

RACES NATIONS AND CLASSES

HERBERT ADOLPHUS MILLER, Ph.D.

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THE PSYCHOLOGY OF DOMINATION
AND FREEDOM

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PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY, OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY



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TO MY WIFE
BESSIE CRAVATH MILLER

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PREFACE

THE problems discussed in the following pages are both pressing and ominous. For all of these problems America is a microcosm. In any large American city every immigrant group reflects all the historic and current attitudes of Europe. But there is a fluidity here and expectation of change, which give an added factor of sociological interest. Solution of these problems requires mutual understanding and the development of sentiments that can not be forced but must come as free responses to those aspects of our social life that command respect and loyalty.

If, before our social groupings become crystallized, we can find scientific rather than pseudo-scientific, and constructive rather than capricious methods of dealing with these conflict situations, even those parts of the world in which fixed status has prevailed, may find in our example some hope of escape from the imminent destructive consequences.

The intensity and diversity of opinion over the campaign for "Americanization" have done much to stimulate thought. The Great War, the disorganization of Europe, the Ku Klux Klan, and political restlessness have called attention to the need of a rational program rather than for a rationalized justification of status.

The material for this book has been largely gained from personal contact rather than from books, and one of the lessons which the writer would like to convey is that there is no way of understanding the people who make up conflict groups except by sincere human association.

Several of the chapters in somewhat different form have been printed in various magazines. The people who have helped in the formulation of my ideas and in the securing of material are too numerous to mention, but I thank them all.

HERBERT ADOLPHUS MILLER.

Oberlin, Ohio,

August 22, 1924.

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

PROFESSOR MILLER has developed, in an illuminating way, the thesis that order within the nation and between the nations must be had, not by the exercise of force in repressing the will and destroying the liberty of groups, but by the development of ideas, sentiments, attitudes, that are capable of mutual correlation. Americans in general have imperfectly realized the heterogeneous character of our own society and few have adequately understood the inharmonies of the social psychology of Europe. The bitter teaching of European experience will not have been in vain if we will heed such interpretation of its lessons as is here presented. Without heeding these lessons of experience we cannot expect to succeed in the great task of Americanization, which thus far we have needlessly botched, nor properly bear our share in world society.

There is an important correlation between the books of Professors Eldridge, Sorokin and Miller which appear in this series. Professor Eldridge, by a telling analysis, reveals the limitations of liberal politics as a means of securing deep-going progressive changes. He points out difficulties that cannot be overcome unless they are understood. And his argument will lead some readers to conclude that the tendency of government to settle down to stratified rigidity is so inherent that fundamental changes can be realized only in periods of revolution. Professor Sorokin follows with such a diagnosis of the pathological character of revolution as to make those who were ready to turn toward revolution as the only hope of fundamental progress revolt with horror from the thought and regard *stagnation mitigated by revolution*

as a formula no more acceptable than the ancient "tyranny mitigated by assassination." And now Professor Miller comes forward with the thesis that force is as impotent to establish order among heterogeneous groups as it is to secure progress, and that order as well as progress must be based upon agreements, upon states of mind, upon established opinions, sentiments, aims, that operate, if not in unison, at least in harmony, that progress must be at bottom a shifting and integration of psychic elements in social organization, and that order must rest upon the establishment of habitual attitudes. He shows that order cannot be grounded in forcible repression of the instinctive and passionate loyalties and interests of men. Such a policy invites embittered strife. And progress need not resort to the destructive expedient of revolution. Social changes resemble the transformation of the winter landscape in spring, not the action of blasting dynamite. They resemble the changes in the form and quality of substances through chemical reaction not mechanical manipulation. Not political action, the inadequacy of which Professor Eldridge has shown, nor revolution, the pathological character of which Professor Sorokin has demonstrated, but social interaction, the causal efficiency of human relationships, is the predominant factor in securing both order and progress. Advancement toward comprehension of this factor is the prime requisite and chief hope of our civilization. And toward this comprehension the present volume makes an important contribution.

E. C. H.

INTRODUCTION

THIS book is an attempt to describe and analyze some actual, contemporary group conflicts which constitute real potential revolutionary conditions, and to draw conclusions from common and recurrent phenomena, so as to enable nations and classes and lesser groups to adopt policies which will prevent otherwise inevitable and destructive clashes.

We must recognize, however, that many of the results sought by revolution are inevitable, and cannot be prevented either by law or by force. The world has not understood this, and has blundered along without even a thought that it might be possible to proceed without blundering. Every blunder has had to be paid for at such a tremendous cost! If this study can indicate some means by which this cost can be lessened ever so little, the effort will be justified.

To emphasize a social theory or law almost inevitably means to throw it out of focus—to make it, as it were, the exclusive explanation of all the forces and problems in society. Witness the Eugenists and Economic Determinists. A social panacea is as much sought and as unscientific as a patent medicine.

There is no such thing as a single law of society. Human relationships, of which society consists, involve the whole universe—physical and spiritual—and therefore cannot be described simply. The very complexity, however, should stimulate, rather than inhibit, the effort to simplify and classify.

In my attempt to make some strong emphases, I fear that I may be open to the criticism of having put them out of focus. Nothing is farther from my purpose; if

the reader will remember that there is more than one aspect of a nation or of a religion, and that I am not directing attention to all of them, he will more easily follow my argument.

My conclusion will be that only by learning what is actually happening under given conditions, and an application of the lesson learned to similar conditions, can an ordered world be secured. If the evils of revolutionary conflict are to be avoided, methods of active guidance must be substituted for the old methods of repression and inhibition. We fear revolution because the concomitant of revolution is violence, and we dread violence. My aim is to find a way by which the legitimate results sought by revolution may be secured by peaceful processes; and also that the psychopathic attitudes and destructive secondary organizations which always accompany revolution, and which complicate the social process, may be escaped.

My thesis in this study is that an understanding of, and adjustment to, such psychological laws as may even now be formulated, will prevent the psychopathic conditions which measure the abnormality of group relations, and will thus enable progress to take place in an orderly manner.

I shall describe several conspicuous cases in world-situations, in which there has been complete failure to avoid results which are bound to follow brutal methods. I hope that I may make clear the common cause of many social phenomena which seem to be so widely different.

In chemistry and physiology there may be difference of opinion, but there is never the confusion which prevails in psychology and social science, because the vocabulary and technique are too specialized for popular use. In psychology and social science, not only is most of the vocabulary taken from words in common use, but the problems

are those of personal and daily life, and the result is that it is often difficult to tell where the line of scientific explanation begins.

It is the habit of the human mind to demand some kind of causal explanation of all phenomena. In other words, thinking assumes cause, but is satisfied with any alleged cause, and we actually find three levels of causal explanation—**SUPERSTITION, PSEUDO-SCIENCE, AND SCIENCE.**

Superstition is simply the explanation of a sequence of events as causal, when the notion as to the relation between them is accidental and remote. Magic involves the manipulation of causal forces, but there may be also cosmic incidents, like the phases of the moon or the conjunction of the stars with their supposed influences on crops and character. Things that cannot be explained by known causes are explained by mythical causes, but the important thing to notice is that they are explained by causes.

At the opposite pole from superstition is science. As a method it seeks verifiable causes for each sequence in a series. Since the range of experimental verification must be the field which a scientist undertakes to cover it is arbitrarily and definitely limited. As the subject becomes more refined the divisions to be studied become more narrow. True science, however, need make no apologies.

The scientist as a human being, however, lives like other people as to his social relations, and he constantly reverts to the methods which are characteristic of unscientific man, namely, trying to reduce all particulars to universals. But since he has been trained in the scientific method, he now defines his conclusions in scientific terms. This is one form of pseudo-science. For example, the entomologist whose attention has been given to bugs

offers an ultimate opinion on matters of race. He would not make a statement about the coloration of a potato bug until he had proved it under careful observation, but he sees no inconsistency in sweeping classifications about Japanese or Nordics.

The other class of pseudo-scientists are those whom a little learning has made mad. They have had a brief course in psychology and they set themselves up as qualified classifiers of human beings according to mental tests. They have not subjected their method or data to scrutiny. They have a confidence in the finality of their conclusions that marks the self-confident mind of a little learning. Their shading into the superstitious is imperceptible to them. The scientific jargon supplies the magical formula, and the tradition they wish to support or the prejudice that dominates them has credence because it has scientific form.

The problem of society would be hopeless unless myth were constantly being shoved into the background, and true science substituted for it; and yet no one can have the presumption to think that he is entirely free from the danger of falling from the scientific to one of the other positions at any time. One cannot but feel some consternation that what might be called the "middle-class mind," lying between science and superstition, rushes in to solve with scientific assurance some of the most complex problems, the "solution" being generally in line with the traditions and prejudices of their class.

Another inevitable source of confusion is found in the mixture of psychology and ethics. The former is a descriptive science and the latter a normative science. Psychology describes and explains in causal sequences the mental processes of individuals and groups. Ethics, as it commonly is developed, merely sets up a standard and describes the process or way to be followed if the standard is to be

attained, but there is no necessity, as in descriptive science, that the sequence shall be followed; for that the principle of duty is developed. "Ought" takes the place of "is." This kind of reasoning which is so common, is admirably illustrated by the German ex-Kaiser in his memoirs telling of the gratitude of German workmen at Stettin in 1888 when he had provided them work by diverting a ship-building order to them. He says: "In those days, the German laboring classes knew how to appreciate the blessing of labor." The implication is that now labor is not satisfied with work alone, as it *ought* to be. The significant psychological fact is found in the dissatisfaction itself; which must be explained psychologically before the moral question can properly be raised. Nevertheless, everyone, in addition to thinking causally, thinks in terms of moral values, and we have pseudo-moralists as well as pseudo-scientists.

The restlessness and confusion of society "*ought*" not to be constantly breaking out to disturb us, from the point of view of those who are not part of the restlessness, such as ex-Kaisers and the inhabitants of Main Street. But we have to reckon with the reality of what actually is, and it gets us no nearer a solution to lament and exhort. The reformer is always open to criticism because he tends to confuse his knowledge of conditions with his moral objective, though he is always a stage beyond those who are satisfied, because he recognizes the existence of causes that are leading to something new. Even the imperialist and autocrat Bismarck saw the advisability of providing against the dissatisfaction of workmen by recognizing the way in which their demands were likely to come. But this was always an expedient and politic action rather than action on principle.

We are undoubtedly advancing rapidly in both the philosophy and practice of looking for the moral value in the process, rather than in the absolute *a priori* standard. In other words, social thinking is rapidly becoming pragmatic. It finds the truth of an idea in the way it works rather than in inherited or static standards.

The legal and rationalistic interpretation of social processes as well as the moral are giving way to the psychological, and men begin to use the "new psychology," because much of it has developed out of their very demand for a better explanation of things. Legalism presupposes a deliberate rational control of the actions of men, which in fact is only an abstraction and largely an illusion. Most of the time human beings are merely instinctive, emotional and imaginative, or otherwise exhibiting controls below the level of rationality. Our reactions to group conditions seldom rise to the level of deliberation, as we show by following the *mores* instead of the moral law, fashion instead of comfort and æsthetics, and political prejudice instead of judgment.

Although dogma is discredited, there is a universality and uniformity to these sub-rational reactions which show that they are controlled by law, but by psychological, not moral or statute law. The discovery of the laws must be empirical, and when they are adequately demonstrated, they must modify the very foundations both of the legislative system and of international relations.

Religion and Philosophy have been prevailingly *a priori* and absolutist rather than *a posteriori* and pragmatic. The first social studies coming from those nurtured in the traditional schools naturally tended in the same direction; but whether such reasoning be justified or not in purely abstract fields, it has no justification in social science. As a student of philosophy with William James, I resisted his

Pragmatism, but as I studied sociology I became convinced that absolutism must give way to pragmatism.

The complexity of society is infinite and a panacea is inconceivable. Pragmatism insists that the truth about phenomena inheres in the way things work. If we look at the chaotic world about us we shall see that social philosophy has been largely dominated by theories that are *not working*. As we make practical adjustments to truth discovered in action, we may hope to substitute progress for chaos.

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RACES, NATIONS AND CLASSES

CHAPTER I

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE GROUP

WARS, revolutions, and class conflicts grow out of the nature and relationship of groups. To prevent them there is demanded, first, an understanding of their origin in this nature and relationship, and, second, an application of this understanding in both social and political science.

The classification according to "primary and secondary groups" as developed by Professor Cooley or "personal and impersonal groups," as the same contrast is termed by Professor Hayes, is fully accepted in the treatment that follows, but there is needed a further explanation of the tremendous significance of the group in the life of the individual and of society.

The very amount of literature and tradition about the dangers of the crowd and the pathology of mob psychology has seriously misled us. The implication has been that only the individual free from the control of the group is the normal and desirable person. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The emphasis which Le Bon and the other exponents of crowd psychology have put on the abnormal aspect, has diverted our attention from the normal and tremendously vital forces of the group. In America the emphasis on individualism and the individual has made it difficult to readjust our thinking to a realization of the fact that the individual is not paramount. Only occasionally do we have the psychopathology of the mob. It is true, however, that the relationship of many of the groups

in the world is at present manifestly pathological, and the greatest problem is to discover some way in which the disease can be cured. This involves a new psychological interpretation.

It has not been easy to explain why men have always forsaken father and mother, wife and children, and left the dead to bury their own dead, in order that they might fight even unto death for the preservation of their groups. The impulse which drives them to it lies deep in nature itself—deeper than values based on reason. It is an instinct in its own right, if there are instincts. At least it is the psychological equivalent of what has been called instinct.

