage, and the family, Martin Luther and his colleagues opened the way for the increasing self-assertion of the secular authority. The marriage relation became a civil contract regulated by the laws of a temporal power, the state, as well as a holy sacrament. Peter the Lombard had declared that the marriage engagement was valid and binding if declared in words of the present tense, such as "I take thee, to be my lawful wife"; on the other hand, if the engagement was declared in words of the future tense, such as "I will take thee, etc.," it had no such binding power.[17] This distinction led to abuses which Luther criticized severely. There were other abuses, such as the elaborate rules and regulations governing marriage between near and remote kin. This also was an object of passionate denunciation. Luther was inclined to object to the doctrine of the indissolubility of the marriage bond, although he continued to emphasize the sacramental character of this institution. The Protestant leaders generally favored complete divorce as distinguished from merely temporary or permanent separation of husband and wife. Two or more grounds were generally admitted, depending upon the interpretation of the scriptural texts. Strict interpretations recognized only two grounds, infidelity and desertion, whereas the more liberal interpretations admitted more than two.

These changes in teaching and doctrine were intended to uphold a high ethical standard by preventing the infection of middle and lower classes of society with the moral laxity and promiscuity which became increasingly characteristic of aristocratic circles. In a fundamental manner the Protestant reformers aimed to uphold the high standards of the Roman Church as the latter appeared to be more interested in the letter of the law than in the spirit of the teaching. In this respect the influence of Protestantism was positive, but it did not appreciably or significantly change the pattern of relationships between the sexes which had slowly crystallized during the feudal period. It is important to add, however, that the indirect influence over the long time period was revolutionary in effect as previously explained.

[17] Howard, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 336-339.

The Doctrine of the Coverture

The continued dependence and subordination of women is well shown in William Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England* first published in 1765 in London.[18] In this famous document the learned British scholar describes the position of women under the *common law*. According to this law husband and wife were one person, which meant that the latter's separate, legal existence was suspended during her marriage. This relationship was called the *coverture*. It gave the husband full rights of protection and domination and definitely subordinated the wife to her husband's will. Considering first, personal rights as distinguished from property rights, the coverture implied that a man cannot enter into a covenant with his wife, or grant her anything of a tangible character since such acts presuppose her separate existence. To enter into a contract with her would only mean to covenant with himself. It followed logically enough that any agreement reached by husband and wife before marriage was nullified by the marriage. A husband could bequeath property to his wife since this would not take effect until the termination of the coverture by his death; also, a wife could represent her husband as attorney so long as she was fulfilling his wishes. If a wife contracted debts the husband was obliged to pay them, but if a wife left her husband to live with another man the former could not be held liable even for the provision of the necessities of life.

A wife who contracted debts before her marriage simply passed them on to her husband who acquired not only her person but also her circumstances. Legal action for redress covering injuries to person or damages to property could be made only with the consent and in the name of her husband. If she were sued her husband automatically became a defendant in the case. In criminal prosecution wives were indicted and punished separately since such action fell under criminal law as distinguished from the civil law which covered the marriage union. But husbands and wives could not testify against each other in trials of any kind; neither could they testify for each other since the principle of the coverture was violated in both cases. The husband was empowered to give his wife moderate correction by domestic chastisement since he was held responsible before the law for her behavior. Rights of corporal punishment were also recognized by the civil law.

In commenting upon these and similar disabilities of the wife Blackstone was able to say that they were intended for her protection and benefit. "So great a favorite is the female sex of the laws of England." If a *"baron"* killed his *"feme,"* the act was treated in exactly the same manner as if he had killed a stranger or any other person. But if a *"feme"* killed her

[18] W. Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, London, 1809, 15th ed., Vol. 1, pp. 441-445.

"baron" she not only committed murder but also violated his authority. Hence her crime was a kind of treason for which the punishment was the same as if she had killed the king. The penalty was to be drawn and burnt alive. Women were also denied the benefit of clergy under the common law and this meant the death sentence for the first offense in simple larceny, bigamy, and other crimes. The privilege of taking holy orders was restricted to the male sex.

Civil Rights

In the civil law, however, husband and wife were considered as two distinct persons. Separate estates, contracts, debts, and injuries were recognized. It followed that a woman could sue and be sued without her husband in the *ecclesiastical* courts. Nevertheless, her civil rights were far more narrowly circumscribed than those of her husband. Personal property left intestate was divided equally between both sexes; a son, however, even though younger than all his sisters was heir to all of the real property. A woman's personal property passed automatically to her husband at the time of marriage. He could dispose of it by will regardless of her wishes. But when he died intestate she had the right to one-third of his personal property provided there were children. In the absence of children she was entitled to one-half. With regard to real property the distribution of rights was similar. A husband became master of his wife's inherited lands upon marriage, and if he survived her and had a living child, he retained full possession of these lands. But if she survived him her right was limited to the dower or one-third of her husband's estates of inheritance to which she was entitled whether she had a child or not.

Nineteenth Century Legislation

This status of women under the common and the civil law remained substantially intact in England until the enactment of the first Married Women's Property Act in 1870. Subsequent reform legislation was passed in 1874, 1882, 1893, and 1907. New York was the first state in the United States to remove some of the legal disabilities of married women. Here laws were passed in 1848 and 1860, but the movement to grant married women the rights of contract and independent possession and management of property did not make great headway until after the Civil War. Yet, as late as 1911, there were seven states which permitted the father to draw up wills which prevented the mother from being the guardian of her own children after his death. There were 24 states at this time in which the mother had no legal right whatever over the control of her children. In these states the father was recognized as the sole guardian.

The suffrage movement began in England in 1834 with the recognition

to vote for poor law guardians. In the United States it began with a Kentucky law recognizing the right of women to vote for school trustees. Since then the movement for equal suffrage has spread over the entire Western world; the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States was enacted on August 26, 1920. Several states in the United States had granted women suffrage on equal terms with men some time before the passage of this amendment: Wyoming, 1869; Colorado, 1893; Utah, 1896; Idaho, 1896; Washington, 1910; California, 1911; Oregon, 1912; Kansas, 1912; Montana, 1914; and Nevada, 1914. Abroad, Finland recognized this right in 1906, Norway in 1913, New Zealand in 1893, New South Wales in 1902, Manitoba in 1916, and Alberta in 1916. Since the World War, England, Germany, and other European countries have followed suit.

The doctrine of the coverture appears to have become an anachronism. But this is not entirely true. In the year 1935 a married woman in New York was tried for stealing several hundred dollars from her husband. She was found not guilty on the ground that man and wife are one person from a legal standpoint, and therefore it is impossible for one to steal from the other. Husbands still are held liable for financial obligations undertaken by their wives before marriage as well as for debts contracted after marriage. Husbands and wives are not permitted to testify for or against each other in court proceedings since this would violate the doctrine of the single legal entity. The law places upon the husband the obligation of separate maintenance and alimony in case of complete divorce. And when the wife provides the means of subsistence a husband may sue for separate maintenance or demand alimony in the event of an absolute divorce.

By means of this doctrine immense wealth has been transferred from the United States, where it was earned, to foreign countries where impoverished princes have replenished their sinking fortunes by winning the hands in marriage of American oil, tobacco, dime store, and similar heiresses. In fact the business of exchanging American fortunes for European titles has been something like an international scandal for some time. And when Ziegfeld's Follies and American winners of beauty contests engage to exchange their personal charms for the fortunes of the sons of sugar, steel, cotton, and utility magnates, and then proceed to appropriate this property in divorce proceedings and demands for alimony or separate maintenance, the legal fiction of the coverture becomes the means of a new kind of twentieth century racketeering. And this is particularly the case where ambitious mothers assume considerable responsibility for the matrimonial affairs of their prize winning daughters.

Meanwhile the reformers talk about cultural lags as if a simple surgical operation by means of law would solve a problem of this kind. Far more important than this is a basic, philosophical statement of conceptions, inclusive and adequate enough to meet, not merely an isolated problem, but

a whole series of closely related problems. For instance, laws passed in Indiana, Michigan, and other midwestern states restrict the rights of women in legal process aimed to recover damages—heart balm—due to breach of promise. These laws do correct special and isolated abuses; they do not provide a basic, philosophical conception of the rights of the sexes and their responsibility to each other. If the doctrine of the coverture is an anachronism and a cultural lag, what doctrine, substituted for it, will adequately define the duties and the rights of the sexes? In answer to this question it is necessary to consider not only such special abuses as are here described, but more particularly the conditions which may reasonably be relied upon to provide better guarantees than now exist for the stability of the family and the perpetuation of the race. Divorce laws, property laws, breach of promise laws and the like are inadequate in themselves. Broader and more philosophic conceptions have arisen and are arising in reaction to the requirements of racial survival and cultural integrity in the modern scene of all but hopeless confusion. These ideas, however, call for an analysis of the far reaching changes in the functions of the family and the economic division of labor of the sexes which have developed in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Due consideration of these problems will be given in the chapter on marriage and the family.

Problem Questions

1. Certain writers have claimed that the present day tendency toward the reversal of sex rôles demonstrates the exclusive influence of cultural factors; biological interpretations are attributed to male prejudice. Is this a valid theory?

2. Is the variation of masculine and feminine traits within each sex greater than the variation between their average traits?

3. According to the hormone theory of graded sexuality the variation in feminine and masculine traits is due to differences in the activity of the ductless glands. Is this a valid theory?

4. Is there any evidence that the sentiment of chivalry still actuates the behavior of men in the world today?

5. What is the prevalent attitude toward the ideal of Platonic love?

6. Is the doctrine of the coverture an illustration of cultural lag? If so what doctrine would you substitute for it?

7. Is Ibsen's characterization of Nora in his drama, *A Doll's House,* an idealized exaggeration of a type which never existed, or is it true to life?

8. The decline and fall of the Roman empire has been attributed to moral laxity in the relationships between men and women. Is this a defensible position?

9. Does the current emphasis upon birth control, freedom of marriage and divorce, and the doctrine of companionate marriage show a similar laxity in the world today?

10. In stressing the values of asceticism and celibacy did early Christianity represent an unwarranted extreme?

11. Was the position of woman more or less dignified and respected among the early Germanic tribes than it was in the twelfth century or the nineteenth century?

12. Contrast the teaching of the Protestant Church with the teaching of the Catholic Church on the subject of marriage and divorce.

13. Was the teaching of the Reformation on the subject of marriage and divorce more or less severe than the teaching of the Roman Church as this teaching was actually interpreted in the ecclesiastical courts?

14. Are the differences in this respect the same today?

15. Would the Christian teaching on the subject of marriage and divorce have been accepted by the Teutonic tribes of Europe if custom had established polygyny among them rather than monogamy?

16. Is there any reason for believing that the woman's movement of the nineteenth century was imposed by the male sex? Or does this movement reflect a consciousness of injustice which was actually and generally felt by women themselves?

17. Would you favor laws which prevent suits for breach of promise? Why?

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INSTINCT AND HABIT

SOCIOLOGISTS, PSYCHOLOGISTS, AND social psychologists have given a great deal of attention to the closely related problems of instinct and habit, especially so in recent decades. The biological emphasis of many of the earlier writers on this subject has been criticized severely; Darwin, Thorndike, James, and McDougall serve to illustrate. More recent writers, for instance, Bernard, Allport, Faris, and Young have placed a stronger emphasis upon the cultural environment in explanation not only of personality differences and character development of the individual, but also the historical social process. These writers stress the organization and disorganization of external pressures in a cultural environment. This explains the formation of habit structures in the individual, and also the modification, sublimation, and direction of innate impulses. The transfer of emphasis and interest from innate to acquired traits is a result of the historical cultural process.

THEORY OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

It is most important for the student of these problems to understand well the social and political theory of the French Revolution as distinguished from the social and political theory of the Russian Revolution. A good deal of the literature on the subject of instinct and habit is manifestly an extension of the idealism of the French Revolution. Rousseau expressed the ideal in extreme form when he denounced civilization as the source of all evil. The primitive savage was happy because free from all cumbersome restrictions which eighteenth century culture imposed upon the liberty of the individual. Release man from bondage to this environment, thought Rousseau, and the essential goodness of his God-given nature will become manifest. Hence the theory of natural rights and individual freedom; hence the war cry of the eighteenth century—liberty, fraternity, equality; hence the direction of men's thoughts away from the culture which was considered bad and toward his own innate endowment, his natural impulses, which were regarded in an almost sacred light. All of this was middle class theory of democracy—with a vengeance. It meant the downfall of the old feudal order and the rise-to-power of the moneyed man—the merchant, the manufacturer, and the financial promoter. It was this class which desired control of the social and political organs of society; this desire was fully realized

as democratic institutions spread over the Western world, and also over the Eastern world by force of imperial domination. In the affairs of making money democratic institutions guarantee the largest possible margin of individual initiative and freedom of enterprise consistent with the security of life and the safety of accumulated wealth. They permit free play for the so-called "acquisitive instinct" and provide the maximum incentive for the exploitation of natural resources and the multiplication of business profits in possession of individuals. The rights to exclusive ownership and management of these private fortunes are protected by law and the police power of the state. Meanwhile poets, teachers, scholars, and preachers were singing hymns of praise to the sterling qualities, the strength of character and the individual worth of the great and successful fortune hunters and fortune makers of the Western world. Science reinforced the values of democracy in two ways: first, it encouraged the ideal of liberty and the political theory of *laissez faire* by making a most sacred and hallowed idol of the right of the individual to pursue unmolested his quest for truth; second, by providing the rulers of society with invaluable knowledge for improving efficiency not only in the exploitation of natural resources but also in the exchange of goods and the management of labor. The idealism of the French Revolution condemned techniques; these techniques were the means of man's ruination. Culture was diabolical. In reality this same idealism produced the *greatest* development of techniques in the *entire* history of man. And this was largely the work of the French Revolution.

Theory of the Russian Revolution

The social and political theory of the Russian Revolution stands at the opposite pole. It has substituted public ownership and management of the means of production for private ownership and management. It has inspired red, pink, and purple revolutionaries in all of the countries of the Western world. Plutocracy and the rulership of wealth are castigated in the strongest terms by these modern visionaries and builders of Utopia. The cardinal principle of the communists or the Marxian socialists is unmitigated hostility to the possessors of private wealth and the political domination of money in the so-called capitalistic countries of the world. To the unenlightened and frequently miserable masses the communists often appear as prophets and men of vision. But they lack hindsight, that is a knowledge and a consciousness of the historical social process. As a result their foresight is perverted. If democratic institutions are praised it is only because these organs of political and social control continue to offer some guarantee of the equality of suffrage and the freedom of propaganda upon which the realization of their dreams depends. The habit, or the conditioned reflex becomes the great evaluator. Instinct becomes a myth, an illusion, and a scapegoat. The natural impulses of men have led them to exploit and to

abuse their fellow members of society. Hence human nature is intrinsically wicked and the God-given endowment of the individual becomes transformed into the means of Satan for the destruction of man and the ruination of his culture. Habits are believed to be the sole agents of reflection, recollection, perception, observation, and judgment.

Enlarging upon Fiske's theory of the prolongation of infancy which emphasized the long period of physical helplessness and moral dependence of the slowly maturing child, the thought is conceived that biological aptitudes and native impulses are so completely overlaid with acquired action patterns, habits, attitudes, and values in the course of the learning process that the instinct as an inherited propulsion or drive toward some particular end ceases to exist. Emotions are analyzed in terms of pleasant or unpleasant feeling tone, sensory and cognitive elements which imply the self-direction of the individual in accord with values and attitudes acquired in the course of the learning process. The emotions are not conceived as organizing and evaluating factors. Reason becomes responsible for the organization and direction of habits and hence the ultimate evaluating agent. Emotions of love and hate, fear and anger, suffuse the consciousness with a pleasant or unpleasant feeling. Correlated with visceral movements of the heart and other organs, together with the hormone producing glands of inner secretion, these emotions stimulate various organic sensations. They are more or less vaguely related to perceptions of objects toward which the individual is becoming adjusted or maladjusted.

Hence love is blind, anger is unreasoning, and fear perverts our judgments by producing hallucinations. Such emotional reactions are unsafe guides to behavior; as evaluators of conduct they are notoriously unreliable. The higher cortical processes tend to suppress them, since now the cognitive element becomes perceptual or perhaps conceptual. Even the sentiments in which the emotional reactions are organized with reference to some object or ideal such as home, family, church, and state—familism, patriotism, religion—are better guides than the emotions for the solution of personal adjustment problems. And when the emotions are entirely dominated by the higher intellectual processes they become completely derivative and cease to be evaluators of conduct and guides to adjustment in any truly significant sense.

From this point of view instincts in the sense of organized action patterns transmitted biologically in the process of reproduction do not exist in the human organism. Instincts in the functional sense of innate propulsions toward certain ends or objects are in reality the acquired results of the adjustment process. If perchance emotionally autonomous ends should assert themselves they are bound sooner or later to come into conflict with ends that have been learned and they are suppressed or modified accordingly. In

any case the neural structures of individuals become so completely overlaid with acquired reactions and habits toward all conceivable objects and ends that an independently organized and inherited action drive could not possibly break through the heavily fortified line of resistance.

Political and social theory sets up an environmental control which develops the proper habits. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the psychologists and the sociologists of Russia, or their spiritual comrades elsewhere, emphasizing the theory of the conditioned reflex. The reflex is the simple, automatic, inherited action pattern. It is conditioned by the environment. Hence the problem of political theory becomes the problem of setting up an environment—a systematic organization of pressures operating in the school, the factory, the farm, the home, and the administrative bureau—which will condition individual behavior along the proper lines. This means the conscious creation of values and sentiments by the instruments of propaganda for the avowed and clearly perceived purpose of setting up, or of maintaining and strengthening, a particular political power.

This theory is as old as civilization. Plato understood it as well as the most enlightened scholars of the present day. In this way the theorist becomes a kind of instrument of certain social and political movements of his day. He lives in a social world of human interstimulation and response, and nothing demonstrates his own theory so well or so badly as his own work interpreted in the light of his own age. The individual is, of course, a social product in a mental and moral sense; he is also a biological, even a racial product and no amount of teaching or training can make a Jew out of a Nordic or a Nordic out of a Jew. People cannot change their parents; the leopard does not change his spots. The problems of human nature remain.

What is instinct? What is habit? The first requisite for the consideration of these problems is complete detachment. Love and hate, anger and fear have always been primary emotional agents of evaluation; they have also been organizing and self-directing agents, conscious or otherwise, and so long as man is human they are bound to remain so. They have subordinated the intellectual processes and utilized, even exploited them for the realization of their own inherent, perhaps vague and semiconscious purposes. Meanwhile they have stimulated and developed the intellectual powers to higher levels. By achieving a degree of liberation from the rule of blind passion man strengthens his own character, but he does not thereby emasculate his emotions. His very life continues to be dependent upon them and it is surely no accident that great leaders of men often combine the strongest kind of emotion with the highest degree of intellect. The very integrity of the thought structure of a great leader or a great thinker depends upon the continued assertion of strong emotional quality. To

become incapable of love and hate, fear and anger, or to strive consciously to emasculate them, reveals an incapacity for life in the first case, and a lack of understanding in the second case.

Examples of Instinctive Behavior among Animals

Animal life offers abundant examples of instinctive behavior. Insects are prompted to lay their eggs where the larvæ can find food. In the case of the yucca moth the eggs are deposited in the seed pod of the yucca flower. The animal is equipped with a needle pointed tube which it uses to pierce the seed pod of the flower. After the eggs are laid in the opening thus provided, the hole is stuffed with pollen. The seeds of the plant are dependent upon this pollen for growth and maturity, and the larvæ of the young insects are meanwhile dependent upon the seeds of the plant for their sustenance. But of course the little animal knows nothing of this complicated, bilateral relationship of interdependence. Here the instinctive process may be described as a chain of inherited reflexes. This inherited action pattern is characteristic of all female members of the species, and manifestly the survival of the species is dependent upon it. The instinct is defined structurally in terms of a definite inherited stimulus response mechanism. To describe the visible behavior is to describe the instinct.

Illustrations of this kind are not far to seek. A student of these problems seeking light on the nature of instinct in the animal kingdom selected a a number of squirrels at random and imprisoned them in an enclosed chamber. From time to time he supplied them with nuts. Some of these were eaten; with the others the squirrels scampered off and proceeded to store them for later consumption. But the floor of the chamber was of hard wood and the walls of hard plaster and the little fellows made no particular impression upon these materials. Nevertheless the closely connected movements of digging a hole and depositing the nuts were repeated in every case. The significant matter was that the unusual circumstances did not have the effect of modifying or reconditioning the organization of reflexes. Every time a new supply of nuts was provided, the typical, automatic behavior was repeated in every important detail.

The mason wasp lays its eggs in a mud nest which it proceeds to fill up with caterpillars paralyzed by its stings. Then the nest is covered and sealed up. It is evident that the mother wasp instinctively provides her young offspring with a necessary supply of food. Jordan and Kellogg describe a typical instinct of the California woodpecker.[1] An oak tree is selected by a flock of woodpeckers, and a large number of holes are bored in the bark of the tree. Each hole is just large enough to hold an acorn. At

[1] David Starr Jordan and Vernon L. Kellogg, *Animal Life*, New York, 1912, pp. 128, 129, 244, 245.

irregular intervals a number of the woodpeckers return to look at the tree and later when the need for food is felt more keenly they all return and devour the nuts along with the grubs of beetles and other animals found in the holes.

The Structural Conception of Instinct

In all of these examples the instinct is a definite neuro-muscular structure. Certain stimuli such as the odor of flowers or the sight of certain animals set off the mechanism under proper organic conditions. Thus there is a cognitive aspect which mediates an external stimulus through certain sense organs. The afferent nerve inlet makes connections with the proper muscles by means of an efferent nerve outlet. Thus the complete action pattern is inherited as a unit. It may be described in terms of the visible behavior as set forth in the preceding illustrations. In this way the movement of the organism is preconditioned by heredity. Clearly, the organization of life among animals is largely of this character. Ants in a hill, bees in a hive, schools of fish, flocks of birds, and herds of sheep and goats fulfill their destinies in life on a plane of organized activity which is predetermined by the structure and chemical content of genes and chromosomes. As the organism becomes increasingly complex with highly differentiated sense organs and a developed nervous system, as among mammals, the purely innate reaction, whether simple reflex or the more complicated chains of reflexes called instincts, may be conditioned and reconditioned by environmental pressures in one way or another. But this is not characteristic of the lower organisms.

One afternoon while riding a horse a man came to a farmhouse at the intersection of two roads. A savage little bull terrier, from his position in the farmyard, eyed horse and rider keenly. As the horse approached the dog barked viciously, attacking the horse as he did so. The horse was terrified. He kicked, then made a futile effort to jump a nearby fence, and finally tore loose galloping down the road at full speed. One week later the same horse and rider arrived at the same farmhouse and crossroads. But the dog was nowhere in sight. Meanwhile the horse proceeded to "act up." He kicked, made a similar effort to jump the fence near by, and finally quieted his overwrought nerves by consuming his energies in a wild gallop down the highway. Manifestly the fear reaction of the horse had been reconditioned. A particular combination of visual stimuli had become associated with the barking and snapping of an angry bull dog, and the very sight of the farmhouse and the farmyard at the road crossing was sufficient to set off an organized sequence of reflex movements. In a case like this the problem of distinguishing between inherited and acquired behavior elements becomes complex. It is just precisely this type of problem which makes the task

of identifying human instincts and of formulating a suitable definition a difficult one.

The Question of Human Instincts Conceived Structurally

Assuming that human instincts are concrete, inherited structures similar to those illustrated in the behavior of the yucca moth, the mason wasp, the squirrel, and the California woodpecker, the question may be raised at this point: do human beings possess instincts of this type? The answer is yes. But what are they? The physiology of the human body is controlled by countless numbers of innate reflex chains. For example, the related acts of taking food into the mouth, chewing, mastication, and swallowing. Sneezing, yawning, coughing, weeping, snoring, laughing, batting the eyes, and the like are relatively simple, inherited reflexes. There are many others like them; moreover, there are still others which are more complex and better described as chains of reflexes. Variations in the rate of breathing, the pulse beat, and the vegetative functions of digestion, assimilation, and excretion are internally and automatically controlled by appropriate combinations of reflexes. These movements are more complex than the simple reflexes cited above. So long as instinct is conceived in terms of a combination of interdependent reflexes, activities associated with internal organic movements serve to illustrate the term. They are complex structures, unit action patterns which are transmitted biologically.

But the sociologist is not particularly interested in vegetative functions; his interest is centered in social structures and social change. Therefore he pricks up his ears when a historian talks about a humanitarian instinct, a gregarious instinct, a parental instinct, a sex instinct, an ego instinct, an altruistic instinct, an instinct of workmanship, an instinct of acquisition, a patriotic instinct, an instinct of curiosity, of self-assertion, flight, repulsion, pugnacity; an instinct of peace and an instinct of war, an instinct of competition and an instinct of co-operation, an instinct of domination and an instinct of obedience, monogamy, polygyny, *und so weiter*. The student, who desires further examples of the use or misuse of the term, is referred to Professor L. L. Bernard's exhaustive and thorough treatment of the subject in his well-known book entitled *Instinct*.[2]

Misconception of Instinct

When the American people are described as optimistic, progressive, democratic, and humanitarian, and these traits are explained in terms of innate action patterns, the abuse of the term instinct has proceeded far enough to provoke a careful examination. So far as these traits are charac-

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[2] L. L. Bernard, *Instinct*, New York, 1924, Ch. 7.

teristic of the American people, they have manifestly been acquired in the course of an adjustment process. There is a clear connection between the agonized conscience of the early New Englander as expressed in Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter* and the serene optimism of a Ralph Waldo Emerson or a Mary Baker Eddy. But this relationship is not hereditary; it is environmental and cultural. If optimism is an instinct, why not pessimism? If progressive attitudes are instinctive why not reactionary attitudes? If democracy is instinctive, why not autocracy and dictatorship? If sympathy and charity are instincts why not egocentrism and selfishness? In the main these traits imply attitudes and values which have been acquired in the process of human interstimulation and response. They reflect social structures and collective pressures which we term culture. In the course of the adjustment process the individual acquires ways of thinking and of doing which make him an integral part of his family, his neighborhood, his community, and his nation. Without them he is outcast and isolated. There is a differential impact of environmental pressures, and therefore a differential response on the part of individuals. Variation from person to person in no way contradicts the fact that the modal and characteristic action patterns of individuals represent their adjustments to the social structures of the society in which they live. The acquired action pattern of the individual—habit—reflects more or less clearly and unmistakably, as the case may be, the collective plurality pattern of the group.

The Sex Instinct

In analyzing a few of these supposed examples of instinct, it is to be remembered that the point of view is structural. There is a second point of view, already suggested and described as functional, which differs from the structural conception in several important particulars. This second view will be considered later. Unless the basic premises are clarified, discussion of the subject is futile. The question is raised at this point whether any of the so-called instincts cited in the preceding paragraphs are inherited unit action patterns. With respect to the sex instinct, the answer is affirmative. The bisexual reproduction of life is dependent upon this instinct. It may be described also in functional terms as an innate propulsion toward a particular end which in this case would be the satisfaction of the instinctive desire in relation to a particular person of the opposite sex. Whether the purposive striving of the instinct is clearly focussed in consciousness in the terms of the preceding sentence is beside the point. Sometimes it is; often it is not. But the structural hypothesis of instinct is also illustrated in this example. Whether among the lower animals or among men, the bisexual reproduction of life may be described in the terms of an organized series of interdependent reflexes culminating in the orgasm. That this process is also accom-

panied with a rising intensity of emotional pitch which begins to break at the point of climax is also evident, particularly so in the human organism. The fertilization of the ovum by the sperm is dependent upon this act and manifestly the race would cease to survive without it. That this impulse is subject to regulation in a cultural environment goes without saying; that it may be redirected and reconditioned in many different ways is of course evident. In case of obstruction one person of the opposite sex may be substituted for another, and in case of continued obstruction unnatural means of satisfaction are likely to follow. Symptoms of mental instability of one kind or another may result. Whatever the sequence of events in a given case, however completely the normal desire may be sublimated, or possibly emasculated, the essential fact remains the same, and that is simply that bisexual union in the reproductive process answers all of the characteristics of instinct structurally conceived. It is a relatively complex unit structure of interdependent reflexes and may be described in the terms of the visible behavior which is manifestly and necessarily the same in essential particulars. As such it could not possibly be acquired.

Habit Structures

Is there a religious instinct or a moral instinct? The answer is no. Religious and moral beliefs are more or less definitely organized in a cultural environment; they are similarly organized in the habit structure of the individual. The corresponding action patterns may be and often are as spontaneous and as automatic as any innate structure. In any case they are acquired. Children are nonreligious and nonmoral until they respond to the prevailing teaching of the groups in which they participate. These groups are characterized by certain expectancies and the integral rôle of the individual depends upon some degree of approximation to the type of anticipation which distinguishes the group. People are not born with ready-made action patterns which define and determine their religious and moral behavior. The conscience is not inherited; it represents the anticipations of a group or groups with which the individual is identified. Hence it is the result of a learning process. Morality for one group is often immorality for another, and likewise religion for one group is often irreligion for another. This assertion holds for the entire decalogue beginning with the first and closing with the tenth commandment.

The question is often asked whether there is not an instinctive emotional core of religion and morality, such as anger, fear, and love. To admit the truth of this assertion is to deny the existence of religious and moral instincts, since anger, fear and similar primary emotions cannot be identified with any particular action pattern of a religious or moral nature. Neither can they be identified with any particular goals of a religious or moral

character. Anger, fear, love, and similar intrinsic emotions have no definite moral or religious meaning as such. They may be and sometimes are associated definitely with irreligion and immorality. There can be no such thing as a religious instinct or a moral instinct whether conceived structurally or functionally. Similarly, patriotism is not an instinct, and neither is play, imitation, acquisition, workmanship, altruism, charity, egoism, democracy, sympathy, humanitarianism, peace, war, competition, co-operation, domination, submission, or gregariousness. Similar examples could easily be added to this list.

Gregariousness

But what of gregariousness, also called the herding instinct? Are not these traits inherited action patterns? Trotter in his book, *Instincts of the Herd in War and Peace,* claims that such is the case. Many other writers hold a similar view. We say people are gregarious if they are miserable in solitude and demand fairly constant association and companionship with others. To find pleasure in rubbing elbows with the crowd, to huddle in small groups, to be one with the throng in its collective response, to be a part of some common enterprise in association with others, to understand the meaning of Professor Giddings' consciousness of kind; to suffer misery in solitude, agony in isolation, nostalgia and discomfort in enforced separation from spiritually near and dear ones. All of this and more besides has been associated with gregariousness. It is rather difficult to discover anything like a unitary action pattern. It is more difficult to find an action pattern that is manifestly inherited and not acquired. Everywhere people live in groups, of course. But there is no need or reason for explaining group life on the ground of a gregarious instinct, or even an innate tendency or predisposition, to use the more apologetic language which usually arises in this connection.

The sex instinct leads to association and group life. Hunger leads to co-operation in the service of common physical needs. Fear leads to common means of protection and defense in time of danger. Hence there are family groups, defense groups, economic groups and many others such as the *sippe,* the *mægth,* the gens, the sib, the clan together with civil, religious, juridical, and political groups derived from the simpler forms of collective existence. The assumption of gregariousness appears superfluous. Extroverts are more gregarious than introverts, and this implies some constitutional basis for the difference in type. But this does not mean that the extrovert possesses certain instincts which the introvert lacks. If he does nobody has succeeded in identifying them. Companionship is particularly pleasurable when it is anticipatory, as when the conscious thought and feeling processes are mutually reinforced and strengthened rather than when they are thwarted, ob-

structed, or interrupted. The satisfaction of association depends upon the quality of association, and no one would suppose that nostalgia results from a separation long desired and finally consummated. It makes no difference whether gregariousness is conceived structurally or functionally. It is not an instinct in either case.

Parenthood

What of parenthood, maternal and paternal solicitude for offspring? Parents usually protect their children with the tenderest feelings, the gentlest concern, and stubborn determination if necessary. Parental pride is also an element here since the character of mother and father is reflected in the character of the child. The shoddy ways of parents are perpetuated in the shoddy ways of their children. Moreover, there are legal as well as moral requirements which define the responsibilities of parents toward their children. The patience and skill of a devoted mother in nursing a sick child back to health certainly reveals the greatest tenderness and solicitude. Parents praise the virtues of their children and feel shame when reminded of their shortcomings. They correct them with more or less effectual discipline so that they may see something like a true image of themselves in the faces and character of their children. The illustration of similar action patterns may be continued indefinitely. That these action patterns are acquired is demonstrated by making a comparison of the self-confident efficiency of a mother in the care of a third or fourth child with the uncertainty and bungling inefficiency in the care of her first child. If she is efficient in the care of her first child it is because she has been properly prepared and trained for the task. Nature does not endow either mother or father with the ready-made action patterns which are assumed to guarantee solicitude and devotion. Many illustrations show that this is often the case among the lower animals. A mother bass will snap at anything that appears to suggest danger to her spawn.

But the human species is not provided with equipment of this character. The long period of infancy and dependence taken together with the complex character of the nervous system with its resultant capacity to learn by experience explains the wide range of variation in acquired traits; it also accounts for the greater powers of adjustment and adaptability of the human type to all sorts of situations, predictable and not predictable. Hence the human type is dependent upon his culture for the solution of parental as well as other problems. Hence also, the breakdown of parental accord and the failure of parental discipline and supervision must be attributed, not to the failure of nature as the instinctivist would assume, but rather to cultural disorganization and conflict. What is the unit action pattern which will adequately define parenthood for us? Manifestly, the problem is not so simple as this. Not one action pattern, but many such patterns, logically consistent and intimately correlated are needed in answering the question.

If nature provided such a configuration of patterns it would be possible to describe and to identify it. Nature does not provide the answer in this way and no amount of wishful thinking can change the fact.

The parental instinct, so-called, whether considered as a simple unitary action, or as a complex unitary configuration of action patterns simply does not exist. If such patterns are organized in the behavior of the individual it is only because they have been preorganized in a cultural environment which has transmitted them in a process of interhuman action.

The Functional Conception of Instinct

But what about the functional hypothesis of instinct? May it not be said that parenthood, like sex, is a purposive striving, an especial organic propulsion toward a particular end, the purpose in this case being the safety of a mother's child? This typical behavior may be identified with the tender emotion, as McDougall claims, and subject to modification on the conative as well as the cognitive side. Such modification would explain variety of stimulus as well as variety of response, complexity of stimulus as well as complexity of response. The organization of action patterns and their configuration in a cultural environment is here fully implied and not at all precluded. According to this point of view the constant and typical aspect of an instinctive action pattern is the emotional correlate. Indeed McDougall claims to have discovered a fundamental principle in asserting that a central, affective segment of the inherited stimulus-response mechanism is the means of definition and identification. Hence there is not only a parental instinct coupled with the tender emotion; there is also an instinct of flight coupled with the emotion of fear; an instinct of repulsion coupled with an emotion of disgust; an instinct of curiosity coupled with an emotion of wonder; an instinct of pugnacity coupled with an emotion of anger; an instinct of self-assertion identified by positive self-feeling; and finally the instinct of self-abasement with its emotional correlate of negative self-feeling.[3]

These are described as primary instincts and primary emotions as distinguished from the more generalized predispositions such as play, sympathy, imitation, and suggestion in which the emotional aspects are more diffused, more vague, and varied. McDougall also regards gregariousness, acquisition, and construction as instincts. These action patterns, however, are lacking in clearly defined emotional aspects, and hence they are not grouped with the seven primary instincts. In the first group of seven primary instincts the action is relatively specific and the emotion is fixed. In the second group, the generality of the instinct and corresponding indefiniteness of the emotional correlate is greatest. The third group of traits occupies an intermediate position. Hence it is concluded that the indefiniteness of

[3] W. McDougall, *Social Psychology*, Boston, 1916, Ch. 3.

the emotion varies directly with the generality of the instinct activity. Such traits as suggestion, imitation, play, and sympathy display no particular emotional correlate whatever. This conception of instinct is a clear example of the functional point of view as distinguished from the structural. McDougall's definition follows:

> An instinct is an inherited or innate psycho-physical disposition which determines its possessor to perceive and to pay attention to objects of a certain class, to experience an emotional excitement of a particular quality upon perceiving such an object, and to act in regard to it in a particular manner, or, at least, to experience an impulse to such action.[4]

Is the Tender Emotion Inherited?

We return now to the question of the tender emotion which is believed to be the identifying mark of the parental instinct. Since there are important differences between paternal and maternal attitudes toward offspring it is necessary to separate the problem into two parts: maternal instinct and paternal instinct. What is this tender emotion? McDougall tells us it is like the other primary emotions in that it cannot be described.[5] And yet it motivates what this author regards as the most powerful of all of the instincts. It explains the protective solicitude and abiding concern of a mother for her child.

Moreover, this emotion, which evades description, is constructive and evaluative in a process of association since it is also regarded as the ultimate explanation of such humanitarian organizations and movements as anti-slavery, antivivisection, Congo reform, and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.[6] By a similar process of extension it is taken as an explanation of our ideas of justice and institutions of jurisprudence and public law. Presumably the Hoare-Laval pact, which made an abortive attempt to divide Ethiopia among Mussolini, Haile Selassie, and the League of Nations, has its roots in the tender emotion.

Manifestly the humanitarian movement in its manifold aspects is a nineteenth century phenomenon of Western European civilization and can be adequately explained only in terms of its cultural implications and antecedents. Ideas of justice and institutions of jurisprudence and public law arise out of the attrition of minds in the course of a cultural evolution in which tribal conflict, class conflict, racial, and national conflict are vital factors. In this connection consider, for instance, the situation from which the League of Nations and the World Court emerged. McDougall's line of argument is too far afield; it is, on the whole, irrelevant to the main issue.

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[4] *Ibid.*, p. 29. Reprinted with permission from John W. Luce & Co.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 72.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 76.

It simply serves to illustrate the indirection of the argument used to demonstrate the conclusion that the tender emotion is a functional, inherited behavior unit.

In the light of all of the really relevant facts it appears unnecessary to assume that the tender emotion is inherited. It may be inherited, but the assumption is not easily demonstrated. It is far more illuminating to build up a line of argument on the opposite premise. The relationship between mother and child is, normally, very close in a mental and moral sense as well as in a physiological sense. For a considerable period of time the body of the child is substantially an integral part of the body of its mother. This physical union predisposes a mental approach on the part of the mother toward easily predicted events. Will the child be a boy or a girl? Will it have light hair or dark hair, blue or brown eyes? Will it look like father or mother? In the event of a boy what name shall be given it? Who will be its godmother and godfather? How soon after birth should the child be baptized? A doctor or midwife is selected for attendance upon the mother at the birth of her child. Arrangements are made for the employment of a nurse. Clothing and other material needs of the child are prepared. Many questions are more easily raised than answered by the expectant mother. Should the child be bottle fed or breast fed? Perhaps a wet nurse should be employed for this purpose? Is the health of the child likely to be affected by this food and drink or that food and drink? Are the thoughts and dreams of the mother likely to affect the aspirations and ideals of the expected child? If she is happy, contented, and sweetly disposed toward the world, is not the child likely to have a similar disposition? If her moods are ugly and she finds herself miserable, disagreeable, unhappy, and critical of everyone she knows, will not her child be born with similar traits? In case the child is a boy would it not be splendid if he should grow up to be a great musician or a wonderful composer? Perhaps practising on the piano every day would help to make him so. In this way the physical identity of mother and child gives rise to a mental expectation and moral approach to many situations easily foreseen. A growing sentiment of tenderness toward the expected child is actually built up before the child is born. Of course there are cases in which this does not occur, but these are exceptional and abnormal. Anna Karenina loved her first child, whom Tolstoi significantly made a boy, but she was totally indifferent toward her second child whom Tolstoi made a girl.

Realization of expectancies has a double or perhaps even a multiple satisfaction: the joy of dreams come true, of wishes fulfilled, of physical contact, and presently mental association. Disappointments are quickly compensated in one way or another. The absolute physical helplessness of the infant over a long period of time, and the continued moral and mental dependence over a much longer period makes an appeal to the sympathy of everyone. To the

mother this appeal is particularly poignant since she has already built up a sentiment of affection centered in her child. She becomes wrapped up, so to speak, as intimately in a mental and moral sense as formerly she was in a physical way. There is the response to touch, kissing, caressing, cuddling, and fondling, and some of these reactions are probably innate reflexes. The child cries in distress, possibly in anguish, and the mother responds emotionally. Many activities are preorganized conceptually before the child is born; these and others are reorganized actually after birth. Hence the emotional response of tenderness and helpfulness has been preconditioned before the infant's actual cry of distress.[7] The cry of the mother in response to the cry of her child may also be an inherited reflex. In all likelihood similar maternal reactions to touch, odor, and warmth stimuli of the baby are innate reflexes. It is obviously incorrect to say that these and other similar reflexes are organized and directed by a tender emotion. For the tender emotion has already become suffused with a sentiment of maternal affection centered in the child.

Nothing can be gained by being dogmatic on a question of this kind. Perhaps there is a core of this tender emotion which is inherited. It remains for the psychologist to identify it, for as yet this task has not been accomplished. The tender emotion as we observe it is in the main built up and acquired slowly in a process of symbolic association which later gives way to the direct physical and mental interaction of mother and child. In the course of this process an organized system of emotional reactions centered in the infant is developed. This is a complex structure of innate and acquired elements called sentiment; in this case the sentiment of maternal affection or tenderness, if that term is preferred. The mother is angry and expresses resentment if her child is abused or insulted; she beams with joy and gratitude when he is admired or praised; she is fearful if his safety or health is in peril on account of sickness or accident; she is intensely interested in advice intended to help her solve her problems of child care and training.

The effectiveness and efficiency of her maternal solicitude depends upon the elements of knowledge and reason which become associated with this sentiment. She may rely upon quack doctors, patent medicines, the questionable admonition of her grandmother, perhaps even upon superstitions, magic, sorcery, witchcraft, and the like. In any case, the best will in the world is never a substitute for authentic knowledge. Witness the decline of the rate of infant mortality in the countries of the Western world beginning about 1880. Nobody in his senses can attribute this to a tender emotion, or even to a sentiment of maternal affection. It was the result of better knowledge and the application of this knowledge to the problems of infant and

[7] Bernard, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

child welfare: care, feeding, treatment of infant diseases. Newsholme's analysis of the factors of infant mortality listed maternal fecklessness as one of the significant causes.[8] Indifference of mothers, lack of spirit and will! To which should quickly be added, lack of adequate training and knowledge regarding the responsibilities of maternity. Meanwhile people have been assuming the existence of a maternal instinct, as if nature provided the key to the solution of all of these problems in the form of ready-made action patterns, or in the alternative form of an innate emotional propulsion which directs the mother to provide quickly and surely for the health and safety of her child. Manifestly this direction and this provision depends upon acquired traits and techniques, the result of a learning process in which attention may or may not be directed with especial interest and efficiency toward the solution of the problems of infant and child welfare.

The Question of Paternal Instinct

The existence of a paternal instinct is even more doubtful than the assumption of a maternal instinct. In the first place there is the obvious difference in organic relationship. The maternal reflexes already described, such as response to touch, cry of pain and the like are more vague and less definite in the male. Some of these, as for example those associated with natural feeding, do not exist at all. In the earlier, metronymic tribal forms of society the biological function of the male was one of the unsolved mysteries of life. Accordingly the male responsibilities for parenthood must have been diffused. The biological function of the mother in the reproductive process was an obvious matter. Her responsibilities were far more definitely organized since they were manifestly based upon the natural processes of child bearing and feeding.

With the development of pastoral nomadism the patronymic and patriarchal forms of relationship were crystallized. Male parenthood was identified, and the child came to have a far more definite religious and moral significance, as well as an economic and military-political importance from the point of view of the father. His responsibilities for protection and training were definitely organized in relation to his own offspring; concentration of paternal interest followed as a matter of course. The symbolic reconstruction of a pattern of paternal relationships moved hand in hand with the actually existent order of life. As a result fatherhood developed its own especial sentimental implication. Feudalism had the effect of strengthening the paternal sentiment in comparison with the preëxistent tribal organization of life because it enhanced the economic as well as the military value of children. The teaching of Christianity had a similar consequence.

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[8] E. B. Phelps, "Infant Mortality and Its Causes," *Readings in Social Problems*, edited by A. B. Wolfe, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

In the course of the nineteenth century the paternal sentiment was strengthened in certain ways as a result of the humanitarian movement, but weakened in other respects due to the process of secularization and the continued decentralization of functions formerly centered in the family. A sentiment of paternal solicitude is normally built up in a process of symbolic association; it further develops in the course of mental and moral interaction between father and child. The actual organization of paternal responsibilities is mainly dependent upon the prevailing cultural forms. But the paternal sentiment is seldom as strong as the maternal sentiment, partly because of the organic division of labor between the sexes, and partly because of the supplementary social and psychological division of labor. The differentiation of external, environmental pressures with respect to sex is closely correlated with the biological division of labor. Hence the characteristic social rôle of each sex is immediately responsible for the difference in parental sentiment, the organization of parental duties and corresponding techniques which grow out of them. But the indirect explanation of these differences is biological however greatly the social teaching and practice of a particular age may violate the requirements of nature for the survival of the race.

There can be no paternal instinct, either in the sense of the inheritance of a simple, ready-made action pattern defining the father's attitude and behavior, or in the sense of a more complex configuration of action patterns similarly defining his attitude and behavior. The former would not be adequate to meet his normal responsibilities in any case, and the latter assumption is manifestly absurd. Neither can there be such an instinct in the sense of an innate emotional propulsion, a tender emotion, which organizes and directs the father's interest and concern in his own children, since this organization and direction is culturally defined. The development of a complex sentiment of paternal affection is dependent upon a socially controlled process of interhuman action. It is weaker than the corresponding sentiment of the mother for the reasons already stated.

Hunger

One of the most dynamic aspects of human nature is hunger. On the lowest levels of life, human activity is organized exclusively in accord with this principle. The simplest organisms assimilate food, grow, and multiply by a simple process of division. On higher levels of bisexual reproduction the organization of life is complicated by the addition of the sex interest to the food quest. Observation of these forms of life shows that the entire range of activity is centered in food and reproduction. On still higher levels other interests such as play are differentiated. In human society the food, sex, and play interests cover a very large portion of the range of activity; and of these three, food and sex continue to be basic. Sex is instinctive as

already explained. What of hunger? Is hunger an instinct? Is it identified with an emotion?

Hunger may be described as an organic need, inherited rather than acquired. Sex may be described in similar terms. The survival of the species depends upon the satisfaction of hunger; it also depends upon the satisfaction of sex. A person may acquire a taste and therefore a desire for particular kinds of food, such as caviar, olives, or spaghetti, just as he acquires a taste for tobacco or liquor. But the condition of the organism described as hunger or thirst is obviously innate. In such a condition the mental and physical resources of the individual are directed with extraordinary energy and purpose toward the means of satisfaction. The lower organisms are provided with definite action patterns and predatory techniques for the purpose of obtaining food; these traits are narrowly circumscribed by heredity. When these fail the organism dies. In man, however, this is not the case. His action patterns and techniques for the acquisition of food are organized in a cultural environment to which he becomes adjusted more or less effectually. Techniques of food production, storage, preparation, and utilization are acquired in this process of adjustment. These are usually relied upon and generally adequate. But they too may fail. The chronic condition of hunger becomes a painful experience associated with characteristic organic sensations and feelings and the individual is forced to direct his energies in new and perhaps illegal channels. He steals a loaf of bread as did Jean Valjean and suffers the penal consequences.

Under pressure of want and the corresponding propulsion to fulfill a felt need the intensity of the desire increases and the normal behavior controls break down. If this condition is widespread authorities are challenged and revolution is incipient. Political means of realization and fulfillment are devised where the ordinary economic means fail. A condition of anarchy may arise as the usual inhibitions collapse and the traditional scale of values disintegrates. Sorokin describes vividly such a state of affairs in Russia at the time of the revolution.[9] The accustomed organs of government failed to function and new leadership arose. Society was in chaos, life and property were insecure until new organs of government once more established a condition of law and order. The new guarantees of security may be worse than the old, and a second social revolution may follow a political revolution, such as took place in Russia when the Kerensky régime collapsed and the Bolsheviki led by Lenin and Trotsky assumed the rôle of power.

Food scarcity and hunger are of course not the only causes of political or of social revolution. But that is beside the point. Hunger creates an inner propulsion toward the realization of its own inherent end. It sets up under favorable conditions a type of psychic momentum which gains inertia as it

[9] P. A. Sorokin, *The Sociology of Revolution*, Philadelphia, 1925.

moves. This inertia is a law unto itself and brooks no interference; life is willingly sacrificed in the conflict since it is considered heroic to die fighting and cowardly to surrender to starvation without a struggle. The level of knowledge, the means of defensive and offensive organization, and the quality of leadership control the direction of effort and the utilization of acquired techniques. It would be inadequate to assume the existence of an independent and characteristic emotional correlate of hunger. The organic condition of hunger becomes suffused with fear and anger, love and hate, until, in the end, a civilized man degenerates to the level of the beast of prey. In his blind passion he attacks friend and foe alike. Hence the sociological significance of hunger rests squarely upon the fact that it stimulates and excites the primary emotions of fear and anger, love and hate. The disruptive effects upon society may be far-reaching.

Hunger as such is an innate condition of the organism which motivates an inner compulsion of variable intensity and variable emotional quality. Under the conditions described it leads to the domination of blind and passionate fury, destroying the accepted organs of social control together with the corresponding norms and habit adjustments of individuals. It may pave the way for the reformation of government or for complete upheaval and revolution. It is not an instinct in a simple or complex structural sense; neither is it an instinct in a functional sense. For in the first case it would be necessary to identify it with ready-made action patterns, whereas in the second case it would be necessary to identify it with a *fixed* emotional correlate. Moreover it would have to be shown that the action pattern or the specific emotion is inherited. The previous discussion has clarified the position that this is impossible. As an organic stimulus to action it is definitely inherited.

In the summer of 1916 there was famine in Syria and some evidence of acute hunger and death from starvation. The American Red Cross sent a relief ship loaded with food and medical supplies, but the ship was held up by the Allied powers and forced to dock at the Greek port of Piraeus. Early one morning a traveler was walking to the city of Beirut from a little village high in the Lebanon Mountains. He carried his breakfast with him, but it was more than he could eat. Arriving at Beirut, he saw two ragged, half-starved little girls about ten years of age, and gave one of them his package of food. The scene that followed in less time than it takes to tell was an object lesson. The forgotten girl made a quick, frantic effort to take the package away from the other who had received it. They grappled with each other, pulling hair and rolling over on the pavement as the package opened and the food was scattered in all directions. The girls were separated, pacified. Seated upon the curb they ate the pieces of food picked up from the street. In a pitiful manner they munched the food slowly without show of relish or appetite. The fight had completely exhausted them. This

experience is told to illustrate the relationship between hunger and the primary emotions of fear and anger.

Fear and Anger

These primary emotions of fear and anger are inherited. It is impossible to account for them satisfactorily in any other way. Fear of hunger and privation is probably the most inexorable and effectual of the human disciplinary agents. Fear is probably the greatest of all the human deterrents and incentives. When a leader, organizer, or administrator desires to realize a particularly difficult objective he plays upon the emotion of fear. Sometimes this is done delicately and with discrimination showing not only a sure consciousness of power, but also an appreciation of human sensibilities. At other times it is done crudely and more or less impulsively showing incomplete mastery of self as well as of others. In the course of the great propaganda drive of 1917 which created the war hysteria the obvious aim was to strike terror in the hearts of the people.[10] So-called German atrocities were not only played up, but deliberately invented by the powers in control of propaganda. Submarine attacks upon our merchant marine off the Atlantic coast, and aerial bombardment of the city of New York and other seaport cities were actively visualized. But the power of fear to create the most extreme hallucination was shown when newspapers and speechmakers actually pictured a great German horde crossing the Atlantic, occupying our soil and ruthlessly killing innocent women and children in an expedition of pillage and plunder.

Fear is defensive, but anger is offensive. The support of public opinion for the gigantic preparations of war then under way, including great loans to the Allied powers, was indispensable. The responsible leaders of church as well as state, of higher education as well as secondary and primary education, were directed in a common enterprise from the higher seats of authority and influence. All of these leaders were provided with the ready-made data on all of the significant issues from central headquarters in Washington. In the nature of the situation it was evident that extreme, almost superhuman measures were necessary in order to create the desired unity of feeling and action upon which the enforcement of compulsory conscription, the public subscription of government bonds, and the steady supply of necessary war materials depended. In cutting off German cable connections the Allied powers had broken direct contact between German leaders and American public opinion. German atrocity tales were manufactured in London and Paris for export to America where they were seized upon assiduously and published without question by those who had a real or fancied interest in this kind of enterprise.

[10] Walter Millis, *Road to War*, New York, 1935.

Then there was the *Kriegsschuldfrage,* as the Germans called it. The Kaiser, meeting in Potsdam with his war lords and leading statesmen, decided deliberately to wage war upon an innocent people.[11] This naïve fiction was believed, presumably, by responsible American diplomats and manifestly anyone who questioned this legend was a pro-German subject to suspicion. But in spite of these mythological and fantastic creations and the successful control of American news in London and Paris, the American public was cold to the idea of war against Germany. President Wilson won the election in 1916 on a "keep us out of war" slogan, after which he proceeded to involve the American nation in the European struggle with great vigor. There is much evidence to show that England and France were opposed to American intervention until the spring of 1917 and that the United States would have been involved earlier but for this opposition. Until then Lloyd George had cried for money and supplies from the United States; but in the spring of 1917 he cried for men, ready and willing to sacrifice their lives in the Allied cause. This summary of the situation which led to America's declaration of war against Germany is sketchy and inadequate. It is reviewed here in order to illustrate how the emotions of fear and anger are excited, organized, and directed by the accepted leaders of a people for the purpose of realizing a desired conscious end.

Anger and Fear Are Innate

It appears certain that if the educators co-operating with the social scientists should somehow succeed in so reconditioning and redirecting the primary emotions of fear and anger that they would cease to function as evaluative and organizing agents, some inspired leader or leaders would have to re-create them in order to avoid the extinction of the race or nation concerned. In short, they are not merely indispensable factors of social order and social security; they are primary agents of social control.

Fear and anger are of course disciplined and directed by the higher intellectual powers; they are sublimated along the desired channels of interest and effort; their manifestation is conditioned by the structure of life in a given cultural environment—all of this is admittedly true. It is also significantly true that the intellectual processes are disciplined and directed by these primary emotions. Without them there could be no such thing as intellectual life. Moreover they discipline the desires, the attitudes, the ideals, and the aspirations of a people. Fear of attack and destruction by hostile powers is the ultimate actuating motive of the great nations in the construction of their powerful war machines. What can be more stupid than to ride innocently upon the crest of a wave of national prosperity, or to

[11] According to this myth the Potsdam Crown Council occurred on July 5, 1914. H. E. Barnes, *The Genesis of the World War,* New York, 1926, pp. 229, 235 *et seq.*

assume that the integrity of a culture and the survival of a race are so completely guaranteed by forces human or divine, that depression or national calamity are nothing more than the hallucinations of a maniac, or the pessimistic views of a hopeless and misguided philosopher?

Primary Emotions

Primary emotions, such as fear and anger, are distinguished by four sets of identification marks which are organized functionally to constitute a unified behavior structure: (1) cognitive elements, namely external objects of one kind or another which are perceived through the mediation of sense organs such as sight and hearing; (2) organic sensations due to glandular and visceral disturbance such as rapid heart movement, increased flow of adrenalin, checking of salivary glands and gastric juices; (3) pleasant or unpleasant feeling tone; (4) conative elements, namely overt muscular response in relation to the recognized object. The emotions of fear and anger are obviously complex; as unified behavior structures they are partly inherited and partly acquired as will be shown. In the case of fear the apparent aim is to avoid, circumvent, or escape somehow from the object perceived to be dangerous; hence flight or other similar movements. In the case of anger the apparent aim is to destroy the object which excited the emotional response; hence pugnacity. The object of anger is perceived to be dangerous and therefore the ambivalent character of fear and anger. Fear gives way to anger as the individual faces the object of his terror; he strives to destroy it or to render the object incapable of harm. The task assumed is often more formidable than supposed, whereupon anger gives way to fear. This conflict of mental purposes continues until it has been resolved consciously or unconsciously in one way or another. Hence the psychologist speaks of the anger-fear complex.

A person in anger often displays extraordinary energy due to the increased flow of adrenalin, one of two hormones produced by the adrenal glands. This gland has an important rôle in the utilization of carbohydrates, the regulation of heart beat, and the maintenance of blood pressure. An increased supply of sugar in the bloodstream provides food for quick utilization; the voluntary muscles are cleared of toxic fatigue products; pulse beat increases raising the blood pressure, and the rate of breathing increases as digestion is checked. These movements are controlled by innate, automatic reflexes. It is common knowledge that the cheeks often blanch in fear, that the mouth becomes dry, as when a person makes a speech and is afraid of his audience, and that constipation follows when the condition of fear is more or less chronic. A person unexpectedly confronts a lynx in the woods and experiences a numbness of the limbs, sensations of nausea, a feeling of pressure around the heart, dryness of mouth, and fullness of throat. In extreme cases of fright there are active sensory disturbances such as halluci-

nations, and when these changes seriously affect the rational processes the result may be chronic and systematized delusions of persecution. This psychosis is known as paranoia.

Anger and fear reactions are often the result of interruption or interference with natural or acquired processes of thought and action. Nothing will excite a male animal to anger more quickly than interference with the sexual act of reproduction. Continued interruption and annoyance of a person engaged in some task of mental concentration may have a similar effect. The telephone rings and a conversation ensues; the doorbell rings and somebody wants to sell a copy of *War Cry;* the vacuum cleaner screams all over the house, and when that is over the telephone rings again. At this point the subject is ready to pick up the cat by the tail and pitch it out of the window. A worker in a factory finds his accustomed routine of labor, recreation, home, family, and rest interrupted with the threat of discharge. Fear may give way to anger and anger again to fear as the resources and energies are exhausted in a futile effort to solve a problem situation.

At this point an important distinction is clarified. An animal does not recognize a problem situation as such, since this implies the power of abstraction which animals do not possess. The human individual is able to disengage the symbolic representation of a situation from the reality of the situation, and hence he may and does analyze it in terms of its antecedent and conditioning factors with a view of recombining these factors in imagination for the solution of his problem. Thus he is able to construct a plan of action, a program; what is more, he is able to construct several plans or programs and to make a careful comparison of them before he commits himself to a course of action. The animal is impelled to act in accord with an innate pattern when an object of fear or anger is recognized as such. Man resorts to strategy. His knowledge and intellectual powers of analysis, synthesis, and symbolic reconstruction are fully engaged in the process.

A person may of course react impulsively to a fear or anger excitant. But when he does so, the overt behavior is not at all in conformity with a typical action pattern assumed to be inherited. He may throw up his hands in terror or curse in his rage. Unless a person is an imbecile, completely void of experience, his acquired mental imagery and habit adjustments are sure to condition his response. The emotional reaction is directed in its overt manifestation by the environmental pressures which have been instrumental in defining the association of internal and external stimuli with more or less vague or more or less definite attitudes. If the behavior is vague the neural pathways have not been organized in relation to the stimulus; if it is definite they have been so organized. The internal, organic aspects of the emotion are controlled by inherited reflexes; the external, overt, and interhuman aspects of the emotion are controlled by habit, and reorganized or

redirected by intelligence as previously shown. The behavior of a person under complete domination of an emotion is as unpredictable as the behavior of a lunatic. An animal, on the other hand, equipped by heredity to meet the requirements of a situation, will behave in a manner which can be foreseen. It is impossible, therefore, to identify the emotion with fixed, or relatively fixed, behavior patterns assumed to be inherited; conversely it is impossible to identify an instinct conceived structurally by means of a fixed emotional correlate.

Two aspects of the primary emotions of fear and anger have been considered: (1) conative elements of reaction, and (2) the organic sensations produced by visceral and glandular disturbance. There remain (1) the element of feeling, and (2) the cognitive elements of perception. Feeling is the most subjective aspect of consciousness since it cannot be identified with external objects of any kind. It may be described as a correlate of neural activity and classified simply as pleasant or unpleasant, agreeable or disagreeable, painful or pleasurable. It is an inherited aspect of consciousness subject to a continuous process of modification as the individual adjusts himself to new situations and new organic elements condition the flow of nervous energy. Hence it may be stated that two basic aspects of the primary emotions of fear and anger are definitely inherited: (1) visceral and glandular disturbances together with the reflexes which regulate them, and the sensations they produce; (2) feeling. Apart from certain simple reflexes, such as weeping, clenching of fists, contracted brow, raised upper lip, shouting, and the like, the overt behavior, namely the conative aspect, is acquired in the adjustment process. It is also clear that the object perceived to be dangerous likewise depends upon the organs of social control. It may vary all the way from eternal damnation to Japanese imperialism. In one case a person may recognize as dangerous something which does not exist; in another case the same person may have no realization whatsoever of a real menace. The simple cognitive element of sensory response to stimulus simply does not provide the human type with ready-made equipment for singling out the objects and situations of fear and anger. It has no perceptual content unless and until this is provided by others in the course of a learning process. A child is not likely to react in fear to an ugly looking police dog, but tell the child that the dog will eat her up in an appropriate situation and she reacts in terror. Hence the cognitive as well as the conative aspects of fear and anger are defined for the individual in a process of interhuman action. Fear and anger become the primary agents of social control. As powerful internal propulsions stimulated and directed in a controlled environment they are manifestly inherited. They are evaluative and constructive agents of great importance when subject to the discipline and training of a supreme and a well organized intelligence.

Problem Questions

1. In what respects is the social and political theory of the French Revolution open to criticism?

2. The Age of Enlightenment produced a philosophy of natural liberty as shown in the work of Rousseau (1712-1778); it also produced a philosophy of empiricism as shown in the work of David Hume (1711-1776). Account for the fact that both of these philosophies belong to the same age.

3. In what respects is the social and political theory of the Russian Revolution open to criticism?

4. "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he." Accordingly the Christian Scientist believes that all is love; that pain, death, and fear are illusions. Evaluate this position.

5. Christian Scientists have sought legislation which would prevent the compulsory use in hospitals of silver nitrate solution in order to prevent blindness of newly born infants. Is this a defensible position?

6. It has been claimed that fear in the human organism is invariably a conditioned response. Therefore it cannot be innate. Evaluate this view.

7. Did the teaching of early Christianity strengthen or weaken the parental sentiment of tenderness for offspring?

8. Is there any evidence to show that maternal solicitude for offspring is an inherited trait?

9. Did Feudalism strengthen or weaken the solicitude of parents for their own children?

10. What effects did Christianity and Feudalism have upon the desire for offspring?

11. Did the Protestant Reformation have any direct or indirect influence upon the relationships between parents and children?

12. Do democratic institutions strengthen parental responsibility by concentrating it or do they weaken parental responsibility by diffusing it?

13. Tolstoi developed a doctrine of nonviolence and nonresistance in which he supported the Christian admonition to "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you." Is this a practicable teaching?

14. How do you account for the popularity of this doctrine among the followers of Mahatma Gandhi?

15. Is it possible, by appropriate teaching and training, to so condition the response of individuals to menacing stimuli that anger will never be aroused under any circumstances?

16. It has often been stated that celibacy is an impossible ideal which falls on the rocks of human nature. As a lawyer interested in making out the strongest possible case what would you say to support the ideal of celibacy?

17. People may be taught to sacrifice their lives willingly for a great cause, like those who seek glory "even in the cannon's mouth." Does it not follow that

masses of people may be so conditioned in their attitudes that they will starve willingly and meekly without protest?

18. Gandhi and others have, on occasion, gone on hunger strikes. What is the psychology and the sociology of the hunger strike?

19. Are the values current in a democratic society compatible with an attitude of mind which would willingly submit to starvation without protest?

Suggestions for Additional Reading

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HUMAN TRAITS IN THE SOCIAL PROCESS

THE CONCLUSION HAS been substantiated that culture is the distinctly human means of adjustment to the exigencies of life in society. Discipline and training are the necessary qualifications of culture. These two marks of distinction do not characterize the behavior of the lower forms of organic life. Man's great capacity for learning by experience, the ability he possesses to modify and to regulate his aims and interests in accord with the actual or conceived requirements of a given situation, make possible the accumulation of techniques we call culture. Animals may be trained and disciplined, but not under their own direction. They do not possess speech, moral ideas, or social pressures. Certain species of animals have been domesticated by man in the course of historical evolution; they have been trained and disciplined to perform various services which may vary all the way from the work of a pack animal, a beast of burden, as we say, to the songs of a canary bird. It is perfectly clear that the appropriate methods of domestication are part of a human culture. Man is the sole species of animal capable of producing a culture; he alone possesses the necessary qualifications and traits. These may be briefly summarized as follows: (1) the brain together with the complex development of the nervous system, (2) the remarkable powers of co-ordination of these with well differentiated and highly evolved sense organs, (3) the inherited organs of speech, (4) the wonderfully flexible human hand, and (5) the erect posture which liberates this hand for training and discipline in a great variety of uses and skills.

FERAL MAN

All of the traits here mentioned are of course inherited. But they are useless unless disciplined and trained in a process of interhuman action. Feral man is fully developed in all respects so far as the inherited organs are concerned. He possesses a brain, a complex nervous system, sense organs, organs of speech, hands, feet, and erect posture.[1] But he remains an idiot in mentality; he can neither speak a language nor understand the speech of those about him; his sense organs respond only to a very narrow

[1] Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Society*, Chicago, 1921, pp. 239-243, 271, 272.

range of stimuli; his nervous system has not established the connections which condition effectually a quick and sure adjustment to the men and the things he finds about him; in the use of hands and feet he is clumsy; he possesses neither skill nor apparent aptitude for the purposive manipulation of objects in his environment.

Culture Is the Distinctive Human Means of Adjustment

The normal individual whose behavior has been disciplined in a process of interhuman action from early infancy acts in general accord with the expectations of his associates. This is essentially a process of learning and training which gives content and flexibility to his mental powers; it provides him with a language; it develops the pathways of neural connection between external stimuli and the overt or emotional reactions to these stimuli. He learns to respond to a widening range of objects in his environment, and develops appropriate interests and aptitudes in the process; he may acquire a great variety of skills in the use of his hands. Thus it is evident that culture is equivalent to the tools and the techniques, including the language and the knowledge employed in this process of training and discipline. Interhuman action is the method of training and discipline which develops the powers of the individual; culture is the means. But these means are not static in any society, least of all in a society which is creative and dynamic. Such a society aims at nothing less than the full realization and fulfillment of its highest ideals. Culture changes and grows not merely because adjustment problems demand solution which trained intelligence provides partly or completely, but because of the creative propulsion toward higher and still higher levels of human achievement. Hence it is that the problems of interhuman action, of the social process historically conceived, become interrelated with the problems of cultural change. The theory of human interstimulation and response becomes implicated in the theory of the cultural movement.

Three Aspects of Human Interaction

Interaction of human beings in a cultural milieu may of course be conceived broadly to include all of the constituent elements of which it is composed. These elements comprise the following categories: (1) the forms of the social process such as conflict and co-operation, competition, and regulation, together with others considered in the first main division of this book, specifically, Chapters 4 to 12, inclusive; (2) the human traits in the social process analyzed in the second main division comprising racial traits, sex traits and others treated in Chapters 13 to 21, inclusive; (3) the forms of plurality pattern, that is to say, group structures such as moral, religious, economic, political, and matrimonial folkways, mores, customs, and institu-

tions. These latter problems are the subject of treatment in the third and final division of sociology as here outlined. These three aspects of inter-human action considered as a historical social process are functionally inter-related and interdependent.

It is possible to detach and to abstract the forms of the social process from the total actuality of which they are a part. In this way, competition, invention, conflict, and the like are given a separate treatment and analysis. Similarly one may detach the definite human traits such as racial traits, sex traits, and the like and give them a separate consideration. And so also it becomes possible to abstract certain forms of plurality pattern such as convention, custom, institution, or law, and to describe their distinct qualities and relationships. There is a field of social theory in which these closely related problems are discussed on a high level of symbolical and intellectual abstraction. General and functional relationships are emphasized; the concrete historical data are minimized.[2] And therefore it is clear that the systematic treatment of sociology is not in any way confused with economics, political science, or history since these fields are separated along the lines of factual data and problem content.

Sociological Method of Historical Study

Abstract theory, however, is meaningless from the point of view of a student first entering upon his study of sociology. Hence it is absolutely imperative to select historical data for purposes of illustration. It is possible to do this more or less at random as shown by the method of Georg Simmel. It is also possible to select this data in an orderly manner with particular reference to the rhythmic movement of cultural change. The latter of these two alternative methods of treatment has not been used hitherto. This method calls for a broader range in the selection of concrete data since it recognizes the fact that all great cultures have passed through a similar series of rhythmic changes. It emphasizes the fundamental cultural unity of the competing linguistic and political nationalisms of Europe, and thus prepares the way for a nicer co-ordination of thought and action. In the face of the white revolution within and the colored revolution without the desirability and necessity for such concert is bound to increase. Moreover, this method for the first time corrects the error known as cultural bias and in so doing makes possible a degree of prevision and corresponding redirection and reorganization of collective pressures and disciplinary procedures hitherto impossible. It provides a method of historical placement for the great social, moral, political, religious, and economic theories and ideals of a people as they have succeeded each other in kaleidoscopic and functional sequence. Absolutism, limited monarchy, democracy, and dictatorship con-

[2] An example is von Wiese and Becker, *Systematic Sociology, op. cit.*

stitute such a functionally related sequence of successive governmental forms in the history of a culture. It is possible, not only to explain, but also to correct the extreme views, perverted judgments, utopian theories, and impracticable ideals of a particular age.

The forms of the social process possess a functional integration in time and place; human traits likewise, and so also the forms of the plurality pattern. One has only to consider the nature of conflict, competition, invention, individualization, and socialization in feudal times as compared with the eighteenth century or the twentieth century to recognize the point here. Human traits in the social process possess a similar functional integration in time and place. The discussion of acquired sex traits, acquired racial traits, and the reorganization and redirection of innate traits in response to cultural change fully warrants this statement. Hence it becomes possible to identify certain theories of human nature with the historical period with which they are unmistakably engaged. Moreover, the structure of life in terms of folkways, mores, institutions, and laws, possesses a corresponding functional integration in time and place. It is possible to identify tribalism, feudalism, and nationalism in relation to the sequence of phases in the cultural movement. Such parallel configurations and constellations of plurality pattern are related to each other in similar ways. Hence there is a sociology of history, that is to say, a morphology of history which has hardly been touched upon as a field of fruitful inquiry.

Totalitarian Conception of the Unity of Culture

It is the grasp of the total historical actuality, so far as this may be possible, which is significant. That is to say, processes, traits and structures presume and imply each other. There can be no process of interhuman action without the requisite individual traits and some sort of structure however rudimentary this may be. There can be no such thing as human nature without social process or group structure. Neither can there be such a thing as group structure in the cultural sense without the necessary human traits and social process. Hence it follows that the actual, historical reality is a functional integration and elaboration of processes, traits, and structures. This is simply a restatement of the interdependent relation of individual and society. Neither can exist without the other, and therefore neither could have preceded the other in point of time. Society makes individuals and individuals make society in a process of interhuman action. It is precisely the same relation that exists between man and his culture. Man is the product of his culture and culture is the creation of man. Man is quite as dependent upon his culture as his culture is dependent upon him.

In the light of detailed discussion of human traits in the social process contained in previous chapters it is possible at this point to answer the questions raised in Chapter 13. Many issues were stated in that chapter for

the purpose of showing the relation between the social process and human traits. These issues have been clarified in the consideration of instinct, habit, inherited and acquired traits, race, and sex differences. The task of this and the succeeding chapters is to indicate with as much precision as possible the relationship between specific human traits and the forms of the social process.

Analysis of the Inventive Process

It will be recalled that invention and imitation were described as one of the forms of the social process. Invention is synonymous with creative achievement. It implies the organization of a new pattern of ideas formerly nonexistent. Manifestly this new pattern is made up of elements of knowledge and belief which constitute part of an actual, cultural heritage. The behavior of the inventor in assimilating these known elements is imitative. He masters the work of his predecessors, accepts some of their conclusions, and builds upon the premises thus established. At this point in the process his behavior differs from other imitators in a number of particulars: (1) he perceives a problem situation which, if solved, will lead to the control of nature in one way or another in a manner hitherto unknown; (2) he reconstructs symbolically the known elements of the situation in the form of a new, subjective pattern of thought; (3) he projects this pattern at first theoretically, then concretely and experimentally in the form of an "instrument" to see how it will work in relation to the problem situation; (4) discovering defects in his instrument, he corrects them in the form of a symbolical reorganization of the known elements. Thus corrected, his new pattern of ideas is projected again as an instrument in a problem situation, and this process continues until the problem has been solved or failure admitted. Having solved the problem a contribution has been made to knowledge. This contribution may be premature or it may come into conflict with other more readily acceptable elements of knowledge and faith, or with other instruments of procedure. In the course of this conflict it may be snuffed out or it may triumph. In the former case the thought structure of the inventor may be lost to the world, or it may be discovered later, as were Mendel's laws of heredity, when the human interest has been focussed and the time is ripe.

When the invention triumphs the new elements of knowledge or of faith are spread by imitation, and the social structure of the plurality pattern is modified accordingly. Hence the inventor is a focus of imitation, imitating, and being imitated. As imitator he responds to the impact of his cultural milieu in a special field of interest; as imitated his contribution spreads within restricted areas like the widening concentric circles of a pond into which a stone has been thrown. Obviously the process of invention is a process of interhuman action; obviously it is conditioned by the existent

level of culture; obviously it makes an impact upon this level of culture and changes it accordingly. The specific function of invention is to reorganize and to redirect the generally accepted elements of knowledge and faith in the solution of problems. The function of imitation is to reproduce by extension the newly created thought pattern of the inventor, and thus to make it an integral part of the social structure of life.

Superior Endowment of Genius

The superiority of the inventor is evident in his sensitivity to stimuli, his power of symbolical representation in imagination, his capacity for sustained concentration on a problem situation, his ability to recognize such a problem situation and to analyze it intelligently in terms of the elemental factors of which it is constituted. This complex organization of traits is developed in a process of discipline and training. On a low level of culture invention may be the result of accident, but on the higher levels it is contingent upon appropriate opportunity and facility for the necessary discipline and training provided by a culture.

The assumption that invention is *mainly* dependent upon a generally recognized freedom of the human spirit in its quest for truth is unhistorical. How is it that so many inventions and discoveries were made at a time when bigotry, intolerance, inquisition, and persecution for heresy were in the order of the day? It is recognized at the same time that genius is a gift of nature. No amount of training and discipline can make genius out of the overwhelming majority of individuals in a given society. The basis in heredity of the higher cortical powers of the inventor and genius is unquestionable. Because of the complexity of the human brain and the great overlapping of innate and acquired elements, the actual unit characters which definitely condition the emergence of genius have not been identified with precision. When different sets of factors are interrelated interdependently in the production of a given result, the task of estimating the relative importance of a given factor *as if* it operated independently is necessarily gratuitous. Nevertheless it is apparent that the genius is unusually well endowed in his sensitivity to stimuli, power of retaining and organizing impressions over a wide range, ability to recognize a problem situation and to analyze it into constituent elements. He has the intellectual capacity to reconstruct these elements symbolically, projecting his reorganized patterns in theory before he does so in actuality.

Is Imitation an Instinct?

Some writers consider imitation an instinct. This is not acceptable. As an instinct it would have to answer one of the following three descriptions: (1) a separate, definite, inherited action pattern for every possible variety

of imitation; (2) a flexible action drive toward more or less definite ends capable of adjustment and reorganization on the afferent and efferent sides; (3) an innate emotional propulsion toward fairly definite ends also subject to external direction from the cognitive and conative aspects. Imitative behavior does not answer any one of these prescriptions. It is not an instinct either in a structural sense or in a functional sense. If the first assumption were true, the behavior of man would be like that of ants in a hill or bees in a hive. In the second case the resultant behavior is acquired, since it is organized under the direction of environmental pressures and disciplines. Therefore, the assumed action drive would have to cover the entire range of human behavior. Such an explanation would be unilateral and animistic. So far as the third possibility is concerned, it is evident that imitative behavior as such has no emotional correlate. The individual does inherit a complex structure of reflexes; sense organs which respond to varied stimuli; a brain which functions like a sensitive photographic plate recording the impressions to which it is exposed, together with the ability to associate these past impressions with present experiences.

Imitation may occur on a low level of purely reflexive response as described by the phrase "what monkey sees monkey does." It may occur on a high level of conscious, purposive behavior as when a swimmer is learning the "breast stroke." If the behavior is reflexive, the action pattern may be innate, as when one person in an audience coughs and others proceed to follow suit. The reflex action pattern may be acquired, as when a young and ambitious orator unknowingly imitates the gestures and characteristic forms of speech of a truly eloquent and magnetic public speaker. The infant possesses a power of random movements which gradually become co-ordinated under external and internal stimulation as the baby learns to crawl, eat porridge with a spoon, and the like. These acquired co-ordinations make possible more difficult movements as when the growing child asks for soap and water to give her doll a bath. The sensory impression of the observed behavior of others is co-ordinated with experience in one way or another. It elicits a response because of the general nature of the brain and nervous system, not because of a specific instinct to imitate. Whether it is purely uncritical, repetitive response to suggestion, or a highly discriminating and purposive response to suggestion is immaterial so far as the problem here discussed is concerned. In the very nature of the organism there is response to stimulus, but this response is conditioned and reconditioned with accumulated experience in the course of the learning process. The structure of plurality patterns in the cultural environment stimulates, directs, and organizes the subjective patterns of imitation.[3]

[3] An excellent analysis of imitation may be found in L. L. Bernard, *Introduction to Social Psychology*, New York, 1926, Chs. 21, 22.

Competition and Regulation

Competition and regulation were described in relation to each other as a distinct form of the social process. In every society individuals and groups compete with each other because of a limitation and corresponding scarcity value of the objects for which they strive. If it were possible to conceive of a society in which the good things of life were produced in quantities more than sufficient to satisfy the wants of everyone, competition for these goods would disappear. Hence competition arises because the multiplication of human desires greatly exceeds the means of satisfying them. In every society competition is regulated. This is necessary in order to prevent competition from developing conflict situations in which resort to violence and physical force have the effect of endangering the safety of life and the security of property. The conditions which create competition likewise impose a necessity for fixing the terms of fair competition. Competition is circumscribed in all of the fields of human interest in every society, but it is relatively free in certain areas and narrowly regulated in others. The function of competition is place assignment in the social system; the function of regulation is to impose the terms of legitimate competition and the standards of selection, thereby maintaining a condition of law and order.