“The savage peoples of the present day live in groups, and all the remains of prehistoric men show that they too lived in groups. There is no reason to believe that the anthropoid precursor of man was an unsocial animal. Indeed, the mental differences that mark men off from other creatures are those that are created by social intercourse. Speech in particular, an attainment that has given man his preëminence over other animals, is distinctly a social creation. Since association and sociability have been such all-important factors in the mental evolution of mankind, we shall consider the advantages that accrue from social life.

“Association immediately affects selection and survival. Life in groups affords protection from extremes of climate and from ferocious animal enemies. In the snow storm, sheep press together and keep warm. Certain animals move in herds and flocks, so that in case of danger they are able to stand off the enemy. The isolated animal unable to sustain bodily warmth in the blizzard, succumbs. A fierce enemy is more sure to exterminate the single individual. In this way it happens that sociability has a definite

survival value, so that the individual accustomed to group life is selected to survive, while the individual living an isolated existence lacks the advantage of coöperation and is more often destroyed.

“Life in societies insures a larger and a more certain food supply. Social animals hunt in packs, when their combined strength is often able to vanquish prey that one of them alone could not overcome. Moreover, food secured by one of the pack is often shared with the other members, while an unsocial animal would be driven from the feast.

“But the great effect of association and group life upon selection is found in the fact that through the advantages of protection and food supply gained by coöperation and mutual aid, the average social animal has a better chance to reach maturity and have offspring. Under the safer conditions of group life, more progeny can reach maturity than is possible in the uncertain state of isolated families. In another chapter we say that survival meant more than the continuance of mere individual life; it meant the perpetuation of the race by the rearing of progeny. Survival in this sense means that certain advantageous characteristics possessed by the parents, will not be lost to the race but will probably appear in the offspring and form a basis for new gains. And so, in the course of the struggle for existence, those animals that tend to vary in the direction of a sociable and docile disposition, would, other things being equal, have a better chance to survive over their isolated competitors, and surviving, would tend to transmit to their progeny by the laws of heredity those same social characteristics. In this way, traits must have been constantly scrutinized by natural selection and the social characteristics picked out and given the stamp of approval. Hence, long before the differentiation of man,

animals were developing that social nature which is now the chief characteristic of the human species. During the ages that must have elapsed in the transition from anthropoid to man, animals were developing that social nature which is now the chief characteristic of the human species. During the ages that have elapsed in the transition from anthropoid to man the process of socialization continued to do its work selecting the sociable and excluding or exterminating the unsocial."¹

Instinct or urge, or predisposition, or "wish" is a product of the evolutionary process which persists in both the biological and psychological organization of the individual. It originated through the selection of spontaneous reactions which enabled the individual to survive. Some instincts cease to be significant for survival though they continue to function. Fear of snakes and lightning are examples. Others continue to preserve the individual and the race from extinction. The food and mating instincts are fundamental. A generalized social instinct is not adequate to explain all the conditions. No individual ever survived through society in general, but always by belonging to a specific group of which he was in his very nature an integral part and from which his social qualities are derived. In other words, the instinct does not come from the need of an association with people in general, but from experience with specific groups without which no individual has ever survived. The individual, according to the theory maintained in this study, brings to the group a predisposition to identify himself with it, and its influence on him arises from his own nature. By nature he is adapted to the group. In the evolution of the human species and in most prehuman species, no indi-

¹ F. S. Chapin, *Social Evolution*, pp. 104-106. The Century Co.

vidual survived except as a member of a group. In fact, the individual survival has been much more dependent on the survival of the group than on any possible extension which the individual could make on his isolated behalf. The result has been that both the normal instinct and its half-conscious enhancement by imagination, custom, and tradition have made the individual value his own personal existence less than that of his group. "It is sweet to die for one's country," because the survival of one's country is actually more significant to one than the survival of one's individual self. Such a driving emotion could only be felt as the fulfilment of a basic impulse, never derived from abstract reasoning. Each individual unconsciously postulates his own existence in the continuity of his group, because in the struggle for survival there was no other possibility of existence.

In view of the interpretation of the nature of the group and the instinctive relation to it of the individual, we must try to understand the individual otherwise than we would if he did not have this almost organic relationship. An individual is never an isolated being psychologically, not only because of the effect of others as stimuli on him, but because of his very nature which makes it impossible for him to exist or to fulfill himself except as a member of a group. The group is of the most vital importance to him, because of his own nature. Rationality has no meaning if it does not involve an individual functioning as part of a group. The intellectualist mode of thinking was accepted under the delusion that the individual was the unit of thought. The prevalence of this mode, however, has been so general that it seems to be actually immoral to substitute a more factual explanation for its absolute dogma.

HUMAN VALUES EVOLVE THROUGH GROUPS

Never in human species have the offspring been nurtured successfully except in families, where the infant had in his own right a value around which the family activities centered. It has been found through the slaughter of the innocents that institutional care of infants is fatal. When the family ceases to hold the attention of the boy, he joins a gang, for whose reality he will fight bloody battles. The adult must be in some group such as a family, club, or neighborhood; otherwise he will be restless and lost like a rudderless ship. Excommunication was the worst punishment that could be imposed on a man in the Middle Ages, because it cut him off from those groups which were peculiarly his own, and so "the man without a country" arouses the pity of all who hear of his plight, because in themselves they feel the horror and unnaturalness of it. Whenever an individual is by any means ungrouped, his struggle to regroup himself is just as immediate and unreasoned in its origin as the heliotropism through which simple-celled organisms turn to the light. *Espirit de corps* is always specific, never general.

The group, however, is not a fixed thing, any more than the kind of food or particular mate is fixed. The behavior is simply the expression of an impulse, of a general tendency which is satisfied by a particular object. The newly hatched chick will peck at the head of a nail as though it were a fly, and it does not know why it is pecking. The particular kind of food that the chick will eventually eat by preference will depend on the opportunity of later circumstances. In like manner the group for which the instinct inclines the individual is quite undefined, and may be determined by a great variety of conditions. Or again, while the mating instinct is universal, the particular

mate will be determined by various sorts of social control which will define the limits within which the selection will take place. Public opinion, religion, and education, exercise a direction over the mating instinct, and may inhibit its action, but in no way do they eliminate it. Through it the race survives. Similarly the food instinct attains its fulfilment in whatever makes the individual survive. And as the food instinct is satisfied by the accepted food, and the mating instinct develops love for an accepted mate, so the group instinct has as its object whatever group in the given case makes for survival. This will vary widely under changing circumstances, and there will be a striving to identify the proper group through the help of the senses, just as the chick through its eye, taste, and muscle sensations acquires both accuracy and discrimination in getting its food. The first group will be the immediate family; though under primitive conditions, both among animals and humans, the family was not clearly distinguishable from the pack, flock, clan, or tribe. Whatever it is, however, it is the group in which the individual maintains his existence and without which he would perish. All individuals which have not had the impulse to identify themselves with a group have been eliminated by the simple process of natural selection.

The sense of sight is probably the most significant at first in identifying one's own group, but smell, hearing, and touch are also employed. Any sensation that is familiar will ordinarily be safe. The ant, as Lloyd Morgan has shown, is attacked by members of its own hill if it has the odor of other ant hills. The degree of familiarity to the senses will not be constant, so symbolism is employed to supplement the sense limitation, such as the flag or costumes. The ancients used enemy and stranger synonymously, because it was necessary to be on

the guard against anyone not within the group. "Consciousness of kind" is the recognition of some symbol with which one identifies his own group.

The relation of the individual to the groups is continually changing, as factors in survival are recognized. Thus religion defines a grouping which for the individual has various values whose recognition is not simple. Emotion, tradition, formalism, and reason impress themselves constantly, until often the religious values and the religious groupings become the dominant ones. The symbol by which religious grouping is recognized is ritual. In fact, with the exception of the personal group and the racial group which are recognized directly, and the national group which also is known directly when it is known at all, all the groups have some sort of symbolic ritual. This is peculiarly true of the Nation, which is of comparatively recent origin, but which has come to include most of the other survival values. Although religious organization was earlier and more inclusive, within recent centuries the Nation has supplanted it, because that was even more comprehensive. The symbolism of the Nation is very varied and it is a mistake to regard the geographical area occupied as the only external embodiment of political organization. The only real test of nationality is found in the attitude of the people themselves. This may be based on common blood, common tradition, history, religion, or language, but, whatever be the basis, we must accept the fact that the national consciousness forms the most solid grouping at the present time. This does not mean that it is any more permanent than any which have preceded it, but for the present more of the human race feel their survival to be in the Nation than in any other grouping to which they may belong. The measure of this is found in the struggles which have been and are being made in

behalf of the Nation. National individuality is a reality of consciousness.

While particular groups may be in flux, the group impulse will remain permanent. Psychologically, of course, it is a complex. Under changing conditions there may be many variations. When the wolf is separated from his pack, he is much distressed; when the wolf has evolved to the dog, he transfers his pack emotion to the family with which he identifies himself, and he will endanger his own life in behalf of that family as readily as previously he fought for his pack.

The so-called gregarious instinct is derived or sublimated from a prior group instinct which is always directed to a definite group. Loyalty and patriotism are the accompanying emotions, and the measure of character is to be found in them, because they show that the individual has definitely identified himself with a value larger than his immediate self. We all respond to an example of loyalty, because it is needed in others for our own survival. Conversely, since we always judge an individual as a representative of his group, we lay upon him vicariously the virtues and vices of the whole. This is peculiarly apparent where there is hatred. Any member of a nation or class toward which there is animosity is with the greatest difficulty treated on his own merits. The universality of this mode of reaction can only point to its origin in our intimate and fundamental relation to the group, by which we transfer to another that which is fundamental in ourselves, *viz.*, an organic relationship with a group.

Again, an individual without a group would be an ineffective, wild animal. In order to get the notion that as a person one is very much more closely related to his group than to his separate personality, one only needs, so far as possible, to think himself free from other human

influences, and he will find that he would have no language, no customs, no morals—nothing but crude undirected impulses.

We are the product of social relationships, or, in other words, of the groups to which we belong. We react in terms of our groups, and must always be understood as reflecting them.

We postulate many values and we find them realized in as many groups. These values have varying significance, and the groups in which they are realized have correspondingly varying allegiances. At a given moment an individual will not be able to arrange the groups to which he belongs in a smooth scale of values, because he has no means of relating them to each other and to himself. They represent different levels of existence—the food level, the play level, the mating level, the economic level, the spiritual level, *et al.* Under the best conditions none of these are threatened, so none rise strongly into consciousness. They are taken for granted. As the levels become more complex, it is necessary to call in the aid of imagination and reason to define them and direct the emotions. When the food level demands a balanced ration, a highly organized culinary system is required; when mating is eugenic, science and religion are both needed. On the broadest spiritual levels, a moral, social, and political organization is required.

LOYALTY TO PARTICULAR GROUPS MUST BE AROUSSED

The moment the value is raised above the crudest sensual satisfaction, the other psychological faculties are employed to enable the individual to find his fulfilment. This may occur through education, persuasion through facts, or through propaganda. Propaganda uses all the

arts at its command to show the individual that his salvation is assured only through some particular group. A large part of the world's activity consists in trying to convince people who do not easily perceive it, that their survival in certain respects or on certain levels depends on their identifying themselves with some particular groups. We have to be made aware of our group identity.

The Salvation Army would save the sinner from hell by having him feel his identity with the religious group. The patriot elevates the Fatherland to the highest value. The socialist makes economic class-consciousness the goal. In all groups there are those who have seen new values before the others, and they become the prophets or the agitators, according to the conditions. When the Englishman says that there would be no Irish question if it were not for the agitators, or the capitalist that labor would be content if it were not for the professional organizer, they are looking at an incident, not at a main cause. Does the agitator represent a potential group into which those whom he is trying to influence will naturally fall when they are aroused to a consciousness of the significance of the group to themselves? If the agitation makes good, this will be unquestionable.

Loyalty and patriotism are merely the emotional side of the group impulse. They measure the identity of the individual with his group. In all nations during the Great War this normal emotion of national patriotism was greatly increased by concentrating all sorts of stimuli upon it. The appeals to hate and fear were the most effective. Both of these are also primitive impulses which may supplement the group feeling. In America people became conscious for the first time that America was elementally significant to them. It was so significant that men and women eagerly offered to risk their lives for it.

The point I wish to make here is that this patriotism or group feeling was stimulated by propaganda. And this must always take place. One cannot easily see that his survival depends upon the survival of such a complex group as a nation, so he must be told. And the same thing is true of many other groups to which we potentially belong, or which might be significant to us.

This method of arousing potential loyalty is well illustrated by the machinery which is employed in all colleges and in each college class to develop college spirit. It differs in no respect from the method of the evangelist in the revival meeting, or the political organization which appeals to patriotism. We are making much now of the development of community spirit, which is originally found in a primary group, but which under the conditions of modern life has to be stimulated artificially.

From these illustrations it might be inferred that the individual is a somewhat passive recipient of an influence imposed on him by his group. This is not the case. He is simply by nature predisposed to the group, though he cannot always know until it is shown to him how important some particular group may be to his more complete existence.

We react to the group relationship unconsciously and without hesitation, because it is normal and natural. We have resentments and attachments as individuals to individuals, though even those are colored by our group membership, but our capital emotions are those related to specific groups. Since the reality of the group is created out of the nature of individuals as a result of natural selection, the problems which arise from the relationship of groups in the world-process must be considered directly as problems which are to be solved by a proper consideration of the instinctive nature of man, and not from the

point of view of its superficial manifestations. While the survival value of particular groups may vary with conditions and insight, the potency and inevitableness of the action of the group consciousness are the fundamental factors to be reckoned with in the organization of the world.

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CHAPTER II

VERTICAL AND HORIZONTAL GROUPS

IN ADDITION to primary and secondary, or personal and impersonal groups, the organization of society can be better understood by a division into vertical and horizontal. Race, religion and nation are examples of vertical groups.

The vertical group includes all classes in the society of which it is representative. A family is a good illustration, for it has unity among people of different ages, intelligence, authority, and economic power. The race, obviously, includes all classes within its limits. The same is true of a religion. The Roman Catholic Church has always included the whole range of society. Internationalism in religion is an ideal, not a function. In the recent war not a single religion but willingly yielded to the survival value of the state, although there were some members of some sects, as among the Quakers, who did not yield.

The hold of the vertical group on the individual has been tremendous. The sentiment of loyalty and patriotism has been developed in connection with these groups, until our adherence to them has come to be almost synonymous with virtue, and on the whole, devotion to these groups has been preëminently idealistic.

The class or caste grouping is easily understood as horizontal. In general it is concerned more with the conditions of economic life, though not exclusively. There are many levels in this grouping, and many names to describe them. Upper and lower are terms in com-

mon use. Aristocracy and *hoi polloi*, capital and labor, or bourgeois and proletarian have been descriptive at different times. The peculiarity of these groupings is that they are not only found within the vertical groups, but that they tend to pass over the boundaries. There is much concern at the present time because the so-called lower group tends consciously to break down national barriers. The crossing on the upper level was made long ago. The well-to-do and the intellectuals have been quite at home in their own class in whatever nation or sect, but only recently has labor recognized its own class interest. Only within the generation has there been any tendency for the common people to break down their provincialism and become class conscious. Formerly, the local grouping marked by dialect or costume was maintained in isolation. Now, as the result of an organized campaign of education by the socialists, these little groupings are tending to break down. Banking interests, European clothes, luxury, scientific and even conventional ideas have long been international in the upper class; while variety, narrowness and small group solidarity have been preserved on the humble levels.

The conflicts of the world are between every possible combination of the horizontal and vertical groups. When the conflict becomes overt between vertical groups it is called war; when between classes or between vertical and horizontal groups, it is revolution. When one vertical group has dominated another, as race, nation, or religion, there is always a consciousness of class stratification. Thus the Germans as a class were distinguished from the Poles as a class, and the Caucasians in America are class-conscious in relation to the Negroes, just as definitely as the capitalists as a class are in contrast to labor as a class.

VERTICAL GROUPS

The outstanding attitude of these class groups is that of superior and inferior. It is the conflict resulting from these attitudes and the machinery of law and custom by which they are maintained, that furnishes the occasion for revolution. War, on the other hand, involves a degree of mutual respect. In the horizontal conflict there is always a condition of dominance and subjection.

Class attitudes become stereotyped. Recently I met a young man whose father is a lawyer. The young man was serving an apprenticeship in a great industrial plant. His mother said, "My son puts on overalls and eats with the workingmen." And the boy, who had a sense of humor, said, "Mother, you should have said, 'The workingmen eat together.'" The mother represented the superior class, whose relationship to the inferior class was as immediately conscious as the consciousness of superiority of the Japanese over the Korean, or the American over the Chinese coolie.

The force that is most characteristic of the group in its control of the individual has been technically called *mores*. *Mores* means the unconscious, unquestioned control of ideas and habits which are accepted as having all the significance of moral values, although on analysis they prove to be purely accidental; but we cannot understand social solidarity without an understanding of the force of *mores*. Our marriage customs, our way of bringing up children, our superstitions, our religious systems, and even our political principles are for the most part *mores*, not rational conclusions. Much that we think rational and moral is nothing but the control that the group exercises over us through the *mores*.

The individual is thus cemented to his group, or vari-

ous groups, by a power which he never fully understands. He gets a consciousness of unity and identity which is irresistible in most cases. There is nothing more abstractly irrational than race consciousness, but it represents the largest grouping to which we belong. There are certain outward signs of race which come through our senses, but we tend to attribute inherent values to them, of which there is no valid basis. An individual may belong to a number of groups, even those which are occasionally in conflict, but in general the strongest allegiance is to the racial group, provided a race conflict is aroused.

When there is no experience of another race there can be no race consciousness. In the Russo-Japanese War a correspondent whose political sympathy was entirely on the Japanese side, had some plans of Russian works that would have been of great value to the Japanese. He kept them to himself because, as he said with great gusto, "The Japanese are not white." In culture level and dominant ideas there was sympathy with the Japanese, but when the Russians were thought of as defenders of the white race, group survival was identified with the race. This feeling had undoubtedly been made vivid by the appeal to fear of the "yellow peril." Racial solidarity is aroused at any time by a suggestion of racial danger.

Smaller, and generally within the race, is the nation. A nation must be distinguished from a state, which is more artificial and external. Race problems are portentous in the world, but the most familiar and ubiquitous conflicts are those of nations.

A well-known Allied general said, "That his men knew that if they took a German town they would be allowed to sack it for six hours." He was greeted with the exclamation: "That is just as bad as the Germans." He replied, "Ah, but you don't know how bad the Germans are." He

was then asked what his country would do if the Peace Conference did not make a grant which was much desired, and his instant reply was: "We will join the Germans." He could see no inconsistency in that position, because he felt that no moral resentment was equal to the conviction that this bit of territory was absolutely essential for the honor and survival of his nation. The sovereignty of the nation was absolute in setting his standard of morality, and no alternative was considered.

Narrower than nationalism is religion as an object of adherence, though at times it has the same power to control. Everybody is potentially religious, for religion is simply the effort of the individual to get an adjustment with the universe, and may be called the striving for spiritual realization. The ecclesiastical institution is the social group with which one coöperates for the attainment of these spiritual ends; and since they are of the utmost importance, history is full of examples of the sacrifice of life for religion. In fact, it has been so common, that society has recognized its significance and made real progress in the attempt to solve the problem by adopting the principle of religious tolerance, so that even where it is not practiced it is proclaimed.

HORIZONTAL GROUPS

We have been considering vertical groups but there is now emerging the horizontal group, and the next epoch must devote itself to solving the problems coming out of horizontal relationships. The horizontal conflicts are taking new forms and we shall consider several of them in the succeeding chapters.

There has swept over the whole world in the last few years the ferment of the horizontal classification. The Russian Revolution has focussed attention on an alignment

of interests that were already emerging in every country, and it has defined the issues in clearer terms. Horizontal groups have always existed, but the different levels of group consciousness are new. In preparation for the conflicts to come group consciousness that divides horizontal groups threatens to supplant that between nations. Fears, defenses, hates and methods of attack make up much of the life of modern society. Russia is looked upon as a threat against status rather than against the state. Radicals are disturbers of horizontal tranquillity. The conservative is the defender of existing institutions. Political parties, which in America have been vertical, foresee new parties on class lines. Industrial democracy promises to go beyond politics into industry.

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CHAPTER III

THE GROUP REVOLT

ONE universal concomitant of group consciousness is the feeling that individual qualities are enhanced by measure of the magnitude of the group. There is not a Chamber of Commerce in the United States that does not overestimate the population of its community, and condemn the census when the correct figures are given, always showing a smaller number than advertised. This attitude, of course, has an economic basis. One of the difficulties in the heterogeneously settled communities of eastern Europe is that each of two nationalities will claim a majority in a district. This is perfectly normal; people associate almost altogether with other persons of their own class or with those who speak their own language, and therefore they see their own kind predominantly, and do not even know of the existence of others. The result of this tendency is strikingly illustrated in the case of foreign language communities in America. A Polish woman who spent six months traveling in America reported that the United States was a Polish-speaking country. Most of the readers of this book have probably always assumed that Boston, Cleveland and Chicago are English-speaking cities, when as a matter of fact less than half of the inhabitants of these cities regularly speak English. In Cleveland, for example, 56 per cent. of the children in the schools in 1915 did not speak English in their homes.

All groups and classes have a tendency to overestimate their own values, and when the supreme values of nationality and religion are the basis of conflict each feels itself to be striving for the right. In middle and southeastern

Europe the national groupings marked by language and religion are grounded deep in the history of the peoples. When these emotionally ingrained differences, in addition to natural community egotisms, are made the basis of territorial controversy, the difficulty is more serious, because the issues become highly subjective; and they represent absolutely honest convictions.

Even where such issues have a much slighter historical validity, conflicts of attitude tend easily to become extreme, and pass beyond the possibility of objective evaluation by the groups involved.

The United States can parallel almost any of the boundary disputes of Europe with only a shadow of the justification of the latter. "Fifty-four forty or fight!" over boundary disputes with Canada sounds strangely like "Fiume or death!" The Ohio-Michigan boundary conflict offers the most outstanding comparison. In the original survey an error was made which would have deprived Ohio of approximately 360 square miles. There was constant controversy from 1812 to 1836, and the violence of feeling and language is now almost incomprehensible. In 1818, the secretary of Michigan wrote John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State, begging that Michigan be protected from Ohio, which had "swollen to the dimensions of a giant; and as Michigan is a frontier state, it should be strong to protect the Union against countless hordes of savages in the Northwest and the rapidly growing power of Canada." When the Senate passed a bill in 1835 giving the territory to Ohio, Michigan memorialized Congress saying that she would resist, "let the attempt be made by whom it may be, to rob her of her soil and trample on her rights." Ohio retaliated with a special session of the legislature which appropriated \$300,000 because "the great and powerful city of Detroit . . . united to

oppress and weaken the little village of Toledo," and the honor of the state was pledged to protect its citizens who had been persecuted by Michigan "with a degree of reckless vengeance rarely paralleled in the history of civilized nations."¹ Finally the dispute was amicably settled when Michigan was given the Upper Peninsula which was a concession geographically as irrational as it would have been to give Luxemburg to Italy.

The significant thing about these deeply emotionalized conflicts is that no one cares an iota now how the matter was finally settled. Toledo would have been just as happy under the jurisdiction of Michigan as under that of Ohio. The point that should be noted is that there are conflicts which may be very intense, but which when once settled in any way, are easily forgotten provided they are not followed by oppression.

The late Professor Sumner of Yale on one occasion while denying in a lecture the possibilities of natural rights, met the objection of a student by saying: "No, it is root, hog, or die with us." The student came back: "But, professor, haven't we the natural right to root?" This is clearly a basic right. It is the predisposition to struggle. Struggle is always in the direction of fulfilment of some desire or "wish," and the opportunity of making this struggle is all that is meant by freedom. Freedom does not mean satisfaction attained, but the privilege of striving for satisfaction.

"When a man says, 'I shall be at liberty to see you next Thursday,' one does not need to enquire whether it is a person or a thing which prevents him from seeing you earlier. But this use does not help explain the enormous force of Liberty as a political principle. Common

¹The Ohio-Michigan Boundary. *Ohio Coöperative Topographic Survey*, 1916. Annah May Soule.

usage refuses to say that the liberty of a Syrian peasant is equally violated if half of his crops are destroyed by hail or locusts, half of his income taken by a Turkish tax-gatherer, or half his working hours are taken for road construction by a German or French commander; because human obstruction of our impulses produces in us, under certain conditions, reactions which are not produced by obstruction due to non-human events. The reactions to human obstruction take the form, first of anger and an impulse to resist; and then, if resistance is found to be or felt to be, useless, of an exquisitely painful feeling of unfreedom; and similar reactions do not follow non-human obstruction. Wounded self-respect, helpless hatred, and thwarted affection, are, that is to say, different psychological states from hunger and fatigue, though all are results of obstructions to the carrying out of our impulses. When Shakespeare wishes to describe the ills which drive men to suicide he gives:

'The Oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely,
The pangs of despised love, the law's delay,
The insolence of office, and the spurns
That patient merit of the unworthy takes,'

and does not mention the want of food and clothing from which he must himself have suffered during his first wanderings from Stratford."²

AUTOCRATIC, PLUTOCRATIC, AND CULTOCRATIC CONTROL

In the group relationships the pathology resulting from conflict is caused by some sort of domination of one group by another. There are several forms of domination, but the most common are: Political, economic, and cul-

² Graham Wallas, *Our Social Heritage*, pp. 159-160. Yale University Press.

tural. These may be called autocratic, plutocratic, and cultocratic.

"The subjection of one individual to another is obviously immoral. The dictates of conscience tell the individual that it is wrong to rob his neighbor of property or personality. But the State having no conscience—or at best, one that is irresponsible—no fear of hell or any of the other things that usually restrain individuals, has only to consider the interest of the majority under a democracy, and the ambitions or whims of dictators under autocracy."⁸

The most familiar form in history and recent current discussion is autocratic domination or oppression, through political machinery whether in the person of the sovereign or the policy of the State. In political domination there is not only the exercise of autocratic power by a monarch, but a whole nationality may impose culture and institutions on another, or even a majority may deal autocratically with a minority. When one nationality or group restricts the freedom of self-expression of another, we have an abnormal situation of which the injustice is measured by the pathology of the attitudes which emerge.

Both by war and by other forms of aggression people have been divided into victors and conquered—the dominating and subjected. And while devastation and disorganization are visible and distressing, the more lasting and insistent evils arise from the effort of the victor to absorb and crush out the individuality of the loser. That it cannot be done except at fearful cost and yet is constantly attempted might be called the colossal blindness of human history.

When the conquered cannot meet force with force on an equality it develops resentment and resorts to subterfuge. At the present moment the world is teeming with

⁸ William Moore, *The Clash*, p. 31. J. M. Dent & Sons, Toronto.

such conflicts. The symbol of them all is Ireland, but Middle Europe, India, Korea, and Africa are all of them even more portentous.