It follows logically that the forms of competition and regulation in a given society depend upon an organized structure of disciplinary agencies in a cultural environment. These forms also depend upon certain human traits which are released and organized as action patterns in response to the pressures of the plurality patterns. One may describe these traits as human needs, or as human wants, wishes or desires. These desires may be basic, organic traits such as hunger and sex, or they may be highly cultivated tastes for certain types of literature, architecture, music, and the like. Objects of desire vary all the way from the simplest kinds of shelter, warmth, clothing, and food to summer homes, pleasure yachts, diamond-back terrapin, and well groomed lackeys. Some of these traits, as for instance, hunger and sex, have already been analyzed. It is perfectly evident that any conception of human wants which restricts them to physical needs would not adequately include the human traits implied in the process of competition.

Type Wishes

A conception of type wishes, as Thomas developed, is more adequate. The desires for security, recognition, response, and new experience include a great deal more than the simple economic wants for food, shelter, warmth, and clothing. These type wishes, however, are generalized abstractions, products, that is to say, of the intellectual activity of symbolical analysis and synthesis. No person desires security, recognition, response, and new experi-

ence in the abstract. He wants security against the risk of unemployment, or old age, the death of a benefactor, sickness, accident, invalidity, and many other uncertain factors. If he desires recognition, it does not satisfy to have it come from individuals or groups whom he does not regard highly. New experience may refer to the desire to climb the Jungfrau or Mount Herman, to fly across the Atlantic, or to live with the natives of Timbuctoo and instruct them in matters of health and hygiene. The desire for response is usually discriminating. As intellectual categories which include the widest possible range of desires, Thomas' classification is instructive. It represents a sociologist's reply to the demand for a statement of human traits in the social process.

This reply has a special bearing upon the problem of human traits in the process of competition and regulation. It obviously includes not only the more primitive demands for sustenance and physical survival but also the more civilized demands for the satisfaction of highly cultivated tastes and interests. For this development of tastes and interests in the course of civilization means not only a great extension in the area of competing desires, but also an intensification of competition for the satisfaction of these desires. And this of course necessarily results in a corresponding extension and intensification of the agencies of regulation. The satisfaction of particular wants, tastes, and interests is quite as dependent upon appropriate regulative measures as it is upon the human qualities which favor success in fair competition with others. This is so because the level of competition degenerates to the means employed by the least scrupulous rival unless regulative measures are interposed to maintain acceptable standards. Success in fair competition is of no avail so long as the benefits may be snatched away by ruthless rivals who do not consider the ethical standards binding and who violate them with more or less impunity.

Regulation Is a Selective Process

The regulative agencies are selective. They choose the winners of the competitive process. It follows, therefore, that the status of the individual in society depends upon his success in competition with others according to the standards imposed by the accepted regulative agencies. In this way the places of men and women in the social system are assigned. While this selective process is under the general supervision of the state, it is clear that the various professional organizations such as law, medicine, teaching, theology, engineering, and social work enjoy a substantial freedom in fixing the terms of competition and the standards of selection. Commercial enterprise, manufacturing industry, and agriculture have also assumed heavy responsibilities for regulating the competitive process and selecting men and women for position and promotion in their respective fields. Under present condi-

tions of life, however, the state is bound to assume increasingly formidable responsibility for this work.

With respect to commerce, industry, and agriculture the issue becomes a question of state regulation or strangulation. So far as the work of the United States Army, Navy, Post Office, Forestry Service, Mint, and the Federal Reserve System are concerned, the responsibility of the national state has been established. Heated discussion of such questions as public medicine, church and state, public education, and the nationalization or socialization, so called, of the practice of law, indicates a shift in the trend of responsibility for regulating the competitive process from private to public associations and agencies. *Laissez faire* does not mean that the competitive process is free and therefore unregulated; it simply means that private, voluntary associations assume responsibility for regulating the process of competition, and that the state guarantees the rights of these organizations to assume such responsibility.

It has been shown that a broad and variable range of human wishes is necessarily assumed in describing the process of competition and regulation. Some of these wishes are based upon organic needs as explained; others are highly cultivated tastes and acquired special interests. The more complex the structure of society, the greater will be the range of variation of human wants; the wider the range of variation, the more rapid the rate of multiplication. Since it is easier to stimulate these wants than it is to find the means of satisfying them, a condition of wide variation and rapid multiplication is bound to be correlated with increasing intensity of competition. This kind of situation leads to increasingly widespread violation of the rules of fair competition; the private associations find it more difficult to enforce their terms of competition and standards of selection. It becomes necessary for the state to interpose its authority. Since this authority has the support of the police power of the state it cannot ordinarily be violated with impunity. Hence the twentieth century movement toward consolidation and centralization of the power of the national state and the extension of this power in supervision and regulation of the competitive process. The forms of competition are contingent upon the structure of life in society.

Standards of Selection and the Discipline of Personality

Regulative agencies of selection cultivate conformity to certain types of personality. Human traits are not only selected; they are trained and disciplined in the process of competition. Standards of success in competition necessarily imply a scale of human values. It has been shown that the qualities that make for success in the priesthood are not the same as those which make a good soldier or a good financier and business entrepreneur. Hence the regulative agencies aim to select the qualities which are especially suited for success in the special field of interest represented. But this is not all. In

administering the terms of competition and the standards of selection the regulative agencies develop the appropriate traits and talents in a process of discipline and training. Thus the guardians of the state, using Plato's language, are not only selected with respect to those traits which are indispensable for efficiency in the performance of function; the selected traits are molded, trained, and disciplined in conformity with a desired ideal of human type. So also, the selection and training of auxiliaries, soldiers, and the lower classes of peasants, tradesmen, and craftsmen. The power of a state in competition with other states for advantages in trade, territory, and colonial influence manifestly depends upon the wisdom and the efficiency of the regulative agencies in the performance of their functions.

Conflict and Co-operation

Such competition of strong, national states for trade, territory, and colonial advantage may and often does develop into a conflict situation. It was precisely this sort of competition which led to the gradual strengthening of the *entente* of England, France, and Russia, and the alliance of central European powers of Germany, Austria, and Italy. This situation brought about the World War of 1914. Conflict between groups and powers thus becomes an organizing factor of great importance. Co-operation within allied groups is highly urgent because of the immensity of the stakes at issue. Strife, friction, and lack of understanding within co-operating groups are resolved by heroic measures if necessary. In America, the War Industries Board, and the War Labor Board were established for this very purpose; the Whitley system of works councils was organized in England with a similar view. In this way the powers concerned provided a continuous flow of the all important instruments and munitions of war. Hence it is that the great energies released in conflict are directed in two ways: first, the establishment and maintenance of higher levels of concert and co-operation within the allied groups, and second, the concentration of these newly awakened energies and resources upon the main objective—annihilation of the enemy. The fact is clear that conflict reorganizes and redirects the resources and strength of a people in a common, united effort of triumph.

But conflict does not always invoke violence and physical force. It occurs also on an intellectual plane of ideas and ideals, as for instance, the strife between John L. Lewis and William Green over the issue of the industrial union versus the craft union. The finally resolved scientific duel between Dr. Arthur H. Compton and Dr. Robert Andrews Millikan over the nature of cosmic rays shows plainly enough that conflict on a high intellectual plane is also potent as an organizing and directive factor.[4] It stimulates and releases the energies of individuals in channels of creative achievement.

[4] *Time*, January 13, 1936, pp. 28-32.

Is Pugnacity an Instinct?

What human traits are concerned in this concurrent and reciprocal process of conflict and co-operation? At once it is evident that a broad range of inherited and acquired human traits condition this process. Organic traits such as hunger and sex, complex acquired interests in status, power and wealth, along with the wishes for recognition, security, response, and new experience, are intimately related to the genesis of conflict situations. These relationships have been discussed to some extent.

Certain writers have assumed that conflict situations are the result of an instinct of pugnacity, also called a fighting instinct. McDougall definitely associates this "instinct" with the emotion of anger.[5] The nature of this emotion has been considered, and the conclusion drawn that it is an innate drive of great forcefulness. As an inner propulsion it is effective in mobilizing and concentrating extraordinary stores of energy upon more or less definite ends. It is highly adaptive not only from the conative aspect, but also from the cognitive aspect. In the form of a complete structural action pattern assumed to be inherited it does not exist as shown in the previous chapter.

Anger and fear reactions are closely related not only in a psychological sense, but also in a sociological sense of motivating the process of conflict and co-operation. In the course of a conflict situation, anger and fear reactions are likely to alternate with fluctuations in the relative strength and success in battle and diplomacy of the enemy. The intensity of the bitterness and hate engendered in this process may continue long after the issue has been resolved, as it was in the United States following the Civil War. As fear inevitably leads to defensive preparation under the guidance of intelligence; so also, anger, under similar direction, leads to offensive measures of attack against the object of fear. It follows that anger and fear are basic human traits in explanation of conflict and co-operation. When a herd of buffalos is attacked in the open the males form a ring around the mothers and their young who are thus protected in the center. Similar co-operation of the members of other species of animal engaged in conflict may be observed. Analogous action patterns in the human individual differ in this important respect: defensive preparation and offensive opposition are not ready-made action patterns transmitted biologically; they are acquired action patterns communicated socially in a cultural environment.

The Function of Conflict and of Co-operation

The function of conflict is to resolve the issues at stake in the relationships between individuals, groups of individuals, and associated groups of

[5] McDougall, *Social Psychology, op. cit.*, pp. 59-61.

individuals. Such decisive resolution conditions the mental and moral integrity of individuals as well as of groups. The function of co-operation is to organize and direct the energies and resources of such individuals and groups engaged in decisive conflict. Once the issue is definitely resolved, as for instance, slavery in the United States at the close of the Civil War, significant alterations in the structure of society are bound to ensue. Slavery and the agricultural South checked the progress of the industrial North. After the war industry forged ahead at an unprecedented pace. Thus it becomes apparent that conflict situations are implicit in a culture and that the forms of conflict change with the movement of the culture. This aspect of the problem has been fully treated in the chapter dealing with conflict and co-operation.

Problem Questions

1. Describe the effects of complete isolation in compulsory solitary confinement upon the mental, moral, and physical traits of the individual.

2. Would the voluntary isolation of a hermit, or the accidental isolation of a Robinson Crusoe, have the same consequences as compulsory solitary incarceration?

3. Do the processes of natural and societal selection, in a complex civilization, tend to raise the level of mental and physical excellence?

4. Since imitation is not regarded as an instinct how would you account for the widespread imitative ("copycat") behavior of children?

5. What were the characteristic foci of interest on the part of inventors in the course of the nineteenth century? Is there any evidence that these foci are changing at the present time?

6. Compare medieval and modern society with respect to the dysgenic and eugenic effects of the selective processes.

7. Is competition an instinct?

8. Under what conditions are the regulative agencies of a government likely to be efficient? Under what conditions are they likely to be inefficient?

9. Under what conditions is it desirable to transfer the regulative responsibility from private agencies to public agencies?

10. What are some of the consequences of birth control as a selective agent? Is it desirable to allow private agencies the privilege of regulating publicity in matters pertaining to birth control?

11. Is co-operation the result of a gregarious instinct?

12. Since regulation is a selective process is it not logical to assume that the considerations of merit would be given greater weight by private agencies than by public agencies? Does it not follow that private regulation is more efficient than public regulation since the incentive is more direct?

13. Is war the result of an instinct of pugnacity?

14. Since anger is a conditioned response, does it not follow that this trait is acquired rather than inherited?

15. Show how the social, political and economic structures of society are related to the emotions of anger and fear.

Suggestions for Additional Reading

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23

HUMAN TRAITS IN THE SOCIAL PROCESS (CONCLUDED)

Superordination and Subordination

The liquidation of issues in conflict, such as slavery in America and national imperialism in Europe, inevitably creates a situation of domination and submission. A new structure of relationships is established and appropriate organs of control are set up with a view of eternalizing the decisive differentiation of victors and vanquished. At the close of the Civil War nothing was left undone to prevent the return of slavery: the vast estates of the great landowners, mortgaged to the limit in order to raise funds for the war, were divided and sold; the Negroes were emancipated, and the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth constitutional amendments were enacted in order to give permanence to the newly achieved status of freedom and equality of the black man. If perchance anyone doubted the complete exhaustion, bankruptcy and impoverishment of the Southern Confederation, Sherman's triumphant march to the sea put an end to all of that. The Northern carpetbagger worked together with the liberated Negro in setting up new organs of government in the Southern states. This was indeed a "reconstruction period" for the white man of the South.

No less efficient in establishing a new system of superordination and subordination was the Treaty of Versailles. It also was couched in the lovely euphemisms of liberty, equality, democracy, and peace guaranteed by the League of Nations. In case there might have been some question as to the complete exhaustion, bankruptcy, and impoverishment of the Central Powers, the Allied blockade was continued some time after the Armistice, Germany and Austria were disarmed, and the map of Europe ingeniously remade with a view of eternally preventing the reassertion of German power. The sinking of the German Navy at Scapa Flow, reparations demands in astronomical figures, the appropriation of the German colonies, the loss of Alsace and Lorraine, the splitting of Prussia, the transfer of territory to Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, and Poland, and the creation of an armed ring of independent sovereignties surrounding Germany, were manifestly intended to fulfil the same purpose. All of this was sanctified, that is, hallowed and enforced, by the League of Nations which served the valued purpose of consolidating the new distribution of power and authority in Europe. The years that followed were another "reconstruction period" no

less contemptuous of the newly created power system than the corresponding epoch which followed the Civil War.

In less than two decades the Southern white man regained full control of local government, the Negro was in effect disfranchised and his status degraded lower than it ever had been. The deepening of the color line, and the creation of a caste system bear witness to the intimidation and degradation of the Negro. In approximately the same time, 1918-1935, the leaders of the movement for a strong and independent Germany fully recovered control of the national government, but in this case it was the Jew who lost his franchise.

Biological Interpretation

Such human elements as anger, fear, revenge, and hate in this type of situation are all too obvious. But when it is stated that domination and submission are instincts, and that the corresponding superordination and subordination in the structure is the necessary consequence of these inherited traits, the facts of the case are obscured. McDougall, for instance, describes an instinct of self-assertion with its emotional correlate of positive self-feeling, and also an instinct of self-abasement with its emotional correlate of negative self-feeling.[1] As the former is equivalent to domination, so the latter is synonymous with subjection. These traits thus present a unilateral biological explanation of the distribution of power and authority in society; social stratification into ranks of rulers and ruled parallels the distribution of enforceable rights.

It is of course clear enough that individuals differ greatly in their mental and physical powers of self-assertion; it is certain that some are much better endowed by nature to assume the heavy responsibilities of leadership and government. There are most assuredly self-assertive and dominating types of personality. Most people, however, are far better endowed by nature to assume the passive rôle of follower, sharing responsibility perhaps to some extent, but no more than may be required. It is far easier to stand with the crowd and to applaud or jeer when the mob applauds or jeers than it is to stand firmly upon one's own ground ignoring the mob and accepting the consequences. The traits which produced great leaders among the feudal nobles, the aristocratic priests, the merchant princes and tycoons of a later day have already been discussed. The organization of these traits into power systems on the one hand, and complex patterns of personality on the other hand, need not be repeated. Suffice it to say that these subjective structures of value and attitude are the result of a process of interhuman action in a cultural milieu. This cultural environment comprises the agencies more or less efficient in the task of training and disciplining leaders for the rôle of

[1] McDougall, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-66.

supervision and authority in society. Individual traits are selected for this purpose as already pointed out.

Criticism of the Instinct Theory

If there were an instinct of self-assertion or of self-abasement it would necessarily assume one of the following forms: (1) a complete, unitary action pattern inherited in all aspects; (2) a flexible, inherited action drive subject to adaptation from the cognitive and conative angles; (3) an emotional propulsion, inherited as such, and subject to direction and organization under the influence of environmental pressures. If the first assumption were true it would be possible to describe the instinct in terms of a definite, invariable, and observable behavior. This cannot be done. In case the second assumption were accepted it would be necessary to describe a flexible action pattern in terms of an internal co-ordination of reflexes. The external co-ordination of reflexes would have to be acquired; the internal co-ordination remains highly problematical to say the least. It is not at all necessary to assume the existence of such an innate action drive in order to explain the phenomena of domination and submission. Certainly it has not been identified with anything like the precision of such organic traits as hunger, sex, anger, and fear. With regard to the third assumption, namely, an emotional propulsion described as positive self-feeling or negative self-feeling, it cannot be shown that these traits are inherited as unit structures.

Such terms as elation, vanity, and pride are often used to describe the positive self-feeling; humility and shame are used to describe negative self-feeling. These feelings are associated in the first instance with a strong, well organized sense of self and a consciousness of mental and moral integrity; in the second instance they are associated with a sense of failure and a corresponding loss of self-confidence. Continued success in competition and conflict with others builds up self-confidence, and a well organized self-regarding sentiment; failure breaks up self-confidence and weakens the self-regarding sentiment. All of these acquired elements of behavior are interwoven with domination on the one hand and submission on the other hand. The assumption that self-assertion and self-abasement are instincts in the sense of an emotional propulsion toward fairly definite goals is hardly acceptable. But even if it were, the actual organization of behavior in terms of cognition and conation would depend upon the collective pressures and disciplinary agencies.

Functions of Superordination and Subordination

The function of superordination is to hold the organs of society together in their acceptable relations to each other, that is, to fix and to enforce the imposed distribution of rights and obligations. There are upper limits of

opportunity and privilege beyond which the subordinated class or classes may not rise lest they imperil the existing order; there are lower limits of dependence and subjection below which they are not permitted to fall lest they destroy their worth to their masters. The function of subordination is to recognize with deference, loyalty, and possibly even with reverence, the authority of superiors, and to co-operate with them in the achievement of common purposes. This is the attitude of every good Catholic to his priest, and similar relationships hold throughout the hierarchy. It is this type of attitude which holds the key to the solution of the problems of industrial relations, however inconspicuous it may be in reality at the present time. The so-called democratic ideas of constitutionalism in industry based upon collective agreements, the independent organization of workers and theoretical equality of bargaining power do not solve the problems of personnel management; they aggravate them. In a democratic state loyal respect for law and authority tends to disintegrate; in time the state disintegrates with it. The result is a development of forthright power politics in which the avowed reliance upon physical force is crudely and plainly spoken. This situation has already developed in some large cities of the United States.[2]

Precisely the same spirit is evident in the field of international relations. A Japanese leader in 1936 stated that the Imperial Navy was strong enough to triumph over the combined American and British navies. About the same time a Russian leader lauded the army of the people declaring it to be the largest and strongest in the world and sufficient to overwhelm a Japanese army on the east and a German army on the west. Mussolini meanwhile boasted of his power to mobilize eight million Italian troops. It appears certain that the consolidated, authoritarian national state of the twentieth century will endeavor to inculcate the qualities of loyalty, devotion, deferential, and even reverential, respect for superiors. But whether this is realized or not, the fact remains that the subordination of the individual to the state calls for leaders who are strong enough and wise enough to inspire such attitudes.

Incipient Revolution and the Origin of Caste

History has shown repeatedly that the subordinated classes often break through the upper limits of opportunity and privilege. Under the stimulation of leadership self-abasement gives way to self-assertion as the existing authority is ridiculed and criticized. Incipient revolt may be broken; it may completely displace the established power; or it may compromise with this power. In the first case the existing order is upheld for the time being; in the second case there is a thorough reorganization of the structures and agencies of power; in the third case there is a revision of these structures and

[2] Alva Johnston, "Seattle's One-Man Revolution," *The Saturday Evening Post*, January 16, 1937.

agencies. Again and again efforts are organized with a view to upsetting an established equilibrium of power. The patriots of the American War of Independence did so in 1776; the Southern white man broke through the limits imposed by the Constitution of the United States when the Negro was "put in his place"; the Japanese violated the rules of order established by the League of Nations when they occupied Manchuria and created the puppet state of Manchukuo; the Germans rearmed in defiance of the terms of the Versailles Treaty, justifying themselves on the ground that the victorious Allies failed to live up to their disarmament pledges; Mussolini invaded Ethiopia, a "sister" state in the League of Nations, manifestly breaking through the order of rights and obligations created by the League.

The effort to establish an inflexible caste system of superior and inferior orders in society grows out of this kind of revolutionary enterprise. Such a hard and fast system of superordination and subordination based upon heredity is equivalent to complete stabilization and corresponding stagnation. It has been called the "Dharma" principle because it is associated with Indian caste and the Hindu system of religion, ethics, and philosophy.[3] The opposite principle, laid down by Napoleon in the phrase *"la carrière ouverte aux talents"* is better adapted to the spirit of Western civilization. It means in effect a natural aristocracy of rulers drawn from all the classes of society, and a system of superordination and subordination based upon merit and training rather than heredity. This ideal is superior to the "Dharma" principle in theory; the problems of practical realization in administration are difficult but not insuperable.

Incentive and Deterrence

Incentives and deterrents arise as instruments employed for the purpose of holding and strengthening an existing power system or of upsetting such a system. They are the means of crystallizing and consolidating an established or incipient order of superordination and subordination. Incentives and deterrents are described as a process since individuals act and react to each other with respect to the desired ends. The development of distinctive patterns of incentive and deterrence in the culture history of Europe has been set forth in some detail. There was first the politico-theological pattern associated with the feudal period and the early Roman Church; second, a politico-economic pattern associated with Puritanism and the rise-to-power of the third estate; third, a politico-cultural pattern associated with reaction against liberalism and democracy. The interrelation and concurrent functions of incentives and deterrents have been analyzed.

It may be repeated: fear is the great deterrent. But the question may be raised, fear of what? Fear of eternal torture in a nether world of fire and

[3] von Wiese and Becker, *op. cit.*, pp. 258, 259.

brimstone? Fear of inquisition, excommunication, persecution, torture, death? Fear of poverty, misery, disgrace, discharge, or ignominy? Fear of communists, fascists, Jews, dictators, black and yellow races? Fear of insecurity, loss of status, penal incarceration, isolation, solitude? Fear of insurrection, revolution, boycott, the sanctions of the League of Nations? Manifestly the objects of fear are as varied as human experience. These fears are stereotyped according to the characteristic patterns of an age. In the days when people were afraid of witches, goblins, and eternal damnation, the white and the colored revolutions did not greatly worry them. In the later days of rationalism and romance when everyone was striving for fortune and fame and the individual career was open to talent, the pattern changed in several important particulars. An intellectualistic-utilitarian structure of incentives and deterrents based upon a concept of enlightened self-interest in a world of free competition developed in the eighteenth century. The diminished vigor and vitality of this theory is apparent enough in the world today. Thorstein Veblen substituted for it his *Instinct of Workmanship.*[4]

The "Instinct" of Workmanship

This type of incentive represents a return to the aristocratic ideal. It has little place in a world of hustle and bustle, mad scramble for profit in a money grubbing democracy where competition is theoretically free and all persons are theoretically equal. The "instinct of workmanship" implies the ideal of the artist whose life is so completely absorbed in his work that the latter is all embracing and the former dependent upon it. It is the ideal also of the scientist who is ready to sacrifice power, wealth and fame, even life itself, in the quest for truth. Art and science become something hallowed and sacred; in fact they become a substitute for religion, or a new idealization and conception of religion. If the term "instinct" is used in the continental sense of highly automatic, repetitive action for which the pattern is *either* inherited *or* acquired, one may profitably discuss the "instinct of workmanship." English and American psychologists, however, have made "instinct" a biological term.[5]

Is there an instinct of workmanship, also called the instinct of construction? Certainly there are variations in aptitude for handling tools of different kinds. Aptitudes for music, mathematics, and philosophy in all probability have a base in certain innate mental characteristics, although these have not been determined with any degree of precision. The work of the artist as of the scientist is certainly the product of the sternest kind of self-discipline, training, and experience without which the latent talents would

[4] According to Veblen, the distinctive aspect of any given instinct is the "particular character of the purpose to which it drives." *The Instinct of Workmanship,* New York, 1922, p. 4. This is manifestly a functional conception closely resembling McDougall's.

[5] Bernard, *Instinct, op. cit.,* p. 61 *et seq.*

avail nothing. It is impossible to distinguish the two sets of factors in a valid scientific sense. Veblen used the phrase "instinct of workmanship" in a functional, not a structural connotation. Other writers appear to think of it as a complete action pattern, inherited as such, and subject to modification and direction under the stimulus of environment. These conceptions have been considered critically in other connections and there is no need of repeating arguments already stated. The student may work out the problem for himself in the light of his own knowledge.

That the present system of minute division of labor and mass production minimizes the opportunity and occasion for creative workmanship is obvious enough even though allowance is made for the increase in leisure provided by a more efficient organization of machine production. Handicraft production of the Middle Ages certainly provided a larger scope for the free play of creative aptitudes. Yet it is to be remembered that the spurrier made spurs over and over again, and so with the saddler who made saddles over and over again, the armorer, the weaver, the fuller, the tailor, and the others among them. We may be assured that these expert workmen were generally and mainly interested in the quest for livelihood. The period of apprenticeship was long enough to permit almost anyone to acquire the necessary skills of a particular craft. It is sometimes assumed that the masses of a population are endowed by nature with artistic talent of one kind or another, and that our terribly inhuman and brutalizing machines which make automatic appendages of the individuals who attend them are destroying these God-given gifts on an extensive scale. Thus, it is stated, the natural desires are blocked, and the machine and its owner become objects of anger and hatred. The result is described as trade unionism, collective bargaining, violence in the class struggle, radicalism in politics *und so weiter*.[6]

This interpretation is nothing more or less than a rationalization of certain preconceptions; it has no foundation in historic fact whatever. The normal frequency curve shows clearly enough the approximate distribution of genius and talent in a given society. If workers have organized for the purpose of administering their collective pressure it is not because most of them have suffered the misfortune of a thwarted desire to become artists and scientists. It is rather because of the utilitarian outlook which distinguishes the profit system and teaches everyone to look out for himself and to further his own interests. Freedom of contract implies a theoretical equality of right on the part of employer and employee. If the employer may hire or fire "at will" the employee may take his job or leave it "at will." If the employer is interested in protecting his scale of living and raising his standard of living why should not a worker do so in a society where both are theo-

[6] Parker, *The Casual Laborer and Other Essays, op. cit.*, pp. 53 *et seq.*, 144, 145.

retically free and equal? Accordingly, the aims of organized labor have been and still are very practical.

Interdependence of Incentives and Deterrents

The range of human traits manifest in the social process of incentive and deterrence is broad. It varies from the lower levels of organic need for food, shelter, warmth, and clothing to the higher levels of cultivated interests in art, science, and philosophy. It may be said to include Sumner's hunger, love, vanity, and fear; Thomas' wishes for security, response, recognition, and new experience; Small's interests in health, wealth, knowledge, beauty, sociability, and rightness. Fear of insecurity, as deterrent, is coupled with the incentive to labor for the provision of the requisites of life. Fear of eternal damnation as deterrent is associated with the incentive to gain immortal peace and happiness in the company of the blessed. High wages as incentive are identified with the fear of discharge or demotion as deterrent. Pleasure in companionship as incentive is coupled with the fear of misery in solitude as deterrent. Recognition and response as incentives are coupled with the fear of failure in the quest for truth and love. Fear of death as deterrent may be associated with the desire to live a good life as incentive. There is no need to proceed further along this line. The function of the deterrent is inhibitive and negative, preventing or avoiding the undesirable course of action; the function of the incentive is positive and constructive, actively pursuing and cultivating the desirable course of action. These incentives and deterrents are not only related directly to the maintenance of old structures and the building up of new ones; they are related also with equal directness to the integration of character and the growth of personality.

Association and Dissociation

Association and dissociation have been described as a form of the social process. Such terms as approach, accord, adjustment, co-operation, and amalgamation indicate progressive levels of association. Rivalry, avoidance, contravention, competition, and conflict, on the other hand, denote progressive levels of dissociation. The assumption of an instinct of association, or gregariousness, as it is more commonly called, has been considered in a previous chapter. This assumption was definitely rejected. The problem of determining the traits engaged directly or indirectly in the processes of association and dissociation cannot be solved with a simple biological formula. A broad range of human traits, inherited and acquired, are obviously active in this connection.

Organic traits such as anger, fear, hunger, and sex lead to associative and dissociative relationships. Complex acquired traits such as the desires for recognition, response, security, and new experience likewise condition

the sociative processes. Distinctly human interests in health, wealth, knowledge, beauty, sociability, and rightness, following Albion W. Small's classification of human traits in the social process, are similarly involved. Temperamental differences in personality, as shown in Jung's characterization of sensational, intuitive, emotional, and intellectual types of individual, are also significant in explanation of association and dissociation. Introversion and extroversion, schizoid and cyclo-thymic types of personality have a similar meaning. These types inevitably respond differently to a broad range of stimuli. Hence avoidance, rivalry, contravention, competition, or conflict are more certain to characterize the relationships of incompatible temperaments. Advance, accord, adjustment, co-operation, and amalgamation are likely to describe the relations of the same or compatible temperaments. People do not irritate each other, or get on each other's nerves, as we say, if they respond similarly to the same stimuli and types of situation. On the contrary, they reinforce each other's interests, satisfy desires, develop powers of appreciation, intensify prejudices, vindicate tastes, and supplement ideals and aspirations. Association is pleasurable on these terms.

But when the neural pathways of taste, interest, and desire are interrupted, blocked, or contradicted, the experience is disagreeable, perhaps even painful. The consequence is either a mental readjustment to avoid repetition of unpleasant situations, or dissociation. In the course of association individuals develop certain crystallizations of experience, fixed attitudes and values which may be called mental stereotypes. These stereotypes have to do with race, religion, sex, morality, government, and business to mention the more common. They may be called prejudices. It is important to add that they are also instruments of observation, recollection, and evaluation, and that they are integrated in the normal person giving emotional balance and character. These are the tools used in the process of making adjustments and readjustments in the solution of problems as they arise from day to day. Destroy the tools, or dull the edges, and the individual is as helpless as a sculptor without mallet and chisel. He must get a new chisel or sharpen the old one, or perhaps turn to another occupation and get a new set of tools. It is the old story of *Sartor Resartus*. Old associations are broken as new associations are established.

Such periods of mental readjustment and reorganization of stereotypes are fraught with spiritual anguish, anxiety for the future, loss of faith, indecision, and fear of oneself, as well as of others. Goethe called it *Sturm und Drang*. The dawn of a new day, lovelier than the old, may follow the twilight of timeworn idols. Courage is renewed, faith recovered, fear conquered, and resolution reëstablished. A new balance of emotion and integration of character is achieved.

In the study of theoretical and applied mechanics the student learns that materials have their coefficients of elasticity. They will carry increasingly

heavy loads up to a certain point and then break. So with the individual. The coefficient of elasticity of the extrovert type is higher than it is for the introvert type, which accounts for the fact that the incidence of dementia præcox in the highly mobile, unstable, and disorganized sections of our large cities is so much higher than the incidence of manic-depressive insanity. Faris' study of the residences of patients received in the Chicago Psychopathic Hospital showed that the cases of dementia præcox clustered in the central sections of the city and decreased in frequency toward the outer areas. The distribution of manic-depressive cases did not show this concentration. It is evident that the areas of culture-conflict and disorganization of standards place a heavier strain upon the introvert type than upon the extrovert type. Since the mental organization of the former is more inflexible, his powers of readjustment to conflict situations are relatively inefficient. The more flexible organization of the extrovert enhances his adjustment possibilities to this type of situation.

Living with the gods is empty solace even for anchorites and philosophers. Why is it that a philosopher has been likened to an old dog who barks at every stranger at the gate? The sense of self hangs on the slender threads of human recognition, response, and appreciation. When Schopenhauer grew old his work was understood better, people expressed their gratitude and displayed an interest. Quite naturally the old pessimist thawed out, beamed with pleasure, and loved his kind in a new experience of joyful wisdom. With Nietzsche it was otherwise. He had forever to ride the crest of the wave cutting one by one the slender threads that linked him with his kind until at last he lost his very sanity—his sense of self. This was the tragedy of Nietzsche. Human nature and association are as inseparable as mind and body. In a sense the term association is a bad one since it implies the existence of discrete entities which act and react upon each other. Individuals, rather, are inseparably interwoven like the mystical pattern of a mosaic design. Culture and life are one. Pluralistic response and consciousness of kind are implicit in the individual and the culture which rears him. But whose kind? Whose culture? It is evident that dissociation is also vital, and this is equivalent to discord, rivalry, contravention, competition, and conflict. It leads to war and this means unmitigated hostility and fight to a finish. The salvation of the soul is dependent upon it. Association and dissociation do not imply merely certain specific human traits already defined; they imply the whole of human nature.

Individuation and Socialization

The function of dissociation is individuation; the function of association is socialization. When two or more persons respond differently to various stimuli they are individualized to that extent; when they respond similarly they are socialized to that extent. Socialization leads to amalgamation when

the persons concerned can be relied upon to react similarly over a very broad, perhaps all inclusive range of significant issues. Individualization leads to isolation when the reactions of a particular person elicit no sympathetic response whatsoever from others. Amalgamation and isolation are extreme forms of the social process. Individuation and socialization are typical forms since every normal person is more or less individuated and at the same time more or less socialized.

Biological Formulæ

Biological factors have played a part in explanation of the processes of individuation and socialization. The identity of fixed ideas, mental stereotypes, and behavior patterns has been explained in terms of the instincts of the herd; dissimilarity has been accounted for on the ground of an ego instinct. Freud and others have upheld the concept of an ego instinct;[7] Trotter and others have upheld the concept of a gregarious instinct.[8] The latter has been considered and rejected. The former assumption is similarly untenable. This ego instinct has been identified with self-assertion, and described in terms of vanity, self-display, elation, boastfulness, self-interest, conceit, and other similar illusions of personal grandeur. It is well known that this type of behavior may produce an increasing disparity between the subjective reflection of self and the objective reflection of self in the attitudes and behavior of others. When this occurs the individual compensates for the lack of appreciation and sympathetic understanding of others by conspicuously exaggerating his personal sense and feeling of greatness. The symptoms which develop are known as paranoia. They are often associated with delusions of fear and persecution and constitute a distinct type of insanity. Clearly, no biological formula is an adequate explanation of this sort of behavior.

In the normal person the sense of self is a reflection, more or less complete as the case may be, of the attitudes of other people. Cooley called it the "looking-glass self."[9] It is the function of the primary, direct contact groups of home, church, school, and neighborhood to develop in the individual a sense of self-regard—a self-regarding sentiment. Failure to meet the anticipations of immediate associates brings disapproval or censure with the consequence that the estimate of self is lowered. Success brings eminent approval and praise which heightens the sense of personal worth. Thus the sense of self depends upon the reflection of self in others. In this way the character-

[7] S. Freud, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego,* translated by J. Strachey, New York, 1922. See also Freud's *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis,* translated by G. S. Hall, New York, 1926.

[8] W. Trotter, *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War, op. cit.*

[9] C. H. Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order,* New York, 1902, p. 152.

istic mental stereotypes of primary groups are communicated and the culture is perpetuated. Thus it appears that egoism, that is, sense of personal worth, is dependent upon a process of socialization and that the efficiency of this process depends upon the adjustment of the individual to the expectations of his associates. He is required to make these adjustments in order to continue his rôle as a member of the group, and thus it turns out that his very egoism hinges upon a submission to discipline and training.

It is the old paradox of a man finding himself in the process of losing himself for his own sake as well as the sake of others. The self-regarding sentiment, like other sentiments, is acquired in a process of interhuman action within the limits of a cultural structure. The ego instinct, so-called, simply does not exist, either in the structural sense of the term or the functional sense. On the other hand, the self-regarding sentiment as a complex, acquired structure of emotional action patterns is a most significant aspect of human nature. It is particularly significant when reinforced by strong value judgments rooted in knowledge and the conscious discrimination of experience.

City and Countryside

On the level of a well organized culture, individuation and socialization proceed simultaneously. The structure of society is differentiated and integrated concurrently. When this structure is relatively isolated, and relatively sacred, as among peasants living in village communities under the domination of a strong religious tradition, the processes of individuation and socialization are reflected in simple stereotypes. The range of problem situations is narrow. The stereotyped means of dealing with them are prescribed by custom. These instruments are habit mechanisms easily learned and quite sufficient in themselves. Since the organization of an isolated sacred structure is relatively simple, the requirements of life are relatively even, the conflict of cultural values is minimized, and the acquired habits of adjustment are adequate in themselves. With the advance of civilization, however, secondary, indirect contacts are substituted for the primary, direct contacts over a range which becomes increasingly broad. The growth of cities is correlated with a gradual development of the accessible, secular structure. This is complex. Sacred to secular dispersion and the conflicts of culture patterns produce new levels of individuation and of socialization at the same time.

It is a well known fact that the rates of crime in urban centers far exceed the rural rates. This may be accounted for partly in terms of differences in age composition, police inefficiency in the cities, more complete and accurate statistical records. These factors, however, do not go to the heart of the problem. This is shown fully by the carefully detailed studies of the varia-

tions in delinquency rates within the urban area.[10] In the outlying suburban sections, where a large proportion of the residents own their own homes, and where the culture is fairly homogeneous and compact, the frequency rates are lowest. The administrative functions of industry and commerce, together with the large mercantile establishments which wholesale and retail all sorts of goods, the great railroad terminals, banks and insurance buildings, are situated in or near the center of the modern city. Immediately surrounding this central section of great stone and marble structures are located the manufacturing establishments and the low rent residential areas where boarding houses, tenement houses, and cheap hotels abound. Here the frequency rates of crime and juvenile delinquency are highest. And here also the evidence of culture conflict and disorganization of accepted forms of human relationships is most conspicuous. The population of this type of area is highly mobile and heterogeneous with respect to racial and religious background. Private employment bureaus, flop houses, brothels, and the like are active in their work. Here the gangsters and racketeers have their hideouts and their holdouts; vice in various forms is organized for profit, and local politicians accept gratuities for protecting these illicit interests.

Between the two extremes thus briefly sketched, there are intermediate areas in which the rates of crime vary with the degree of cultural disorganization and conflict of values. The urban area is obviously accessible to anyone and everyone; it is a secular structure. It is the home of eccentric dilletantes in art, radicals in politics, atheists and agnostics in religion, hoodlums, reformers, and the tycoons of commercialized vice. Here also is the home of social settlements, community centers, "institutional" churches, the Salvation Army, and various other "uplifting" and "humanitarian" agencies. Race has no meaning; religion is frequently an object of derision; culture has no significance. All forms of moral, racial, religious, and cultural values are neutralized in a melting pot which exalts the almighty dollar and destroys everything else. Only that which is new and novel has value; everything that implies custom and tradition tends to disappear in the continued cross currents of conflicting attitudes and values. This is the essence of cosmopolitanism.

Types of Individuation

It follows inevitably that the isolated sacred structure and the accessible secular structure come to grips in mortal conflict with the advance of every civilization of recorded history. And therefore also, the dissociation which necessarily occurs produces new types of individuation. These may be

[10] E. H. Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology*, Chicago, 1934, p. 125 *et seq.*

summarized as follows: (1) immoral man, (2) amoral man, (3) segmental man, (4) marginal man, and (5) liberated man.[11]

(1) The immoral man is the one whose mental stereotypes have been broken in the conflict between the isolated sacred structure and the accessible secular structure. He is the degraded and demoralized victim of this conflict. Having lost his character, the revivalist tells him he has lost his soul. Gypsy Smith and Billy Sunday lead him down the sawdust trail to the confessor's bench where an expression of remorse may relieve the emotions without resolving a conflict. The conflict in fact is merely renewed.

(2) The amoral man, born and brought up in an accessible secular area of cultural dissolution, never has an opportunity of developing an organized structure of stereotypes. Guided exclusively by considerations of immediate expediency, momentary excitement, pleasure, and profit, he does not know the meaning of conscience. Paternal guidance, if there ever was any, or the friendly admonition of a local "uplifter" is completely neutralized in the day's contacts and associations with the "regular guys" whose influence and example are dominating. The native born children of foreign born parents often approximate the amoral type since the expectations within the home are at odds with the requirements of association in the neighborhood. Parental controls break down completely since these are governed by the stereotypes of an old world, isolated, sacred structure, as for instance, a Greek Orthodox village community of Bulgaria.

(3) The segmental man is also a distinct type of individuation produced by the conflict of the isolated sacred structure and the accessible secular structure. This type has made certain definite adjustments to the urban requirements of life in one or more aspects, as for instance the economic, but his character attitudes are neutralized or broken so far as all other requirements are concerned. He is organized segmentally, and disorganized with respect to all other interest values. For this partial demoralization he seeks and finds compensation in a great variety of surreptitious surrogates which abound in the modern city: sensational newspapers, sex magazines, commercialized sports, dime novels, burlesque shows, the dog track, the stock exchange, cheap vaudeville, movies, and the melodramatic stage. He achieves a limited stabilization of character attitudes, and the continued conflict of values dramatized in his own experience may, in a person of quality, produce a creative achievement of some distinction.

(4) The marginal man remains unadjusted, not only to the isolated sacred structure which reared him, but also to the accessible secular structure in which he has made his residence. Having disowned both, the conflict of values proceeds unabated in his own soul. But he is not demoralized even though he does not feel at home anywhere. He achieves emotional balance

[11] von Wiese and Becker, *op. cit.*, pp. 334-345.

and an organization of character attitudes centered in some abstract ideal of justice or freedom as the case may be. This ideal is energizing and motivating. In the person of quality it leads to distinctive achievement. The ideal represents an inner, symbolical adjustment to a world of dreams fashioned after the heart's desire. It might be called a utopia. It provides a vicarious satisfaction and compensation for the tragedy of the human drama as he sees it and lives it. Great idealists and reformers such as Tolstoi and Mazzini approximate this type.

(5) The liberated man is likewise a type of individuation growing out of the conflict between the isolated sacred and the accessible secular structure. He, too, illustrates the sacred to secular dispersion. Like Clarence Darrow, the liberated man disowns the rustic, pastoral scene which reared him in his childhood. In contact with the higher thought of urban centers, directly or indirectly, he abandons the religious, racial, moral, and political prejudices of his youth. His adjustment to the cosmopolitan spirit of sophisticated enlightenment and humanitarian ethics is more complete than in the case of the segmental type; it is more realistic than the case of the marginal man. Certain essential qualities of the earlier tradition are carried over into the new order of life and the conflict of values is partially resolved. It is a case of the Everlasting Yea and the Everlasting No. Common honesty, sense of honor, and disinterested purpose are not destroyed; they are re-embodied in a new tissue of experience and extended, perhaps vicariously, in a new cause. This cause may be the freedom of the workingman from the "slavery" of wages, the equality of the sexes, world peace, or some other cherished illusion. The liberated man throws away his outer garments, so to speak, but he retains his underwear. He has not, in his own experience, completed the cycle of development as reflected in the history of his culture. There can be no question about the fact that he has played a significant rôle in all of the fields of human endeavor.

This rough delineation of certain types of individuation shows the important significance of the conflict between the isolated sacred structure which characterizes the Springtime of a culture and the accessible secular structure which grows out of it. These types are manifestly abstract, symbolical constructions which correspond more or less completely to real persons in a world of actuality. There is combination of various types in different ways, much overlapping of characteristics, and corresponding indefiniteness in given cases. It is clear, nevertheless, that these characterizations emerge with the most striking clarity in many instances, and that the conflict of cultural patterns as described accounts for the genesis of these types. The student who is familiar with the work of Thomas Carlyle, Henrik Ibsen, Friedrich Nietzsche, Heinrich Heine, John Stuart Mill, Leo Tolstoi, Oscar Wilde, George Bernard Shaw, Karl Marx, Richard Wagner, or Wolfgang Goethe will be able to characterize the individual man of genius with

reference to the types here distinguished. Contemporary writers in America, such as H. L. Mencken, Theodore Dreiser, Ludwig Lewisohn, Clarence Darrow, Sinclair Lewis, and Will Durant will reward the student who is able to carry through a study of this kind. It becomes clear as the light of day that simple biological formulæ such as the ego instinct, and the instinct of the herd are entirely inadequate in explanation of the processes of individuation and socialization. Temperamental differences [12] between individuals, and the changing historical conjunctures of plurality patterns, are indispensable in the treatment of these problems.

Differentiation and Integration

There remains one more form of the social process: differentiation and integration. It may be stated that the function of individuation is differentiation, and that the function of socialization is integration. The nature of differentiation and integration of structures has already been considered from the standpoint of cultural change. It will be remembered that these correlated processes were described in terms of the specialization of task and the social division of labor. The problem of the human traits engaged in these processes has been outlined in a previous chapter. At this point it is possible to state with some degree of precision the nature and range of these traits. The problem is simplified the moment it is understood that various forms of the social process are interrelated functionally. It has been pointed out that the function of dissociation is individuation and that dissociation may proceed on the levels of discord, avoidance, rivalry, competition, and conflict culminating in isolation. These processes are centrifugal. It has also been shown that the function of association is socialization, and that the association may proceed on the levels of approach, accord, adjustment, co-operation, and regulation culminating in amalgamation. These processes are centripetal. The concurrent organization, disorganization, and reorganization of personality structures and character attitudes on the one hand, and the organization, disorganization, and reorganization of the great structures of a changing culture such as feudalism and nationalism,—the isolated sacred and the accessible secular,—is patent at this point. Manifestly the range of human traits implied in the processes of differentiation and integration is as broad as human nature itself.

Unilateral explanations in terms of instincts, temperament, endocrine glands, organic needs, human desires, habits, aptitudes, and complex acquired interests are not acceptable. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that all of these classes of traits, each in its own way, are significant factors of the social process. It is also clear that the range of human traits engaged in the social process is broad, quite regardless of the particular form of the process

[12] See Chapter 13.

considered. Unilateral explanations of invention, imitation, conflict, cooperation, competition, regulation, and other special forms of the social process described in this chapter must be rejected. Nevertheless, it is evident that certain especial traits are more conspicuously active than others in each one of these separate forms. These traits have been brought out in appropriate connections. Differentiation and integration comprise not only individuation and socialization, but also all of the associative and dissociative processes included in these terms. It follows that the range of human traits here concerned is correspondingly broad. Human nature is complex, and the structure of society in a dynamic culture is correspondingly complex. The *dénouement* of this cultural organism throws a high light on the human traits implied in the special forms of the social process.

Instability of Civilization

In the present scene of political and social action in America the differentiating processes of individuation and dissociation have proceeded to the point where the disruption of a national culture appears to be imminent. In Germany and Italy these centrifugal forces have been checked; in England and the United States the movement to check them is gaining momentum. The final outcome may be communism which jettisons the traditional values of a culture as so much cumbersome junk; it starts over again from scratch with Moscow recognized as the seat of authority. It therefore means submission to a foreign domination and the loss of freedom, initiative, and independence. It is defeatist as well as nihilistic, and supported only by those who naïvely believe they have nothing to lose and possibly something to gain in such a theoretical and revolutionary consolidation of the values of life. But they are deceived. Communism is not culturally indigenous in the Western world. It may sow the seeds of class struggle, insurrection, and civil war, but it is incapable of consolidating the values of life in the West because these values, however contradictory they may appear to be in the current scene of unrest and confusion, are fundamentally and historically autonomous and indigenous. They are, after all, based upon blood and soil however little meaning those words may generally carry to the minds of American citizens today.

Violent, internal revolution never broadened the base of knowledge one iota, or raised the level of intelligence a fraction of one percentile. It releases the fury of the mob, anger, revenge, and hate, and leaves in its train anarchy, privation, misery, and death. It spells racial suicide and cultural decay. The only alternative to this is some form of national consolidation and reorganization of all of the organs of the common life which will maintain as fully as may be possible of realization the historical values of an autonomous culture. The extreme method and ideal of fascism are not practicable in the

United States, but the trend toward greater integration of the national life is generally manifest. Among the confused, ignorant, and distraught masses of the United States of America who have been brought up on a bread and butter philosophy of material success and physical comfort, the challenge to enlightened leadership is greater than it has been at any time since the adoption of the Constitution. But this is not commonly realized, either by most leaders of American political life, or by the men who are influential in molding public opinion. This is the real tragedy and the real danger. So long as they worship at the altar of timeworn idols the masses may be relied upon to follow the inspired leadership from Moscow.

Problem Questions

1. Show how temperamental differences condition the associative and dissociative processes.

2. Is association assortative, that is, are similar temperaments more or less attractive to each other than dissimilar temperaments?

3. Is acquisition an instinct?

4. Is workmanship an instinct?

5. What is the nature of the self-regarding sentiment? Does this sentiment actually control behavior? How is this sentiment developed? Are certain emotional reactions, such as anger and fear, organized in this sentiment?

6. Is the self-regarding sentiment identical with the ego instinct?

7. Faris' study of the distribution of certain types of insanity in large urban centers showed that the curve for paresis runs parallel to the curve for dementia præcox. Explain.

8. Show how the following types are related to each other: introvert, schizoid, dementia præcox, extrovert, cyclo-thymic, and manic depressive.

9. Compare the introvert-extrovert opposition with the schizoid-cyclo-thymic opposition from the point of view of innate constitutional structure.

10. How does overactivity or underactivity of the thyroid gland affect the personality?

11. Are the rates for juvenile delinquency uniform over the entire area of a large city? If not, how do they vary?

12. Would you expect crime rates to vary with the size of cities, being lowest in the cities of 25,000 or less and highest in the cities of 1,000,000 or more?

13. Do the influences of modern life tend to destroy the isolated sacred structure of rural areas? Were these influences in evidence during the closing decades of the nineteenth century?

14. It has been stated that the large city is the natural home of intellect as well as of money. Is this a valid position? If so, does intellect serve money or does money serve intellect?

15. With respect to the five distinct types of individuation characterized in this chapter, how would you classify the following men: Wilde, Shaw, Nietzsche, Ibsen, Lewis, Cabell, Dreiser, France, Durant, Mencken, and Mill.

16. Are these five types merely idealized abstractions which have no actual validity in real life?

17. Was openly avowed and bluntly expressed reliance upon crude physical force a distinguishing characteristic of the politics of the late Roman Empire?

Suggestions for Additional Reading

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PART IV

SOCIAL STRUCTURES

24

PLURALITY PATTERNS

A GENERATION AGO the word "pattern" was not widely used in the literature of sociology. Some of the standard works of that day do not show a single instance of the use of this word. Today the social scientists employ the term so extensively that it has found its way into the popular vocabulary. It represents a "folkway," one of several distinct forms of plurality pattern. But when a word gains general circulation the fine edge of its meaning is often lost in a great variety of connotations. Popularization may be and sometimes is synonymous with vulgarization. It becomes necessary to redefine such words. Just as people talk of "suppressed desires," the "inferiority complex," "evolution," "the decay of culture," "the libido," the "decline of civilization," and so forth, with graceful felicity and ignorant facility, so also the term "pattern" is used and abused. So many things are termed patterns varying all the way from a simple photon or electron to the universe itself; from the most elemental kind of folkway to such imponderable masses of organized activity as church and state. Leopold von Wiese, a distinguished modern sociologist, calls such structures as church and state "abstract collectivities," a type of plurality pattern.

IS SOCIALISM A PATTERN?

But what is a pattern? Webster's *Intercollegiate Dictionary* defines it as "anything designed as a guide for making things," as, for example, a dressmaker's pattern. Nowadays tailors do not have a monopoly of this kind of thing. *Sartor Resartus* refers to the spiritual clothes that people wear—their thoughts and beliefs, ideas and ideals. Alfred E. Smith, criticizing the "New Deal" of Franklin Delano Roosevelt in a speech before the American Liberty League in January of 1936, said that the "Brain Trust" caught the socialists in swimming and ran away with their clothes. Manifestly there are patterns in politics, socialism, presumably, being one of these. Every student of socialism knows that there is no such pattern. Some socialists believe in class struggle; surplus value; economic interpretation of history; the cataclysmic theory of social change; increasing concentration of wealth in fewer hands; centralization of power in fewer hands; increasing frequency of economic crises; increasing tenant farming and absentee ownership of land; substitution of bonanza farms for the small scale family farms;

increasing misery and unemployment; pauperization of the masses and disappearance of the middle class. Most socialists are discriminating in their selection of food for thought from this varied menu. There are guild socialists; Fabian socialists; Marxian socialists; possibilists and impossibilists, so called; orthodox and revisionists; syndicalists, communists, and anarchists; all of whom call themselves socialists.

If socialism is a pattern in the sense of something designed as a guide for making things, the modern political tailor would have a difficult time in pleasing his customers. Different types of socialism do not fit together like the pieces of a jig-saw puzzle. It may be argued that the socialists have a common denominator of value in their opposition to private ownership and management of the means of production, and also in their support of public ownership and management of the means of production, but this, too, is unacceptable since some socialists advocate merely the socialization or nationalization of a few public services, such as the postal service, coinage of money, and the like; others go farther including the so-called key industries in this concept, such as power, coal, transportation, communication, iron, oil and steel; still others would socialize all productive undertaking, which merely raises the question: "What is productive undertaking?" Certain socialists make a distinction between "producer's goods" which they say should be publicly owned and managed, and "consumer's goods" which may be privately owned and managed. But what are "consumer's goods"? What are "producer's goods"? The definitions vary according to the end in view.

The Meaning of Pattern

Socialism is not a pattern. It is a rather chaotic assortment of a great variety of patterns. For the term pattern implies a nice integration and balance of functionally related parts. The thing as a whole hangs together with a unity of purpose which can be defined. Folkways, customs, conventions, mores, institutions, and laws are patterns. Certain situations such as birth, baptism, marriage, death, and burial are identified with collective anticipations. People immediately concerned proceed to meet the requirements of such situations in a manner which is generally approved. The behavior thus designed to realize the desired ends may be described as a pattern. It is related to certain situations on the one hand, and to the folkways, mores, institutions, or laws which prescribe the expected behavior, on the other hand. Similar illustrations of behavior patterns may be multiplied at length.

Psychological and Sociological Patterns

When the psychologist speaks of patterns he has in mind the mental structures of individuals *as individuals.* A sentiment is such a pattern, so is

an instinct. Habits, reflexes and emotions are also patterns in this meaning of the term. The sociologist, however, uses the term to describe the multiplication of such structures in the related experience of many individuals. He speaks of plurality patterns, meaning the similarity of response of two or more individuals to a given stimulus or combination of stimuli. Likeness of response may be called pluralistic behavior, and the structure of this collective response may be called a plurality pattern. The simplest, the most elemental sociological fact is precisely this likeness or similarity of response to stimulus in a process of interhuman action. Symbiosis, that is, living together in direct or indirect contact, inevitably produces similarity of thought and feeling. It is this type of structure which is called a plurality pattern. Obviously a folkway is such a pattern; so are mores, customs, conventions, institutions, and laws. These plurality patterns are organized into configurations, and the configurations into constellations. Complex structures such as church and state may be described as configurations. Cultures and civilizations such as the ancient Classical and the European-American may be described as constellations.

The Ethos

The structure of every society is an intricate mosaic of plurality patterns. When the features—physiognomy—of this structure are singularly clear and harmoniously balanced, the picture presented is one of incomparable beauty. But the features may be blurred, out of balance, and disordered. In this case the picture presented is unattractive, perhaps even repulsive. Dynamic unity in variation is something distinctive; it possesses character. Disunity in variation is more or less synonymous with anarchy and decadence. Church and state may be in good form, like an athlete well trained and thoroughly disciplined to play his part in a great contest. The difference between an aggregation of individuals and an organization of individuals is precisely this matter of form. When there is an appropriate place for everyone, and everyone is efficiently active in his place, mere aggregations of individuals are converted into great organizations of individuals called societies. Such societies may move forward in good stride with a consciousness of high destiny and sureness of purpose. Uncertainty, vacillation, fear of the future, and lack of faith are not attributes of such structures. The distinctive character of a society in good form is manifest.

The ancient Greeks had a word—"ethos"—which described this singular character of the total structure of a people. This term implies the ethnic basis of the organized activity, the unity of the culture evolved on this basis, as well as the unique quality of the total organism. Society means simply that men, women, and children are playing their parts together so effectually that the conditions of collective maintenance, cultural integrity, and racial perpetuation are conserved. Analysis of society reveals a great network of

interrelated folkways, mores, customs, conventions, institutions, and laws which are the conscious instruments of realizing the common ends. These types of plurality pattern are intended to solve the problems of maintenance, perpetuation, and cultural integrity. They concern the production, distribution, and exchange of economic goods; the administration of justice; the ordered relations between the sexes; the mutual responsibilities of parents and children; the relief of distress; religion; education, recreation, and the life of the spirit.

Aim

It is the purpose of this and succeeding chapters to analyze the typical forms of the plurality pattern, to show how these forms are related to each other, and how also they are related to the more inclusive totality of structure called society. In its most elemental aspect society is the simple uniformity of response of two or more persons to a given stimulus or combination of stimuli. In its highest and most complex aspect it is synonymous with a great culture, such as the Græco-Roman, European, and others repeatedly mentioned. Within these two extremes there are countless examples of many types of society, such for instance as the city-states of the ancient Classical world, and the national states of Western Europe today. Within these smaller, politically independent, and autonomous units there are other kinds of societies—religious, social, recreational, economic, juridical, and governmental—which in some cases overlap the political, national boundaries. The Catholic Church is a case in point.

Folkways

Folkways are simple, amoral, and nonrational uniformities of belief and action. But this is obviously different from saying that the folkways are immoral or irrational. There is no pretense to enforce these plurality patterns upon everyone. People may disagree without running the risk of punishment for nonconformity. The folkways may be new in the experience of a people, or they may be old and heavy with tradition. Such ultimate seats of authority and wisdom as church and state make no effort to impose the folkways upon everyone. Neither is public opinion sufficiently concerned with the cases of nonconformity to discriminate, by means of rewards and penalties, between persons who subscribe to the folkways and others who do not. While the origins of the folkways are generally lost in mystery, it is often clearly discernible that the more complex types of plurality pattern, such as mores, conventions, customs, institutions, and laws, evolve, directly or indirectly, from the folkways. In the terms of theory all forms of plurality pattern are traceable to the folkways; in the terms of actual, historical fact this thesis can be demonstrated at length.

Differentiation of the Folkways

The folkways are always in process of change due to selective factors of many kinds, societal and natural. But the rate of change is ordinarily slow. When the folkways become definitely identified with the criteria of collective well-being, prosperity, health, and happiness, and accordingly imply a consciously recognized distinction between right and wrong, they are called mores. When the folkways have long, deep roots in the past, and are definitely supported by the sanctions of a well-worn tradition, they are called customs. People do not ask why customs are observed; they are observed because everybody observes them as something to be taken for granted. When the folkways are identified with the standards of propriety, good taste, accepted usage, and the proper form, they become conventions. Fashion arises when the folkways express a desire for distinction and are accepted as the correct mode of visible differentiation from the mass of men and women. Institutions and laws generally develop from customs and mores. Hegel expressed the point when he stated that the valid laws of a nation have their roots in custom. Thus the conclusion is drawn that all of the varied types of plurality pattern are evolutions, differentiations, and elaborations of the folkways.

Language as Folkways

On the whole, language may be described as an organized structure of folkways. The countless dialects of all of the great languages in the world are distinguished by characteristic peculiarities of expression: these include not only the pronunciation and enunciation of words and phrases, but also the selection and the meaning of words. Colloquialisms, idioms, and provincialisms are folkways. But the use of language in certain forms may be considered sinful, or even criminal, as, for instance, blasphemy and profanity. Language patterns of this sort cannot be described as folkways since they do not possess the essential quality of neutrality with respect to right and wrong. Certain accepted forms of speech are considered very appropriate on certain occasions, as when people salute each other, or are introduced to each other. Thus there are the conventional requirements of good speech. Nonconformity is not considered wrong; it is simply careless, stupid, bad taste, or defective judgment.

Forms of speech may be governed by law, as for example, the laws of libel, or the laws which require public schools to use a certain language or specified languages. The court language of Frederick the Great was French, and this held also for the Russian court in the days of the Czars. But these were merely conventional requirements, matters of good form and good taste in aristocratic circles. Moreover, fashions of speech constantly arise, particularly in the use of cute expressions such as being "knocked for a

loop"; slang phrases and words and phrases which border on the slang serve the purposes of fashion. People who pick up such phrases quickly and use them aptly are considered "smart," just as a person who is well dressed in the latest fashion is considered "smart." Expressions of this kind often disappear completely from the common vocabulary in the course of time. Others lose their significance as marks of visible distinction and become incorporated as folkways in the common vocabulary. An international language, such as Esperanto, is commended by all of the considerations of logic, reason, and utility, but it has never made substantial progress and probably never will because of the great inertia of the folkways. Certain reforms of spelling and grammar have been proposed from time to time in order to make the English language more practicable, less inconsistent, and easier to understand and remember; invariably these proposals meet with the same obstacle—the inertia of the folkways.

Legends

Superstitious, mythological beliefs and legends also illustrate the folkways. It does not follow, however, that certain superstitions correspond to the pattern of the folkway just because they are superstitions. The same point holds for myths and legends. Certain characteristics of the folkways have been clarified, and may be summarized at this point: (1) neutrality with respect to moral distinctions, (2) general nonlogical or nonrational acceptance, (3) the lack of coercive sanction, (4) simplicity and inertia. Myths, legends, and superstitions are folkways when they answer these characteristic requirements. They become mores, institutions, or laws as the characteristic requirements of these forms of plurality pattern are fulfilled. The legendary belief in Santa Claus is a folkway, but the legendary belief with respect to the birth of the Saviour, which is celebrated at the same time, has assumed the more explicit form of religious mores or even institutions. To think of the story of the virgin birth as a beautiful legend of high literary merit borders on sacrilege. This may not be true of some Protestant churches today, but it certainly has been so in the past, and still is so to some extent at the present time.

When the belief is considered right, and disbelief wrong, the criteria of personal and societal welfare have been introduced into the situation. The pattern becomes a more. And when an agency of control, such as church or state, explicitly defines the right and the wrong, and deliberately employs coercive measures to enforce the right and punish the wrong, the pattern has become an institution or a law. The legend of Heaven and Hell conceived as geographical zones where people live after death is not held as widely as was formerly the case. But there was a time when disbelief in this legend was synonymous with heresy. People guilty of such misconduct were believed to be in league with Satan, described as witches and sorcerers

who exercised black magic, were excommunicated from the Church, and ostracized from society. The accessible secular structure does not foster such beliefs; the isolated sacred structure does. Hence the culturally isolated and somewhat backward hill-folk of Kentucky and Tennessee still give substantial evidence of legendary beliefs which assume the more explicit and positive patterns of mores and institutions.

Myths

Mythological beliefs may also represent the more complex, explicit, and positive type of pattern; they may be mores, institutions, or laws. On the other hand, they may be folkways. Sunday school children nowadays are not invariably taught to believe the Old Testament story of the creation as related in Genesis. The healthy skepticism of a child who wonders how God could have created Eve out of Adam's rib, is more likely to be encouraged than a dogmatic acceptance upon pain of torture and damnation for disbelief. President Hoover's Commission on Social Trends reported a widespread ignorance among school children of the Old Testament and New Testament alike. Nevertheless, the fundamentalist interprets his Bible literally. If the good book states that a whale swallowed Jonah, that Lot's wife was turned into a pillar of salt, that the sun was trigged in its course, that Jesus brought the very dead back to life again, that a few loaves and a few fishes were sufficiently multiplied by divine intervention to provide for a multitude, that Jesus of Nazareth, born of a virgin, did not have a natural father—there can be no question about the truth of these statements in the mind of a fundamentalist. The myth that the Bible is the word of God and therefore inspired revelation and literal truth in every detail does not correspond to the pattern of a folkway. It is still believed that skepticism is sinful, and that an angry God will wreak his vengeance upon the evil one. But this belief is not held as widely as it was in the days of Jonathan Edwards. It is destroyed in the conflict between the isolated sacred structure and the accessible secular structure. In earlier days when the outlines of this belief were singularly definite and clear cut in the folk-mind, the pattern represented was explicit, positive, and dynamic. It was not a folkway. It was law, divine as well as human. To question it was sacrilege and heresy.

Superstition

Superstitions may or may not assume the more explicit and positive forms of laws or institutions. A person breaking a mirror on Friday the thirteenth day of the month in the thirteenth year after birth while walking under a ladder may suffer the most terrible fear for the future. But this is his bad luck. Nobody is particularly concerned otherwise. Soldiers,

sailors, and baseball players have characteristic superstitions. Conditions of life and of work conducive to fear, apprehension, and misgiving tend to establish superstitions. A soldier playing poker on the Western front sometimes received the ace of spades with the point facing his way. This was a bad omen. He left the game and the bit of money at stake rather than pick up the ominous card. Again, a soldier does not light a third cigarette on the same match. Similar illustrations of superstitions could be multiplied at length. These examples answer all of the characteristics of the folkways. If a soldier desires to risk his life by picking up the portentous card, or by lighting his cigarette after two already have been lit with the same match, that is his affair. He does no wrong. But the second case is more complex than the first since three soldiers are believed to be in danger rather than one.

Uniformities of belief and action of this type have all of the characteristics of the folkways: they are nonrational, amoral, persistent, and noncoercive. They serve the healthy purpose of releasing suppressed fears of death or misfortune. They serve the function of a spiritual catharsis, necessary as well as desirable under the circumstances. But the situation is not ordinarily rationalized in this manner. If it were, a new catharsis would have to be substituted for the old. Faith is established in the very process of realizing one's fears, and thus mental integrity and emotional balance are sustained. When a farmer sows his seed in a certain phase of the moon in order to guarantee a good harvest, faith and peace of mind are substituted for fear and misgiving. The pattern of the folkway is here illustrated. But when the fear of witches, black magic, and the evil eye is counteracted by appropriate ceremony on the part of a priest; when chains of beads, necklaces, earrings, coins, and the like are placed upon infants and cattle with appropriate blessing and religious ritual in order to ward off black magic and the evil eye, manifestly the simple folkway has become transformed into a more complex plurality pattern. Identified with the ritual, ceremony, and creed of a religious organization it is institutionalized. Identified with explicit penalties for nonconformity enforced by church or state, the formerly simple folkway becomes a law.

Mores

The mores, like the folkways, are a type of plurality pattern. But the mores, unlike the folkways, are more explicit, complex, positive, and dynamic. They are generally evolutions, elaborations, and differentiations of the folkways. This aspect of the matter may be stated more simply by saying that the mores grow out of the folkways. The distinguishing feature of the mores is that they are fraught with considerations of personal well-being coupled with societal welfare. To violate the mores is wrong; to uphold the mores is right. A conscious recognition of value is invariably

implied. It is precisely this evaluation which distinguishes the mores from the folkways. Such evaluation is based upon a logical process of reasoning, but the premises are not necessarily correct in anything like a scientific sense. The leaders of a people, responsible for the direction of affairs, accept the mores or reject them with all due consideration of the consequences. They are bound to rationalize their policies and their judgments quite regardless of whether the mores are upheld or violated. These rationalizations may be defective in logic, or deceptive in aim, but all of this is beside the point. The point is that a more implies a value judgment and a judgment implies a conscious adaptation of means to ends.

William Graham Sumner developed his theory of the mores in a truly great sociological work entitled *Folkways*.[1] According to this author, the mores are nonlogical. They are not analyzed with a view of determining whether the reasons for upholding them are sound and conclusive. They may be, and often are, the most obvious kind of fiction, taking the form of myths, legends, and superstitions. They are believed to be right, so far as the mass of men and women are concerned. In the course of the processes of interhuman action the moral sentiments of the individual are built up. Hence the individual reacts emotionally to all violations of the ethical code.

Generally speaking, a person does not take into consideration extenuating, mitigating or aggravating circumstances. It is sufficient that the code has been violated, and the appropriate emotional response ordinarily is sure to follow. The mores, said Sumner, make anything right. A thing is not right or wrong in itself; it is right or wrong depending upon the mores which make it right or wrong. In Breasted's *The Dawn of Conscience,* the author criticizes the moral teaching of the early Hebrews on the ground that a lie was not stigmatized as a wrong.[2] This omission appears to Breasted not only serious, but also significant. Teutonic peoples have always placed a high value upon truth and honor in the sense that a man is regarded bound by his word and responsible for it.

Monotheism is a Judaistic more. It is wrong for an orthodox Jew to worship more than one deity; better stated, it is wrong for a Jew to worship any god but the one and all-inclusive Hebrew Jehovah. But the early Teutons were polytheistic. To worship one god, and a Jewish god at that, was worse than throwing hostages to fortune. It violated the mores; and the emotional reactions, accordingly, condemned the practice. That the early missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church had great difficulty in revising the mores of the Germanic people is well known. In connection

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[1] W. G. Sumner, *Folkways,* Boston, 1916.

[2] J. H. Breasted, *The Dawn of Conscience,* New York, 1933, Foreword, p. xi. According to this author, the Egyptian "possessed a standard of morals far superior to that of the Decalogue over a thousand years before the Decalogue was written." *Ibid.,* pp. xi, xii.

with this difficulty of monotheism, the problem was partly solved by devising the concept of the Trinity which meant three gods in one, partially satisfying the mores of the Germans, and also one god in three which satisfied the requirements of a monotheistic doctrine. Current beliefs in guardian angels and patron saints as well as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, show conclusively enough that the polytheistic mores of the Germans maintained their ascendancy in spite of the monotheistic teaching of Jerusalem, Mecca, Medina, Alexandria, and Rome.

Further examples of Sumner's now famous dictum are unnecessary. There is no universal consensus with respect to the mores. The Decalogue, the ancient code of Hammurabi, the moral teachings of the early Egyptians, the *tabula de delictis* of the Twelve Decemviral Tables of the Romans, the Manava Dharma Sastra, and the Germanic code as quoted by Tacitus contradict each other in most essential features. "The mores make anything right." Hence the mores are nonlogical and nonrational, according to Sumner.

The Sixth Commandment

This teaching may be illustrated in a somewhat different manner. The commandment, "Thou shalt not kill" is often considered as a universal ethical judgment. Analysis will show, however, that there are many varied exceptions to this rule. From time to time the subject of mercy killings is argued with great heat. The lethal chamber and its method of painless extinction has been recommended for hopeless defectives. Mentally and physically abnormal infants have been exposed and the practice vindicated on ethical grounds among many ancient peoples. Killing the incompetent and dependent aged as well as infants has been justified and practiced by people on the grounds of social economy and utility for group survival. The sacrifice of widows in India, known as the suttee, has been allowed for centuries. Capital punishment for treason, sacrilege, heresy, and other major crimes was more widespread in Europe during the Middle Ages than it is today. While the number of capital offenses was greatly reduced in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and some states actually abolished the death penalty, the trend of the mores today appears to favor capital punishment for the more serious crimes. A spy is shot to death in war time without scruple. The prowess and heroism of an Indian warrior was the measure of the number of scalps hanging at his belt. Among some people, the Japanese for instance, self-immolation, called harakiri, is a highly lauded virtue in certain circumstances. The noble followers of the ancient Armenian hero kings committed suicide *en masse* at the grave of their fallen leader.

Certain religious sects, fully realizing the many accepted qualifications and exceptions to the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," have conceived

the doctrine that killing cannot be justified on any grounds. Hence they are confirmed pacifists, opposed to war on principle. They are also opposed to mercy killings and capital punishment. Carrying their precepts further to logical conclusions, they oppose the slaughter of animals. Hence they are also vegetarians, refusing to eat meat. To be entirely logical they should stop eating, since plants also are living organisms. But this is suicide, and the moral pioneer is faced squarely with a dilemma. For the masses, the mores, and not the moral pioneer, prescribe what is right and wrong. As plurality patterns, embodied in the moral sentiments, and controlling the emotional reactions to variant behavior, the mores are nonlogical, semicoercive uniformities of idea and action. Like the folkways, they are characterized by a great inertia.

The Moral Pioneer

The moral pioneer employs the methods of logic and reason to vindicate his position; meanwhile the moral reactionary does likewise for similar purposes. This moral pioneer may be one who believes that something is wrong which people commonly consider to be right, as the prohibitionist, the pacifist, the vegetarian, or the antivivisectionist. He may be one who believes that something is right which is commonly considered wrong, as for instance, divorce by mutual consent, companionate marriage, or the marriage of cousins. In the process of conflict the mores are slowly changed, but the inertia of the mores is greater than the inertia of the folkways because the former are organized in moral sentiments which engage the emotional reactions to immoral behavior. In the event of conflict, however, the logical arguments and rational processes reinforce the emotions in support of the desired thesis. And these considerations and methods may result in conclusive triumph even though temporary. Such was certainly the case when the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States was formally ratified. In this case, however, the strain upon the mores was greater than human nature could bear, and the amendment accordingly was formally repealed. In other cases, such as the French Revolution, the American Civil War, the Russian Revolution, Humanism, the Reformation, and the Industrial Revolution, the triumph of the moral pioneer and consequent revision of the mores was more definitive and conclusive.

Do the Mores "Make Anything Right"?

Sumner's aphorism was disillusioning to those who believed their own standards of right possessed an absolute and a universal validity. It is not disillusioning to those who have seen portrayed before their eyes the march of the great cultures of human history. Each one of these cultures developed its own distinctive configuration of mores, each believed in the intrinsic

superiority of its own splendid ethical system, and in each the evangelical imperialism of the movement was an essential aspect of its own dynamic vitality. The age of missionary zeal when great leaders such as John R. Mott and Robert E. Speer could write books entitled *The Evangelization of the World in this Generation, Strategic Points in the World's Conquest,* and *Jesus, The Light of the World* has passed away.[3] It will never return again to the Western world. Sumner himself studied theology in the days of his youth in preparation for the ministry. The extreme form of his statement, "the mores make anything right" reveals the psychological depths of his own disillusionment. When the mores are viewed in the only intelligent way in which they can be, namely, as essential aspects of culture, the statement simply does not hold. For the culture as a complex, organic structure of thought and feeling inevitably creates its own standards of right. The mores are not accidental; they are intrinsic. They do not make anything right any more than they make everything wrong. As new cultures rise to power and glory there will be new configurations of mores. Culture without a scale of values is as inconceivable as men without leaders. Sumner himself battled with all his characteristic forcefulness and energy for the supremacy of a system of ethics which engaged his whole personality. Rugged individualism and *laissez faire* were the keynotes of this system. It was Sumner who invented the concept of the Forgotten Man.[4] But the Forgotten Man according to him was the victim of a paternal government which taxed the strong in order to protect the weak thus destroying the rugged individual in order to perpetuate irresponsibility, dependency, and incompetence. The more recent New Deal version of the Forgotten Man is just the opposite. He is the victim of rugged individualism become ragged by virtue of cupidity, greed, and speculative mania.

Custom

Custom is a distinct type of plurality pattern. It is certainly more explicit and positive than the folkways, but less explicit and positive than the mores. The roots of custom are long and deep in time, while the spread of custom in space is noted for the definiteness of its territorial delimitation. Customs are known to characterize the people of certain regions, territories, provinces, states, and other territorial units. They are known to have been accepted and practiced by these people for generations running into the centuries, or, as quaintly expressed in an earlier day, for time out of mind. Thus custom is part and parcel of a common tradition.

[3] J. R. Mott, *The Evangelization of the World in This Generation,* New York, 1905; *Strategic Points in the World's Conquest,* New York, 1897; *The Decisive Hour of Christian Missions,* New York, 1911. Robert E. Speer, *The Light of the World,* Boston, 1911.

[4] W. G. Sumner, *War and Other Essays,* New Haven, 1919, Chs. 11, 12.

But so are the mores, and so also are some of the folkways. Nevertheless there are important differences between these plurality patterns. For example, the more is explicit with respect to right and wrong whereas the custom is not so definite in this respect. It is customary for some people to bury their dead; for others it is customary to cremate them. Cremation is not considered a wrong among certain people who follow the practice of burial; neither is burial invariably considered a wrong among people who cremate their dead. And yet tradition and the prestige of the elders are strong sanctions. Violation of the customary observance is not a crime, for the custom has been transformed into a law when this occurs. Neither does it violate an accepted ethical norm since it would be a more in this case.

Customs, like mores, evolve from the folkways into institutions and laws. Moreover, customs may develop into mores, and mores may lose their ethical significance changing into customs. The power of tradition explains widespread acceptance and imitation of custom within the orbit of its influence. People do things in the customary manner because everyone else appears to do so, and because people in the past did likewise, and not because of a conscious evaluation and corresponding adaptation of means to ends. Hence custom avoids the necessity of working out problems of adjustment. It may be defective and inefficient, but it has been tried and tested, and substitutes may be worse. Thus the custom implies an emotional preference for the familiar as well as some fear of the new and novel. It implies also a desire for approval which is correlated with the fear of disapproval. Custom, accordingly, may be defined as a nonlogical, quasi-moral, semicoercive plurality pattern supported by the sanction of tradition.

When certain harmful effects of custom are noteworthy it may be challenged. It is then criticized on various grounds of disservice and disutility. It becomes a wrong in the mind of the moral pioneer who would correct it or destroy it. The defenders of custom may rise to battle with the moral pioneer defending their position with rational methods and logical argument. In the process of conflict the defenders of custom may emerge triumphant, in which event the custom is more than likely to become a more, or perhaps even a law. In this way the custom becomes more explicit and definitely binding upon all, and the task of the moral pioneer who would change it becomes more difficult. But in the event of triumph of the latter, a custom may be made a crime and thus torn up out of society by the very roots. The student who is interested in this process of change may study the work of Mustapha Kemal Ataturk in Turkey, or the work of the Jacobins in France, or of Lenin, Trotsky, and associates in Russia, or the work of the Nazis in Germany, Mussolini in Italy. In each case there occurred far-reaching revision and reorganization, not only of customs, but also of folkways, mores, institutions and laws.

From Custom to Law

The more persistent mental aggregates of idea, value, and feeling, that is to say, plurality patterns like customs and mores, are more easily delineated and described in the less complex forms of society, such as the medieval manor and the medieval town. The reason is that these persistent aggregates are broken down in the more complex environment of large urban centers. Utility becomes God Almighty, and everything is revalued accordingly. Customary services, customary tenure, and customary court constitute the essence of the medieval manor. In the early gilds, likewise, customs regulated the terms of apprenticeship, the number of apprentices, the ratio of apprentices to journeymen, wages and hours of work, the labor of women and children, the relation between master and apprentice, together with other aspects of gild life. Later many of these customs became more explicit and positive gild regulations; some were embodied in municipal statutes and even national laws, such as Queen Elizabeth's Statutes of Apprentices. The street names of the older English towns still bear testimony to the medieval custom which segregated the trades, localizing the goldsmiths in one quarter, the shoemakers in another, the clothiers in a third, and so on. Later a variety of municipal laws regulated the erection and location of buildings in which certain crafts were organized.