JUSTICE IS PSYCHOLOGICAL RATHER THAN MORAL

The measure of the injustice of what has been such common practice cannot be found by *a priori* calculation, but in the distortion of attitudes which make normal life impossible. Psychological rather than rationalistic factors must be the basis of a moral political practice.

It has been very difficult for dominant peoples to realize that the imposition of what they are convinced is good upon another people may be essentially bad. Sanitation and education may be genuinely good taken by themselves, but when imposed their very virtue may be a constant reminder of the affront to the individuality of the group upon whom they are imposed.

Germans honestly believed their Kultur better for those who did not have it than what they did have, and measured by most standards except the one we are raising here it was.

English Protestantism may be more advanced than Irish Catholicism, and American habits may be superior to the habits of most of our immigrants, but in each of these cases when one group becomes conscious of its identity in relation to these matters in contrast with the other group, the quality of moral value goes over from the thing, to the relationship of the groups.

Here we find that the group described in a previous chapter (Chapter I) becomes conscious of the danger to its survival, and it calls unjust every action that is interpreted as a threat to group individuality. As we discuss these particular examples in later chapters it will

become evident that the reactions to similar conditions are characteristic and can be considered marks of the pathology.

If the form of government is such that there is apparent democracy but actual domination, the result will be the same. In Ontario, Canada, there is a democratic form of election, but the two political parties are composed of people whose allegiance is not primarily to formal party principles, but to the alignment as English Protestants and French Catholics, with the result that the domination of the majority composed of the English Protestants becomes an oppression to the French Catholics. It is fear of this same thing in reverse which stirred the Ulsterites to opposition to Home Rule in Ireland. Under existing practice if the English control be removed there would be Irish control, and the English in power justified themselves on the basis of their superior civilization, and did not perceive that the morality of civilization must be measured by its total results, and that the psychological condition of Ireland is the product of a relationship and constitutes thereby at present a very large negative value to civilization.

Any majority that asserts its unyielding authority over a minority is just as hateful as an absolute monarch. Where there is no real difference between parties, as has been the case in the United States, there is no real domination of Republicans by Democrats, or *vice versa*, because each is always trying to get the relatively independent votes of the other and thus exercises care in its relationship not to offend the masses of the opponents even when in power. As a matter of fact in a proper democracy there will be a grouping of people according to interests; the two-party system and our present attitude toward majority rule is not adequate to meet the actual

situation. If there comes to be an alignment according to national or religious interests, as in the case mentioned above from the Canadian situation, we shall very probably get a pathological condition. In fact, it already exists where there is control of the parties by the capitalistic group, and suspicion of control is alleged by each old party against the other.

The Democratic and Republican parties are good examples of vertical groups in origin, gradually becoming horizontal in fact, as proven by the emergence of the labor-party idea which is a horizontal group. The group around which the labor idea rallies, feels that it is not free under conditions where the capitalistic group is consciously organizing itself to control. If there is freedom to make the fight in face to face conflict, as open conference in labor disputes, there will be no difficulty, but when there is use of injunction or technicality to restrain self-expression there will be a pathological outcome.

Economic control is established in various ways. Free business competition even to the loser is not offensive, but when it is accompanied by some method of loading the dice, such as control of the courts, or the massing of capital by interlocking systems, it arouses resentment as soon as the actual facts become known or are suspected.

CULTOCRACY

The least understood form of domination, and yet the most prevalent, is what I have named *cultocratic*. This is the control exercised by those who have a conviction of superiority, which superiority they either try to impose on others or to maintain intact from connection with others. But in both cases there will be resentment. The purpose of many "Americanizers" of the immigrant illustrates the former, and the attitude of race prejudice the other.

The instruments of political organization and economic power are both used to assist the culture domination, but there are many other methods of exercising it. It varies in its appearance to the group which opposes it from snobbishness and arrogance to mere self-confidence. These are all well illustrated by Treitschke in the following utterance :

"We Germans who know both Germany and France, are better judges than the Alsatians, of their true welfare ; better than the unfortunate who by reason of their intercourse with France have lived in ignorance of the New Germany." This could be matched by many utterances of both English and Americans.

The curious thing, however, about these dominations is that they may be just as effective when they are imaginary as when they are real. Many of the problems of the present are due to the fact that people think they are being controlled by some interest that really is not potent. We have always had attitudes like this with regard to religious control. The most absurd statements are made by strongly anti-Catholic groups with regard to the political purpose and action of the Catholics. The labor group may get hysterical over imaginary excesses based on true facts, but with a great deal of imaginary coloring, about the capitalistic class. At the present time the imaginary fear of domination is almost entirely in the capitalistic class, which is tremendously exaggerating certain imaginings of what is coming from the proletarian class.

Radicalism is the result of the reaction of individuals to the restraint of dogma or orthodoxy. Revolution is the result of the reaction of groups to the same sort of thinking carried over to the group. An ecclesiastical system, a caste system as in India, a class system as in England, in each case is domination through dogma or mores.

The revolt of both the individual and the group is first against the people who, through the continued prevalence of the system, reap an undue advantage.

The spread of ideas is greatly assisted by the newspaper, which, if it represents a single group, gives that group an advantage which for a time is overwhelming. The class not now represented by the popular press has become very suspicious of it. The way in which the change has taken place and the part played by the newspaper is illustrated by the following quotation from a book dealing with the French-Canadian question:

"In the old days the politicians, . . . hunted for power with arquebuses. That was a poor way of determining right and wrong; yet it must be remembered that back of the arquebus was a reasoning average man. In getting away from this awkward manner of settling disputes, have we more closely approximated an equal opportunity for all men to assert their opinions? Those who defend democracy, retreating from pillar to post, assert that it is a spirit in which every man has an equal opportunity of arriving at power. But is even that true? Powder and shot were within the reach of the average man, but their modern successor, under normal political conditions, is the newspaper; and not by the wildest stretch of imagination can we say that the influence of the newspaper is within the reach of the average man.

"The great metropolitan dailies which make and unmake majorities, which enthrone politicians, are worth at least a million each, and are thus only within the reach of millionaires. For newsgathering is a monopoly shared only by consent of the men within the combination. Those who attempt to establish a newspaper without access to the newsgathering service, are likely to succeed no better than

imbeciles who, conceivably, might try to build brick houses without bricks.

"The Canadian people are dependent upon ten or twenty newspapers for their information as to conditions At a meeting in Toronto, Ontario, farmers bitterly complained that economic conditions of the country are being constantly misrepresented by the millionaire proprietors of the city-published papers. It may be that the men who own the papers feel that they are protecting a just cause; but, in the opinion of the farmers, they are protecting it by misrepresentation." ⁴

The feeling represented by this quotation concerning the newspaper is growing rapidly; and at the same time we have to recognize that the newspaper exerts an influence unequalled by any other agency, with the possible exception of the government, and even that cannot, under modern conditions, be thought of apart from the news.

Any form of artificial propaganda in which there is either perversion or suppression of facts, will sooner or later bring a vigorous resentment from those whom it is aimed to control.

Another form of domination with which we are now much concerned is called Militarism. The military system is a typical relic of feudal autocracy. It is first a system of values which sees force as a method, not only for maintaining society, but for maintaining itself. Hatred of militarism comes from those toward whom its force is directed—as the subjects of the old Germany—or the labor class which feels that the military organization is a constant threat to it in the hands of the employing group. Hatred of it is perhaps quite as general within the military group, where discipline is maintained always from the top down.

⁴*The Clash*, by Moore, pp. 172-174. Dent.

In all the forms of domination various indirect or subsidiary methods have been and are employed to maintain control. The military system is the most direct form of control, but it sometimes becomes too obvious and is always expensive and makes for friction. One of the most powerful instruments of control has been organized religion, for under this a different set of emotional values could be used, and the attention diverted from the real situation. In such a case it is not easy to tell whether there is a domination of one religion by another or whether the ecclesiastic system is the tool of a ruling power. Cultocratic control also is used, but more unconsciously. The conviction of superiority is accompanied by manners and mores which seek to perpetuate themselves. This is peculiarly manifest where one nation is governing another. The significance of its hatefulness is shown by the fact that the Serbian immigrants all come to America from Bosnia and Herzegovina, which belonged to Austria-Hungary, and where they were to all outward appearances better off culturally and economically than in Serbia, but where they were always aware of the unescapable domination of an alien nationality. The same conditions prevailed among Roumanians who came here almost altogether from Hungary, and rarely from Roumania.

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CHAPTER IV

THE OPPRESSION PSYCHOSIS

THE abnormality of the conflict does not inhere in a relationship viewed merely externally as just or unjust, but must be estimated or measured entirely by the pathology of its psychological results. When certain kinds of psychopathological conditions are found, we may postulate an abnormal relationship as a cause. We cannot appeal to abstract principles of justice to determine what should be the relations of races, nations and classes, but we must observe what are the resultant attitudes, and then we may adjust the method of statecraft and international relations so as to make inoperative the causes which produce the pathological disturbance.

The particular form of pathology which is involved in our problem may be called the *oppression psychosis*. Oppression is the domination of one group by another, politically, economically or culturally—singly or in combination. In pathology psychosis means mental disorder. In my use of the term I mean those persistent and exaggerated mental states which are characteristically produced under conditions where one group dominates another.

I do not wish to over-emphasize the Freudian basis of my theory, because there is much in the Freudian system which is not essential to my treatment of the problem, but at the same time there is no question but that the Freudian approach throws much light on what has hitherto not been adequately explained.

The division of consciousness into the emotional, volitional and cognitive we know is merely artificial and convenient for clearer understanding, and is in part a hold-

over from the theological and metaphysical methods of thinking. We now think of these three as merely different aspects of the same unity and recognize that they have their roots below consciousness; and, so far as they spring from instincts, go back to evolutionary origins.

At the bottom of all consciousness is a "wish," "urge" or "disposition," which has its origin in an evolution in which it was preserved because it had a survival value. When the wish, urge, or will, as we shall call it, is frustrated or inhibited it does not yield passively. It was created to struggle, and opposition stimulates it to struggle harder.

Many diseases of the individual come from inhibitions of this sort which are imposed by all sorts of conditions of life. Many are products of convention. The psychoanalysts get rid of many abnormal states of mind simply by making the patient understand the cause, and then when possible remove the cause.

Although a part of what I am maintaining is analogous and not identical, I think there is no hope for a world of peace and coöperation until some similar method is applied to the problems arising out of the conflict of groups, whether races, nations or classes. The group is an object for which it is instinctive to strive, and in connection with which we have our strongest emotions.

A political, economic or cultural domination inevitably results in the frustrated will of the subject group. These may be defined as autocratic, plutocratic or cultocratic control. The struggle for freedom which has been so much a part of the world's history and much to the fore recently, has not been a struggle for individual freedom so much as for freedom of groups. The whole world responded immediately to the idea of "self-determination" because

it is an elemental "wish" for which people have always felt and striven, though it has only recently been defined.

Freedom is not what we have so often tried to make it mean, an absence of determinism, but merely a demand for the privilege of self-determination. When freedom is denied, frustration and disorganization result, not only for the individuals but in the relationship of societies. I mean by an oppression psychosis, then, the "balked disposition" of a group, which is reflected by all of the members characteristically.

In the struggle which always follows on the trail of frustration, some compensation is found whose excesses measure the pathology. A nation, the Irish for example, though striving to be free, under the present economic and political conditions may not succeed. It has been the error of governing states to think that if the national aspiration of a subject people is prevented from accomplishment, the end of the rulers was achieved. The Irish, however, have succeeded so well in demonstrating to the world that this is not true, that their case may be taken as a generic illustration of the oppression psychosis. In spite of this we still find the tendency to talk about the Irish as though they were normal; just as, before Carlton Parker, the I. W. W. were considered perverse instead of psychopathic. The reason for this is that their abnormality has not yet been objectively analyzed. On all such problems we get confused by talking about justice and right as abstract principles, when the real measure is found in the attitudes of the people themselves. We have even come to attribute certain biological and racial characteristics to the Irish and to the Jews, when their peculiarities are nothing but injustice expressed in characteristic attitudes.

OPPRESSION SYMPTOMS

In the diagnosis of the national traits of all people who have not been sovereign, we must always look for some oppression resultant, of which there are certain outstanding symptoms that are amazingly uniform. "Americanization" must be largely psychiatry directed towards the outstanding facts or psychoses. An oppressed group is abnormally subjective. Its inability to realize itself freely has turned back attention to itself until its self-consciousness becomes entirely out of focus. In other words, an oppressed group is hyperæsthetic to itself. There is a complete incapacity to view its own problems objectively. Women have through long history belonged to an oppressed group and a prevailing psychosis is illustrated by the reply of the woman whose husband said to her, "The trouble with women is that they take everything personally." "That isn't so," she said, "*I don't.*" Anyone who has known Irish, Jews, Poles or any other people who have long been dominated, is familiar with this tendency to personal interpretation. There is always a chip on the shoulder to which the slightest jar calls attention.

Closely related to this subjectivity is the tendency to be suspicious, which is nothing but a method of being on guard. Social workers have often remarked that certain immigrant nationalities are suspicious. In their group experience a suspicious habit has been necessary as a protective device. In the effort to resist absorption which used all sorts of subterfuges, the dominated group learned to meet any overture with suspicion.

The effect on the nervous system may take various forms. Clearly the inhibition of an instinct must have a neural sequence. In fact, what we have designated as

Jewish characteristics are primarily based on the nervous reactions which have resulted from more varieties and longer oppression than those of any other group. The Jew is introspective, analytical, aggressive and conspicuous. The Negro also has many of the same characteristics, although he has not yet developed so many compensatory values, such as religious solidarity and business technique.

A technique is developed by the group and the individuals in it to meet the situation and retain the self-esteem necessary to life. The oppressed peasant has a shrewdness and cunning which he would not have had if he could have had freer relations with his masters, and the Jewish capacity to trade was developed under a necessity for survival in which trade offered the only possibility. The technique is no more racial than is that of the college boy who learns the method of selling books, and succeeds in making it work.

Aggressiveness also is the product of the reaction of the suppressed individual to make up for his inferiority. A small man is more often than not self-assertive, and for the same reason that the Negro makes himself conspicuous; the inferiority complex is as applicable to all the individuals of groups.

The most outstanding result of the oppression psychosis is to create a group solidarity which is far stronger than could have been created by any other means. Whenever there is a conflict, both sides increase their solidarity; but the one which loses and is dominated has the supplementary emotion of hate to stimulate its unity. In most cases hate is developed by actual or feared domination. A genuine American opposition to Germany was not secured until it was possible to appeal to the fear of the imposition of German control on America, and then hate expanded without limit.

When the nation in its own right is prevented from self-expression, there are always adopted certain compensatory objects of the will, or certain symbols come to have a reality and meaning which are not at all justifiable in themselves, but which, as defensive institutions, serve to preserve the group. Just as in the individual psychopathic case where the patient has transferred the focus of his attention to something abnormal, without any knowledge of the fact, so in this case a whole nation may embrace an idea or line of conduct, thinking it is acting rationally whereas its action really is characteristically conditioned.

RELIGION AND LANGUAGE ARE INSTRUMENTS OF COMPENSATION

Religion and Language are the most notable compensatory forms of defense and aggression; and the energy which would be absorbed normally and unnoticed in the self-expression of the group, becomes exaggerated and militant in appropriating these symbols of unity. Every immigrant group in America and all the new nations of Europe, and the whole proletarian movement of the world have psychoses in these matters, and we shall make no real progress in dealing with them unless we can see under fanatical zeal the deep current of a human impulse struggling for freedom.

In America we have inherited all the oppression problems of Europe and out of them we are trying to build up a coöperating democracy in which men may rise to their full human dignity.

One-tenth of our population is Negro with its actual or potential psychoses, and approximately one-third of the remainder is either foreign-born or of foreign-born stock. Counting the Irish, it is no exaggeration to say

that there are in the United States more than twenty million people who are more or less psychopathic on account of one or all the forms of oppression previously or at present active in Europe.

The problem of merging these peoples of varying backgrounds and intense attitudes ought not to be the method of the "melting-pot," which aims to make a uniform society. It can be solved only by the paradoxical method of indirection.

Nationalism has become the best understood grouping, and most of the other characteristics are to be found within this grouping; but the groups such as races and classes may show the same characteristics. Just as in the individual psychopathic case where the patient has transferred the focus of his attention to something abnormal without any knowledge of the fact, so in this case a whole nation may embrace an idea or line of conduct, thinking that it is doing it rationally when it is doing it merely pathologically. In the next chapters I shall consider the two most characteristic compensatory modes of defense, Religion and Language.

SUGGESTED READINGS

- FREUD, SIGMUND: *General Introduction to Psychoanalysis*.
HOLT, E. B.: *The Freudian Wish and Its Place in Ethics*.
PARKER, CARLETON H.: *The Casual Laborer and Other Essays*.
TRIDON, ANDRÉ: *Psychoanalysis*. Huebsch.
WILLIAMS, WHITING: *What's on the Workers' Mind?*
WOLFE, A. B.: *Conservatism, Radicalism and Scientific Method*.

CHAPTER V

RELIGION'S ENTANGLED ALLIANCES

"THE Irish would have been Protestant if England had been Catholic," I said to my friend Donahue. "Yes," he replied, "and they would have been damned good Protestants." What we both meant was that under the strained relations which England and Ireland have bred in their tempestuous intercourse, the two peoples have carried their spirit of hostility into their ecclesiastical consciousness. They cannot under existing conditions worship God in the same way. So my Irish friend and I agree that the Church had become a symbol which Irish solidarity needs in order to express itself.

Religion is always organized socially. From the heathen, who, in his blindness, bows down to wood and stone, to the most complex ecclesiastical systems, man has worshiped his divinities in associations the basis of which has not been theological harmony, but rather some prior grouping, not essentially religious. In other words, a religious system is originally secondary to the group in which it is found. It may develop such power as to have actual priority in consciousness; but even where this seems to be the case, conflict inevitably reestablishes the original relationship in which the group takes precedence over the religion.

As states became articulate, official religion regularly followed. The Holy Roman Empire for a time artificially wielded political power through its ecclesiastical system over most of Europe; but it finally broke into its constituent parts, because the states which composed it were psychologically prior to the religious organization. That is, when

conflict comes, allegiance is given to the state rather than to the religion. When, however, a state is dominated from the outside, it turns to religion as a compensating substitute. In all national groups which have had oppression experiences, we find solidifying religious organizations, or avowedly anti-religious organizations to which the religious emotion is transferred. We find also that when a subject group develops an anti-ecclesiastical position, the dominant group will make a "holy war" by attacking the religious attitude of the subjects. The clerical party of Austria was a political more than a religious organization. The sword of Mohammed was used to extend the territory of the Turk. Cromwell tried to force Protestantism on the Irish, and both the Established Church and the Presbyterians of Ulster now make their offensive in the name of "true religion."

In the hands of a national group dominated by another, religious institutions become most powerful means of defense both as organizations and symbols of solidarity.

My Irish friend, mentioned above, appreciated that my remark implied no disparagement of the spiritual earnestness of the Irish, nor any doubt of the genuineness of their devotion to the Church. It meant, on the contrary, that the reality of the Irish question is so deep in the nature of the group that a substitute has been found which, under the conditions of oppression, offers an object for both the will and the emotion. I have heard an Englishman say that the Irish question is 90 per cent. a Roman Catholic question. I retort that the Roman Catholic question, insofar as it has political aspect, is 99 per cent. England. It is true that there have been Protestants prominently connected with the Irish struggle, nevertheless the relationship of the Church to the conflict is the focus of

consciousness of both the Irish and the English, and is accepted as such by the rest of the world.

THE CZECHS PROVE THE IRISH CASE BY ANTI-RELIGION

One might question the truth of the above assertion as to the subsidiary character of the ecclesiastical systems in the English-Irish conflict, were these same assertions not established by so many other cases. A conspicuous example is that of Bohemia. The Czechs or Bohemians have had an emotional experience of anti-religion quite the equal of the religion of the Irish. They were dominated by Catholic Austria, which used the political machinery of the clerical party to make the opposition more effective. The result was that Czech Nationalism, being unable to realize itself politically, developed out of its history religious attitudes in opposition to the State and Church—attitudes which symbolized the group consciousness and gave it such solidarity as could hardly have been secured otherwise. As the Irish dominated by Protestant England became most devout Catholics, the Bohemians dominated by Austria became militant "freethinkers."

Some years ago, when I began to study the problem of the adjustment of the Czechs to American life I found that I could not account for the most outstanding phenomena of any Czech community without knowing five hundred years of Czech history. John Huss, who was burned at the stake in 1415, was and still is the most vital personality in Czech life. He was a priest, a religious reformer, and a patriot. He was condemned to death, and executed by a combination of the Church and the State. The State forthwith undertook to suppress both the people and the religious movement which grew out of the influence of Huss and his manner of death. The

Hussite wars resulting in national independence followed, and Bohemia was Protestant and "heretic" a full century before Luther. In 1620, early in the Thirty Years' War, she was defeated and became a part of the Austrian Empire, her rights being progressively restricted, down to the Great War. From 1620 to 1781 no Christian religion except the Roman Catholic was permitted in Austria. In the latter year, the Act of Toleration granted to the people the choice of their church, and a Reformed Church consequently came into being. But it never secured over three per cent. of the people, because it, too, represented State sanction. Freethinking organizations as such were prohibited in Austria, so the national aspirations of the subject Czechs were expressed in organizations such as the Sokols or gymnastic societies, which were actually anti-religious but nominally neutral as to religion.

In America, however, to which the Czechs began to come after the revolution of 1848, anti-religion, potential in Europe, became articulate through the organization of openly freethinking societies of various sorts, whose philosophy appropriated a combination of Tom Paine, Robert Ingersoll and Darwin, incorporated into the atmosphere of historic tradition. Approximately two-thirds of the Czechs in the United States either actually belong to freethinking organizations or have such a nominal relation to the Church that it has ceased to exert any control over them.

THE CZECH MOVEMENT FOUND ITS OPPORTUNITY IN AMERICA

The anti-religious attitude was definitely militant, and developed many aids in the conflict—a distinctive literature, newspapers, "schools for teaching the Bohemian language and the principles of freethought," Sokols, or

gymnastic societies which proclaim that they preclude religious and political questions, insurance fraternities. All of these were actively engaged in the fight against religion. Most of the intellectuals, and many of the common workmen, make a religion of their antipathy to religion. The Protestant Church has made very little headway with them. They feel that Protestantism is only part of the truth. The result is a peculiar combination of materialism and idealism. The philosophy at the bottom of the freethinking movement leads naturally to materialism, but the people who normally embraced it did so, not because of its philosophy, but because their ideal was the freedom of Bohemia. This is shown by the fact that in almost all cases the real motive around which the freethinkers rallied was nationalistic. In every city where there are sufficient numbers, the freethinkers have their organizations in the "National Hall." Their literature and their conscious efforts have been devoted to the emancipation of Bohemia. The Catholics have not been altogether lacking in this feeling of nationality, but generally it has come out of their inconsistency rather than out of their organized purpose. A Catholic said to me, "as a Catholic, I do not approve of Huss; but as a Bohemian, I admire him." The whole freethinking movement was not philosophical nor theological, but nationalistic, and even men of meagre intellectual opportunities can give the rational basis for their atheism. The dominance of the patriotic impulse in them came out most clearly when religious hatreds militated against the advantage of the nation. I had long been familiar with the bitterness of the controversy between Catholic and freethinker; it was hard to imagine any coöperation possible until generations should have passed away. Early in the war the Bohemian National Alliance, composed of freethinkers with a few Protestants, began its active support of

propaganda for Bohemian freedom. There were some strong patriots among the Catholics who spoke with defiance of the political policies of clericalized Vienna. But the possibility of their coöperation with the anti-church group was unthinkable.

In December, 1917, we declared war against Austria-Hungary, and immediately the impossible happened. At a mass meeting in Cleveland a few days after the declaration of war, the speakers were freethinkers, priests, and socialists. There was but one note—Czechoslovak freedom. Soon the Czechoslovak National Council was formed uniting all factions. From this time on they worked together. During the winter when money was being raised for the Czechoslovak army, house-to-house solicitation was made by a freethinker in company with a Catholic. In Cleveland the Bohemian Red Cross met on alternate weeks at the National Hall and the parochial school, whereas a year before, no self-respecting member of either would have set foot inside the building of the other.

What has happened in the new Republic of Czechoslovakia is even more significant. Although open anti-religion had been impossible, for twenty years the intellectuals had been drifting away from the Church, while among the workingmen socialism had been furnishing an anti-religious rallying ground. There had been no open revolt, and the clerical party held the balance of power and took its orders from Vienna. No sooner had independence been assured than the forces that had been restrained broke forth. There were demands for fundamental reforms in the Church, including a retrial for John Huss; in January, 1920, an actual schism took place, with the establishment of the Czechoslovak Church. The freethinking movement, then, must be thought of as a religious movement having in spite of its philosophy the earmarks of religious

devotion. It was adequate to absorb the emotions and at the same time to serve as a symbol of national aspirations, which had been crushed by hopeless political conditions; for, since the Church was identified with the hated government, anti-religion was a direct attack on the government and thus served as an outlet for national feeling.

THE POLES ARE NEARER THE IRISH

In striking contrast to the Bohemians are their cousins, the Poles who live in adjoining territory. Without going into any details of Polish history, it is enough to say that when the Kingdom of Poland was divided the two largest portions went to Germany and Russia. These two countries in quite characteristic ways tried to assimilate the Poles to Germans and Russians. It so happened that in religion Prussia was Protestant and Russia Greek Orthodox. The Poles had been indifferent Catholics up to that time, but became most ardently devout as soon as their Church became a symbol around which to rally in opposition to the dominating governments. As the governments increased their methods of coercion, so the Church increased its machinery of unity. This unity was accomplished partly through educational agencies, partly through economic organization—as in German Poland—and always through furnishing a basis for political organization. The Poles recognize the intimate relation between their religion and nationality. A Polish peasant wrote: "Parents, the time approaches when your children must go to school, and not to a Polish one, but to the Prussians—which is very dangerous for you, Poles, Catholics, since it is generally known that Germanization leads to Lutherization. Therefore if you bring up your children in the mother tongue, in ancient Polish customs, you may be sure that they will grow into men acceptable to God, the Church,

and the Polish nation, and will not end their lives in prison or under the ax of an executioner, as so often happened recently in Upper Silesia.”¹

“The Jews who everywhere make their religion a means of conserving their group life have done so in Poland under specially trying conditions. I am not able to admire the wisdom which takes for its chosen field for idealism the obstinate resolve to observe the Sabbath rather than Sunday as the weekly day of rest. But I do bow with a sort of veneration before the self-sacrifice of this race which in Poland has handicapped itself in the daily competition of industry because it will not compromise with the law. . . .