Lipson indicates clearly that the status of the apprentice was at first controlled by custom.[5] But as apprenticeship became an important aspect of gild life the borough codes of laws expanded rapidly in order to meet the requirements of the situation. The seven-year period of apprenticeship illustrates a similar evolution from custom to law. Gild ordinances were followed by town regulative measures, and those in turn by national laws governing apprenticeship. In fact, it is possible to distinguish well-marked periods of gild development from this point of view. So long as industry had a purely local rather than a national importance custom was a dominating control agency. In England this situation held until about the close of the thirteenth century. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when town economy was at its height, the gild ordinances and municipal statutes exerted a dominating influence in the control of industry. Thus it appears that the gilds selected certain customs and transformed them into the more coercive ordinances, and that the municipal authorities in turn selected certain gild ordinances and transformed these into still more positively coercive measures of general town regulation. National regulative measures were added to the local regulations when it appeared desirable to establish and guarantee uniformity over the country as a whole with respect to certain trade practices.

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[5] E. Lipson, *The Economic History of England, op. cit.*, p. 290.

New Laws and the Revision of the Mores

Thus it may be stated at this point that institutions and laws are developments from customs and mores. Needless to say, all laws do not have this character. As civilization arises and the conditions of life become more complex the enactment of legislation to meet the new exigencies and to solve the problems of adjustment proceeds apace. Some of these laws are developments of customs and some are not. The common law doctrines of employers' liability, still dominant in a few states of the United States, are obviously based upon custom and precedent which go back as far as the Middle Ages. Workmen's compensation laws, however, contradict this precedent with respect to the responsibility for accidents of workers gainfully employed in modern industry. The changed conditions of work slowly gave rise to new mores which superseded the old in time. Out of these new values and ideas of right there evolved gradually the modern laws which place responsibility for accidents of workmen upon the employer.

In some cases, the laws create their own standards of right which cannot be said to have any relation whatsoever to the evolution of the mores. When one state passes an unemployment insurance law which is contributory, calling for the payment of premiums from the workers immediately benefited, and another state passes a noncontributory law placing the entire responsibility for the payment of premiums upon the employers; and a third state passes a law which distributes this responsibility equally among employers, employees, and the taxpayer, it is evident that this aspect of the legislation has no basis whatsoever in custom or more.[6] The same assertion holds for a great deal of modern legislation intended to solve new problems without recourse to precedent. When the problems are pressing and the precedents are lacking there is nothing else to be done.

Characteristics of Institutions and Laws

It is clear that institutions and laws are instruments of social control. In this respect they are like folkways, customs, and mores. It is also plain that institutions and laws are social and mental phenomena just like the other types of plurality pattern. The pilgrims did not bring their institutions with them in their saddle bags. These phenomena are collective, mental characteristics of people whose activities are organized for common purposes. Institutions and laws, as types of plurality patterns, are more explicit, definite, positive, and dynamic than customs or mores. Moreover, they are coercive and rational in the sense of being the consciously approved means

[6] English and German unemployment insurance laws are contributory. The Social Security Act of the United States is noncontributory with respect to unemployment insurance but contributory with respect to pensions for the aged. The English pension system is noncontributory while the German pension system is contributory.

of realizing conscious ends. Not alone the ends, but also the means conceived as instruments for the realization of these ends, are vindicated on logical grounds. These grounds are not always conclusive and valid in anything like a scientific sense. It is often difficult to foresee the outcome of such laws as the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, the National Industrial Recovery Act, the Agricultural Adjustment Act, and many other laws, tentatively conceived and experimentally administered.

It was Herbert Hoover who called the Eighteenth Amendment a noble experiment, and it was Franklin D. Roosevelt who frankly advocated an experimental attitude toward new laws designed to solve new problems. This conception of law has its drawbacks, since the recognition of the law depends upon the enforcement of the law, and the enforcement of the law becomes increasingly difficult as it is conceived in the tentative, uncertain, trial and error procedure of experimentalism. And yet it must be added that the guides to positive action often have nothing more to support them than the theoretical proposals of reformers whose solutions sometimes contradict each other. Hence the law growing out of such problem situations may be dropped like a hot iron when it ceases to serve the desired ends. It is theoretically conceived and experimentally administered, unfortunately so, but necessarily so, particularly in a complex democracy.[7] That there is good and bad legislation is commonly admitted, even though there is violent disagreement on the criteria of good and bad legislation.

The law ordinarily is written and codified, but this is not to be construed as meaning that preliterate people, who cannot read or write, have no legislation. They do have laws in the sense of coercive, logically conceived restraints upon human liberty of action. The state as the recognized repository of physical forces is held responsible for the administration of police power in the enforcement of laws. Thus the laws imply not merely the conscious evaluation of behavior; they also imply the use of force on the part of a recognized authority for the purpose of apprehending, convicting, and punishing those who are guilty of violation. Laws that have become dead letters on the statute books very frequently cease to be laws in any valid sense.

[7] The National Industrial Recovery Act may be regarded as an example. This legislation was outlawed by unanimous decision of the United States Supreme Court. President Roosevelt has said that the law attempted too much. By suspending the anti-trust laws it gave big business an advantage over smaller enterprise. Generally speaking, the law was a failure before the adverse judgment of the court was passed. Nevertheless, it is important to understand that a law of this kind cannot be expected to work like an eight-cylinder Cadillac engine as soon as enacted. Administrative agencies have to be set up; rules and regulations of procedure must be devised. Indifferent or hostile sentiment of the groups immediately concerned make supervision and enforcement difficult, perhaps impossible. So far as such legislation is necessary it is better procedure to make the desirable revisions from time to time than to nullify the law completely.

Distinction Between Institutions and Laws

Institutions constitute a type of plurality pattern. Like the laws, they are logically conceived, and coercively administered. Therefore they are more explicit, definite, positive, and dynamic than folkways, customs, or mores. In this respect institutions and laws are similar. People commonly speak of religious, political, moral, legal, economic, and matrimonial institutions. The acceptance of certain regulations and agencies for the supervision, enforcement, and administration of these measures is a common attribute of all of these institutions. But these traits are also characteristic of laws. How then do these plurality patterns differ from each other? This question has been answered in many ways depending upon the requirements of expediency and logical consistency in the use of these terms. It appears that the basic distinction is this: *institutions in their very nature cannot be conceived and administered experimentally;* laws may be of this nature, as already shown. Institutions, accordingly, are less arbitrary than laws. They constitute a crystallization of the elements of common experience that have had a life history. Institutions have stood the test of time. Laws are often declared unconstitutional, repealed, or become dead letters. They are not necessarily the outgrowth of customs, or even of mores. Institutions have stood the strain toward consistency over generations, perhaps even for centuries, and accordingly are generally recognized as an organic aspect of the cultural tradition.

One may consider slavery as an institution. It had its folkways, mores, customs, and laws. There were laws which governed runaway slaves; customs, such as Christmas frolics, and the employment of mammies as wet nurses; mores, such as the current ideas of right with respect to the proper punishment of truculent, rebellious, or refractory slaves; and folkways which concerned the informal common-human relationships between the races. Slavery was vindicated on scriptural, as well as ethical and economic-utilitarian grounds. It was rooted in history. To define such an institution merely in terms of the rules and regulations together with the agencies necessary for the administration and enforcement of these rules and regulations appears to be inadequate. Any voluntary association may set up such rules and regulations along with the appropriate administrative agencies. This does not make an institution, even though it is part of one.

An institution is made up of persistent aggregates; it is embodied in customs and mores. While it is coercive, the ultimate sanction is not necessarily physical force. With respect to law this is invariably so. The arbitrary, expedient, experimental, and utilitarian aspects of law in some cases make the reliance upon physical force an indispensable factor of observance and enforcement. Religious institutions are not always dependent upon such force. The sanction of a common tradition, conceived naturally as well as

supernaturally, may be sufficient to obtain the common observance. When such is not the case excommunication, or the partial withdrawal of religious services, such as the right to bury the dead in holy ground, are used to secure the desired ends. Economic, educational, and family institutions do not rely exclusively upon physical force in the civilized world today. Nevertheless, the invasion of the secular authority in these fields has placed many legal requirements upon employers as well as employees; health and racial restrictions upon marriage; limitations upon teachers and the officials in charge of education. Examples of the first category are laws regulating the use of injunctions in the settlement of industrial disputes, the prohibition of child labor and yellow-dog contracts. The second category is illustrated by laws which prevent the intermarriage of white and black races, or by laws which impose physical examinations upon candidates for marriage. Examples of the third class are laws which call for an oath of allegiance to the Constitution of the United States. These laws are enforced by the police power of the state. The heads of industries, schools, and families do not possess the power of physical intimidation and coercion, although this was not always so. Employers of labor may threaten individuals with discharge, demotion, or reduction of wages; the parties in marriage may threaten each other with divorce actions, and suits for separate maintenance. Laws are enacted and enforced to protect the rights of individuals in situations of this kind; and these laws rely, in the last analysis, upon the sanction of physical force. With institutions, however, this is not always so.

The Strain toward Consistency

It has been shown that institutions are made up of the persistent aggregates, and that this is not invariably true of laws. Institutions are coercive and rational types of plurality pattern, although the method of coercion is not necessarily physical force as in the case of law. These methods of coercion vary greatly, and are obviously adapted and adaptable to the purposes in view. Generally speaking they are flexible in character, although the degree and character of this flexibility may also vary greatly. The essential aspect of an institution is that it is organically related to all other institutions of the common life. It follows that great disorder and disorganization are bound to follow when one of these institutions is uprooted as a result of civil strife or foreign wars. Slavery, for instance, was uprooted as a result of the Civil War. The immediate result was chaos, upheaval, and reorganization in the new strain toward consistency. This period in the history of the South is known as "reconstruction"; it is well named. In Germany the monarchy was destroyed as a result of the World War. This institution also was organic; the result was an internal chaos and strain toward consistency which finally called for a complete overhauling and reorganization of all of

the organs of the common life. There is no need to multiply illustrations for the purpose of clarifying this point.

Theory of the Cultural Lag

But the conflict of institutions, and the consequent strain toward consistency, may also be the result of disparity in the rate of growth and progress. The application of inventions and science to the problems of wealth production in the course of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries greatly developed the economic organization of society. Transportation, communication, and the use of power machinery in industry and agriculture acted and reacted upon each other. Organization of trade and finance became international in scope as great trusts, cartels, and holding companies battled for control of raw materials and the markets of the world. While science and business were thus riding forward at an unprecedented gallop, other institutions were thrown out of line. The struggle between science and theology was intensified. Rapid growth of cities in the course of the nineteenth century aggravated the conflict between the accessible secular and the isolated sacred structure. Individualism of the spirit clashed with the mores. Employment of women in industry encouraged feminism, and a conflict with the sacred institutions of marriage and the family. These situations illustrate what Ogburn, Barnes, and others have called the cultural lag.[8]

An example is police organization in the United States at the present time. This organization emphasizes the independence and the autonomy of the local units, particularly counties, townships, and cities. It is essentially adapted to an earlier rural economy which preceded the extensive use of power machinery and the widespread development of transportation and communication. Today it is obsolete, archaic, and ineffective in coping with the problems of crime. Criminals who plan their crimes carefully rely upon good roads, automobiles, and quick communication. They move in and out of the local police jurisdictions with facility, even crossing state and national boundaries in evading detection and concealing their identity. To some extent this situation has been corrected by establishing state organizations of police and the enactment of federal laws such as the Lindbergh anti-kidnapping law. The Dyer law, governing theft of automobiles, gives the federal authorities jurisdiction over certain types of crime when the suspect crosses state boundaries. The development of the work of the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the United States Department of Justice under the leadership of Homer S. Cummings and J. Edgar Hoover, is intended to solve the

[8] W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change*, New York, 1927, pp. 200-280; Davis, Barnes, and others, *Introduction to Sociology*, Boston, 1927, Bk. 2, Pt. 4, Ch. 7; E. T. Hiller, *Principles of Sociology*, New York, 1933, pp. 412-414.

same difficulty. But these efforts to meet the requirements of the situation represent little more than a feeble beginning.

In a similar manner it has been argued that marriage and the family constitute a cultural lag, that religion is backward, politics is primitive, the Constitution of the United States out of date, and government outmoded by the rapid movement of science and business. It is one thing, however, to state that the moral, religious, matrimonial, political, and governmental institutions are out of gear with science and business; it is another thing to prove it. Perhaps the latter are out of alignment with the former. To talk in vague and general terms is confusing; the term "cultural lag" possesses no magical power of insight into problems. The human mind jumps all too readily at conclusions which appear to be plausible because they are expressed in the simple terms of a formula. Each problem involved calls for a carefully detailed analysis.

That there is such a thing as disparity in the rate of growth of various institutions, and a strain toward consistency in consequence is undeniable. But when the term, cultural lag, is used indiscriminately as a means of advocating all sorts of panaceas and half-baked reforms it is time to demand a clarification of meaning and a careful consideration of issues. The theory of the cultural lag manifestly implies that certain institutions are progressive whereas others are backward. Science and business are taken to illustrate the former; law, government, religion, morality, education, marriage, and the family are taken to illustrate the latter. These so-called backward institutions presumably need to catch up with their sisters in order to preserve a balanced harmony of life. It never occurs to the advocates of this theory that the real difficulty may be quite the opposite. Perhaps it is nearer the truth to say that the idea of the cultural lag is a kind of mirage which appears to the mind's eye as the result of an unparalleled expansion and development of science and business. When an adolescent grows too fast his clothes do not fit. Both of these institutions are sadly in need of new clothes that will fit them—that is, a philosophy of society which will bring them into some kind of working relationship with their so-called backward brothers and sisters. Under the impetus of a false scale of values some of these brothers and sisters are already displaying all of the symptoms of St. Vitus dance.

Panaceas and Symptoms of St. Vitus Dance

It is not assumed that the government and other so-called backward institutions have reached a state of perfection, and that the responsibility for conflict, disorder, and inconsistency must be placed exclusively upon business and science. Not at all. The problems of government, marriage and the family, law and morality, education and religion in the Western world today, show conclusively that the most far reaching changes in all

of these institutions are in process. Some of these problems have already been suggested; they will be considered more fully in chapters to follow. Nothing is more essential to the solution of these problems than a philosophy of society based upon a comprehensive grasp of the total picture so far as this may be possible. The age of specialization when experts are called upon to know more and more about less and less until they know everything about nothing is passing. Meanwhile people grasp at wild panaceas and ill-considered reforms as a drowning man clutches a straw. In recent years technocracy, Upton Sinclair's California Epic, Huey Long's share-the-wealth movement, Father Coughlin's National Union for Social Justice, the Liberty League, Townsend's old age pension plan, a rejuvenated co-operative movement sponsored by a Japanese reformer, Kagawa, Aberhart's Social Credit Union, the International Institute of Universal Research and Administration, and various forms of communistic strategy have strained the public faith in constitutional government almost to the breaking point.

Millions on the verge of distress with little if any prospect ahead, and little or nothing to lose for their faith in panaceas can hardly be blamed for their gullibility. For them constitutional government may well be little more than a shibboleth, a hackneyed phrase. Such panaceas as above noted are wild and destructive, but they do have a political significance. The political leader accordingly is bound to take note so long as he looks to the ballot box as the ultimate criterion of success or failure. The soldier got his bonus over the President's veto (1936), and the farmer got his Agricultural Adjustment Act (1933). When the latter was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court, a substitute measure was quickly devised and promptly enacted into law (1936). This simply shows that the legislation desired by minority groups is forthcoming when the political pressure is sufficiently strong. The writer of a widely used text book on sociology weighs the evidence and draws the conclusion that present social conditions appear to favor companionate marriage.[9] The practice of birth control has become so well established in the mores that intelligent foreigners, observing the trend, foresee the day when a Negro will be sitting in the White House. Certain religious denominations of long standing and immense influence have thrown caution and prudence to the four winds and identified themselves with the radical strategy of communism. Leaders of higher education in America demand financial aid from the federal government but insist upon their rights to spend it as they please. They want no strings tied to these subsidies. And yet it is clear enough that any government which actually paid universities and colleges for conducting a program of education and research opposed to the program of the government would be committing suicide. Governments are often the means of their own

[9] F. H. Hankins, *Introduction to the Study of Society*, rev. ed., *op. cit.*, p. 617.

downfall, but they are not noted for this particular manner of self-destruction. Briefly summarized this section contains some of the evidence to show the current symptoms of St. Vitus dance. More evidence is presented in the ensuing chapter dealing with craze, fad, fashion, and crowd as typical forms of plurality patterns. The theory of the cultural lag, as ordinarily conceived, is not an adequate explanation of the conflict of institutions and consequent strain toward consistency.

Problem Questions

1. How do you account for the failure of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States?

2. What were the underlying principles of the National Industrial Recovery Act? Are these principles sound?

3. "The right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." So reads the second part of the Second Amendment to the Constitution. Has this right been abused in recent generations?

4. Are laws which regulate the manufacture, sale, and use of lethal weapons desirable at the present time? Why?

5. Account for the origin and spread of myths, legends, and superstitions. Is it reasonable to assume that education and science will eradicate these beliefs?

6. Contrast the Forgotten Man of W. G. Sumner with the Forgotten Man of F. D. Roosevelt.

7. Does the federal system of checks and balances constitute a cultural lag?

8. Would companionate marriage promote the stability of the family and reduce the rate of divorce as argued by Judge Ben Lindsay?

9. How do you account for the fact that the United States Supreme Court declared the New York minimum wage law unconstitutional in 1936 and the Washington minimum wage law constitutional in 1937?

10. Contrast the implicit and explicit mores of the Roosevelt administration with the Coolidge administration.

11. What were some of the principles embodied in the Agricultural Adjustment Act? Are these principles sound?

12. The records of homicide and imprisonment for crime show that the United States is more lawless than most European countries. How do you account for this difference?

13. Does the fact that the constitutionality of legislation in the United States may hinge upon the vote of one member of the Supreme Court tend to increase the general respect for law?

14. Experience shows that superstitions are false, and yet intelligent people continue to believe in them. Explain.

15. Comment critically on the following types of moral pioneer: (1) advocate of euthanasia, (2) antivivisectionist, (3) pacifist, (4) prohibitionist, (5) vegetarian, (6) advocate of free divorce, (7) advocate of companionate marriage.

16. Under what social and economic conditions are people likely to display great gullibility with respect to panaceas such as technocracy?

17. Wayne B. Wheeler and his associates were moral pioneers who worked through such agencies as the Anti-Saloon League, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and the Methodist Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals. They succeeded phenomenally, although temporarily, with the enactment of the eighteenth amendment. How do you explain the success of this movement?

18. Woodrow Wilson was a moral pioneer in the field of international politics. He was the author of the famous fourteen points which served as a basis for the armistice of 1918. Account for the failure of the movement which he sponsored.

19. Under what conditions is a moral pioneer likely to succeed in his work? Under what conditions is he likely to fail?

Suggestions for Additional Reading

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PLURALITY PATTERNS (CONCLUDED)

The Chain Letter Craze

In the winter of 1934 everybody seemed to be writing chain letters and talking about them. A typical letter carried a list of six names with instructions to send a dime to the person whose name headed the list. In addition, the person receiving a letter was expected to write five letters to new people, placing his own name at the bottom of the list of names received. The recipients of these five letters placed their names at the bottom of the list, sent a dime to the top name and wrote five letters to new people. Thus the letters were multiplied in a geometrical series while the names at the bottom of the list moved to the top. In this way a person had a mathematical chance of receiving 15,625 dimes, or $1,562.50 when his name reached the head of the list. This figure is obtained simply by multiplying five times five, five times, or by raising the number five to the sixth power and multiplying by ten cents. The slogan was "send a dime and spread prosperity." It looked like an easy way to get rich, and people wrote so many letters that the mails were congested and the postal services of the government were strained to the breaking point.

The chain letter craze apparently started in Denver, spread rapidly over the entire country, reached a climax of emotional pitch, subsided, and disappeared as quickly and mysteriously as it arose. It was obviously irrational, but that did not prevent thousands of simple-minded people from sending their dimes to the names at the top of the lists received in the letters. Certainly it was easy to see that five multiplied by itself five times, and the total multiplied by a silver dime, would give a much-needed sum of money. This was wishful thinking. It was not so easy to see that such a continued chain would soon run out of people. A mathematician calculated that 244,140,625 persons would be necessary in order to send him the 15,625 dimes and provide the same sum of money to the 15,625 people who sent him dimes. This figure he obtained by finding the square of 15,625. The total population of the United States, men, women, and children, is only about one-half as large. But this aspect of the situation was not interesting. Neither was it interesting to observe that in the long run the receipts would merely offset the payments except for the cost of postage and stationery. In order to complete the cycle of letters the cost of postage to each person at

two cents per letter would amount to $312.50 (15,625 times two cents). This represented a dead loss, but people were thinking in terms of the multiplication of dimes coming in to them, and not in terms of the dimes going out or the cost of postage.

The Ideal-Typical Generalization

The chain letter craze represents a single, empirical plurality pattern. It is distinguished from the generalized abstraction which it illustrates. Craze is conceived as a type of plurality pattern having certain distinguishing marks as compared with other types of plurality pattern. These characteristics may be described, but in doing so it becomes evident that the empirical examples deviate in certain minor particulars from the norms set up. Discrepancies of this kind have to be compared with similar deviations from the norms when the concrete pattern is studied as a possible illustration of some other category. In this way definitions of the ideal-typical plurality patterns are reached, and the individual or collective behavior may be studied accordingly. Such definitions are the results of analysis and comparison of the actual, observable phenomena. But this in itself is not sufficient. The normal or representative characteristics of similar phenomena are combined to constitute a class or type. Thus it becomes possible to describe folkways, mores, customs, institutions, and laws as ideal-typical generalizations. Similarly, craze, fad, fashion, and crowd are terms used to designate distinct types of plurality pattern. The complex structures of society are thus divisible into relatively simple elements or patterns which have a significance in themselves, a significance in relation to each other, and finally a significance in relation to the culture with which they are definitely interrelated.

Examples of Craze

In the United States of America speculation in stocks developed into a craze during the years 1928 and 1929 culminating in the spectacular crash of October, 1929. Other examples of craze include the seventeenth century tulip mania in Holland; the South Sea Bubble and the Mississippi Bubble of the first quarter of the eighteenth century; the speculation in tea vividly described by John Stuart Mill; religious revivals such as the Millerites of the second quarter of the nineteenth century; music, such as jazz, which followed the World War period of the early twentieth century; the movement known as Technocracy which appeared in 1932 and disappeared in 1933; the great moon hoax of about one hundred years ago which was identified with the work of Sir John Herschel whose telescope presumably revealed men and women with wings—*"Vespertilio-homo"*—flying over the moon; Townsend's old age pension craze which became a political factor in the years 1935-1936; Upton Sinclair's California Epic; and other extravagant

schemes intended to lift us out of the prolonged depression which began in the latter part of 1929.

Characteristics of Craze

These empirical examples reveal the common characteristics of craze. In each case there is a crescendo of emotional interest and excitement which gathers mass and momentum as it moves, much like a snowball rolling downhill. The symptoms of hysteria become increasingly evident as the movement reaches its climax. Suggestion and imitation proceed in a geometrical series: one person influences a second, these two affect two more, making four, and so on. Meanwhile the acquired resistance to wild and wishful ideas is broken down for two reasons: (1) increasing volume of suggestion, and (2) rising emotional pitch. Thus people who are known to possess good judgment and sound sense are drawn into the orbit of the craze. It is also evident that the craze is highly transitory as well as illogical and emotionally unstable. The characteristic rhythm of the craze displays a short wave length, so to speak, as distinguished from the long wave lengths of customs, mores and institutions.

The appeal to cupidity, which distinguishes the speculative type of craze, is heightened and intensified as values soar and paper profits are taken in large figures. People express a frenzy of delight as castles built in Spain appear to come true. Shrewder individuals who watch the show from the side lines may try to make their counsel of caution heard. But all of this avails nothing. They simply arouse the scorn and fury of the mob which sweeps all obstacles away as it moves fatefully onward toward the unseen goal of disillusionment and failure. The exploiters of this kind of collective psychology contribute toward the rise and the fall of the movement. They have learned how to play the market long when the price is rising and how to play it short when the price is falling. In the first case they buy with anticipation of a rise in price thus contributing to the accumulation of paper profits and the rising intensity of enthusiasm. In the second case they sell with anticipation of a fall in price, thus contributing to the prevailing bankruptcy and despair. Their sensibilities to the symptoms of increasing hysteria make it possible for them to reverse the swing of the pendulum at the proper time. They sense the point of climax when the widening disparity between real and fictitious values begins to substitute fear and suspicion for confidence and hope. They gather in their profits as the curve rises and also as the curve falls. Thus the orbit of the craze widens as it approaches a climax, narrowing down, slowly at first, and disappearing entirely shortly afterward.

It is ephemeral, irrational, immoral, and often illegal as well, as was true of the chain letter craze which in effect used the mails of the United States for lottery purposes. It is also characterized by emotional instability, credulity, simple-mindedness, and increasing frenzy as it approaches the point of

climax. The natural rhythm of the movement follows its own laws as conditioned by a great variety of factors which may either accelerate or impede the upward or the downward movement, or possibly both movements. Legal restrictions, the experience of people directly or indirectly in this kind of enterprise, their temperamental peculiarities, the mobility of classes in society, the facility of communication, the degree of the prevailing ennui, the mores and the institutions, particularly newspapers, and the extent to which they are wisely supervised, the discipline of the intelligence by training and experience, together with the responsibility and wisdom of the leaders of society—all of these factors play their rôles in a network of correlated interrelationships. The craze invariably has its antecedents as well as its consequences.

The avidity with which a public develops an emotional interest in a notorious gangster, such as John Dillinger; an infamous crime, such as the Lindbergh kidnapping; a sensational murder or divorce case; or anything of this sort, reflects the prevailing condition of satiation and ennui. From this point of view the craze may be interpreted as a kind of catharsis since it provides an exhilaration and thrill of excitement, even though temporary. It relieves people of downright boredom with life, of the dull monotony of a routine existence, of the mentally depressing effects of enforced idleness, or lack of stimulating activity, or of bad conscience which accumulates with time.

Historical Examples of Craze

Empirical examples of craze may vary in several particulars and these variations are combined in characteristic ways which distinguish one type of case from another. But all of them have a least common denominator which is frenzy. The tulip mania in Holland of the seventeenth century developed to the point where normally inexpensive tulip bulbs sold for thousands of dollars in the markets of Amsterdam.[1] A story is told of a foreigner who carelessly picked up a tulip bulb and ate it thinking it was an onion. It proved to be a rare variety called the Admiral Von der Eyk, and the foreigner was compelled to pay over $1,200 in damages or submit to a life sentence in a Dutch jail. Another specimen, named the Admiral Liefkin, sold for $2,200. With the collapse of the bubble tulips could be purchased for a few cents. Thousands of Dutchmen who had extended their credit to the limit and exhausted their savings in the purchase of tulip bulbs were utterly ruined. Holland did not recover from the chronic business depression and disorganization which followed this craze for nearly a half century.

Not long afterward both England and France passed through a similar experience. In the first quarter of the eighteenth century these countries

[1] E. A. Ross, *Social Psychology*, New York, 1917, pp. 71-73.

were all but ruined financially by the South Sea Company craze in England and the Mississippi craze in France. Both bubbles were stock promotion schemes encouraged by the governments which were interested in the partial liquidation of their heavy debts. The French company was organized to exploit the resources of the Mississippi Valley in territory later purchased by the United States Government under the title of the Louisiana Purchase. Similarly the English company was organized to exploit the trade and resources of islands in the South Seas. People who held government obligations were urged to exchange them for stocks in these corporations. The companies meanwhile cancelled these obligations in exchange for government favors, franchise rights and exclusive trading privileges, thus reducing the government indebtedness to that extent and preparing the way for new loans and new wars.

But the effects upon business and finance were disastrous. When the Mississippi frenzy was developing, stocks in the company rose from 170 to 5,000 livres in a single year. South Sea stock rose 100% in a single day.[2] People were brothers in prosperity; a signature was all the security demanded for the extension of credit. Late comers in the market were assured that South Sea stock would rise to £1,500. Within a year the price did rise to £1,050 per share. In the memoirs of a contemporary, Dr. Houstoun, it is affirmed that shares rose to £1,300. Mississippi stock rose to 10,000 livres. The crowds which surged into the South Sea Company offices were so great that tables and desks had to be put into the streets in order to accommodate the people.

But the bubbles burst. Shrewder people who could see the outcome of the madness began unloading their holdings. Prices fell. In June and July of 1720 the skids on the South Sea stocks became apparent. By August 17 the price fell to £830.[3] It continued falling and thousands of investors were caught with heavy holdings. Aristocrats, country squires, city merchants, financiers, and manufacturers alike lost their fortunes. The Mississippi bubble burst in a similar manner. As the disparity between real values measured by earning power and the market quotations increased, the better informed investors sold their holdings. Fear, suspicion, uncertainty, mild at first, spread rapidly as prices fell. People, who formerly crowded each other with a view to purchase, now crowded each other with a view to sell. The result was panic. Confidence disappeared as the markets collapsed leaving ruin, bankruptcy, business stagnation, disorganization, misery, disillusionment, and despair in the wake of hope, faith, prosperity, brisk business, and accumulating fortunes. In the course of a few short years moderately well-to-do people became millionaires, and millionaires became beggars and paupers.

[2] G. Myers, *America Strikes Back*, New York, 1935, p. 55.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

A religious sect known as the Millerites was the medium of a craze which reached its point of climax on October 22, 1844. In type of plurality pattern it may be distinguished from the speculative mania described above. Nevertheless, the element of cupidity was by no means absent. Rev. William Miller was the leader of a sect which bore his name. He predicted that the world would come to an end on October 22, 1844, using Biblical statements as a basis for his calculations. Thousands of people were persuaded to dispose of their possessions and prepare their souls for the great judgment day to come. The fateful day came and went, just as all the other days had come and gone, leaving these people without property or jobs.

In a somewhat similar manner the great moon hoax occurred at about the same time. People became greatly excited about flying men and women on the moon, supposedly seen through the telescope of a great astronomer, Sir John Herschel, who had gone to a remote and inaccessible part of the world with a new device for long distance sight-seeing. A prominent New York newspaper devoted front page columns to the "Great Astronomical Discoveries Lately Made by Sir John Herschel, LL.D., F.R.S., at the Cape of Good Hope." The story purported to be a reprint from a supplement of the *Edinburgh Journal of Science.* These startling discoveries were due to a greatly improved telescope, and for six successive days this New York newspaper described the wonderful instrument, and the still more phenomenal flying men and women seen on the moon. Heaven itself had been discovered, for here were angels, real men and women with wings flying about the moon. Beautiful palaces and magnificent temples were reported. The imagination and credulity thus stimulated, hallucinatory experiences were active and widespread. People saw cherubim and seraphim, streets paved with shining gold, and the Angel Gabriel standing at the jeweled gates of heaven. Nearly the entire American public was taken in completely. Meanwhile the English doctor had gone to the Cape of Good Hope in order to observe the movements of certain stars which could not be seen in England. Since communication at that time was very slow he had no knowledge of the hoax until many weeks later. In this case there was no real harm done. Everybody was excitedly talking about *"Vespertilio-homo,"* angels on the moon, and the startling discoveries of the great professor, and not until the latter returned home and heard about the frenzy in his good name did the craze subside.

The Speculative Mania of 1927-1929

The most destructive craze of recent history was the speculative mania which culminated in Black October, 1929. It is estimated that 20,000,000 people, one-sixth of the total population of the United States, were drawn into the vortex of this craze as they purchased stock shares with a view of

paper profits and easy money.[4] Pushcart peddlers and others whose fortunes did not aggregate the price of a single share combined their resources and divided the profits and the losses. People too timid to plunge on their own initiative and responsibility hired investment trusts. In 1922 there was only one such company, but in 1929 there were more than 450 of them with a combined capital of approximately three billion dollars.[5] There were 67 branch offices of the New York Stock Exchange outside of New York City in 1895, whereas in 1929 there were well over 1,000. Wall Street was Santa Claus in those days, the mysterious source from which all blessings flowed, and when the Federal Reserve Board lifted the rediscount rate to 6% in the early summer of 1929 the volume of protest and complaint that arose all over the country was overwhelming. Market values of securities far exceeded the real values as measured by earning power, even under the most favorable circumstances, but people lost all sense of reality. They were counting their accumulations of paper profits, mortgaging their homes, and extending their credit in order to multiply their investments and their profits. Cars, homes, radios, and many other things were purchased on the installment basis, releasing enormous sums of cash and credit for speculative purposes. The wave of installment purchases that swept over the country was unprecedented.

On December 15, 1866, the New York Stock Exchange had its first million share day, and for years afterward the trading fluctuated at 400,000 to 500,000 shares per day. August 16, 1928 was the first five million share day, and this turnover of holdings was exceeded many times in the course of the years that immediately followed. On October 29, 1929, there were 16,410,030 shares purchased and sold. This was a veritable children's crusade. Men and women who didn't know the difference between a stock and a bond, much less the meaning of marginal purchases, brokers' loans, and rediscount rates, invested their savings in listed or unlisted securities depending upon their luck. Anyone could plunge blindfolded and make a profit so long as the bull market prevailed. Prices rose at an incredible rate. The average price of 50 leading securities in February, 1929 was just 228% above the level of October, 1923. General Motors sold at 99 in 1925, 212 in 1928. Brokers' loans increased from three billion dollars on February 1, 1927 to nearly seven billion dollars on February 1, 1929.[6] And when symptoms of unsteadiness and instability of the market appeared before the great crash of values, the investment trusts, previously mentioned, jumped into the breach and held up the market by heavy purchases. These signs were understood by the wary who played the market long when prices were rising and played it short when prices were falling.

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[4] C. J. V. Murphy, "Wall Street Branches Out," *Outlook*, September 18, 1929.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] C. Merz, "Bull Market," *Harper's*, April, 1929.

As early as February 6, 1929, the Federal Reserve Board warned that credit for speculative purposes must be restrained. But warnings were futile. The result was an unprecedented push in values which raised the average price of 50 representative issues from 235 to an all time peak of 306.79 on September 19, 1929.[7] October 24 was "Black Thursday," and on November 13 these same 50 stocks reached a low of 166.15. Ups and downs followed, but the general trend was downward. On December 17, 1931, shortly after England abandoned the gold standard, the average price of the above 50 shares dropped to 69.02. The market had collapsed to considerably less than one-fourth of its former high level. Bond values improved until the first week of October, 1930, when 60 representative issues reached a high of 100.5. Beginning in the summer of 1931, there occurred a steady decline of bond values. The above-mentioned issues dropped to 88 during the fourth week of October and in the following December they fell to 83.

Losses to investors of the accumulated paper profits of stocks and bonds were enormous. But this was not all. The worst of it was that they lost most of their original capital besides. When operations were carried on margin, they lost their capital and mortgaged their future earnings at the same time. In countless instances people extended their credit to the limit, plunged on margins, and sold their birthrights for a mess of pottage. Bankruptcies multiplied, and suicides were frequent, the fashionable method being to leap from an upper story hotel balcony. Whereas formerly the names of Mitchell, Van Sweringen, Baker, Morgan, and Insull electrified people into attitudes of holy adoration, now the firms represented by these men became the objects of United States Senate investigations. During the wild and balmy days when people everywhere were becoming independently wealthy, Wall Street was a hallowed name for all but socialistic and communistic cranks. After Black October, Wall Street became synonymous with diabolical cunning, and the object of vitriolic castigation, unrestrained anger, congressional inquiries, and restrictive legislation.

The Aftermath

No craze in American history was followed by a more destructive aftermath. If the national income produced in 1929 is represented by 100%, it dropped to 84.9% in 1930, 65.8% in 1931, and 46.2% in 1932.[8] Similarly, the index for aggregate wages in 1929 may be taken at 100%. This index covers mining, manufacturing, construction, steam railroads, Pullman railway express, and water transportation. The index for 1930 was 82.7%, for 1931 61.4%, and for 1932 39.8%. Total labor income including pensions and accident compensation in 1932 was 59.8% of the figure for 1929. Dividends

[7] *Chicago Tribune* Business Charts, 1932.

[8] Department of Commerce, Washington, National Income 1929-1932, in response to Senate Resolution No. 220, Seventy-second Congress.

dropped to 43.4%. These figures are cited to indicate the staggering enormity of the decline in business activity which followed in the wake of the speculative mania. Widespread unemployment since the depression also reveals the chronic condition of economic stagnation. It is estimated that in March, 1933 there were about 15,000,000 unemployed in the United States. In February of 1936 the American Federation of Labor released a report which showed approximately 12,000,000 unemployed. Statements of the extent of unemployment have been made from time to time by the National Industrial Conference Board, the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor, and the American Federation of Labor. There are differences in these statements, the estimates of the American Federation of Labor being higher than the figures of the National Industrial Conference Board; the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics usually strikes an intermediate position. But these differences are by no means as significant as the general agreement with respect to unprecedented numbers of unemployed men, not only willing, but also able to work.

Empirical Differences

These empirical studies of craze show differences in the immediate motivation which vary as widely as the lust for gain and the salvation of the soul. (1) There are differences in wave length, amplitude, and volume. The wave length may be short, covering only a few months, or it may be relatively long, including several years. There is also variation in the amplitude of the wave, that is, in the intensity of the emotional interest. Differences in the spread of the craze are partly due to these variations in amplitude. Closely correlated with these differences is the extent of the destructive aftermath. One craze will strike deep into the very roots of human nature and release the most sordid passion whereas another, not striking so deep, will not be so devastating in its consequences. (2) Moreover, there are external conditions of the collective psychology, such as interclass mobility, the form of government, and the facility of communication. These varying conditions are bound to affect the volume, pitch, and timbre of the craze. (3) In addition to these external factors there are important differences in the internal conditions of the collective psychology. The movement of the craze is bound to be affected accordingly. Included in this third category of differences are the latent or nascent types of plurality pattern, such as the belief in minatory terror, the atonement, or the money scale of values as a yardstick for the measurement of all achievement. That the craze manifestly evolves in close relationship to these plurality patterns is clear. Other differences of a similar nature are the prevalence of ennui, starvation of the emotions in consequence of a humdrum routine of monotonous existence, elements of superstition in religion, the emotional instability which may accompany or follow a great

war, and the greed for gain as conditioned by the prevailing structure of a culture.

All of these differences in all three categories are at bottom variations in the neuro-psychic organization of individuals. But these variations are multiplied and combined in so many differing configurations of relationship that no two empirical examples of craze can be said to be exactly alike. Nevertheless there are common elements in all of them, and it is precisely these common elements which constitute a distinct type of plurality pattern called craze. In all cases there is a frenzy which reaches a climax in a rhythmic movement of emotional exaltation and depression. There is also the resultant hysteria, more or less marked, as well as a degree of irrationality which shows the complete subordination of judgment and common sense to the heightened feeling. Other common traits are credulity, simplicity, immorality, and the submergence of the individual personality in the psychology of the crowd. The highly ephemeral character of the craze marks it off sharply from the rational and the nonrational types of plurality pattern.

Characteristics of Fad

Irrational behavior also distinguishes the fad. The following additional characteristics of fad are evident: (1) heightened suggestibility due to the increasing volume of identical stimuli; (2) a rhythmic rise and fall of emotional interest in an object novelty such as miniature golf; (3) a gradual intensification of mildly excited feeling which runs its course without a great amount of harm to anyone; (4) a wide spread in the height of its movement, but little depth and hence the transitoriness of the phenomenon; (5) illogical imitation of others based upon the false premise that whatever is popular must be good. Fad is a less violent form of intoxication than craze; it appears as a sudden, apparently inexplicable and growing interest in some novelty, such as the bicycle fad of the nineties, roller skating, mah jong, and ping-pong. Besides these examples of recreational fads there are many notorious cases of health fads such as sun-tanning, "electric" treatment for various ills, Fletcherizing, vitamin foods, defensive diet, sulphur bags, and the iodine locket.

The wave length of the fad is generally longer than the craze because the emotional excitement is not so intense. Crescendo is moderate and sustained; so also diminuendo. Hence the psychological amplitude of the wave is smaller as also the volume of the spread. Fads do not produce hysteria. They do not completely absorb and monopolize the energy resources of the individual. The emotional content of fad is manifestly not as great as the emotional content of craze. Elements of prestige are ordinarily implied in fad, since the widespread imitation of a recreational novelty depends largely upon the behavior of people whose distinction and attainments are generally recognized. While the craze may be described as a kind of ruling

passion, the fad is rather a milder form of frenzy, an enthusiasm which engages only a small segment of the self rather than the whole of the self for the time being. Such elements as credulity, gullibility, simplicity, and sheer stupidity are characteristic of fad as well as craze, but downright immorality and complete loss of common sense do not generally distinguish the fad.

Miniature Golf

Fads, of course, are consciously and systematically promoted by individuals who have substantial economic interests in the movement. When miniature golf was a "rage" firms manufacturing the little clubs and the sewer pipe hazards of the course made great fortunes in a short time. The lucky proprietors of the first courses erected earned huge profits. Vacant lots everywhere were rented, leased, or purchased, and transformed almost overnight into miniature golf courses. Lighting fixtures and wiring were a boon to the electrical supply goods industry, and the increased consumption of power was no small item in the monthly balance sheets of the utilities engaged in the production of electrical energy. Hence it may be stated that lumber dealers, real estate men, power companies, electrical goods producers, and the entrepreneurs engaged in the business of setting up and managing this kind of business had common purposes in all forms of publicity and propaganda which aroused an interest in the game. Courses were introduced in prisons and reformatories for the recreation and relaxation of inmates, and when the fever abated and nobody cared about the game the equipment was quickly removed. Enterprisers and promoters who fell in late on the periphery of the movement were obliged to take heavy losses. To the casual observer the whole thing seemed to arise like a mirage over the sea and disappear again as suddenly and mysteriously. But this element of weird unreality hardly describes the reaction of the hundreds of thousands of fans who took up the game with gusto kindled by the feeling of the moment.

Other Examples of Fad

Similarly, mah jong made fortunes for the manufacturers of the domino-like blocks with which the game was played; ping-pong, which has survived under the more dignified name of table-tennis, at one time came very near reaching the rank of a national industry; the organization of the League of American Wheelmen in the 1890's established official hotels and arranged "century runs" as bicycle factories emerged like mushrooms over the land. In some cases the fad degenerates into a kind of financial racket which reveals anew the frequently explored depths of human gullibility. An example of this is the "souvenir" fad which reached a height in the

late nineties and had a beginning in the Chicago World's Fair of 1893. Millions of useless souvenirs were sold to visitors at the fair. Hundreds of thousands of bits of wood purporting to come from the Mount of Olives were sold to unwary and simple-minded people. Bottles of water, presumably from the River Jordan, were sold to persons who never visited the Holy Land and never expected to do so; but they wanted "souvenirs" of that country just the same. Fads for the collection of cigar bands, rare fish for household aquariums, postage stamps, butterfly wings, wreaths, and glass flowers have also appeared from time to time.

Some of these fads have had beneficial results and few of them have been particularly harmful. The bicycle fad created a strong demand for good roads exceeded only by the automobile which, however, did not appear on the scene until after the enthusiasm for wheeling had disappeared. Moreover, the bicycle fad brought people out of doors for hours on end and gave them a much needed occasion for healthful open-air exercise. Roller skating too, miniature golf, even ping-pong and mah jong have certain advantages not to be despised. But the health fads are total losses except for the temporary mental relief and renewal of hope of recovery afforded by mendacious and overadvertised cures for this and that ailment. When the morale is low enough people will clutch at almost anything. The late Dr. Albert Abrams of San Francisco originated a notorious piece of quackery called E.R.A., the Electronic Reactions of Abrams. It was gloriously advertised as a panacea. The patient did not need to appear in person. It was necessary merely to draw a drop of blood and place it upon a piece of paper. Disease of all kinds was not only diagnosed, but also treated by a special equipment which provided the "electronic reactions." Sick people all over the land who "fell in" with the fad numbered hundreds of thousands. Reliable medical men pointed out the absurdity of Dr. Abrams' claims, committees of scientists investigated the equipment used and reported a hoax, but these efforts did not prevent the spread of the movement.[9]

The sun-tanning and sun ray treatment fad has produced countless instances of harmful sunburn. In England the iodine locket, so called, assumed the proportions of a widespread health fad. Naïve imitators mixed a bit of iodine with some inert material such as clay or porcelain and placed it inside a locket which was hung from a string or chain around the neck. People believed in the iodine locket as a potent preventive of colds and influenza. Similarly, sulphur bags, asafœtida, and other drugs; bands of copper wire around the wrist or waist have been worn as cures and prophylactics of rheumatism, lumbago, arthritis, and related ills. Biochemists have

[9] At the time he introduced his E.R.A., Abrams had built up a scientific reputation of distinction, not only in California, but also over the entire country. Why a man of wealth and high standing in his profession should have resorted to this sort of quackery remains something of a mystery. In the end Abrams lost his reputation, but meanwhile he accumulated a substantial fortune by the ruthless exploitation of his own good name.

identified vitamins A, B, C, D, and E with scientific precision, but the producers and advertisers of various foods have exploited the entire alphabet, promising cures and health benefits in the most alluring and unreliable terms. A veritable vitamin food fad was the consequence. About the turn of the century "Fletcherizing" assumed the proportions of a full-fledged fad. It was named after its inventor and chief public advocate. People were urged to chew their food slowly and thoroughly. A metronome assisted the individual in counting 40 or 60 times as he masticated each bite of food. The intelligence testers assigned to the American draft army in 1917 for the purpose of measuring the incidence of feeblemindedness in the general population found that 47% of the white draft fell below the mental age of thirteen; of these 30% were under twelve.[10] This conclusion and the techniques used to substantiate it have been widely criticized, but the indirect evidence afforded by the study of craze and fad tends to substantiate the work of the army psychologists.

Definition of Fad

Further empirical elaboration of fad is unnecessary. It is a type of plurality pattern which may be distinguished sharply not only in comparison with craze, but also fashion, and the active or latent crowd. Most fads made their appeal to recreational interests, health interests, and the human proclivity to collect one thing or another. There are variations in volume, timbre, and pitch of emotional excitement as well as in the object-novelty which fascinates for a time. In addition, there are variations in the wave length, and in the psychological amplitude of the vibration. The element of cupidity, and the desire to play upon the ignorance, superstitions, and gullibility of a naïve populace are more or less evident in every case. Promoters and exploiters of one kind of fad or another know full well that hope springs eternal in the human heart. They also know that people are willing to pay a price even for a shadowy, temporary relief from the monotonous round of a dull, routine existence. All forms of recreation tend to grow stale with repetition. When the older remedies and panaceas for illness have failed to give relief something that is new may fill a yawning psychological void even though it is deadly in the end. Fad, as a type of plurality pattern, may be defined as a mild intoxication, a unanimity of feeling and interest in some object-novelty. It spreads in a social process of mass suggestion and imitation which runs its natural course in the form of a rhythmic movement.

Fashion

Fashion is also an irrational mode of imitative behavior. But the emotional content of fashion is less conspicuous than the emotional content of fad. This quality is still more in evidence in the craze. Hence it may be

[10] W. Thompson, *Population Problems*, rev., *op. cit.*, p. 370.

said that the trait of irrationality is most flagrant in the craze and least so in the fashion, assuming an intermediate position in the fad. Elements of prestige are more characteristic of fashion than of fad, more characteristic of fad than of craze. An old story is told of an English lord who accidentally pressed a crease in his trousers by placing them under his mattress as he went to bed. Widespread imitation followed the regular channels beginning with the super-élite, and proceeding down the social scale to the lesser-élite, and so on until it hit bottom. Pressing one's trousers became fashionable. It persisted in time whereupon fashion was transformed into custom. Fashions also have their major and minor rhythms; they are ephemeral like craze and fad. Occasionally, however, a moderated form of fashion will persist in time, thus becoming a customary practice very much like the use of the bicycle.

Tarde's Theory of Imitation

Gabriel Tarde seized upon this idea and developed it into a systematic social theory. There are two forms of imitation, said Tarde: mode imitation and custom imitation.[11] The former, simply stated, is the repetition of something new; the latter is the repetition of something old. Mode imitation is dependent upon invention and becomes custom when it is finally accepted and incorporated in a social tradition. It may of course be snuffed out in the process of competition with other inventions. Moreover, mode imitation may conflict with customary forms superseding the latter in the course of time. A given society may place a high valuation upon the new. Discoveries, inventions, science, and art are stimulated and encouraged. Such a society is progressive, dynamic. This is equivalent to the apotheosis of youth which is adventuresome, fearless, and ever dissatisfied with that which is old. On the other hand, a given society may place a high valuation upon the old. Custom imitation is now overrated while fashion imitation is underrated. The prestige of the elders holds sway. Youth is considered inexperienced, impatient, radical, and perhaps even foolish and hot-headed. Nothing can be so reliable as that which has stood the test of human experience through the ages. Nothing can be so dangerous as that which violates this criterion. Such a society is likely to be static, bound by the cake of custom, perhaps even outmoded, regressive, and backward in comparison with dynamic society.

The prerogatives of human liberty are suppressed where custom is the rule, released where fashion is the rule. Hence a dynamic society is individualistic, while a static society tends to be collectivistic. But society and the individual are abstractions in the last analysis. One cannot live without the other. The common-human relations among individuals must be supplemented by the circumscribed relations. Action patterns and plurality

[11] Gabriel Tarde, *The Laws of Imitation*, translated by E. C. Parsons, New York, 1903.

patterns are interrelated and interdependent. Hence it follows that every order of human life represents a compromise of the mode and custom forms of imitation. It is an organic equilibrium of forces which play upon each other as the balance shifts in the direction of a succession of disturbing changes or in the direction of a settled stability of life. This movement is rhythmic since reaction follows an extreme development in either direction. Hence the cyclical nature of the cultural movement. Society places a premium upon custom or fashion depending upon the considerations which favor or impede its own collective security and consequent power of survival. Leadership in society, accordingly, moves in the direction of human types of personality best endowed for the work which is most desired under the conditions of life as they actually exist. Political questions as well as economic, social and ethical problems are resolved accordingly.

A military caste, a priestly caste, an industrial class, or a class of expert technicians and engineers are favored or disfavored depending upon the social valuation upon their services. They appear and disappear, rise and fall in the course of the cultural movement in accordance with this collective evaluation upon their quality and service. The ultimate criteria are common security and the mass power of growth and survival. Democracy is no more of an accident than autocracy. The collective discipline, and unified, central leadership of a fascist state is conceived as a natural, inevitable condition of freedom in competition with external powers which imperil or threaten the independence of the national spirit. Once this freedom and independence of the spirit are substantially secure and well established the time is ripe for a release of internal liberties which make for continued growth, power and dominion. A democratic state is no less imperialistic than an autocratic state by virtue of political form. Nineteenth century democracy provides the historical proof. It is a question, in the last analysis, of the quality of leadership, and the political form which best serves the ultimate needs of security, survival, and power. In this way the mode imitation and the custom imitation elaborated by Gabriel Tarde assume a far-reaching significance which engages at once the problems of social structure and of social change. According to Tarde fashion imitation is no more logical or illogical than custom or institution. This author takes a broad view and describes the logic and the politics of nature rather than the logic and politics of man.

Characteristics of Fashion

In this context fashion is conceived in a more restricted sense. It is particularly marked off from other types of plurality pattern by the desire for visible distinction. Fashion is symbolic of a feeling of superiority. It expresses the vanity of the individual, the tendency to self-display, and the desire for adornment of the person. Nature provides the peacock with the

perfect means of expressing this trait. By improvising fashion man is able to compensate for the deficiency of nature in his own case. Sumptuary legislation may prevent the imitation of the recognized leaders of society. Such legislation, however, violates the premises of democracy where all men are created free and equal. In the latter state, accordingly, the social and the economic élite are imitated by their immediate inferiors, while these in turn are imitated by their inferiors. It is necessary to devise counterfeits in the course of this process in order to fall within the range of purchasing power of the lower social strata. Hence the object of imitation becomes increasingly cheap and tawdry, losing its æsthetic value if, indeed, it had any at all in the beginning. The difficulty of distinguishing the counterfeits from the true values is enhanced, and the original fashion ceases to be a mark of visible distinction. New fashions take the place of old and the process is repeated as designers, mannequins, tailors, dressmakers, producers, and dealers in furs, silks, cotton, and woolen fabrics are afforded a livelihood—therefore, the succession of cycles in a rhythmic movement of fashion imitation.

In order to achieve definiteness and continuity in the marks of visible distinction fashions tend toward the bizarre, the extreme and the grotesque. Expensive furs, for instance, have been carefully prepared by taxidermists so as to preserve fully the head and features of the slain animal. The thought occurred to someone that the animal may be worn alive. It became fashionable about thirty-five years ago to wear live chameleons on the coat or dress. That the little lizards possessed an æsthetic fascination was more than obvious. These animals were quite comfortable, having been fastened to the clothing with a loose loop of wire and a small metal chain. Here was a kind of visible distinction that was not so easy to imitate.

The ruling class may be military, priestly, commercial and industrial, or bureaucratic. The marks of visible distinction are fashioned accordingly. Apparel affords evidence of high standing in each case. In a commercial and industrial society the pecuniary standards of achievement are dominating. Conspicuous expenditure for dress is symbolic of success according to the prevailing ethical norms. Because of these standards it is not at all uncommon for people to go ill clad in order to appear well dressed in inclement weather. Respectable appearance becomes a more paramount consideration than protection of person. Necessities of life are sacrificed on account of the fashions and the assumed standards of reputability in dress. Conspicuous consumption as an index of wealth is extended to other things such as summer homes, winter homes, pleasure boats, rare gardens, riding horses, antiques and *objets d'art* of all kinds. Fashions in dogs have had their cycles of rhythmic succession. At one time it was the pug dog, and when this variety was found everywhere, the Newfoundlands and collies had their day. Chow dogs, Scotch terriers, the dachshund, and the Pekinese appeared later. As pets these animals provide objects of affection as well as the means

of visible distinction. In some instances they are more accurately described as surreptitious surrogates for natural parenthood.

Some of the more ridiculous extremes of fashion show that they serve to symbolize leisure as well as pecuniary rating. The very long skirt, which had its day, is not only expensive, but also obviously hampers the wearer at every turn and successfully prevents all manual labor. Long Chinese nails, excessively long hair, elegant styles of feminine headdress, the French heel, and the corset served similar purposes. Among men, buckled patent leather slippers, gold lace, unstained linen, powdered wigs, silk hose, cylindrical hats, and even the jeweled walking stick were insignia of the freedom from manual toil and symbols of visible distinction. When clothing shows neither signs of wear nor of soil, a similar purpose is served. Veblen maintained that the corset was a kind of self-imposed mutilation which was endured because it lowered the subject's vitality and efficiently incapacitated her for manual work in a permanent way.[12] Because of the tendency toward extremes, fashions in a democratic society are likely to become ugly and inartistic. The ancient Egyptians evolved stabilized apparel and characteristic costumes which were noted for their inimitable loveliness, good taste, and good sense. Greeks and Romans of a later day did likewise; and the same may be said of the Japanese and the Chinese. But these people also provide us with many examples of the principle of conspicuous leisure, as for example, the bound, mutilated foot of the Chinese aristocratic woman. Stabilized costumes of the peasantry of nearly all European countries, even at the present time, show a healthy variation from the hectic competition in conspicuous expenditure and vicarious leisure.[13]

The desire for visible distinction in fashion imitation leads to the extremity of vicarious expenditure as well as vicarious leisure. This principle is particularly characteristic of woman. Generally speaking, her dress is symbolic of the social class to which she belongs. Since her traditional sphere of activity is in the household, it has been her purpose to provide the chief adornment of the home and thus to reflect and symbolize the station of her family, husband, or father. Women of class, accordingly, have been required to give evidence of incapacity for all forms of manual labor. The disability and discomfort imposed upon her by extreme fashions, such as the outmoded corset and the French heel, are suffered vicariously as symbols of rank in a semipatriarchal society. Now that women have taken to politics and successfully asserted their equality of rights, new symbols have taken the place of the old. The constant demands that various civic, social, professional, recreational, and political clubs, organizations, and associations

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[12] T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, New York, 1899, Ch. 7.

[13] These principles of conspicuous, vicarious, and inartistic expenditure and leisure were developed by T. Veblen in the remarkable work cited above—*The Theory of the Leisure Class.* Veblen's analysis, however, showed some inclination to the exaggeration of differences.

make upon her time and energy are today efficiently effective in rendering many women useless for all kinds of manual labor.

But this is not all. The modern situation has carried the principle of vicarious leisure to the point of rendering women incapable of bearing and rearing children. With the consequent sterilization of the race the principles of vicarious expenditure and leisure are carried to their logical fulfillment. Whereas formerly women were required to demonstrate their master's ability to pay, today many of them seem inclined to demonstrate their own ability to mimic their masters. When they succeed eminently they are noteworthy for elaborate show, the splendid apparel of their own liveried servants, luxurious homes, and self-imposed sterility. Certain well-known Hollywood stars serve to illustrate. Tortuous fashions and physical discomfort cease to be necessary or desirable. This type of woman bobs her hair, shortens her skirts, throws away uncomfortable footwear, relieves herself of heavy undergarments, smokes tobacco, and drinks her whiskey straight. She is eligible for the same professions in which men engage, participates in the same sports, revives her spirit at the same bar, and aspires to be the next representative to Congress from her district.

Definition of Fashion

Fashion may be defined as a type of plurality pattern, inspired by a desire for visible distinction, which symbolizes the rank of the individual in accordance with the prevailing structure of society. Like craze and fad it is initiated in a social medium and spread in a process of mass suggestion and imitation. The emotional aspect of fashion is less in evidence than in craze or fad. Nevertheless the quality of irrationality is present, especially so in a democratic society where fashion imitation often tends toward unæsthetic, bizarre, and even grotesque extremes. Fashion provides the means of compensation for the apotheosis of the common man and the prevailing theory of equality of status and of rights. The principles of conspicuous expenditure and leisure, and of vicarious expenditure and leisure are more characteristic of a society in which consumption as well as production are highly competitive. There are, of course, endless variations in the objects of consumption which include, among other things, wearing apparel, homes, automobiles, pleasure boats, furniture, and food. Similar variations in tempo, amplitude, volume, pitch, and timbre are manifest. While the rhythmic movement of cyclical succession in fashion imitation is obviously controlled by a great variety of factors the chief of these is definiteness and continuity in expressing the desire for visible distinction. The finer gradations of distinction within the major social strata can be maintained by ostentatious competition in conspicuous and vicarious expenditure and leisure.

Characteristics of the Active Crowd

A fourth and last type of irrational plurality pattern is analyzed in this chapter. It is the active crowd. Well-known historical examples of this kind of collective social phenomena are the crowd which stormed the *Bastille,* the *sans culottes* of the French Revolution; the crowd which attacked and burned the Supreme Court building in Vienna in the summer of 1927; the infuriated mob which was frustrated in its effort to destroy the works and the village of Kohler in July, 1934; the crowd that cried "Crucify him"; the crowd inspired by Mark Antony to realize his will; various Southern crowds which have stormed jails from time to time in order to seize and lynch a Negro criminal; the Sacco-Vanzetti demonstrations in Paris in 1927; the revolutionary uprisings of 1848.

The general characteristics of the active crowd are the following: (1) heightened suggestibility due to the increasing volume of identical stimuli and the rising emotional pitch of these same stimuli; (2) the crescendo of emotional excitement culminating in a climax when the crowd acts impulsively as a unit in response to the suggestions of its leader; (3) the complete loss of self in the crowd with consequent abeyance of the normal character-attitudes and inhibitions against rash and immoral behavior; (4) the transitoriness of the crowd which gradually exhausts its resources in a wild orgy of emotional intoxication; (5) a temporary release of extraordinary energy as the crowd is filled with anger, hate, revenge, and a grim determination to achieve satisfaction; (6) the reciprocal reinforcement of these same feelings with corresponding intensification which leads to a cruel and arbitrary intolerance of all that is contrary; (7) the simplicity, credulity, immorality, instability, and fickleness which follow the pulverization of the normal behavior controls; (8) abject subservience to the accepted leader or leaders and a corresponding singleness of purpose. It is clear that the crowd is more completely dominated by emotion than is the case in craze, fad, or fashion. The quality of behavior is therefore even more unreliable, illogical, and arbitrary than that of craze, fad, or fashion. Manifestly the deliberate processes of thought and reflection are more completely and thoroughly subordinated to the prevailing intoxication than is true of craze or fad. The loss of the normal sense of self is all but complete for the moment.[14]

The Genesis of the Crowd

Crowds are not accidental, random occurrences. They are consciously and unconsciously prepared, sometimes for generations, before assuming the close-knit texture of an active crowd bent upon its purpose. This was true of the crowd that stormed the Bastille. In other cases the crowd is prepared

[14] Gustave Le Bon, *The Crowd,* London, 1910.

over a shorter time period. A kind of latent or nascent crowd is composed out of various elements, and then, when the time appears ripe, a more definite orientation of minds is brought about by some spectacle, object, or event.[15] A crystallization of desired attitudes on certain issues is achieved, and the structure of interhuman relationships refined in accordance with the desired pattern. The crowd which tried to storm the Kohler works and village was no fortuitous circumstance. It was carefully, systematically, and ingeniously prepared by a voluntary and deliberate co-operation of minds. This orientation of minds is the first essential step in the formation of an active crowd. It is brought about by the deliberate manipulation of objects, events, and situations in a process of interhuman action increasingly surcharged with feeling. All of the means of propaganda—newspapers, speeches, placards, posters, bulletins, radio, rallies, clubs, and associations—are utilized for the purpose.

A second step in the process of crowd formation may be described as the gradual realization of complete unanimity. The thing as it is *felt* is more quickly communicated than the thing as it exists in realistic, objective terms. Each person feels more intensely the moment it is perceived that others share the same feeling. This perceived unanimity brings forth a sympathy which makes the next agreement easier, thus gradually achieving a complete singleness and unity of purpose. It is understood by the leaders that the baser passions of greed, jealousy, revenge, hate, and anger may be thoroughly aroused by the clever manipulation of situations. The aim of the propaganda is the definitive fixation of these passions upon some object or objects. In this way the mind of the individual becomes a single track mechanism which moves in complete harmony with the organized aggregation of minds. Anything and everything that is obstructive, inconsistent, or incompatible is ruthlessly and intolerantly rejected or destroyed. It is well known that the baser passions, once thoroughly aroused and definitely fixated, are not easily controlled. They lead inevitably to violent action. If the occasion for overt action is not provided for them, they will create their own occasion for dissipating their pent-up emotional energies. The spirit must be cleansed. Catharsis is imperative.

Thus a third step in the evolution of the active crowd is anticipated. It is action. This action is violent. Invariably and inevitably the crowd takes the law into its own hands. Thoroughly imbued with a feeling of the unqualified righteousness of its purpose the ordinary qualms of conscience are completely liquidated. The aim of the crowd is holy; therefore, also, the crowd is holy and anything which the crowd may do is likewise holy. The sea-green incorruptible Robespierre, described by Thomas Carlyle in his *French Revolution,* bears testimony to the consciousness of sacred exaltation

[15] von Wiese and Becker, *Systematic Sociology, op. cit.,* Ch. 35.

which animates the leader and the led. It is the entrenched opposition which is criminal according to the point of view of the crowd. Since this opposition is supported by the law and the police—so far as they are loyal—the law is vicious and the police are poltroons, mercenaries, *canailles.* Hence the rule of law is suspended by a crowd as it gradually becomes a law unto itself. Tear gas may blind them, machine guns may mow them down, their leaders may forsake them in the hour of greatest need. Their purposes may be completely realized or completely frustrated. The drama will have its *dénouement,* because the stage has been set, the actors have been prepared and the spectators wait only for the occasion which signals the rise of the curtain. Crowd leaders understand this well; but the crowd itself is generally innocently unaware of the inevitable climax and tragedy. Masses of individuals are amorphous, anarchic. They must have leadership or else they perish. When the leadership is wise and good they are the chief beneficiaries, but when the leadership is false and stupid they are required to pay the price.

Dispersion and reorganization is the final phase of the active crowd. Energies exhausted there is nothing left to do but recuperate. When the outcome is defeat, disillusionment, despair, and temporary or permanent disruption are bound to follow. But when the result is victory, the leaders, flushed with a sense of triumph, proceed to organize a new reign of law and order. Partial failure or incomplete success leaves important issues suspended in mid-air. Sooner or later they must be resolved. The lines of action are re-formed, and the techniques of propaganda are revised and adapted to meet the requirements of a new situation. Thus the struggle may continue for generations. It becomes clear that the active crowd may have far-reaching consequences in the work of reforming the existing legal structure of society. It may have equally significant indirect effects upon the prevailing social order as when conciliatory legislation is devised for the purpose of partially meeting the demands of the crowd. The social legislation sponsored by Prince Bismarck may be interpreted as a conciliatory aftermath of the revolutionary uprisings of 1848 intended to stem the tide of revolt and prevent a recurrence of similar events. Since the French aristocrats had missed their opportunity, the Jacobins were successful in devising a new constitution based upon the shibboleths, liberty, fraternity, equality.

The Latent Crowd

A distinction may therefore be made between the active crowd and the latent crowd. The latter represents a gradual crystallization of feelings, ideas, and values which are more or less definitely subversive in relation to the existing order of control. Such ideas as class struggle, surplus value, economic interpretation of history, cataclysmic theory of social change, exploitation of the workers, and the ultimate triumph of the proletariat may be

combined in various ways with trade unionism, collective bargaining, the closed shop, peaceful and violent picketing, and the open siege of sit-down workers against their industrial masters. Plurality patterns are crystallized in certain groups at variance with the plurality patterns of other groups. The active crowd emerges from the latent crowd in certain times of crisis. Hence it follows that the former can be prevented only by somehow liquidating the latter. So long as this is not accomplished all of the danger signals point to trouble ahead.

The typical lynching crowd of the Southern states may also be analyzed with reference to the distinction between the latent and the active crowd. Again, certain configurations of plurality pattern are pitted against each other in mortal combat. It is simply impossible to conceive of a Negro who is "kept in his place" and at the same time to think of him in all respects as free and equal to the white man. This conflict of patterns will have to be resolved sooner or later. Meanwhile the struggle leads to renewed tensions in critical situations, and the emergence of the active crowd from the nascent crowd. And in each event there is a corresponding reinforcement or weakening of the intrinsic configurations of plurality patterns depending upon the outcome.

The Kohler Riot

In the summer of 1934 a riot occurred in Kohler, Wisconsin. What a strange event! This beautiful industrial village, bathed in the soft colors of a sunset sky, is a picture of paradise. The loyalty and gratitude of workers who lived and labored in an environment of order and tranquillity had never been questioned. No employers anywhere in the land dealt more fairly, openly, and honestly with their employees than the Kohler brothers. No industrial village in the land compared with Kohler in the things that make for beauty, cleanliness, and sanity. It was, and still is, an idyll, a fairyland, a lovely dream come true. No one who knows the management of this enterprise could accuse it of condescending paternalism. In the course of the depression every effort was made to guarantee security of employment and of income to the workers. Management and workers co-ordinated their activity in a common emergency. They would lose or win together.

Then came the New Deal and Section 7-A of the National Industrial Recovery Act. The American Federation of Labor was out to gain control of every enterprise in the nearby city of Sheboygan. Membership multiplied. Agitators, organizers, lawyers, and editors were hired to enlist the support of the employed and the unemployed. The latter were imported in large numbers to add to the picket lines of striking workers. One old baker in Sheboygan fell dead in utter amazement as his employees walked out on him. He had never heard of such a thing, never could have imagined it. At the toy works in Sheboygan a vote was held. There were 65 who voted to strike

and 401 who voted against it. But the public authorities were unable to protect the 401 in their right to work. A strike, picket lines, tear gas, and rioting resulted in complete victory for organized labor.[16] Mass meetings and agitation continued in rising tempo. Workers claimed that the government was behind them. Their newspaper organ of propaganda was named *The New Deal.* Communist literature was scattered about: the *Moscow Weekly,* printed in Moscow, and the *Daily Worker,* organ of the Communist Party in the United States, printed in New York.

The workers were whipped into a frenzy of hysterical excitement and holy indignation directed against the Kohler Company. The ground work was carefully and systematically prepared. Because of the reputation of its owners, union control of the Kohler works was a coveted prize. Successful strikes in Sheboygan and the constant bombardment of propaganda finally gave the workers the courage and audacity to bear down upon their prey. They struck. A picket line a mile long was thrown around the works. The situation was a state of siege. Coal for the power plant was imperative to provide water, fire protection, and sewage disposal for the people living in the village. A coal car was turned back by the striking workers. It was ordered forward. Then the trouble started. First an attempt was made to storm the works. Windows everywhere were smashed. Tear gas bombs thwarted the mob as it converged upon the administration building where 200 employees had been living and working in forced confinement. Halted in this direction the rioters directed their attention to the village. They were bent upon destroying every home. Deputies fired. Two of the strikers were killed and forty were wounded. Meanwhile responsible journals, such as the *Nation,* were fomenting the workers with flaring headlines such as: *The Kohler Myth Explodes.* But after the noise of the battle subsided and people returned to their senses in part, the National Labor Relations Board conducted an election at the Kohler works. A decisive majority favored the Kohler Workers Association as against the American Federation of Labor. But the latter organization is now merely awaiting a favorable conjuncture of events for the renewal of its attack. Will government again be guilty of asserting its authority after it is too late?

Problem Questions

1. Presumably such factors as volume, wave length, and amplitude may be expressed in statistical terms. Are statistical methods of measurement and analysis applicable to the study of plurality patterns?

2. Are the advantages of statistical procedures worth the trouble of employing them in this connection?

3. Do the bleating lambs who lose their birthrights in a speculative mania

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[16] Garet Garrett, "Section 7-A at Sheboygan," *The Saturday Evening Post,* October 27, 1934.

learn enough in an experience of this kind to make them more discriminating in the future?

4. Compare the volume, wave length, and amplitude of the South Sea or Mississippi bubbles with the speculative craze which culminated in Black October of 1929. Account for these differences.

5. Describe several enactments of the New Deal which are intended to curb the speculative mania.

6. Evaluate Tarde's theory of mode imitation and custom imitation.

7. Are the principles of fashion enunciated by Veblen—(1) the tendency toward inartistic extremes, (2) conspicuous and vicarious expenditure, (3) conspicuous and vicarious leisure—more or less in evidence today than they were when Veblen wrote?

8. Are these principles more or less likely to characterize a democratic society than a monarchy?

9. Would you describe the Crusades of the twelfth century as examples of craze? Why so?

10. Is there any relationship between craze or crowd and the revision of old laws and institutions or the formulation of new laws and institutions?

11. How do the characteristics of the nascent or latent crowd differ from the active crowd?

12. Show how the work of the moral pioneer is related to the development of the latent crowd. Give several empirical examples.

13. Professor Ross enumerates a series of prophylactics against mob mind, craze, and the active crowd. What measures appear to be most effectual in reducing the frequency of such occurrences?

14. Is it reasonable to assume that such occurrences may be prevented entirely?

15. Are newspapers and journals guilty of deliberately inflaming public opinion on certain issues at certain times, thus creating a condition of collective hysteria? If so, give examples.

16. Should newspapers and journals be censored in order to guarantee a more moderate and balanced statement of issues?

17. How do you account for the series of Negro riots which appeared in several Northern cities of the United States shortly after the World War?

18. What steps, if any, may be relied upon to prevent such emotional epidemics?

19. Were the Children's Crusades of 1212 examples of craze?

20. Congress has made several attempts to enact an anti-lynching law. In general these laws make local officials guilty of criminal negligence when a lynching occurs in their jurisdiction. Would such legislation be helpful?

Suggestions for Additional Reading

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26

DESTITUTION AND RELIEF

Failure of an Old Theory and Emergence of a New Theory

Today the problems of relief threaten to overwhelm the civilization of the Western world. At no time in the history of Europe and America have these problems been fraught with more far-reaching political implications and consequences. In the United States the private and local public relief agencies were unable to carry the rapidly growing load which accumulated gradually in the course of an unprecedented unemployment situation. The federal government with some assistance from state and local governments assumed the major responsibility for the relief of distress. Never before in the entire history of the country had the government at Washington assumed responsibility for a similar undertaking. The theory of individual responsibility whereby a person was held morally accountable for his economic failure proved to be untenable. Throughout the nineteenth century this theory, which placed the blame for poverty and distress upon the poor themselves, was generally accepted. It was stated coherently by Thomas Malthus at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and restated by Herbert Spencer and other well-known writers of that era. That this theory was challenged and criticized is of course true; but when the aftermath of the World War showed that chronic destitution had become widespread in larger proportions than had ever existed hitherto, this theory was completely abandoned.

On March 18, 1936 President Roosevelt delivered a relief message to Congress. In this message he stated that 3,800,000 families and unattached individuals were being supported by the government on public works projects; that 5,300,000 families and unattached individuals were receiving federal aid; and that 1,500,000 families and unattached individuals who were unemployable were supported locally by counties, townships, cities, and states. These figures indicate a total of approximately 25,000,000 persons on relief.[1] This is equivalent to about one-fifth of the total population of the United States. It was stated specifically that the above statistics do not

[1] In December, 1934, 20,046,000 persons were receiving relief from public funds according to reports collected by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, Washington, 1935, p. 327. During the winter of 1936-1937 President Roosevelt made several addresses in which he pointed out repeatedly that one-third of the population of the United States is ill-fed, ill-housed, and ill-clothed.

include the following classes of individuals: (1) unemployed not receiving relief, (2) casual and intermittent workers and, (3) able-bodied youths supported by their parents.

Relief data for the year 1935 show that fifteen states received over 90% of their expenditures for relief purposes from the federal treasury; twelve states received between 80% and 90%; eight states 70% to 80%; six states between 60% and 70%; five states 50% to 60%; and two states between 40% and 50%. Among the fifteen states which received over 90% of their expenditures for relief purposes from the federal government there were eleven states which received over 95%. These eleven states were Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina, New Mexico, Wyoming, and Nevada.[2]

In June of 1936, Harry L. Hopkins, director of the Works Progress Administration, and formerly director of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, issued a final report on federal expenditures for direct relief purposes covering the three-year period from January 1, 1933 to December 31, 1935.[3] According to this report the Federal Emergency Relief Administration spent $480,716,270 in 1933, $1,065,004,451 in 1934, and $1,359,980,575 in 1935. This total expenditure of $2,905,701,296 provided by the federal government represents 70.9% of the total sums used for direct relief. The remainder, amounting to 29.1% of the total expenditures, was provided by local and state governments. This sum was $1,190,732,071. Total cost of direct public relief, federal, state, and local contributions combined, was $4,096,433,367 for the three-year period. In order to avoid misunderstanding it should be stated that these figures do not include expenditures for indirect relief such as the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Civil Works Administration, the Public Works Administration, or the Works Progress Administration. Needless to say, this situation is not peculiar to the United States. From the time of the demobilization of troops which followed the World War of 1914-1918, the countries of Western Europe have spent unprecedented sums for direct relief as well as for public works. In general these costs have varied directly with the levels of industrialization and urbanization represented by England, Italy, Germany, France, and other countries of Western Europe.

Theological Conception of Relief

Under these circumstances the problems of relief, direct and indirect, assume a political significance which overshadows all other aspects.[4] In the

[2] R. D. Cahn, "Relief Map of the United States," *The Chicago Tribune*, March 24, 1936.

[3] Explanatory and statistical summary of the "Final Report on the Federal Emergency Relief Administration," Harry L. Hopkins, June, 1936, *The Chicago Tribune*, June 7, 1936.

[4] In 1931 the issue of the British dole threatened to bankrupt the government. A general cut in expenditures was made dependent upon a reduction of 10% in the dole. This gesture gave the bankers the assurance that was demanded as a condition of a four hundred million dollar loan. Editorial, "Britain Girds for Battle," *The Christian Century*, September 9, 1931.

early phase of the culture history of Europe these problems of relief were approached from the point of view of an isolated sacred structure. They assumed a religio-theological character which linked relief with the teaching of the church and the salvation of the soul. All other aspects of the problem, as for instance, the ethical, the economic, and the political were subordinated to the spiritual conception held by the Roman Church. This conception emphasized the connection between the forgiveness of sins and the giving of alms. The personal, spiritual interest of the individual in charity—the direct dependence of the salvation of the soul upon almsgiving—was the cardinal principle. In the course of time poverty itself became a Christian virtue as exemplified by the rise of the mendicant friars and the influence of such men as St. Francis of Assisi.

Harnack, the great German theologian and church historian, points out that a long line of ecclesiastical injunctions, beginning with the apostolic councils, placed an ever-increasing stress "upon the importance of alms to the religious position of the donor and upon the prospect of future recompense." [5] Clement is quoted as having said that alms have the power to extinguish and expiate sin.[6] This was the motive and the spirit which animated the charitable enterprise of monasteries, gilds, hospitals, and private individuals such as prelates and lords who gave lavishly of their means for the relief of the poor. How did this conception arise? Why did it prove to be inadequate with the growth of the medieval city and the increasing self-assertion of the secular authority? How is one to account for the intemperate criticism which was directed toward this idea? Why did the clergy hold so firmly to their point of view even after it had broken down completely as measured by all the empirical tests? What new conception of relief slowly gained ascendancy and what was the destiny of this new idea? The aim at this point is to show how the motive, the spirit, and the purpose of relief have changed in the course of the cultural movement. Attention will be given to these questions in their proper connections.

Origin and Development of the Secular Conception

Old conceptions break down and new conceptions arise because new conditions of life place an accumulating burden upon existing institutions. Sooner or later the strain becomes unbearable. New institutions supersede the old. So long as the gilds, the monasteries, the hospitals, and private benevolence were adequate no one was particularly concerned to criticize the prevailing notions of charity. But the manorial system disintegrated; the enclosure movement and extension of sheep farming withdrew the means of livelihood from countless numbers of peasants. Improvement in

[5] A. von Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*, New York and London, 1904, Vol. 1, p. 190.
[6] J. L. Gillin, *Poverty and Dependency*, 3rd ed., New York and London, 1937, p. 144.

the methods of cultivation and animal husbandry released surplus labor which migrated to the towns in search of work. Poverty and dependency became a social problem which was especially acute when times were hard, not as a result of overproduction and falling prices, but rather as a result of underproduction and rising prices due to drouth, or other causes of food shortage. Under such circumstances unemployment in the towns and cities increased. Dependency and distress became acute social problems.

The prevailing ecclesiastical conception of alms and destitution necessarily resulted in a good deal of undesirable demoralization and pauperization of able-bodied individuals quite willing to exploit their opportunities. It also resulted in indiscriminate giving, lack of co-ordination on the part of relief agencies, and failure to meet the real needs of countless impoverished persons. Accordingly, the teaching of the Church was severely criticized, and a new ethical-secular conception of relief gradually superseded the earlier idea. If a person gave of his means for the relief of the poor in order to provide for the forgiveness of his sins and the salvation of his soul, the act was perceived to be essentially self-centered.

Christ had criticized the Scribes and Pharisees who made a public show of their piety and virtue. The burden of His message appeared to be a self-obliterating unselfishness. In an oft-repeated reference to almsgiving He is quoted as saying, "Let not thy right hand know what thy left hand doeth." If the primary aim of charity was the relief of distress, then it should have been organized and administered with this end in view. And if the Church was incompetent to assume responsibility for such an undertaking, it followed that some other authority—city, state, or province—was bound to do so. Hence the organization of relief assumed a secular character which stressed the importance of maintaining the moral integrity of the individual. And this principle applied to the one who gave as well as to the one who received.

Influence of the Reformation

The struggle between sacred and secular authorities was at bottom a conflict between the ideologies of priest and noble. It has been pointed out that this duel of the first and second estates has morphological parallelisms in the early history of every great culture. The ruthless and devastating policy of Henry VIII with reference to monasteries, hospitals, and other religious orders is clear and conclusive evidence of the decisive victory of the noble, and the corresponding ascendancy of the secular authority. This movement was strongly supported in direct as well as indirect ways by the Protestant Reformation. Protestant ethics placed a definite stamp of disapproval upon begging; it also frowned upon the kind of indiscriminate charity which had the effect of destroying the moral independence and therefore the spiritual freedom of the individual; it opposed the domination of the ecclesiastical

authority and definitely favored the substitution of the secular power. In the year 1520, Luther issued a manifesto, *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation.* In it he advocated the total abolition of mendicancy, and the assumption of regulative power by the town authorities. "It would be an easy regulation to introduce, if we have sufficient courage and earnestness, that every town should provide for its own poor people. Each town could maintain its own; . . . and it could discover which were truly poor."[7] A few years later, in a document entitled the *Regulation of a Common Chest,* similar ideas were advocated as follows: "Begging is to be rigidly prohibited; all who are not old and weak shall work; poor householders who have honorably labored at their craft, or in agriculture, shall, if they can find no other support, be given loans, without interest, from the common chest."[8] The income of this chest came from several sources, including compulsory assessments if necessary, and the administration was placed in the hands of elected citizens.

In view of these varied but closely related factors the theological conception of alms, fostered by the Roman Church and administered by monasteries, gilds, hospitals, parish priests, prelates, and nobles on their own account, gave way to the ethical-secular idea. As the earlier point of view developed naturally in the Springtime of the movement of Western culture, so the later idea, which grew out of it, parallels the Summertime of the same movement. It can hardly be emphasized too strongly that the earlier theory was particularly apt in developing a sense of social cohesion, a feeling of mutual dependence, a habit of loyalty to the Church, and a willingness to sacrifice for the common good. It failed because it lacked the higher perspective that was needed in relation to the character of the individual and the exigencies of relief problems as they actually existed at the time.

Nominalism and Humanism

That the new development was an organic growth is fully attested by the fact that a liberal group of Catholic scholars and theologians, known as nominalists, were inclined to favor the changing point of view. They stressed the functions of the state rather than the Church. They regarded conceptual terms or general ideas as names only—*nomina*—and called attention to the importance of the immediate facts of sense experience and observation. Hence they viewed the problems of charity and relief in a more realistic spirit than their more orthodox and conservative colleagues. It is true that the latter were slow to admit the nominalists to the confidence of their inner circles, but the fact remains that they were stressing ideas which represented the actual trend of the times.

[7] Quoted by W. Ashley, *An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory,* Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1920, Vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 342.

[8] *Ibid.,* by permission.

It is equally significant that certain Catholic humanists, who are not to be confused with the nominalists, were well advised of the inadequacy of prevailing conceptions and adopted a more realistic and practically effectual attitude toward the problems of relief. Perhaps the most outstanding representative of these humanists was the Spaniard, Vives, who wrote a treatise entitled *On the Relief of the Poor* in 1526.[9] The magistrates of Bruges had asked Vives for his advice and this was the answer. Curiously enough the practical recommendations were almost identical with the views of Martin Luther. Two cardinal principles were stressed: (1) the able-bodied should be made to work, and (2) begging should be absolutely prohibited. He classified the destitute as follows: (1) inmates of hospitals and almshouses; (2) homeless beggars; (3) the honest poor living in their own homes. Magistrates were advised to make a census and determine the facts with respect to these classes. Special investigators, called senators, appointed by the magistrates, were called upon to do this work. For the impotent poor, hospitals and almshouses were recommended. It was advised that able-bodied inmates of these institutions be turned out and work projects provided for them if other employment were not available. Eminently sensible prescriptions were offered with respect to the sick, insane, blind, abnormally dependent children, and other special classes which need not be reviewed here. It is enough at this point to state that the movement from sacred to secular authority in handling the increasingly pressing problems of relief was an organic development in which certain leaders of the Catholic Church, Protestant reformers, town magistrates, and ruling nobility actively participated.

Criticism of the relief administration of the early Middle Ages may be summarized: (1) the religious motive proved to be inadequate; (2) the distribution of alms was not systematically organized; (3) unnecessary idleness and pauperization were encouraged; (4) the importance of the secular authority was not adequately recognized; (5) there was a good deal of indiscriminate almsgiving; (6) funds were badly distributed in view of the lack of co-ordination of relief agencies. As a necessary result of this situation the great European cities of the sixteenth century took matters into their own hands. Augsburg in 1522 prohibited street begging and appointed six *Armenpfleger*—guardians of the poor—to administer the distribution of relief. Nuremberg, Strasburg, Breslau, Ratisbon, Magdeburg, and Ypres quickly followed with similar legislation.[10] These cities possessed a degree of solidarity and sense of corporate life which made it possible for them to deal effectually with the problems of pauperism. So impressive was the

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[9] Vives, *On the Relief of the Poor, A Letter addressed to the Senate of Bruges,* January 6, 1526, New York School of Philanthropy, New York, 1917. See also Ashley, *op. cit.,* pp. 343-347.

[10] Ashley, *op. cit.,* p. 346.

work of these cities that the Emperor Charles V issued a poor law for the entire empire in 1531, the aim of which was to stimulate other local authorities in the process of secularizing relief. Naturally there was conflict with the officials of the Roman Church, an illuminating conflict which revealed the opposition of incompatible ideologies. But the significant matter was the sure ascendancy of the ethical-secular notion, and the desuetude of the theological idea.

Early History of the English Poor Law

This process of substitution is further illustrated and demonstrated in the history of the English poor law. In the year 1349 was enacted the Statutes of Laborers, a piece of legislation which grew out of the scarcity of labor following the Black Death. It may be regarded as the basis of the English poor law. The main provisions of this law are summarized under the following headings: (1) the recognition of local responsibility for the protection of impotent beggars; (2) imprisonment for people who helped beggars; (3) compulsory labor for the able-bodied at wage rates preceding the Black Death. Thus it is evident that the scarcity of labor raised wages far beyond the earlier levels and that many able-bodied men preferred begging to honest labor at the old scale of pay.

In 1536 a combination of conditions, including a series of bad harvests, civil wars, enclosures, debasement of coinage, and consequent rise in price levels, produced an important poor law. Begging was prohibited, and the local parishes were made responsible for their own destitute; funds were raised by the method of voluntary subscriptions. Later, in 1572, the justices of the peace were empowered to make direct assessments for this purpose. A few years following, in 1576, provision was made for the public employment of the honest poor.

As early as 1601, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the first state system of relief was established.[11] This act of Elizabeth may be summarized as follows: (1) indigent parishes were relieved by the more affluent parishes which were taxed for this purpose; (2) workhouses were provided for the able-bodied unemployed; (3) apprenticeship training was provided for abnormally dependent boys and girls; (4) justices named the overseers of the poor each year and empowered them to secure work for dependent adults and children by taxing the parishes sufficiently to meet this expense. Amendments to this basic law have been enacted several times since 1601. The significant matter is that English law had developed the ethical-secular conception of relief on a national basis by the beginning of the seventeenth century, and that six basic principles were clearly embodied and formulated in this legislation. These principles are the following: (1) the national

[11] F. A. Ogg, *Social Progress in Contemporary Europe*, New York, 1919, pp. 228, 229.

organization and administration of relief; (2) the prohibition of begging; (3) the compulsory assessment of individuals for relief purposes; (4) the collaboration of the parishes whereby the richer parishes helped the poorer ones; (5) the practice of providing public work projects or workhouses as they were called at that time; (6) the principle of state regulation of wages.

Today each one of these six principles is discussed in the United States as if it were a radical and dangerous innovation. But the political and economic organization of the United States as expressed in the Constitution reveals its origin in the dominant ideology of the eighteenth century and the ascendancy of the middle class—the third estate. Naturally it is a difficult matter for this class to accommodate itself to the exigencies of the problems of relief and unemployment in their present staggering immensity. Middle class ascendancy brought forth new conceptions of poverty and charity and these conceptions necessarily played an important rôle in the countries of Europe as well as in the United States of America. They are identified with a philosophy of individualism and utilitarianism. All forms of public relief were discouraged by placing the responsibility for poverty upon the poor themselves.

The Monasteries

The relief agencies which administered the theological conception of the early Roman Church included especially monasteries, hospitals, and gilds. In addition there was a good deal of private almsgiving on the part of benevolent individuals such as bishops and lords who desired greater popularity among their own people. Certain aspects of the charitable work of the monasteries, hospitals, and gilds are here brought out in order to show how the prevailing idea of almsgiving actually functioned in practice. Monasticism was not confined to any particular European country. It possessed the same general features in France, Germany, England, and other countries of Western Europe. Inasmuch as the tithe was the most reliable and regular as well as the largest source of Church income, the practice of dividing it up into three or four parts, one of which was assigned to the relief of the poor, became well established. In fact the payment of the tithe was frequently justified and advocated by the leaders of the Church on the ground that a large portion of it was used for the relief of distress. In this way the monasteries were provided with the funds necessary for relief purposes. Alms were dispensed not only for the benefit of the regular indigent inhabitants of a particular district, but also to all strangers who may have applied. Begging became a profession. It was possible for individuals who desired to live in this way to wander from one monastery or hospital to another and to receive the alms regularly passed out to them. The frequent enactment of legislation prohibiting begging became imperative. Since the dissolution of the monasteries made this profession less attractive, pauperism and moral

degeneration were reduced to that extent. But meanwhile the problem of meeting the legitimate needs of the honest poor was aggravated by the disappearance of one of the agencies serving this purpose. Hence the shift from sacred to secular control.

The Hospitals

More definitely specialized as relief agencies were the hospitals. They may be described as the medieval prototype of the modern forms of indoor relief. Indoor and outdoor relief are technical expressions, the latter meaning the administration of relief in the homes of the destitute, the former meaning the administration of relief in some special institution where the indigent are housed for their own care and protection. Modern almshouses, homes for the aged, poor farms, and the like illustrate indoor relief. It becomes evident that the medieval hospitals were not hospitals at all as the term is understood today. They were not specialized in purpose for the care of the sick and diseased persons. An English statute of the year 1414 describes the hospital as a means "wherewith to sustain old men and women, lazars, men and women out of their senses and memories, poor women with child, and other poor persons, and there to relieve, nourish, and refresh them."[12] Thus the services of a present-day hospital were combined with the work of insane asylums, homes for the aged, almshouses for the destitute, and lying-in hospitals for the mothers of illegitimate children.

These hospitals of the Middle Ages were foundations. Among the assorted inmates was a class of individuals known as "bedesmen." They may be described as pauper priests, that is, impecunious individuals whose business it was to pray for the soul of the affluent individual whose endowment supported them. In this respect the hospital was like a chantry. Not only were the bedesmen supported in this way; the complete establishment was founded and maintained in the same manner. Benefactors thus assured the expiation of their sins and the salvation of their souls. Consequently, it appears that the hospital represented, *par excellence,* an expression of the early theological conception of alms and poor relief. There were thousands of these institutions scattered over Western Europe. They varied in size all the way from a simple cottage under the management of a single priest to great imposing establishments which rivalled the monasteries in splendor. The Church became the beneficiary of the wills and testaments of the wealthy. An individual who could not endow a great plant might possibly support a smaller one, and if even this was out of the question he enjoyed the privilege of providing for a bedesman or two. This was the way of salvation. In the course of the fourteenth century, it became customary for well-to-do individuals to remember the hospitals in their wills.

[12] Quoted by Ashley, *op. cit.,* p. 320. Reprinted by permission of Longmans, Green & Co.

By the beginning of the fifteenth century, there was evidence that the hospitals were passing out of the European picture. They became, like the monasteries, a source of pauperization and of demoralization. Professional beggars subsisted on the bounty of hospitals as well as monasteries. They gathered at the gates of the great foundations where they received shelter, bread, and meat. Not content with the many large and small bequests which established and maintained these institutions, agents, called "fraters," or "proctors," were sent over the entire countryside to beg for contributions. Their credentials were easily forged, with the consequence that a horde of fraudulent imitators solicited aid over the land. Since the larger hospitals offered food and lodging to all those apparently needy who took the trouble to apply, pauperism and shiftlessness were extravagantly subsidized. Revenues were not only mismanaged; they were misdirected as well. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, many of these foundations passed into the hands of the town burgesses. Later, at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, most of them had seen their best days. The few that were doing good work in dealing with sick and needy people were turned over to municipal authorities. They became secular institutions.

In the early medieval period, the hospitals expressed a vital idea and fulfilled a real need. They symbolized the unity of the culture of Western Europe at a time when myth and legend created a feeling and a sense of high calling and of common destiny. The movement from sacred to secular destroyed them as new institutions arose to meet similar needs. Certainly the aim and the spirit of these hospitals of the Middle Ages were no less humanitarian than the great private foundations of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries which are passing through a similar cycle of growth and decay.[18] It may be added that the actual work of these medieval establishments, viewed at its best, was quite as humanitarian as the best work of present-day philanthropic enterprise.

The Gilds and Their Almshouses

In the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries countless numbers of almshouses were constructed by the craft gilds and religious fraternities. Allowing for some exceptions these almshouses were not intended for the benefit of the general public. They were intended for the care of aged, decrepit, or otherwise dependent members of the gilds. It became customary for the gildsmen who possessed some property to bequeath a portion for the maintenance of poor members who had worked honestly most of their lives, but had become destitute through some misfortune which destroyed their productive power. Among the motives which inspired such bequests was the desire for immortality in the company of the blessed. In their best days

[18] S. A. Queen, *Social Work in the Light of History*, Philadelphia, 1922, Ch. 15.

the gilds were well organized, closely knit fraternities. Provision for almshouses constituted a form of insurance against the impotence of age, accident, chronic sickness, or other forms of disability. Besides the wills and testaments of deceased members of the gilds, there were other sources of income for relief purposes. These comprised compulsory assessments upon all members of the gild and also the organized solicitation of voluntary contributions as well.

Here, too, the early theological conception of relief was conspicuous. The forgiveness of sins and a clear title to happiness in eternity was the dominating motive. Often the prayers of beneficiaries were expressly stipulated and provided in the testaments of gildsmen who gave of their means for the establishment or support of almshouses. In some instances hospitals were purchased and converted into almshouses. In other cases small or large structures were built, depending upon the needs and resources of particular gilds. The ideal was to provide a complete cycle of guarantees against all forms of economic insecurity. This ideal was inspired and upheld in practice by a religious motive firmly established by the Church in the minds of all of the faithful. These almshouses outlived the hospitals, not only because they were private affairs, but also because, as such, they were better managed in the great majority of cases. But as the gilds disintegrated and disappeared, the almshouses went with them, except where they were taken over by the public authorities.

It would be a mistake to assume that the ascendant secular idea completely displaced the theological conception. The doctrine of meritorious works is held today in various forms including the version described in preceding paragraphs. It is definitely current in well-organized and well-instructed Catholic communities. But this idea ceased to hold the center of the stage, beginning with the sixteenth century. From about this time the ethical-secular conception held a dominant position continuously until the eighteenth century. This idea, however, is related to another idea which was critically examined at the time the great national state economies became instruments of middle class interests.

The question of the legitimate rôle of the state in protecting and safeguarding the lives of its citizens became a vital one as the middle class of merchants, manufacturers and financiers gained political ascendancy in the world of practical affairs. They resented mercantilistic restrictions upon their liberty of action. They demanded open markets for the investment of capital, the exchange of goods and the employment of labor. Such a point of view was obviously intended to broaden the base of business activity, and to open up opportunities for trade and profit which had not existed formerly. The great explorers had discovered new lands, new markets, and new lanes on the high seas. These awaited exploitation and the middle class was determined to seek its advantage.

Middle Class Philosophy of Destitution

In accordance with the new conditions of life there arose a middle class philosophy, buttressed by Protestant ethics as already explained, which formulated a doctrine of natural rights and personal freedom from state intervention. It was argued that the state had no right to regulate matters that concerned the public health, education, poor relief, industry, agriculture, foreign and domestic trade. To maintain an army and a navy, a system of justice, and of police protection, taxation for the support of these services, together with the embassies and consularships through which foreign relations were administered, constituted the proper field of state action. People were persuaded to develop their talents in a free and open market where they competed on theoretically equal terms with others. *Laissez faire* was the watchword. To fail in free competition with others was regarded as evidence of inferiority. It followed logically that the destitute were simply the victims of their own mental, moral, or physical incompetence. To support them with alms or various forms of indirect relief had the effect of perpetuating this incompetence and augmenting it by subsidizing it. The poor were held responsible for their own poverty, and public authorities were severely restricted in their relief activities lest the poor rates rise out of all reason, as in fact they did in England in the eighteenth century as a result of a measure known as Gilbert's Act, passed in 1782. A new conception of charity and poverty identified definitely with the ascendancy of the middle class became widespread and generally acceptable in the course of the nineteenth century.

This conception was essentially anarchistic and metaphysical because it based itself upon an assumption of natural rights and equality of opportunity in an open market which in fact did not exist. The *laissez faire* system was necessarily a political order of human relationships between various classes of society in which the dominant class expressed and enforced not only the rights, which were not equal, but also the obligations and responsibilities of these classes. Labor was not free to organize until the close of the nineteenth century; to do so violated the conspiracy laws. Labor was not free to become literate, let alone educated, until the second half of the nineteenth century when tax-supported public schools were first established by law. To do so would encourage revolution. Labor was not free to protect its rights equally in the courts since the private service of expensive attorneys was indispensable for this purpose. This disability continues to exist although it has been mitigated in various ways which need not be reviewed here. In certain countries of Europe labor was not free to vote on equal terms with property owning classes until the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The justice or injustice of this situation is entirely beside the point in this connection. The point to grasp is that freedom and equality were conceived by the middle classes in relation to the nobility and the priesthood. These classes had governed society. Since the middle classes desired to govern society and eventually succeeded in doing so, it was quite necessary for them to assert not only their freedom but also their equality. Clearly this freedom and equality were conceived in relation to the ruling classes of society, and not in relation to the working classes who possessed little or no property. Nevertheless, the logic of middle class philosophy carried implications with respect to the destitute and the misfits which were fully developed not only by the economic science of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but also by the biological science.

The Classical School of Political Economy

The economic science of Adam Smith, Thomas Malthus, David Ricardo, James Mill, John Stuart Mill, Alfred Marshall, and other members of the classical school of political economy was based upon the idea of equal opportunity in a free and open market. Malthus and Spencer especially gave explicit expression to the thought that the poor were simply the victims of their own inferiority. The poor were themselves responsible for their poverty. To relieve them by elaborate poor laws, state allowances for wage deficiencies, public works or direct relief was regarded as a neat device for subsidizing human misery and thereby increasing it. Abolition or drastic revision of the English poor laws was recommended by Smith, Malthus, and others, and in 1834 their views were largely incorporated in the Poor Law Amendment Act. Outdoor relief for the able-bodied was completely abolished by this law. Moreover, the obligation of the parish to find work for the unemployed, and to provide allowances to workers whose wages were inadequate was totally rescinded.[14]

Nineteenth Century Biology

The economists were well supported by the biologists, particularly Darwin, Wallace, Spencer, and their followers who advocated a theory of natural selection resulting from a struggle for existence. Since the superior types survived and inferior types were extinguished as a consequence of this struggle for existence the species advanced in a process of natural evolution which culminated in man. It was an easy step to apply this doctrine to the competition of individuals for success in human society. The fit would survive and prosper, perpetuating their kind, while the unfit would fail and be exterminated. This salutary process was manifestly dependent not only

[14] Ogg, *op. cit.*, pp. 234, 235.

upon the abolition of special privilege, conceived in relation to the priesthood and the nobility, but also upon the indifference of the state toward the problems of human misery and distress. It was the duty of the state not to interfere with the beneficent and salutary process of natural selection in human society whereby all inferiority and incompetence were automatically snuffed out in a competitive struggle on theoretically equal terms and the desired mental, physical, and moral superiority automatically preserved and perpetuated. Thus the alliance of economists and biologists, supported by utilitarian psychology and middle class philosophy sanctioned an essentially metaphysical conception of destitution and relief. The effect of this conception was to encourage the development of countless private philanthropic agencies, associations, and foundations. They flourished in the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Likewise this conception discouraged all forms of philanthropic and paternalistic activity on the part of the state.

The Metaphysical Conception of Relief

It is well known that the metaphysical theory of relief was never carried as far either in France or in Germany as it was in England. In Germany particularly the doctrine of state responsibility for the well-being of all of its citizens was strongly upheld. Both the theory of *laissez faire* and the actual political and economic manifestation of this theory were carried to an extreme in England. In the United States the unusual relation between population and resources favored a similar formulation of theory and realization in the actual structure of society. This extreme point of view was developed in detail by Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations*. Natural rights, according to him, were synonymous with the freedom of the individual to pursue his self-interest unmolested by the authority of state or church. Smith assumed that a natural harmony of interests would automatically follow this liberty of action on the part of all responsible persons. The theory was further developed with the thought that the individual was led by an Invisible Hand to pursue his self-interest. Not only was the personal success of the individual promoted in this way; the greatest possible contribution to the happiness of others was made at the same time, and thus the progress of civilization was ensured. A divinely ordained economy of life was conceived as a natural harmony of interests in which each individual was free to pursue his self-interest without the restraining or even the guiding hand of Church or state. Freedom of competition was conceived as a most salutary process, and the individual who failed received nothing more or less than the just deserts of his own incompetence. Can anyone imagine such a theory working during the administration of Herbert Hoover or Franklin D. Roosevelt?

The Ethical-Secular Theory in Practice

It is evident that the metaphysical theory of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries stands in marked contradistinction to the ethical-secular conception of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A series of German towns had enacted appropriate legislation for the administration of the ethical-secular idea during the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Similar laws were passed throughout Western Europe, and in 1601 the Elizabethan poor law placed the work of relief on a national state basis as pointed out. One or two examples of this theory in practice will suffice at this point. The city of Ypres followed the example of the German towns in the enactment of the following provisions: (1) interdiction of begging; (2) works projects of some kind or other for able-bodied unemployed who could not find private employment; (3) central supervision of the entire undertaking; (4) adequate records of the destitute; (5) the utilization of the endowments of the hospitals in order to meet expenses.

The continuity of the point of view here exemplified is shown by the well known Hamburg-Elberfeld system which elaborated the basic principles above set forth to meet the requirements of more complex conditions in a large urban center. The revised Hamburg system of 1765 divided the city into districts and appointed an overseer for each district who was responsible to a central bureau which co-ordinated and supervised all forms of indoor and outdoor relief.[15] Mendicity was repressed, employment was provided, and industrial schools were established to offer vocational training for the poor.

Elberfeld, in 1852, followed similar lines of organization. The essential characteristics of the combined system included the provision for precise study and follow-up supervision of all cases, the reduction of the case load for each relief worker in order to make possible more careful attention, the co-ordination of all relief agencies, both indoor and outdoor, and the extension of aid to include medical advice, employment service, and industrial education. This system aimed to prevent destitution and was notably successful in doing so.

Attempts in the United States to follow a similar pattern of action have broken down repeatedly. But the history of the charity movement in the United States shows that the private relief agencies in particular have made steady progress in developing higher standards of supervision and organization. In the course of the nineteenth century a definitely positive attitude toward the problems of destitution slowly but surely emerged in this country for the first time.

[15] See J. L. Gillin, *Poverty and Dependency*, 3rd ed., New York and London, 1937, pp. 158-161; also S. A. Queen, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-106.

Weakness of Metaphysical Theory and Emergence of Positive Theory

The contribution which the metaphysical conception of poverty and relief made toward the solution of these problems is precisely nothing. It had the effect of depreciating the ethical-secular theory. It definitely discountenanced public organization and administration of relief and placed the burden of this work upon private charitable societies. As already shown, the result was a rapid extension and multiplication of private philanthropic associations of many kinds in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These have been financed in many ways including the solicitation of voluntary subscriptions, large gifts or bequests of wealthy individuals, and public subsidies provided by state treasuries. Efforts to provide for the training of case investigators and supervisors; the co-ordination of the work of overlapping relief societies in the same area; the study of the causes and conditions of destitution; the systematic accumulation of adequate case records; the control of budgeting; the provision of collateral assistance such as medical aid, education, and employment; the clearing of all applications for relief in order to prevent confusion and fraud; the avowed aim of substituting a policy of prevention for an inadvertent policy of pauperization: these characteristics have distinguished the work of the best private agencies. In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that the trained sociologists, who have studied these problems in collaboration with the actual supervisors of the relief agencies, have evolved a modern conception of poverty and relief which is as positive and scientific as circumstances permit.

It is important to outline the emergence of this positive theory since it contradicts in every important respect the metaphysical conception which preceded it. One of the first Americans to undertake a responsible and a systematic study of the problems of poverty and pauperism was Amos G. Warner who, as an agent of the Charity Organization Society of Baltimore, constructed a classification of the causes of poverty as based upon his own experience. This was accomplished about the year 1880 and intended to serve as a guide in the analysis and subsequent treatment of concrete cases. Causes of poverty were classified under two main headings: subjective and objective.[16] The former included personal characteristics and habits such as indolence, alcoholism, drug addiction, immorality, and the like; the latter included unfavorable climate, bad industrial conditions, inadequate or misdirected education, unsanitary living conditions, and other similar external factors. Two highly significant matters are evident. First, the author was interested in a study of the actual causes and conditions of poverty and pauperism with a view to positive and preventive treatment. Second, the

[16] A. G. Warner, *American Charities*, 3rd ed., revised by M. R. Coolidge, with a biographical preface by G. E. Howard, New York, 1918, p. 41.

author placed responsibility upon the destitute themselves if the causes were subjective, and upon others if the causes were objective. It was assumed that the applicant was in a position to control the former but not the latter. Accordingly relief was allowed if the causes were objective, rejected if the causes were subjective.

In practice this meant that the relief supervisor had to pass judgment upon the character of every client. To the extent that the causes were subjective it was held that the poor were responsible for their own distress, all of which revealed the influence of the metaphysical conception previously described. This point of view was expressed even more baldly in 1887 when the Charity Organization Societies presented an analysis of 28,000 cases of which 10.3% were worthy of continuous relief, 26.6% were worthy of temporary relief, 40.4% needed work rather than relief, while 22.7% were unworthy of relief.[17] A careful analysis of the supposed causes of poverty in each case provided the information used in constructing this classification. Later, the terms misconduct and misfortune were used as a basis of classification of the causes of poverty. Manifestly misconduct was a matter within the control of the individual for which he was held responsible; misfortune covered all factors not subject to personal control. Relief became a system of rewards and punishments as determined by the ethical standards of the supervisors. This method of administering charity appears to be puerile and naïve. Yet it served as a starting point for the investigation of thousands of cases and the patient assortment of records. About the year 1890, Warner, with the help of the National Conference of Charities, was able to collate the experience of English, German, and American charity organizations for the years 1877-1888.[18] Well over 100,000 cases were covered and the same rubrics of misconduct and misfortune were used. As a result of this study it became apparent to the investigators that the causes of poverty do not operate unilaterally. They are many-sided, interwoven, and complex, and must be viewed from the standpoint of an integrated personality.

The Transition to an Objective Standard of Values

And yet the transition to a purely detached and objective standard of evaluation was painfully slow. A committee of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, which later became the National Conference of Social Work, revised the classification in 1899 substituting "causes within and outside the family" for "misconduct and misfortune." Apparently the causes within the family were subject to control on the part of those immediately concerned, but they did not necessarily imply reprehension on moral grounds. By 1900 the terms "worthy" and "unworthy" poor were

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 43.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

dropped from all relief statistics, and the terms "misconduct" and "misfortune" were rejected shortly afterward.

A revised classification offered by Lee Frankel in 1906 outlined four main causes of destitution: ignorance, industrial inefficiency, exploitation of labor, and defects of governmental administration. Thus attention was shifted from the individual poor themselves to the order of society. Special consideration was given to employers of labor who were held responsible for industrial inefficiency and exploitation of labor, and to government officials responsible for the laws which failed to protect labor and provide adequate education for the worker. This classification, accordingly, reflected the tendency among social workers to place the blame for human misery upon the "malefactors of great wealth," the "economic royalists," as they were called in a later day, and their political henchmen who ran the government. Even Karl Marx would have objected to this since he regarded the employer in the same way as a single cell in a complex organism.

Maurice Parmelee published his *Poverty and Social Progress* in 1918, and constructed a five-fold classification of the causes of poverty which avoided both the earlier and the later difficulties: (1) physical defects, (2) mental defects, (3) social defects, (4) physiographic causes, and (5) normal traits maladjusted due to defects in education or training.[19] The question of moral culpability was completely avoided, and the Victorian era of relief administration came to an end. A few years later, 1922, John Lewis Gillin constructed a classification under two main headings: heredity and environment. He states:

> Poverty and dependency result from two great sets of factors, *viz.*, personality ill adjusted to make its independent way in the midst of our complex civilization and the civilization surrounding that personality which either shelters it and allows it to make the best of its poor capacity, and stimulates it to better endeavors, or crushes it down in the competitive struggle.[20]

Aims of Positive Theory

Resort to scientific methods of studying the causes and conditions of poverty and dependency was intended to provide a basis in sound knowledge for the achievement of two main objectives: (1) a more discriminating administration of relief with a view to the prevention of pauperism; (2) the formulation of a program of socio-economic reform for the purpose of mitigating poverty and its attendant evils. This is the essence of the positive conception as it developed in the course of the nineteenth century. The

[19] M. Parmelee, *Poverty and Social Progress,* New York, 1923, pp. 10, 11.

[20] J. L. Gillin, *Poverty and Dependency,* rev. ed., New York, 1926, p. 12. This statement has been revised in the third edition, *op. cit.*, p. 12. Reprinted with permission from D. Appleton-Century Co.

monumental study of Charles Booth in England entitled *Labor and Life of the People of London;* B. Seebohm Rowntree's intensive study of the condition of the wage earning class in York, England; and Victor Böhmert's analysis of over 95,000 cases of destitution in 77 German cities are cited as evidence of the development of a similar point of view in England and on the continent.[21]

Acid Test of Positivism

But a new situation has developed in the Western world and people are losing faith in the idealism of positivism. In England the government has been content to support millions on the dole without effort to provide employment. The New Deal policy of government supported works projects as expressed in the Public Works Administration, the Civil Works Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps, and the Works Progress Administration is piling up a huge national indebtedness and providing the *means* of constructing a formidable political power. The status of the worker is being modified at the same time. Government employees on works projects may organize and strike if they so desire. They have done so. But the government cannot be expected to assume the rôle of impartial umpire in such a situation. It is an interested party. Such affairs inevitably assume the nature of a rebellion sooner or later and accordingly they are suppressed by force of arms if necessary. Starvation becomes the alternative to work at terms dictated by the government. Sir Walter Citrine, after a visit to Russia, wrote a report in which he admitted there was no unemployment in Russia. But, he hastened to add, if the dictator of a country is strong enough to make slaves of his people, manifestly there can be no unemployment. The employee of a government is more abjectly helpless in bargaining power than the employee of a private employer. But is it desirable on the part of a government to support a vast army of unemployed in idleness?

Panem et Circenses

Our attention has been called to a striking parallelism in the late history of every great culture: the aggregation of a vast number of idle men in the metropolitan centers supported by the government. *Panem et circenses* was the Roman equivalent of the situation today. In London the unemployed have demanded free tickets to the movie shows along with free bread. Bread and movies appears to become the Western European homology to the Roman bread and circuses. This is worth noting since nothing is gained by playing the part of an ostrich and burying one's head in the sand.

The first act of violence which introduced a century of revolution and

[21] Parmelee, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-111; A. G. Warner, *American Charities*, New York, 1894, pp. 42, 422.

civil war (133 to 31 B.C.) and culminated in the destruction of the Roman Republic was the murder of Tiberius Gracchus, elected tribune in the year 133 B.C. Addressing his people with eloquence and feeling he is quoted as saying:

> The beasts that prowl about Italy have holes and lurking places, where they may make their beds. You who fight and die for Italy enjoy only the blessings of air and light. These alone are your heritage. Homeless, unsettled, you wander to and fro with your wives and children. You fight and die to give wealth and luxury to others. You are called the masters of the world; yet there is no clod of earth that you can call your own.[22]

Submitting a statesmanlike law for the reassignment of the public lands and the protection and support of the farming class, he so aroused the anger of the senators that they murdered him.

Ten years later Gaius, the brother of Tiberius Gracchus, gained the same high office of tribune. A similar policy of relief resulted finally in a riot in which Gaius was killed. The Gracchus brothers relied upon votes of the people for their election to office and it was precisely the uncertainty and the instability of the popular vote which explains the weakness of their reforms. The subsequent careers of Marius and of Sulla taught the people the advantages of a military dictator. Then came Pompey, Julius Caesar, and Augustus Caesar; the age of the dictators was at hand.

Gaius Gracchus enacted a law which supplied the poor with grain at a nominal price, but later the distribution of grain was made entirely gratuitous. Approximately four bushels per person were distributed each month. We are told by Lecky that the names of 320,000 persons were inscribed on the rolls as recipients of grain during the time of Julius Caesar.[23] Not long afterward this number increased to over half a million. Augustus Caesar followed the same policy and this was continued by his successors with minor variations in the details until the fall of the Empire. Severus added a ration of oil to the popular dole, and Aurelian substituted a daily distribution of corn together with a portion of pork. But food was not enough. Free admission to the combats of the gladiators was also demanded. In the latter days of the Republic every young Roman who competed for high office had to borrow large sums of money to pay for a long program of gladiatorial games.[24] *Panem et circenses* was the watchword as the relief of destitution became the price of political success.

And this is precisely the reason for stating at the beginning of this chapter that the problems of relief today threaten to overwhelm the civilization

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[22] Quoted by J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Times*, Ginn & Co., Boston, 1916, p. 576.
[23] W. E. H. Lecky, *History of European Morals*, New York, 1871, Vol. 2, p. 79.
[24] Breasted, *op. cit.*, pp. 564, 565.

of the Western world. The political implications of these problems today are not only baffling and staggering in their immensity; they appear to be overwhelming. Never before has the need been greater for a positive policy of action. And yet, in the very hour of decision, the faith of people in the idealism of this conception is seen to crumble and fail.

Problem Questions

1. Consider the practicability of transferring the burden of relief from the federal to the local governments.

2. Summarize the influences which brought about the decline of the medieval theological conception of relief.

3. About the year 1872, Brooklyn adopted a public system of outdoor relief. In five years one person out of every sixteen was fed at the taxpayer's expense; 60 cents was spent for administering every dollar distributed in charity; many people assumed false names in order to increase their benefits. How do you account for these developments?

4. How do you explain the ascendancy of the ethical-secular theory of relief in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries?

5. Can begging be justified? If not, how can begging be prevented?

6. Describe several types of fraud ordinarily associated with begging.

7. Explain the fact that the ethical-secular conception as illustrated in the Hamburg-Elberfeld system has failed repeatedly in the United States.

8. Are the principles of relief organization as they emerged in the early history of the English poor law applicable to the solution of relief problems in the United States today?

9. Account for the desuetude of the ethical-secular theory, and the ascendancy of a metaphysical conception in the course of the eighteenth century.

10. Explain the effects of the metaphysical theory upon the organization and administration of relief.

11. How does the federal government finance its staggering expenditures for direct and indirect relief?

12. Will this method of financing lead to inflation of the national currency?

13. Summarize the factors which explain the collapse of the metaphysical conception of poverty and relief.

14. How do modern relief societies provide safeguards against indiscriminate charity, overlapping of responsibility, and pauperization of beneficiaries?

15. Are public relief agencies more or less efficient than private relief societies?

16. Account for the gradual ascendancy, beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century, of the positive conception of relief.

17. Is it possible to organize the work of relief in such a way as to provide a complete divorce from politics?

18. Merriam claims that any government which divorces political patronage

from party affiliation is committing suicide. Consider the application of this view to the administration of public relief.

19. Summarize the conditions under which the administration of public relief is likely to be most efficient.

20. Point out the resemblances and the differences between the ethical-secular and the positive conceptions of relief.

Suggestions for Additional Reading

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27

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

Crime Disrupts the Social Order

Every organized group is bound to deal with individual members who violate the accepted principles of behavior. Failure to do so disrupts the group sooner or later. The essential characteristic of the criminal is the anti-social nature of his action. The protection of life, the security of property, the freedom of the race to perpetuate itself, the vitality, and even the survival of a culture, all depend upon the effectiveness of the guarantees against crime. It follows that a concept of justice, a theory of punishment, and a procedure of detection and trial are bound to arise in every society.

As the recognized repository of force the state holds within its hands the power of life and death over individuals. It assumes responsibility for the enactment, enforcement, and administration of law. Therefore, it is bound to maintain facilities and agencies for the investigation and apprehension of crime—the police—together with a system of courts for the trial of accused persons and the punishment of those found guilty of violating the law. All of this is commonplace. It is not so obvious that precisely the same processes of human interaction are more or less definitely evident among the smaller groups within the state. Churches have their tribunals; armies and navies have their courts-martial; the executives of labor organizations, private business corporations, and educational institutions assume responsibility for investigative, judicial, and penal functions. These structures have their rules and regulations which may not violate the law of the land, and they have their appropriate procedures for the enforcement of the rules.

Law Among the Outlaws

Even the outlaws have their systems of law and order.[1] The work of investigation, accusation, trial, and punishment may be well organized as it is among certain groups of gangsters in the larger cities of the United States. Having repudiated the established law, they set up a discipline of their own which is the equivalent of a state within a state. Capone kept no bank account, no books of any kind. He never signed a check. In this way

[1] C. E. Merriam, *Political Power*, New York and London, 1934, Ch. 3.

he removed himself several links from the actual work which provided the incriminating evidence against him. He was convicted in federal court of violating the income tax laws! It is well known that Capone employed spies, and maintained a remarkable intelligence system. According to reliable testimony he had 185 men on his personal payroll, each an ex-convict and a gunman. They were paid $300 to $400 per week, and knew when to keep their lips sealed and when to speak. They constituted a private army employed for the purpose of maintaining the power of their leader. Sitting in his jail cell in Chicago Capone received daily visits from these henchmen and continued to manage his predatory and illegal affairs. "I gave the people what they wanted," he said in justification of his work. "Why all this fuss?"

An outlaw becomes an outlaw in a special sense when he vouchsafes information to regular authority and serves as a stool pigeon. This may be treason among traitors, and therefore not reprehensible in the eyes of established law, but it is a capital offense in the eyes of his former associates. Gangsters brought to trial have maintained a most stubborn silence even in the face of the strongest imaginable pressures, as, for instance, the promised waiver of a death penalty. Contempt for the "squealer" is for them the highest embodiment of the unwritten law and shows that some criminals at least are capable of discipline, loyalty, and heroism. They have been led, perhaps unwittingly and inadvertently, in the wrong way. Church, school, and community have failed in their task of guiding and directing them in the right way.

What Is Right?

But what is the right way? What is the wrong way? Throughout the ages the great theologians, philosophers, educators, and statesmen have struggled with this question. That the answer is by no means simple is well enough illustrated by the interesting assertion of Ralph Waldo Emerson: "The highest virtue is always against the law." Thomas Jefferson also argued that there is a standard of justice which is above the law. Accordingly a political criminal may become a saint or a hero. Adolf Hitler served a sentence in prison as a consequence of complicity in the abortive Munich putsch of 1923. Ten years later he became all powerful chancellor and leader of the German people.

Opposed to the view of Emerson is a more subtle view which holds that a person may condemn a law, criticize it in the presence of others, take positive steps towards its modification or annulment, and scrupulously obey the law at the same time. During the years of the prohibition amendment in the United States, 1920-1933, there were those who may be described as politically wet, but personally dry; there were many others who were politically dry, but personally wet. Then of course there were those who were consistently dry in speech as well as in action, and those who were con-

sistently wet. Which of these four groups held the highest ethical position? Manifestly this problem is complex. The right way and the wrong way are by no means easy to define. It is sufficient to point out that the moral conviction and the actual behavior of an individual tend to be consistent. Assuming that circumstances are favorable, the person who believes a law is wrong is likely, sooner or later, to violate the law. To do otherwise appears to show that such a person lacks the courage of his convictions.

In the unsettled world of today, the power of the word is no trifling matter. In view of the power of propaganda over public opinion through the media of press, radio, movie, and magazine, it becomes increasingly important to hold individuals responsible for what they say. The present English law of libel is a case in point since it does not require the injured individual to present proof of damage suffered. People find it easier to forgive than to forget as intolerance of nonconformity in speech as well as action becomes the condition upon which law and order are maintained. The law and the mores are not fixed for eternity. They change with the changing conceptions of life and the needs of men and women as they are actually felt at a particular time.

Theological Conception of Right

In all of the great cultures of history it has been the task of the early theologians to set forth the right way; to praise it in words which appeal to the undisciplined imagination of individuals reflecting the childhood of their culture; and to condemn the wrong way in similar unequivocal language. That the Christian theologians of the early Middle Ages succeeded in accomplishing this task is well known. Precepts for the government of human relationships in all possible aspects were clearly set forth by the great schoolmen of the medieval period. These ethical teachings did a great deal more than cover the obligations of the individual toward the lord of his manor or the priest of his parish. They organized the economic life, the family life, the political life, the social life, as well as the devotional, the religious, and the spiritual life of the period. Crime was violation of the divine law; it was sin. But fundamentally it was an antisocial act since it had the effect of disturbing the established equilibrium of life. If the latter idea appeared to be abstract and not easy to apply in practice, the former idea was simple and concrete enough to be understood by the masses of men and women whose standards of culture had only recently emerged from the level of barbarism. The leading schoolmen understood this well since they were actually creating a social order of life which had not existed hitherto. This new social order was conceived and described at the same time in the terms of a divine will. That the Christian teachers were laborers in the Lord's own vineyard was perfectly clear to everyone, and there was no confusion of thought in this respect.

It is too often forgotten nowadays that the early Church exerted a most unusual influence over the exceptionally gifted and talented men of the age. In some instances men were willing to sacrifice the high station of wealth and noble birth together with everything associated therewith, and suffer persecution for the sake of an exalted conception of life impressed upon them by the teachers of the Church. Thomas Aquinas is an example. Men of the highest intellectual calibre were attracted to the work of the Church and these men fixed the patterns of behavior in all walks of life. This was no mere academic task. Schoolmen of the type of Albertus Magnus were something more than armchair philosophers who spin their webs of metaphysical thought in the most recondite terms and naïvely suppose that it will have an influence over more than a half-dozen spiders of the same genus. Their teaching actually controlled the judgment and the behavior of the masses of men and women as they lived their lives from day to day.

Ecclesiastical Courts

The Church established its own courts which had jurisdiction over such matters as usury, the inheritance of property, wardship, relief, matrimonial and parental relationships, as well as heresy, sacrilege, and blasphemy. The early ecclesiastical courts were not religious tribunals in a special sense for the exclusive regulation of the behavior of priests and the trial and punishment of iconoclasts. They prosecuted criminals and directed the common life of the people as they lived in the medieval manor or in the medieval town. It is not overlooked that the kings and princes of the land had their own courts, that the manorial courts were directed by representatives of the lords themselves, or that the magistrates of the towns assumed responsibility for judicial procedure within their own jurisdictions. It is also true that the secular courts gradually displaced the ecclesiastical courts, and that the secular law gradually superseded the canon law. But no careful student of early medieval jurisprudence can fail to see that the canon law was the dominating influence and that the civil and the common law as well as the criminal law merely reflected the ethical teaching of the schoolmen as it was summarized and crystallized particularly in the *Summa Theologica* of Thomas Aquinas.[2]

The Canon Law

The theological conception of crime and punishment, of law and justice, meant simply that the ultimate sanction for the ethical teaching of the Church was supernatural. Inasmuch as the will of God was revealed in holy scripture the schoolmen looked to the Bible for guidance and authority in the solution of the problems of society. Thomas Aquinas, for instance, would state a question, such as the propriety of usury, and introduce his discussion

[2] W. A. Dunning, *Political Theories, Ancient and Medieval*, New York, 1902, Ch. 8.

with a series of arguments which seemed to disprove his own conclusion.[8] Then he would issue a forthright, contradictory quotation from the Bible or the works of the fathers, state his own conclusion, and proceed to formulate a series of reasons to support it. At this point he carefully disproved the first series of arguments, each in its own turn. It is seen that reason and logical analysis were indispensable procedures in the determination of truth, but since human reason was prone to error, and therefore inadequate, it was necessary to rely ultimately upon the holy scriptures preserved by the Church. The medieval schoolmen also depended upon the Classical works of earlier Greeks and Romans, especially Aristotle, for knowledge of public affairs and guidance in the determination of their own conclusions. But God had sent His only Begotten Son to live an exemplary life on this earth, thus defining the right way once and for all time. This was the way of salvation. The New Testament was therefore held in the light of a miraculous revelation, and the source of ultimate wisdom. It could not be recognized that man possessed the right to contradict the word of God. This was sacrilege.

The law which emerged from this somewhat complicated and often contradictory process of ascertaining truth is known as the canon law. Among other things, the canon law condemned the pursuit of wealth as an end in itself. Avarice was regarded as one of the seven deadly sins. Trade was lawful when the business man merely desired a moderate gain sufficient for the maintenance of his household in accordance with the customary standard of living of the class to which he belonged. The doctrines of just price and fair wage were cardinal principles. God Himself placed men in ranks or orders. Each class had its own work to do and its own appropriate mode of life. Labor and land were regarded as productive sources of wealth, but capital was sterile. The canon law prohibited usury. Similar norms were established in other fields of relationship. Divorce was not allowed, and strict monogamy proclaimed. These examples of the canon law show the profound concern of the Church for the meticulous regulation of the means of realizing those basic human impulses—hunger and love. It is significant that Aquinas never stated the manner in which he believed his dicta should be enforced. He was concerned primarily with the fixation of the inner emotional sanctions to the accepted patterns of behavior.

The mores thus established were far more effectual guarantees of social equilibrium—of justice and of freedom—than any cumbersome system of law enforcement could possibly have been in the absence of such an inner sense of values. A man who did wrong may have escaped the meshes of the law; but nothing could be concealed from the all seeing eye of the divine creator of life who knew the innermost thoughts and feelings of men. Justice was divine. Those who followed the right way of life were rewarded with

[8] Ashley, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, Pt. 1, pp. 134, 135.

eternal happiness; eternal damnation was the punishment of those who followed the wrong way.

The Priority of the Canon Law

The distinction between law and morality was not drawn as sharply in the medieval world as it is today. This is shown by the modern feeling that certain types of conduct are purely personal matters of the conscience of the individual over which external authority can have no possible jurisdiction. But during the Middle Ages it seemed entirely fitting to forbid under penalty anything regarded as wrong. The law and the mores were conterminous. It was to be expected therefore that the secular law of the kings, princes, lords of manors, and magistrates of towns was administered and enforced in accord with the principles of the canon law. During the early medieval period particularly, this tacit understanding and co-operation of the secular and the ecclesiastical courts was evident. Their respective ways separated markedly in the fifteenth century, and in the sixteenth century the breach became open. The secular law by this time had gained a firm ascendancy, and a corresponding independence from the teaching of the Roman Church. But as early as the ninth century the ecclesiastical prohibition of lending money for gain was extended to the laity of Western Europe by the edicts of Charlemagne. The Lateran Council of Alexander III in 1179 declared usury to be a crime, and ordained that guilty persons "shall not be admitted to communion, nor if they die in their sin, receive Christian burial, and that no priest shall accept their alms."[4] Clement V in 1311 proclaimed all secular legislation in favor of usury null and void, and stigmatized as heresy the belief that usury was not sinful. Excommunication, a most extreme penalty, was the punishment provided for offenders. Inasmuch as the Jews were among the violators of this precept, and since the ecclesiastical authority could not deal directly with the Jews, secular legislation supporting the canon law became widespread in Europe in the fourteenth century. Excommunication, and the refusal of Christian burial made no definite impression upon the Jews.

This definite development of the civil law defining the rights of individuals in pursuance of the principles set forth in the canon law is also evident in other respects. All of the means available for obtaining a monopoly of a particular supply of goods—say fish—in a particular market and thereby enhancing the price was condemned by the Church as a violation of the principle of fair price. Such practices contradicted the teaching: "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." Avarice and greed were sinful. Forestalling, engrossing, and regrating were the medieval prototypes of what we now call a temporary monopoly, or obtaining a corner on a supply

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 149.

of goods. Statutes prohibiting these offenses were enacted, amended, and re-enacted again and again by the secular authorities. Penalties were laid down. For the first offense, in one such statute, the punishment was a fine together with forfeiture of the purchased goods; the pillory was provided for the second conviction; imprisonment and fine for the third offense, and expulsion from town for the fourth. In the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries municipal regulations generally stigmatized all forms of profiteering as criminal. The pillory and imprisonment were common penalties.

Other varieties of fraud such as the sale of inferior quality of goods, or the use of false weights and measures were condemned and punished by the town authorities. Brewers and bakers were regulated by the assizes of bread and ale which fixed the price and the quality, and provided penalties for the violation of law. Laxity on the part of the ecclesiastical courts in enforcing the laws against usury and related measures had the effect of increasing the vigor of enforcement in the secular courts. Even the matter of coinage was regulated by the high officials of the Church in accord with the canon law during the early Middle Ages. Many of the early coins bore the names of the archbishops who stamped them. Later, the temporal power became jealous of these rights and created its own monopoly of coinage and money. Counterfeiting and clipping coins were punished by the most extreme penalties, such as dismemberment, in the secular courts. The religious courts excommunicated members of the Church who were guilty of this crime. Since the Church was the guardian of morality in matters of trade as well as in all other matters, it was considered proper that the soundness of the currency should be guaranteed by high ecclesiastical officials who exercised the rights of issue as well as the rights of regulation. But in time these rights became the exclusive prerogative of the temporal authority—the king.

Conclusions

Several conclusions may be stated at this point. (1) legislation of the royal and papal powers was influenced mainly and primarily by the ethical teachings of the theologians systematized in the canon law. (2) Such legislation had the support of a strong public opinion—the moral sentiments of the people—which had been crystallized and organized by the teaching of the Church. (3) The theological conception of law and justice, of crime and punishment, was especially evident in the early medieval period. (4) In the course of the later medieval period the secular conception superseded this point of view. (5) The struggle of the sacred and the secular authorities was particularly acute in the sixteenth century when the Protestant Reformation was launched and the local village-community organization of life had given way to larger territorial units of politico-economic administration. (6) As trade and commerce became organized, first on a national basis, and then on an international scale, the accumulation and investment of surplus capital

became increasingly desirable. Accordingly, certain teachings of the Church, such as the prohibition of usury, were progressively modified to meet the new requirements of business. The Church fathers took an active part in this movement of reform. (7) The development of mercantilistic doctrines in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is associated with the gradual consolidation of the national secular state. Principles of the canon law became increasingly difficult of application with the result that the secular conception of law and justice, crime and punishment gained a definitive and affirmative ascendancy. This conception emphasized in particular the authority of the state, and had the effect of depreciating the authority of the Church.

Medieval Punishment

Many of the penalties that were used for the punishment of delinquents indicated the general concurrence of public opinion with the requirements of law and morality.[5] The pillory, for instance, exposed the violators to public shame. Intemperate scolds were given a public immersion in a pond by means of a device known as the ducking stool. Offenders were also exposed to ridicule and scorn by means of the cucking stool, which was a chair upon which such persons were exhibited. Branding individuals upon cheeks or forehead for serious crimes was known to the public as a permanent means of identification. The scourge of the adulteress as she was driven naked through the streets, the tumbril, or wagon upon which the delinquent was exposed, public flogging, the stocks, and the carcan, by means of which the guilty person was fastened to a post with a chain and locked ring around his neck, illustrate the same collaboration of the common people in the enforcement of law and morality. Troublesome gossips were effectually restrained by means of the brank, which was a metal gag also called the scold's or gossip's bridle. Capital penalties, such as drawing and quartering, breaking on a wheel, dismemberment, and empaling in the public gaze, implied a tacit understanding between public officials who were responsible for law enforcement and the sentiment of the people.

The Punitive Aspect of Punishment

In certain respects the medieval penologists revealed a more profound knowledge of human nature and the theory of punishment than many present day students of these problems. The latter have stated quite correctly that the punitive and expiatory aspects of punishment were emphasized in the early days. They have declared that the primary aims of punishment are the reformation of the criminal and the prevention of crime. Revenge as a motive is criticized because it is based upon the *lex talionis,* and expiation is considered so completely bound up with religious formalism and

[5] F. H. Wines, *Punishment and Reformation,* revised by W. D. Lane, New York, 1919, Ch. 5.

routine ceremony that it can have no possible effect upon the attitudes of the criminal. Accordingly the modern criminologists set forth a principle which is known as the individualization of punishment. Scientific methods of studying the personality of the criminal will reveal, it is believed, the correct procedures of reformatory treatment and the measures necessary for the prevention of crime. All of this sounds convincing. The ideals of reformation and prevention are intriguing. But the difficulty remains that very little evidence is available today to show that the criminal is being reformed or that crime is being prevented. On the contrary, many criminals become hardened with treatment, and the statistical indexes of crime have actually been rising.[6] Such evidence as is obtainable to prove that the ideals of reformation and prevention are being realized is open to serious criticism.

Medieval scholars did not talk about "techniques of reformation" and the "scientific" prevention of crime. But this does not imply by any means that their work was barren in producing these results. The punitive aspect of punishment afforded the means of relieving the feelings of the injured party or parties. This prevented retaliation in more violent forms as it occurs for instance in the blood feuds. A person who has been seriously wronged demands redress. If the law and judicial process do not give satisfaction, he is rendered defenseless against the repetition of the injury, or else he seeks private revenge. The requirements of justice are violated in either case. A situation is created which is tantamount to the subversion of social order. Human nature has not changed in this respect. People today are quite as impetuous in their insistence upon redress as they were in the Middle Ages. This often takes the form of a widespread mob hysteria and blood lust which would not arise if criminals were quickly apprehended, brought to certain trial, and properly convicted. The punitive function of punishment has the desirable effect of relieving the wounded feelings of injured parties. And if the judicial process does not provide the means of realizing this salutary catharsis, other means will be found sooner or later in one way or another. The Ku Klux Klan is a case in point. This does not mean that penalties must be ruthless and unduly severe. On the contrary, it means the effective regulation of penalties in accord with the current standards of justice. If the punishment for certain offenses for which the accused cannot escape responsibility is too severe, it may be mitigated, and if it is not severe enough it may be changed in accord with the prevailing requirements of security and freedom. The doctrine of nonresistance is no contrary argument; neither is the teaching that men should love their enemies. A person of self-respect does not wish to be loved by his enemies. Therefore, the

[6] For example, the homicide rate in cities having 100,000 population or more in 1900 increased steadily from 3.4 per 100,000 population in 1900, to 10.1 per 100,000 in 1933. *Statistical Abstract of the United States,* Washington, 1935, p. 92.

For a comparison of crime in the United States with crime in European countries, see H. S. Cummings, "Crime at Home and Abroad," *Vital Speeches,* November 18, 1935.

doctrine is either an ethical vindication of cowardice or a more subtle variety of retaliation temporarily adopted by people whose defenses have broken down.

The Expiatory Aspect of Punishment

A second important attribute of medieval punishment was expiation. Just as the vindictive treatment of the criminal properly regulated by competent authority was the medieval way of preventing crime, so also the requirement of suffering in penitence was the medieval equivalent of reformation. It was a means of psychological compensation by which a person was privileged to square his account with himself, his associates, and his God. It was, therefore, understood as offering the hope of freedom in a reëstablishment of normal relationships with society. It meant that the criminal was, or at least had been, a recognized member of a social order of life, and that an honest confession and a sincere conviction of remorse once more closed the circuit of relationships that had been broken by the criminal act. No criminal was given up as lost for good unless, and until, the evidence of incorrigibility was positively overwhelming. In that event he lost his status as a member of the group. The secular courts outlawed him and the ecclesiastical courts excommunicated him. Priests of the Church were taught how to deal with aberrant behavior, and that they did so most skillfully as a general rule is unmistakably clear. The confessional was one of the means provided for doing so.

Medieval Individualization of Treatment

This procedure of investigation, confession, and expiation may also be regarded as the medieval equivalent of the modern principle of individualization. Officials of the Church who dealt with delinquents did so directly and sympathetically not merely for the purpose of determining a question of guilt, but also for the purpose of a heart searching. This made possible the direction of attitudes, and the organization of a sense of values. It is well known that the process here described has been called inquisitorial and paternalistic in contradistinction to the system of accusation in which the judge presides at a trial and weighs the evidence freely presented by both sides. The latter may be correctly described as a more democratic procedure. It lacked the personal, the human relation between the individual and established authority which aimed primarily to understand the situation and the circumstances of a delinquent, and to provide helpful counsel and guidance in accord with this understanding. Delinquents were not condemned and punished except as a last resort. When the authority of the Church was challenged, as in dealing with heretics, the circumstances often required severely drastic measures. In some cases the paternalistic procedure of in-

vestigation became a one-sided inquisition which violated all sense of fairness. But this was not the rule.

It is true that the secular courts were not so much interested in this heart-searching process. Nevertheless, it is also true that the judges of these courts adapted the penalty to the gravity of the offense. Punishment was not fixed by law as it came to be in France and other countries after the Revolution.[7] The latter has been called an objective kind of individualization as distinguished from the subjective type which employs various methods for determining the mental and moral traits of the criminal. But this distinction in theory may be made much sharper than it really was in fact since the judges of secular courts surely learned something of the motives of the criminal, the degree of his mental and moral competence and the circumstances of the crime. Medieval individualization was subjective as well as objective, although not in the modern scientific meaning of these terms. Alienists could not be employed in those days to provide proof of insanity of the defendant in order to escape a capital penalty. Records of the early towns show that the magistrates dealt with criminals in a manner which closely resembled the procedure of the ecclesiastical courts. Nothing like the present system of embattled attorneys and tangled law was in evidence.

The Juridical Conception of the Criminal

The movement from the sacred to the secular conception of law was strongly reinforced by the Protestant Reformation. To the student of history the reasons for this clarification and reinforcement of direction are evident and need not be summarized here. It is also clear that the influences associated with Lutheranism and Calvinism, especially the latter, led to a new conception of the criminal. This may be stated succinctly as follows: the criminal came to be regarded as a juridical abstraction. In the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the all important matter came to be a question of guilt in a purely technical sense. Inasmuch as the law now specified appropriate penalties for each offense the power of individualization disappeared. Judges were not particularly interested in criminals as human beings. They were concerned primarily with two questions: (1) the question of whether a particular law had been violated, and (2) the question of the guilt or innocence of the accused.

Having determined these questions, the specified penalties were automatically enforced. This situation may be described by saying that criminal jurisprudence concentrated attention upon the crime, rather than upon the criminal. It was assumed that there can be no crime in the absence of law as shown for example in the Constitution of the United States which declares

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[7] M. Parmelee, *Anthropology and Sociology in Relation to Criminal Procedure*, New York, 1922, pp. 140, 141.

that *ex post facto* legislation shall be invalid.[8] It was also assumed that there can be no vindication for punishment without law which fixes definite penalties for specified crimes. Moreover, it was believed that the law depended upon the conscious expression of the will of the people for its validity. Laws were either enacted by the majority vote of the people assembled together in convocation, or by the majority vote of the fully qualified and elected representatives of the people. Individualization of punishment was associated in the popular mind with the arbitrary exercise of power on the part of officials who represented the Church or state. Manifestly the juridical conception of the criminal is closely identified with a democratic theory of government.

This theory may be traced through the works of Locke, Beccaria, Bentham, Rousseau, Jefferson, and others who lived in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Just as the Protestant reformers had declared the freedom of the individual conscience to seek the way of truth without the authoritative intervention of the Church fathers, so also the political reformers clarified and reinforced this same movement of individualism in the field of civil rights. These civil rights were declared to be based upon the natural and inalienable, that is to say, inborn rights of individuals. It was precisely this doctrine of natural rights which made all individuals equal in theory before the law. It served the useful purpose of establishing an ethical and a philosophical vindication for a distribution of power and authority which expressed the political ascendancy of the middle class. That the Constitution of the United States clearly expressed this ethic and this philosophy is unmistakably clear. Precisely the same ethic and the same philosophy is also expressed in an instrument adopted by the French Assembly on August 26, 1789, entitled, *A Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen.*[9] This document is a comprehensive and authoritative statement of the principles underlying the Revolution. It affirmed that men are born and remain free and equal in the matter of rights. These rights included suffrage, property, security, resistance to oppression, and the equal protection of the laws.

The Bill of Rights

The first ten amendments to the Constitution of the United States, known popularly as the Bill of Rights, also provide similar guarantees of liberty and justice as then conceived. The First Amendment guaranteed freedom of religious belief, freedom of speech, of press, and the right of assembly; the Second Amendment protected the right of the people to keep and to bear arms; the Fourth Amendment protected people against unreasonable searches and seizures; the Fifth Amendment provided that no person could be held

[8] Constitution of the United States, Art. 1, Sec. 9, Par. 3.

[9] L. A. Boettiger, "Organic Theory of Social Reform Movements," *Social Forces*, November, 1924.

to answer for a felony without a grand jury investigation and indictment; the Sixth Amendment guaranteed the right of trial by jury; the Eighth Amendment prohibited cruel and unusual punishments. In this way all of the people were legally protected against unjust and arbitrary penalties for crime; confessions forced under pain of torture; merciless inquisitions, witch burning, and heresy hunting. The seizure of private papers and personal possessions without due process of law was declared unlawful.

The second paragraph of Section 9 in Article 1 provided for the writ of *habeas corpus*. In accordance with the Fifth Amendment no person accused of crime could be required to testify against himself. That no such person might be placed in double jeopardy, that is, prosecuted two or more times for the same offense, was guaranteed in the same amendment. The Sixth Amendment stated that every person accused of crime shall be informed of the nature and the cause of the charges against him; witnesses were required to present their testimony in the presence of the defendant. Compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in favor of the accused was provided in the same amendment. The right of the accused to employ counsel in his own behalf was also guaranteed in this amendment.

What is the historical meaning of all of these rights? Why was it necessary to apply such elaborate measures for the protection of persons accused of crime? Fundamentally the answer is that a new system of values gradually developed in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the course of the eighteenth century this ethical order of life achieved an overwhelming triumph in the United States and the countries of northwestern Europe most of which had become Protestant. A new definition of right, a new conception of justice, and a new way of salvation were gradually established in the mores as well as in the law. The medieval order of life, under rule of clergy and nobility, had given way to a new social order which expressed primarily the ethic of Protestantism and the spirit of capitalism. It was an order which was immediately governed by the duly chosen representatives of the great middle class which had successfully challenged the authority of the first and second estates. This meant a new era for science, invention, discovery, exploration, colonization, and the unprecedented capitalistic exploitation of the material resources of the earth. It meant as well the glorification of *laissez faire* in business, the idealization of free competition and natural selection, the release of the free spirit and genius of the individual in all ranks of life in response to the Calvinistic teaching that the individual was called by God himself to the full realization of his powers. And accordingly it meant as well an accumulation of wealth, industrial expansion, growth of cities, and increase of population unparalleled in history.

More precisely, the prohibition of *ex post facto* legislation made it impossible to prosecute an individual for an act made criminal by law after the actual commitment of the offense. The writ of *habeas corpus* made it

impossible to punish a person charged with crime without a fair trial. This protected people against the earlier practice, known as assizes, of placing persons accused of crime in prisons or jails and keeping them there without trial until certain stated times of the year when judges and courts were especially provided for this purpose. The privilege of the accused to maintain his silence protected him against mental or physical torture in inquisitorial procedures. The right of the accused to employ his own counsel protected him against a one-sided presentation of evidence and the possibility of a "framed" case against him. Prohibition of cruel and unusual punishments implied that earlier penalties had been unnecessarily barbarous and painful.

The right of a grand jury inquiry and indictment protected the social status and the reputation of persons charged with capital crimes. The right of a jury trial provided a check against unwise legislation and the prejudiced interpretation and enforcement of the law.[10] It also provided a means of interaction between the law and the mores. Charges and convictions on the grounds of heresy, and even blasphemy and sacrilege were ruled out by the guarantees of individual liberty of religious belief and speech. This placed the responsibility for enforcing the standards of decency and temperance in speech and action directly upon the public in the common-human relationships of life. It was explicit as well as implicit that formerly the cards of justice had been stacked against the individual; that the authority of priest and noble had been exercised in a brutal and arbitrary manner; and that it was now proposed to stack the cards in favor of the individual, protecting him against petulant and prejudiced judges, unjust laws, vindictive accusers, treachery, fraud, and the abusive and arbitrary administration of power.

The Metaphysical Conception of Justice

In order to distinguish this conception of justice from the earlier theological conception the term "metaphysical" has been used. The meaning intended is that the ultimate sanctions of right are certain abstract principles or laws conceived to be inherent in the nature of reality. The doctrine of the inalienability of the right of all individuals to liberty, the pursuit of happiness, and the equal protection of the laws is an illustration of metaphysical principles. Whereas the theologians relied ultimately upon supernatural sanctions for the vindication of their ethical teaching, the metaphysicians relied upon certain abstract generalizations which were conceived to be inherent in the life of man. In that way the validity of their ethical teaching was distinguished ultimately from the teaching of the theologians.

It is of course absurd to assume that a person inherits rights in the same manner as he inherits the color of his eyes or the shape of his head. Rights

[10] In a judgment handed down by the United States Supreme Court on April 5, 1937, the right of trial by jury was denied for a petty offense punishable by a fine of not more than $300 or imprisonment of not more than 90 days.

are not Mendelian unit characters. But this is beside the main point. Every power system has its *credenda* as well as its *miranda*. The triumph of a power system depends ultimately upon the general acceptance of certain articles of common faith. Ethics, science, and philosophy, like theology and religion, are the instruments employed by the great teachers of history for the purpose of destroying old power systems and creating new ones. The law which makes this creative workmanship intelligible to the student of history and of sociology is the organic integrity of the cultural movement. This is to say that every great culture of history has a physiognomy and a life history of its own. Like the seven ages of man characterized by Shakespeare the epochs of culture constitute a unified series of related events, each arising naturally out of its predecessor.

With the triumph of the metaphysical-juridical point of view as described in preceding paragraphs the ideas of punishment changed in accordance with the requirements of a logically consistent outlook upon all of the related problems. Instead of emphasizing the vindictive and the expiatory attributes of punishment, the exemplary and the reparatory nature of the penal function was clarified and stressed. The vindictive object of punishment was criticized chiefly because it led to extremely cruel and arbitrary penalties for seemingly trivial offenses. Similarly, the expiatory object of punishment was open to criticism on the ground that it became a religious formality rather than a sincere experience of contrition. Whereas formerly the voice of the Church was the voice of God, now it was believed that the voice of the people was the voice of God. Thus it happened that the law of man, formulated and enacted by the majority vote of the duly qualified electors of the people, was not only identified with the law of nature; it was also identified with the law of God.

But the metaphysicians placed the emphasis upon the ultimate authority of nature and natural law while the theologians stressed the absolute authority of God and the divine law. The moral law, that is, the actual standards of right, were conceived to have a universal validity in both systems. Likewise, both systems assumed the freedom of the individual will and therefore the responsibility of the individual for his behavior. Medieval theologians believed that the actual distribution of power and privilege, namely, the system of rights upheld in theory and in practice, was vindicated by the ultimate authority of God as revealed in holy scripture and interpreted by the Church fathers; the seventeenth and eighteenth century metaphysicians believed that the vindication for the actual distribution of rights upheld in theory and practice rested ultimately upon the authority of nature. Essentially the difference was merely this: the theologians identified nature with God, whereas the metaphysicians identified God with nature. If this appears a trivial distinction of little consequence, the actual sequence of historical events which grew out of it is anything but trivial.

The Metaphysical Theory of Punishment

Penalties for crime, according to the eighteenth century writers, such as Beccaria and Bentham, had to be just severe enough to provide an effectual inhibition to the criminal and, at the same time, an effectual object lesson to others. In accomplishing the first aim the gap that had been opened in the moral law by the criminal act was virtually closed. Punishment was reparatory in this sense. In accomplishing the second aim, punishment was exemplary. Sometimes this exemplary function overshadowed the reparatory as in the case of an English judge who sentenced a convicted horse thief to the gallows. When the thief remonstrated saying that the penalty was out of all proportion to the offense, the judge replied by saying: "Sir, I am hanging you, not because you stole a horse, but in order that horses may not be stolen."

Beccaria at about the middle of the eighteenth century had declared that punishment should not be a vindictive act of violence, but a reasoned process suited to the offense. It should not be exercised by a single person, or several persons against a citizen. On the contrary, it should be "essentially public, prompt, necessary, proportioned to the crime, dictated by laws, and the least rigorous possible in the given circumstances."[11] Jeremy Bentham developed this idea somewhat further in his hedonistic calculus. According to this view it was assumed that a criminal act gives pleasurable satisfaction to the perpetrator; how else could a person be persuaded to assume the risk of detection, trial, conviction, and punishment? Therefore the discomfort and pain of punishment should be just sufficient to overbalance the pleasure of a crime. This point of view was developed into an elaborate theory of behavior—a rationalistic theory. According to this theory behavior is motivated by the desire for pleasure and the avoidance of pain. Behavior was assumed to be deliberate. The individual therefore balanced the immediate and the remote consequences of the possible choices of action in terms of comfort and discomfort, happiness and misery, pleasure and pain. If the balance showed a surplus of pleasurable satisfaction, the contemplated choice was selected; if it showed a balance of pain, the possible choice was rejected. Rationalism of this kind was characteristic of eighteenth century thought. It is associated with utilitarianism.

The Classical School of Criminology

Ideas of crime and punishment, set forth in the preceding paragraphs, have been organized in a so-called school of criminology known as the classical school. It might as well be called the metaphysical or the juridical

[11] Cesare Beccaria, *Crimes and Punishment,* New York, 1809. The author closes his book with these words.

school. Perhaps the outstanding spokesman of this school of thought was Cesare Beccaria, an Italian who wrote a famous book dealing with crime and punishment.[12] Beccaria criticized the arbitrary exercise of power on the part of judges, the use of torture to extort confession, and the reliance upon barbaric penalties. Like Rousseau, he advocated a doctrine of the social contract whereby individual members of society entered into a voluntary agreement to subscribe to certain laws for the protection of life and the security of property. It was assumed that society originated in this way. The right of punishment was derived from the necessity to preserve the contract. Society passed the laws by the power of majority rule, and judges were needed only to decide whether the laws had been broken, and if so, by whom. Since the penalty for each offense was also prescribed by law in a democratic manner, the interpretative rights of judges were limited. Injury to the public welfare determined the measure of the punishment. The ultimate object of law was the greatest good of the greatest number. This point of view allowed no place for the individualization of criminal procedure and the individualization of punishment. As already stated the criminal became a juridical abstraction.

The Rise of the Positive School

A new school of criminology emerged about the middle of the nineteenth century. It is called the positive school. The dominant ideas of this school have gradually assumed a fair degree of coherence and logical consistency; however, there are manifest contradictions of view within the school. Lombroso, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, engaged in the task of studying the criminal as a human type. Darwin and Wallace had developed the use of scientific methods of observation and analysis in their biological studies, and Lombroso was able to carry these methods forward in the most painstaking and extensive study of the criminal that had been undertaken up to that time.[13] These detached and rigorous studies of the criminal were carried along by Ferri, Garofalo, Aschaffenburg, Tarde, Ellis, Goring, and Lacassagne in France, Germany, Italy, and England. The conclusions and theories of these men differ greatly, but they succeeded in establishing a scientific basis for the study of the criminal. This basis is well summarized in Parmelee's *Anthropology and Sociology in Relation to Criminal Procedure*.[14] In certain important respects the scientific criminologists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are in agreement, and it is this agreement which constitutes the position of the positive school.

In the first place, the positivists represent a reaction against the meta-

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] C. Lombroso, *L'homme criminel*, Paris, 1895. Lombroso is widely known for his theory of the born criminal.

[14] M. Parmelee, *op. cit.*

physical conception of the criminal as a juridical abstraction. He is regarded as a member of the human species with certain mental and physical traits which may or may not distinguish him from other members of the species. It is assumed to be highly important to study these traits in order to organize significant data with respect to the causes of crime, the nature of the criminal, and the proper procedure of trial and punishment. Moreover, it is assumed that the prevention of crime and the reformation of the criminal are dependent upon such scientific data. To focus the primary attention upon the crime committed and thus provide a system of equal penalties for the same crimes is regarded as a perversion of justice. Since an insane person is mentally incompetent, it follows that he must also be morally incompetent and therefore irresponsible before the law. Similarly, a minor, guilty of some atrocity, cannot be regarded as fully responsible for his behavior. To give such a person the same punishment as an adult guilty of the same offense appears to be a serious miscarriage of justice. In fact, leaders of the classical school had developed the doctrine of partial responsibility in order to provide special treatment for such cases. But the positivists do not stop here. They point out that individuals vary in the degree of their corrigibility; that unusual circumstances, as in the case of Victor Hugo's Jean Valjean, often establish an ethical vindication for crime; that people differ significantly not only in temperament, but also in physical traits which affect their emotional and instinctive reactions to situations, and that these differences should be considered in dealing with the criminal.

The problem of free will becomes far more complex than had been formerly supposed. Behavior is conditioned, not merely by inheritance, but also by environment. Because of the wide divergence of inborn qualities, and the equal or greater divergence of individual experience and circumstance, no two criminals are exactly alike. Therefore they cannot be regarded as equally culpable—equally responsible in a moral sense. And therefore it is a violation of the sense of fairness to treat the criminal as if he were a juridical abstraction. This in substance is the position of the positive school. Equality before the law requires inequality of treatment, and this in turn depends upon the individualization of criminal procedure and the use of scientific methods of studying the criminal. Thus the latter becomes a kind of clinical abstraction, a special object of study on the part of psychiatrists, psychoanalysts, psychologists, sociologists, and possibly also physiologists and anthropologists. In this way questions of parole, probation, maximum and minimum sentences in appropriate penal institutions are theoretically examined. The extent to which these questions are actually determined in this way is difficult to say. In any event, it is certain that these scientific methods are being used increasingly in the courts and in the prisons of the land.

Freedom of the Will and Responsibility for Crime

The validity of an assumed universal moral law is denied by the positivists.[15] The mores change, even though slowly, in time and they vary greatly according to place. This is because the requirements of security and survival, freedom for growth and for power, are conditioned by climatic, racial, and cultural factors. In the last analysis moral and natural law means simply that these requirements and conditions are intelligible. They are related to each other and constitute an orderly sequence of events. To assume that the will of the individual is free simply raises a question of definition. Free from the influence of internal organic conditions? Certainly not. Free from the influence of family, friends, and associates in the community? Surely not. Free from the pressure of public opinion and the requirements of law? No. Free from organic changes which occur in childhood, adolescence, middle age and senescence? It would be stupid to say so. Free from the ravages of epidemics and contagious germ diseases? Obviously not. Free from the cumulative experience which moves in a constant stream and forever sets new conditions and limitations to the possibilities of new experience? No one is free in this sense.

But if every thought and act is determined by these varied factors how can anybody be held responsible for what he does? The answer is that no one can be held responsible for anything on the assumption that behavior is arbitrary. It is only because behavior is intelligible, that is, conditioned in a great variety of ways as above explained, that an individual can be held responsible for what he thinks and does. Freedom becomes a matter of choice, and choice is always limited by experience. An illiterate person does not choose to read anything. An uneducated person has no desire to read *Zarathustra* or the *Decline of the West.* A person who has never heard an orchestra play a symphony would never care to buy a season ticket for Mr. Stock's famous Chicago company. Further illustration is unnecessary. Our choices depend to a large extent upon our appreciations, and these are slowly developed from day to day in the form of an organic experience, that is, a consistent experience based upon a sense of values. Freedom is not a gift of nature in the sense that all people are equally endowed. It is essentially an achievement, something for which people struggle and possibly give their lives. The most unfree person in the world is not the slave who is bound by his worldly master, but rather the person whose choices and desires are bound by a narrow range of mental and emotional experience.

Also unacceptable to the positivists is the classical theory of punishment. The positivists state definitely that the ultimate sanction for punishment is social; it is neither theological nor metaphysical. In order to protect society

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[15] See M. Parmelee, *Criminology,* New York, 1921, Ch. 23.

against dangerous criminals it is necessary to incarcerate them and to keep them incarcerated so long as they retain the characteristics of a dangerous criminal. It is the purpose of scientific experts attached to the prisons, the courts, or both, to give a reliable answer to this question of whether the confined criminal continues to be a public menace. If this risk appears to have been removed by evidence of a definite change in outlook on the part of the criminal, he may be paroled. In case he appears to be incorrigible and the evidence shows that nothing can be relied upon to effectuate the desirable change in character, he may be removed permanently in order to save the state the expense of his maintenance. The proper stimulation of incentive depends upon some such alternative as this. Criminals whose crimes have been accidental or negligible and whose character traits give the desirable guarantees of public safety may be released or placed on probation. Thus it is seen that the system of fixed penalties introduced by the metaphysicians is completely destroyed by the positivist theory. The ultimate sanctions of punishment are reformation and the prevention of crime.

Positive Theory in Practice

To what extent has this system of ideas been actualized in practice? This question may be answered in three parts: (1) in connection with the work of investigation and indictment; (2) the court trial; (3) treatment or punishment.

(1) The grand jury conducts investigations in order to determine whether felonious charges against a person or persons warrant an indictment. Since the grand jury is not prepared to examine the validity of specialized evidence it relies increasingly upon experts to present the relevant and the material facts. These may have to do with ballistics, mental competence, the causes of death, chemical analysis of various substances, and other questions which call for scientific training. Examining magistrates conduct preliminary investigations of individuals accused of less serious crimes. In such cases expert testimony is not always indispensable by any means; in some cases it is.