“The poorer Pole, unlettered and untaught, possessed no culture at all. His one spiritual possession was his Catholic faith. It is, I think, the traditional association of Polish nationality with the Catholic religion, which makes the barrier against the Jews so difficult to lower. The Pole emphasized his Catholicism against his Prussian Protestant conquerors in the East. The few Protestant Poles in East Prussia and Silesia lost all sense of their Polish nationality. Ask a peasant or a woman in any mixed area, if he or she is a Pole, and the affirmative answer will usually be, ‘I am a Catholic.’ I have often heard that answer myself, and for me it gave the clue. In Hungary, on the other hand, the Calvinist minority was always as much Magyar as the Catholic majority, and religion never came to be a part of nationality, with the result that the Jews were accepted as equal citizens. In Poland, as in Turkey, nationality and religion are one idea. The Jews are in sentiment excluded from the Polish nation because they are not Catholics. A Jew is really adopted

¹ *The Polish Peasant*, Thomas and Znaniecki. Badger.

as a Pole only when he compounds with the world by accepting baptism." ²

Before the inroads of socialism the Poles were practically all Roman Catholics. In Warsaw the only Protestant Churches were German, and in Cracow there were none. General Ludendorff in his story of the war said that the clergy were the pillars of the Polish national propaganda, and he could not understand why they were allowed under Russian rule to make their religion the bulwark of their nationality.

The mores of our time would not allow Russia and Germany to forbid religion, as Austria forbade irreligion. In the case of Poles who came to America, the condition of freedom here did not call for a break with the Church as in the case with the Bohemians. So here, as in Europe, they continued to symbolize their nationalism by their devotion to the Church just as the Irish have done.

THE CONSEQUENCE OF ANTI-SEMITISM

Dogma is supplemented by ritual in order to make the identity of the group recognizable and solid. Both of these are rigid and conspicuous under conditions of oppression when the group is in danger.

This is perhaps best illustrated in the history of the Jews. The partition of Poland was as nothing compared to the denationalizing wanderings of the Jews, against whom there has been varied but continuous discrimination, whether racial, religious, or economic. The fact remains that the symbol of antagonism for two thousand years has been religion. There has been a constant effort to exterminate the Jew. This would have succeeded if it had not been for the solidarity of the group maintained through dogma and ritual. The religious teachings un-

² H. N. Brailsford in *The New Republic*, Aug. 20, 1919.

questionably had a salutary effect on character, but that alone would not have been sufficient to preserve the Jews. There were needed immediately obvious signs, by which the group could recognize itself. These were furnished by ritual. Everywhere the Jews have been subject to alien governments which generally discriminated against them and made it impossible for them to have a central controlling body like the hierarchy of Rome. Therefore the synagogue had to permit local autonomy in religious and social life, from the very necessity of the situation.

As the separation became more definite and the danger of extermination under oppression more imminent, the devotion to ancient symbols became more intense. The Old Testament, which preceded most of their wanderings, and the rabbinical interpretations in the Talmud, furnished the basis for dogmatic and ritualistic unity. It is a unique and marvelous fact that the Jewish groups scattered over the face of the earth with practically no intercommunication for centuries have maintained both their existence and their consciousness of solidarity. They have usually come to partake of some of the characteristics of the people among whom they have lived, but they have retained identity of form and purpose. This would have been impossible except for the Synagogue.

In England, France, and the United States, countries where in modern times, anti-Semitism has been growing less acute, there has been a corresponding diminution of Jewish dogma and ritual. This has been in part due, of course, to the broader intellectual outlook of modern times. But it may be made as a general statement that wherever the Jews are oppressed as a people, there the Synagogue will be strong; and even though it may be emancipated from many of its ritualistic forms, it will still fail to merge into the general religious community if anywhere

in the world there is discrimination against the Jew. Hidden away in this religious unity was the potential nationalism which is now emerging in the form of Zionism wherever in the world the Jew is found. The Zionist movement, which seeks to establish the Jewish nation, has many intellectual leaders who are entirely emancipated from the Synagogue, but it is nevertheless true that the more Orthodox have been the more enthusiastic Zionists, and the more liberal have come more tardily or not at all to the separate nation idea, because they have so much more completely ceased to think of themselves as a group apart.

The process of denationalization was involved in the becoming liberal, but neither could take place until conditions of freedom prevailed. When it is no longer necessary for the oppressed group to hold together for its very existence, the significance of particular group symbols diminishes. At the present moment there are renewed difficulties to Jewish existence in Europe, so Jews in America feel themselves stirred by a vicarious unity which is derived from the common history of social and religious experience. Even the most liberal congregations are tending to bring back some of the ritual which had been discarded. The Sabbath, prayers, food laws, festivals, make it impossible for the Jew to forget himself. Churches, pictures, beads, priests, fasts, and fears serve the same purpose for the devout Catholic. The freethinking Czech, on the other hand, consciously emphasizes his identity with his group by rejecting this sort of thing. His ritual becomes opposition to the ritual which reminds him of his old bondage. In secret fraternities among the freethinkers, the ritual is reduced to a minimum to allay memories of the Church. Forms and regalia, likewise suggestive of the Church atmosphere, are dropped. A dealer in flags

and regalia among the Slavs said that the Czechs used less than any other Slavs, his explanation being that ceremonial regalia suggested the Church and therefore had been rejected. The Church building is peculiarly hateful.

The extent to which this antipathy to the Church structure itself may be carried, was demonstrated in Chicago, when a Czech Protestant pastor of that city invited me to speak at the birthday anniversary of the Czech educator Comenius. The meeting was to be held in a church. The notice was offered to the daily papers of both the freethinkers and the socialists, but neither would print it because of the place of meeting. These papers never—even for money—advertised anything connected with a church whether Catholic or Protestant. Later I was asked to repeat the lecture in the auditorium of the High School; both papers advertised it and my audience was much larger than that previously assembled in the building dedicated to religious worship. In his campaign in Chicago in 1912, President Taft innocently spoke in the Czech district in a hall belonging to a church. The Republican Czech press throughout the country raised a storm of indignation and Taft lost thousands of votes.

SOCIALISM AND RELIGION

A further significant illustration of my thesis is the relation of religion to the proletarian movement or class conflict which is avowedly economic. The Socialist has more or less secured the reputation of being anti-religious. On the other hand, the Catholic Church officially and the Protestant Church rather generally have been anti-socialist. The Socialists have attributed this attitude on the part of the Church to the fact that the Church, being allied with capital, is forced to fight Socialism. There is an element of truth in this contention, but it is also true that

the Socialists began the attack on the Church, thus putting the Church on the defensive. The Socialistic attitude toward religion is exactly the same as that of an oppressed nation. The Capitalistic system which it is directly attacking stands in the place of the oppressing nation and constantly threatens to disintegrate the group that is fighting it. In Europe, where Socialism, like many other movements, had its birth, the State Church prevailed. An attack on the Church furnished an immediate possibility symbolizing the whole conflict and therefore making for a better solidarity. Most Socialists have transferred their religious emotions to Socialism—some with as little understanding of its tenets as they had formerly possessed with respect to the tenets of their religious sects; others with the intellectual insight of the theologians and the fervor of religious fanatics. Socialism, which is based on economic theory, and freethinking, which is based on metaphysics, are both largely subterfuges for a frustrated group will, rather than the organized sequence of their logical premises.

Examples of the working of this relation of religion to the group are conspicuously present in every country where oppression has obtained. In Finland the Swedes converted the people to the Lutheran Church. The leading church in Helsingfors has alternate services in Swedish and Finnish. There has never been an open religious conflict, but during the last twenty-five years a great disproportion of the Finns have become Socialists. This can be accounted for, in part, by the theory that Socialism furnishes an opposition movement to the dominant Church and thereby to the dominant nationality. The well known democracy of the Finns would not have involved irreligion, if irreligion had not been a form of resistance to the Swedes as a dominant culture group.

DIVIDED DOMINATION

South of Finland are the Letts and the Lithuanians, who ethnologically belong together, but have had different dominations. The Letts have been dominated by Russia politically, and by Germans culturally and economically. The bitterness of feeling against the German landlord class is registered in religious reaction. As a recent writer has said: "Since the Reformation all power in matters ecclesiastical has rested with the nobles, who have strenuously resisted any attempt to introduce beside the Lutheran Church any more independent form of Protestantism. The pastors were almost all Germans. Many of them were admirable men. They did much to preserve and systematize the Lett and Esth language, but they lived in fine parsonages, in comfort inferior only to the castles of the barons; they held rich glebe lands, on which the peasantry was compelled to work without remuneration, because the pastor's income was dependent on the glebe; before the abolition of serfdom they owned serfs. As a class they were more conservative than the barons and have been slower to realize the passing of the patriarchal age. On the Lett proletariat in the towns and villages they have now scarcely any influence at all, . . . Protestantism as a social and political factor in northeast Europe has practically ceased to exist."³ It has "ceased to exist," let us say, as conventional Protestantism but it continues to exist as an articulate opposition to the old State Church. It is not without significance that the Letts were the first people to make peace with the soviets of Russia, which have been consistently opposed to nationalistic domination affiliated with religious institutions.

The Lithuanians have had similar experience but with

³ *The New Europe*, Butler, 1919. Longmans.

somewhat different results. Politically under the Russians, like the Letts, they have been culturally under the Poles, Roman Catholics. All the Lithuanians became Catholic under Polish influence, but when they began to get nationally conscious, the first opposition was directed against the Poles rather than against the Russians. This brought an immediate change in religious attitudes. Even the Church became nationalistic and broke away from the Poles who had nurtured it. The two significant developments, however, were those of the Freethinkers and Socialists. The former developed best in America, where they became very strong as a propaganda agency both against the Catholic Church and in behalf of Lithuanian nationality. When the recent national crisis came, however, they did exactly the same thing as the Czechs; namely, freethinking, nationalistic and Catholic organizations united to form the Lithuanian National Council. The Socialists, who have considerable numbers and a good deal of influence, would not coöperate with the Council on account of the international doctrines of Socialism, but in spite of that they are quite as conscious of their nationality as are the others.

On the south side of Poland are the Ukrainians of Galicia, whose territory became a part of Austria some three hundred years ago. At that time they were all members of the Orthodox Church like the part of Russia from which they came. At first an effort was made to proselyte them to the Roman Catholic Church, but with no success. A compromise was made by which they were enabled to keep all their Orthodox rites while acknowledging the authority of the Pope. They were called Uniates (one with Rome), or Greek Catholics, to distinguish them from Greek Orthodox or Roman Catholics. They have a married clergy and the service is in old Slavonic. An outsider cannot tell the difference between the Uniate and Orthodox services;

nor could the participants tell, except for continual emphasis. In order that they might not be constantly thinking of their relationship to Russia their attention was deliberately turned to their religious differences, until religion became practically equivalent to a nationality to them. This was made easier in the case of the Ukrainians by the presence of the Poles among them. The Poles, generally the landowners, were also Roman Catholics. They exercised the cultural control; while Austria, in maintaining her dominance, sought to play on every possible antagonism in order to keep her subjects from uniting against her. This antagonism, finally developed against Russia, was so great that in the early years of the World War the Ukrainians were the only Slavs who were pro-German. They were also unusually religious. Their official newspapers were most violently anti-Russian. With the emergence of the possibility of a Ukrainian state, however, a sudden change took place. A strong anti-German attitude was developed and orthodoxy ceased to be hateful. The change reached across the seas, for two Uniate Churches in Cleveland immediately became Orthodox, and the tendency to leave Rome and identify the Church with the new state is likely to continue. The intense bitterness of feeling against the Poles made a relationship to the same Church authority, even with marked freedom, unendurable.

Another Slavonic nation which has suffered oppression are the Croats, who have lived under Hungary. They speak practically the same language as the Serbians, with whom they are in geographical proximity. But the Serbs are all Orthodox and the Croats Roman Catholic. They now have joined in the effort to form a single state. The traditional religious antagonisms increased the difficulty, but there is every indication that they have been subordinated, and a Jugoslav (South Slav) state created. In

Albania there have been three major religions, Moslem, Greek Orthodox, and Roman Catholic. They have always fought one another. During the Peace Conference three hundred Albanians in Pittsburgh telegraphed their representative in Washington that if it would have any influence for the freedom of their country on the Peace Conference in Paris they would become Christians. The three religious groups having united in America in the cause of national freedom in Europe.

ASIA DOES NOT DIFFER FROM EUROPE

Just as the Roman Catholics divided on national lines in the Great War so the Moslems divided on the same lines and did not respond to the call of the Sultan for a "Holy War." In India they have even joined with their age-long enemies, the Hindus. It is generally felt that England has promoted the religious antagonisms between these religions in order to prevent them from being able to oppose their combined forces against their rulers. A few years ago it might have been dogmatically said that they would never get together, but that they have actually done so is shown by the following quotation from the speech of the president of the ALL-INDIA CONGRESS on the 27th of December, 1919.

"Besides to attempt to terrorize the people, the Punjab officials aimed a blow at the most valuable asset of our political life, the union between Hindus and Mohammedans. You are aware, fellow delegates, of the prophetic scenes of fraternization between Hindus and Muslims which took place during the recent disturbance at Delhi, Lahore, and other places accompanied with shouts of '*Hindu Musalman ki jai.*' These expressions of fellowship in a common struggle were treated by the Punjab officials as heinous crimes amounting to open rebellion,

and waging war against the king, and a new offense was created which was defined as 'fraternization of Hindus and Mohammedans by law established.' One of the most shameful acts of the Martial Law authorities was to ridicule the Hindu-Muslim *entente* publicly in various ways. The admission of Hindus to the Mohammedan mosques and of Mohammedans to the Hindu temples, the drinking of water or sherbet from the same glass by Hindu and Mohammedan, were unmistakable signs of a far deeper union of the two than could be looked upon with equanimity by those who were interested in keeping them apart. And an attempt was made under official inspiration during the closing days of the Martial Law to found separate political associations or *Sabhas* for Hindus, Mohammedans and Sikhs. I do not know what progress has been made in this direction but I trust that my fellow countrymen of all communities will refrain from swallowing this fatal bait."