(2) Likewise in connection with the court trial both the prosecution and the defense rely increasingly upon expert testimony of all kinds. This often leads to a dilemma, since the evidence is contradictory, and when the case is tried by a jury the situation is baffling because the jury members are not prepared to evaluate intelligently such mutually destructive testimony. Hence the positivists generally advocate the abolition or revision of the trial jury along with the grand jury substituting adequately trained judges competent to pass upon such questions. In certain countries of Europe this development has been realized; a similar actual trend in the United States is unmistakable.[16]

[16] See footnote 10. Also E. H. Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology*, Chicago, 1934, p. 257 *et seq.*

(3) The use of a specialized juvenile court procedure in the United States is a clear-cut expression of positive theory. Similar tendencies are evident in the broad field of penology. Laws increasingly provide for maximum and minimum sentences. Probation and parole are commonplace. The continued differentiation of penal institutions such as labor camps where the men do road work, farming, forestry service, quarrying, and the like, illustrates the sustained effort to adjust treatment to the nature of the criminal. Industrial schools, prisons of various degrees of security against escape, reformatories, hospitals for the criminal insane, and the schools for feebleminded aim to apply the same principles. It is clear that the individualization of the work of investigation, trial, and punishment is dependent upon experts in a variety of related fields. The expense of this work is greatly reduced by the systematic co-ordination of the various bureaus, agencies, clinics, and research schools which provide the desired services.

Emotional Reactions and Scientific Treatment

The student of these problems, having grasped the logic of the positive school of criminology, may consider what a thoroughgoing exponent of this theory would say about Jeremy Bentham's hedonistic calculus or Beccaria's discussion of the idea of punishment. Certain theorists would delete the word punishment from our vocabularies entirely. The chief reason given is that punishment is usually associated in the pubic mind with such emotional reactions as anger, fear, hate or resentment. Such reactions tend to prejudice the observation of fact and to warp the judgment of evidence. Irresponsible journalists become the arbiters of right as the public demand for justice degenerates into a mob hysteria. Trials are conducted in newspapers instead of in the court room where photographers, radio announcers, and news hawks play a far more influential rôle than the judge, the jury and all the expert witnesses put together. Examples in point are the famous trial of Harry K. Thaw, murderer of Stanford White; the Sacco-Vanzetti case; the Loeb-Leopold murder of the Franks boy; and the more recent Bruno Richard Hauptmann-Charles Augustus Lindbergh kidnapping episode. When newspaper writers speak of accused persons as foul criminals, cold-blooded murderers, and the like, before the defendants have been tried in court, editors simply whet the public appetite for sensation and transfer the work of justice from a responsible court of law to an irresponsible journalist's office.

This policy may sell newspapers and increase the value of advertising space; it satisfies the morbid craving for excitement on the part of persons whose normal emotions are all but starved; it makes no tangible contribution to the prevention of crime or the reformation of the criminal. Admitting that all of this is inexcusable and indefensible it does not follow by any means that people can be disciplined into a mood of emotional neutrality

with respect to crime. Offenses like rape, kidnapping, and brutal murder arouse reactions which have some correlation with the danger of the criminal to the public safety. The desire for punishment will remain, not only because of the human qualities involved, but also because the ideals of prevention and reformation demand it. This is because fear always has been and always will be the great inhibitor. When the emotionally neutral experts of science reach positions of public responsibility, they show evidence enough of having learned how to play upon this human quality.

A consistent interpretation of positive theory takes note of the very important fact that when a law breaker has been apprehended, tried, convicted, and committed to some form of penal treatment, more mischief has already been done than can ever be wholly corrected or repaired. Ferri expressed the idea in his so-called "law of criminal saturation," by which he meant that every society has just as much crime and just as many criminals as it deserves.[17] Crime may be regarded and should be regarded as an index of the failure of community agencies and institutions to build up morally consistent patterns of behavior. When an accessible secular structure of life supersedes the isolated sacred structure, the principle of centrifugal expediency places an accumulating pressure upon the requirements of a law-abiding life. Differentiation of a great variety of mutually destructive patterns of culture inevitably occurs with the growth of metropolitanism. The whole content of life becomes literally saturated with the values of centrifugal expediency when the underworld of hoodlums, gunmen, crooks, gangsters, and racketeers becomes mixed up with police protection, corrupt judges, prosecuting attorneys, and even governors whose political fortunes depend upon collaboration with the "machine."

Politics and Crime

Lucky Luciano's vice ring provided an annual income of $12,000,000.[18] But this was only one of a long series of organized rackets which produced a net income of more than $150,000,000 per year. This income was split among approximately 200 "top" men and something like 15,000 lesser henchmen. Some of the business rackets controlled by Luciano were trucking, florists, perishable produce, laundry, cleaning and dyeing, baking, building wrecking, ice cream, kosher meats, lumber, restaurants, ice, roofing material, dairy products, circular distribution, linen supply, clothing manufacture, gambling houses, the larger policy games, "loan shark" business, and motion picture operators. In addition to all of this, he was the largest dealer in dope in the country. Living in a luxurious suite of rooms in

[17] E. Ferri, *La sociologie criminelle*, Paris, 1905, p. 230.

[18] W. Thomas, "New York's Royal Rascality, Its Tie-up with Politics," *The Chicago Tribune*, Sunday, September 20, 1936. See also J. Boettiger, *Jake Lingle*, New York, 1931; Sutherland, *op. cit.*, p. 187 *et seq.*

the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, Luciano received daily reports from his retainers, distributed patronage, and managed his far-flung underworld empire. Evidence presented in the course of various hearings and trials showed that the district attorney of Kings County, New York City, was implicated in these affairs. But the charges against him were dismissed by Governor Lehman. In an earlier episode, similar charges against former Mayor Jimmy Walker of New York City, who also appeared to be involved in a tangle of crime and politics, were also dismissed. Thus it becomes clear that the positive approach to the problems of crime and the criminal becomes enmeshed in the broader questions of government and business. This is unavoidable. The emergence of fascism in Italy, Austria, Germany, and other countries of Europe is in part a reply to this type of challenge to the public safety. A well-disciplined and a socially responsible government, willing and able to meet this challenge by the necessary measures, such as a regulated press, is the price that will have to be paid for the prevention of crime. So long as this price is regarded as exorbitant and unreasonable, crime is bound to flourish in the land. In any case a far-sighted and historically rooted statesmanship is necessary to carry out the ideals of the positive school.

Problem Questions

1. How would you account for the steady rise in the homicide rate from 3.4 per 100,000 population in 1900, in cities having a population of 100,000 or more, to 10.1 per 100,000 in these same cities in 1933?

2. Explain the rise and the decline of the theological conception of crime and punishment.

3. Define racketeering. Describe some of the typical predatory techniques of the twentieth century racketeer.

4. The Bill of Rights has been called the *Magna Charta* of the criminal. Is there any evidence to support this view?

5. Is the constitutional guarantee of the right of the individual to keep and bear arms defensible in the United States today?

6. Contrast the medieval and the modern methods of individualization of punishment.

7. Since the United States Supreme Court has denied the right of trial by jury for offenses not punishable by more than 90 days' imprisonment or more than $300 in fine, would it not be desirable to abandon jury trials in all cases?

8. On an adjusted basis of relative population the United States has seven times as many persons in prison as England, four times as many as Belgium, and more than twice as many as France. Account for these differences.

9. Account for the rise and decline of the system of fixed penalties.

10. What methods of investigation and detection were used by the G-men in curbing the kidnapping epidemic?

11. Do you see any arguments which favor the proposal to abolish the grand jury?

12. What are the main tenets of the positive school of criminology?

13. In what important particulars do the classical and positive schools of criminology differ?

14. Account for the rise of the positive school of criminology.

15. Do you know of any evidence which shows widespread collaboration of politics and crime?

16. Has the parole system been successful? If not, why not?

17. What is Lombroso's theory of the born criminal? Is this theory valid? If so what measures would be effectual in curbing crime?

18. What is Ferri's theory of criminal saturation? If this theory is valid, what measures would be effectual in coping with the problem of crime?

19. Is the efficient apprehension, detection, and conviction of the criminal more or less important than a sympathetic understanding of the criminal in dealing with the problem of crime?

20. Is euthanasia a defensible procedure of treatment for felonious and incorrigible recidivists?

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28

EMPLOYMENT

Four Theories of Employment

Four distinct theories of employment are today definitely embodied in the actual structure of relationships between management and labor. They may be named as follows: (1) the liberal-democratic theory; (2) the theory of scientific management; (3) the fascist theory; (4) the theory of communism. These concepts together with their corresponding structures and vested interests are engaged in a life and death struggle for supremacy. The fact that one theory or the other appears triumphant in this country or that country of the Western world does not imply by any means that the conflict has been settled once and for all time even so far as these nations are concerned. In England, France, and the United States, the issues involved are wide open. In Russia the communistic conception has governed employment relations since 1917. In Italy the fascist idea emerged triumphant in 1923, and in Germany the similar Nazi idea assumed ascendant responsibility in 1933. During the summer of 1936 Leo Kamenev and Gregory Zinoviev, formerly high officials in the Bolshevist régime, were executed along with several associates for complicity in a revolutionary plot to kill Joseph Stalin and overthrow the government. The fate of the communist idea will depend upon the outcome of present and future diplomacy inside and outside of Russia; similarly the future of the fascist conception will depend upon the success or failure of communism inside and outside of Russia.

The Liberal-Democratic Theory

What are these conceptions? They may be characterized in the order of their historical advent. First, the liberal-democratic theory. There was little evidence of this point of view, either in the works of influential writers or in the actual structure of employment relationships during the first half of the nineteenth century. During the second half of the century, there was a great deal of evidence in the literature produced, but very little in the reality of daily employment practice. This disparity between the ideal and the actuality narrowed down substantially from about the beginning of the twentieth century. The liberal-democratic idea implies more than the right

of free contract. It stresses the equal right of the laborer to organize for his own protection and to employ the weapons of collective bargaining for the advancement of his own interests. Implicit is the ideal of a theoretical equality of bargaining power on the part of workers and their employers.

It is significant that the employer interprets this equality in the terms of the so-called open shop, whereas the employee interprets it in the terms of a closed union shop. This difference reveals the essential instability and ambiguity of the liberal idea. Plausibility is given to the presumption that the liberal-democratic conception is simply the prelude to some other conception which definitely subordinates the interests and the authority of the employer to the theoretical interests of the employee—in short, communism. Kerensky was the pathfinder for Lenin. Similarly, the liberal-democratic theory has meaning, not in the sense of being a stable basis for employment, but rather as a driving wedge for some other idea. For the liberal-democratic theory aims at nothing less than an equal distribution of authority and responsibility between the employer and his employees in the management of business enterprise.

Collective Agreements

This theory is exemplified concretely in the collective agreements of the clothing industry where a constitutional form of industrial government guarantees equality of rights in all of the aspects of management.[1] To be sure, these collective agreements in the clothing industry have stood the test of some time. The Hart, Schaffner and Marx collective agreement was first signed in 1911. This understanding remained in force for two years. Ever since 1913 similar collective agreements have been signed regularly for three-year periods on the part of the representatives of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of North America and the representatives of Hart, Schaffner and Marx, and B. Kuppenheimer and Company, not to mention other clothing establishments which follow a similar policy.

These contracts guarantee the preferential shop, which is, in effect, equivalent to the closed union shop. They also provide for joint determination of wages, high standards of production, and the peaceful settlement of all differences by approved boards of conciliation and arbitration. Employers and workers are equally responsible for maintaining the services of an official impartial umpire who has the last word in all serious disputes. Union deputies in all of the shops establish and maintain direct contact with the management. All of this may appear highly desirable, but the fact remains that this set-up is expensive; a great deal of time is wasted in bickering over petty details while both sides push their fighting resources to the limit in order to avoid enactments of regulations and unfavorable decisions

[1] Boettiger, *Employee Welfare Work, op. cit.*, pp. 244-255.

which serve as legal precedent for future action. The expense of endless argument, captious criticism, legalized bullying, high-salaried attorneys, labor managers, labor leaders, impartial umpires, and expert advisers on market and related problems is a cost of production which must be covered in the price paid by the consumer. Both labor and capital are necessarily organized as armed camps and the class struggle is accentuated. Co-operation is the nominal watchword, but meanwhile each side appears to the other like a lion at bay awaiting a moment of advantage.

Nevertheless this system has served as a means of checking the greed of irresponsible and autocratic employers; it has definitely enhanced the dignity as well as the authority of organized labor; it has provided steady work at good wages in model factory environments; production has been continuous since the more violent forms of conflict such as strikes and lockouts are outlawed; a contributory system of unemployment insurance provides some protection against the lay-offs which come with acute business depression. But the final test of the liberal-democratic theory is its application to other industries. In this respect the conclusion is manifest that the concept, as here described, simply paves the way to its own destruction. Every dynamic ideal has a certain variable inherent imperialistic drive. It thrives on its own success, declines and disappears as conflicting ideals crowd it out of existence. The continued success of this ideal means an increasingly precarious balance of power.

A man cannot serve two masters. It is an ancient maxim that he will hate the one and love the other. This is shown by the method of compromise used by the impartial referees for the settlement of serious differences. An attempt is made to equalize the sacrifices and the losses involved. Each party is partially satisfied, but largely dissatisfied because the differences are merely split. Since this system of adjustment is in active operation grievances are sought and magnified out of all proportion to reality in order to make more grist for the mill to grind. Fear of unfavorable precedents leads to jealousies and suspicions on both sides, and when the system degenerates into a conspiracy against the consumer, nothing can be said to favor it. A stable employment relation requires a degree of centralized authority and co-ordinated responsibility based upon a sense of values which controls the behavior of all participants beginning with the executive manager, and closing with the lowest paid worker in the shop. Admittedly this unification of sentiment is difficult to achieve under modern conditions of work. The liberal-democratic theory, far from making a contribution toward this end, actually sets up a mechanism of control which creates the exact opposite.

Scientific Management

Toward the close of the last century a theory of employment arose known as "scientific management." Frederick W. Taylor, the leader and founder of

this movement, observed the widespread inefficiency of factory workers and set about the task of formulating the principles and the methods of scientific employment management.[2] A society, known as the Taylor Society, was organized for the purpose of discussing these problems, encouraging research work, and drawing the attention of employers to the importance of the data gathered. This society has done notable work in stressing the fundamental significance of the human factor in industry. It is a curious coincidence that the movement of scientific management made its greatest strides at a time when the liberal-democratic theory, previously discussed, gained increasing support. Since the crisis of 1929 interest in the former has waned noticeably whereas the latter has been greatly encouraged, not merely because of the collapse in the demand of private industry for labor, but particularly because of the new labor policy on the part of government. This is shown clearly in the work of the New Deal in America, the Leon Blum government in France, and the success of the Labor Party in England, under the leadership of Henderson, MacDonald, and Snowden. In fact, scientific management, as a movement, never gained a substantial footing in any country except the United States. But this is not to say that the principles and the methods advocated were unknown in European circles. They were well known, and applied to no small extent, although this was done in a different spirit, and with a different philosophy.

The implications and assumptions of scientific management directly contradict the liberal-democratic theory. This is shown by the fact that organized labor is definitely hostile to the former and friendly to the latter. Scientific management and the closed union shop are absolutely incompatible. On August 23, 1912, the Congress of the United States passed a law creating and defining the duties of a Commission on Industrial Relations. In the final report of this commission, published in 1915, it was pointed out that scientific management shops do not tolerate unionism except in forms which are abhorrent to the American Federation of Labor.[3] The reasons for this attitude are clear. A management cannot very well instruct a worker what to do and how to do it if the same worker belongs to a craft union which likewise tells him what to do and how to do it.

Scientific management requires an authority which is unified and ultimate. Every task is studied minutely with a view to eliminating all unnecessary movement. Co-ordination of effort is placed on the highest possible level of efficiency. Standardization of tools and equipment is carefully worked out from the same point of view. The most economical methods of handling and routing materials are determined by painstaking

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[2] F. W. Taylor, *Shop Management*, New York and London, 1911. *The Principles of Scientific Management*, New York and London, 1917.

[3] *Final Report of the Commission on Industrial Relations*, Basil M. Manly, Director of Research and Investigation, Washington, 1915, pp. 221-223.

study. Machines and accessories are spaced and timed in such a way as to eliminate delays and duplication of effort. Time and motion studies are made in order to define a standard task for every workman. Even wages are standardized in accord with so-called scientific principles, the assumption being that an average workman can complete a standard task in standard time for which he receives a standard wage. Incentives in the form of bonuses are provided for operations which permit a higher rate of output. Theoretically, fatigue is eliminated by the standardization of hours, rest periods, and the rate of movement. Likewise, proper conditions of light, warmth, and ventilation reduce the hazards of disease while machine guards and protective equipment lower the accident rate to a minimum. Physical examinations and tests are used to select workmen adapted to the requirements of their jobs while specifications, job studies, and proper instruction of the worker facilitate the desired co-ordination and efficiency. Selection, placement, transfers of workers from one job to another, promotion, demotion, lay-offs, and discharge are exclusively under management control which aims to place all of these factors on a merit basis.

Personal achievement records include an evaluation of various characteristics which may or may not qualify the individual for advancement in responsibility. In addition to all of this, standard systematic records of expenditures and income from all sources make it possible to determine the exact financial status of the institution at any time. The traditional foreman is automatically relieved of many of his duties since these are transferred to experts in the personnel division, or to experts in other departments. Favoritism in supervision, waste of materials, and shoddy workmanship have no place in such a system. In a word, the ultimate aim is efficiency, and the method is scientific extension and specialization of managerial functions in a unified and co-ordinated manner.

Theory and Practice of Scientific Management

It is assumed that there are certain "natural laws" of business management and organization.[4] The first problem, therefore, is a problem of science which aims to discover these laws. A second assumption is the basic harmony of interests on the part of employee, employer, and consumer. That is, having discovered the laws and applied them to an actual business, the higher level of efficiency will increase the wages of the worker, the profits of the employer, and the savings of the consumer who pays a lower price for his goods. In theory, therefore, the widest possible employment and the highest possible standard of living are guaranteed to all classes of the population.

Manifestly, scientific management is a refinement of *laissez faire* prin-

[4] G. S. Watkins, *Labor Management*, New York, 1928, pp. 96-97.

ciples. It is, moreover, a final consummation of the Industrial Revolution which began by splitting up the skill of the worker and transferring it to the management. What is now left of the skill is further split up, and at the same time divorced from the knowledge of the craft. This knowledge, too, is transferred to the management, whereupon the worker becomes a more or less automatic appendage to the machine. Lower prices stimulate sales, and the competitive advantage afforded crowds out the less efficient concerns and generalizes the processes and methods of scientific management. If workers are displaced because of the increased efficiency, this can be no more than temporary since the increase in capital accumulation, by virtue of greater profit, seeks advantageous investment; therefore increased demand for labor. In this way population, wealth, and national income may advance steadily while the standard of living of all classes of society continually rises. If this appears to be utopian, it is, nevertheless, logically consistent with the premises of scientific management. If scientific management does not produce these ideal results something must be wrong with the theory, the practice or both.

Taylor estimated that 50,000 United States workmen were employed under scientific management systems in 1911. The daily wages of these men were 30% to 100% higher than the same type of labor was receiving in the same localities.[5] Production per man-hour was doubled as a result of the new methods of organization and management while the companies were more prosperous than they had ever been before. Economic conditions gave a great impetus to efficiency methods during the period of the World War, and after the minor depression of 1921 this emphasis upon management was renewed with even greater vigor. The studies of W. I. King and collaborators show that the proportion of individuals holding positions of managerial responsibility increased about 50% during the period from 1909 to 1927; the actual number holding such positions increased from 4,424,000 in 1909 to 8,274,000 in 1927; the share of the total national income received by this salaried group increased about one-third during this period while the share received by the wage-earning classes remained substantially the same.[6]

According to estimates by Roger Babson only one-third as many persons were needed in 1928 to produce the same number of automobiles as in 1913; for the manufacture of rubber tires only two-fifths as many men were needed in 1928 as in 1913.[7] Substantial gains were also made in the manufacture of paper, iron, steel, stone, glass, and chemical products. Statistics of the United States Bureau of Labor show incredible increases in the output per

[5] S. H. Patterson, *Social Aspects of Industry*, New York and London, 1935, p. 459.

[6] National Bureau of Economic Research, W. I. King, *The National Income and Its Purchasing Power*, New York, 1930, pp. 49, 60, 80. For a convenient summary of this data see *Information Service*, May 17, 1930.

[7] A. J. Todd, *Industry and Society, op. cit.*, p. 436.

man-hour in the textile industry, flour milling, leather industry, cement manufacture, and sugar refining. One writer estimates that the per capita productivity of the United States was one-half again as great as the Canadian, 2½ times as great as the corresponding figure for Germany, 10 times as great as Russia, 25 times greater than India, and 30 times that for China.[8]

The total income of the inhabitants of the United States, including imputed income, as measured in the purchasing power of 1913 dollars increased from 31 billions in 1909 to 54 billions in 1928.[9] All of these figures indicate an unparalleled increase in the efficiency of labor during the twenty-year period from 1909 to 1929. The share of the total national income received by the owners of property actually declined about 5% while the share of wage-earners remained substantially the same as already stated. This shows that the wage-earners themselves participated on more than even terms with the capital owning group in this amazing outburst of productive activity. It would appear that the theory of scientific management has been more than vindicated. Such would be the case but for one unfortunate fact—unemployment.

Unemployment

If unemployment were merely a phenomenon of depression the argument would not be so convincing. But unemployment has become a phenomenon of prosperity as well. Estimates of the extent of unemployment during the prosperity era of former President of the United States Calvin Coolidge vary considerably. According to the more conservative figures an average of one million able-bodied male adults willing to work and actively seeking work were unable to find employment during this period.[10] Higher estimates place the figure at two million. It is safe to say that unemployment ranged between one and two million. What was the trouble? Were these men incapable of meeting the requirements of higher efficiency? That the great majority of them represented the least competent and the least desirable in the available supply of labor is no doubt true. But if industry had expanded in accord with the theory of scientific management, the increased demand for labor would have been more than sufficient to assimilate these unemployed. Many of them, most of them, would have required training and instruction to some extent, but these secondary considerations could have been met easily. Why did industry fail to expand sufficiently to provide employment for the unemployed?

The answer to this question is not simple; no unilateral explanation will suffice. It may be stated that under the spur of rising prices and private

[8] Cited in Todd, *ibid.*, p. 437.
[9] The National Bureau of Economic Research, *op. cit.*, pp. 77, 100.
[10] W. M. Leiserson, "Unemployment, 1929," *Survey Graphic*, April, 1929. See also S. H. Slichter, "Recent Employment Movements," *Survey Graphic*, April, 1929.

profits production was geared up beyond the capacity of the market to assimilate the goods produced. Agricultural productive capacity had been extended so immensely during the war that huge surpluses remained on hand which could be reduced only by giving them away to various countries. This philanthropic enterprise was of course concealed in the form of business deals and foreign loans nearly all of which were repudiated after the depression. The foreign credit policy of the American government during this time was inexcusably stupid.[11] Foreign nations, exhausted after the war, could not buy goods directly from the United States since the exchange rates and the tariff barriers were stacked against them. So the United States government loaned money to these bankrupt nations without recoverable securities, and when these nations repudiated their obligations Uncle Sam was left holding an empty bag. The prosperity of 1922-1929 was one-sided. Agricultural production never emerged from the doldrums at any time during this period. This obviously meant that a large section of the nation's latent or normal purchasing power was withheld. High pressure advertising, smart salesmanship, and all kinds of installment purchase schemes were devised in order to stimulate a lopsided market. The truth emerged that America cannot survive half solvent and half broke without paying dearly for the consequences.

Balanced production and balanced distribution is the ideal, but this lovely dream will never come true on the premises of *laissez faire* and the orthodox theory of scientific management. Both the theory and the practice of scientific management need to be revised in order to provide for a conception which is broad enough to include the interests of agriculture as well as manufacturing industry. Moreover, this revised theory must take into account the failure of orthodox scientific management to deal effectually with the unemployment question. Ideas of self-interest and private profit need to be supplemented and counterpoised, not superseded, with a conception of the national interests. And this manifestly calls not only for the collaboration of industry and agriculture, but also for the closer collaboration of both of these with the government.

It becomes unmistakably clear at this point that the problems of employment are by no means exclusively economic in their nature. These problems are social and political as well as economic. A one-sided economic approach to these all important issues is quite as lamentable as a unilateral approach from the standpoint of the sociologist or the political scientist. The measurable solution of the problems depends upon a co-ordinated analysis and resynthesis on the part of the political scientist, the sociologist, and the economist. This alone will make possible the desired co-ordination of attack on the part of administrative officers of the government. So long as

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[11] S. Crowther, *America Self-Contained*, New York, 1933, Chs. 6, 7.

social science fails to find a workable hypothesis for the adequate treatment of these difficult matters, government leaders are bound to falter and to stumble in their pitiful efforts to satisfy everybody while they satisfy nobody.

Evaluation of Scientific Management

Orthodox scientific management has been criticized on many scores, some of which are unsatisfactory. It has been stated, for instance, that this type of employment relationship has exhausted the worker by dangling the bait of higher bonus payments before his eyes thus speeding him up beyond his inherent capacity. There may be isolated cases of this sort of thing, but it is not a general situation. Certainly the principles of scientific management are violated by such procedures since the avoidance of fatigue and overstrain are stressed.

In the second place it is urged that the practice of this theory leads to increasing concentration of wealth and politico-economic power.[12] Well, it needs to be stated that anybody who desires equality of wealth and power is something of a blockhead. Evidence is conclusive showing that the standard of living of the American worker is higher than the corresponding standard of any other nation of workers in the world.[13] Moreover, it is clear that American employers have done more than merely share prosperity with their employees. As a class they have taken substantial losses in order to confer substantial benefits upon their workers.[14] Changes in the distribution of the national income from 1909 to 1928 demonstrate this point. As already stated, the workers more than held their own in relation to the owners of capital goods. Speculative finance, and the international banking houses are far more blameworthy, if blame can be fairly assessed, than the employing group in America.[15]

Thirdly, it is argued that scientific management is unfair to labor, denying democratic participation in the important affairs of business. Democracy, of course, is a fancy kind of plaything which looks a bit different to every one concerned. If the closed union shop is the meaning intended, the opposition is certain. This has been brought out. But if the meaning is the denial of the right of the workers to co-operate with the management in the solution of factory problems, the criticism has little if anything on which to stand. Such an attitude would violate the premises of scientific manage-

[12] J. A. Hobson, *Work and Wealth*, New York, 1921, pp. 216-217.

[13] The International Labor Office has published excellent studies of these differences. See *Information Service*, May 3, 1930. Real wages in the United States are approximately double the real wages in England, and triple the real wages in France and Germany.

[14] The indexes for real wages increased from 100 in the year 1913 to 145 in 1934. *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1935, p. 304. In 1910 entrepreneurs and property owners received 49% of the entire realized national income. This ratio dropped steadily to 42% in 1928. The National Bureau of Economic Research, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

[15] H. E. Barnes, "Mercenary Crime and International Relations," published in *Crime for Profit*, edited by E. D. MacDougall, Boston, 1933, pp. 296-324.

ment which call for the most complete co-operation between supervisory officials and the workers. Where such officials antagonize the workers they defeat their own purposes.

In the fourth place it has been argued that scientific management reduces the worker to an automaton. It has been pointed out that skills are split up still further and that the knowledge of the skill must be transferred to management in order to make the theory practicable. The task becomes exclusively, or nearly so, a means of livelihood. Using Thorstein Veblen's famous term, the "instinct of workmanship" is destroyed in the process, assuming of course, there ever was such a thing. But ignoring the question of the instinct, discussed in a previous chapter, it is undeniable that workmanship may be creative, that the joy of such effort is often the final and ultimate vindication of it, and that the specialization of tasks has done much to destroy this feeling of satisfaction and expression of self in the day's work.

It is necessary, however, to interpret this point of view in the light of actual conditions. In the first place most workers prefer the routine task, assuming of course that wages are attractive and the conditions of work favorable. They find no difficulty in expressing their artistic impulses elsewhere, or else they feel no particular inclination this way. Secondly, very little has been done in a field where a great deal may be done to create a feeling of *co-operative workmanship*. The joy comes not in the individual effort but in the nicely co-ordinated community of effort of which every worker may be made conscious by appropriate means at the disposal of the employer. Henry Ford is one of a very few industrial magnates of today who has understood this problem and taken some steps to solve it. And finally, the improved efficiency may release a volume of leisure which will provide ample opportunity for indulging any special artistic impulse the worker may possess. The inexorable hands of the clock of history cannot be turned back. Problems and situations must be faced as they are, and not as some myopic wishful thinker would like to have them.

Scientific management has not been a failure for any of these commonly advanced reasons. It has failed for reasons previously outlined. Extension and revision of the theory to meet the requirements of these criticisms will create possibilities greater than any other theory of employment now advanced and applied in the Western world. This is because scientific management has an organic historical significance which makes it fit into the sequence of events, the generally accepted scale of values, and the patterns of cultural change.

The Cultural Movement of Employment Relations

The foregoing analysis of scientific management and the liberal-democratic theory of employment makes possible a consideration of the historical

genesis of this highly complex situation. Lack of sufficient space precludes anything like a thorough treatment of the problems involved. It may be stated at the outset, somewhat categorically, that the historical study reveals a general movement from the idea of status to the idea of free contract, and from this idea to the conception of a closely circumscribed or regulated contract. This movement is equivalent, in a morphological sense, to the changes already described in the terms of theology, metaphysical and positive science. The idea of status means simply that the rights and duties of individuals are defined in accordance with the social rank or class to which they belong. Custom and tradition play a preponderant rôle in prescribing these rights and duties for each class.

Free and Unfree Village Communities

Such was the situation during the early medieval "precultural"[16] period when the village community was the characteristic form of social organization. This type of village community is described as being free, that is, free from the rule of lord, bishop, or monastery.[17] People's wants were satisfied by domestic labor in a system of independent household economy. Spinning, weaving, sewing, brewing, baking, tool making, furniture and housing construction were domestic labor within the family circle. The chief division of labor was based upon sex, although age and military leadership were also important factors. Thus the status of the individual as male or female, child or adult, slave or freeman, leader or follower regulated the division of labor and the employment relationships.

With the development of feudalism, and the early medieval manorial economy, the cultural movement proper had its real beginning. The definitive differentiation of ruling and working classes was accompanied with an extension of the division of labor. But the village community continued to be a self-sufficient and independent basis of social life. It is described, however, as being unfree, that is, dependent upon the authority of lord, bishop, or monastery. Slaves, serfs, and tenants-in-villeinage obviously enjoyed no freedom of contract; neither did freeholders or copyholders so far as that is concerned. Their obligations and such privileges as they may have enjoyed were defined by status in accord with immemorial custom. That the Church, in the first instance, and the nobility, in the second, played the dominating rôles in fixing these relationships of status has been shown.

The Medieval Town

A similar situation prevailed in the medieval towns which slowly developed in consequence of the growth of the village communities and the corresponding necessity for increasing differentiation of special trades and

[16] The term culture is here used in the restricted Spenglerian sense.

[17] N. S. B. Gras, *An Introduction to Economic History, op. cit.*, p. 61 *et seq.*

crafts. The status of masters, journeymen, and apprentices was fixed by custom. As the towns grew in importance the gilds and the municipal authorities enacted measures which regulated in detail the indenture of apprenticeship, the number of journeymen, and all other significant aspects of employment. As home production was identified with the village community so handicraft production was the distinctive mark of the town. The master craftsman combined the functions of workman, foreman, employer, merchant, and shopkeeper. As workman he engaged in the work of his craft, as foreman he supervised the work of apprentices and journeymen, as employer he provided the tools, equipment, and management of his enterprise, as merchant he purchased the necessary raw materials, and as shopkeeper he sold the finished products to his customers.[18] The town and surrounding countryside constituted an interdependent and self-contained politico-economic unit of social life.

The Origin of Free Contract

Improvement of communications and widening markets in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries produced an extension of the division of labor. The idea of contract definitely emerged at this time as a controlling principle of social relationships. This was because journeymen now found the lines of promotion to the status of master craftsmen closed against them; the yeoman gilds were organized, and demands were registered for the substitution of a contractual relationship with employers for the status of servant—*Knecht*.[19] At this time the merchant capitalist and the merchant trader found it possible to exploit the growing markets by organizing the work of journeymen in their homes, providing them with raw materials, and also in many cases with tools and equipment. Interposed between the worker and the consumer, the merchant trader and the merchant capitalist occupied positions of rapidly increasing importance. The piece-work system of wage payment now called for a contract, and the journeyman was free to draft the services of his family in order to increase his income. Hence the so-called domestic system, sometimes called the sweatshop or the commission system of production, arose. In general, it occupies the period from the Reformation to the Industrial Revolution. It is identified with larger territorial units of politico-economic organization of life gradually culminating in the consolidation of the national state.

Now the work of the master craftsman was split up. He may have provided his tools but not his raw materials; neither did he assume responsibility for marketing. He continued to be workman, employer, and foreman, but he ceased being merchant and shopkeeper. Merchant traders and mer-

[18] G. Unwin, *Industrial Organization in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Oxford, 1904, p. 10.

[19] G. Schanz, *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Gesellenverbände*, Leipzig, 1877, Ch. 11.

chant capitalists provided these functions. Perhaps the earliest differentiation was that of the trading master who was foreman, employer, merchant, and shopkeeper, but not a workman engaged in his craft. Large masters arose who were employers and foremen, but they were not workmen, merchants or shopkeepers. Both large and small shopkeepers appeared, and these men were merchants as well as shopkeepers; they were not workmen at a craft, foremen, or employers of trade labor. Beside all of these new types emerged the capitalistic merchant employer who combined the functions of providing tools, equipment and raw materials to large and small masters as well as to journeymen whom he paid by contract in proportion to their production. These capitalistic merchant employers did not serve the functions of foremen, workmen, or shopkeepers. A journeyman merely provided the skill of his craft, but when his contracts warranted the additional employment of others, he became foreman as well, and a small master at the same time. And when his business grew to require many employees he ceased the work of his trade altogether, devoting all of his time to the tasks of supervision and management. Thereupon he became a large master. In this way the idea of contract superseded the idea of status since the rapid extension of business enterprise could not have occurred otherwise. The widening markets which promoted the division of labor required it, and in the course of the political changes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries this freedom of contract was guaranteed by law.

The Factory System

All of this is of course closely related to the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century which produced the factory system of production. This system is identified with an expanding world market and an international division of labor as distinguished from the former national basis for the division of labor. To the worker, skilled in his craft, the factory system meant the beginning of a slow and steady process of splitting up his skill into smaller and smaller units of machine operation. And with the advent of scientific management toward the close of the nineteenth century even the knowledge of what was left of the workman's skill was split apart and transferred to the management. It was precisely this aspect of the movement which led John R. Commons to criticize scientific management on the ground that it "carries to the final limit that disintegration of the workman's skill and its transfer to the employer, which began 150 years ago with the invention of power machinery, the steam engine, and division of labor." [20] But this is no real criticism as has been shown. The real difficulty with scientific management is the assumption that the market for goods is indefinitely elastic.

[20] J. R. Commons, *Industrial Goodwill*, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., New York and London, 1919, p. 15.

The New Regulation

Long ago Adam Smith pointed out that the division of labor is limited by the extent of the market. For Robinson Crusoe there was no market and therefore no division of labor. And with the contraction of the world market for goods there must necessarily proceed a closer regulation of contract. Freedom of contract is obviously associated with the theory of an indefinitely elastic world market for goods. Today the nations of Western Europe and America are taking active steps looking toward the protection of the home market by way of social stability and compensation for the loss of foreign trade. The reasons for this situation have been summarized in various connections and need not be repeated at this point. Throughout the nineteenth century it was necessary to restrict the freedom of contract by state action in order to protect the worker's health and safety in a factory environment. The pressure of organized labor had little, if anything, to do with this legislation until the last quarter of the century. Laws limiting the work of women and children, hours of labor laws, workmen's compensation, unemployment insurance, health and accident insurance, and pensions for the aged were characteristic features of European nations before a single sign of fascism appeared on the political horizon, and should not, therefore, be considered solely as a contribution of totalitarian government.

All of these laws restrict the freedom of contract, and some of them have been declared unconstitutional by United States courts on this very ground. Monopolistic tendencies have also led to legislation restricting the freedom of contract. It was not until after the World War that the disruption and dislocation of world markets became so chronic and acute that the nations which suffered from population pressure upon available resources adopted some sort of totalitarian state. The ideal of freedom from external aggression required the sacrifice of internal liberties. This process is plainly in evidence in the United States where necessity for a regulated contract has been expressed in social security laws, the National Industrial Recovery Act, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Agricultural Adjustment Act, the Public Works Act, the Tennessee Valley Authority, not to mention other aspects of the New Deal program. Franklin D. Roosevelt and his advisers are manifestly and explicitly looking forward to a greater degree of coordination, integration, and consolidation of all of the organs of our national life. Whether the actual trend is in the direction of some form of communism or fascism has not been clarified up to the present time. American public opinion desires the preservation of democratic forms of life so far as this is possible. But as yet American public opinion has not displayed a very realistic understanding of the problems involved nor any real comprehension of the possible solutions.

Basic Philosophies

Two theories of employment have been analyzed, discussed, and evaluated: (1) the liberal-democratic theory, and (2) the theory of scientific management. Two remain to be considered: (1) communism, (2) fascism. If anything, these two conceptions of employment are even more hostile toward each other and completely incompatible than the first two. It is an interesting commentary on the contemporary scene of political and social action in the Western world that four such diverse and antagonistic points of view should be struggling for supremacy. One of the symptoms of an advanced stage of cultural development is precisely this diversity and conflict of attitudes and values. When all of the great problems of man converge at the same time, as they do today, it appears as if the culture is being swept along and away on a great tidal wave which finally overwhelms the strongest dikes man is able to erect. For we have today serious problems of crime, relief, dependency, vagrancy, unemployment, marriage, the family, population, agriculture, the birth rate, racial conflict, the conflict of political philosophies, religion, faith, war, peace, and education, each one of which is more acute and threatening than it has been at any time since the disruption of the Roman Empire. There are just two possible basic philosophies which emerge from this situation: one is a philosophy of fatalistic despair, of passive acquiescence which finds its chief solace in the sensuous song of Omar Khayyám—eat, drink and be merry for tomorrow we die; the other is a philosophy of positive action which today diverges along three main lines. One is the effort to save democratic institutions, the second is communism, and the third is fascism. There is no evidence of compromise in these struggles. The fight is destined to be a fight to the finish.

Communistic Theory of Employment

Communism, as a systematic organization of employment, substitutes one employer, the state, for the many private employers of a capitalistic order of society. It means essentially the displacement of the idea of contract by the idea of status. Since the worker can have only one employer he is not free to move from one employer to another. He is under compulsion to work for the state since the only alternative is starvation. A man who does not work shall not eat. This is the Marxian restatement of an earlier Hebrew prophet who laid down the formula: by the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread. The state accordingly assumes full responsibility for the management of industry and agriculture. Wages, hours, and various other conditions of work are determined by official administrators of the processes of production. The right of the worker to strike is not recognized, and if armed guards are necessary to maintain the desired level of discipline, the state authority can provide them without quibble, conscience, or legal en-

tanglement. Workers who defy the authority of the state may be dealt with as traitors.

Theoretically this is a collective discipline which trains all individuals to respect each other's equal rights, and leads step by step to the substitution of subjective for objective controls over behavior.[21] The state as a coercive agency ceases to exist; it becomes a hypothetical condition of philosophic anarchism where the authority of the state completely disappears because there is no need for it. In this way the leaders of present day Russia reconcile their own institutions with the prophecy of Marx who claimed that the liquidation of class distinctions would remove completely the occasion for all forms of human strife. For Karl Marx belongs to the line of Hebrew prophets; he created a new heaven and a new earth in the minds of his followers.

But when the dawn of a new day broke on the windswept plains of Russia in the year of the Bolshevist triumph over the democratic ideals of Kerensky, the ghastly contrast between the dream and the reality slowly filtered through a rigid wall of censorship into a horrified world. It was necessary to explain, and the explanation offered was no less naïve than the Marxian apocalypse. Even the most elementary sociology is sufficient to substantiate the thesis that philosophic anarchism is a vain illusion which never at any time in history actually coincided with the social structure of life. But the rainbow is lovely after a rain, and the extent of the psychological compensation demanded must have had a measurable relation to the pain of the disillusionment which followed the success of the communist revolution. Again it was demonstrated that the pathway to power lies through the undisciplined imagination of the many who succumb in trance-like ecstasy to the appeal of the disciplined imagination of a few. New aristocracies take the place of old, and this is the eternal recurrence of history.

The idea of justice and freedom through a liquidation of classes is an ancient psychological device for destroying old power groups and creating new ones. There may be little or no unemployment in Russia, as observers have testified; but meanwhile the status of the worker, led by evanescent dreams of liberty and power, has been reduced to substantial slavery as shown by the forced collectivization of farms, and the presence of armed guards at the factory doors. And this is the eternal irony of history.

Communism as a theory of employment is completely out of line with the traditions of Western civilization. At no time in the history of Western Europe, so far as the record goes, have communistic ideals been anything more than utopian compensation for the realization of a world in travail and distress. In certain respects the early medieval manor resembled a communistic order of life: it was a system of production for use and not for

[21] M. Parmelee, *Bolshevism, Fascism and the Liberal-Democratic State,* New York, 1934, pp. 38, 39.

profit. Moreover, land was held in trust not only by the tenant-in-villeinage, but also by freeholders, copyholders, and even the lord himself who was responsible for the use of his land to the king of the realm in whom the title to ownership was legally vested. But these relationships were feudal in character. The state as an instrument of control over the systematic organization of industry and agriculture did not exist. Inheritance was the all important factor so far as obligations and rights were concerned. There were three main classes of society; the priesthood, the nobility, and the peasantry; and the lines of distinction between them were sharply drawn. So long as communism advocates the liquidation of hereditary classes and their traditional rights there is nothing communistic about the medieval manor.

Public Works Projects

But in the world today the partial collapse of private employment has forced vast schemes of public works upon the government. This has been notoriously true in the United States during the New Deal administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Millions of workers have been placed on the payroll of the federal government through the agencies known as the Civil Works Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Public Works Administration, and the Works Progress Administration. To this extent the employment situation in the United States has become a mixed system, partly private and partly public. Public employment has been regarded as a necessary evil, a substitute for the dole, in order to utilize available labor and prevent the complete demoralization and pauperization of large masses of the population. These public works projects have been financed mainly by the sale of government bonds to banking institutions. They may be described as indirect relief in contradistinction to the dole which is direct relief.

A brief résumé of the public works projects of the New Deal of 1933 is in order at this point. These include the following divisions: (1) the Public Works Administration (P.W.A.); (2) the Civil Works Administration (C.W.A.); (3) the Civilian Conservation Corps (C.C.C.); (4) the Tennessee Valley Authority (T.V.A.); and (5) the Works Progress Administration (W.P.A.).

Title two of the National Industrial Recovery Act (N.I.R.A.) appropriated 3.3 billion dollars for public works. This was one of several laws passed by the famous Seventy-Third Congress which met in the spring of 1933 and succeeded in substituting a mood of positive action with its psychological correlatives of hope and faith in the future for the mood of frustration and despair which gripped the entire population at this time.[22] Among these

[22] C. A. Beard and G. H. E. Smith, *The Future Comes*, New York, 1933, p. 43 *et seq.*

laws were the Agricultural Adjustment Act (A.A.A.) and the National Industrial Recovery Act, both of which have been declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court; the Security Act which provided for the Securities and Exchange Commission (S.E.C.); the Federal Emergency Relief Act (F.E.R.A.); the Emergency Transportation Act which aimed to co-ordinate the services of the railroads; banking and monetary legislation which, by Presidential order, reduced the gold content of the dollar to 59% of its former gold value; the Tennessee Project (Muscle Shoals) which set up the Tennessee Valley Authority in restricted competition with private enterprise; and the Forestry Measure which constituted the Civilian Conservation Corps.[23] These statutes were passed in such rapid succession that the public was unable to realize what they meant. The government in Washington now assumed active responsibility for the national regulation of industry and agriculture; in addition it assumed direct responsibility for the organization and management of public works on a most extensive scale.

All of this may appear to be a more radical departure from the traditional principles of governmental action than was really the case. Former President Hoover had organized the Federal Farm Board, secured the enactment of legislation providing for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (R.F.C.), and recommended to the Congress measures which closely resembled the National Industrial Recovery Act and the Agricultural Adjustment Act in basic principle. The whole question of the revolutionary implication of the legislation of the Seventy-Third Congress depends upon future developments.

The Public Works Administration and the Civil Works Administration

Quick employment of the unemployed on heavy works projects such as roads, bridges, power dams, and public buildings was the immediate objective of the Public Works Administration conducted by Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior at this time.[24] Necessary and useful public works were favored as allotments were awarded on a strictly merit basis. In six weeks arrangements were made for the expenditure of one billion dollars. These awards included $400,000,000 for roads, $238,000,000 for naval construction, $50,000,000 for the national forests and the Indian reservations, $20,000,000 for the Civilian Conservation Corps, $63,000,000 for the Grand Coulée Dam in the state of Washington, $22,700,000 for the Casper-Alcova Dam in

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[23] S. E. Harris, "The Economic Legislation of the Seventy-Third Congress," *The Economic Journal*, December, 1933.

[24] R. Clapper, "Mr. Ickes: America's Biggest Spender," *Review of Reviews and World's Work*, September, 1933. For a good summary of the Civil Works Administration, see R. Clapper, *Review of Reviews and World's Work*, January, 1934.

Wyoming, $11,500,000 for a nine-foot channel in the upper Mississippi River, $25,000,000 for subsistence homesteads, and $16,000,000 for the forestry service.

Projects of this kind require careful studies, estimates by engineering firms, drawing up the plans and specifications for actual construction, all of which consumes much time. Unemployed persons were not being absorbed rapidly, and the relief load actually increased. Many individuals without work had been able to get along on their own resources; the demands for relief inevitably increased as these resources were exhausted. Public Works Administration employment was neither extensive enough nor quick enough. Hence the Civil Works Administration was created with an appropriation of $400,000,000 taken from the Public Works Administration. With public works lagging and the winter of 1934 at hand, there were only two alternatives: the dole or starvation. The aim was to seek employment projects which required no complex engineering preliminaries, work that called for a minimum of capital investment in machines and equipment, and a maximum of investment in labor.

Such projects included road repair work, repairs on public buildings, park improvement, construction of swimming pools, band stands, the extension of water mains, playgrounds, excavation work, and building feeder roads. These activities called for skilled and unskilled labor. For clerical and professional labor such work as statistical surveys of a social, economic, or political nature, investigating and interviewing for welfare agencies, visiting nursing, clerical and accounting labor in managing four million Civil Works Administration jobs, playground supervision and assorted jobs in civic centers, museums, and art galleries. In a short time this work came to be called boondoggling. The program called for putting two million men to work by December 1, 1934, and two million more by December 15, 1934. Civil Works Administration employees were placed on a thirty-hour week and received wages which varied from 40 cents to 50 cents per hour for unskilled labor, and from $1 to $1.20 per hour for skilled labor. Thus wages were fixed to vary from $12 to $36 per week. Harry Hopkins, director of federal relief, was placed in charge of the Civil Works Administration.

The Works Progress Administration

Due to the limitations of available funds and palpable inexperience in supervision, this unit of the government in Washington gradually faded out of the picture. Again the inevitable question of public works versus the dole came up, and again it was decided that direct relief was having the effect of demoralizing and pauperizing large masses of the population. President Roosevelt called upon Congress to appropriate about three billion dollars for a new public works program which was called the Works Progress Administration, directed again by Harry Hopkins. This appropriation was

included in the "Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935" which provided a sum of four billion dollars together with $880,000,000 from unexpended balances of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the Public Works Administration to be used for direct as well as indirect relief at the discretion of the President.[25] By the summer of 1935 this program was well under way, and in the course of the winter of 1935-1936 large numbers of unemployed on the relief rolls were absorbed in various projects administered by the Works Progress Administration. Employment in the Works Progress Administration reached a peak of 3,036,000 during the last week of February 1936; by June of the same year this figure declined to 2,268,542.[26]

One major purpose of this program was to facilitate the transfer of responsibility for direct relief from the federal government to local authorities. In order to accomplish this end, the Works Progress Administration was ordered to favor unemployed persons receiving relief. In general, all projects under the Works Progress Administration were required to employ at least 90% of their labor from the relief rolls.[27] Unemployed who had not qualified for relief were, in general, not entitled to jobs until the lists of men on relief were completely exhausted. This created a difficult situation since it penalized those who had managed by one means or another to keep off the relief rolls. The projects undertaken closely resembled the activities of the Civil Works Administration. Average wages throughout the United States amounted to $50 per month; in New York City the average rate was highest at $72.23, and it was lowest in North Carolina at an average of $23.93. All of these projects were selected with a view to reduce to a minimum the competition with private enterprise.

The Tennessee Valley Authority and the Civilian Conservation Corps

The Tennessee Valley Authority was conceived in the terms of a permanent project for the systematic development of the human and the material resources of the Tennessee River valley; it was not designed primarily as an emergency relief measure. Nevertheless it is a definite form of public works enterprise. The government was employing some 12,000 workers in this vast undertaking by January of 1935 and this number increased rapidly. During the summer of 1936 about twice as many employees were on the payroll of the Tennessee Valley Authority. Entire communities have been organized under government supervision and this inevitably required the construction

[25] "Federal Work Relief Act of 1935," The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Monthly Labor Review*, May, 1935, pp. 1247-1253.

[26] "Uncle Sam's Share, First Allotments to States," *Survey*, August, 1936, p. 242.

[27] "How the Works Progress Administration Uses Its Funds," *Congressional Digest*. June, 1936, pp. 170-171.

of homes, schools, churches, social, and recreational centers. While the government does not wish to compete with private enterprise, such competition is unavoidable to some extent. The development of the power resources of the Tennessee River is linked with the manufacture for sale of electrical energy. The construction and maintenance of equipment necessary for the manufacture of nitrates used in the preparation of explosives is an important aspect of the undertaking. Phosphates for fertilizing purposes are also manufactured and sold. Navigation on the Tennessee River has been improved and flood control promoted.

Another type of public works project inaugurated by the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt is illustrated by the Civilian Conservation Corps. This undertaking put approximately 300,000 men to work in the forests of the nation under the joint supervision of the United States Forestry Service and the United States Army. It required the co-operation of the United States Department of Labor which selects the men for these jobs, the Departments of Interior and Agriculture which direct the forest work, and the War Department which provides army officers to organize and manage the camp life.[28] About 1,400 camps distributed over the entire area of the United States were fully equipped and actively engaged in their duties by the summer of 1933. These duties included fire prevention by clearing out underbrush and deadwood, and the building of fire trails; the reforestation of denuded areas, and the control of plant and tree parasites; cleaning streams and damming headwaters for the prevention of floods and soil erosion; construction of telephone lines, lookout towers, and ranger stations. Some of the men are assigned to camp duties such as cooking, clerical service, infirmary aid, the construction of water pipe lines, and the improvement of sanitary facilities.

The original regulations limited the recruits to unmarried men between the ages of 18 and 25 whose parents were receiving relief funds. Men were selected who agreed to turn over $25 each month to their dependent relatives. This left them with $5 to spend each month. In this way at least 250,000 families were taken off the relief rolls, and 300,000 men were given healthy outdoor work. The actual forestry work is directed by representatives of the United States Departments of Agriculture and Interior who assign the duties of the head foresters, foremen, and experienced local woodsmen. These men supervise the work of the several groups in each camp. United States Army officers are responsible for the camp life, but there is no evidence of military discipline of any sort. They also enroll the men who are selected for service, give medical examinations, build camps

[28] H. Doty, "Our Forest Army at War," *Review of Reviews and World's Work*, July, 1933; C. L. Pack, "Human Dividends of the C.C.C.," *Review of Reviews and World's Work*, October, 1933.

and equip them, provide recreation, purchase supplies, and administer the camp discipline.

Robert Fechner has been in charge of this entire project from the time of its inception. Problems of discipline were difficult at first, but these were alleviated by permitting minor punishment such as the partial withdrawal of privileges, the loss of a day's wages, or the assignment of more or less disagreeable camp chores, and also by providing a 50% increase in salary for every recruit who displayed the qualities of leadership and was able to assume additional responsibility. Approximately 3,000 army officers were given continuous employment at good salaries. The cost for the first year was estimated by Budget Director Douglas at $250,000,000.

In a social system which is based upon private enterprise the evaluation of public works, particularly in time of depression, is no easy matter. When the demand for labor in private enterprise is so slack that millions of able-bodied workers eagerly seeking jobs walk the streets, scan the advertisements for help wanted, and place their applications with employment agencies in vain, a responsible government is bound to take action. Any government which permits widespread misery and even starvation without assuming some responsibility and taking some positive steps to relieve the situation is unworthy of the name of government. This is the opposite of government; it is anarchy. Three lines of policy may be pursued independently or in combination: (1) the dole, namely, direct relief; (2) public works, namely, indirect relief; (3) stimulation of private enterprise to spread all available work among as many workers as possible, namely, staggering employment.

The Dole—An Evaluation

The dole is cheaper than work relief but unfortunately it demoralizes and permanently pauperizes the so-called beneficiaries. Victims of the dole become incapable of self-support; their former spirit of independence and self-reliance is destroyed; they support every radical movement which promises them a larger share of "bread and circuses"; they degenerate into the miserable "fellaheen" which crowd the great cities of formerly prosperous civilizations.

Public Works—An Evaluation

Public works are preferable. The morale of labor is not so ruthlessly destroyed; the construction of roads, bridges, dams, harbors, sanitary systems; swamp drainage and land reclamation; flood control, drought control, warehouses, and granaries for storing surplus production of goods; forest fire prevention, public buildings, and many other similar sorts of permanently useful enterprise—all of this represents clear gain provided the system of private enterprise with which it is linked does not succumb under the

pressure of taxes, vanishing markets, and inefficient labor. When useful public works are conceived as temporary emergency measures and are properly geared, not as a threat to private enterprise, but as an aid to be removed as soon as possible, they are manifestly helpful. But when public works are associated with communistic theories and policies of government, they are bound to become subversive and revolutionary instruments of power bent upon the liquidation of classes and the emergence of new power alignments.

Public employment on a vast scale in a social order based upon private enterprise is no haven of refuge for the working classes. At best it is a temporary makeshift. What future is there for the workers employed by the Works Progress Administration or the Civilian Conservation Corps? For the great mass of them there is no future, and their behavior on holidays and week-ends shows conclusively enough that they are fully aware of this aspect of their employment. They are given food, work, and some meagre spending money so long as the credit of the government is good. When this fails, then what? Meanwhile, there is little or nothing ahead for them unless the private demand for labor picks up and they once more receive good wages under more normal conditions of life with at least some opportunity for advancement in the scale of jobs and the scale of pay. The miserable helplessness of men without leaders is more pitiful than a flock of sheep without a shepherd because they might have known better. And when the old leadership is destroyed the new leadership is necessarily inexperienced and inefficient. In an advanced stage of cultural development this situation is tantamount to chaos and the gradual rupture of sovereign and independent control over the conditions of national life. Freedom of action is lost.

Evaluation of the Stagger

The stagger of employment has its drawbacks as well. When work is spread so thin that men are not employed more than a few hours every day, the discipline of production tends to break. Moreover, the low wages which unavoidably result from such a policy may be inadequate to support the worker and his family. And finally, it is a difficult matter to equalize the sacrifices by requiring a more or less uniform stagger among all kinds of enterprise. But even so, the stagger has greater potential possibilities, especially when employers of labor will co-operate, not only with each other, but also with the government, than either the dole or an indiscriminate policy of public works. The difficulty of discipline simply creates a new problem of management which can be handled much better when the necessary sacrifices are more equitably distributed. Low wages in private enterprise are preferable to low wages in public works. High wages in public works when wages in private enterprise are low is an indefensible policy.

The Fascist Theory of Employment

One more theory of employment remains to be discussed: fascism. With the success of the revolution led by Benito Mussolini and his black-shirt followers in 1923 this theory became dominant in Italy. Ten years later the same general principle began its triumphant rule of Germany under the leadership of Adolf Hitler and his brown-shirt Nazis. The independent organization of workers for the purposes of collective bargaining is outlawed; trade unions have no place in a fascist society.[29] Over and above all individuals is the state which is conceived in totalitarian and authoritarian terms. But the fascist state does not abolish private property; neither does it abolish the private employment relationship between the worker and his employer. Responsibility is assumed for necessary public works which private capital is unwilling or unable to finance. Moreover, responsibility is assumed for the regulation of employment in order to protect the legitimate interests of employer, employee and the state. Workers are organized into great confederations of gilds, as in Italy, or into a united labor front, as in Germany. In either case the responsibility and the leadership are represented in the ministry of the state. In fact, the state is society and society is the state. Certain writers go farther than this and conceive of the state as a mystical, supernatural entity which is more than the social organization of the aggregation of individuals whose rights and duties are now defined in detail by the ultimate fascist power.

The distinctive aim of fascism is the liquidation of the class struggle without the liquidation of the classes. It is therefore opposed to the theory of communism which preaches the doctrine of surplus value and class struggle in order to prepare the way for a proletarian dictatorship and the final theoretical dissolution of all distinctions of class or caste. Fascism in Italy, and Naziism in Germany, did not destroy the nobility, the priesthood, or the middle class of merchants and industrialists. Communism in Russia destroyed all three of these classes.[30]

In countries which are organized along democratic lines the communists insist upon their rights of free speech and free assemblage, but they do not hesitate to make perfectly clear their desire to set up an absolute authority which does not recognize these rights. This moral advantage of communists in democratic countries can be offset only by an authority which is sufficiently strong to employ all possible means available for the purpose of averting the upheaval, disruption and chaos advocated by the communists.

Hence fascism can be understood only as a movement antithetical to communism. It arises in a defensive mood, and as it moves into its stride, this defensive mood is converted into a positive, offensive mood. If capital-

[29] B. Rauecker, *Social Policy in the New Germany*, Leipzig, 1936, p. 10 *et seq.*
[30] P. A. Sorokin, *The Sociology of Revolution*, Philadelphia, 1925, pp. 239, 240.

ism is conceived as Hegelian thesis, then communism must be defined as antithesis; and now if communism is conceived as Hegelian thesis, then fascism must be defined as antithesis. Fascism may also be interpreted as a synthesis which evolves from the antithesis between capitalism and communism. The struggle between fascism and communism will not be settled on the battlefields of Spain.

Neither employers nor employees enjoy the freedom of action in a fascist state which is there to take or leave in a liberal-democratic state. Profiteering, unfair monopoly advantage, and underhanded methods of competition are reprehensible; for similar reasons, undue economic pressure of employers upon their workers in the form of arbitrary dismissals, low wages, long hours, and indefensible conditions of work in general are condemned. Thus the liberty of action of the employer is circumscribed by the authority of the state. Similarly, the liberty of the action of the employee is circumscribed. Whereas in a liberal-democratic state he may vindicate the most extreme conduct by a feeling of loyalty to his trade union or industrial union, now he is responsible to the state. Sabotage, systematic loafing, folded arms strikes, peaceful or violent picketing, attempted boycotts of employers believed to be unfair to labor are outlawed in a fascist state. Freedom of contract is not abolished, but it is very closely regulated. And this process of state regulation by statute of the labor contract is one which may be traced back as far as the early factory laws of England at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Fascism is, therefore, the fulfillment of the conception of the capitalistic state which emphasizes its social responsibility to the entire population. The regulative function is the means of assuming this responsibility which is now extended to include the health, happiness, moral and spiritual welfare of all of its citizens. Hence, such state administered activities as the "strength through joy" movement in Germany and the *Dopolavoro* in Italy which afford recreational and educational facilities to the workers during their leisure hours.[31] Labor has a charter of rights, and so has the employing class. But these rights are not conceived as the occasion for a more or less violent class struggle. They are administered by the state through appropriate agencies as guarantees against the predatory and subversive implications of the class struggle, for the enhancement of the well-being and perpetuation of healthy and vigorous generations.

An intelligent communist would say that the class struggle can never be liquidated so long as the classes remain. The historical-minded fascist replies that there is no such thing as a classless society, that there never was any such thing and never will be so long as men are human. In Soviet Russia the processes of class formation are well under way as shown by the high

[31] Rauecker, *op. cit.*, p. 13 *et seq.* See also Terramare, *German Youth in a Changing World*, Berlin, 1936.

level of discipline of the Bolshevist party, the exclusive feeling of superiority which naturally follows rigorous standards of selection, intensive training, and a consciousness of ruling power. More recently this process has been accentuated by Dictator Stalin's effort to introduce the principles and methods of scientific management—Stakhanovism—in industry and agriculture.[32] The *credenda* and the *miranda* of power are as indispensable to the rulers of Russia as they are to any other government. Efficiency is necessary no matter what form government may take.

Reduction of Unemployment in Germany

When Hitler came to power in January of 1933, unemployment in Germany had reached an all time high record of over 6,000,000. With characteristic decision and firmness of purpose it was announced that the problem would be solved in four years. In a little over one year unemployment was reduced more than 50%. In three and one-half years the promise of 1933 was fulfilled.[33] This remarkable achievement was made possible by the introduction of compulsory military service, but the greater part of the unemployment difficulty had been overcome when this decree was issued. The measures used covered a wide range and included permanently useful public works, a general political drive to spread employment, financial aid to farmers who accepted the services of a young man or woman, coupled with restrictions upon the industrial employment of farm workers who migrated from the country to the city. Government loans to encourage matrimony aided the wood and furniture business, and withdrew women from the labor market. A drive was inaugurated to persuade women to give up their jobs in order to make room for unemployed men. Introduction of the voluntary labor service which united groups of young people from various strata of society helped to make labor a national purpose.[34] It is evident that unemployment was reduced to some extent by the simple expedient of inducing people who did not need jobs so badly to give them up for the benefit of people who did need them badly. Even bachelors below the age of 25 years were persuaded to make sacrifices in favor of married men whose families were being supported by charity. Many of these measures could not have been carried through by the earlier democratic government. Willingness to make sacrifices is dependent upon the feeling that burdens are being distributed with some regard for fairness and equity, and this in turn is dependent upon a government which is sufficiently competent to inspire the necessary confidence. To be successful governments must succeed in securing the cooperation of the people.

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[32] "Heroes of Labor," *Time*, December 16, 1935, p. 25 *et seq.*

[33] F. Baerwald, "How Germany Reduced Unemployment," *American Economic Review*, December, 1934.

[34] Rauecker, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-9.

Problem Questions

1. On Monday, April 12, 1937, the United States Supreme Court upheld the validity of the Wagner Labor Relations Law. What are the main features of this law, and what will be the probable effects upon employment conditions?

2. At the peak of prosperity in 1929, W. M. Leiserson wrote as follows: "Those who are employed shall earn more than ever; but fewer shall be called to work and more shall be unemployed." (*Survey Graphic,* April, 1929.) Consider this statement as a prophetic insight into future trends.

3. How do you account for the fact that real wages are approximately twice as high in the United States as in England, and three times higher in the United States than in France or Germany?

4. The indexes for real wages in the United States increased from 100 in 1913, to 145 in 1934. How do you explain this unprecedented increase?

5. A collective agreement in 1937 between the management of the steel industry and the organized workers provided a minimum rate of 62½ cents per hour for common labor, an eight hour day, six day week and time and one-half for overtime. Consider the advantages and disadvantages of this high wage policy.

6. In April, 1937, the Iron and Steel Institute published a report which showed that wage advances and rising prices of raw materials will cost the steel industry $215,000,000 per year. Price advances provide an additional income of $200,000,000 per year. How can this unhealthy condition be remedied?

7. A collective agreement in 1937 in the bituminous coal industry affecting about 400,000 miners provided a minimum rate of $6 per day in the North and $5.60 per day in the South. It was immediately announced that the price of coal would rise. Are the workers likely to lose more than they will gain as a result of a general policy of this kind?

8. Do you see any relation between a policy of high wages and chronic unemployment?

9. Is there any relation between a policy of high wages and the danger of inflation?

10. According to the theory of Henry Ford, high wages increase the purchasing power of the workers; this stimulates production and solves the unemployment problem by increasing the demand for labor. Evaluate this theory.

11. Is there any evidence to show that the salaries and bonuses received by some executives and officials of industry are unreasonably high?

12. Contrast the arguments which favor a legal minimum wage with the arguments which favor a legal maximum wage.

13. According to the wage-tariff theory of unemployment the extent of unemployment varies everywhere with the surplus value received by all of the employees on the payroll. Is this theory sound?

14. How do you account for the failure of industry and agriculture to expand sufficiently to eliminate unemployment even though prices were rising and business improving during the period from 1933-1937?

15. Are the methods which Germany used to reduce unemployment applicable to a country which is governed like the United States?

16. What is meant by boondoggling? Is this a defensible policy?

17. Do you know of any projects, highly desirable from the point of view of national welfare, which private finance cannot undertake because of insufficient profit to warrant the investment?

18. Are such projects competitive or noncompetitive?

19. Is the state warranted in assuming responsibility for projects of this kind when unemployment is widespread?

20. What are the consequences of paying workers on public projects higher wages than private industry is able to pay for the same classes of labor?

Suggestions for Additional Reading

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29

MARRIAGE, DIVORCE, AND THE FAMILY

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE may be defined as law, custom, or institution regulating the relationships between the sexes. Normally marriage issues in a more or less stable family which may be defined as law, custom, or institution regulating the relationships between parents and children. Invariably these relationships are part of a larger, more inclusive order of life which fixes the characteristic patterns of behavior, not only in respect to marriage and the family, but also in respect to religion, morality, education, economics, and government. Marriage and the family, therefore, are particular aspects of a configuration of patterns which becomes intelligible when it is perceived that certain conceptions, theories, or philosophies co-ordinate all of the aspects of life into a more or less unified and coherent whole. Inconsistency and contradiction destroy the purposes of life however these may be understood and defined. This unity in plurality is always an ideal; it is never fully attained. But there is no single institution which reveals either the unity or the lack of it with greater clarity than the family.

THE REFLECTION OF SOCIETY IN THE FAMILY

This fact may be accounted for in various ways. The family is a primary group in which the relationships are direct, personal, and face-to-face. It is a kinship group in which the ties are biological as well as psychological and social. Children are conditioned in their attitudes and values from infancy in a close circle of intimate relationships. Inconsistencies and contradictions cannot long survive in such a situation since they destroy the unity of the spirit which holds the members of a family together.

All of the other institutions of society are reflected in the family, formally or informally, conspicuously or inconspicuously, vicariously or directly. Religion, economic enterprise, morality, education, government, and law are represented in the family in one way or another even though this truth may not be as much in evidence today as it was a century ago. Bible reading, grace at table, family prayers, and devotional songs are not customary today, and the number of families in which formal religion has no place at all is probably increasing in the United States; but no single family can destroy the indirect influence of the Church even though this influence may not be felt.

Not so many generations ago the spinning wheel rendered an indispensable service to every member of the family. Food and drink were prepared and preserved for winter use, extensive baking was commonplace, weaving, sewing, and knitting were household occupations, and even the preparation of candles and soap was somehow contrived at home. Much of this has disappeared in the civilized world today, but not all of it by any means, and it is quite as easy to exaggerate the extent to which industry has diverted these interests as it is to overestimate the economic activities still centered in the home.

Responsibility for parental discipline of children was assumed with a great deal more of gravity and unction in days gone by than is the case today. Nowadays the child psychologists berate the parents for failing to understand their children, for alienating their affection by stern measures of discipline, for punishing them instead of suggesting gently and with reason why certain things may not be done. With what result? The children learn to discipline their parents and new ideas of morality supersede the old. Now that the sexes are related on a theoretical level of equality, parents are urged to deal with their children in similar terms in order to foster understanding and the closest possible personal relationships. It would appear to the superficial observer that government has disappeared from the home. The modern democratic family, presumably, has dispensed with the need for government. But somebody must assume responsibility for making decisions and for executing them. Misunderstandings, inconsistencies and contradictions are bound to arise from time to time. In order to keep the members of a family living together on more or less good-natured terms of solicitude and affection such situations have to be resolved. Government within the household may be distributed, just like the division of labor, but when the household is divided against itself it manifestly falls.

Education has been diverted to schools, churches, community centers, and various other social agencies, greatly relieving the responsibilities of parents in this respect. But the family continues to be an educational influence for good or ill so profound that grade school teachers have no difficulty whatever in determining whether the family influence is favorable or unfavorable to the work required of their pupils. Disregard and even disrespect for law is inadvertently encouraged by the incompetence of public officials charged with the responsibility for making the laws and enforcing them. This attitude is reflected in the family insofar as the rule of expediency becomes the guiding standard of values and the dominating motive of behavior. Thus it appears that the total structure of life, or the lack of it, is embodied and revealed in the family with greater directness and clarity than in any other institution. The family is the most sensitive index we possess of the stability, the coherence, the economic, and the moral solvency of the wider, more inclusive order of relationships called society. A composite,

statistical index of this kind could be worked out by combining the marriage rates, birth rates, and the divorce rates in a single scale of values.

The Forms of Marriage

It is evident that the changing conditions of life, as for instance the increasing domination of urban as distinguished from rural influence, profoundly affect not only the functions but the actual forms of marriage and the family. The forms of marriage include the following: (1) monogamy, which is defined as a relatively permanent union of one man and one woman; (2) polygyny, as among the Mormons, in which one man has several wives; (3) polyandry, in which one woman has several husbands; (4) bigamy, declared to be illegal by most of the state laws of the United States, wherein a man has two wives or a woman two husbands; (5) companionate marriage, according to which the obligations of parenthood are avoided during an experimental or trial period in which the relation may be broken without obligation on either side; and (6) promiscuity, the equivalent of free marriage and free divorce in which all obligations depend merely upon the consent of the parties concerned.

Monogamy is the established form of marriage in the Western world, but when the divorce laws of a state make it possible for a young woman of thirty years of age to look forward to her tenth marriage, it is obvious that the monogamous relation need not be very permanent. In England, where, until recently, adultery was the only legal ground for divorce, it appeared to be customary to frame necessary evidence in order to secure the desired goal whatever the cause of incompatibility may have been. Monogamy may be a holy sacrament, eternally binding, or it may be a contract subject to the secular law. In the first case a marriage may be annulled on the ground that certain requirements, as for instance with respect to kinship, are not observed. In the second case the marriage may be terminated on the basis of the recognized legal grounds for divorce. When the divorce rate increases rapidly and marriage appears to become mainly a matter of convenience, the ideal of monogamy is broken and a kind of legalized promiscuity takes its place. It becomes unmistakably clear that the actual form of marriage is in process of change, and that the ideals and conceptions of marriage have likewise changed. Are these changes entirely haphazard and fortuitous or do they accord with certain basic principles which may be formulated?

The Functions of Marriage

A brief consideration of the functions of marriage also shows the growing disparity between the actual trends of today and the traditional ideals of European-American culture. These functions of marriage may be de-

scribed briefly as follows: (1) the biological function of racial perpetuation; (2) the sacred and secular functions of prescribing the terms and the conditions of the union of the sexes; (3) the economic function of defining the division of labor within the household; (4) the determination of the status of the marital partners.

With respect to the biological function, it is evident today that an increasing proportion of marriages are childless; it is also clear that an increasing proportion of marriages produce only one or two children. Alfred J. Lodka, in a study published in 1928, estimated that 13.1% of the marriages contracted in the United States do not issue in offspring.[1] A similar study in England and Wales showed that 16.2% of the married women over 45 years of age never had a child.[2] The birth rate in the United States has been declining so rapidly that we may expect a contracting population in the near future unless the aggregate of forces which control this movement is checked. When the birth rate and the death rate of the population of the United States are corrected for abnormal age composition, an actual tendency toward shrinking population is revealed. All present indications point to a further decline in the birth rate. It requires no particular perspicacity to observe that a culture inevitably declines and disappears when the race or races which carry it fail to reproduce their kind.

With regard to the second function, that of prescribing the terms and the conditions of the union of the sexes, the outstanding factor, particularly in the United States, is the increasing divorce rate. Edward Cary Hayes wrote a textbook in sociology published in 1918. Here it was stated that one out of every twelve marriages contracted in the United States ends in divorce.[3] Twelve years later this author published a revision of the same text. Here he stated that one out of every seven marriages ends in divorce.[4] The ratio was five times as great in 1930 as in 1870. Laws governing divorce vary greatly among the states, but in general they are so broad, and the necessary evidence is so easily framed, that the most effectual check upon divorce is the legal requirement for a division of property and of income. Children also serve as a check, particularly upon the husband. This is indicated by the fact that divorces to childless couples have constituted from three-fifths to two-thirds of the total number of divorces granted. To lose a family and then to be required to support it at the same time looks very much like the double jeopardy which is outlawed in the Constitution. In any event it serves to explain in part why the records show that three-fourths of the applications for divorce come from the gentle sex.[5] Again it is clear that the

[1] W. S. Thompson, *Population Problems*, 2nd ed., New York and London, 1935, p. 159.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 160.
[3] E. C. Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, New York and London, 1918, p. 673.
[4] E. C. Hayes, *Sociology*, New York and London, 1930, p. 757.
[5] In 1867 the proportion of divorces granted to wives was 61.7% of the total number of divorces. By 1932 this ratio had increased to 73.5%. *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, Washington, 1935, p. 93.

traditional ideal and the actual practice have been drawing farther and farther apart.

Consideration of the economic function of marriage in defining the division of labor of the sexes reveals a similar growing disparity between the ideal that has come down from the past and the actuality. A well ordered and reasonably comfortable household of parents and children sharing their joys and sorrows in a close circle of sympathetic relationships expresses the ideal. What are the facts? In the first place an increasingly large proportion of *married* women are gainfully employed outside the home. Figures published by the United States Census Bureau show that over 10,000,000 women were gainfully employed in 1930.[6] More than 3,000,000 of these were married, and this number represented 11.7% of all married women.[7] In 1920 9% of the total number of married women were so employed, and in 1890 only 4.6%. In exceptional instances this extra-domestic employment does not preclude the possibility of some approach to a reasonably normal family life. Generally speaking, it is obvious that a woman cannot assume the responsibilities of managing a household, of bearing and rearing children, or of making the home an attractive and comfortable place in which to live while the greater part of her time and her best energies are exhausted in gainful employment outside the home. Moreover, the diversion of home industries to the great food, clothing, and other factories, the wider utilization of vacuum cleaners, electrical washing machines and similar labor-saving devices, coupled with the increasing sterility, voluntary or adventitious, of married women has, to a large extent, destroyed the customary division of labor within the household. In order to relieve themselves from downright boredom married women seek a career in philanthropic work, party politics, social life, or gainful employment. The home is depreciated in consequence, and anyone who has the temerity to suggest that a "woman's place is in the home" becomes an object of derision and scorn.

In connection with the fourth stated function of marriage, namely, the determination of status, the traditional aim is to fix the duties and rights of the sexes with a view to the maintenance of a stable family life. Historically this has meant certain disabilities of women with respect to property, suffrage, divorce, the control of children, and the legal protection against indecent and indefensible treatment. More recently the theory has been rather generally accepted that there are no disabilities which education and legislation cannot remove. The result is a growing tendency toward the reversal of sex rôles and complete confusion with regard to the question of status. Parties to the marriage bond may in the course of their association arrive at some tacit understanding with respect to their reciprocal expectations. Since

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[6] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

[7] M. A. Elliott and F. E. Merrill, *Social Disorganization*, New York and London, 1934, p. 427.

the bargaining power is approximately free and generally equal, there is bound to be a wide divergence in these mutual attitudes. Instead of adapting the structure of family life to the requirements of the race and the prevailing culture it becomes adjusted to the wishes and the convenience of the persons immediately concerned. Advanced civilizations destroy themselves, not wilfully, but because of the opposition between individuation and genesis which Herbert Spencer pointed out a half-century ago.[8]

The Economic Function of the Family

The functions of the family may be briefly described and analyzed from the same point of view. These functions include the following: (1) the provision of the physical needs of life—food, shelter, warmth, and clothing; (2) the perpetuation of the religious and ethical tradition of the race; (3) the regulation of filial relationships; (4) the nurture, training, and discipline of children. Westermarck has observed that marriage is rooted in the family, not the family in marriage. The reason for this is that sexual attractions are primarily emotional, and therefore more or less evanescent and ephemeral. Children, however, require nursing and care, and since the time and energy of the mother are engaged in these duties, the provision of mother and child with the requisites of life requires the co-operation of the father. This is basic. John Fiske in his theory of the prolongation of infancy pointed out the increasing helplessness and dependence of infants upon their parents as the structure of the organism advances through the higher and more complex types of species. For the human infant the period of helplessness is longer than it is for any other type of organism, thus compelling the family to hold together.

Today the more extreme theorists argue that the infant is not at all dependent upon the father, and dependent upon the mother only during the period of pregnancy, since wet nurses may be provided to serve natural food after birth, while the state assumes full responsibility for the care and education of all of its children. This is called the socialization of child bearing and child rearing. It is obviously associated with communistic theory, the monogamous principle being identified with private property and capitalistic economy. Even the leaders of Soviet Russia have learned that this theory is impracticable. Mothers and fathers in Russia today are held fully responsible for the care and support of their offspring. Institutional children are generally described as lacking the qualities that make for independent, self-assertive, and self-reliant personality. They are socially inadequate because they have not received the personal affection and the sympathetic solicitude which the family circle alone is able to give. The communistic theory of socialization must be ruled out on two grounds: (1) the reversal

[8] Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Biology*, New York, 1867, Vol. 2, pp. 401, 406-410, 479-508.

of policy in Soviet Russia based upon experience with this theory, and (2) the obvious facts concerning the relation between the normal integration of personality and the family influence.

It is, therefore, stated that the provision of the physical needs of life—food, warmth, clothing, and shelter—is one of the functions of the family. Today this function is being invaded by the state, not in the sense described in the preceding paragraph, but in other ways. Unemployed families, for instance, are given a dole. Tax supported schools provide free lunches to all of their pupils in some states. Public clinics, dispensaries, hospitals, and sanatoria give free medical aid. Bachelors are taxed in order to supplement the inadequate income of large families, and industries are subsidized by the state for allowing grants-in-aid of wages to the fathers of many children. Taxes are remitted or reduced in similar situations, and promising children are given scholarships to permit their higher education. Lying-in hospitals for mothers and mothers' pensions illustrate the same principle. The detailed discussion of these various forms of public assistance and subventions to the lower income strata of society is out of place at this point. It should be stated, however, that several of the measures described above are related to the wider distribution of the economic incidence of child rearing. The apparent object is to stimulate the birth rate. The aim here is to point out that the economic function of the family is being increasingly diluted and diffused over the entire population. If at the same time the sense of independent responsibility is weakened, and an attitude of more or less helpless and parasitic dependence upon the state is created in the process, the population degenerates gradually and insidiously into an aggregation of paupers. People become morally insolvent and thereby the state destroys itself.

Perpetuation of Tradition

Transmission of the religious and ethical tradition from the older to the younger generations is described as the second function of the family. This function can be fulfilled only on two conditions: (1) that the religious and the ethical traditions are sufficiently coherent and logically consistent to be understood, and (2) that the family is sufficiently stable to carry out this responsibility. Since the second point has been briefly considered, attention will be given to the first condition. In 1916, 226,718 churches in the United States, representing all denominations, reported a total membership of 43,311,647 persons.[9] Since the total population of the continental United States at this time was 100,757,735 it appears that over half of the population of the United States—56%—was not affiliated with any religious body. In 1926, 232,154 churches reported a gross membership of 54,576,346. At this time the total population had increased to 116,531,963. Again it is seen that

[9] *Statistical Abstract of the United States, op. cit.*, p. 68.

more than half of the population of the continental United States—54%—did not belong to any church. How large a proportion of the total church membership attends church with some degree of regularity is anybody's guess. Membership in Protestant churches represented 27.2% of the total population in 1926; membership in Roman Catholic churches, 15.9%; Jewish, 3.5%. Only slightly more than one-fourth of the population of the United States is directly influenced by the Protestant tradition, while less than one-sixth of the population is influenced directly by the Roman Catholic tradition.

President Herbert Hoover's commission on social trends made some investigation of the religious information of the children who attend American public schools.[10] One would not expect them to be able to state the meaning of the vicarious atonement or the Immaculate Conception, but when they know nothing of the Ten Commandments, and the Old and New Testaments are things unheard of, the question may be raised as to whether there is any such thing as a religious tradition. Ask them to repeat the story of creation, or the Sermon on the Mount, or to answer whether these are found in the Old or the New Testament, and their knowledge is exceedingly vague, if, in fact, they have any at all. A class of college juniors and seniors was asked to answer a question which assumed knowledge of the meaning of the following terms: (1) asceticism, (2) penitential pain, (3) minatory terror. Three-fourths of the students in the class had no idea what these terms meant in spite of the fact that each one of the three was used repeatedly in assigned readings. It is not considered smart to display knowledge of such things. Ask these same students who played the leading rôles in the most popular movies of the season and the show of knowledge will flabbergast a pedagogue who doesn't see more than two or three pictures in a year's time.

The ethical and the religious traditions are not linked together as closely as they were a century ago. However, the failure to transmit the latter is not necessarily synonymous with a similar failure to communicate the former—whatever that may be at the present time in the United States of America. So long as the ethical norms were associated with religious sanctions it was possible to predict the behavior of individuals with some degree of accuracy. Such is not the case today. Written in the Constitution of the United States is a coherent ethic of life; the middle class gospel of rugged individualism is here enshrined in the clearest language. It is of course associated with *laissez faire* in economics, democracy in government, and Protestantism in religion. This worked well enough so long as jobs were abundant and the market for goods appeared to be indefinitely elastic. Since these conditions no longer exist, the rugged individualism of an earlier day

[10] *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, New York and London, 1933, Vol. 1, p. 397 *et seq.*, and Vol. 2, Ch. 20.

has become ragged; *laissez faire* is bankrupt; the evangelical branch of the Protestant Church openly flirts with communism while democracy is slowly being crushed between the upper and nether millstones of fascism and bolshevism. Protestants, Catholics, and Jews have been trying to patch up this tattered garment by preaching tolerance and co-operation. But since the Jews hate the fascists, and the Catholics hate the communists, while the Protestants are scattered in all directions, nothing can possibly come out of this movement except bitterness and misunderstanding. How can a family transmit an ethical tradition in these circumstances? There is no such thing on a scale that is broad and inclusive enough to be American; and there is apparently nothing, short of a religious revival of some kind or other, that can provide it.

The Regulation of Filial Relationships

The third function of the family as above outlined is the regulation of filial relationships. Again it is evident that the traditional patterns have, to a large extent, disintegrated. In times past aged parents assumed that their children would provide for them in their enfeeblement. State systems of compulsory insurance covering the risks of old age, accident, sickness, and invalidism have distributed responsibilities which were formerly concentrated in the family. Moreover, the state has circumscribed the authority of parents in several ways, as for example, by preventing the exploitation of the earning ability of their children, and by assuming the power of separating children from their parents when the conditions in the home are objectionable on moral grounds. In the democratic process of recognizing the natural rights of children, the natural rights of parents have been compromised. Parental authority today, in fact, is not based upon any concept of natural rights; on the contrary, it is based upon the ability of parents to provide the things that are needed and desired together with a certain flexibility of mind and attitude which does not shrink from the task of understanding the problems of children.

Instead of telling children what to do, what not to do, and fixing penalties, more or less severe, for violating orders, voluntary co-operation is solicited in ways that vary all the way from open bribery to the most subtle forms of indirect suggestion. If parents are inclined to follow the rule of personal expediency without regard to the feelings of others, children quickly learn to do likewise. To intimidate them may thwart their wishes but it does not increase respect. Formerly this respect was taken for granted by everyone; when a child failed to live up to this expectation the disapprobation was seemingly universal. "Honor thy father and thy mother that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee." As an injunction this is not understood and observed today. The parent who desires to be honored by his children cannot rely upon any such rule of

conduct; instead of being a duty on the part of the child it is a possible achievement on the part of the parent. Obviously this sort of situation works out happily if parents have the resources, the patience, the time and energy required of them. More frequently than otherwise these necessary conditions are lacking and the results are evident in the breakdown of parental control. Can children, brought up in this way, be expected to desire children of their own? Whereas formerly the "parent complex" was inculcated in children now the "youth complex" is assimilated by the parents. The debonair irresponsibility, love of excitement, and desire for the thrill of new adventure are characteristic traits of youth which parents simulate to the best of their ability. This is what is called "getting a kick out of life" and what it means is that children are given a freer rein than ever before. Parental discipline ceases to be effectual since children cannot be expected to respect the authority of their parents in these circumstances.

That the economic costs of child bearing and child rearing greatly increase as parents are expected to do more for their children is obvious enough. This is an inevitable accompaniment of the increasing competition of individuals for security of status and for preferment in position. *Le carrière ouverte aux talents* means a high degree of mobility on the part of individual members of society, and a corresponding intensification of the competition of life. But the economic balance sheet is one thing; the spiritual balance sheet in the terms of increasing strain, personal tensions, and mental conflicts reveals not only a growing psychological burden of parenthood, but greater dissatisfaction of children at the same time. The desire for offspring is crushed in the process. No one need marvel, therefore, that the modern state is greatly concerned with the problem of working out effectual incentives to a higher birth rate. To look at this problem, as so many people do, merely from the standpoint of relieving the economic incidence of reproduction, is totally inadeqate. The ethical and the spiritual aspects are controlling; and until it is recognized that the total situation is involved in this way, no great amount of progress can be made in dealing with the problem.

The Training and Discipline of Children

A fourth function of the family was stated as the nurture, training and discipline of children. This function overlaps to some extent with the discussion of preceding paragraphs. The point here emphasized concerns the mental and moral needs of a growing child. No amount of public education and social work can take the place of the family in this respect. Growing children require the sympathetic solicitude, and the personal affection, which parents alone are in a position to give, as already stated. When the ethical and religious traditions are reasonably intact and coherent the problem is relatively simple. Parents know what to teach their children and

what to expect of them in these circumstances. If there should be any doubt, the priest or the pastor is always available for counsel and advice. While this practice was generally customary a few generations ago, today it has all but disappeared. Priest and pastor may be quite as ubiquitous as formerly in some communities, and certainly they are as eager to help as ever before. In some cases they offer old-fashioned advice, but the recipe doesn't work. In other cases they are manifestly confused, and therefore quite as helpless as the parents.

To be sure, the ethical and the religious traditions have been amended and revised in certain respects to meet the exigencies of modern problems of human adjustment: one taboo after another has been removed and many things formerly considered wrong or questionable are now quite proper. And this is precisely the difficulty. Inhibitions have broken down, penalties have been removed, and liberties extended with the result that the old discipline has ceased to be effective. If a new discipline were created in the process of destroying the old, parents would not be so completely baffled. But such is not the case in the United States of America. Again, assuming that parents know what to teach their children, what good will that do if their authority and prestige are not honored? Thus it becomes clear that efficiency in the performance of the fourth function of the family,—the nurture, training, and discipline of children, depends upon two conditions: (1) a reasonably intact and coherent ethical and religious tradition, and (2) the recognition of parental authority. It would be extreme to say that neither of these conditions exists today. On the other hand, it is all too clear that they do not exist in an effectual sense. The family of today assumes a diminishing responsibility for the spiritual guidance, the nurture, training, and discipline of children. To a large extent this situation explains the youth movement of various countries. There are Catholic youth societies, Boy and Girl Scouts, Protestant youth societies, the Hitler *Jugend*—Hitler youths and Hitler maidens in Germany, the *Balilla* and the *Avanguardia* for Italian boys, the *Piccole Italiane* and the *Giovani Italiane* for the girls.[11] Some people have tried to account for these movements from the angle of military preparedness, but this is a superficial and unacceptable interpretation.

The Significance of Historical Perspective

In discussing the forms and functions of marriage, and the functions of the family, it has been shown that the modern family is becoming increasingly unstable, particularly in the United States. It has also been shown that this situation is simply a reflection of the broader aspects of Western civilization. The question of the historical genesis of these present day tendencies can hardly be treated properly until the facts of the situation as they exist are

[11] M. Parmelee, *Bolshevism, Fascism and the Liberal-Democratic State, op. cit.*, pp. 203, 315.

understood with some degree of clarity. On the other hand, it is equally certain that insight into the present problems of marriage and the family is dependent upon a grasp of the historical perspective. In the absence of the latter sociology becomes an incoherent mixture of all kinds of superficially conceived panaceas, programs and prescriptions for the ills of the day. These wishful dreams inevitably neutralize each other in large part and little, if anything, is gained in the process. Historical analysis does two things: (1) it shows how and why the present day trends are rooted in the past; (2) it clarifies the main lines of positive action which may be relied upon to check the continuation of those disruptive forces which are evident to everyone who takes the trouble to look at them squarely.

The Cultural Movement

There can be no question that the actual evolution of the structure of marriage and family relationships has followed the general lines laid out in previous chapters. Again the movement from theological to metaphysical conceptions is repeated. This same movement may be expressed in parallel terms as a change from the canon law to the civil law, from the idea of status to the idea of contract, from the sacred to the secular authority. Gabriel Tarde expressed the same thought in his distinction between custom imitation and mode imitation. Ferdinand Tönnies developed essentially the same pattern of ideas in his characterization of *Gemeinschaft*—community, and *Gesellschaft*—society. All of this is correlated with the political changes from absolutism to democracy, from the rule of priest and noble to the rule of the middle class. It is also identified with the megalopolitanism of Oswald Spengler—the movement from rural to urban domination in creating the accepted standards of value. This manifestly parallels the evolution from the isolated sacred structure to the accessible secular structure. The exclusiveness of the former stands in marked contrast to the cosmopolitanism of the latter. Individualism, liberalism, and romance are identified with the city; conservatism, marked respect for authority, and loyal devotion to the traditional values characterize the country. One is the natural home of religion and the other is the natural home of science. Reason and natural law take the place of myth, legend, and divine revelation in the course of this historical process. The movement of the cultural organism from Springtime and Summer to Autumn and early Winter is unfolded in the same terms. Characteristic changes which occurred in the institutions of marriage and the family are closely correlated with this cultural movement.

The Teaching of the Roman Catholic Church

In the course of several centuries, beginning with the third century A.D., Roman Christianity created a scale of values and a pattern of ideas which

were slowly but surely embodied in the marriage and family customs of Europe. It is one of those ironies of history that Christianity, manifestly founded for the salvation of a degenerating Roman family life, should have extended its mission among the Germanic peoples of Europe who felt no need of salvation, but nevertheless looked with awe and admiration at the civilizing work of the Church. Rome fell, not because her legions were beaten on the battlefields of Italy, but because of the sheer inertia of a decadent civilization. Christianity did not originate in Palestine except for the legend and the mythology which were incorporated in a new faith designed and woven by the early fathers of the Church who were bent upon the salvation of Rome. But Rome was beyond salvation even though the ideas of Christianity had found a fertile soil in which to grow and a still more fertile soil in which to spread. From about the fifth to the eighth centuries the Germanic races were converted to Christianity, and thereafter the Christian clergy exerted the fullest efforts to enforce their teaching concerning marriage and the family. By that time the Catholic Church had ceased to be a Roman institution except in name. It had become a Western European institution linked up with the Nordic nobility of Europe whose sons gave to the Church the vision, the energy, and the brains required for its expanding mission.

The Church declared marriage to be a sacrament, and by the twelfth century this doctrine had become well established in Europe. Marriage was explicitly recognized as one of the seven sacraments of the Church by Peter the Lombard in a book entitled *Sentences* at about the middle of the twelfth century. Monogamy was the approved form of relationship and this was no brittle matter as it is today and as it was in the late Roman Empire. Marriage was conceived as an indissoluble bond between one man and one woman. Since the Church recognized no grounds for divorce, and also took a firm stand against second marriages on the part of widows and widowers, this monogamous marriage bond was regarded as eternally binding, even unto death. "What God hath joined together let no man break asunder." Among the Teutonic people marriage had been a private matter and a lay affair as well; it was conceived as a civil contract and not as a religious ceremony. These pagan customs could not be broken roughly.

But the Church did succeed in impressing upon the minds of the people the sacred character of marriage. Contracting parties were induced to seek the blessing of the priest upon their nuptials and in time it became customary for the bride and groom to attend mass on the day following marriage. It was customary for the father or guardian of the bride to give her over to the bridegroom in a formal ceremony known as the *gifta,* and by the tenth century this act was concluded in the presence of the priest at the door of the Church. By the eleventh century the notion of marriage as a sacrament was generally understood and accepted and by the twelfth century it

had become well established. From about this time onward the marriage rituals of continental Europe indicate that the clergy were the most important factors in the ceremony. With the solemn words, "I join you in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost," it was the priest, and not the parent or guardian of the bride who gave her over to the bridegroom. In the Anglican marriage service, however, even to this day, the early Germanic custom still survives in the words of the clergyman who asks: "Who giveth this woman to this man?" [12]

One of the first tasks of the Church was to work out a system of degrees of kinship within which marriage was prohibited. A series of decrees gradually culminated in the interdiction of marriage within the seventh degree of consanguinity from a common ancestor. But these regulations were relaxed at the Lateran Council of 1214 to include only those marriages which fell within the fourth degree of kinship. This proved to be important because of the connection with the whole matter of divorce. While the early teaching showed a reluctance to prohibit divorce on all possible grounds, by the twelfth century the civil law was brought into complete conformity with the canon law which prohibited divorce on any ground whatsoever. This interpretation was entirely consistent with the conception of marriage as a sacrament; moreover, it followed logically from the view of marriage as a special symbol of the perpetual union of Christ with His Church. The Council of Carthage declared the indissolubility of the marriage bond as early as the fifth century. It was a difficult matter to enforce this conception upon the Teutonic peoples who were accustomed to regard divorce in the same way as they looked upon marriage, namely, as a private and a secular affair. Accordingly the early patristic teachings were by no means consistent. By the twelfth century, however, the great schoolmen, Peter the Lombard and Gratian, succeeded in reconciling conflicting viewpoints and codifying the canons of the Church on marriage and divorce.

As early as the tenth century, the bishops' courts had become the ordinary tribunals for hearing divorce cases among the German people. These ecclesiastical courts permitted divorces of two kinds without compromising the canon law which stressed the sacred and therefore the eternal nature of the marriage relationship. Marriages were declared null and void because of certain impediments such as kinship within the seventh degree, and later the fourth degree of consanguinity. If these rules were violated, the marriage never really occurred, and it was therefore declared null and void. *Divortium a vinculo matrimonii* was the expression used to designate such a marriage as nonexistent. Similar impediments were relationships of affinity growing out of adoption or a legitimate marriage, and the existence of a spiritual bond between the marital partners such as arose when both stood

[12] W. Goodsell, *A History of the Family as a Social and Educational Institution, op. cit.*, p. 216.

sponsors to a child in the sacrament of baptism. In addition the canon law permitted divorce from bed and board, called technically, *divortium a mensa et thoro,* on three grounds: (1) adultery, (2) heresy and apostasy, and (3) cruelty.[13] In such cases the Church officials simply issued an order permitting husband and wife to live apart. The sacred character and indissolubility of the marriage bond were not violated. These impediments led to abuses which later multiplied so rapidly that Martin Luther and others scored the Church for undue leniency in matters of this sort. Thus it clearly appears that the Protestant reformers criticized the Church, not so much because it was too severe, but rather because of a growing laxity in the enforcement of its ideals.

Some attention has been given in a previous chapter to the questions affecting the influence of the Church upon the status of men, women, and children in the family circle. It has been shown that the *patria potestas* was well organized among the Germanic people although there were certain restrictions upon the power of the husband-father over his wife and children which need not be repeated at this point. In acute circumstances of distress, such as were produced by a chronic condition of famine, children, and even wives were sometimes sold into slavery. Infanticide and child exposure were permitted and practiced in similar circumstances. Marriage took the general form of wife purchase which was usually monogamous but not invariably so. It did not follow that because misconduct was reprehensible on moral grounds when the wife was guilty, that the conduct of her husband, guilty of the same offense, was equally culpable. In short, a double standard of ethics was customary. Christianity taught the doctrine of the immortality of the human spirit saved through the incarnation and the holy sacrament of baptism. Accordingly the value of the individual human life was placed on a sacred plane. Abortion, infanticide, child exposure, polygyny, and adultery were condemned in the most outspoken terms, and the single standard of morality was upheld.

It was not necessary to sell human beings into slavery because of economic hardship since the Church was glad to receive sons and daughters into its monasteries where they were trained to become monks and nuns. In the imperial city of Rome women had achieved an advanced position of great social, economic and intellectual freedom. But this was associated with increasing sterility, abortion, divorce, promiscuity, and instability of family life. The teaching and the tendency of Christianity restricted women to the home since the Church recognized the moral dependence of women and their submission to male authority. Christ was regarded as the head of the Church, and so also the husband and father was looked upon as the head of the family. That the teachings of St. Paul contributed substantially

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[13] *Ibid.*, p. 205.

toward the definite subordination of woman in the home there is not the slightest doubt. Celibacy was ranked as the highest possible spiritual state; belated celibacy, after marriage, or the death of a spouse, ranked second in order, while a strictly monogamous marriage ranked third. But the spiritual equality of men and women was definitely recognized from the beginning since both possessed immortal souls which were similarly precious in the sight of God. This principle was made manifest in the hostility of the Church toward the double standard of morality. Adultery was condemned in equal terms for both sexes; in fact St. Augustine leaned over backwards by declaring that adultery is more criminal in a man than in a woman.

The teaching of Christianity did not abolish the double standard as shown for instance in an early divorce law of England which permitted divorce on the ground of a wife's adultery, but not on the ground of a husband's adultery. In the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857, the husband's right of absolute divorce for reason of his wife's adultery was recognized, but similar relief was not permitted to the woman unless her husband's adultery was aggravated by cruelty or malicious desertion for two years or more.[14] This law, however, has been amended to create a single standard in this respect.[15]

From the point of view of an emancipated Roman matron the teaching of the Church was reactionary; it appears in the same light from the point of view of a modern chromium-plated, streamlined representative of the gentle sex whose interests are broadly political and economic, and only incidentally religious and matrimonial. To be confined in a husband's domicile with the burden of rearing a growing family becomes comparable to a penitentiary sentence. But there was no evidence of this kind of situation among the early Teutons. Their ladies were taught by the Church to read, write, and do embroidering. Feudalism transferred agriculture to the manors and industry to the towns where men assumed responsibility for the tasks of production. In certain respects, as for instance in property affairs, and in the matter of dependence upon her husband's will, the status of woman under Christianity became less free. Children likewise were more definitely subordinated to the paternal influence. This followed the decline of the Germanic tribal organization which permitted the maternal kinship group certain checks upon the arbitrary exercise of authority of a husband over his wife and children.

In many aspects the work of the Church had the effect of humanizing

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[14] *Ibid.*, p. 447.

[15] In 1937 the British Matrimonial Causes Bill was sent to Buckingham Palace after passing three readings in each House. This bill extends the grounds for divorce from adultery, which had been the sole ground, to include the following: (1) desertion without cause for three years or more; (2) cruelty; (3) incurable insanity if under treatment for five years or more. Suit for divorce cannot be brought until after three years of marriage, but this limitation may be waived in exceptional cases. See *Time*, August 2, 1937, p. 16.

the relationships between the sexes, and also between parents and children as previously shown. A basis of stable family life was given a definitive organization and the reproduction of the race was assured. Likewise the care, nurture, training, and discipline of children were placed upon a substantial foundation. The obligations of men, women, and children in the family circle were defined with clarity and certainty. Responsibility for the continuity of the ethical and the religious traditions was assumed by the Church, and there was no question at this time of the power or authority of the Church to enforce its mandates. Husbands and wives knew what to expect of each other, and so did parents and children. An isolated sacred structure of community life in which no penalty was more dreadful than excommunication represented the actual embodiment of the theological conception of the Church fathers as it was slowly rationalized and systematized in the canon law.

The Teaching of the Protestant Reformers

In the last chapter the movement from status to contract was set forth in the field of employment. Under the leadership of the Protestant reformers a parallel and closely correlated movement from status to contract occurred in the field of marriage, divorce, and the family. A secular conception of marriage, as distinguished from the sacred conception previously described, was developed in the writing, preaching, and teaching of Luther, Calvin, Melanchthon, Erasmus, Zwingli, and other less distinguished leaders of the Protestant revolt.[16] George Eliot Howard, author of *A History of Matrimonial Institutions,* is authority for the view that the Protestant doctrines of divorce and marriage were mainly the work of Martin Luther. Luther held that marriage was a spiritual as well as a physical relationship, ordained by God, and in this special sense it was also a sacrament. Weddings and matrimony, however, were regarded as temporal affairs, subject to secular authority in which the Church had no concern. A hundred years later John Milton expressed similar views. So far as the form of marriage was concerned, the Protestant reformers accepted the teaching of the Mother Church, but with respect to the conception of the nature of marriage, the secular idea of a civil contract was substituted for the religious idea of a holy sacrament. This was a radical departure from orthodox teaching, and it had most far-reaching consequences, particularly in the long run, in the Protestant countries of northern and western Europe and America.

The effect of this teaching was to destroy the idea of the indissolubility of the marriage bond. Permanent divorce with permission to marry again was declared preferable to the existing state of marriage and family life at

[16] G. E. Howard, *A History of Matrimonial Institutions, op. cit.,* Vol. 1, p. 386 *et seq.;* Vol. 2, p. 60 *et seq.*

the time of the Reformation. Divorce from bed and board, which separated husband and wife without breaking the marriage bond, was criticized on the ground that it encouraged sex irregularity. The general tendency of the reform movement was to reject this doctrine. Absolute divorce was favored, particularly on the grounds of adultery and desertion. Also criticized was the prevailing practice of annulling marriages because certain impediments authorized by the canon law had been violated. In general the position was held that the Church fostered vice by professing a doctrine which was too severe. It was believed that a more liberal statement of principle would elevate the general level of marital relations, that the ideal and the actual practice would therefore cease to be contradictory, and that a new system of ethics would create a substantial basis for a stable monogamy.

Luther admitted the moral validity of divorce on the grounds of adultery and desertion; moreover desertion was conceived broadly enough to include cruelty in the sense of the refusal of conjugal duty. He did not admit the ethical justification of divorce on the grounds of incurable sickness, crime, exile, incompatibility, misfortune, or anger. In fact Luther was more conservative than most of the reformers of this time. Erasmus drew conclusions which were more liberal by working back from the teaching of the early fathers to the old Roman law. Melanchthon also accepted the two general grounds of adultery and desertion, and others besides. Calvin favored absolute divorce for adultery, while Chemnitz discriminated against the woman as previously described in connection with English law. The privilege of remarriage on the part of the innocent party and without delay was generally favored. But with respect to the party guilty of adultery or malicious desertion the views were otherwise. Luther, Calvin, and Melanchthon urged the capital penalty for adultery, but permitted remarriage if the civil law was lenient in this respect. While the Anglican church took a somewhat more conservative position, the Puritan leaders of England held views which closely resembled those described above.

From the theological point of view of the established canons of the Roman Church, these doctrines were obviously revolutionary. But organized reaction of this sort never arises in a moral and cultural vacuum. The explanation may be general and rather abstract in terms of the inherent drive of the cultural organism toward the fulfillment of its own historical destiny. It may be somewhat more explicit on the ground that the dynamic impulse toward freedom and power is inherent in every vital culture. It is a corollary to this view that the doctrines of the Mother Church so severely restricted the natural growth processes that a new and better fitting scale of values was as importunate as life itself.

The processes of territorial and national consolidation of the politico-economic organs of society were active at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Town economy, associated with the highly exclusive craft and

merchant gilds, was in process of disintegration. The concentration and organization of political and economic functions on a national territorial basis was making rapid progress. Merchant princes and capitalist employers were exploiting markets hitherto undreamed. The canon law governing economic matters of vital importance broke down, and the secular power was extended to take the place of the ecclesiastical authority. And now, at about the same time, the secular power was extended similarly to assume responsibility over matrimonial matters. In both fields of action, the free contract subject to the civil authority took the place of status as ordained by the sacred authority of the Church.

It is evident that the Reformation was no isolated movement, no consequence of a few highly egotistical and disgruntled clerics who were too self-willed and stubborn to recognize the absolute and indivisible authority of the Pope in Rome. That the princes of Germany supported Luther in his bitter strife with Rome, even to the point of threatening the force of arms, is well known. Must science, philosophy, and theology forever serve a fixed and established order of life and distribution of power? The Church conceived of these as mistresses, handmaidens and servants in the order named. It was their duty, not to challenge authority, but to obey. But the spirit would not be broken. Men like Giordano Bruno suffered torture and a terrible death for the sake of truth as they conceived it, and why was the martyrdom of Bruno any less sacred than the martyrdom of the early Christians? At bottom the question involved was the old problem of the freedom of the human spirit to seek new enlightenment, to conquer new worlds, to achieve a mastery over nature through the inventive genius of man, and there was no power on earth at the beginning of the sixteenth century that was strong enough to subdue the creative energy and the dynamic spirit of the northern European. It is no accident of history that the countries which revolted against Rome and accepted the teaching of Protestantism were the western and the northern countries of Europe.

But of course the leaders of the Protestant movement did not think in terms of an organic cultural theory of social change. Their criticisms of marriage, divorce, and family life, as these matters were administered by the Church, were specific. It was held that clandestine marriages were greatly encouraged by the vague distinction between legal and valid marriages, first declared by Peter the Lombard. This meant that some marriages were illegal and sinful, but not necessarily invalid. Appropriate procedures of penance for the contrite heart erased the sin and therefore corrected the illicit nature of the union at the same time. For example, a youth who said to a maid, "I take thee to be my lawful wife," in the absence of witnesses and without public announcement was thereby married. This was illicit and sinful but not invalid. The marriage was regarded as indissoluble, just like other marriages. But if the youth said to the maid, "I will take thee to

be my lawful wife," expressing his desire in the future tense, rather than the present tense, the marriage was not only illegal but also invalid. The situation thus created was corrected later by the requirement of posting banns in the church, but even this did not prevent the light-hearted assumption of marital responsibilities which were later avoided when the burdens were felt to be oppressive. Clandestine marriages increased in frequency, and the situation created became alarming. So also, to marry a Protestant, or to marry without the publication of banns is illicit, but not invalid.[17] The sin may be wiped out by contrition and sacramental confession, but the marriage is not voidable.

A second order of impediments rendered marriage null and void, and these also were objects of criticism. Included in this classification were solemn vows and holy orders, consanguinity in the collateral line to the fourth degree of relationship, spiritual relationship and affinity. Luther indicated his attitude toward the required celibacy of the priesthood in characteristic style by marrying Catherine von Bara and throwing aside his monk's cowl. The disparity between the ideals of the Church and the actual conduct of its official agents was brought home to Luther at the time of his visit to Rome. He and his associates observed that monks were living with concubines and paying annual revenue to the bishops for the privilege. Celibacy appeared to the reformers as a violation of natural law and tantamount therefore to immorality. Consanguinity in the collateral line, which prevented the marriage of cousins, led to systematic study of genealogy with a view to discovering some bond of kinship that could be brought within the fourth or the seventh degree. The ecclesiastical courts of divorce were provided with a steady supply of matrimonial grist to grind, and it was charged that large revenues flowed to the coffers of the Church through this medium. Affinity is a relationship which arises by virtue of a legitimate marriage. In this connection, impediments to the fourth degree prevent the marriage of a man to his deceased wife's sister or niece. Similar restrictions arose in consequence of adoption. Additional impediments prevented the marriage of persons who were spiritually related as godfathers and godmothers of a godchild, already explained. The marriage of a baptized person to one who was not baptized was also held illicit as well as invalid.[18]

In all of these cases marriages were annulled by authority of the Church, and this continues to be the situation to this day. Since the Church made the impediments it possessed the power to unmake, that is, to amend or repeal them. This appeared reasonable enough. But when special dispensation of the Pope was used to make exceptions of special cases, the exercise

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[17] H. A. Brann, "The Catholic Doctrine of Marriage," *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, July 1883, p. 385 *et seq.* See also Wolfe, *Readings in Social Problems*, *op. cit.*, p. 589.

[18] Brann, *op. cit.*; also Wolfe, *op. cit.*, pp. 590, 591. Marriages in non-Catholic places of worship and civil marriages were declared to be null and void by a papal decree of 1907.

of authority appeared to be arbitrary. This use or abuse of power was condemned, not only by the Protestants, but also by leading dignitaries of the Church. So many grounds for the annullment of marriage were recognized that the leaders of the Protestant movement accused the Church of preaching an ideal of indissolubility which was violated in practice so flagrantly that the teaching ceased to have an effectual meaning. They urged that a stable family life depended upon the reconciliation of the theory and the reality. Therefore, they proposed the recognition of specific grounds of absolute divorce even though this meant necessarily the destruction of the sacrament and the substitution of secular for ecclesiastical authority. Marriage became a civil contract.

Divorce *a mensa et thoro,* which meant living apart in separate domiciles without breaking the bond of marriage, was also rejected by the Protestant teaching. Irregularities, concubinage, and clandestine relationships were encouraged and perpetuated in this way according to the viewpoint of the Reformation. It is evident that this attack upon the canon law and the authority of the Church meant an irreconcilable clash of theology as well as philosophy. It augmented the secular power, prepared the way for middle class ideology, created a basis for metaphysical conceptions of natural rights and natural law, and laid a foundation for the political and economic revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Thus the Reformation is related to the Industrial Revolution and to the growth of democratic institutions in the course of the nineteenth century.

Legal Reform

From the time of the Reformation to the Industrial Revolution there were no sensational changes in the prevailing ideas of marriage and family life. The incorporation of the new doctrines of marriage and divorce into the civil law was a slow process. In 1580 Holland enacted the first permissive civil-contract marriage law, and in 1653 Cromwell made civil marriage compulsory in England.[19] With the overthrow of the Puritan government, however, this law became inoperative and civil marriage was not reëstablished until 1753. Jurisdiction in divorce was not transferred to the secular authority until 1857. Civil marriage and civil divorce were not established in France until the time of the Revolution in 1789. In the United States the civil-contract conception of marriage has prevailed since early Colonial days. By the nineteenth century the secular jurisdiction had superseded the ecclesiastical in practically all of the countries of Western civilization.

During the nineteenth century the factory system of production slowly developed an increasing demand for the employment of women. This

[19] J. P. Lichtenberger, *Divorce,* New York and London, 1931, pp. 95, 96.

meant a new opportunity and freedom of women to provide for their needs without dependence upon husband or father. A certain independence of economic status naturally brought with it a similar independence of moral status. In the course of the nineteenth century, the "woman's movement" became a significant factor in the life of Europe and America. This resulted in the gradual removal of many disabilities which restricted the competition of the sexes in the professions, business, industry, and politics. Women based their claims upon the same eighteenth century theory of liberty, fraternity, and equality which was instrumental in the final overthrow of the old order in Europe. Since democratic and individualistic ideals were dominant at the time, the arguments appeared irresistible with results that have been summarized in the chapter dealing with Sex Traits and the Social Process. The more intransigent leaders of the feminist movement went so far as to criticize legislation which limited the working period of women in industry and guaranteed minimum wages. Such legislation appeared to assume that women constituted a special class and that protective legislation was necessary for them but not for men. Emancipated ladies held that if the laws were not valid or necessary for men, by no stretch of the imagination could they be considered desirable for women. Therefore, they demanded the repeal of the laws or the enactment of precisely identical legislation for the equal protection of men. This simply illustrates the extreme to which the conception of natural rights has led the more valiant and outspoken logic choppers of the feminist movement. However, the final effects of this movement upon marriage and family life, upon the birth rate and upon the divorce rate have not yet been recorded.

Increase in the Gainful Employment of Women

But enough has been recorded to show the trends in clear and unmistakable terms. In the table which follows certain facts are summarized which indicate the tendency with respect to the gainful employment of women:

Table I

Year	Total Number of Females Ten Years of Age and Over	Number Gainfully Occupied	Per Cent
1890	23,060,900	4,005,532	17.4
1900	28,246,384	5,319,397	18.8
1910	34,552,712	8,075,772	23.4
1920	40,449,346	8,549,511	21.1
1930	48,773,249	10,752,116	22.0

This table should be compared with a similar statement for men.

TABLE II

Year	Total Number of Males Ten Years of Age and Over	Number Gainfully Occupied	Per Cent
1890	24,352,659	19,312,651	79.3
1900	29,703,440	23,753,836	80.0
1910	37,027,558	30,091,564	81.3
1920	42,289,969	33,064,737	78.2
1930	49,949,798	38,077,804	76.2

A comparison of these tables shows that women have actually been displacing men in gainful employment. The ratio between the number of females gainfully employed to the total number ten years of age and over increased from 17.4% in 1890, to 22% in 1930. Corresponding figures for men show an actual decline in this ratio from 79.3% to 76.2% over the same period of time. The tables also show that the total number of females employed ten years of age and over increased 168% over the 40-year period here considered, whereas the total number of males employed ten years of age and over increased only 97% over the same period. One can easily see that if this trend continues in the future, the manifest reversal of sex rôles will completely transform not only the division of labor in the family, but also the political distribution of function in the government. It has been pointed out that over 3,000,000 of the approximate 11,000,000 women gainfully employed in 1930 were married, and that the ratio of married women so employed to the total number of married women in the population has been increasing. How many of these 3,000,000 married women were supporting husbands definitely dependent upon them for the means of subsistence it is impossible to say. Many of these husbands are also gainfully employed which means a double source of income for the families concerned.

THE POSITIVE MOVEMENT

In either case, this situation is socially indefensible so long as large numbers of able-bodied men, willing to work, find it impossible to secure employment. They and their families must be supported by relief of some kind at the public expense. Meanwhile the stability and moral integrity of the family declines because of the reversal of sex rôles in a stupendous number of families, and also because of the forced dependency and pauperism of an equally stupendous number of families. The divorce rate increases at the same time because a larger proportion of married women, dissatisfied with the prospect of a mother's career, are able to compete for employment on favorable terms. The birth rate declines because women have little or no desire to marry and raise children on the dole or to compromise their chances of economic and moral independence. It becomes obvious that the problems of employment, unemployment, marriage, and the family are related in such a way that their solution is directly dependent

upon an effectual check upon the gainful employment of women in greater ratios. The governments of the more highly industrialized countries of the Western world are bound to face this matter of the distribution of employment between the sexes, not only because questions of relief and unemployment are concerned, but also because problems affecting marriage and the stability of the family, particularly the birth rate and the divorce rate, are also involved.

This brings up the question of political procedures and the structure of government since no particular class of society can be expected to make sacrifices unless the losses and the gains are distributed with some regard to considerations of equity and common decency. And this in turn implies the complex problem of the philosophy of power and the authority of the state to regulate the lives of its citizens. The transition from metaphysical conceptions of natural rights and freedom of contract to positive theory of collective discipline and the secular regulation of contract becomes manifest.

Urban Environment and Family Life

One more important aspect of these present day problems which concern the stability of the family and the reproduction of the race remains for consideration. By far the greater portion of the demand for employment of women is concentrated in the large cities. The census for 1930 showed that 8.5% of the 10,700,000 women gainfully employed were working in agriculture. The remaining 91.5% were occupied in manufacturing and mechanical industry, transportation and commerce, trade, public service, professional service, domestic and personal service, and clerical work.[20] These occupations are centered in the larger cities for the most part. Equally significant is the fact that the great majority of divorces occur in the larger cities. Census figures for 1930 show approximately 1,000,000 divorced persons living in continental United States of whom three-fourths were urban and only one-fourth rural.[21] In the urban population a higher proportion of females fifteen years of age and over are single.[22] The sex ratios in the country show a higher proportion of men whereas the sex ratios in the cities indicate a higher proportion of women. Moreover, the excess of births over deaths is considerably less in the urban part of the registration area of the United States than it is in the rural part. This difference in the survival power of rural and urban populations has been increasing steadily.[23] It may be said that the rural areas reproduce the race while the urban areas are sterilizing it to an ever-increasing extent.

What is there about an urban environment which produces these results

[20] *Statistical Abstract of the United States, op. cit.*, p. 55.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 47.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 47.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

so inimical to a normal family life? Perhaps the most important single factor is the *anomie*—anonymity—of city life.[24] Instead of community, where the primary group relationships are controlling, as in the country, the large metropolis is a society in which the indirect and secondary group relationships are dominant. Tradition and custom imitation are important factors in the country; in the large city they are handicaps to success. For the large city is synonymous with the accessible secular structure where the sacred stranger is slowly transformed into amoral man, immoral man, marginal-fixated man, segmental man, or the liberated man. It is the home of intellect where the races, classes, religions, nationalities, and sexes compete on theoretically equal terms. Asphalt pavements and great imposing edifices of stone and marble symbolize the power of man to transform his environment according to his wishes. Meanwhile man dissipates his energies and revels in the thought of his conquest and triumph over nature. The educational philosophy of a Robert Maynard Hutchins finds its home in the megalopolis of advanced civilization. For him intellect and hard cold stone are everything, while character and personality are merely shibboleths for deceiving people with regard to the true values of life. The conflict, contradiction, and inconsistency of culture values tend to neutralize everything except the sheer nerve, ability and resourcefulness of man to achieve something distinguished enough to win recognition, honor, and fame. Animals can multiply, but only men and women of quality can make a contribution to science and art which stands the test of time.

In the city children interfere with the personal ambitions of men and women; they are accumulating liabilities from every possible angle. Thus, on the higher levels, the struggle for power and fame precludes the replenishment of the race; on the lower levels, the struggle for existence, the congestion, and the lack of space, the miserable circumstances of life, and the tensions which recur from day to day lead men and women to avoid the responsibilities of children so far as possible. The crowded city is no natural environment for bearing and rearing children. The circumstances are more favorable for the lucky ones who live and work in the suburbs, or are able to commute daily from their places of work to the outlying residential areas where there is space and sunlight to live a normal life.

It is no accident, therefore, that the decline in births and increase in divorces closely parallels the concentration of population in urban areas. The increase in the proportion of the total population living in cities of 8,000 inhabitants or more is seen in the following table:[25]

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[24] Elton Mayo, *The Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization*, New York, 1933, pp. 130, 135, 137, 141, 142, 172, 184.

For an excellent analysis of the varied influences which bear down upon the family considered as an integral unit in a complex and changing culture, see M. C. Elmer, *Family Adjustment and Social Change*, New York, 1932.

[25] *Statistical Abstract of the United States, op. cit.*, p. 6.

Year	No. of Places Having 8,000 or More Inhabitants	Per Cent of Total Population	Year	No. of Places Having 8,000 or More Inhabitants	Per Cent of Total Population
1800	6	4.0	1870	226	20.9
1810	11	4.9	1880	285	22.7
1820	13	4.9	1890	445	29.0
1830	26	6.7	1900	547	32.9
1840	44	8.5	1910	768	38.7
1850	85	12.5	1920	924	43.8
1860	141	16.1	1930	1,208	49.1

The number of divorces per 1,000 marriages has also increased steadily over a long period of time as shown by the following table:[26]

Year	No. of Divorces per 1,000 Marriages	Year	No. of Divorces per 1,000 Marriages
1890	62	1922	131
1895	67	1925	148
1900	81	1930	170
1905	84	1931	173
1916	108	1932	163

The decline in the birth rate as expressed in the number of births per 1,000 of the total population per year in the birth registration area is equally remarkable as proved in the following table:[27]

Year	No. of Births per Year per 1,000 of Total Population	Year	No. of Births per Year per 1,000 of Total Population
1915	25.1	1925	21.5
1917	24.7	1926	20.7
1918	24.6	1927	20.6
1919	22.3	1928	19.8
1920	23.7	1929	18.9
1921	24.2	1930	18.9
1922	22.3	1931	18.0
1923	22.2	1932	17.4
1924	22.4	1933	16.6

These tables indicate a positive correlation between the increasing rate of divorce and the greater concentration of population in urban areas. They also show an inverse correlation between the birth rate and the same concentration of population in the cities. It has been shown that the conditions created in the large metropolitan centers of advanced civilizations favor a diminishing birth rate and an increasing divorce rate. The consequence is a decline in net fertility—excess of births over deaths—and therefore a growing danger of racial suicide and cultural decadence. This total situa-

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 93.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 85.

tion is further aggravated by the tendency of highly centralized urban finance to throttle and to choke the farmer by a complex system of price and market control of the things which the farmer buys and sells. As already described, the so-called prosperity era which culminated in the crash of 1929 was lopsided: the manufacturers and distributors in the cities were earning profits and paying dividends while the farmer was insolvent. Hence the rural demand for "parity" of purchasing power.

The continued liquidation of the family type of farm, the increasing proportion of farm tenants, and the migration to the cities of the more ambitious and energetic of the farm youth reveal the tendency toward disorganization of rural life. And this tendency is evident in all of the industrialized countries of Europe except in so far as recent positive action on the part of government has corrected it to some extent. The government of the United States, particularly under the leadership of Herbert Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt, adopted a positive approach to these problems. When the material and the human resources of rural life are exhausted, the megalopolis has nothing left upon which to draw for the renewal of its energy and the replenishment of its vigor. The fountain of life dries up at its source, and the civilization succumbs from the sheer inertia of its own decadent tendencies.

Problem Questions

1. The natural increase of the rural registration area exceeded the natural increase of the urban registration area as follows: 1925, 0.9 persons per 1,000 population per year; 1929, 1.1; 1930, 1.4; 1932, 2.8; 1933, 3.4. How do you account for this trend? Is this trend likely to continue?

2. How do you explain the fact that three-fourths of the applications for divorce are filed by wives against their husbands?

3. Since divorce data were first gathered in the United States the proportion of divorces granted on the ground of cruelty has been increasing steadily. Does this prove that mental and physical cruelty has actually been increasing?

4. Judge Ben Lindsay believes that companionate marriage will solve the divorce problem. Is this a reasonable view?

5. Dr. F. J. Taussig of St. Louis estimates that abortions in the United States approximate 600,000 to 700,000 annually. (See *Time*, March 16, 1936.) Does the birth control movement offer a solution of this problem?

6. Would free marriage and free divorce solve the problems of the instability of the family and the declining birth rate?

7. Leaders of the Catholic Church have opposed the following proposals: (1) compulsory physical examination of all candidates for marriage, (2) compulsory sterilization of mental defectives, (3) the child labor amendment to the Constitution. Show that the reasons for this opposition are similar in all three cases.

8. In what ways could the proportion of married women who are gainfully employed be reduced without violating their legal and moral rights?

9. What is meant by the policy of industrial decentralization? Is this a practicable policy? State arguments to favor it.

10. Consider the question of the desirability of a uniform federal divorce law.

11. What are the aims and methods of family relations courts, also called domestic relations courts?

12. Thirty states in the United States have laws prohibiting the intermarriage of Negroes and whites. Is this a defensible policy?

13. Under what circumstances is a marriage illegal but valid according to the teaching of the Roman Catholic church? Under what circumstances is a marriage not only illegal but also invalid?

14. Is it possible to vindicate on rational grounds the teaching of the Catholic Church concerning the impediments to marriage?

15. Contrast the marriage doctrine of the Protestant Church with the corresponding doctrine of the Catholic Church from the point of view of maintaining a stable family life.

16. Divorce has been called a "racket" in certain states of the United States such as Nevada. What are the actual facts with regard to this situation?

17. What are the legal grounds for divorce which are generally recognized in the states of the United States?

18. New York recognizes only one legal ground for absolute divorce; New Hampshire recognizes fourteen. Other states vary between these two extremes. Account for some of these differences.

19. Account for the fact that the rate of divorce is much higher in the United States than it is in Europe.

20. Would you favor the introduction in high schools and colleges of courses dealing with the problems of marriage, the family, and relationships between the sexes as a means of increasing the stability of family life?

21. What does Lichtenberger mean when he states that the increasing rate of divorce is merely a symptom of certain cultural changes which have an organic history?

Suggestions for Additional Reading

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POPULATION MOVEMENT

IT IS EASY to see that the population of a particular area will increase in three sets of circumstances: (1) when a surplus of births over deaths more than offsets a surplus of emigration over immigration; (2) when a surplus of immigration over emigration more than offsets an excess of deaths over births; (3) when births exceed deaths and immigration exceeds emigration at the same time. Population will obviously decrease in three sets of corresponding circumstances: (1) when a surplus of deaths over births more than offsets an excess of immigration over emigration; (2) when a surplus of emigration over immigration more than counterbalances an excess of births over deaths; (3) when the death rate is greater than the birth rate and emigration exceeds immigration at the same time. Accordingly, the density of population of a given area, as expressed in the number of inhabitants per square mile, increases or decreases, slowly or rapidly as the case may be, in consequence of the net results of the birth rate, death rate, immigration, and emigration.

Population movement is defined simply as the net increase or net decrease of numbers in a given area. *Population movements* include the birth rate, the death rate, immigration, emigration, changes in age composition, sex composition, urban-rural distribution, together with the differential rates of increase of various classes, races, religions, and nationality groups represented in a given territory.

ENUMERATION AND REGISTRATION OF POPULATION

An accurate census enumeration of the total population of the United States has been made every ten years since 1790. These figures indicate the changes in density, but they do not tell us to what extent these changes have been due to net fertility—excess of births over deaths—or to net immigration—excess of immigration over emigration. This information depends upon accurate and reasonably complete registration of births and deaths as well as the records of emigration and immigration. No count was made of immigration until 1820 and no count was made of emigration until 1908. A registration area for births was not established in the United States until 1915.

At that time there were only ten states in this area comprising 31% of the population of the country and only 10% of the area of the country.[1] Not until 1933 did the birth registration area include the entire population in every state in the Union.[2] A death registration area was not established until 1880 by the United States Census Bureau.[3] It included those cities and states which appeared to be accurately recording at least 90% of all deaths. Only two states were qualified to meet even this low standard of requirement in 1880. They were Massachusetts and New Jersey. A few cities in other states were included in the area. Again it was not until 1933 that the death registration of the United States included the entire population over the entire area of the country.[4] In certain European countries complete and accurate records were kept at an earlier date, but even here there was no systematic registration, collection, and tabulation of vital data until the nineteenth century. It is clear, therefore, that the study of population movement in the United States and Europe before the nineteenth century leaves much to be desired in respect to reliable information which, unfortunately, can never be supplied.

Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Movements

The population movement of the nineteenth century in the Western world is sensational because of the tremendous increase in numbers. No less sensational is the population movement of the twentieth century which shows an alarming decline in the rate of increase. The people of Europe increased from about 200,000,000 in 1798 when Malthus wrote his first essay on population, to nearly 600,000,000 when the World War broke out in 1914.[5] In the United States the population increased from about 4,000,000 in 1790 when the first census was taken to about 127,000,000 in 1935. But of late the rate of increase of population has been declining rapidly. Dr. O. E. Baker, population expert in the United States Department of Agriculture, pointed out in 1936 that the population of the United States probably will begin declining about 1950. This calculation simply assumed that net immigration will be no greater than it has been since the business recession started in 1929, and that the birth rate will continue to decline during the next ten or fifteen years at about the same rate of the last ten years. Since the death rate fell to 10.7 deaths per 1,000 per year in 1933, it cannot be expected to drop much further. It was 11.7 in 1924, which shows that the decline has not been great over this ten-year period. In fact the death

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[1] G. C. Whipple, *Vital Statistics*, 2nd ed., New York, 1923, p. 130.
[2] W. Thompson, *Population Problems*, 2nd ed., *op. cit.*, p. 124. *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1935, op. cit.*, p. 85.
[3] Whipple, *op. cit.*, p. 126.
[4] *Statistical Abstract, op. cit.*, p. 80.
[5] Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

rate is bound to begin increasing in the near future because the proportion of the total population in the higher age groups is steadily growing larger. The birth rate, however, declined over 25% during the ten-year period here considered. It was 22.4 in 1924 and 16.6 in 1933. Dr. Baker merely points out that if the birth rate continues to decline at this rate the population of the United States will reach a maximum by 1945 or 1950. It will then begin to drop, slowly at first, accelerating more rapidly as the years go by. A little use of the imagination will show that this situation is fraught with far-reaching political as well as social and economic consequences. Immigration cannot be expected to increase so long as there is a scarcity of jobs in the country.

Contradictory Theories

Two contradictory conceptions of population are current in the world today. Corresponding to these theories are two opposed policies of population control. These conflicting views and programs may be called by the following names: (1) expansive, (2) restrictive. Malthusians and neo-Malthusians are active restrictionists. Mercantilists and neo-Mercantilists are active expansionists. The restrictionists talk a great deal about population pressure upon food resources and emphasize the desirability of checking the birth rate. The expansionists, on the other hand, draw attention to the immediate dangers of racial suicide and social decadence. They stress the desirability of increasing the birth rate by alleviating the economic incidence of child rearing and also by somehow achieving a new social morality which is intended to realize a normal family life. Emigration is more likely to be associated with an expansive policy than immigration since a high rate of net fertility tends to create redundant population. Thus the supernumeraries of a swarming people seek a more favorable market for their labor. They emigrate. Immigration, on the other hand, is more likely to be associated with a restrictive policy of population. Expansive Italy has sent many of its sons and daughters to restrictive France. A low rate of net fertility, as in Australia and Canada, is often associated with an actual scarcity of labor. Under such conditions selected immigration is frequently invited in order to increase the labor supply.

This was certainly the situation in the United States from the close of the Civil War to the opening of the World War. The net fertility of the native white stock during this period was not nearly sufficient to satisfy the rapidly growing demand for labor in an expanding industry and agriculture. Expansive Japan seeks colonial outlets for redundant population. Restrictive Australia, Canada, and the United States, until the time of the World War, cordially invited immigrants to relieve their scarcity of labor. Oriental labor was and still is excluded for racial and cultural reasons by all of these

governments.[6] Since the close of the World War these countries have suffered from a more or less chronic scarcity of jobs and accordingly immigration has been abruptly checked. In fact the number of emigrants leaving has exceeded the number of immigrants entering the United States during the years 1932, 1933, and 1934.[7]

Population Movement in the United States

Ever since the Civil War the actual rate of increase of the population of the United States has been declining. From 1790 to 1860 the number of inhabitants approximately doubled every generation. The percentage increase for each decade varied from 32.7% to 36.4% for the ante-bellum period. There was no trend one way or the other.[8] From 1790 to 1800 the percentage increase was 35.1; from 1850 to 1860 the increase was 35.6%. This is equivalent to an annual rate of increase of about 3%. Following the Civil War the rate fell and remained fairly constant until 1910 at 2% to 2.2%. During the following two decades, 1910 to 1920, and 1920 to 1930, the rate was about even at 1.4% per year. Then the rate dropped to less than 1%. It was 0.7% in 1931, 0.6% in 1932, 0.6% in 1933, 0.5% in 1934, and 0.5% in 1935.[9] At this rate of declining population a stationary level is bound to be reached in the near future, after which the total number of inhabitants probably will decrease, slowly at first, and then more rapidly.

Estimates of Future Population

Estimates of future population have been made by Watson about 1815, Bonynge in 1852, Pearl in 1921, Whelpton in 1928, Dublin in 1931 and 1932, Thompson in 1933, the Scripps Foundation in 1934, and Baker in 1936.[10] All of these predictions except one or two have been shown to be far too high. The earlier predictions may prove to be more remarkable than the later ones. Watson and Bonynge made unusually accurate estimates for several decades ahead of their time; the more recent prophets find it necessary to revise their figures and alter their conclusions every few years. There is of course sufficient reason for this difference of foresight. Since 1910 the rate of change in the birth rate has been so rapid, and the economic conditions affecting immigration and emigration have altered so sharply, that the most skillful experts in the country have not been able to see more than a few years ahead. In 1815 and in 1850 when Watson and Bonynge re-

[6] A. M. MacLean, *Modern Immigration*, Philadelphia and London, 1925, pp. 67, 68, 104, 105, 124, 126.

[7] *Statistical Abstract, op. cit.*, p. 95.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 10. Calculation of these percentages is based upon the figures given for total population.

[10] See article, J. J. Spengler, "Population Prediction in Nineteenth Century America," *American Sociological Review*, December, 1936.

spectively risked their reputations for the sake of prophecy, the hazards were negligible compared to what they are today.

Elkanah Watson's predictions for 1820, 1830, 1840, 1850, and 1860 were accurate within a small fraction of 1%.[11] For the years 1870, 1880, 1890, and 1900 his estimates were increasingly wide of the census returns. His figures were 4,000,000 off in 1870, 6,000,000 wide of the mark in 1880, 15,000,000 too high in 1890, and 24,000,000 in excess of the official return for 1900. Since he based his figures upon the earlier geometrical rate of increase of population, and did not foresee the sharp decline which followed the Civil War, the percentage error became appreciable in 1870 and increased rapidly thereafter. This was a remarkable forecast since Watson's figures proved to be correct for a period of 45 years.

An equally significant prediction was published by Francis Bonynge in 1852.[12] This ingenius statistician foresaw the coming decline in the rate of increase of population. His estimates for 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880, 1890, 1900, and 1910 were very close to the census returns. The percentage error from the official figures varied from 0.3% in 1850 to 5.3% in 1910. His average error was less than 2%. But Bonynge failed to foresee the sharp decline in the rate of increase which started about 1910, and the still sharper drop beginning about 1930. Accordingly his estimates are wide of the mark for 1920 and thereafter. His prediction was 14% off in 1920, and he estimated a population of 703,000,000 by the year 2000. But his forecast was even more remarkable than the work of Watson, since the predictions were reasonably accurate for a period of 60 years and there were no official census data in 1850 suggesting the decline in the rate of increase which followed the Civil War.

Raymond Pearl began publishing his estimates of future population about 1921. His figures assume a declining rate of increase. They are based essentially upon the completion of a sigmoid curve which is plotted on ordinary cross-section paper.[13] This graph shows that the point of inflection of the curve was passed in 1914, and that the population of the United States will reach a maximum of about 200,000,000 in the year 2050 and decline thereafter, slowly at first, and then more rapidly. A few years later, Pearl co-operated with Reed in a revised estimate which fixed the population at 185,000,000 for the year 2000.[14] All present indications show that even these lower estimates are far too high, although much nearer the mark than Bonynge's guess for the year 2000. Pearl did not foresee the abrupt decline which set in about the year 1930.

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[11] F. A. Walker, *Discussions in Economics and Statistics*, New York, 1899, Vol. 2, pp. 102-122, 420-426. Published also in Wolfe, *Readings in Social Problems, op. cit.*, pp. 321-328.

[12] P. K. Whelpton, "Population of the United States 1925 to 1975," *The American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1928.

[13] Whipple, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

[14] Whelpton, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

In 1928 P. K. Whelpton ventured a series of predictions based upon a painstaking analytical procedure which gave separate consideration to immigration, emigration, the trend of births, and the trend of deaths for the white and the colored, the native born, foreign born, urban, and rural sections of the population.[15] His estimate for 1930 was not far off—less than 1% too high. These figures show a rate of increase of 11.85% for the decade 1930-1939, 9.67% for 1940-1949, 7.28% for 1950-1959, 5.41% for 1960-1969, and 4.68% for 1965-1974. The population in 1975 will be about 175,000,000 persons, and about 186,000,000 in the year 2000, at which time the population becomes practically stationary. It is evident that Whelpton's estimate for the present decade—1930-1939—is too high. Again it is clear that the decline which started about 1930 was underestimated. It is also reasonably certain that Whelpton's estimates for later years are even more unreliable, assuming only that the rate of decline over the last decade—1925-1934—will continue. All *present* indications point to a continuation of this decline however slight the differences may be from one single year to the next.

Louis Dublin lowered the estimates considerably in 1931.[16] Instead of a population of about 138,000,000 in 1940 as predicted by Whelpton, Dublin expects the census to register only about 131,000,000 at that time. The rate of increase for the decade will be a little over 6.5% as compared to Whelpton's hazard of 11.85%—a substantial difference. Dublin uses two series of assumptions, and a method of analysis which resembles Whelpton's study rather than Pearl's. A maximum population of 154,000,000 will be reached between 1980 and 1990, after which the total number will fall back to 140,000,000 by the year 2100. But these figures are considered too optimistic by Dublin himself. Making less favorable assumptions with respect to the birth rate, it is estimated that a maximum population of 148,000,000 will be reached about 1970 after which the number will fall to 140,000,000 by the year 2000; 109,000,000 by 2050, and in the year 2100 A.D. will be 75,000,000.

Writing in the *New York Times* for April 17, 1932, Dublin again revised his figures downward.[17] Here he assumed that the birth rate will ultimately decline to ten per 1,000 per year, and predicted that a maximum population of somewhat less than 140,000,000 will be reached by about 1975. After this date the population will decline rapidly.

In November, 1936, O. E. Baker predicted a maximum within 15 years, that is, by 1951. An even more startling prophecy was made by the Scripps Foundation in March, 1934. Here it was estimated that a maximum popu-

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[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 264-270.

[16] Louis I. Dublin, "Birth Control," *Forum*, November, 1931.

[17] Dublin, "A New Phase Opens in America's Evolution," *The New York Times*, feature article, Sunday, April 17, 1932.

lation of less than 130,000,000 will be reached by the year 1940.[18] This calculation simply assumed that the rate of increase of population will continue to decline as rapidly as over the last decade.

In fifteen years the prediction has fallen from the maximum of 200,000,000 of Raymond Pearl to be reached in the year 2050 to the maximum of 130,000,000 reached in 1940 according to the report of the Scripps Foundation. Warren S. Thompson has made a complex series of calculations in which he classifies his predictions as low, medium, and high. The low predictions are based upon "low" birth rates, "low" expectation of life, and no immigration.[19] His lowest estimate shows a population maximum of 136,000,000 inhabitants for the year 1955 after which the total declines. Considering recent reports of the United States Census office it is clear that Thompson's "medium" and "high" estimates are too high. Even his "low" estimate isn't low enough! The birth rate actually declined more than Thompson assumed that it would in his "low" estimate for 1930-1934. This is also shown by a comparison of Thompson's predicted population for 1935 with the actual census report which is slightly lower. The difference here is negligible and of no consequence at all except that it shows that his low estimate was too high. Thompson in fact had a "low" estimate and also a still lower one based upon fewer births. Even the lowest "low" wasn't low enough as shown by a comparison of the figures for 1935. His "low" prediction was 127,800,000, his "lower" estimate was 127,300,000 while the official census return for 1935 was 127,172,000.[20]

Cultural Factors and Implications

But the United States is not the only nation in the Western world which is faced today with the danger of a shrinking population. France, Germany, and England are confronted with the same problem. So is Italy for that matter, even though the situation there is not so menacing as in the other three states. National policy in all of these countries is today seriously concerned with the problem of the declining birth rate. While the measures adopted to check this movement vary greatly, it cannot be emphasized too strongly that a unilateral economic approach is doomed to failure. The experience of France has demonstrated this statement conclusively. Sixty years ago, Sir Francis Galton accurately foresaw the failure of compulsory legislation and purely economic incentives. Therefore he preached the gospel of a eugenics religion and a eugenics morality.[21] It is plain that the

[18] This figure is probably too low since the last official estimate of the population of the continental United States was 128,429,000 for July, 1936. *Population Index,* School of Public Affairs, Princeton University and Population Association of America, Princeton, January, 1937.

[19] Thompson, *op. cit.,* p. 258. See also Thompson and Whelpton, *op. cit.,* p. 316.

[20] *Statistical Abstract, op. cit.,* p. 10.

[21] For an excellent statement of the development of Galton's ideas, see James A. Field, "The Progress of Eugenics," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics,* November, 1911.

ethical and the religious aspects of the declining birth rate are quite as significant as the economic aspect. But the nation which succeeds in checking the declining rate of net fertility must also provide economic opportunity for increasing numbers either at home or abroad. Hence this problem is also intimately associated with national and international diplomacy and politics, with war and peace, with militarism and imperialism which aims to squeeze to some extent the low "pressure" areas on the surface of the earth for the benefit of the high "pressure" areas.

The situation faced today has not fallen down upon the earth like rain from a clear sky. This has been shown. The twentieth century dilemma is linked up with nineteenth century science, and the steady decline in the death rate.[22] With a rapidly declining death rate the maintenance of a high birth rate means a stupendous increase in numbers. When these growing numbers cannot be assimilated readily at home they must be exported abroad in order to relieve domestic pressure upon the standard of living. Political difficulties are almost sure to arise when the internal pressures are not only acute but also chronic at the same time. The twentieth century dilemma is also most vitally related to nineteenth century democracy, industrialism, and urbanism. These movements have their antecedents in the seventeenth and eighteenth century ascendancy of the middle class, which in turn is traceable to the Reformation and the Renaissance which preceded it. Population movement is an aspect of the organic cultural movement, and it is not intelligible on any other premise. To speak of the Industrial Revolution as an isolated event which is held primarily responsible for the ills of today is untenable. Reference has been made to the Malthusians, the neo-Malthusians, the Mercantilists, and the neo-Mercantilists. Each one of these movements has its appropriate setting in time and place, and cannot be understood at all except in relation to the historical social process,—namely, the rhythm of cultural change.

Prevailing ideas of population are so confused and inconsistent, and the policies and programs with which these notions are linked are so contradictory that most people have no choice whatever but to give up in sheer despair the task of understanding them. The Protestant Church has given some sympathetic support to the neo-Malthusian movement. The Catholic Church opposes this conception with even more hostility than the previous Malthusian idea out of which it grew.[23] Certain writers charge the more

[22] The twentieth century population problem appears as a dilemma because the increase of numbers is inevitably checked by the inability of industry and agriculture to provide employment opportunity. In February, 1937 there were 8,914,000 unemployed in the United States according to calculation of the National Industrial Conference Board. It is argued that widespread unemployment is an index of redundant population. But if population is permitted to shrink the home market for goods is reduced in proportion. Since this means a decline in the demand for labor the scarcity of jobs continues to be acute.

[23] There is, nevertheless, evidence to show that the Catholic birth rate has been declining more rapidly than the non-Catholic birth rate. See S. A. Stouffer, "Trends in the Fertility of Catholics and Non-Catholics," *The American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1935.

fertile nations with responsibility for dumping their "procreative refuse" in the civilized labor markets of the world. They talk about reckless fecundity and irresponsible reproduction. The workers of civilized nations are slowly crowded out of existence by their foreign born competitors who are able to underlive and outbreed them. Other writers refer to the unspeakable tragedy of nations which require more coffins from year to year to bury their dead than cradles for their offspring. They talk about selfish expediency, infanticide, and racial suicide. It is an easier task to appraise intelligently the respective merits of these conflicting views after their historical significance has been understood. In this way alone does it become possible to draw conclusions which have a significant relevance to the problems as they exist today.

The Expansive Teaching of Early Christianity

That the population policy of early Christianity was expansive is clear. This view has been contradicted on the ground that the Church created a celibate priesthood and preached a doctrine of asceticism which relegated the status of marriage, and therefore of motherhood, to an inferior position. But these teachings were not intended to stigmatize marriage and family life, and, in fact, they had no such effect. They were intended to create a higher discipline for the officials and leaders of the Church whose spiritual authority in the eyes of the people was greatly enhanced in this way. Moreover, they had the effect of consolidating the power of the Church, divorcing it from family influences and establishing high standards of merit for official preferment. A strong feeling of responsibility for rulership was developed in this process since the Church demanded intensive discipline and training, unselfish loyalty, and even the sacrifice of personal pleasures and comforts for the privilege of authority. In the German language this is called *Hochpolitic;* it is not understood any too well in America.

In the previous chapter it was pointed out that the Church not only aimed but also succeeded in creating a stable basis of family life. Abortion and infanticide were condemned in the strongest language. Marriage was conceived as a sacrament, ordained by God, and eternally binding. The priceless value of the individual human life, as taught by the Church, engendered a strong feeling of parental responsibility for every child born. And when this parental responsibility failed for one reason or another the Church stepped into the breach. That the Biblical injunction, "Be ye fruitful and multiply" was accepted by the Church fathers is perfectly evident. The cult of the Virgin Mary implied that the Church placed a higher evaluation upon virginity than upon motherhood, but even virgins could not be brought into the world without parents, and marriage was therefore devised and ordained for the reproduction of the race. The population theory as well as the policy

of the Church was certainly expansive. This is shown conclusively in the historical opposition of the Church to the restrictive teaching of Malthus.

Estimates of Actual Population Growth

Official enumeration and registration of inhabitants was a nineteenth century development. But the records of burial gave some approximation to the death rate and skillful statisticians like Süssmilch and Halley were able to make fairly good estimates of the total population in certain areas. Some of the later medieval cities acquired the excellent habit of registering and organizing their vital data, particularly death records. Halley was able to construct a mortality table showing the average expectation of life in various age groups for the town of Breslau in 1692.[24] These tables, known as life tables, are indispensable to the work of insurance companies.

Certain estimates have been made which roughly indicate the increase of population in Europe during the medieval period. E. B. Reuter estimates that the countries of Europe at the time of the Norman conquest could not have supported many more than 10,000,000 persons.[25] Mulhall's figures show that the population of Europe in the fifteenth century was slightly in excess of 50,000,000 people. This figure was checked in a study made by Willcox which indicated that the population of six language groups—French, German, Spanish, English, Italian, and Russian—at the close of the fifteenth century was about 50,000,000. By the beginning of the eighteenth century the population of Europe increased to 107,000,000 according to an estimate made by Voltaire whose figures were accepted by Gibbon. At the middle of the century Süssmilch estimated the total number at 130,000,000. This figure accords closely with the work of Willcox who concluded that the population of Europe was about 127,000,000 at the middle of the eighteenth century. By the close of the century the population of Europe numbered approximately 200,000,000.

These figures are instructive. If the population of Europe had expanded at the average rate of increase of the population of the United States from 1790 to 1860, the 10,000,000 inhabitants at the close of the eleventh century would have grown to 200,000,000 in a little over a single century. Instead of one century, seven centuries were necessary to bring about this increase. But one-half of this increase from 10,000,000 to 200,000,000 occurred during the eighteenth century. It follows that the rate of increase from the early feudal period to the close of the seventeenth century must have been slow. A settled village economy will support a larger population than a pastoral, nomadic mode of life. But with the emergence of Feudalism and Christianity in Europe the more intensive and extensive cultivation of the soil

[24] Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 180. See also Whipple, *op. cit.*, p. 488.
[25] E. B. Reuter, *Population Problems*, Philadelphia, 1923, pp. 91, 92.

supported a slowly growing population. Undoubtedly the death rate was high, but the birth rate was higher.

Pestilence and famine were frequent occurrences.[26] The black death of the fourteenth century devastated the whole of Europe and wiped out about one-fourth of the total population. In 1665, a plague devastated the population of London. It is estimated that one-fourth of the 400,000 inhabitants of London died at this time. All of the master craftsmen dismissed their employees and stopped work; merchandising establishments, navigation, and the building trades ceased doing business; drastic retrenchment in the scale of living of all families was imperative. When famines occurred in the Middle Ages the effects were comparable to what they are in India, Russia, and China today. The lack of transport, inadequacy of organized relief, the difficulty of storing an accumulated surplus of food, and the absence of diversified production made famine a major catastrophe. Disease and recurring epidemics, directly due to famine in many instances, took a heavy toll of human life.

The death rate was high. Halley, with the data of the city of Breslau at his disposal in 1687, found only 661 children out of every 1,000 born surviving to the tenth year. In France, prior to 1750, only 540 children out of every 1,000 born alive survived to the fifth year, according to the calculations of Dupré de St. Maur. Using German data Süssmilch found 532 surviving to the tenth year prior to 1775. The death rate of Sweden at the beginning of the nineteenth century was about 35 per 1,000 per year. Accordingly it appears reasonable to say that the death rate in Europe must have averaged at least 40 per 1,000 per year during the medieval period. Today it is only one-fourth this amount. And yet the population of Europe was slowly increasing in spite of this high death rate. The birth rate, therefore, must have been higher. It is as certain as anything can be that the expansive teaching of early Christianity was realized in actual practice. In fact, this conception and policy of population increase was not seriously challenged until a certain English pastor in the Protestant Church, Thomas Malthus, published his first essay on population in 1798.

The Expansive Teaching of the Reformation

Expansive doctrine of population was greatly strengthened in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the Mercantilists and the Cameralists. At this time the territorial and national states, under the rule of powerful princes and kings, assumed definite forms of organization. Local and town economy gave way to territorial and national economy as the authority of the secular state assumed full responsibility for the detailed regulation of all aspects of the economic life. While the temporal power of the

[26] Thompson, *op. cit.*, Ch. 13.

Church declined at this time, the fact is clear that the expansive teaching of Christianity with respect to population was encouraged and reinforced by the Mercantilists and the Cameralists. The advent of the Reformation in the sixteenth century did not modify this point of view. By the middle of the eighteenth century the alliance of the Protestant faith with middle class philosophy of utilitarianism was strong enough to produce a tendency toward the restrictive outlook. This is definitely evident in the teaching of the Physiocrats of France, particularly Mirabeau and Quesnay, who challenged the Mercantilist doctrines and built up a conception of natural rights.

Population problems did not worry Martin Luther: *"Gott macht kinder der wird sie auch wohl ernähren."* A wise, benevolent and all powerful Creator was thus relied upon to provide a growing population with the requisites of life. In fact, the apposite teaching of the Reformation at this time must also be construed as immediately strengthening the expansive theory. The existing relation between numbers and resources certainly offered no obstacle to this accentuation of expansionist doctrine. Celibacy, as pointed out, was not approved by the reformers. Evidence of the lack of correspondence between the high idealism of the Church and the actual practice with respect to asceticism and stable monogamous relationships led the Protestant teachers to revise the prevailing conception of marriage. Leaving aside the question of the more far-reaching effects in the future, the immediate designs in the present concerned an increase rather than a decrease of the birth rate, and therefore a more rapid rate of growth of the population. Moreover, Calvin, Luther, and others of their time emphasized a stern, austere morality. Death for the adulterer, as already shown, was recommended. The qualities of rigid devotion to duty, frugality, simplicity, thrift, patience, self-denial, and the faithful and industrious pursuit of one's calling were extolled. Anything which gave pleasure was subject to suspicion and regarded as an instrument of Satan for the seduction of the individual from the straight and narrow path of duty.

This scale of values has its relation to the accumulation of capital, the rise-to-power of the middle class, the overthrow of the *ancien régime,* and the gradual evolution of democratic institutions of government. It represents the *self-discipline* of a new aristocracy. The older aristocracy, nurtured on humanism, lost its power of self-discipline, and therewith also its power to discipline others. It lost its authority—its power to command. The very essence of the Reformation is this new aristocratic discipline which gained ascendancy over the prevailing powers as the latter gave themselves over to extravagance, luxury, and self-indulgence. History, from this point of view, is simply the succession of aristocratic ruling classes which invariably rise to power by virtue of a rigorous self-discipline. Aristocracies do not preach restrictive doctrines so long as they are vigorous. They preach imperialism and expansion.

This stern self-discipline demanded by the teachers of the Reformation called for the complete subordination of what Maurice Parmelee has called the "play" aspect of sex to the reproductive function. God created the sexes for the replenishment of the race and not for the pleasure of man. Hence it is as certain as anything can be that the Reformation aimed to carry forward the austere teachings of rigorous self-discipline and ascetic self-denial which were first propounded by the fathers of early Christianity. And this meant the thoroughgoing subjection of the personal convenience and individual interest in pleasure to the requirements of racial renewal. In immediate effect, therefore, the outlook of the Reformation was expansive.

The Population Policy of the Mercantilists

But why were the Mercantilists and the Cameralists also interested in a growing population? Their doctrines assumed that the strength of a nation depended mainly upon the accumulation of material wealth and the increase in the number of inhabitants. In order to increase the national wealth it was not only desirable to develop more efficient methods for the cultivation of the soil; it was particularly necessary to improve transportation, navigation, and communication, stimulate and encourage manufacturing industry, domestic trade, and foreign commerce. The secular state assumed full responsibility for the great task of achieving these aims. Industry and commerce were organized, subsidized, promoted, and protected in various ways with a view of augmenting the wealth of the nation. While it is true that the Mercantilists and Cameralists measured wealth in terms of the supply of the precious metals, chiefly gold and silver, and invented an ingenious doctrine of the "balance of trade," these ideas were merely instruments for the realization of the larger imperialistic purposes of Spain, France, Portugal, Holland, England, Sweden, Prussia, and Austria in their concurrent struggles for sovereign independence and colonial power.

The revenues of the state depended upon the available wealth and the number of inhabitants subject to taxation. Increasing population was also needed to supply an expanding industry and commerce with necessary labor. Armies and navies called for soldiers and sailors. New conquests of territory and recurring warfare meant constant replacement and reinforcement of troops. Skilled artisans at home were in high demand and colonists were needed to settle in foreign territories where the search for precious metals and raw materials for the manufacturing industry of the mother countries proceeded unabated. Bounties on exports, duties on imports, charters and franchises for trading companies, subsidies for infant industries, such as shipbuilding concerns, increased the favorable balance of trade which was measured by the influx of precious metal. Meanwhile the emigration of skilled laborers was prohibited and immigration encouraged; state dowries were provided to increase the marriage rate; bachelors were taxed, and married

men with large families received increased pay or tax exemptions in order to stimulate the birth rate.

The Development of Restrictive Views

All of this placed such a heavy strain on agriculture by the middle of the eighteenth century that the Physiocrats reacted strongly in France with the novel doctrines that agriculture is the source of all wealth and that industry is sterile. *L'industrie, c'est sterile.* They advocated the abolition of all taxes except a single tax on land to be adjusted by the *"produit net,"* the net product above all costs of production. This was approximately equivalent to the rental value of the land. Expansive views of population were qualified with the thought that the increase in numbers was limited by the means of subsistence, and that it was more important to relieve the misery of the poor than to supply the princes and the merchants with increasing riches.

> *La propagation n'a des bornes que celles de la subsistence et elle tend toujour a passer au dela; partout il y a des hommes dans l'indigence.*[27]

Thus the Physiocrats were forerunners of the restrictive conception of population developed by Malthus a half century later. They were metaphysicians rather than theologians, believers in individual liberty and natural rights, critics of Mercantilism and the authoritarian state, and leaders of the way to *laissez faire* in business, the Manchester school of political economy, and democratic principles of government.

Benjamin Franklin wrote an essay dealing with the increase of mankind in 1751.[28] He demonstrated conclusively the opposition between the potential capacity of the species for reproduction and the actual power of survival from generation to generation. A restrictive outlook on population was clearly foreshadowed. Franklin's views, in fact, are closely related, not only to the systematic theory of Malthus, written a half century later, but also to the Darwinian conception of natural selection in a struggle for existence which did not appear until a whole century afterward. The following principles were set forth: (1) the prolific nature of plants and animals; (2) the crowding and interference of plants and animals with each other for the means of subsistence; (3) the capacity of a single plant, such as fennel, to spread over the surface of the earth provided only that no other plants exist to compete for space and sunlight; (4) the similar capacity of a single race or nationality, such as Englishmen, to inherit the earth provided only there are no other

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[27] *Analyse du tableau économique maxime,* xxvi, 1758. Quoted by Reuter, *Population Problems,* J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1923, p. 53.

[28] Benjamin Franklin, "Essay on the Increase of Mankind," Pennsylvania, 1851. See *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin,* edited by A. H. Smyth, New York, 1907, Vol. 3, pp. 63-73. Franklin wrote the following significant passage: "There is, in short, no bound to the prolific nature of plants or animals, but what is made by their crowding and interfering with each other's means of subsistence," p. 71.

races or nationalities to challenge this right. This appears tantamount to saying that the means of livelihood are limited and that population tends to increase more rapidly than the supply of food which is necessary to support it. Hence the necessity of restricting the rate of increase of the numbers of mankind.

Moreover, Franklin's views also suggest the Darwinian struggles: (1) between fellows; (2) between fellows and foes; (3) the conflict of fellows and foes with unfavorable physiographic conditions of life. Hence the selection of nature, the survival of the fittest, the origin of species, and the triumph of stronger races and nations over weaker ones. It is well known that this emphasis upon conflict and competition in the biological realm was carried forward concurrently with a similar emphasis in economic, social, and political theory.

When Malthus published his first essay on population toward the close of the eighteenth century, the reaction against Mercantilism and the authoritarian state was well developed. Smith had written his *Wealth of Nations* in 1776, and the Physiocrats had left their indelible record upon the Western world. German idealistic philosophy and romantic literature were an organic part of the same prevailing current of thought and feeling. In addition to all of this there were certain glaring conditions of life, more immediate and less abstract, which suggested the idea of population pressure upon resources. Agricultural depression, the Napoleonic wars, the Industrial Revolution, the prevalence of pauperism and misery, the poor laws which seemed to subsidize and perpetuate the very poverty they were intended to prevent, the redirection of capital and labor from land to industry—all of these factors must have had some influence on the crystallization of Malthusian principles. But the main influence was the gradual development of a new *Weltanschauung* which proclaimed and exalted the free power and the natural rights of the individual. And this movement is clearly traceable through the Reformation, Humanism, the Renaissance, and the canon law of early Christianity.