What effect this new development will have on Christianity cannot be foretold, but its probability is indicated by the remark of an educated Hindu to a missionary who asked him what he thought of Jesus. He said, "I revere and honor Him, but He suffers the handicap of association with the West." The student of world affairs who is inclined to explore for a hint of prophecy in this Hindu's judgment can readily discern that if the missionaries take the side of England, there is grave danger that their whole work will be thrust out. Even if there should be no attack on the missionary work itself, the fact that it is promoted by a religion accepted by England may be a liability greater than it can bear. Recently at a conference of students of various nationalities at an American college, one of the meetings was being held in a Church building. A Hindu graduate student representing one of our great universities,

on seeing where the meeting was to take place stopped short and exclaimed: "I am not going into one of those Christian temples!"

In Korea we have one of the most unusual religious situations that can be found. The Kingdom was opened to the world in 1882; in 1884 the first Christian missionaries went into the country. In four thousand years Korea had never developed any national religion, and probably had fewer temples than any other country with so long a history. Consequently, there was not the conscious resistance to the missionaries that is generally found. Hostility to Japan has long been active in Korea, but it did not become intense until 1910 when Japan annexed the Kingdom and tried to assimilate the people by methods similar to those practiced by European powers. The missionaries remained neutral, but Christianity furnished a proper symbol for the Independence Movement, so the leaders of the Movement are as devout Methodists and Presbyterians as the leaders of the Irish are devout Catholics. The religious situation is clearly shown by the statistics in the Congressional Record, September 19, 1919, as follows: "The Christians have 3164 churches, the Buddhists 258, and the Shinto 65. There are 6690 Christian ministers, 313 Buddhist priests, and 103 Shinto priests."

No such phenomenal progress could have been made in less than forty years had there not been need under the political conditions for just such a symbolization as Christianity furnished.

Illustrations enough have been given to show that in the struggle for freedom ecclesiastical systems become the handmaidens of purposes outside themselves. Religion can emerge pure and undefiled by entangling alliances with political and economic group conflict only under a condi-

tion of freedom and democracy as yet but vaguely glimpsed in dreams. When it comes, its test will be psychological and moral, not patriotic and expedient.

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CHUNG, HENRY: *The Case of Korea.*

CREEL, GEORGE: *Ireland's Fight for Freedom.*

FROST, STANLEY: *The Challenge of the Klan.*

HACKETT, FRANCIS: *Ireland.*

LÜTZOW, COUNT: *The Story of Bohemia.*

MECKLIN, JOHN M.: *The Ku Klux Klan.*

MONROE, WILL S.: *Bohemia and the Czechs.*

RAI LAJPAT: *The Political Future of India.*

ROLLAND, ROMAIN: "Mahatma Ghandi."

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CHAPTER VI

LANGUAGE AS A SYMBOL

LANGUAGE is more consciously taken as a symbol by a nationality than is religion. The emotion in regard to it, however, is very much the same. In the experience with the dominant nation there is not primarily an attack on the religion of the subject people, but in the case of language there is the direct attack. The very obviousness of a common language as a means of unity and of diverse languages as a threat of disunity, makes the ruling group level its attack directly at language.

Language was developed in associations of people who communicated directly with each other. It grew out of the need of some means for expression of common experience. It was not formal nor external. Originally it was always colloquial, and thus intimate. The neighborly experience, or the primary group emotion demanded the local language as an instrument. An attempt to impose a language from the outside always offends this first expression of the group solidarity.

Since a state must undertake the coördination of all the diverse groups, uniformity of language is a great advantage. Since it has been the theory that the political state must be something like a big uniform community, instead of being composed of thoroughly articulated subsidiary communities, it has been the policy of states to undertake deliberately to wipe out linguistic differences. Since these differences have arisen out of some group identity which lay back of the particular dialect or language, such efforts have generally been ineffective except to increase the complexity of the problem.

Logically, of course, it is clear that if the means of

local solidarity and provincialism can be broken up by emancipating inter-communication from local traditions, the effect will be a breakdown of the tendency to divergence. The failures of this method of procedure are becoming so well known that it seems probable that before long liberty of language will be as well accepted as is the principle of religious freedom.

Grouping around a language occurs for two reasons. The first is indicated above, namely, because it springs from the primary group, and secondly, since it is so easily recognized by the ear, it becomes a symbol of unity to a sense organ, just as clearly as the unity of race is evident through the eye. Then, because it is so intimate, a sentiment gathers around the language or dialect which tends to preserve it even to practical disadvantage. When languages have given way to a dominant language it has been the intellectual class that has yielded, while the simple uneducated class has clung to its language. When, however, under an experience of oppression, language becomes a symbol of nationality, the intellectuals take the leadership in its revival.

The persistence of language among farmer or peasant groups is illustrated by the old German communities in Pennsylvania, generally known as "Pennsylvania Dutch," who after five generations in America still speak a German dialect, and even though they go the required years to the English public schools, they revert to German for life. They have no ulterior motive for keeping the language except that it is pleasant to do so. Similarly in Norway where the Danish language was made official some four hundred years ago and came into common use, the old language has been preserved in the isolated fishing villages, and the same thing is true among the Irish, English having supplanted the native tongue except in the

remote places. In Hungary and Bohemia, before the present emancipation, German had begun to supplant the native tongue except in the peasant districts.

But when national consciousness began to emerge language was taken as a necessary symbol. The uniformity of the method of procedure under widely varying historical conditions, shows that the action was psychological rather than logical, and must be considered in those terms.

The case of Norway furnishes an excellent illustration of an effort to get rid even of the historic signs of oppression. In the few centuries preceding the year 1400, Norway had had a distinguished literary and political history, but in 1397 she became part of the Danish state, and the Danish language supplanted the old language. The conditions of Danish rule during much of the period were peculiarly hateful. In 1814 a much freer relationship was established with Sweden, but even this was irksome, and was amicably dissolved in 1905. In 1914 there was inaugurated by the intellectuals a political program for the revival of the ancient language, but it was modernized and made scientific by the philologists who had gone to the fishing villages, where the old dialects have been preserved, and secured the basis for the new language. This movement has been brought into politics until it has much of the intensity of the prohibition question in America. It is immediately apparent that the new language, known by only a few millions of people, even though it has a relationship to the ancient Sagas will be less convenient than a language which is related to the other Scandinavian languages and to the Teutonic, but the movement indicates an effort of a democratic people to recover a self-respect whose loss had gone out of mind until revived by a study of history.

One of the trying circumstances of Ireland has been the necessity of dealing with its enemy—England—in the English language. The English language thus has become a constant sign of the success of England in her enterprise of assimilating Ireland. Her language had been imposed on the Irish and they had done little to resist it. Until recently not over twelve per cent. of the people knew the old language and less than three per cent. knew only Irish. In the intensity of the present Irish conflict there has been a vigorous revival of the language. As soon as the Irish Free State was established it named its parliament Dail Eireann and strives to carry on its deliberations in Irish. Strenuous efforts are being made to make the old language common in the shortest time. The movement is bound to go on increasingly as the conflict with England becomes more conscious. Here as in Norway it is necessary for the intellectuals to sit at the feet of peasants to learn the language. England would not have succeeded so well in this matter of language if she had not succeeded in having it adopted many centuries ago, before there was any consciousness of national solidarity on the part of the Irish.

GERMANY AND RUSSIA FAIL IN POLAND

Poland, Bohemia and other countries of middle Europe show similar examples of the appropriation of the language as a national symbol. Bismarck's brutal methods unquestionably aided as nothing else could have done the significance of the Polish language as a means of resistance to German assimilation, when he deliberately undertook to force the German language upon the Poles of the Posen province, beginning in the early 1870's. The Poles were learning German, naturally and without conscious resistance, when it was made illegal to teach children

to read in the Polish language or to hold assemblies to be addressed in the Polish language. The result was that all Poles became conscious of the purpose of Germany and it became a religion to learn Polish and to teach the children to read it even where otherwise they might have remained illiterate, or have learned to read only in German. German priests were sent to the Polish parishes with the unexpected result that the people Polandized them instead of their Germanizing the people. A more or less conscious union was made with the Church in the effort to preserve the language. Germany pursued her policy of increasing coercion to the time of the war. On the Russian side conditions were nearly as bad, though of course the Russians were not so efficient as the Germans even in an irrational direction. After the revolution of 1905, the Russian Poles had rather more freedom of language, but the devotion to language had become a passion. It was peculiarly necessary to the Poles because they were subject to three different governments, and if they had allowed themselves to be deprived of their language they would have lost their unity. It is no exaggeration to say that Russian and German efforts to assimilate the Poles out of their language, not only met with absolutely no success but it increased many fold the resistance and the solidarity of the whole people, and as we shall see in the chapter on Americanization created a problem in the United States that is very intense and exceedingly difficult.

CZECH COÖPERATION

The threat against the Czechs was no less serious than that against the Poles though it was not quite so sharp in its beginning. It goes back to the Hussite period when there was insistence that the vernacular be used in religious

services, and, as a matter of fact, the Germans had succeeded in pretty nearly establishing German as the language of common use among the Bohemians. It was in 1848 that some of the scholars, including the great historian Palacky, began to agitate for the preservation of their own language, and they even had the courage to publish some of their writings in Czech, though the public which could read them was very limited. At that time the revival of the language began in earnest and it progressed by leaps and bounds. There was enough political freedom and power so that some concessions were secured directly, such as street signs in Czech and German, and the privilege of having Czech public schools where there was a minority of Germans. When there was a majority of Germans in a town it was necessary to support the Czech schools by voluntary contributions. Much money was sent by Bohemians in America for this purpose, and an organization called "The Mother of Schools" was constantly making solicitations for funds. And it actually secured funds from these, mostly poor immigrants, in such amounts that schools were maintained wherever there was any considerable number of Bohemians. Of course money was also raised in Bohemia. Fathers who were brought up to speak only German brought up their children to speak only Bohemian. In 1912 I met a business man who took great joy in the fact that he had made a success in business without knowing German, thus proving to his satisfaction the progress that had been made in the substitution of Bohemian for German, as an essential language. In the twenty-five years preceding the war Bohemian or Czech had tended to supplant German on the streets of Prague. A waiter in a Bohemian restaurant, though understanding German perfectly, would not serve a customer speaking German.

In America there was also a strong effort to preserve the language. Schools were established in every community in which there was any considerable number of Bohemians. I found in 1911 twenty-seven thousand people in Chicago who made regular monthly payments to support the schools which were conducted on Saturdays and Sundays. Families make a special effort to have all the children talk Bohemian in the home.

ALBANIA, SWEDEN AND KOREA

Under the Turkish rule Abdul Hamid made it a prison offense for one to have in his possession a copy of a book in the Albanian language, thus among the Albanians who came to this country there is a very high illiteracy, but it is estimated that a great proportion of them learn to read Albanian in America.

With every one of the mid-European countries there is a peculiar language problem which has arisen out of the experience of oppression. It must be understood in the same way that the religious adherence is understood, namely, as a symbol of a national aspiration which has not been allowed its freedom and has fastened upon language as one of the means of preservation.

The Swedes offer an illustration on the other side. They have never had any experience with an alien language threatening to supplant theirs, and therefore they have not made it in any way a symbol of nationality, so that when they come to America they make no conscious resistance to learning English. They use Swedish for convenience and sentiment, but they are not interested in teaching it to their children because neither now nor heretofore has it been threatened. My own case is not unusual. My father was a Swede, but he never taught me any Swedish and I have never had the slightest feeling of Swedish

nationality. But I am able to appreciate that if Russia or Germany had taken Sweden, and tried to assimilate the Swedes, I should be interested in learning and having my children learn Swedish.

Sweden did, however, control Finland for six hundred years, and made the Swedish language both the economic and cultural language of Finland, though never were there more than twelve or fifteen per cent. of the population of Finland Swedes. Twenty-five years or so ago all the instruction in the universities was in Swedish. In 1912 I found that about half of the instruction was given in Finnish, and I saw in the windows of the bookstores in Helsingfors much display of scientific books written in the language which in all the world could not probably be read by more people than half the population of the State of Ohio.

Korea is the latest country to exhibit this tendency which is so characteristic. Japan had undertaken exactly the same policy as that pursued by Germany in Poland, and the result promises to be exactly the same. Korea became politically a part of Japan without the popular approval of the people of Korea, and Japan began to try to assimilate the Koreans by making the schools all Japanese. This has served to stimulate an interest in the Korean language such as could have been secured in no other way. By underground methods papers are being published in the Korean language and it became the patriotic duty of all Koreans to resist the encroachment of the Japanese language.

In all these cases, from the point of view of personal advantage it would be much better to take the language of the larger group, but people consistently assume personal disadvantage when the group needs their allegiance to preserve its existence.

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PARK, ROBERT E. and MILLER, HERBERT A.: *Old World Traits Transplanted.*

STEINER, EDWARD A.: *Sanctus Spiritus and Company.*

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CHAPTER VII

MIDDLE EUROPE

It is impossible to understand the forces underlying the recent war and to appreciate the difficult problems of reconstruction except through an interpretation of middle Europe in the light of the attitudes of the various peoples resulting from their previous oppression experiences.