The Population Doctrines of Malthus

Malthus published six editions of his *Essay on the Principle of Population,* the first in 1798 and the last in 1828.[29] While his philosophical and theological position shifted significantly over this period of thirty years, his restrictive outlook on population problems remained the same. His thesis was simply this: that the power of population to increase in numbers is indefinitely greater than the capacity of the earth to produce subsistence for man. When population is unchecked, he argued, it increases in geometrical ratio,

[29] T. R. Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population,* 9th ed., London, 1888.

whereas the food supply cannot increase more rapidly than in arithmetical series. Later he revised this mathematical form of statement by stressing the tendency of population to increase more rapidly than it is possible for these greater numbers to provide food for their sustenance. Population, accordingly, is forever being checked or curbed in order to maintain the necessary balance between numbers of inhabitants and material resources. These checks were described as positive and preventive. The positive checks, such as famine, disease, war, poverty, and the plague affect the death rate, increasing it. The negative checks, such as the postponement of marriage, celibacy, and moral restraint within the marriage relationship, affect the birth rate, reducing it. Malthus therefore drew the conclusion that the positive checks are bound to be widespread unless the preventive checks are operative, assuming of course that redundant population is not relieved constantly by emigration. The substitution of preventive checks for positive checks was favored since the horrors of war, the scourge of famine and pestilence, and the curse of misery could be avoided in no other way. Emigration at best could offer only a temporary relief since people were subject to precisely the same laws in the lands to which they moved.

In the first essay it was held that celibacy, the postponement of marriage, and the conscious moral restraint of the individual upon his desires did such violence to human nature that illicit relations between the sexes necessarily increased in direct proportion. By spreading vice and venereal disease this process had the effect of increasing the death rate, and hence it appeared that man was running around like a squirrel in a cage. The more he tried to help himself the greater the difficulty he got into since the exercise of the preventive checks, foresight and prudence, merely resulted in the increased operation of the positive checks. This was a fatalistic, an extremely pessimistic conclusion, and it was hotly refuted by Malthus' own colleagues in the Church, not only on the ground that it condemned man to eternal misery on earth, whatever might be his share in heaven, but especially because it impugned either the goodness or the power of the Deity, or both. Moreover, it denied the ability of man to improve his circumstances in life by virtue of his reason and disciplined determination.

In subsequent essays, therefore, Malthus revised his conclusions—by acknowledging the possibility of human progress. The Deity was once more endowed with benevolence as well as power, and the evil of the world, far from being fatal to the happiness of man, became the agency of divine discipline. In this process man was converted from something weak and useless —the victim of his own impulses—to something strong and useful—the master of his own destiny. This amended teaching accorded better with the Faustian spirit of Western man, and the general acclaim of the public stood in marked contrast to the cold reception given the first edition.

The Philosophy of Malthus

As a scholar and a pastor Malthus delved into the literature of ethics, philosophy, psychology, economics, political science, theology, and sociology in search of ideas which would help him toward the solution of his problem of population. His position in each one of these fields of knowledge was thoroughly individualistic. The configuration of thought patterns which developed in his mind reflects the ideology of the middle class in every conceivable way. It is unmistakably clear that the age in which he lived placed its stamp upon every line that he wrote. No Catholic priest could have evolved a system of ideas such as this. Only a Protestant seeking his own way of salvation, and incidentally the way for others, could have exalted the free conscience of the individual as Malthus did.

He did not blame the state, or the Church, or any other institution of the day for the misery man suffered. To blame institutions seemed to him to prepare the way for revolution and despotism. Accordingly he held the individual responsible for his weal or woe. Society and government, he said, are without direct power in this respect. The solution of the problem demanded that everyone be left alone to exercise his free choice, responsible only to God for the good or the evil of his conduct. If he did his duty faithfully, he was certain to reap the full fruits of his foresight and prudence no matter how great the number of those who failed to do so. His psychology was intellectualistic and hedonistic. In order to determine the right and the wrong, a person needed only to inquire into the tendency of his action to promote happiness. The greatest good of the greatest number depended upon the freedom of the individual to use his own judgment and pursue his self-interest. This was for him the will of God, revealed in nature and apprehended by virtue of his reason. A worker without capital who married young and presently found himself faced with the responsibility of supporting a growing family was guilty of the height of folly. Since he might have avoided marriage or a family, or both, he had no one to blame but himself. To make labor dear through scarcity, and goods cheap through relative abundance, thus enabling the worker to command a larger share of the necessities and comforts of life, was the law of nature and the will of God at the same time. Nothing remained for man but to perceive this truth and direct his behavior in accord with it.

Thus the ethic of Protestantism and the spirit of capitalism were joined in sacred wedlock. In political science Malthus' position bordered on anarchy; that government is best which governs least. In economic science he is identified with the classical school advocating *laissez faire* and unrestricted freedom of competition. In psychology, the freedom of the will, the hedonistic calculus and the intellectualistic interpretation of behavior mark his views. In philosophy he was utilitarian, believing that the greatest good of

the greatest number was dependent only upon the liberty of the individual to pursue his self-interest. In ethics Malthus was thoroughly libertarian since he considered the individual responsible to God alone for the good or the evil of his conduct. His theology identified revelation with reason, reason with natural law, and all of this with the will of God. His sociology assumed that the good man reaped the full fruits of his virtue regardless of the number who failed. Presumably it was possible for a man to live at peace with himself and his neighbors in a kind of moral and cultural vacuum. He became a law unto himself, since the will of God was the voice of conscience, and the voice of conscience was his self-interest and reasoned purpose. *Je suis moi-même mon Dieu.* This was the essence of it. All of which may be a suitable philosophy for a superman. For the masses of men it is sheer insanity. It meant in effect that the accumulation of capital took precedence over the renewal of the race. A nation of shopkeepers was in process of development. Malthus even went so far as to condemn the prevailing stigma upon the old maid and the bachelor. Their behavior seemed to him most highly commendable since it relieved the "pressure" of population upon resources.

Nineteenth Century Movement of Population

Paradoxically enough, the Malthusian restrictive ideology opened a century of unparalleled population growth. So far as the records show, there never was a time in history when the increase in numbers over a delimited area was as great as in the nineteenth century. To the superficial observer this appears to show that Malthus was merely a swivel-chair philosopher, a daydreamer whose ideas exerted no significant influence. Malthus did not foresee the decline in the death rate any more than he understood the immense possibilities of improved techniques in industry and agriculture for the support of larger numbers. The increase in wealth, and the actual capacity to support a growing population was greater than the rate of net fertility. Standards of living rose. In reality the Malthusian thesis reversed itself, since the means of livelihood increased more rapidly than the number of inhabitants. And this is precisely the point. It expressed the aim and the ideal of Malthus, whatever may be the actual "law" of population change. The impact of his teaching, and the cultural movement with which it is associated, was so striking that the tortoise overtook the hare and then left it far in the distance.

At first the declining death rate, accelerating in time, increased the net fertility from year to year. Then the birth rate began its historical slide, narrowing down the net fertility from year to year. Today it has virtually reached the zero point. The present danger of the Western world is certainly not the redundant population which Malthus feared; it is, on the contrary, racial suicide, as previously shown. It follows as conclusively as anything can

that the periodicity of population change is dependent upon the rhythm of the organic cultural movement. It rises in slow crescendo, then more speedily, reaching a climax at the height of its movement after which the rate of increase declines, slowly at first, then more rapidly, after which the population becomes approximately stationary or actually decreases from year to year. This movement of population coincides exactly with the historical cycle of culture.

The Decline of the Death Rate

The decline in the death rate is shown by the steady increase in the average expectation of life from the close of the eighteenth century to the present day. Data for England and Wales show that the expectation of life at birth for the period from 1838, four years after Malthus' death, to 1854 was about 40 years for males and 42 years for females. For the period from 1891 to 1900 it was 44 for males and nearly 48 for females. In 1920, 1921, and 1922 it averaged nearly 56 for males and almost 60 for females. Similar trends are shown by the vital data of all European countries. The State of Massachusetts worked out life tables as early as 1789.[30] Longevity at that time averaged about 34 years for males and 36 for females. By 1850 these figures stood at 38 and 40, about the same as in England and Wales at this time. In 1901 the original registration states of the United States showed an average expectation of life from birth of 48 years for males and 50 years for females. For the period from 1929 to 1931 the corresponding figures were approximately 60 and 63. These figures and others show that the span of life increased throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Today people live almost twice as long as they did at the close of the eighteenth century. It is evident that the rate of decline in mortality slowly accelerated throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Longevity increased much more during the second half of the century than the first half; more for the first quarter of the twentieth century than the last quarter of the nineteenth. Over the last decade the death rate has not changed much, and in the future it may be expected to increase because of far-reaching changes in the age composition of the population.

A death rate of eleven per 1,000 per year in a population having the age composition of a stationary population means that the average expectation of life is 91 years. The crude rate for 1935 in the United States was 10.9 for the total population.[31] Nobody predicts an average span of life of 91 years in the near, or even remote future. It may be stated, therefore, that the crude rate of deaths will begin to rise in the near future when the factors which produce an increasing proportion of aged men and women more than offset

[30] Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 223.
[31] *Population Index, op. cit.*, p. 52.

the factors of sanitation, improved nutrition, medical science, surgical science, and the social control of contagious disease. The declining birth rate, decline in the death rate, and checking of immigration all combine to produce a diminishing proportion of individuals in the lower age groups, and an increasing proportion in the upper age groups. It is this striking shift in the age composition of the population of the United States and the countries of Western Europe which is sure to bring about a rising death rate in the near future even though the average expectation of life continues to increase. This total situation also implies certain changes in the social, economic, political, and educational institutions of the population. It is also bound to affect the national psychology and the attitudinal structure of the population. Fifty years ago a Townsend movement for old age pensions would have been preposterous in the United States. A few years ago it was a nation-wide movement of great strength which played its part in the enactment of the social security legislation of 1935.

Factors of the Declining Death Rate

Decline in the death rate in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was due to many factors all of which reflect the growing importance of positive science. The nineteenth century has been called the age of man because of the widespread ascendancy of democratic institutions, the increasingly favorable relationship between the opportunities for work and the number of workers, the rising standards of living of the masses, the release of the productive energies and the creative genius of man together with a development of science and scientific research hitherto unparalleled.[32] While the progress of natural science and its application to the utilitarian problems of mechanical, civil, electrical, and hydraulic engineering was far more epoch-making than the simultaneous progress of the social sciences, the latter were by no means neglected. They record the spirit and the philosophy of the nineteenth century. For the progress of science is dependent upon the freedom of the individual to seek the truth in all fields of inquiry, and to record the truth, however sharp may be the conflict with traditional views. This spirit of science, or philosophy of science, clashed directly with the earlier theological conceptions of the Roman Church. But the Reformation gave a tremendous impetus to science by providing it with a religious sanction for the free spirit of objective inquiry.

It was precisely this movement of positive science which greatly reduced the death rate during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The devastating effects of crop failure and famine were greatly mitigated by diversified production. Greater security was also provided by the following factors: knowledge of the care, feeding, and breeding of live stock; the accumulation

[32] A. J. Todd, *Industry and Society*, New York, 1933, Ch. 6.

and storage of food surplus; the development of the great food industries for the preparation and preservation of cereals, meats, vegetables, and fruits; improvement in the efficiency of soil cultivation; better facilities for communication and transportation, together with relief organization, such as the Red Cross societies, possessed of funds and personnel ready for action at a moment's notice. All of this provided nourishment in sufficient quantities when and where it was needed. It greatly reduced the famine factor in the recurring epidemics of contagious disease. This was one set of factors.

A second set of factors concerned particularly the attention given to infants. The decline in infant and child mortality did more to increase the average expectation of life than the reduction of the death rate in any other equal age group. Better knowledge of infant diseases, infant care and feeding, together with improved sanitary facilities which reduced the hazards of impure water and milk had much to do with the decline in infant mortality. Decline in the birth rate reduced the average size of the family, increasing the individual attention given to each child. Higher standards of living and comfort improved the conditions in the home. The delivery of infants in the birth process became a skilled profession based upon scientific knowledge, and the same may be said for nursing and the work of the physician.

A third set of factors includes precise scientific knowledge of disease, particularly the germ diseases such as tuberculosis, influenza, typhoid fever, malaria, yellow fever, and the like. Robert Koch isolated the tubercle bacillus and did important work with cholera; Louis Pasteur made important discoveries in the treatment and prevention of anthrax and hydrophobia; Paul Ehrlich worked on syphilis and invented a remedy known as 606; Ross and Grassi studied malaria and made notable contributions, while Reed did important work on yellow fever.[33] All of this was accomplished since the middle of the nineteenth century and many more distinguished names might easily be added to the list.

A fourth set of factors may be described as certain means and agencies of social control such as departments of public health for the enforcement of quarantine and similar regulations, organizations for the dissemination of important information such as the Anti-Tuberculosis Association, the compulsory registration of births, deaths, and disease, especially contagious disease; public health clinics and institutes where reliable diagnosis and treatment may be had at low costs, the shaping of public opinion to favor legislation concerning pure foods and drugs, the compulsory registration and treatment of cases of dangerous disease such as syphilis, sanitary inspection and effective legislation to guarantee pure water and milk, accident prevention and workmen's compensation laws, traveling rural clinics and dispen-

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[33] See Paul de Kruif, *Microbe Hunters*, New York, 1926.

saries which have done good work in eliminating pellagra and hookworm, the destruction of germ-breeding refuse such as sewage, stagnant water, and food waste. A fifth set of factors covers the knowledge and practice of dentistry and surgery. All of this work is manifestly based upon exact science which deals with the causes of death, the nature and treatment of disease, and the conditions which favor the elimination of malignant germs.

The Neo-Malthusian Movement

Malthus did not foresee the amazing progress of science with its concomitant decline in the rate of mortality any more than the equally stupendous development in the productive capacity of industry and agriculture. Neither did he understand that the movement which he sponsored would presently give birth to another movement, more effectually restrictive than his own, namely, neo-Malthusianism. For the voluntary prevention of births by methods of contraception, Malthus had nothing in his ponderous vocabulary but contempt. And yet as early as 1877, the famous Bradlaugh-Besant trial gave widespread publicity to the knowledge and practice of birth control, not only in Great Britain where it occurred, but also in the entire civilized world. Today this knowledge is commonplace, and the use of it is approved within defined limits by a number of Protestant churches. The Catholic Church has opposed this doctrine in even more outspoken terms than the parent teaching of Malthus.

It is an easy matter to summarize a long list of arguments for and against the neo-Malthusian movement. There is no need to repeat these arguments. In some nations birth control clinics are approved and their work encouraged; in other nations the same work is carried on but disguised in the form of medical bureaus and public health institutes; in still other nations the laws which restrict this practice are enforced. The United States and many of the separate states have legislation which makes it a criminal offense, subject to fine or imprisonment or both, to use the United States mail service for the purpose of disseminating information on the subject, or to set up clinics and bureaus with similar aims. These laws are generally known as obscenity laws. The Medical Bureau of Information on Birth Control in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, has given advice to hundreds of patients, and many similar institutions in other cities do the same thing.[34] Contraceptives are advertised in magazines in none too subtle disguise, and slot machines are installed at filling stations for the convenience of travelers. These items may be sold wholesale and retail for reasons of health if not for contraception, and the traffic is encouraged rather than discouraged by the evident contradiction between the theory of a law and the actual practice of the public.

Unhappily, this widespread violation of the spirit and intention of certain

[34] See Dorothy D. Bromley, "Birth Control and the Depression," *Harper's*, October, 1934.

laws is a characteristic of American life. It tends to nullify the legislation of the state and destroy the morality of the public at the same time. Prohibitive legislation with respect to the use of intoxicating beverages, such as the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, is one outstanding instance; the regulation of gambling, prostitution, and the traffic in narcotics provides similar examples. The ethical principles embodied in such laws become objects of widespread ridicule, and an attitude of general disrespect for law is engendered in the process. Moreover, the principles of personal convenience and centrifugal expediency become the touchstones of morality as the imperious desire of the individual sweeps all obstacles aside. People may argue very wisely for the judicious use of contraceptive information, but they are inclined to forget the terrific momentum which the neo-Malthusian movement has generated in certain countries of the Western world.

To the moralist, who can see nothing in this movement but the violation of a traditional norm, the problem appears much more simple than it really is. To the sociologist it is complex. In the congested areas of large cities children are felt to be liabilities from every conceivable angle; on the farm, children relieve the feeling of isolation, and learn quickly to co-operate with their parents in a variety of useful ways. Moreover, the high tension of rival ambitions, the competition and the mobility of individuals, are much less disastrous to stable and normal family life in the rural areas than in the urban sections. Besides all of this is the growing disparity between the number of ambitious young men and women seeking opportunity for the development of their talents and the actual availability of such opportunity. It is quite as inadequate to blame unbridled and intemperate youth as it is to denounce the so-called "moral degeneration" of the age. It is essential to understand that political and religious as well as economic and ethical aspects of neo-Malthusianism are inseparably related. The unilateral approach does not meet the test of reason. The multilateral approach is either organic or a confused congeries of inconsistent ideas.

Neo-Mercantilism

Neo-Mercantilism today expresses a strong reaction against neo-Malthusianism, particularly in Germany and Italy. It is expansive and relies upon an authoritarian state to stimulate the marriage rate and the birth rate. But the responsibility of the authoritarian state does not stop here. It organizes the youth of both sexes with a view of crystallizing a new consciousness of national morality which definitely subordinates the "imperious desire" of the individual to the aggregate welfare. The state also assumes greater responsibility for the regeneration of rural life and the decentralization of con-

gested urban areas; for the regulation of economic life with a view of providing employment opportunity for everyone; for the development of imperialistic policy which aims to provide space and territory for a growing population; for the strengthening of military and naval resources competent to defend the national state against the rival imperialistic ambitions of other countries; for the control of publicity which guarantees the unity and the authority of the state.

Neo-Mercantilistic conceptions and policies of population are particularly characteristic of crowded countries where the existing material resources are barely adequate, if at all sufficient, to support the present numbers, much less the larger future population which is desired. Japan, like Italy and Germany, is a high pressure area. Australia, Russia, and large sections of Africa, are eminently low pressure areas. Hence the Ethiopian campaign of Mussolini, and the continued intensification of conflict between Japan and Russia on the one hand, and Germany and Russia on the other hand. Neo-Mercantilism, like its prototype of three centuries ago, is totalitarian, authoritarian, and imperialistic. It desires more space and sunlight for an expanding population; it reconstitutes the total structure of life with a view of realizing these ideals.

In Italy, and especially Germany, neo-Mercantilism is concerned with a great deal more than the problem of finding more room for growing numbers of inhabitants. The decline of the German birth rate from about the time of the World War to the establishment of the Third Reich was enormous. It was as high as 30 for the period from 1908-1912; for the period from 1918-1922 it dropped to 21.7; from 1928-1932 it was 17. For the year 1932 the rate was 15.1 and in 1933 it was 14.7.[35] At this time there were 500-660 abortions for every 1,000 live births. In some of the larger cities, such as Berlin, the death rate exceeded the birth rate toward the close of the era of social democratic government. In the course of a sermon delivered in St. Michael's Church in Munich early in 1933, Cardinal von Faulhaber, Archbishop of Munich, described the city of Berlin as the most barren city of the world. The people of Germany, he said, need more coffins for their dead than cradles for their newly born. He pointed out that the birth rate had declined steadily and rapidly since 1900 when it was 38 per 1,000 per year and that the number of deaths for 1932 was greater than the number of births.

> We are, then, a dying people. Since the end of the war our nation has lost more millions of people through the recession of the birth rate than during the war. This fact becomes even more frightful if we re-

[35] P. K. Whelpton, "Why the Large Rise in the German Birth Rate?" *The American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1935.

> member that the intellectually leading classes have a relatively larger share in the decrease of the birth rate than the feebleminded. Thus the decrease in the birth rate means a national suicide in a double sense, intellectually and morally on one side, and numerically on the other.[36]

Von Hindenburg tried to check this movement of rapid shrinkage of population by offering awards to the mothers of large families, and the government of the Second Reich made some feeble efforts along the same line of policy. But this did not work. The population continued to shrink, and it was not until the policies of the Third Reich took effect upon the people that the trend was definitely reversed. In 1934 the birth rate of Germany was 18.4 and in 1935 it was 18.9.[37] This amazing achievement can only be attributed to the fact that the *Reichsführer,* Adolf Hitler, and his Nazi government attacked this problem and related problems from a coordinated and organic view of the national welfare. The marriage rate was stimulated by offering loans to newly married couples, and these obligations were greatly reduced with the birth of each child. Farm life was made attractive while the enormous and terribly baffling problem of unemployment was largely solved. But more important than anything else was the re-creation of the national morale.

Mercantilism did not have to face the problems of a saturated world market for goods, a rapidly declining birth rate and a shrinking population. Neo-Mercantilism does. Therefore the latter has become associated with a comprehensive program which aims at nothing less than the creation of a community basis of national life. In Germany the natural divisive and centrifugal forces associated with "intellectualism" and an advanced stage of cultural evolution were greatly reinforced and strengthened by the terms of the Versailles Treaty which was mainly inspired by the French policy to destroy Germany if possible, and, if impossible, to enslave her people. The present map of Europe is sufficient proof, and there is a great deal more besides this. Other countries, England for instance, had to face serious social and economic problems after the World War, such as unemployment, staggering indebtedness, a great decline in foreign trade, unstable currency, whole communities on the dole, labor agitation, increasing divorce, the failure of religion to maintain a national morality, disruption of family life and diminishing births; but in Germany all of these acute problems of an advanced culture were greatly aggravated and intensified by the geographic and political changes which came with the loss of the war and the Versailles Treaty. And this is precisely why the actual situation demanded positive and far-reaching action of an unusual character.

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[36] Quoted in *Our Sunday Visitor,* March 26, 1933, p. 8. This quotation became especially significant a few years later when the eugenics program of the Nazi government was criticized by certain officials of the Church of Rome.

[37] *Population Index, op. cit.,* p. 44.

The Protestant and Catholic churches of Germany certainly had the best intentions in the world, but they lacked the authority and the power necessary to effectuate a comprehensive program of positive action. It was inevitably necessary that the total responsibility for this action should fall upon the secular state. By means of radio broadcasts, loud speakers and platform orations in immense stadiums where incredible numbers congregated to hear their national heroes, a unity of thought and feeling was created. With the success of National Socialism the *credenda* and the *miranda* of newly awakened power were strengthened by a controlled press, all of which made Adolf Hitler an inspired prophet and the Nazi movement a religion. The Third Reich was consolidated as it never had been before, and the means by which this process of national unification was carried out is known in Germany as *gleichschaltung*. It created what Professor Giddings has called a "consciousness of kind" on a national basis. Hope and faith took the place of fear, misery, and despair coupled with an excruciating sense of failure. A new community was born as the centripetal forces of the Nazi government destroyed or superseded the centrifugal tendencies which were surely disrupting and destroying a nation of people. Adolf Hitler has said that he saved the German people from communism and he spoke truth.

Even the most outspoken enemies and critics of fascism who knew what was going on in Germany in 1932 and 1933 admit that the country was on the verge of complete collapse, and that there was *nothing* else that could have been done when the Nazis assumed responsibility for government.[38] Oswald Spengler drew the fire of the Nazis when he said that their triumph was no victory since there were no opponents. But Spengler did not wish to see his country complete the processes of destruction in a suicidal civil war as the French so ardently hoped it would. He did wish to break the incipient tendency of certain persons to make a vainglorious show of victory and to rest content on their laurels in smug complacency. National Socialism had plenty of opposition in Germany from November 1923 to December 1924 when Hitler was writing his book, *Mein Kampf*, in the fortress of Landsberg where he served sentence for his part in the abortive Munich *putsch* of 1923. Nor has there been any particular lack of opposition outside of Germany since 1933.

Problem Questions

1. In 1915 the birth rate was 25+ in the United States. In 1935 it was 16+. Consider the economic and other consequences if the birth rate should decline nine more points during the twenty-year period from 1936 to 1955.

2. Summarize the factors which are bringing about an increasing proportion of aged in the population of the United States.

[38] F. M. Marx, "State Propaganda in Germany," published in *Propaganda and Dictatorship*, edited by H. L. Childs, Princeton University Press, 1936.

3. What will be the effects of an increasing proportion of aged in the population upon (1) the birth rate, (2) the death rate?

4. Consider some of the psychological and cultural influences of the changing age composition of the population.

5. What is meant by the crude birth rate? The corrected birth rate? The crude death rate? The corrected death rate?

6. Thirty states in the United States have laws which prohibit the intermarriage of white and black races. Are these laws reasonable?

7. The Johnson quota law of 1924 prohibited the immigration of Japanese into the United States. Summarize the arguments which justify such legislation. Are these arguments conclusive?

8. The 1921 immigration law is often described briefly as the 3% 1910 quota law; the 1924 immigration law is described as the 2% 1890 law. What do these figures mean and how do you account for the change?

9. Emigration from the United States exceeded immigration by substantial numbers during the years 1932, 1933, and 1934. Explain this situation.

10. Why is the death rate in the United States bound to rise in the near future?

11. The selection of immigration may be based upon the following considerations: (1) eugenic, (2) racial, (3) cultural. Are our present immigration laws based upon any one, or two, or all of these criteria?

12. What are the main features of the national origins provisions of the present immigration laws?

13. Is immigration into the United States likely to be as extensive in the future as it was during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries?

14. Evaluate the Malthusian theory of population.

15. Parmelee argues that the reproductive function of sex should be subordinated to the play function of sex in order to give human nature the fullest scope for a free and spontaneous expression. Consider the implications and the repercussions of this view.

16. In accord with his expressed philosophy, Parmelee favors the removal of all restrictions upon the distribution of literature and information concerning the voluntary control of births. Consider the effects of such a proposal.

17. Would it be advisable to favor the widespread prevention of births so long as the acute scarcity of jobs continues to be chronic?

18. Describe the methods used by the Nazi government in order to stimulate the birth rate.

19. How do you account for the opposition of certain leaders of the Catholic Church to (1) compulsory sterilization of mental defectives, (2) compulsory physical examination of all candidates for marriage, (3) the proposed child labor amendment to the Constitution?

20. Is a neo-Malthusian policy of population more or less likely to lead to war among the nations than a neo-Mercantilist policy?

21. Evaluate the neo-Mercantilist policy of Italy and Germany.

Suggestions for Additional Reading

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31

RELIGION AND SCIENCE

The Springtime of Culture

To understand the rôle of religion, and the closely related rôle of science, in the development of the great cultures of history is to gain an insight into sociology and the contemporary social problems of the Western world. Every culture of history was established firmly upon the discipline of religion. In each case the weaving process of interhuman action created a universe. In each case there were sacred myths and legends, epic tales, and symbolic religious festivals, the pageantry of a holy priesthood, and beliefs in gods and goddesses whose supernatural powers affected man for weal or woe depending upon his faithfulness in observing the propitiatory rites and the duties of ceremonial ritual and worship.

The religion of ancient Egypt was centered in the worship of Ra, the sun god, conceived as the creator of all things human and divine, and Osiris, the god of vegetation and fertilization. Everywhere in Egyptian art the winged sun disk is symbolic of the power of Ra, and the Pharaohs who ruled by divine right were believed to be the incarnation of the gods. In ancient Sumeria religion was centered in the worship of the earth mother, symbol of fertility; Tammuz, the sun god; Ishtar, his sister and lover; the river divinities who controlled the waters of the Tigris and the Euphrates; and many other lesser gods and goddesses. Among the ancient Greeks there were three leading divinities: Zeus, Apollo, and Athena. Zeus was the sky god, giver of rain, omniscient and omnipotent, who ruled his heavenly domain like an earthly king; Apollo, the sun god whose beams were golden arrows, protected the shepherd's flocks and the farmer's fields. Athena, the warrior goddess, sprang forth full armed from the very brain of her father Zeus, according to an early tale. Demeter was the ancient Greek earth mother who brought forth the produce of the soil; Dionysus, another earth god, provided the fruit of the grapevine and gave to life its fullness and its joy; Aphrodite was the goddess of love, corresponding to the Sumerian Ishtar. It is probable that the knowledge and fame of Ishtar was communicated northward to the Hellenistic world by way of Cyprus and the cities of Syria.

The Romans, too, had their pantheon of deities: Jupiter, the great sky god and king of all the gods; Venus, the queen of love; Mars, the patron

of warriors and other divinities who ruled in their respective realms and protected the varied interests of man on earth. Founders of the Magian civilization were the Arabs who conquered northern Africa and southern Spain, and created a monotheistic religion in which the central figure was Allah, the one and only god, creator of all things, all powerful ruler of the destinies of men. Early Christianity compromised the monotheism of the Arabs and the Hebrews with the polytheism of the Germanic peoples of Europe in the concept of the Trinity—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—three gods in one and one in three. So also, the Vedic religion of the ancient East Indians, and the ancestor worship and propitiation of the gods which implied an organized discipline of life, an authoritative priesthood, and the creation of a universe.

The early religion of these cultures assumed the general form of nature worship, and their gods and goddesses were nature divinities who gave to man the earth and its fertility, the sun and the sky with their warmth and light, rain, rivers, and forests, the recurring harvests and the renewal of plant, animal, and human life from year to year. Thus agriculture and the pastoral setting are interlocked with religious mysticism and implicit faith, like the fairy tales which children believe, and the absolute trust which children feel in the goodness, the kindness, and the wisdom of their elders. This faith, the adoration and the worship of the giver of life and the source of all blessings according to the legend, is characteristic of the Springtime of every culture of history. The mythological beliefs, the legendary tales, and the festivals which celebrate the joy and the victory of life constitute an organic aspect of the credulity of man in the childhood of his culture. They are interwoven in a closeknit fabric of thought and feeling, of belief and action which forms a coherent structure of life. The configuration of culture patterns is primarily and preëminently religious.

Myth and Legend

This religious mysticism which arises with the dawn of culture is invariably associated, not only with a more or less elaborate ritual and ceremony and a professional class of priests who assume responsibilities for these rites, but also with an implicit, if not explicit, formulation of creed, a scale of values, and a system of rewards and penalties for observance or violation of these values. It is also most intimately interwoven with myth, legend, and festival. The myth is sacred; to question it is sacrilege. Long before the story of Genesis was written, the ancient Sumerians were given an account of the creation and the flood. These two epic myths resemble so closely the Old Testament stories of the Hebrews that the latter must surely have borrowed their ideas from the Sumerians.[1] According to the original version

[1] A. A. Trever, *History of Ancient Civilization*, New York, 1936, Vol. 1, pp. 31, 32.

the heavens and the earth were created from the body of a god; then the heavens were adorned with sun, moon, and stars, and man was created to replenish the earth for the sustenance and the worship of the gods. For the Sumerians, who were obliged to regulate the annual overflow of the Tigris and Euphrates by a complicated network of dikes and canals, the story of the flood was based upon a certain reality of experience. There are many striking similarities to the Hebrew account: the building of a ship to carry all types of living things; the abatement of the flood; the resting of the ark upon a mountain; sending out a dove, a swallow, and a raven; the disembarking and thanksgiving offering to the gods. That the essentials of this story were communicated somehow to the author of the Old Testament account is reasonably certain.

Among the Sumerians, as among later peoples, there were many current legends about the gods: one had a son who failed to gain immortality because of disobedience; another flew to heaven, and a third returned from the lower world. The Egyptians also had their sacred myths and legends among which is the story of the death and resurrection of Osiris. The dramatization of this story, and its reënactment every year at an annual feast in which all Egyptians joined, suggests the Easter festival and the passion play of Christians.[2] Breasted says it is our earliest known drama. It was produced and played at least as early as 2000 B.C. and probably much earlier.[3] Osiris' death was symbolic of low water in the Nile and the desert winds which destroyed vegetation and life. His resurrection was associated with the rising Nile and a plentiful harvest of wheat. But the Egyptian had a passion for immortality. For him, therefore, this drama of Osiris was particularly symbolic of the victory of life over death, and the achievement of happiness throughout all eternity by the proper observance of religious ritual and ceremony.

Countless legends were associated with the gods. One of these legends concerns Isis, the wife and sister of Osiris, who wandered miserably over the land seeking the body of her lord who had been slain by his brother Set. Isis concealed her son Horus in the marshes of the delta in much the same way as Moses was hidden in the bullrushes and for a somewhat similar reason. In the marshes Horus was taught to avenge the death of his father. This he did by slaying Set, but he lost his eye in the struggle. Recovering his lost eye he searched for the body of his father, Osiris, and having finally discovered it, he gave his eye to his father, restoring life and power to the great god of the Egyptians.[4] The principles of sympathetic and mimetic magic illustrated in this story are invariably interwoven with the religious mysticism of early culture people. Egyptians called an offering to the dead

[2] Breasted, *The Dawn of Conscience, op. cit.*, p. 77.
[3] Trever, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
[4] Breasted, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49.

the "eye of Horus" as they believed it would have the same effect as the original eye of Horus upon his father.

Similar sacred myths and legends of the gods characterized the Springtime of the Hellenic world. This was the age of Homer, the author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Looking upon the glorious summit of Mount Olympus, the home of the gods, the imagination of the early Greek poet was inspired. Songs and epic tales of the valorous deeds of the gods were interwoven with vague memories of actual warfare, especially the siege and capture of Troy. Sacred myths and weird legends centering in the gods greatly multiplied as the years rolled by until they constituted a magnificent epic cycle of tradition. Homer's reputation among the Greeks was so great that he was given credit for the authorship of the complete cycle; later this was seen to be unreasonable. But the *Iliad,* epic tale of the Greek military expedition and conquest of Troy, and the *Odyssey,* poetic narrative of the wanderings of Odysseus on his journey homeward from Troy, are accredited to Homer. The epic songs of Homer and the sacred myths and legends of the gods who lived on Mount Olympus became the veritable Bible of the early Greeks. They created a unified structure of life—a universe. With these common treasures of the spirit the Greeks of the Hellenic world felt alike, thought alike, and acted in accord with each other to a degree which had never been realized before, nor has it ever been realized again since that time.

The sacred myths provide answers to the deeper mysteries of nature, such as life and death, good and evil, and the origin of all things terrestrial and heavenly. They dispel a wide margin of fear, and create a trance-like serenity in the minds of men. This releases their energies for co-operation, growth, and achievement. Fate rests in the laps of the gods and man needs only to appease and to propitiate them in order to realize his deepest longings. Faith in the goodness, the wisdom, the mercy, and the power of the gods is implicit. Legends describe the valorous deeds and the miraculous intervention, not only of the gods, but also of the great hero kings and leaders of the people who become gods as the cumulative tradition of praise and adoration envelops their names, their shrines and sacred figures with a halo of divinity. All of this is intimately interwoven with sacred feasts and festivals, symbolic of the power of the gods to protect their people and the duty of man to worship, to honor, to bring sacrifices and offerings of food and drink, of praise and thanksgiving.

Festivals

Springtime festivals which celebrate the renewal of life and victory over death are characteristic of all cultures. The Christian Easter festival is but one example among many. New Year feasts and festivals celebrating the birthday of the sun, when the journey southward closes and the northward

return commences, are also common. The Christian Christmas which commemorates the birth of the Saviour occurs at this time of the year, showing its relation to the solar feasts of pagan peoples. Then there are festivals of the dead—Decoration Day—when ceremony and celebration in honor of those who have passed into the stillness of eternity kindle the souls of men in a common experience of fellowship with the spirits of their ancestors and their gods. Among the ancient Egyptians the calendar of feasts provided for all of these. Many of their festivals were temple affairs where the spirits of the dead were associated with the living. It was customary for kings and nobles to provide lavish endowments for tombs and temples where the service of priests gave the spirits of the dead constant attention. On special occasions, as for instance New Year, there were impressive processions of priests, a sacrificial offering of a bull, and each priest carried a loaf of white bread which was deposited at the base of the lord's statue.[5] Thousands of people gathered at illuminated temples and tombs to await the passing of the old year and to herald the coming of the new. The first day of the year was a great feast day when gifts were exchanged and the spirit was joyful. People of humble calling carried gifts of food and drink to the tombs of the dead, particularly to the deceased lords of their respective manors. In the evening the procession of priests and celebration of the glorification and illumination of the blessed closed a day of deep religious significance.

The passion play of the Egyptians, already described, was a great festival occasion. Pilgrims came from far and near bearing gifts to the gods. This celebration in honor of Osiris appears to have had the chief place in the calendar of festivals. There were eight acts in the drama of Osiris' struggle with his brother, his death, and final resurrection, and at least one whole day was required for each act. Great multitudes prayed for the privilege of participating in these religious festivals after death. Thus the realization of the heart's desire was made dependent upon the meticulous observance of sacred duty. The ethical discipline of life was primarily religious. By exalting the magnificence and glory of the gods, the temporal authority of king, nobles and priests, who represented the gods on earth, could not be questioned or challenged. The structure of life was isolated and sacred; the secular stranger was alien to the communal spirit which characterized all of the forms of association.

Festivals are often associated with various kinds of magic, superstitious beliefs, and sacrificial offerings. Among the pagan folk festivals of ancient Armenians was a spring celebration in honor of Mihr, the god of fire.[6] The rites consisted chiefly of kindling fires in the open market places, and of lighting a lantern from one of these newly kindled fires. This lantern was kept burning in the temple throughout the year. It symbolized the presence

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 227-228.
[6] L. A. Boettiger, *Armenian Legends and Festivals*, Minneapolis, 1920, p. 57.

and the power of the god. Priests officiated at the services, and the people danced about the fire. But when the flames died down each person carried home a glowing brand and placed it upon his hearthstone for good luck. Ashes were preserved and scattered over the fields and gardens to bring a good harvest, protect cattle from sickness, and fruit trees from worms and caterpillars.

At the midsummer festival of Vartavar, meaning "flaming of the rose," sheep were led to the temple with lighted candles fixed upon their horns, and colored papers and pigments to adorn them for the sacrifice. Sheaves of grain, fruit, flowers, and doves were also brought as sacrificial offering. Dust from beside the sacred altar was carried home to children as a talisman. The central act of this festival was the offering of a dove and a rose to the golden image of Anahit, goddess of chastity, in whose honor the festival was held. These examples show the interweaving of festival with sacrificial rites and magical practices. The essential significance of the festival is religious.

Magic and Religion

At this point certain questions may be raised. What is religion, and what is magic? Is there such a thing as a philosophy of religion? If so, what is it, and how may it be distinguished from the philosophy of science? The simplest definition of religion assumes a belief or beliefs in supernatural power or powers, and the systematic practice of influencing these powers by means of ritual, ceremony, and festival. Whatever this definition may lack in essential and complete characterization, it possesses the virtue of being historical so far as it goes. This definition, like others, is not presented as the last word to be said on the subject. It is merely a guide to understanding, a road sign on the way to show the direction of thought. The supernatural powers assumed in every religion of history may be personal, that is, conceived in terms of the attributes of men or animals, or combinations thereof, or they may be impersonal, occult forces which are assumed to control the course of events. Magic may be defined as the practice of controlling these mysterious, supernatural, impersonal forces of nature. While the quality of religion is persuasive, conciliatory and propitiatory, the quality of magic is coercive. But these lines of distinction are much easier to draw on paper than in actual practice. Supernatural powers may be conceived as personal and impersonal at the same time, and the aim of ritual may be propitiatory and coercive at the same time. When the gods are conceived as persons it is easy to see that the beliefs are anthropomorphic; when they are conceived as mystical, impersonal forces, the anthropomorphic character may not be so obvious, but it is just as real. In both cases the human individuals concerned desire to promote good and to avoid evil.

The purpose manifestly is to direct and control the course of events,

avoiding defeat in battle, crop failure, famine, devastating flood or drouth, poverty, misery and death; and promoting prosperity, happiness, and the common welfare. So long as these objects are partially realized, the gods are worshipped; when they cease to be realized the gods are destroyed. Conceptions of the gods change with changing needs and new levels of cultural development. As the old gods lose their power to command the obedience and devotion of man new gods arise to ascendant position and take their places. It is seen that the essential factor of all religions is an ethical discipline of life. So long as people endeavor to avoid evil and promote good, they surely must be able to make some distinction between right and wrong. They have an idea of what is good and what is bad, and the ethical norm, created in this way, is greatly strengthened by the sanctions of religion.

Whether the genesis of the mores is traceable to religion, or the genesis of religion goes back to the mores is one of those sterile academic paradoxes which the people of Western Europe loved to argue during the late Victorian era—like the question of the relative importance of heredity and environment, nature and nurture. There is no categorical answer to this question, any more than there is to the question of the priority of the individual or society. These dichotomies are useful aids in solving the related problems of descriptive analysis provided the respective categories are not conceived as mutually exclusive, but rather as reciprocal and constantly interacting factors in a social process of cultural change. Religion and the mores are inherent in the group life of individuals. Religion is so because man never has fully understood the deeper mysteries of nature; it is safe to say that he never will. Too many questions, such as the origin of life, the nature of energy, the origin of species, the nature of man, the destiny of man, and the purpose of life on earth, cannot be answered in any ultimate sense. These questions are shrouded in mystery, always have been and will continue to be throughout all eternity.

Religion and Science

Religion makes certain assumptions and some headway in dealing with the world of nature; it creates confidence. Science makes different assumptions and more headway in dealing with the same world of nature. The difference is relative, not absolute. If it is true, as it appears to be, that every great idea carries within it the seed of its own final doom, this principle applies to science quite as certainly as it does to religion. Religion creates a universe and gives birth to science, which in turn creates a multiverse. Since this multiverse is increasingly discordant, both science and religion are finally destroyed with the culture which gives them life, meaning, and reality. Science is powerless to re-create a dying faith, or to give birth to a new faith strong and real enough to thwart the forces of disintegration.

Imperial Rome turned to Christianity, but even this did not prevent the decline and fall of the empire. Nevertheless, Christianity *did* point out a way of salvation to the Roman people and it probably checked the trend toward dissolution to some extent by offering a kind of Hegelian antithesis to Hellenism. The late Christian emperors from Constantine to Justinian certainly made heroic effort to introduce the principles of the new religion into the social life of the Roman people. Julian, however, renounced Christianity and did all that he could to restore the Hellenistic religion and civilization. Two centuries later Theodosius forbade the worship of the old gods and issued a decree closing all their temples. Meanwhile the Roman Empire waned and finally fell while the Christian Church constantly gained power and strength. In the Western world today, the growing faith in communism is playing a rôle which is morphologically parallel to Roman Christianity from the days of the dictators to the doom of the empire. And Christianity today is playing a rôle which is morphologically parallel to the Hellenistic religion from about the beginning of the fourth century A.D. onward. Such is the irony of history.

Sacred myths become profane; they are scorned and ridiculed in the process. Can the "sacred" myths of science solve our problems today? It is evident that they cannot and the result is that people lose their faith in science as well as in religion. "Without faith the people perish." Commenting on this passage Thomas Nixon Carver adds substantially the following: people who have faith also perish, and it has not yet been determined statistically whether they perish faster in the one case or in the other.[7] This expresses the cynicism of science. In the years before the World War, science could afford to be cynical. The scientist turned cynical today is something of a fool.

Mimetic and Sympathetic Magic

It has been pointed out that magic assumes the existence of certain impersonal supernatural forces which may be coercively modified or directed by man in accord with the accepted principles of action. Magic may be sympathetic or mimetic. In the latter case it is based upon the idea that a cause resembles its effect or that like produces like. In the former case it is based upon an animistic theory of personality which assumes that all things associated with an individual such as his personal belongings, his name or shadow, his shrine, statue, or effigy, his hair, nail parings, or other matter are all somehow imbued with the spirit of the individual. Taken together these things constitute the self. Therefore a magician may influence a person for good or evil by possessing one or more of these objects, or by the necromantic manipulation of his qualities as when the name of a refractory youth

[7] T. N. Carver, *Essays in Social Justice*, Cambridge, 1915, p. 232.

is shouted over a steaming caldron of weird mixtures for disciplinary purposes.

Mimetic or imitative magic presents a crude theory of cause and effect. It is illustrated by rainmaking ceremonies which simulate the visible aspects of falling rain like the gentle patter of sand falling through a sieve upon the floor. The magical potency of the "eye of Horus" is manifestly based upon the assumption that a cause resembles its effect or that like produces like; it also illustrates the sympathetic principle. Sympathetic magic is further illustrated by the sacred ashes imbued with the spirit of a god or by the healing power of things and places hallowed by the gods. According to an early conception of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, it was believed that bread and wine were actually transformed into the flesh and blood of Jesus which people ate and drank in order to be like him. The dust of an altar has magical charm because of its association with a powerful deity. These magical rites do not usually succeed. But the lucky coincidence is long remembered, whereas failures are quickly forgotten. The wish is father to the thought. People desire that the magic shall succeed. Therefore they find it easy to explain failure on the ground of counter magic, a defect of ritual, or lack of adequate preparation in one way or other. Every religion is more or less pervaded with magical beliefs. They are as indigenous to time and place as the superstitions of a soldier or a sailor.

The Sociology of Religion

It is more accurate to say that there are many philosophies of religion rather than a philosophy of religion. But the central fact from a sociological point of view appears to be that religion gives a measure of assurance and freedom in a world which is full of greatly varied dangers and uncertainties. The pervasive intensity of fear varies with the aleatory factors of life, as Sumner called them. To resolve these uncertainties and risks in terms of religion and magic does not dam the rising flood or mitigate the burning intensity of midsummer heat. But there is no failure, no defeat which is comparable to utter hopelessness and despair. Religion, therefore, by creating a faith in the gods may not dispel the fear of danger, but it does destroy the feeling of utter futility when fear is realized and hope and faith are lost. Even the fear of death is finally overcome with the belief in immortality. Nothing so paralyzes the energies of man or destroys his moral quality as a feeling of utter helplessness in the face of danger. Wrong action with positive faith is preferable to no action at all and this explains why Franklin D. Roosevelt became a national idol in 1933. An experimental theory of action is better than no action at all. Faith drives out fear and thereby releases the energies of man in constructive, co-operative and creative workmanship. Man is saved from the terrifying inhibitions of his own essential nature, and his freedom to live and work is restored.

Religion is not the interposition of an external, more or less despotic authority, with the liberty of individual action. On the contrary, it is the means of guaranteeing this liberty of action. The ideal of religion is freedom, and the accomplishment of religion is faith. Thus man is converted from the pusillanimous biped which elicited the contempt of Thomas Carlyle to the man of dignity and action. Completely disillusioned with the traditional religion of his childhood, Carlyle destroyed his old gods and created new ones in the process.[8] His conversion was essentially an ethical experience which reaffirmed the eternal values of life as he conceived them. This destruction of old idols and the creation of new gods is just another aspect of the eternal recurrence of history. Goethe as a youth built his own private altar where he worshipped his personal god according to the light of his own conscience. But he destroyed his altar and his god when the deepest longings of his heart remained unfulfilled. So also history records whole peoples become angry with their gods, wreaking vengeance upon them, and destroying themselves as they deny their gods unless a new leadership gives them a new hope and a new faith. "Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad." But the gods are always destroyed first.

The Struggle with Nature

The method of the metaphysicians in coming to grips with nature is less roundabout and more direct than the method of the theologians. For the metaphysicians are interested in determining the laws of nature with a view of conforming to them. But the positive scientists consider these laws vague generalizations of doubtful validity. They come to grips with nature in a still more direct fashion. In the course of this process the early religion of the gods is transformed into a religion of nature, and the religion of nature is subsequently changed into a religion of science. There is much ado about all of this, but the underlying philosophy is precisely the same in each case. The ideal is freedom and the accomplishment is faith; faith in the gods, faith in nature or faith in science as the case may be. It is the conquest of nature which is contemplated in each case, and the goal is liberty of action and security of life.

Human history becomes a record of the efforts of man to eliminate the risks, the dangers, and the uncertainties of life, to banish fear and establish faith. But nature is a wily mistress. She will never be fully mastered because man finally exhausts his resources and consumes all of his energies in the heroic struggle for victory. Nature never loses in the end, says Spengler, but there are many victories to be won before the curtain finally falls on the last tragic scene in the historic drama of Western civilization. Men must be stout-hearted to do battle against odds like this. It is not enough to say

[8] Thomas Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*, Everyman's Library, New York and London, 1921.

that history in the making was never more fascinating than it is today. People do not live on that kind of fascination in great number. Men must have their dreams, their illusions—their faith, or else they perish. The man of the hour in the Western world today is not the scientist, but rather the prophet whose serenity is trance-like because his faith is sure.

Gothic Christianity

All of the elements of religion already described—sacred myth, legend and epic sagas, the calendar of feasts and festivals, gods and goddesses, devil troops and a world of angels, black magic, witchcraft and exorcisms, dogmas, creeds, and the pageantry and splendor of an authoritarian priesthood—were interwoven in the fabric of European Christianity. This was not Roman Christianity. It was Gothic. The former was forced into alliance with the conquerors of Rome and the chieftains of Nordic tribes. Its policy toward the Germanic peoples was necessarily adaptive, conciliatory, and alertly diplomatic. Accordingly new wine was poured into old bottles as the energy and spirit of a younger race gave life and power to the older forms of belief and worship. Christianity remained the same in name, but in name only.

In the New Testament is told the story of the birth of the Christ-Child. It is difficult to find in any language a legend so charming, so rich in imaginative symbolism, so utterly beautiful in feeling. But it was the Virgin Mother Mary who became the dominating motive of Gothic art and not the messianic hope of subjugated Jews. About her figure there clustered innumerable legends. She became a goddess, the queen of heaven, elevated far above mortal humanity. It was she who commanded first attention, becoming an object of adoration and worship, rather than the helpless babe in her arms. The Benedictines celebrated a festival of the Immaculate Conception while the Franciscans honored the Holy Virgin, Mother of God, in their festival of the Visitation. This sacred myth, the Mary myth, expressed the love motive and feeling. It arose in the early medieval castle and cathedral, homes respectively of the nobility and priesthood, the two original castes of every culture of history, and not in the village beyond where a more primitive tribal folklore continued to fill the thoughts of men.

Beside the Mary myth which expressed gentleness, tenderness, solicitude, and love there arose the devil myth which expressed malice, slyness, cruelty, and fear. The idea of Satan was the exact opposite to the idea of the Virgin Mother, and again there arose countless legends which centered in his terrifying name. As Mary, the queen of heaven and adorable Mother of God was surrounded with angels, so Satan, ruler of the lower world, was surrounded with evil spirits and demons. One symbolized all that was conceived as good; the other all that was thought of as evil. Black magic, witches' sabbaths, night feasts on mountain tops, charm formulæ and devil's

masses were associated with the prince of hell. These myths were not then regarded as æsthetic objects of intellectual curiosity. They were held sacred; disbelief in either was a deadly sin. Even humanists and artists of the medieval period wore amulets to ward off the devil's magic and looked upon witch-burning as natural. Meanwhile they quoted Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and Virgil, and misled the scholars who later described the Renaissance as a revival of classical learning and art. Roger Bacon, often credited with the discovery of scientific method, entered a Franciscan order. He believed in astrology, the doctrine of signatures, and the philosopher's stone by means of which base metals could be converted into gold and silver.

The cult of prayer and a world of angels were associated with Mary; with the devil, a cult of spells, exorcisms, and demons. When Satan gained possession of the human heart he seduced man into heresy, black arts, lechery, and evil purpose. Fear of the devil and all his works and ways was as natural as the love of Mary. The gallows and the wheel stood beside the medieval cathedral, and fallen witches were doomed to inquisition and the rack. In 1233 the belief in the devil became part of the canon law. The blessed circle of the followers of Mary were saved through the mediation of the holy Church; their reward was eternal happiness in paradise in company with saints and angels. For the fallen, the sinful, and those outside the sacred circle, the punishment was eternal damnation in Satan's own nether kingdom of fire and brimstone. As the Dominicans went forth to do battle with the devil by setting up an inquisition, so the Franciscans did honor to the Holy Virgin by setting up the cult of Mary.

These two sacred myths, the Mary myth and the devil myth, were distinctive creations of Gothic Christianity, and the cluster of beliefs, legends, magic, ritual, festival, and worship which surround them are the characteristic features of early medieval religion. Dante expressed the feeling in his *Divine Comedy*. There were, of course, other myths and legends, closely related and similarly indigenous and autonomous in a spiritual sense, such as the legend of the Holy Grail, the legends of the saints, the legends of King Arthur and his Knights of the Round Table, the sagas of the Norsemen, myths of Wotan, Thor, and Valhalla, the popular epics of Siegfried and the Niebelungen Ring, myths and legends associated with St. Francis of Assisi, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Joachim of Floris. All of these express the enlivened, mystic imagination of a blooming culture in the Springtime of its movement.

The Ideal of Freedom

One of the most distinctive features of European Christianity was the sacrament of contrition in accord with which the individual was called upon to confess his sin to his priest from whom he received absolution and forgiveness. Forgiveness of sins was thus made dependent upon the inter-

cession of the Church by the medium of an ordained priesthood. Through the hand of the priest the poorest wretch was able to grasp the hand of God. The act of confession was voluntary; it was something done by oneself, an experience within oneself. Since the Church assumed responsibility for absolution, the feeling of constraint which comes with bad conscience was relieved, and the feeling of freedom which comes with good conscience was restored. In this way Gothic Christianity expressed a sense of appreciation and recognition, not only of the sacred value of each individual life, but also of the dignity, spiritual integrity, and freedom of every personality. The inward feeling of contrition, the look of introspection and the desire for reconciliation with God meant also a desire for reconciliation with one's ideal of self. A self-regarding sentiment of high ethical quality was realized in the process. This sense of integrated personality corresponded to a feeling of responsibility for conduct. The individual felt able to will freely. His total confessional experience was an autobiography, a retrospective look into the past which developed into a high regard for history and a contribution to historiography which far surpassed anything previously accomplished. Compare Theodor Mommsen and Eduard Meyer with Herodotus and Tacitus for examples.

This idea of a personal will, free and able to express itself, to rise above the limitations of nature and one's environment, was further developed when the Lateran Council in 1215 formulated a dogmatic interpretation of the seven sacraments. However contradictory and paradoxical the assertion may appear to be, the hard fact is clear that the dignity, the independence, and the freedom of the individual were created in a process of religious and ethical discipline. And in 1517, when Martin Luther nailed his famous ninety-five Theses to the church door at Wittenberg and precipitated the Protestant Reformation, this liberty of individual action and the ability to will freely were further accentuated. The intermediate person of the priest who formerly stood between the confessing personality and the infinite was removed. Now the individual stood alone; he was his own priest and his own judge. The sacrament of contrition became a mystic experience of inward absolution by faith alone. The intercession of priest and church was held unnecessary, and the grace of God was felt to be all-sufficient.

Thus Protestantism destroyed the I and Thou relationship which formerly existed between confessor and confessee. Now the individual was required to assume the fullest possible responsibility for his own absolution—he bared his naked soul before his God directly. Perhaps he realized a sense of absolution, perhaps he remained in doubt. It was this uncertainty, this anxiety which laid a heavy hand upon him destroying to some extent the spontaneous gladness and the joy of life which comes with complete assurance of reconciliation. A tendency developed toward morbid introspection

and an over-absorption with one's inner feelings and motives; it led to the characteristic grimness, lack of humor, coldness, sternness, and austerity of the leaders and followers of the Protestant Reformation. In consequence Satan was felt to be a great deal nearer, and the ethical discipline of life was intensified. The feeling of intolerance toward those who violated the accepted code of morals became hard and rigid. Since the individual was not free to receive absolution through his priest, he was compelled to assume the fullest responsibility for his action. His fellows held him accountable and treated him accordingly. A new army of heresy hunters and witch-burners overspread the face of Europe, and this movement was reflected in America in the sermons of Jonathan Edwards and Cotton Mather, the *Scarlet Letter* of Nathaniel Hawthorne, blue-sky laws, and morals legislation which culminated finally in the enactment of the eighteenth amendment to the Constitution. But in Salem only nineteen witches were put to death whereas in Europe the number burned at the stake numbered thousands.[9]

The Metaphysicians

All of this reflects the indirect, theological procedure of grappling with the forces of nature, and of achieving a degree of control over the conditions of life which ensures a free and independent will and the conquest of fear. This movement was continued with the gradual development of a more direct procedure in the understanding and mastery of nature's laws: the method of the metaphysicians. They looked directly at nature for knowledge governing the principles of individual behavior, of collective action, and of social organization. Their world outlook and philosophy of life aimed at the same goals, but endeavored to reach them by a less circuitous route. The governing norms of life were conceived to be universal, inherent in the nature of things, and having formulated these standards and laws it remained only for individuals to follow them. All of this was embodied in a doctrine of natural, inalienable, and inviolable rights to the pursuit of happiness, the freedom of the conscience, and the equal protection of life, liberty, and material possessions. It is shown in the movement from the agonized conscience of the Puritan to the serene and optimistic conscience of the liberated Protestant, from Cotton Mather and Jonathan Edwards to Ralph Waldo Emerson and Mary Baker Eddy, from Luther to Goethe, from Calvin to Rousseau, from Oliver Cromwell and John Milton to John Stuart Mill and Thomas Carlyle. Fear of Satan was cast out and the impending tortures of eternal damnation were contradicted. Mary Baker Eddy even went so far as to deny the existence of evil. Love became the only reality, and fear merely an illusion, a mistaken way of thinking, a fiction of the

[9] "Witchcraft," *The World Book of Organized Knowledge,* Vol. 10, p. 6341.

imagination. Pain, misery and even death were errors of thought. As a man thinketh even so in his heart is he. The life of the spirit was eternal love, happiness and peace.

In the course of this process of reasoning the devil myth was completely undermined and what is more, the Mary myth was also destroyed. Unitarians rejected the conception of the Trinity; they thought of Jesus as a normal human being born of the natural union of an earthly father and an earthly mother. His divinity consisted of superior goodness and wisdom, the equal heritage of all mankind; and it followed, therefore, that all men were divine provided only they harmonized their desires with the will of God as revealed in nature. The universal fatherhood of God was associated with the universal brotherhood of man in the sense that all men, by virtue of their nature, carried within them the seed of divinity. Salvation was a process by which this seed burst forth into life, budding and blossoming for the enrichment of man on earth and the achievement of paradise. Thus the dignity of man, his liberty of action, and power over nature were elevated to the level of God himself.

The release of energy for the purposes of life felt to be important, chiefly the accumulation of material possessions, the realization of a high comfort standard of living, and the hardest kind of insurance against all of the risks, vicissitudes and tribulations of life, was enormously stimulated. This was middle class gospel carried to a logical fulfillment. But it created also a certain smugness, self-complacency, insensibility, exalted feeling of self-importance, and inflated egoism which violated all sense of reality. The disparity between the evaluation man placed upon himself and the evaluation of others upon him was too wide to remain unnoticed. In some cases this contradiction bore pathological symptoms. Instead of paranoic delusions of fear and persecution, accentuated by the devil myth, the paranoic delusions of personal grandeur and sublime conceit appeared in their places.

The Struggle of Science for Recognition

The struggle of science for recognition and honor was long and tortuous. For the Western world it may be traced back as far as Roger Bacon in the thirteenth century. It was carried on by Copernicus, Galileo, Bruno, Francis Bacon, Leibnitz, Newton, Kepler, and other distinguished men of science. But the general state of mind did not give a sympathetic and appreciative recognition to their work until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; and even then the reception was somewhat apathetic, if not openly hostile, particularly when the theories and conclusions of science violated the established world outlook of Catholic and Protestant ideologies. As late as 1660 Quakers were hanged on Boston Common for the crime of witnessing to the "inner light," a divine revelation which appeared to make the work of the clergy

and the Church unnecessary.[10] In the third decade of the twentieth century William Jennings Bryan, thrice candidate for the Presidency of the United States and Secretary of State in Wilson's cabinet, conducted the prosecution for the state of Tennessee in the famous trial of a school teacher, named John T. Scopes, who had the temerity to suggest the plausibility of the Darwinian theory of evolution.

So long as the scientist confined his attention to mathematics, physics, and chemistry, all of which assumed great importance with the outbreak of the Industrial Revolution, he stood in little danger of trouble. But in the fields of history, biology, economics, psychology, and sociology popular prejudice, ruling powers, and established world outlooks could not be violated with impunity. Even this opposition was largely removed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as a result partly of the rapid growth of cities and increasing preponderance of urban influence; partly as a result of a liberal movement of thought which held sacred the right of the individual to seek the truth and to publish it regardless of consequences; and partly because of the close affinity between the philosophy of the scientist and the philosophy of the liberated Protestant described in the preceding paragraphs. In the year 1936, Pope Pius XI declared that there can be no conflict between science and religion.

This was not the case when Copernicus developed his heliocentric theory of the universe in the early sixteenth century. In accord with the Old Testament story of creation it was believed that the earth was the center of the cosmos and that the sun revolved around it. The stars were lanterns which the angels hung out at night to find their way about, much like the torch bearer of two generations ago who lighted the gas lamps at the street corners of large cities. Copernicus, an astronomer and mathematician, was able to show that the earth revolved about the sun, rotating on its own axis as it did so. This idea did some violence to the notion that the earth was especially created for man, and that the sun, moon, and stars had been placed in the heavens to give him warmth, light, and beauty. The scientific work of Copernicus was carried forward by Galileo who took his new telescope to Florence in order to show the scholars his recently discovered satellites of Jupiter. But the scholars were not at all interested and Galileo complained of them that they could see truth only in the comparison of texts. But after some two hundred years the Church accepted the teaching of Copernicus and Galileo.

Similar scientific studies in geology showed that the formation of the earth was a slow and gradual process, and this revelation was also difficult to reconcile with the creation story of Genesis. Giordano Bruno accepted the Copernican idea of a heliocentric universe, but he did not stop here.

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[10] D. S. Muzzey, *History of the American People*, Boston, 1933, p. 55.

He expanded his ideas with such eloquence, meanwhile criticizing the orthodoxy of the Church, that he was burned at the stake in 1600. But the scientist who did not intrude his ideas too roughly had no difficulty in keeping out of trouble. Sometimes the scientist suffers acutely from apocalyptic vision; he broadcasts his theoretical heresies with no particular recognition of the fact that there is a rather close relation between world outlook, social order, and temporal power. Antony van Leeuwenhoek invented the microscope in the seventeenth century and used it to describe all sorts of little animals he found in vinegar, rainwater, and, in fact, everything else he could place his hands upon. He wrote scientific articles for the British Royal Academy of Science, but he was not especially interested in reforming the world. He was able to go about his business without interference from anyone, except for a few neighbors who thought he was crazy, but this did not bother the famous Dutch lens grinder in the least.

The Church, on the whole, was adaptive and conciliatory as shown in connection with the canon law doctrines of usury, just price, and related economic matters. If tolerance is assumed to be a virtue, it may be added that orthodox Protestant churches have shown no greater sympathy for heresy than the Mother Church. In ethical matters of personal conduct, and attitude toward important questions such as observance of religious obligations on the Sabbath day, the orthodox Protestant Church has been decidedly more severe than the Catholic Church. But this need not imply a value judgment. The problem of determining the proper balance between tolerance and intolerance on all of the great questions which concern mankind in the troubled world of today is no child's play. When the Pope at Rome stated there is no conflict between science and religion, he may have moved a step too far in the direction of liberalism considering his action from the point of view of the future stability and survival power of the Church. Bruno's vision of a thousand universes has come true in an all too literal sense.

The Mechanistic Interpretation of Science

De Laplace, who also conducted scientific work in astronomy and mathematics, used the interesting term "celestial mechanics" to describe the movements, orbits, and relationships of the planets and the stars in the heavens. He laid a substantial foundation for the concept of a self-regulating universe. This work was done at about the close of the eighteenth century. Since then mechanistic interpretations of economic, biological, psychological, sociological, and historical phenomena have been developed with the result that the theory of a self-regulating universe provides an apparent foundation for the whole of knowledge.

The *laissez faire* economists have formulated a mechanistic interpreta-

tion of value, price, and distribution in the terms of supply and demand, namely the balancing of factors in a free and open market which produces a "natural" level in the rates of wages, the rates of interest, rent, salaries of management, and the prices of all kinds of goods. Friedrich List took issue with this theory during the first half of the nineteenth century when he contradicted the position of the free traders and built up a theory of import tariffs for the protection and development of national industry. But the general state of mind in Germany was hostile. List's views were rejected or apathetically ignored; his complete disappointment led to despair and finally suicide.[11]

The mechanics of supply and demand of the classical school of political economy was one of the chief inspirations of Karl Marx who transformed these ideas into the mechanics of class struggle, surplus value, and economic interpretation of history. This was a form of materialistic communism and the result was the expatriation of Marx from Germany, his expulsion from Belgium and France, and the final location of a haven of refuge in London. Here he studied the works of the classical economists in the library of the British Museum, converting the mechanics of *laissez faire* into the mechanics of class struggle and cataclysmic revolution.

Darwin worked in the field of biology about the same time. He developed a mechanistic interpretation of the emergence of the species and the origin of man in a "struggle for existence." Since nature favored the "survival of the fittest," higher types of organic life evolved slowly from lower types. This also violated the belief in the creation myth and aroused a storm of protest in religious circles. But Darwin shrouded his theory with a religious and moral mysticism, describing the evolutionary process as salutary; he conceived of it as nature's way of transforming man into the image of God. Nature's "laws" were thus "revealed" by the more painstaking, fact finding, carefully detailed methods of objective scientific inquiry.

This kind of research work has also developed a mechanistic psychology, a mechanistic sociology, and a mechanistic philosophy of history. The idea of God was identified with nature which now appeared in a more terrifying aspect. Man lost the exalted sense of freedom and the feeling of power which had been built up slowly by the theologians and the metaphysicians. He became an insignificant whirl of electrons and photons, a robot, a speck of dust in the air, a grain of sand on the seashore. Once more he could bow his head in quiet adoration and simple worship. The sublimity of nature and the majesty of God were given a new meaning. Acceptance of the idea of a self-regulating universe was not so hard, but the spirit of fatalistic determinism and the implication of the utter helplessness of man in his struggle with nature was strenuously opposed. This violated not only the

[11] O. Spengler, *The Hour of Decision, op. cit.*, p. 13.

teachings of religion with respect to the freedom of the human will; it violated also the basic premise of science which asserts the unqualified liberty of the human mind in the search for truth and therefore also the dignity and sovereign independence of the individual. No scientist wrestles with nature in search of truth in order to prepare the way for Nirvana, the complete negation of his own personality. Nevertheless, and inadvertently, this is precisely what he has been doing. The god of the scientist turns out to be Frankenstein's monster, the means of his own undoing. And this is why the methods of science are becoming increasingly futile and sterile. Some scientists claim we need more knowledge; yes, of a kind. But the harder truth is clearly evident, namely, that we possess more knowledge than we know how to use effectually. When the methods of science paralyze the will of man, creating an attitude of passive resignation, and culminating in fatalistic despair—nihilism—namely, the negation of personality, there is *nothing* that can be said for them.

Mechanistic Psychology

What of psychology? Early in the present century William James demolished the animistic theory of the soul in a text book intended for college students. This assumption of the theologians, the existence of the soul, made the doctrine of immortality appear plausible. With the loss of this assumption the belief in immortality had nothing left upon which to stand except a highly abstract and evanescent organic theory, such as that of Cooley, who assumed the unity of all mankind and the universal interpenetration of thought and feeling, past, present, and future. Thus every individual was able to achieve immortality in the lives of his fellows who passed his influence on to others, and these in their turn to still others in an endless process of communication. It was believed that Hammurabi as well as the simplest yokel who turned over the soil of Mesopotamia year after year continued to live in the thought and feeling of mankind. This is a grand conception, but from the point of view of theology it is no substitute for the conventional belief in immortality; from the point of view of science it is open to effectual criticism. There is no such universal unity of mankind.

But the psychologists have come to grips with the theologians in other ways. The more mechanical minded among them have created two types of machine; the first is badly run down and outmoded, in fact it appears to be obsolete, while the second is up-to-date, chromium plated, and streamlined. In both cases man is endowed with countless reflexes, simple and complex, innate and acquired. Inherited reflexes and instincts are given the major emphasis in the first conception; in the second, conditioned reflexes and acquired action traits are stressed. One is primarily psycho-physical whereas the other is mainly, if not exclusively, psycho-social.

The central problem is to determine the inhibitors and the excitants of certain definite types of overt observable behavior which the psychologist proceeds to do by experimental methods of study similar to those used in physics and chemistry laboratories. Psychology is conceived as a natural science. The important question is not why certain things are done, but under what conditions. Such terms as mind, soul, and consciousness are concepts, idealized abstractions; they have no scientific validity because of their subjectivity. Phenomena which cannot be observed directly and recorded objectively as sensory impressions are ruled out. Ascertained conclusions, correlations, and laws may be checked and verified just as a student in chemistry demonstrates the law of neutralization of an acid and a metal, or the physicist proves to his satisfaction the truth of Archimedes' principle, or a biologist verifies Mendel's laws of heredity.

Psychology is experimental science and presumably the elements of a given situation may be reproduced and tested according to the desire of the experimenter. Having established the conditions in which people will react in certain ways, nothing remains but to draw the obvious conclusions with respect to the laws governing human behavior. The human organism turns out to be a kind of complex slot machine: a penny in the machine will produce a box of matches, a nickel will bring forth a package of gum, a dime will give a candy bar, while fifteen cents will produce a package of cigarettes. All of this is fatalistic determinism with a vengeance. It is not assumed that man has the ability to will freely. If the reflexes considered are innate, he does what is required by his inherited constitution; if the reflexes considered are conditioned or acquired, he simply behaves according to the wishes of other people.

A brief comparison of these two machines reveals their cultural setting. The first is nothing more than an intellectual symbol of *laissez faire* psychology. It dovetails neatly with Adam Smith's "economic man," with the utilitarian philosophy of John Stuart Mill, with the mechanics of supply and demand of the classical school, with Darwin and Wallace in biological theory, with Rousseau and Spencer in government and philosophy. It is Charles Fourier all over again with somewhat greater precision of statement and a more or less exclusive terminology for the delectable appreciation of the chosen few whose intellectual attainments are sufficiently rare to master the technique. Man is endowed with so many predispositions, instincts, innate reflexes, and general inherited behavior tendencies, and all of these are so salutary and beneficent that the wise statesman simply sits back and lets nature take her course.

But this machine is all but obsolete today. Rust has accumulated, the gears are out of joint, and many of the important parts appear to have been lost. The thing just does not run any more. And so certain psychologists have occupied themselves with a new machine. John B. Watson and J. P.

Pavlov did important work in building it.[12] Instead of a biological fatalism man is faced with an environmental determinism. Instinct has become a bad word, just another one of those intellectual abstractions like soul, mind, and consciousness.[13] It is thrown out of the scientific vocabulary and put into the museum of natural history. Reflexes, particularly conditioned reflexes, are the really important factors of behavior. A dog, permitted to acquire a good appetite, is shown a piece of meat and a bell is rung at the same time. Certain reflexes, such as the flow of saliva, are manifest. After repeating this performance several times the bell is rung without a display of meat. Again the flow of saliva is evident and the conclusion is drawn that the reflex has been conditioned. Any person who has had experience with horses and taken the trouble to observe their behavior could give many similar examples. The behavior of children is of course conditioned and reconditioned in a process of continuous experience, and the same may be said of adults.

One may proceed further and show that an integrated personality is built up in this way, and also that it is broken down in a similar manner. If the environmental excitations are coherent and well organized the conditioned reactions of individuals brought up under these circumstances will be similar; on the other hand, if the stimulations are contradictory and incoherent, the personality will be unstable and the behavior unpredictable. Conflicts in the values of culture produce mental tensions in the individual as shown in the discussion of the isolated sacred and the accessible secular structures. Amoral man, immoral man, liberated man, marginal fixated man, and segmental man are products of the conflict between isolated sacred and the accessible secular structures. The Utopia visualized, actively projected, implied or prudently ignored is quite the reverse of the Utopia of Charles Fourier. The latter is libertarian while the former is authoritarian.

The Dependence of Science upon Culture

It is clearly apparent that the assumptions and the techniques of science are carried along with the movement of the culture of which they are a part. Today the trend is obviously in the direction of some kind of totalitarian co-ordination of all of the aspects of national life. This requires centralization of authority and collective discipline, that is, the conditioning of reflexes

[12] C. A. Ellwood, *Methods in Sociology*, Durham, 1933, p. 40 *et seq.*

[13] Watson considered introspective methods unacceptable. He denied images, rejected feelings, and relegated thought to the realm of "peripheral voci-motor processes." People do their thinking by talking out loud, so to speak. "Even the introspectionist knows that in a great deal of thinking there are actually innervations of the vocal apparatus, the larynx and the tongue. Watson met the problem of thought by supposing that in thinking, and in a great deal of imagining too, the events are verbal and are carried on by 'implicit language responses' —that is to say, by voci-motor movements too small to be recorded by any apparatus then available." E. G. Boring, *A History of Experimental Psychology*, New York and London, 1929, p. 584. Reprinted with permission from D. Appleton-Century Co.

and the reconditioning of conditioned reflexes in ways that will guarantee an integrated personality and a more unified structure of life. At this point the neutrality of science is difficult to maintain. The issues are burning and the passions are aroused. Shall the reflexes be conditioned along the lines of fascism, communism, constitutional monarchy, or constitutional democracy? What can behavioristic psychology contribute toward the solution of these problems? What can any science contribute toward the solution of these problems? To understand man as a mechanism of the second type provides an ethical vindication for authoritarian government. But what kind of authoritarian government? This question is not answered explicitly by the behaviorists.

It may be pointed out that certain implications of the mechanistic theory suggest an answer. In the first place the idea of a soul and of immortality are destroyed as already indicated. Secondly, since man is reduced to the level of a controlled automaton, his ability to will freely is also destroyed. Thirdly, the individual as a self-directing personality capable of rising above the restrictions and limitations of his environment ceases to exist. In the fourth place, the rationalization of inhibitors and excitants is conceived as a problem of science with which religion, theology, and philosophy have nothing whatsoever to do. Fifthly, the sense of freedom and of power built up patiently and slowly by the theologians and the metaphysicians is incompatible with the mechanistic concept. And finally, the consequent feeling of helplessness and futility leads to the complete negation of personality, the result of which is tantamount to nihilism. It is more intelligent to assume, as the *Gestalt* psychologists do, that the whole of personality is greater than the summation of all of its parts, and that the varied elements of behavior are interrelated and interdependent. Feeling, instinct, emotion, will, intelligence, reflex, conditioned reflex, habit, and memory are not separate and independent faculties. They shade into each other, and the resultant behavior is far more varied and complex than the mechanistic theory assumes. In this way one can at least begin to understand the problems of psychology. Personality cannot be completely circumscribed to fit into a prescribed pattern of conditioned reflexes except possibly for people of weak emotional response and low grade of intelligence. Even the loss of a throne, as in the case of Edward VIII, may not prevent a person from throwing over the traces and charting a self-directed course of action.

Sociology as a Scientific Discipline

The sociologists have also had their innings with the leaders of various churches; certain conclusions and theories of sociology have played some havoc with the cherished traditions of religion. Perhaps the most clear-cut example is the doctrine of the relativity of ethical norms. Sumner was able

to show the wide variation in moral beliefs among many tribes of primitive people and various civilizations old and new. It became evident that moral judgments are neither rational nor irrational, but rather nonrational, and, accordingly, that the emotional sanction is controlling rather than the sanction of reason. Things are done in certain ways because they have always been done that way, because they are felt to be right when done that way, because the anger of the gods will fall upon them when they do otherwise, and for other similar reasons which, generally speaking, do not stand the acid test of criticism. Hence the thesis, "the mores can make anything right." Ethics now become the means of adjustment to the conditions of life, matters of expediency, survival techniques, a mechanism of group coherence and welfare which may or may not be effectual in realizing the desired goals.[14]

It is wrong for one person to take the life of another as expressed in the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill." But it is right to do so under certain circumstances, as when a spy is captured in time of war or when a man is guilty of a serious felony. It follows logically that the efficacy of the commandment is relative to circumstances. A stranger may be killed at sight, or he may be shown considerable hospitality depending on the mores. And so with the other commandments of the Mosaic code. According to the Old Testament story, the decalogue was miraculously communicated on Mount Sinai by God himself to Moses who assumed responsibility for passing it on to his people. This legend is rejected by the sociologist who also fails to see evidence to show that accepted values are universal laws, natural or empirical, which people may violate only at their peril. The laws change with the changing mores as shown, for instance, by the present tendency to approve mercy killing. A bill was introduced in Parliament in 1936 with this purpose in view. Infanticide and abortion may be legal and ethically proper. Some people approve of promiscuity before marriage but condemn it afterwards; others do just the opposite; still others disapprove of it in all circumstances. Various kinds of group marriage, child marriage in India, and the practice of wife lending, as among Eskimos, also demonstrate universal variation in the sex codes. Missionaries, anthropologists, and archæologists have provided sufficient examples of these differences in moral teaching to fill a whole library. Surprisingly little has been done with the far more important problems of generalization, interpretation, and synthesis.

When science is conceived as a kind of intellectual spade work, interested mainly in filling up volumes with more or less isolated, disconnected and irrelevant occurrences which are called "facts," it is worse than useless. A custom, such as embalming the dead among ancient Egyptians, is never an isolated way of thinking. It is always related to other customs, to moral

[14] W. G. Sumner, *Folkways, op. cit.*, pp. 59, 60. See also E. S. Bogardus, *A History of Social Thought*, 2nd ed., Los Angeles, 1929, p. 357 *et seq.*

valuations, religious beliefs, political institutions, world outlook, and a philosophy of life. If it is not an integral part of a wider, more inclusive whole called culture, it has no meaning, no significance whatsoever. Too frequently the anthropologist describes an occurrence without much understanding of these all-important relationships to other occurrences. It is to him a "fact," a thing of objective reality, and the impartial method of observation and recording is called "science." Nothing more is described than a peculiar and highly personal relationship between the "scientist" and such aspects of a particular event which happen to make an impression upon him.

The social scientist often declares himself to be ethically neutral; his discussions of social and political phenomena are frequently punctuated with the assertion that value judgments are not implied. He sets things down as they actually happen without regard to the way they might have happened, or the way he would like to have seen them happen. Zeliony, for instance, does not raise the question, why? It is enough for him to answer the question, how? George A. Lundberg conceives of sociology as a "natural science" and he ardently believes that the experimental procedures of quantitative and impersonal measurement as used in physics and chemistry may be developed by the social sciences.[15] Von Wiese and Becker have little regard for what they call "encyclopedic" sociology; value judgments are completely ruled out in their procedure of inquiry. This problem of "science and the mores" is entitled to a brief consideration.

When Sumner described the mores as nonlogical and nonrational, shrouded in mysticism and a feeling of sanctity, beyond the pale of criticism, and acceptable without question, he was manifestly passing judgment upon them. Mores, like folkways, customs, institutions, and laws are means to ends. When the desired ends are served effectually and efficiently, these instruments of societal welfare are described as rational. When they fail to produce the desired results they are obviously irrational. When they appear to exist without any regard to ends whatsoever they are called nonrational. These ends are not easily defined. They include security of life and material possessions; racial perpetuation from generation to generation; the adequate provision of the essential means of livelihood; longevity, prosperity, and a high general standard of living; the conquest of territory, war, peace, distinctive achievement in science and art; the subjugation of the hostile forces of nature; imperial glory, and the wealth, splendor, and power of a ruling class, to mention a few of them. These ends invariably imply values which are often inconsistent and contradictory. When, therefore, the scientist assumes an end or ends as preferable to other ends he necessarily also assumes a value. His passion for avoiding this difficulty may be great, but he cannot help facing it. So he disregards the ends which are nothing more than ideals

[15] G. A. Lundberg, *Social Research*, New York, 1929, Ch. 1.

anyhow, according to his feeling. The "ideal" is just another one of those concepts like soul, mind, instinct, and consciousness. He throws it out of the window without realizing that he simply substitutes a new ideal—the scientific ideal of objectivity—for the old rejected ideals. But this is a minor matter.

The ends of societal structures may be good or bad; let the theologians and the philosophers do the worrying about those problems; they have nothing to do with science. And now the scientist is exclusively concerned with the problem of adapting the means to certain prescribed ends; these ends may be good or bad, but that is no part of his job. An automobile manufacturer desires to build a car of a certain weight which will give a specific performance in the number of miles of travel per gallon of gasoline consumed. He employs the best scientists and engineers that money can buy to solve his problem. The manufacturer passes judgment upon the means as well as upon the ends. This is his privilege under the circumstances. But the scientist passes no judgment upon the end; it is none of his business. He simply works out the problem of contriving the best possible means of realizing the end which is prescribed for him. He continues, however, to evaluate all possible means and works out his problem to the best of his ability.

A "social scientist" may pass judgment upon the mores as means to ends without knowing anything about the ends. This is often done. He may also attribute ends as he conceives them, and not as they actually exist in a historical sense. Manifestly his judgment has no more objective validity in this case than in the first example. In a third instance he may make an honest effort to determine the ends as they are really felt. They may be good, bad, or indifferent; he does not care. His problem is to determine whether the mores are successful in achieving the goal actually held in view. If they are well suited to this purpose, they are described as rational. On the other hand, if they are badly suited and fail to accomplish the desired aim, they are irrational. He becomes an evaluator.

Sociology, says Zeliony, has nothing to do with moral values. The problem is to determine how people will act in certain circumstances, and then to make the correlations, draw the conclusions, and state the laws. But this is a pretty big order. The means—scientific technique—of determining how people will behave under certain pressures and in controlled conditions may be good, bad, or indifferent. The scientist is bound to evaluate these techniques of inquiry. They do not fall from heaven all ready-made like snowflakes.

But there is one more significant point to all of this; the scientist as scientist has his own end which is invariably characteristic of his work provided he is a true scientist. This end is to wrest from a wistful, beguiling, and reluctant nature her precious secrets. And this is not usually a matter

of seeking truth for truth's sake. It is often a much more human and a much less godly enterprise. The manifest aim is nothing less than the conquest of nature by a method which is harder, colder, more direct, and less roundabout than the methods of the theologians and the metaphysicians. The implicit aim is the achievement of a greater degree of liberty of action and of security of life. And this is an evaluation. Not only the means, but also the ends are consciously or inadvertently evaluated. The scientist can no more avoid the explicit and implicit values of the situations he is instrumental in creating than he can avoid being human.

Science evaluates science. Here there is some hope, some faith, some recognition of the unbending purpose of man. To say that science is ethically neutral is, in the last analysis, nothing more or less than the complete negation of personality, a fatalistic determinism which denies the dignity and the freedom of man. Nirvana is the sly goddess who seduces the scientist, and nihilism is the inadvertent consequence. Science becomes a soporific. What are the scientists afraid of, and why do they often appear so suspicious of new ideas? In extreme cases they give the impression of pusillanimous bipeds, furtively concealing their precious techniques behind a smoke screen of "neutral" and colorless terminology. Is it in order to preserve the finality of their "sacred" conclusions? The true scientist continues to be open minded, and this is also the great characteristic of the true theologian, the true metaphysician, and the true philosopher. Our world today is not so rich that we can afford to do without any of them, providing of course they have something to say that is worth hearing.

Today the age-old conflict between science and religion is waning perceptibly. This trend is shown by the statement of Pope Pius XI, already quoted, who said that there can be no conflict between science and religion. In religious circles this same trend is indicated by a broader, more comprehensive interpretation of creed and worship. It is less dogmatic, and permits the possible acceptance of scientific theories and conclusions hitherto rejected. On the side of science there are many signs of a growing recognition of the inadequacy of purely mechanistic conceptions. The truth is often recognized that science, like religion, is an adventure in faith.

The Cultural Basis of Science

Every science makes certain assumptions with regard to the nature of the phenomena investigated, and these assumptions are invariably generalizations based upon a limited experience. Generalizations of this kind are often far beyond the scope of purely scientific means of inquiry. They can neither be proven nor disproven in a scientific sense; they are simply felt to be true and there is little more to be said about them. A follower of some particular religion believes the stars are the camp fires of departed spirits. This is a

generalization based upon the association of certain objects and their attributes—the stars in this instance—with the obvious elements of actual, direct experience—camp fires in this case. The reasoning process is a pure analogy based upon the principle of resemblance. It is this same "law of similarity" which underlies magic, sympathetic as well as mimetic, as shown by the basic belief that like produces like, or that a cause resembles its effect. In the case of sympathetic magic an additional principle is introduced, namely the association of ideas by contiguity in space or time.

And so also in science. The procedure, the direction of inquiry, and the conclusions ascertained all depend upon the assumptions with regard to the nature of matter, the nature of spatial relationships, the nature of man, the nature of energy, and so on. All of this has been shown conclusively. The Greeks conceived of the relationships between objects in space as existing only within the sense perceptible limits. The idea that things could exist beyond the sense perceptible limits was foreign to them. Euclidean geometry was developed on this premise, and so was Greek sculpture, architecture, and the idea of the city-state. Olympus was the visible home of the gods and these were conceived in a conspicuously anthropomorphic way. Greek divinities were human, much like the Greeks themselves. Aristotle, who was a tutor of Alexander the Great, according to tradition, and familiar with the latter's imperial conquests, never recognized the validity of empire as a form of government. He continued to think in terms of the city-state which was, to him, the ideal form of political association. Political change was described as a process that went on in closed cycles. The concept of progress, so strongly emphasized in the Western world, and the corresponding idea of evolution, in the post-Darwinian sense, are entirely lacking in the work of Plato and Aristotle. Forms of art best suited to their world feeling were sculpture, drama, ornamentation, and architecture. In these fields of creative expression the Greeks did their best work. Music and landscape painting were not developed appreciably by them. It appears evident that Greek art also expresses perfection of form within the sense perceptible limits, a world feeling for the finite rather than the infinite.

Europeans, on the other hand, conceive of objects in space and the relationships between them as existing beyond the sense perceptible limits. This conception expresses a world feeling for the infinite rather than the finite. No Greek could have understood the problem of an infinite mathematical series, or the problem of an alegbraic sum raised to the n^{th} power. Upon such a premise it was possible to construct a differential calculus, formerly unknown. No previous civilization had ever circumvented the globe and explored the far greater part of the earth's surface as the European succeeded in doing. Not satisfied with his own eyes he invented artificial ones, telescopes and microscopes, to peer into the impenetrable distance and to identify the tiniest things ever known to man. Gothic cathedrals, with

their spires pointing far into the heavens, express the same longing of the dream-heavy soul in the Springtime of its being. Over the entire countryside every little village and hamlet had its church, and every church its steeple. No past civilization has done anything at all with music and landscape painting comparable to the work of Western Europeans. The symphony orchestra and the grand opera are Western creations. Music as an artistic medium is particularly suited to express the world feeling for the reality which exists beyond the senses. For music drifts on into endless space; it is a tie between the soul of man and the spirit of God. And all of this is also characteristic of landscape painting. Philosophy, theology, and metaphysics exalt the freedom of man and the independent dignity of his being far beyond the achievement of any other civilization. In this way man was spiritually fitted for the great task of conquering the infinite. No civilization has ever released such terrific energy for creative work in the mastery of nature. No people ever felt so jealously or guarded so fanatically their liberty of action to rise above the limitations of their immediate environment. No people ever emphasized so strongly the idea of progress.

Science does not stand alone in the culture of any people, and the effort to place it upon a high pedestal above religion and philosophy is surely doomed.[16] It expresses the premises of a world outlook, the deepest longing of a people, the spirit of a culture, but so do religion, philosophy, and art.

The Centrifugal Effects of Science

Religion creates a universe and gives birth to science which in turn creates a multiverse. Religion is authoritarian while science becomes increasingly libertarian. The unqualified freedom of the human intellect to seek the truth and to express the truth without regard to tradition appears as the one essential condition of scientific achievement. But there is another condition, equally if not more important, namely, the vitality and integrity of the culture of which science is necessarily a part. Science tends to become increasingly discordant and divisive; it differentiates as it grows into a thousand divisions and subdivisions. With the loss of the culture which creates it, science necessarily disappears. Because of the multiplicity of trees people

[16] Among the Greeks the movement from theological to metaphysical and from metaphysical to positive-scientific procedures of reasoning is clearly discernible. Greek polytheism led to the assumption of a divine force superior to the gods themselves. Speculative interest in the nature of this force produced systems of thought—philosophies—which were obviously metaphysical. Water, fire, air, and earth were conceived to possess an inherent spiritual force defined as the supreme cause of all things. By the fourth century pure reason became the supreme creative force, the god of the universe. Stoicism identified natural law with the rule of reason while Epicureanism denied the existence of the gods and emphasized the search for physical causes. This was the age of science. Stoicism originated in the materialism of the Sophists and the Cynics, but by the third century it became definitely mystical and religious in outlook. This was the beginning of an age which corresponds to Europe and America today. Spengler calls it the second religiousness. See Spengler, *Decline of the West, op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 310-314; also Hedger and others, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-183.

lose sight of the woods. Perspective vanishes. All sense of direction is destroyed.

In the nineteenth century the authorship, origin, date, and place of composition of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* became the subject of scientific controversy in Europe. This was called the "Homeric Question."[17] The scholars studied, wrangled, and wrote criticism until whole libraries were filled with their discordant wisdom. This same divisive and centrifugal tendency occurred in connection with the so-called "higher criticism" of the Bible which aimed to identify the true authorship, origin, and historical significance of the various books of the Old and New Testaments. Again whole libraries were filled with the inconsistent conclusions of the higher critics. Similarly the scholars have written erudite treatises on the authorship of Shakespeare's plays, some believing that Francis Bacon was the true author. Competition for recognition, and friendly rivalry for the discovery of some hidden, hitherto unrevealed truth has animated scientific circles in all fields of inquiry. A most prodigious accumulation of learned works, some good, some bad, and others neither very good nor very bad, inevitably took place. Every scientist appeared to be living in a separate world all of his own. Perchance the scientist had his disciples. In this event each world became a school. But now the disciple took issue with his master on fundamental principles. He became an apostate, carried some of his master's disciples with him and inaugurated a new school. Hence schools of history, schools of social theory, economic theory, political theory, psychology, biology, physics, chemistry, and even philosophy. The Protestant Reformation introduced the same divisive and discordant tendencies in religion; but each new church held valiantly to its own creed even after a series of schisms split the membership in two a dozen times. Authority within each denomination maintained unity of outlook and at least a semblance of coherent structure.

But the scientist recognizes no authority other than the inner light of his own wisdom. In the work of the fine arts a similar differentiating and disintegrating trend has been evident for a longer time. There are more "schools" of painting than there are schools of political theory. In philosophy the situation is similar, and so also in educational theory. Further illustration is unnecessary. The obvious consequence of all of this is the gradual, perhaps imperceptible disintegration of the mother culture. When the culture is in a state of collapse the individual is demoralized; he loses his identity because he has nothing with which to identify himself. Personality disintegrates and life loses its meaning. This is the *anomie* of modern life, described by several authors, among them Elton Mayo in *The Problems of an Industrial Civilization*.[18] This anonymous personality, or rather lack of personality, is synonymous with the fellaheen of Oswald Spengler—the thou-

[17] Trever, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
[18] Elton Mayo, *The Problems of an Industrial Civilization, op. cit.*

sands of aimless, homeless, wandering men who crowd the large cities of decadent civilizations. The light of the candle flickers and burns out and there is nothing left but eternal sleep.

In the Western world today submission to a disciplined, intelligent and consolidated authority, a leadership that is strong and competent and yet flexible enough to assume responsibility for a collective discipline and the general co-ordination and unification of all aspects of the national culture, appears to be the only open road to freedom, the preservation, integration, and re-creation of personality. But this is the problem of the modern state and will be discussed in the following chapter.

Problem Questions

1. Why are soldiers, sailors, and baseball players more superstitious than most people? Is it possible to rationalize these superstitious beliefs?

2. How do you account for the fact that many people who consider superstitions to be ridiculous, nevertheless persist in believing in them?

3. Point out certain resemblances and differences between (1) magic and science, (2) magic and religion, (3) religion and science.

4. Why do people persist in their magical beliefs even after repeated experiences show that they are unreliable?

5. How can one account for the fact that a distinguished scientist, such as Sir Oliver Lodge, may also be a firm believer in the methods and conclusions of psychical research?

6. How would you distinguish between science as religion and science as philosophy?

7. Does a "medium" actually establish communication between the living and the dead?

8. What is meant by mental telepathy? Is there substantial and reliable data to show that mental telepathy actually occurs?

9. Is it possible to reconcile the mechanistic views of science with the assumptions of religion?

10. What is meant by the Heisenberg principle? (See page 39.) Does this principle prove that the quantitative methods of science are unreliable?

11. What is meant by the concept of a "self-regulating universe"? Has this theory been demonstrated?

12. How does the method of the theologian differ from the method of the metaphysician and the method of the scientist in ascertaining truth?

13. Is it true that people do their thinking by "talking out loud" as Watson assumes? (See note 13.)

14. Has the influence of science upon the common life been totally beneficent and helpful in all respects?

15. Is it possible for the social scientists to employ to advantage the same experimental methods developed by the natural scientists?

16. Can the social scientist ignore either the historical method of inquiry or the statistical method of inquiry?

17. Contrast the possibilities of an experimental psychology with an experimental sociology.

18. Show that the methods and conclusions of science depend upon certain assumptions which cannot be demonstrated in an objective sense.

19. Do the methods of positive science include or preclude intuitive methods of arriving at certain conclusions?

20. Show how Greek science, art, and philosophy are related to certain assumptions intuitively established.

21. Show that European science, art, and philosophy are related to certain assumptions intuitively established.

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32

POLITICS AND THE STATE

DANIEL WEBSTER ONCE said that politics and religion are the only subjects worthy of the attention of a man of matured judgment. So many diverse matters engage the interest of men in the world today that this statement appears to be little more than a curious anachronism. There is, nevertheless, a good deal that can be said to support Webster's view even though the omission of business appears to be a serious blunder. The hard fact emerges, however, that a religio-political interpretation of history offers a more fruitful and reliable hypothesis than the Marxian economic interpretation of history. And this is quite as true today as it was a century ago.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF POLITICS

It is generally recognized that there is such a thing as a sociology of politics and a sociology of the state. No pretense is made that this general subject can be treated adequately within the scope and limits of an introductory presentation of sociology. Enough may be said in a single chapter to show the significant relationships between the study of politics and the study of sociology. For the student who seeks further light in understanding these problems, nothing better is available in the English language than Charles E. Merriam's *Political Power*.[1] This is a study of the sociology and also, to some extent, the psychology of politics. It is singularly objective in spirit as well as in fact.

The sociology of politics is based squarely upon the politics of nature, and the assertion may be made tentatively that the politics of man is a continuation of the politics of nature. This was suggested 2,300 years ago when Aristotle said that man is a political animal. In the course of making his adjustments to the conditions of life as they actually exist, man finds it highly expedient and desirable to articulate his efforts with the efforts of others. This is necessary, or felt to be necessary, in order to provide the means of livelihood, avoid constant strife, reduce the perils of existence, give to offspring the care required for survival and to guarantee some measure of security of life. Herein lies the birth of power, of leadership, and of politics. Relationships of domination and submission are everywhere

[1] Merriam, *Political Power, op. cit.*

apparent since the necessary co-ordination of activity calls for the identification of certain responsibilities with particular persons. Archæologists have unearthed curious batons of command in their painstaking research and shown that primitive tribes of people have their leaders and rulers.

There is no need to assume the existence of an instinct of domination, an ego instinct or an instinct of self-assertion; neither is it necessary to assume the existence of instincts of submission, gregariousness, or self-abasement. Feelings of superiority, pride, self-importance, elation and personal grandeur together with the ambivalent feelings of dependence, inferiority, humility, and the duty of obedience are manifest among all peoples. Some persons possess the physical, mental, and moral qualities which give them the power to command; other people learn to follow with devotion, patriotism, and even the most fanatical self-denial in extreme cases. These traits are accentuated and organized by the *credenda* and *miranda* of power. But the differences in individual equipment, inherited and acquired, are sufficient to account for the rôles respectively of leaders and followers in every kind of group. This holds for the family, which is the smallest unit of political order, all the way up to the national state which is the largest and most inclusive unit of power.

Political institutions, including the state, have their origin in a human process of reciprocal interaction, and in this respect they are just like all other institutions. Since the social process differentiates leaders and followers, and imposes relationships of mutual obligation upon them, it follows that some form of political structure is bound to arise wherever human beings are associated in groups. Politics is implicit in human nature and this is the meaning of Aristotle's dictum. Certain human traits such as hunger, love, anger, fear, and parental concern for offspring are evident everywhere. These lead to the formation of groups and structures of life in which the subordination of the individual to the more inclusive good of the greater whole is taken for granted. Society is not created for the individual; the vanity and egoism of persons who think that such is the case—Louis XIV said *"L'état c'est moi"*—may lead to megalomania and paranoic delusions of personal grandeur. On the contrary, the individual is created for society, as expressed in the lucid remark of Frederick the Great who said, *"Ich bin der erste Diener meiner Staates,"* and when this salutary understanding is generally violated and contradicted, the essential articulation of effort and activity begins to disappear.[2] Society ceases to exist, and since man is dependent upon society for his physical existence, his spiritual nur-

[2] This teaching has been expressed by many great religious leaders. Jesus of Nazareth is quoted as having said that the first shall be last and the last shall be first; that the greatest of all is the servant of all; that the man who would save his life loses it whereas the man who would lose his life saves it. A certain rich man seeking salvation was told to give all that he possessed to the poor and to follow Jesus, that is, to subordinate his personal desires to an all-enveloping impersonal ideal.

ture, and personal identity, he also ceases to exist. It is not enough to say that the whole is greater than the summation of all of its parts.

> Every state is a community of some kind, and every community is established with a view to some good; for mankind always act in order to obtain that which they think good. But if all communities aim at some good, the state or political community, which is the highest of all, and which embraces all the rest, aims, and in a greater degree than any other, at the highest good.
>
> Hence it is evident that the state is a creation of nature, and that man is by nature a political animal. And he who by nature and not by mere accident is without a state, is either above humanity or below it; he is the
>
> "Tribeless, lawless, hearthless one,"
>
> whom Homer denounces—the outcast who is a lover of war; he may be compared to *a bird which flies alone*.[3]

The Movement of Political Forms: A Cultural Parallelism

But the form of articulation—community—varies greatly. There are hordes, some of them endogamous and others exogamous; clans and tribes, some metronymic, others patronymic, and still others a combination of both. Tribal society stands in marked contrast to feudal society, since kinship is the significant factor in the former whereas the allegiance of vassal to lord is decisive in the latter. There are absolute monarchies, aristocracies, theocracies, constitutional monarchies, oligarchies, and several forms of democratic government as well. What are the relationships between these forms of government? Aristotle sponsored the conception of a closed political cycle. Absolute monarchy gives way to limited monarchy or aristocracy, and when this form of government degenerates into oligarchy, democratic institutions arise. Constitutional democracy with a limited suffrage is followed by a "pure" democracy with extended suffrage. In the course of time democratic procedures prove to be unwieldy and cumbersome whereupon the people demand an undivided authority, a dictator, or tyrant as Aristotle called him. And now the closed cycle is in position to start all over again. But Aristotle did not see the relationship between these political changes and the successive phases in the movement of the culture as organism. Actually, Greek and Roman politics moved through a series of interdependent forms of government which closely parallels the history of Europe. Allen B. West states the situation succinctly when he describes the history of Greece as the history of modern Europe in miniature.[4]

Kings were absolute sovereigns in the days of Homer; they were military

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[3] *The Politics of Aristotle*, translation by Jowett, Oxford, 1885, pp. 1, 4. Reprinted with permission from Oxford University Press. Italics are mine.

[4] Hedger and others, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

leaders, lawgivers, judges, and priests combined in one person. But the ancient Greek feudal nobility was able to place certain restrictions upon the authority of the monarch thus creating a rule of aristocracy. Parallel limitations were placed upon the authority of the monarch about the middle of the thirteenth century when a powerful group of German vassals assumed the prerogative of electing the German king. These vassals are known in history as Electors. In 1215, when *Magna Charta* became the basic law of England after a revolt of the barons, a similar form of rule was established. Actual power was transferred from King John to a Parliament of vassals composed of great lords and leaders of the Church in the upper house and a gentry in the lower house. A significant difference arose in the fact that the English Parliament became the basis of national development whereas the Greeks never departed from their miniature city-states. But Greek nobles alone were members of the king's advisory council and in a position to assume full control of law and administration. They created an aristocratic state which often assumed the form of oligarchy and paralleled the mercantilistic national states of Europe which arose in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

As time went on wealthy farmers, merchants, and artisans made substantial contributions to military success in time of war. They constituted a middle class power which successfully challenged the rule of the nobility and slowly established democratic forms of government. The corresponding movement in Europe is well known. When the masses were able later to exploit these democratic forms for their own ends at the expense of the wealthy citizens, the decline of democracy became apparent. In the fourth century Demosthenes accused his fellow citizens of selfishness, cowardice and political apathy and gave testimony that the decline of democracy was in full swing. Military dictators and absolute monarchs completed the historical cycle from about the close of the fourth century B.C. The imperial triumphs of Philip and Alexander belong to this period. History teaches conclusively that there is a similar rhythmic and cyclical movement in the political structure of all high cultures, but Aristotle's knowledge did not extend beyond the Hellenistic world.

The succession of political forms intervening between the tribal patriarchate and the fellaheen of decadent civilization is not primarily a product of social telesis. It is a product of nature which arises with the favorable conjuncture of race and soil. In all cases it is marked at the beginning by a definitive organization of nobility, priesthood, and peasantry. Carried along with the culture of which it is an organic part, it buds and blooms forth in great achievement. And this achievement is invariably symbolic of an inner spirit, —a world feeling and a world outlook,—which places its unmistakable stamp upon religion, science, and art as well as upon politics. A lily is not to be confused with an orchid or a rose. The city-state of the Greek and the

national state of the European express this distinctive difference of spirit in the realm of politics. Every high culture has a characteristic physiognomy.

The Politics of Nature

The politics of man, at its best, is a continuation of the politics of nature. But what in particular is this politics of nature? It is evident, for one thing, in the great disparity between the potential capacity for reproduction and the actual rate of survival in all of the types of organic life. One great oak tree produces acorns enough in a single year to grow a whole forest of trees. But only a few of these make their attachment to the soil. They compete for the moisture and life-giving chemistry of the earth, for shade and sunlight, directing their growth to the best possible advantage in the circumstances. It is this *tropismic* freedom of movement, within the limits imposed, and the consequent struggle for self-realization and survival, which constitutes the politics of nature in the world of plants. The growth of roots, of branches and foliage, of blossoms and fruit appears to have an almost conscious aim as the highest possible fulfillment of growth and destiny is realized. Every available advantage of soil and moisture, of warmth, light and shade is taken, and likewise every corresponding disadvantage is compensated so far as this is possible. But even so the mortality is high. Nature is far more concerned with the survival of the type than with the safety of the individual. A young fruit tree transplanted from one spot to another is likely to be covered with blossoms the first year and then die of sheer exhaustion before the root system becomes established. Nature's purpose is realized in a measure even though suicide is committed in the process.

This same principle is evident in the animal kingdom where the *instinctive* range of movement is wider and the possibilities of favorable adjustment are correspondingly greater. A female fish lays millions of eggs, but only a small proportion is ever hatched. Of these a still smaller number reach maturity. Meanwhile the organism is directed instinctively to realize the fullest possibilities of growth and reproduction within the limits imposed. The conditions with respect to warmth, light, food and hostile species differ greatly and the mortality is high, but the organism in its very nature takes the greatest possible advantage of these circumstances. Rivalry, conflict, and struggle for growth, and the fulfillment of all inherent possibilities are obvious and inevitable aspects of the life-process among animals as well as plants. This is also true of human individuals, of families, races, classes, nations, and cultures.

The gardener, and one may add, the breeder, trainer, and domesticator of animals, are experts when they have a good understanding of these relationships between the possibilities which lie dormant within the type and the circumstances best suited to complete development. No two types of

plant are exactly alike with regard to the most favorable conditions of soil, moisture, temperature, light, and shade. The differences are often marked. But a Luther Burbank who understands the possibilities in relation to the circumstances can work "wonders"; and so also the breeder, domesticator, and trainer of animals.

A statesman is just such a gardener. He knows his people, the circumstances in which they thrive, the limits of their possibilities as they actually exist, and he directs his policies and diplomacy with a view of creating precisely those conditions which best favor the complete realization of their potential powers. Human history is never devoid entirely of conscious purpose, of teleology. But the nature of the organism is always the *vital* factor; social telesis is complementary. A gardener does not try to raise pear trees from onion seed; similarly a breeder and trainer of race horses understands the limits of the possibilities and directs his attention accordingly. Silken purses are not made from cowhide; every good teacher likes to have responsive and intelligent students. When the leaders of a people can see nothing but their own advantage which they nourish zealously and push forward with skill and energy, they may be politicians in a sense; but they are not statesmen. And when they consciously exploit the passions, prejudice and ignorance of people simply to realize their private ambitions they are called demagogues.

A statesman is always at his best—in good form we say—when he is ready and willing to sacrifice everything personal, even to the extent of his life, for the good of his people. But the road to hell is often paved with good intentions. Besides a high moral fibre and integrity of outlook he must possess an intuitive understanding of situations and the capacity for decisive action in moments of tension. These qualities call for the most careful selection, intensive training, and an example of discipline and courage which is contagious. Leaders of this type command attention. Oliver Cromwell was rude and unattractive in many ways; his clothes were cheap homespun, his countenance reddish and swollen and his voice was rasping; but his passionate earnestness, his fervid eloquence and inexhaustible energy made him "very much hearkened unto." But the masses of a population cannot be relied upon to show the necessary discrimination in the selection of leaders. Too many red herrings skew the line of vision; people are organized in hundreds of voluntary associations with conflicting programs; newspapers have no aim but to create their own publics; problems are complex and the human resources are all too limited. And therefore it is true that intelligent leaders must create their own organs for the desired control and direction of public opinion. They are best able to govern others after they have mastered the rigorous discipline of self-rule.

Political action which is conceived in relation to the possibilities of the future growth and achievement of a united people, and which is based upon

the meticulous selection, intensive training and rigorous discipline of a ruling class, is, in Germany, called *Hochpolitic*. There is no English equivalent of this term; "high politics" may mean anything or nothing. It implies a governing aristocracy. The statement may be repeated at this point, that the politics of man, at its best, is continuous with the politics of nature. It does not aim to violate the laws of nature; it aims rather to fulfill them even to the point of conquering nature. Its finest manifestation parallels and encourages the fruition of a high culture in religion and philosophy, law and government, science, discovery and invention, the industrial arts, the professions, and the fine arts.

The Struggle for Survival

There can be no doubt that favorable conjunctures of race and soil have produced rival cultures some of which have thrived while others have perished in the struggle for growth and power: the Aztecs and Mayas of Mexico and South America were overwhelmed by the Spanish invaders led by Hernando Cortez early in the sixteenth century. Nature is more concerned that the strongest shall survive than that all shall survive. The problem of disentangling the many scattered strands of the rival cultures which appeared in Asia Minor and the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea before the time of Christ—Hittite, Armenian, Hebrew, Arabian, Persian, Phoenician, Assyrian, Babylonian, Chaldean, and Sumerian—can be approached only on this premise. There is nothing in nature which foreshadows eternal peace, Elysian fields, and green pastures. In the last analysis politics is little more than the fine art of offense and defense. Every statesman understands this. People who are unable or unwilling to protect and defend themselves in competition and conflict with rival nations or cultures which strive energetically and instinctively toward growth and power are bound to perish in the struggle. If the meek ever inherit the earth, as we are told in the Beatitudes, it is not because of their shyness; it is rather because of their strength and willingness to fight. A nation is in good form when no other nation dares to attack it.

The Political Meaning of Language

The distinguishing characteristic of man is a *conscious* direction of movement which stands in marked contrast to the tropismic response of plants, and the instinctive behavior of animals. In this way the scope and freedom of action of the human type is greatly enlarged. There are three significant aspects of this conscious direction of movement, each of which will be discussed briefly in its turn: (1) the manipulation of the verbal symbols of a spoken and a written language, (2) the invention and utilization of a great variety of mechanical techniques of offense and defense,

(3) the development and adaptation of an equally great variety of social techniques.

Man's power of political organization is immeasurably enhanced by his ability to invent and utilize to advantage the verbal symbols of a spoken language, and, later in the course of evolution, a written language. So great is the power of the "word" in the advanced periods of culture history that everything—religion, science, art, and education as well as books, pamphlets, magazines, newspapers, and radio broadcasts—are conceived as propaganda. Effectual use of the language, in public speech as well as in written form, becomes an indispensable condition of successful leadership. Mussolini, Hitler, and Roosevelt are masters of words and phrases, like Mark Antony of old who came "to bury Caesar, not to praise him" and successfully turned a hostile public into a sympathetic one.

Political Significance of Mechanical Techniques

In the second place, man's freedom of action and power of political organization is also greatly enlarged in scope and effectiveness by the invention and utilization of mechanical techniques. These include contrivances of all kinds: lacking power of long distance vision he builds himself a telescope; similarly a microscope for things too small for the naked eye to detect; he converts himself into a deep sea monster by building submarines, and into a powerful bird of the air with his dirigibles and aeroplanes. His normal and natural rate of locomotion hardly exceeds four miles per hour, but his locomotives and automobiles carry him across country at the astonishing rate of a hundred miles per hour. He crosses the Atlantic in four days by means of a modern ocean liner and in half that time in a dirigible. Cable, telephone, wireless, and radio communication bring all accessible regions of the earth within a moment's notice of each other. The most deadly and destructive lethal weapons have been contrived to facilitate the means of offense and defense while a highly mechanized manufacturing industry performs incredible marvels in the efficient production of all of these things.

When the Japanese people opened trade and intercourse with the Western world at the middle of the last century and shortly afterward sent their best brains to European and American universities and technical schools, they pursued the only course that was available for transforming a helpless nation into a sovereign power. More recently, when the Russians adopted their first five-year plan and industrialized the nation, they too were following the only possible policy to wean Russia from her formerly abject dependence upon European technology. These economic policies are essentially political. They have no adequate meaning unless they are interpreted in this sense.

Political Significance of Social Techniques

But there is a third factor which greatly increases man's freedom of political action: his ability to invent and utilize the necessary social techniques of offense and defense. These include cabinet diplomacy, intensive military training, co-ordinated production and distribution of wealth, the control of press, education, and public opinion, and the enactment of legislation which safeguards the independent judgment and the liberty of action of a sovereign power. All of this concerns internal relationships. Social techniques which aim to protect the established political position of a nation or nations, or to improve this position by external action include peace treaties, such as the Versailles' "instrument of security," leagues of nations and world courts, treaties to outlaw war, of which the Kellogg-Briand pact is an outstanding example, the ill fated Locarno treaty, outright military and naval alliances, understandings and gentlemen's agreements together with written treaties of nonaggression, trade treaties and agreements which provide for joint consultation, arbitration and conciliation when serious disputes are pending. All of these social techniques, internal as well as external, are political instruments—extensions of the politics of nature—or else they are nothing at all significant. The verbal techniques of propaganda, and the mechanical techniques of production, communication, and transportation are also political instruments—extensions of the politics of nature—which seek every advantage and compensate for every disadvantage in the great struggles of sovereign powers for freedom, survival, and supremacy.[5]

The Development of Language and Writing

Somewhere in the evolutionary process a conscious distinction was made between an abstract verbal symbol and the object, quality or situation which it designated. Before this notable discovery first dawned upon some emotionally enlivened imagination, language symbols could have been little more than spontaneous organic reactions; cries, gestures, facial grimaces, natural expressions of feeling, such as love, anger or fear; mimicry and the association in experience of certain expressions with certain objects or situations, and the subsequent reflexive use of these same expressions to designate the objects or situations with which they were identified in memory. All of this is "monkey language," the gibberish little children quickly learn when they play together repeatedly and which no one else is able to under-

[5] An example of this principle of compensation is the so-called "pocket battleship" of Germany. The 250 ton submarine which operates on the surface and below with a single engine compensates for the limitation of tonnage agreed upon in a treaty with England. In the field of social techniques there is no better example of compensation than the doctrine of nonviolence or nonresistance propounded by Leo Tolstoi, developed into philosophy by gifted pacifists, and adapted for use by Mahatma Gandhi in the struggle of India for independence from British rule.

stand. But the recognition of the symbol as abstract made possible the invention and rapid multiplication of new symbols, and therefore also the expression of new meanings and the more effectual mobilization of the mental resources of a group for common purposes. With the exchange of ideas and feelings greatly facilitated in this way, leadership possessed a tool, a medium of command, which greatly enhanced the definitive articulation of effort. Language became a storehouse of experience, a vehicle for the communication of tradition, and a primary agency of socialization at the same time. It gave power to the leader, and strength to the group. But the origin of language in this sense is lost in mystery.

The spoken language thus becomes a tie that binds together the present with the past and thereby gives greater coherence and stability to a group. It is moreover a means of combining old ideas in new ways thus giving greater flexibility and adaptability to a group. But so long as there is no written language the record of the past is dependent mainly, if not entirely, upon memory. Written language became the means of preserving an authentic record. With it people developed a sense of history and of time. They were in position now to solve some of the problems of time, to invent a calendar, to devise systems of measuring and counting, units of value in the exchange of goods, and more definite ideas with respect to personal possessions.

There is no space to recount fully the various methods of preserving authentic records. Indians "talked into the wampum" by weaving certain patterns commemorative of events. Such records were little more than reminders, but when many signs or symbols—conventionalized pictures—were used to designate ideas, a more complete story of past events became possible. In the more complicated ideographic writing of the Chinese each picture or symbol represents a complete word, not an idea. Thus it was possible to combine words into sentences with due regard for grammatical structure and form. When the symbols stand for a syllable, as in the writing of the Japanese, a large number of words can be represented by a much smaller number of signs. But an alphabetic language, as in the case of our own, represents thousands of words in 26 letters. It is therefore the most flexible of all in the efficient expression of all kinds of meanings. Words may be combined to denote new objects or meanings as the English word, "hairpin," in the case of an object, or the German word, *"Bezugweltanschauungsgesetzlehre,"* in the case of an abstract expression.[6]

Writing gave authority to tradition and tradition to authority. Since the record was eternal, or conceived as such, it made possible the long look into the past, and what is equally, if not more important, the long look into the future. People, like the Egyptians, with a feeling of appreciation for eternal

[6] This word was put together in the year 1936 as a preferable substitute for the *"Relativitätstheorie"* made famous by Albert Einstein.

values and great distances, constructed tombs and temples and preserved the bodies, and therewith also, the memories of their dead, for all time. Position is established for the development of cuneiform and hieroglyphics, for the invention of paper and the press, and hence also, in due time, the book, the pamphlet, and the newspaper which is made available to everyone. When the "Word" is sacred and an official class of priests is the sole custodian of the sacred, the authority of ruler is hallowed and indivisible. The division of labor is fixed, and a universal discipline of effort becomes articulate. Law, government, religion, art, and science express the deeply felt longing of a people to scale the heights of history.

The Development of Mechanical Techniques

A similar account with regard to the mechanical techniques has been given by the anthropologists and the archæologists. It need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that the political history of man may be written in the terms of his material equipment: his tools, weapons, habitation, clothing, and ornament. The eolithic period is shrouded in mystery, but the old stone age—paleolithic—the new stone age—neolithic—and the use of metals, chiefly copper, bronze, and iron, appear to stand in broad successive relationships to each other. It has been said that the history of man is the history of his tools, and this is well so far as it goes, but the high cultures of history have not developed their mechanical techniques along the same lines. No earlier culture achieved anything at all comparable to the inventive genius of the European. He has literally scaled the heights, and the depths as well, and no stepladder—orthogenetic or monotypical—theory of the evolution of culture, no theory of cultural diffusion which aims to trace everything accomplished by man to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, is sufficient to account for this difference.[7]

Western technology stands as a record of distinguished achievement, like the writing of history, which far surpasses the corresponding work of any other culture, and it cannot be explained except in the terms of an inherent racial genius, a world feeling and a world outlook which aims at nothing less than the realization of a great destiny, the conquest of infinity, the domination of nature. Why should a party of young English adventurers plan to climb to the summit of Mount Everest in the Himalayas, the highest mountain in the world, which rises 29,000 feet above sea level, if not for the sheer joy of accomplishing a feat which appears to everyone as impossible? Men have perished in the effort, but this does not prevent others from attempting what their predecessors tried and failed to do. And this is the spirit of Western technology, the same spirit that animates the genius be-

[7] For examples of orthogenetic series see R. T. Ely, *Studies in the Evolution of Industrial Society*, New York, 1903, Part 1; L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, New York and London, 1877.

hind the telescope, the microscope, the steam engine, the dynamo, the combustion engine, the dirigible, the cable, the telephone, the high tension transmission line, and wireless communication. Oswald Spengler coined the apt phrase "Faustian Techniques" to designate this spirit and its embodiment. It is politics, the politics of the European-American, even though it is currently interpreted as economics and the "infernal machine" which separates the worker from his means of livelihood.

Development of Social Techniques

It is evident at this point that the mechanical techniques as well as the verbal techniques of an oral and a written language have greatly enlarged the scope and the liberty of man's political action. This conscious direction of movement which distinguishes the politics of man from the politics of plants and animals is further elaborated in the realm of the social techniques. There is no need to give a mystical interpretation to any of these procedures and instruments of adjustment if that is what a sociologist desires to call them. At bottom all of them are neuropsychic techniques of individuals, behavior patterns or reflexes and conditioned reflexes, if that is what the psychologist desires to call them. But there is no magic in a scientific nomenclature. It will not describe what it cannot describe, and it is highly desirable that the student of these problems force his way through the jam of the highly conventionalized and limited terminology which scoffs and ridicules such phrases as "Faustian Techniques," the "conscious direction of movement," the "spirit of a culture." These and other similar terms have just as much meaning as, and no more than, the student is able to read into them; or the writer is able to put into them.

The typical social techniques of all high cultures are feudalism and the state. Feudalism is invariably associated with a manorial system of some kind, with the mechanical techniques of an agricultural economy, and with the verbal techniques of an organized priesthood. Historical research shows that every high culture known to man has its origin in feudalism, the definitive differentiation of nobility and peasantry, warrior aristocrat and serf. In each case the relationship of lord and vassal supersedes the earlier relationship of kinship. Feudalism invariably grows out of some form of patriarchal tribalism. The sequence of tribalism, feudalism, and nationalism tells the story of all high cultures. Feudalism displaces tribalism and later some form of state takes the place of feudalism in the culture history of Egyptians, Greeks and Romans, Chinese, East Indians, Arabs, and Europeans. When Charlemagne created his Frankish empire and was duly blessed by the Pope of the Roman Church the political structure of Europe was still tribal. But the beginnings of feudation and infeudation were clearly manifest in the tenth century, and by the eleventh century when William the Conqueror

triumphed over the Saxon king of England the structure of feudalism in Europe was general and widespread.

Tribalism

Tribalism has a long history of its own; it is based upon the sib which is generally defined as a unilateral kinship group. When descent is reckoned through the mother line the sib is matrilineal or metronymic; when it is traced through the father line it is patrilineal or patronymic. The term clan is often used to designate the matrilineal, whereas the term gens denotes the patrilineal type. In its simplest form the mother-sib includes a woman, her sons and daughters together with the children of her daughters but not the children of her sons; and similarly, the father-sib includes a man, his sons and daughters together with the children of his sons but not the children of his daughters, since these belong to their own father's sib. Tribal relationships of this kind are associated with exogamy, namely, the selection of mates for marriage from outside one's own sib. The daughter in a father-sib follows the residence of her husband in which case residence is said to be patrilocal. But she continues to be a member of her father's sib in nearly all cases, and her children are usually bound in certain mystical and customary relationships to their maternal grandfather. In a mother-sib, the husband may follow the residence of his wife in which case residence is said to be matrilocal. But this practice is by no means universal among the metronymic sibs. The husband, moreover, does not become a member of his wife's sib even where residence is matrilocal, although all of his children do.

It is evident that the sib is a much more inclusive unit of political organization than the family, since it binds together all persons related through either the male or female line. These comprise not only the brothers and sisters of a given person, but also one of their parents together with all aunts, uncles, grandparents, and cousins in either the male or female line. The practice of adoption facilitates membership of persons who fall outside the direct line of blood relationship. Thus two distinct orders of relationship are built up with a corresponding distribution of rights and duties, of domination and submission: one within the sib, and the other between sibs. In comparing this type of organization with the more primitive horde which is merely a loose aggregation of families, the greater strength, coherence, and stability of the sib is perfectly evident. Lines of collaboration between sibs leading to the more complex organization of phratries, moities, tribes, and ethnic nations are open in the metronymic as well as the patronymic form.

The Patria Potestas

The latter grows naturally into the *patria potestas,* the institution of kingship, and the idea of political sovereignty over a more or less clearly

defined territory. It established position for the development of feudal relations. The metronymic system does not do so. A wide distribution and corresponding division of authority is implicit in the maternal form; it is usually associated with totemism which greatly exalts the importance of the clan. Metronymic tribes and confederations are likely to be loose jointed and precariously unstable affairs as shown by the Iroquois Confederation. The paternal system, on the other hand, like the Roman gens, is often associated with ancestor worship. Authority tends to be concentrated and indivisible. Among the early Romans the performance of religious ceremonial rites was restricted to ancestors on the male side, known as "agnates." Since married women worshiped the household gods of their husband's ancestors, the scope and significance of the male authority were greatly increased. Relatives on the mother's side were known as "cognates," and property was not transmitted to them. Property was not willed. It passed on automatically, according to immemorial custom, from the father head to his eldest male heir who assumed full responsibility for wise administration as a sacred trust for the benefit of his entire kinship group.

Thus it is seen that religious, economic, and political authority was centered in the father-head. In this way the *patria potestas* emerged. The *"matria potestas"* is an interesting term, but nothing in the actuality ever existed to correspond with it. With the consolidation of patronymic tribes into confederations and ethnic nations, such as the twelve tribes of Israel, the all powerful male leader became war lord, king, priest, lawgiver, and judge all combined in one person. Authority was concentrated and indivisible. With the conquest and subjection of weaker tribes by stronger tribes, and the necessity for consolidation of authority over a wider territory the way was open for the oath of allegiance, the comitatus, and the bond of sacred honor between lord and vassal. The corresponding enslavement of vanquished tribesmen—Anglo-Saxons at the hands of their Norman conquerors—established a basis for systematic economy. With a priesthood, energetic and skillful in establishing an ethical basis for the whole of life, the lines of feudal relations were crystallized and hallowed, giving a measure of order, stability, serenity, and faith, and sanctioning the obligations imposed by the superior force of arms. Feudalism thus grows out of patronymic tribalism in a favorable conjuncture of race and soil. It is a decentralized power system based upon authority of nobility and priesthood. Castle and cathedral are symbols of the origin of all high cultures.[8]

The Bilateral Kinship Group

The state, which includes the existence of a strong, central power placed above society, a territorial delimitation together with the concentration of

[8] E. H. Goddard and P. A. Gibbons, *Civilization or Civilizations*, New York, 1926.

many functions of the life of society in the hands of a few or even of all, varies in form, as shown by the city-state of the Hellenistic world and the national state of Western Europe. It grows out of feudalism in either case. Tribal forms likewise vary in relation to different cultures as shown by the *sippe* and the *mægth* of the Teutonic peoples. The *sippe,* like the *mægth,* was a bilateral kinship group and not a unilateral sib like the Roman gens. Descent was traced through both maternal and paternal lines, and the kinship group therefore included the descendants from two common ancestors rather than one. While the Anglo-Saxons in Britain called their kinship group the *mægth,* the Saxons and Frisians of the continent called their blood unit the *sippe.* In both cases the kin were the descendants of the grandchildren of two common ancestors; they did their reckoning from the third generation and not from the original pair. Since the Germanic peoples traced kinship through both parents, the children of a given pair really belonged to two kinship groups. Thus the kinship groups of the Germans were interrelated in a more complex network than the clan of the distinct matrilineal type or the gens of the distinct patrilineal type.[9]

The *sippe* was the basic institution of private law; it assumed responsibility for the punishment of crime as well as the maintenance of peace. The rights and obligations of parents were defined by the law of the *sippe* as pointed out in a previous chapter. Children were protected by their kin from an unreasonable or a brutal father, and if a wife was grievously wronged her kin bore "feud," that is, they sought redress or revenge. Likewise they paid fines for offenses committed by one of them, and if the crime was murder, the *wergild,* or the customary worth of a man, was paid over to the kin of the victim. Property matters dealing with inheritance, and the alienation of other rights in property were also governed by the law of the *sippe.*

But the law of the *sippe* was one thing; the law of the household was another matter. The latter showed a strong concentration of authority in the father-head—the *patria potestas*—as indicated. This is shown by the fact that the paternal kin assumed a larger share of the rights as well as the obligations in a given family. If murder was committed, the father's kin paid two-thirds of the *wergild* whereas the mother's kin paid only one-third. The father could punish, not only his children but also his wife, and in extreme cases he was permitted to sell his children into slavery or even to kill them. Property received by children from their maternal kindred was administered by the father, and with this right went also the additional right to use the fruits of this property. Fathers bestowed their daughters in marriage with no regard to their wishes. But the law of the *sippe* placed effectual safeguards around the arbitrary and abusive use of authority.

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[9] Goodsell, *op. cit.,* p. 182 *et seq.*

The Horde

At the lowest level of political and social organization stands the horde, already defined as a loose aggregation of families. The horde is endogamous, amorphous, and collectional. In it are found varied, vague, and ambiguous ideas of magic, animism, fetishism, totemism, and blood relationship. Men, women, and children of the horde live a hand to mouth existence, dependent directly upon the products of nature. They live in the rudest sort of shelters and wander about more or less aimlessly in search of food. Tools and weapons for hunting and fishing are crude and clumsy. The actual size and structure of the horde varies considerably according to habitat and other factors as shown by the Bushmen of South Africa, Polar Eskimos, Andamanese, the Veddahs of Ceylon, the Pigmy Negritoes of the Philippines and the Malay peninsula, and the Fuegians. Since men and women co-operate in the care of children mutual aid is developed to some extent. In all probability taboo and totem have their origin in the horde and this of course implies rudimentary ideas of right and wrong. Since the physiological relation between mother and child is obvious whereas the biological function of the male in the reproductive process is not understood, kinship is traced through the mother. Ignorance of the male procreative function is shown by the curious custom known as the *couvade,* in which the father, or supposed father, went to bed when a child was born, groaned, dieted, and received the attention usually given to women in confinement.[10] In this way the father's connection with his offspring was established. If people were ignorant of the basic biology of sex and reproduction in the more advanced forms of the maternal sib they could hardly have been expected to know more about these matters on the more primitive level of the horde. Paternity was not conceived biologically, but rather mystically and socially in order to identify the rights and duties associated with the care of children. The horde is the weakest of all the political units of offense and defense, but out of it emerged the more definitive organization of the maternal sib.

The Transition from Endogamy to Exogamy

The maternal sib is typically exogamous, metronymic, totemic, and collectional. One of the most revolutionary and salutary transitions in the entire history of mankind was the change from endogamy to exogamy. Exogamy established relationships of aid and obligation between the political units associated in this way. It therefore greatly increased the strength and survival power of the group. Moreover, it broadened the base of social

[10] A. J. Todd, *The Primitive Family as an Educational Agency,* New York and London, 1913, p. 75 *et seq.*

relations and the interchange of ideas and practice. Integrity and coherence within the group was bolstered by a feeling and recognition of the more inclusive integrity and coherence beyond the group. Anthropologists have explained this highly significant change from endogamy to exogamy on various grounds including: (1) an instinctive repugnance to the selection of mates within the intimate circle; (2) the selection of nature on the deleterious effects of inbreeding; (3) the sex interest in novelty; (4) the knowledge of the biological advantages of outbreeding, and (5) the knowledge of the political advantages already briefly summarized. All of these explanations may be dismissed with the exception of the last.

If exogamy were a matter of instinct it should have operated on the lower level of the endogamous horde. The selective effects of nature, exterminating the endogamous and favoring the exogamous type is dubious. If this were true in any really significant sense the endogamous form would probably have been exterminated long before exogamy could have developed from it. So far as the sex interest in novelty is concerned it appears evident that exogamy was not the only way of affording satisfaction to this motive assuming for the sake of the argument that the attraction between persons unfamiliar to each other is greater than between persons who are familiar. In connection with the fourth hypothesis, it is unreasonable to assume that people who were ignorant of the procreative function of the male could have understood the Mendelian laws of heredity. The political explanation is the only one that stands the test of criticism. The more obvious political advantages of exogamy must have been self-evident, not to all members by any means, but certainly to the more gifted leaders of the groups concerned. It is simply a matter of having friends and relatives who give succor in time of need and whose combined resources are consolidated for common purposes in an emergency, or of not having them. But the nineteenth century "Age of Enlightenment," when these hypotheses were propounded, was skeptical of political explanations of any kind. Hence the anthropologists were inclined to struggle with every possible explanation but the correct one.

Totemism

Totemism is equally significant from a political point of view. It may be defined as a system of pseudo religious beliefs and magical practice which usually traced descent to some animal progenitor such as the deer, the hawk, the bear, the wolf, the eagle, the buffalo, the heron, the turtle, after which the clan was named. Various taboos and magical rites were intertwined in a network of correlated ideas. These included the injunction against killing or eating the sacred animal although the practice in this regard was by no means universal. In the ceremony of adoption the individual was given the name of the totemic group, and he thereby became a blood relative. Like-

wise the initiation ceremonies, in which a boy or girl was inducted into full sib membership and responsibility at the age of puberty, served to identify the individual with the totem of his clan in a mystical and sacred manner. The very feeling of self, the spirit or the soul of the individual, was associated with the totem. Among many sibs the spirit of the totem was believed to animate all members, and in particular certain sacred objects which were used by the "priests" or medicine men for magical purposes. Totemism therefore created a feeling of common origin and of common destiny, a consciousness of kind and an intimate sense among all members of belonging to one another. It established an ethical discipline and a corresponding articulation of effort which gave meaning and direction to life. Unity within and co-operation between the related totemic kindred greatly strengthened the offensive and defensive power of the group. Like exogamy totemism was a political event of the highest importance.

Transition from Metronymic to Patronymic Systems

The transition from the metronymic to the patronymic system of reckoning relationships of kinship was also an historical event of the highest importance—like the change from endogamy to exogamy and the later change from tribalism to feudalism. Both maternal and paternal tribes were composed of a number of sibs all of which were related to each other by the practice of exogamy. The tribe was thus held together firmly by kinship; but it was also unified by a common language and a contiguous territory together with a common juridical, religious, and ceremonial tradition. In the maternal tribe this tradition was centered in some form of totemism whereas in the paternal tribe it was centered in some form of ancestor worship, household gods or closely related polytheistic nature worship in which the sky father and the earth mother figured prominently. Ancestor worship was formerly found among all Indo-European peoples.

In the matrilineal tribe military leadership was a delegated authority. This is shown by the league of the Iroquois in which the tribal sachems or chiefs were elected by the constitutent clans. The civil head or sachem of each clan was elected by men and women who held the right of removing a sachem and electing a new one. Among the Wyandot Indians the governing council of the clan was made up of four women who were elected by all adult members. It also included a Peace Sachem, a man who was chosen by the four women councilors to assume responsibility for matters pertaining to war. A tribal council was composed of these five representatives from each clan, four women for each man, as described. But the women did not participate in the discussions of the men who sat separately on the tribal council although they did exercise a veto power over the men's decisions.[11]

[11] C. A. Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, New York, p. 112.

Two tribal chiefs of equal power were chosen when the council decided to enter upon the warpath. The Iroquois league council was made up of about fifty hems and chiefs of the five tribes which constituted the Confederation; thus it appears that both the civil leadership within the clan and the military leadership of the tribes and the Confederation of tribes constituted delegated authority.

The absolute, hereditary, and indivisible power of the leader of the patrilineal tribe or the patriarchal folk-nation stands in marked contrast to the wide distribution of power in the metronymic system. It favored decisive action in time of emergency and definitely subordinated the considerations of local expediency to the personal aims of the leader. Moreover it facilitated training and preparation for war, and it is therefore no accident that the great feudal institutions of history invariably grew out of the patriarchal system. Such was certainly the case among the Greeks, Romans, Egyptians, Chinese, Sumerians, East Indians, Arabs, and Europeans, the master builders of high culture and civilization.

The complex concatenation of factors and events which wrought the historically decisive change from the metronymic to the patronymic systems cannot be reconstructed adequately because the records are not sufficiently complete. Generally speaking, the tribal society of both types is illiterate and the chief sources of information are the accounts of missionaries, travelers, and anthropologists who have visited or lived with primitive people. Far-reaching changes of this kind do not often occur while interested observers are recording the facts. Moreover, the missionaries and travelers could hardly be expected to understand them or to describe them accurately even if they had an opportunity to do so. A number of suggestions, therefore, will have to suffice. The couvade, already described, appears to be an indication of the transition from the matrilineal to the patrilineal form. In this way paternity was identified in a psycho-social sense and the way was open therefore for tracing kinship through the father line. It is also clear that the pastoral mode of economy in which domesticated animals provided the means of livelihood greatly accentuated the importance of fighting quality. Flocks and herds of sheep, goats, and cattle constituted a valuable patrimony and therefore also a most attractive booty. Whole tribes of people were sustained in this manner, and the loss of the animals meant misery, starvation, or death for the men, and enslavement for the women.

Since women are not equipped for fighting, the military and defensive responsibilities of the men were greatly increased. A bold fighting leader was the most valued of all assets. He became the virtual owner and also protector of the tribal property. It was an easy step to attribute miraculous power to a really capable leader and to elevate his status and dignity to the level of divinity. The worship of ancestors no doubt arose in some such way as this. Since the safety of the people and the integrity of the tribal patri-

mony depended upon a strong and indivisible authority the direct inheritance of power through the male line from father to eldest son was a natural consequence. With the folkways and mores once established the entire system moved on from generation to generation of its own inherent inertia. The juridical, religious, and ceremonial tradition was thoroughly revolutionized as the *patria potestas* became the cardinal principle of political organization. The fighting rôle of the pastoral nomad, Attila the Hun, and Jenghiz Khan, may be accounted for in this manner. Kurds of the upper Euphrates valley afford a modern instance.

The Correlation of Techniques

Certain evident correlations between the social techniques of the horde, the metronymic and patronymic tribes, and the mechanical and vocal techniques which characterize these types of political organization may be briefly summarized at this point. Precultural people, using the term in the sense of the grand style which leads to civilization, are generally illiterate. They do not have a written language. Most of them, North American Indians included, do not have a calendar. The tribe is bound together by a common language, but the league of tribes, such as the Iroquois Confederation, is not. The five tribes which composed this military organization spoke their own dialects. A folk or ethnic nation was never really developed since the central authority necessary to create a unified structure of verbal symbols never existed. Patronymic tribes likewise have characteristic dialects, but the confederation is under the single rule of a patriarchal chieftain who eventually becomes a king. His prestige and power lead to the formation of a real ethnic nation in which a single language slowly supersedes the tribal dialects. With the gradual organization of the national state which develops from feudalism, the integration and consolidation of language symbols proceeds apace over a wide territory. The rôle of the priesthood in facilitating this process is decisive. English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Swedish, and other national European languages originated and developed in this way. This is not to say that the earlier dialects have been completely lost in the higher historical process. Not at all. Gaelic, Brythonic, and many other Teutonic dialects are still spoken, and the same truth holds for other cultures, such as the Chinese. It is a fair hypothesis that all of these dialects may be traced back to earlier tribal forms of political organization.

Similar correlations between the social techniques and the mechanical techniques may be briefly summarized. The horde generally parallels the Lower or Middle Paleolithic or rough stone age in which tools and weapons were fashioned out of stone, chiefly flint, by the method of striking or chipping. Hunting, fishing, and the direct appropriation of fruits, herbs, berries,

nuts, or other foods provided by nature were characteristic of this epoch. The use of fire was understood, and the stone tools were mainly used for killing animals, skinning them, and cleaning their hides and furs. In the Upper Paleolithic period the fine edge of tools and weapons was greatly improved by the methods of pressure and retouching. This made possible the manipulation of bone and ivory, and, accordingly, bone whistles, needles and fish hooks, ivory batons of command and countless other objects were constructed. Examples of Paleolithic people are the Arctic Eskimos, the Australian aborigines, African Pigmies and other instances of the horde. They made stone weapons and tools by the method of chipping. Evidence shows that the Nordic race appeared in Europe before Paleolithic times, and that it developed not only the Paleolithic but also the later Neolithic techniques.

Polished stone is the essential characteristic of the Neolithic period. In a general way this epoch parallels the maternal sib. It is illustrated by the North American Indians although many variations in the structure of different tribes have been recognized. For instance, in certain tribes no animals are domesticated but the dog, in many others the horse is domesticated, whereas in others several animals are tamed and utilized. Reliance upon game animals or upon a primitive cultivation of the soil, known as garden culture or hoe culture, and also upon the energy and products of domesticated animals were actually combined in many different patterns. Further characteristics of this epoch are the use of bow and arrow, extensive tools fashioned out of bone and horn, the art of pottery in its cruder form, various domesticated animals, the wheel, spinning and weaving of flax, hemp, and similar products of the soil, the cultivation of grain and fruit trees, and the hewn ax. The Swiss lake dwellers belonged to this period. It shows a tendency toward the development of a sedentary life and the increased dependence upon agriculture.

The paternal form of political structure overlaps the Late Neolithic and the Copper and Bronze periods. It is often identified with a thorough-going domestication of animals including cattle, horses, sheep, goats, and pigs. It is also associated in some cases with a fairly extensive cultivation of the soil including grains, fruits, vegetables, and legumes. Hunting and fishing are additional sources of livelihood but these modes of economy are now definitely subordinated to a pastoral or agricultural economy or to both. Invention of the potter's wheel makes possible the production of pottery in a great diversity of forms. Utilization of metal leads to the light wheel with spokes and the metal band, the metal plow, metallic money, road improvement, and a great variety of tools, weapons, and implements now fashioned out of copper and bronze.

The Emergence of Feudalism

With the organization of the tribal patriarchate the way is open for the gradual emergence of feudal institutions. The marauding and pillaging pastoral nomad who carried his commissary department with him in all of his raids is able to subjugate other tribes and to utilize their labor as slaves or serfs in the cultivation of the soil. He may require the payment of tribute from people who cannot be assimilated in this way, or he may destroy the men of a vanquished tribe and enslave their women when it appears impossible to exploit them. A successful chieftain always has a weather eye cocked for a first class fighter whose loyal services are tested in combat and assured by an oath of allegiance. His military triumphs multiply with the development of a powerful fighting organization until wide areas are brought under his command. Domination over the wider area is facilitated by the selection of trusted henchmen and retainers who are given broad powers over their respective domains. The relation between lord and vassal, and also between the vassal as lord and his own vassals, is extended while larger territories are brought under the domination of a class of warrior chieftains who become in time a ranking nobility. The peasantry as a dependent laboring class is differentiated, but the total structure of power is loose jointed and precarious without the co-operation of that other prime estate—the priesthood.

The ideology of the priesthood is intended to create an ethical discipline for the whole of life, thereby sanctioning the rule of force with the law of right and keeping all of the organs of society in their acceptable relations to each other. With a favorable conjuncture of the basic factors of race and soil, the emergence of the estates, noble and priest, creates a foundation of order, and a dynamic release of energy which realizes its own inherent purpose according to its own nature. This alliance of the estates and the favorable concatenation of related factors is the invariable foundation for that distinguished achievement—Gothic and later Baroque—which is the hallmark of all high cultures.

The Crusades

Power of the priesthood over the nobility in Western Europe is shown by the Crusades; power of the nobility over the priesthood is shown by the complete assimilation of the latter to the feudal system. Today the hazardous adventure of the Crusaders is not understood. It cannot be understood, and neither can anything else be understood so far as that is concerned, except in relation to the age in which it emerged. Three whole centuries before Columbus discovered America, and the perils of navigation on the high seas were great enough at that time, the nobility of Europe sent their finest fighters to battle storm, wind, and sea, to make a landing on the

shores of Syria without the facility of a harbor, and then to engage in combat the mighty forces of Saladin, Sultan of Egypt and Syria. All for what? To recover the holy sepulchre, to conquer the holy city, and to gain for Western Christendom the holy land where Jesus of Nazareth was born, lived, and died. Richard I, *Coeur de Lion* and King of England, personally led one of these Crusades with results that are well known. This was a dream, today everyone would say a bad dream, but what immeasurable enthusiasm, energy, hardihood, and courage were there to make the dream come true. The Crusades simply could not have occurred at any *other* time in the entire history of Europe. It was the priests, of course, who drummed it up in every town, village, and hamlet, collecting the money, and gathering the forces of arms, but it was the nobility which bore the brunt of the fighting.

Integration of the Feudal System

The organization of the priesthood became an integral part of the feudal system. Extensive holdings of land were sublet by the Church to vassals on feudal tenure. King John of England held his English realm as a fief of the Pope. Toward the close of the eleventh century when feudal institutions were in the height of form, Gregory VII, one of the most powerful rulers ever to sit upon the papal throne, asserted the temporal supremacy of the Church. Thus the Holy Father became ruler of the earth with authority to make and depose emperors and kings. Princes held their power as a temporal trusteeship, as well as a spiritual stewardship, and were made responsible for the execution of these trusts in accordance with the canon law and the teaching of the Church fathers. The coronation of kings and emperors by the Pope clearly implied that they derived their power from the Church. Actual sovereignty was declared over Rome and the surrounding territory, and the papal states, lying north and south of the Tiber, included a considerable part of the Italian peninsula. Bishops and archbishops sublet their holdings to vassals on feudal tenure and in the course of time the Church came into possession of one-fourth to one-third of the occupied land of Western Europe. In the year 962 the first Holy Roman Emperor, Otto the Great, elected king of the German people, was anointed by the Pope in Rome who placed the imperial crown upon his head with due ceremony. Voltaire's famous wisecrack that the Holy Roman Empire was "neither Holy, Roman, nor an Empire" was at least true in the sense that the empire was not Roman. The power of the nobility is indicated by the fact that the emperor was elected by a group of German nobles called Electors; the additional fact that the Empire was not finally dissolved until 1806 shows beyond doubt that it played an extremely vital rôle in European politics.

Emergence of the National Aristocratic State

Out of the structure of Feudalism the form of the aristocratic national state gradually emerged. The ever recurring struggles between the Empire and the Holy See, between the secular and the sacred authorities, and between noble families themselves, distinctly favored the consolidation of absolute monarchy. Noble families, such as the Houses of Lancaster and York, all but exterminated each other in their conflicts for the royal prerogative. In the struggles between king and nobility the latter suffered a growing disadvantage because of the increasing strength of the towns which threw the weight of their influence, their strength, and often their money, on the side of the central monarchy. The more or less constant warfare of contending nobles for more extensive holdings and greater power had devastating effects upon agriculture, commerce, and industry. These growing economic interests, particularly the urban, had no more reason to be sympathetic toward Rome than toward the nobility, since the Church supported the nobles and looked with increasing concern upon the growth of the national monarchy, especially so from the time of Henry VIII of England. In due course the monarchy asserted absolute sovereignty and independence from the Church. Thus the secular authority became supreme in temporal affairs.

But the aristocratic national state, which reached the height of form in England when Lord William Cecil Burghley was prime minister to Queen Elizabeth, and in France when Cardinal Richelieu was prime minister to Louis XIII, was the distinct creation of the higher nobility. Both Burghley and Richelieu aimed to make the royal power supreme in their respective territories. Both belonged to the nobility by birth, sympathy and training. Both represented the idea of the authoritarian national state and endeavored to make their countries supreme in world affairs. Both developed a politico-economic policy which is known as national Mercantilism. The premise of Mercantilism was the all inclusive power of the sovereign head of a national state. Local village and town economy was subordinated to the higher national economy as the state became an independent political organism with a power placed above society, a territorial concentration over a wide domain, and a concentration of many functions of the life of society in the hands of an aristocratic minority who consolidated their resources behind the authority of an absolute monarch. It was the strong and absolute princes, the higher nobility, which united the people and territory of their own realms under the royal power.[12] By war and diplomacy it was they who prevailed over the local authority of the Church to interfere with the internal, temporal affairs of the state. Similarly they fought the emperors

[12] Hedger and others, *op. cit.*, pp. 509, 510.

of the Holy Roman Empire who endeavored to draw the royal lands within the orbit of their power.

It was the princely rulers, and neither the masses, the gentry, nor the burghers who created the early national state. They constituted a class, a first estate which had developed a tradition of rulership and a discipline of leadership. They created a higher order of law and government by rejecting the authority of Rome on the one hand, and by subduing the rivalries and ambitions of the lesser nobility on the other hand. In the conflict between priest and noble, between sacred and secular authorities, it was the latter which finally emerged triumphant in Western Europe. The national autocratic state was the symbol of their triumph. Largely through the energy and devotion of Frederick the Great and his father Frederick William I, a similar triumph was achieved in Prussia. In Austria the Hapsburgs envisioned the same ideal of the state and succeeded in the great task of accomplishing it. In Italy the work of national unification was not achieved until the second half of the nineteenth century. The unification of the national state of Germany under the leadership of Prussia was the work largely of Prince Otto von Bismarck from 1866 to 1871, and this task has been carried forward by the present Third Reich under the caption of *Gleichschaltung*.

Emergence of the National Democratic State

But the national aristocratic and autocratic states of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were transformed into national democratic states in the course of a few centuries. This was mainly the consequence of the rapidly increasing wealth and power of the so-called third estate which was composed of merchants, manufacturers, financial promoters, and business men generally whose chief concern was in a free and open market for the purchase and sale of goods. About the middle of the seventeenth century Oliver Cromwell and his Puritan "Roundheads," who went into battle singing Psalms, defeated King Charles and his "Cavaliers," dominated Parliament, and created a new government with Cromwell as virtual dictator. His middle class supporters included chiefly small landowners, merchants, manufacturers, and shopkeepers, especially in London and other busy towns of England. The "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 represented a more permanent triumph of the middle classes. It was a bloodless revolution which safeguarded the power of Parliament and the Protestant religion culminating in the enactment of a Bill of Rights which prohibited the monarch from "suspending" laws or from "dispensing" subjects from obeying the laws. It guaranteed also the free speech and free election of the members of Parliament. A constitutional monarchy thus displaced the former absolutism and the interests and "rights" of the middle class and the Protestant faith were substantially represented.

Continuity of the English Aristocratic Tradition

But in all the turmoil, upheaval, and revolution of the seventeenth century the tradition of the English aristocracy was not broken; nor has it been broken to the present day. No doubt the insular position has favored this continuity of tradition. In any case it has provided Great Britain with a competent and stable government led by men of blood, born and trained to rule with consistent sureness at Eton and at Balliol in the spirit of a high tradition. When the Tories as well as the Whigs supported the ascension of William and Mary and the abdication of James II, and thereby threw the weight of their influence behind the "bloodless revolution," it was evident that the nobility had learned how to give as well as how to take. Violence and cataclysm were averted and the tradition of competent government with an eternal weather eye cocked for the protection and aggrandizement of British interests has been carried forward by men of race thoroughly trained and disciplined in the fine art of government. This is what it takes to govern well, and unless people are willing to pay the price it cannot be had.

The French Revolution

With this the French Revolution of 1789 may be compared. It is well known that the Jacobins aimed at nothing less than the complete destruction of the aristocracy. This was the first consideration and democracy was secondary as shown by the statement of Robespierre, who said that "the Government of the Revolution is the *despotism* of freedom against tyranny." It was evidently not so much the form of government as the personnel of government that really mattered. This middle class movement drew into the orbit of its influence and hysteria the unprivileged, called by various epithets of derision: dregs, *canaille,* mob, *Pöbel,* yokel, and the like. Exactly the same crowd that shouted for liberty, fraternity, and equality on one day, chopped the head off of every aristocrat they could place their hands upon on the next day, and then, shortly afterward, gave their enthusiasm, and many of them their lives, for the Little Emperor, Napoleon, and his dictatorship. This was the Second *Tyrannis,* the despotism of the middle class supported by the mob, as distinguished from the First *Tyrannis,* which was the despotism of the middle class supported by nobility. In the latter case, as in the *Fronde,* the state used its power to curb the selfishness of the estates proper. It is in theory an instrument of the common welfare rather than a class state. But in the case of the Second *Tyrannis,* the bourgeois revolution employs the state for its own restricted class purposes. It does so as a class fighting for its freedom against the older classes. The absolute state, the monarchy, and the sacred tradition are conceived as natural allies of the *"ancien régime,"* the first and second estates. Therefore they are

destroyed. Herein lies the difference between Cromwell and Robespierre, between the *Fronde* and the bourgeois revolution and also, in a parallel organic sense, between the First *Tyrannis* and the Second *Tyrannis* of the ancient Greek city-states. The French Revolution set up a class state, and it has remained a class state to this day. Money and brains are everything. And this has been the source of weakness in French government. It lacks trained and disciplined leadership which rules by virtue of competence for the welfare of the nation in the spirit of a noble tradition.

Middle Class Movement in Germany

In Germany, Austria, and Italy the revolutionary uprising of 1848 represented a similar middle class movement which aimed to create a national democratic state. All eyes in Germany and also in the German provinces of Austria were centered upon the Frankfurt National Assembly as symbol and instrument of German national aspirations. This assembly announced equality before the law, freedom of press, of person, of petition, and of assembly to be the rights of all Germans, but it did not succeed in constructing a national government. It did, however, culminate in the Constitution of 1848 which was revised and promulgated a few years later. This constitution, decreed by royal authority, included a declaration of individual rights, the recognition of universal manhood suffrage and the creation of upper and lower legislative chambers. In it the middle class was given a substantial voice in government. It remained the legal basis of government of the First Reich until the Weimar Constitution of 1919 inaugurated the Second Reich.

These two constitutions, the Frankfurt Constitution of 1848 and the Weimar Constitution of 1919, indicate the trend of democratic government in Western Europe since the middle of the last century and the dilemma of democratic government today in those countries which continue to maintain republican forms in the face of growing pressure from communism on the left and fascism on the right. It was the *"people's rights"* which were formulated and stressed in the Frankfurt Assembly and embodied in the actual constitution promulgated by the Prussian government in 1850. But the Weimar Constitution recognized the independence and autonomy, and therefore the implied dictature of the party machine. This party machine, by assimilating all rights within itself, was not responsible to anyone in any effectual sense. A system of proportional representation in the Reichstag was provided.[18] This system together with the Reichslist guaranteed the independent recruitment of each party and made a clear cut majority in the legislative body practically impossible. Hence there developed an intensity of party discipline never known before and also the organization of private

[18] C. B. Hoover, *Germany Enters the Third Reich*, New York, 1933, p. 40.

armies in order to bring physical pressure to bear upon any party which attempted a *coup d'état.* And even if a single party had been able to gain a clear majority in one state, say Prussia, the way to economic and social "reconstruction" was more than likely to be blocked by a government dominated by some other party in another state, say Saxony or Bavaria. A few "minor" changes in the Weimar document were all that was necessary to confer unrestricted power upon the leader or leaders of a successful party. All of this was tantamount to the decay of parliamentary institutions and democratic forms of government, and in January, 1933 when the Nazi party inaugurated the Third Reich there was no other alternative. Von Hindenburg had conferred large discretionary powers upon the Bruening government which represented the Catholic Center party, but the log-jam remained as tight as ever. Von Schleicher and Von Papen made vigorous efforts to loosen the jam, but to no avail.

The Constitution of the United States

The Constitution of the United States, adopted in 1787 at the Philadelphia Convention, is older than the French Revolution and Napoleon. It is, of course, a middle class document which opposes autocracy and absolutism in government. It has weathered the political storms of a century and a half, and represents the *only* basis of co-ordinated national life which the country possesses. The Puritan tradition which it embodies goes back to the sixteenth century. It is a "peoples'" constitution rather than the party machine type described in the last paragraph. In practice it functions as a two party system, both of which are essentially conservative, one representing primarily the "solid South" and the other the "industrial North." Up to the present time both parties have been successful in drawing within the orbits of their influence the liberal and even radical elements of the population. At the last Presidential election of 1936 only about a million votes were cast for all of the minor parties combined. William Lemke, who led the newly formed Union Party supported by Father Coughlin, received only 650,000 votes, while all of the other minor parties combined, including communists and socialists, polled less than a half million votes. This is significant. It indicates not only the reverence but also the faith of Americans in their Constitution.

But when business and government as well are ineffective in meeting public demands, as they were during the administration of Herbert Hoover, the empty stomach of the jobless voter flings the tradition to the four winds. Huey Long, Gerald Smith, Upton Sinclair, Francis Townsend, and Father Charles Coughlin were riding in good form in those days; exactly where they were going nobody really knew. There is danger here, and it is better to forestall it by rendering the Constitution of the United States somewhat

more flexible than to run the risk of a military dictatorship supported by a combination of minority groups. Such a situation would create a widespread condition of protracted upheaval, latent insurrection, and violence throughout the country. For the United States is an extensive territory made up of a heterogeneous population whose political inclinations cannot be predicted when stomachs are empty and jobs are not available. The United States has not yet achieved a coherent nationalism in the European sense. The preservation and continuity of the Constitutional tradition is therefore vitally important. It stands between the people and the devil and there is *nothing* else in the country that does.

The rise of dictatorial forms of government in the modern European world is an organic, historical event which is paralleled in the closing centuries of every high culture. It was heralded in the Hellenistic world with the collapse of republicanism and the dawning age of the Caesars, in the Magian world with the decline of the Caliphate and the erection of the Sultanate, in the Chinese culture with the epoch of the contending states, and similar outlines are visible in the Sumerian-Babylonian, the Egyptian, and the East Indian civilizations.[14] Spain today is an international battle field on which the forces of communism and fascism are engaged in a titanic struggle. Bolshevism appears as the "despotism of freedom" arrayed against the "autocracy of capitalism," and fascism appears as an authoritarian nationalism which looks upon communism as the complete antithesis of the Western tradition. Democracy will be the loser no matter which side wins.

But America is in a position of conspicuous advantage, partly because of the vastness of her territory and the richness of her resources, partly because of her geographical isolation which gives protection on two shores, and partly because there is no country in the entire western hemisphere which is competent to challenge her political supremacy. Everything depends upon the leadership. With a steady eye fixed upon the tradition, a realistic knowledge of the actual internal social and economic problems, and a *professional personnel* efficiently disciplined and adequately trained to assume the great responsibilities of government, the pitfalls of diplomacy may be avoided. But this is possible only on the assumption that the national sovereignty is inviolable and supreme. In this age, politics—the politics of nature—in which every advantage is sought and every weakness is compensated—overshadows all other aspects of the national existence. Nature is indifferent to the survival of all states. It is sufficient for her that the strongest shall survive.

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[14] Spengler, *The Decline of the West, op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 416 *et seq.*

Problem Questions

1. The following proposals aim to give the federal government greater elasticity: (1) the Roosevelt plan which provides for the appointment of new justices to the United States Supreme Court for each old justice who has reached the age of seventy years; (2) the Wheeler plan which would give Congress the power to overrule by a two-thirds vote an adverse decision of the court; (3) the Garrison plan which calls for an amendment to the Constitution giving Congress broad powers of regulation over industry and agriculture; (4) withdrawal from the court by amendment or legislation of the power to declare the laws of Congress unconstitutional. Contrast the merits and demerits of these proposals.

2. President Roosevelt has described the federal government as a "three horse team" which may or may not pull together. Is co-ordinated effort more urgent today than it has been in the past? Why?

3. What branches of the federal government have actually set up high and rigid standards of careful selection and intensive training of a professional personnel?

4. Do the branches of government represented by the President's cabinet have a permanent, professional personnel, efficiently trained and carefully selected for the work of each department?

5. Would a federated regional system based upon broad economic and cultural differences of population be preferable to the present federated state system? Why?

6. In the year 1935 the United States Supreme Court declared that political parties may provide rules governing their primary elections even though these rules have the effect of barring the Negro from such elections. Does this judgment harmonize with the Fifteenth Amendment to the federal Constitution?

7. In 1923 the same court ruled that only white persons and persons of African descent are eligible to citizenship. What persons are thereby denied the rights of citizenship?

8. Since the Japanese are known to be more intelligent and progressive than the Negro is it not more desirable to bar Negroes from citizenship than Japanese?

9. Are the standards of eligibility for citizenship as expressed in our naturalization laws too hard or too easy? Explain.

10. In the famous Scottsboro case the United States Supreme Court overruled the judgment of a lower court on the ground that Negroes were not represented on the panel of the trial jury. Is it desirable that Negroes be represented on every jury which sits in trial of a Negro?

11. In April of 1937 the House of Representatives approved of an anti-lynching law (Gavagan bill) which established the principle of federal intervention in such cases. Will legislation of this kind solve the problem of lynch law in the South?

12. Would the disfranchisement of the Negro by federal law or constitutional amendment contribute to the solution of the problem of lynching?

13. Walter Lippmann criticized the administration of President Roosevelt in outspoken terms on the ground that the increasing concentration of powers in

the office of the chief executive is creating a dictatorial government. Is this a fair criticism?

14. If neutrality legislation prohibiting the exportation of arms and munitions had been in effect during the period of the World War would the government of the United States have become involved in this catastrophe?

15. The proposed Sheppard-Hill bill (1937) provides for the following executive powers in the event of war or emergency: (1) fixing wages, (2) fixing prices, (3) conscription of labor, (4) suspension of collective bargaining, (5) drafting of men, (6) censorship of the press. This bill has been denounced as a fascist measure. Is this a fair criticism?

16. A prominent official in Washington has suggested the possibility that the Federal Reserve System may be forced to purchase about 35 billion dollars of government bonds from the banks of the country. Under what circumstances would this possibility become a probability? What would be the consequences of such action?

17. Since a balanced budget is highly desirable why does the government find it so difficult to achieve this aim?

18. It has been declared advisable to nationalize the munitions industry. Do you agree?

19. According to economic theory workers are disinclined to strike during periods of job scarcity and labor surplus. How then do you account for the epidemic of sit-down strikes which spread over the country during the winter and spring of 1937?

20. Does the federal government have power to control this type of situation?

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