The mistakes of rulers have arisen from a complete misconception of psychological laws, and the mistakes will continue to be made by many who have a sincere interest in the building up of free states. They will be impatient, and will not take sufficient account of the fact that peoples react less readily to rational principles than to elemental urges and sentiments. It has been assumed that one country or people could be appropriated by another without its consent, and if there were power enough an orderly society established. The whole history of middle Europe is a ghastly witness that it cannot be done.

A glance at the map of Europe based on nationality shows the peculiar fact that Eastern and Western Europe are divided from the North Sea to the Mediterranean by a line of small nations, no one of which has had a continuous sovereignty. Germany, England, France, Italy are on one side of this line and Russia on the other. If we exclude Norway and Sweden, which might be included, we have, beginning with the north, Finns, Esths, Letts, Lithuanians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Ruthenians, Magyars, Roumanians, Bulgarians, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrins, Albanians, Greeks, and Turks.

In their struggle for national survival every one of these national groups has been subjected to a one-sided

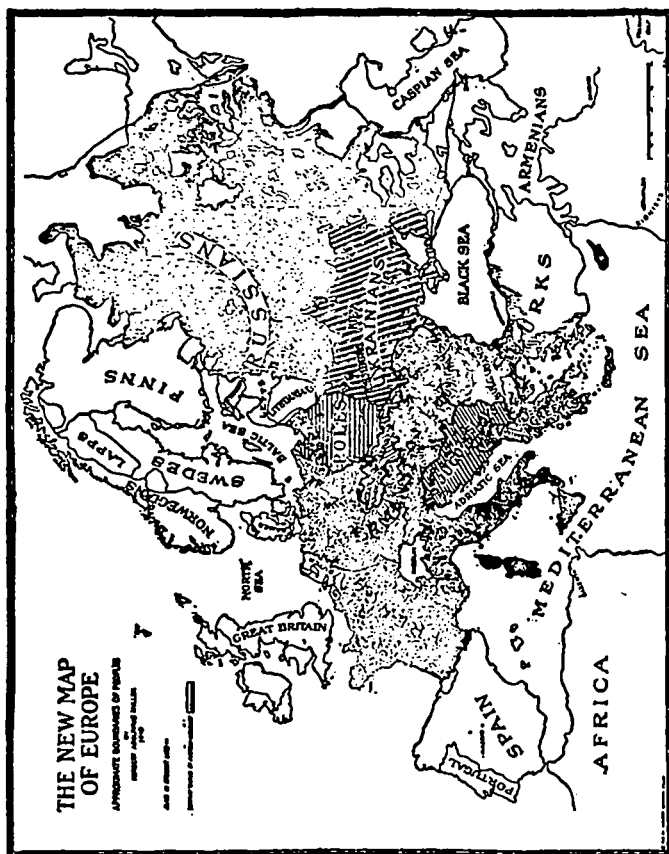
conflict, and there will not be a restoration to health merely by establishing them in independence. The habitual reactions have been developed under oppression and they cannot be supplanted by new complexes until the virus is eliminated and healthy habits established and this will take a considerable period of time. Middle Europe must convalesce for its own particular troubles, and the rest of the world must exercise patience during the process. It can be helped by sympathy and understanding, and it can be greatly retarded by nagging, or by any revival of the old methods of control.

All the forms of domination described above have been practiced in varying combinations on all these nations until now the one outstanding fact about them all is that they are conscious of their solidarity as a social force, but totally inexperienced in constructive political action. The result is now called "rampant nationalism." Each of them has ideals, symbols and slogans that are potent forces. Some of these are abstract theories which could be developed without restriction when there was no possibility of putting them into action, as was the case under the pre-war political conditions; they are the absolute doctrines of academic revolutionists.

In the two preceding chapters some suggestions have been given of the experiences of several of these nations. It is desirable to see them as a whole and at the same time to know something of the unique experience of each.

ETHNOLOGICAL GROUPINGS

We can begin with the ethnological grouping which throws light both on present attitudes and future alignments, for in the world organization, the natural and obvious groupings must be established before it is possible to hope for more abstract and ultimate relationships.



Nine of the nationalities mentioned above are Slavs. The Northern Slavs are Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Ukrainians, and Ruthenians. The Southern Slavs are Bulgarians, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, and Montenegrins. The last four are called Jugoslavs, which means *South* Slavs, and are technically the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. In addition to these small Slavic nations there are the Great Russians and White Russians who are closely related to the Ukrainians and Ruthenians. The Slavs were very early in Europe and number about 150,000,000.

The Finns, Esths and Magyars are of Asiatic origin, having come into Europe by invasions. The Finns and Esths are closely related. The Magyars have been separated from them so completely that there remains no significant consciousness of relationship, and very little in custom or appearance. Their languages, however, show common origin. The Letts and Lithuanians come from an Indo-European invasion long ago, their language being more nearly like Sanskrit than any other living language, though the long existence in the midst of Slavs has brought many Slavonic words into their language.

Early in the second century the ancestors of the Roumanians were completely subjugated by the Romans from whom they took their name, and fifty per cent. more or less of the roots of their language. For many centuries there has been no official relationship with Rome, but as national consciousness has developed there has been an increasing idealization of Roman tradition and a drawing toward Italy. The Albanians belong to a group which seems to be quite distinct, and it has retained its unique language in the midst of Greek, Turkish, and Slavic influence. There are also many scattered islands of peoples of very early origin, as the Wends in Germany and Roumanians in Greece.

In the last several centuries the Lithuanians and the Poles are the only ones who have in their own right exercised empire, though others like the Czechs have at some time had relative sovereignty, and some of the others like Greece and Roumania have had the semblance of independence though the creatures of the Great Powers. All of the peoples south of the Poles have suffered under Turkish rule, some of them until very recently. In the last epoch the German domination has been strong over all of them politically, or economically, or culturally, or all together. Sweden has dominated Finland culturally even though for a hundred years Russia has been in political possession. Russia has shared with the Germans the domination of those peoples north of Austria-Hungary. In the last half century Hungary practiced the same efforts at forcible assimilation of the peoples within her borders that she had herself experienced from the Germans and Austrians.

It has been the recognized policy of all the dominant governments to "divide and rule," using all possible arts for creating antagonisms, thus, in addition to the inevitable psychological results of oppression, middle Europe suffers from stimulated antipathies which have been symbolized by religious and cultural conflicts until the necessary and ultimately inevitable federation has been rendered infinitely difficult. The substitute of religion for nationality as a basis of conflict diverts the attention from the real problem and seems to the devotee as in itself real.

The new grouping will take place in terms of economic advantage and racial relationship as indicated by language. In my opinion, religion, though it may harbor the intensest animosities will not be, in these days a very difficult bar to realignment, though in particular instances it will com-

plicate the situation. It is as impossible that the Danube Valley should not be an economic unit as that the Mississippi Valley should be controlled by hostile sovereignties. The Danube is the connecting bond of peoples and states with traditional and present violent antagonisms, so that the unifying of the states touched by the Danube means the coming together of Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Jugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Roumania. The importance of the Danube as a connecting highway brought the International Danube Navigation Commission into existence in 1856, and it was recreated by the Peace Conference.

The Austrian Empire was created, and for a long time justified, as a bulwark against the Turks. The Balkan States were unable to form a similar union, and were exploited first by the Turks, and then used as catspaws by the great powers until their disunity has become symbolic of political chaos.

The total number of people of the fifteen or more subject nations east and southeast of Germany is almost exactly the same as that of the whole number of the Germans, approximately sixty-five millions. Any division among them always meant that they were outnumbered by Germans at least, and there was always a division, so that no one of these countries ever had any possibility of independent existence so long as the old ideas of political values prevailed, except through the help of some outside power which merely created a new danger.

The situation of the Finns and the Lett-Lithuanians as dominated by Swedes, Germans, Russians and Poles was indicated in the two preceding chapters.

POLAND LIKE GAUL DIVIDED INTO
THREE PARTS

The Poles offer an interesting complexity in that they were recently under three sovereignties, and in addition had the Jewish problem within their midst. Furthermore, the aristocratic system was continued in Poland as nowhere else in middle Europe. Since the nobility had no political significance under the Russian, German, and Austrian governments, it maintained itself through its economic and cultural power. The part played by the nobles was, none the less, of incalculable importance in preserving national consciousness and vitality, even though at the present time the democratic movement finds aristocracy an inconsistent relic which must in some way be got rid of. "But if thus, on the other hand, political life in Poland was more than anywhere else formerly subordinated to social life and the state was nothing without the free co-operation of society, on the other hand, the whole current of social life was more than anywhere else, except perhaps in ancient Greece and in republican Rome, turned into political channels, and the state was the exclusive object of social coöperation. This again is explained by the fact that the nobility was essentially a politically active group. It had differentiated itself from the peasants and the bourgeoisie chiefly, almost exclusively, by its participation in political life, and the right and duty of this participation remained its only reason for existence as a separate class. We might say that everything that the nobility did was directly or indirectly supposed to have a political bearing, everything the nobility possessed was supposed to have a direct or indirect significance for the state. The principle which is now in all countries applied to special political offices—the principle that a person or group wielding political power by virtue of an official position is not the owner

but the manager of this power—was extended in Poland not only to political functions but also to economic ownership and social influence. A nobleman even when he did not perform a specific public function, was not a private person; he was in a sense by nature a public official. His person, his activity and his life belonged to the nation; his fortune was national property to be used for public purposes—one of which was to support himself, his family and his dependents; whatever social influence he had was to be utilized for the benefit of the country. At the same time all his obligations were purely moral; no political power could constrain him to do anything he would not do—no authority except social opinion could control the use he made of his person, his fortune, his influence.”¹

Since the Jews controlled most of the practical affairs, the Polish aristocracy felt that it was ignoble for them to exercise their powers in this field, and, as education could find no other outlet than culture itself, there was developed a sort of education which really amounted to a technique of living under limitations, just as the illiterate peasant develops a technique to meet his limitations. Art and philosophy furnished this opportunity. The oppressed Polish intellectuals are devoted to music, painting, literature and idealistic philosophy, not because they are peculiarly endowed in these directions but because these accomplishments made self-expression possible. They were thus analogous to religious loyalty under the peculiar conditions of oppression. Science and practical philosophy have never occupied the attention of Poles. The difficulty arising from this situation is that the Poles tended to think of their accomplishments as ends in themselves and to magnify their attainments in these directions and to minify the value of the practical. Attention has been diverted from immediate needs and impractical ideals set

¹ Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant*, vol. IV. Badger.

up as goals. It is not without significance that Paderewski, a pianist, though with political ability of a sort, should have been a standard-bearer and Prime Minister. It symbolizes what had become a characteristic Polish scale of values. Side by side with these accomplishments went clericalism and chauvinism. However, the Polish nobles in the consciousness of their unity, under three governments preserved and stimulated the demand for national existence. The common people separated by an impassable gulf of birth, had a corresponding antithesis of education, so that juxtaposed to the highly educated, æsthetic Polish upper class is an ignorant, illiterate peasantry. Through the persistence of irrational methods of oppression by the ruling governments, and extravagant propaganda by the intellectuals, a genuine vertical group was formed out of what would normally be antagonistic horizontal classes.

We thus have the common oppression experience of two groups of which one culturally and economically dominates the other. Now that there is independence, the aristocratic class quite normally promotes an imperialistic program, because the inhibited impulse of nobles is for empire. The common people on the other hand are pulled in two directions, first to carry out the national ideals which have been aroused in them in the struggle for freedom, second to seek their own emancipation as a class from an irksome domination. There was thus in the period immediately following the war a strong socialistic movement and at the same time wars of aggression on several fronts.

The symbolism of the church is also complicated by the support of the landed class and this tends to promote proletarian revolt, but it is also enhanced by the existence of the Jew, and anti-Semitism is always attended by a heightened sense of Christian solidarity.

The Poles have suffered much, and their rights are

perfectly clear, but no one can expect them out of a total lack of experience, and a complication of disabilities of a psychopathic nature to erect a stable state in a short time.

The possession of so much impractical education is accepted by educated Poles as a sufficient evidence of ability to meet all their own problems, so that they find it exceedingly difficult to coöperate with others, or to accept suggestions which would accrue greatly to their own advantage. I anticipate that there will be a considerable call for patience with Poland for we must remember that there have been preserved under the aristocratic system, not only archaic institutions, but also psychoses in both vertical and horizontal groups, and both kinds of conflicts are raging at the same time.

POLISH MINORITY PROBLEMS

There are several minority nationality problems in Poland. The Germans are in large numbers in various sections; the Lithuanians in one section vary from local minorities to majorities; White Russians, and Ukrainians are also in large numbers. But the great problem is that of the Jew. An oppression experience ill fits a people to deal wisely with those whom it in its turn may oppress. The over-stimulated attention upon itself makes it difficult to objectify its principles of action. Any self-assertion on the part of the minority group is interpreted under these conditions of hypersusceptibility to suspicion as a threat, and the Polish susceptibilities are peculiarly over-stimulated in this matter, so that it is easy for the Poles to find a plausible reason to justify themselves in their fears of minorities.

The Jews in Poland have occupied a position in which they have had a distinctive power in spite of all the

organization against them. The Yiddish language is near enough to German so that there was always a possibility of their joining the Germans in a controversy. They have had complete control of certain areas of the economic life, and since they have not had more than an incidental part in the national consciousness, they have regularly been driven to be friendly with the ruling forces, not only in Poland, but in most of Europe. This merely aggravated the situation and there has been built up a complexity of antagonisms which cannot possibly be untangled for generations, but which explains anti-Semitic activities.

Anti-Semitism is the finest thing that could be devised for holding the Jews together, but it is a serious menace to those who harbor it. Within Poland itself the Jew serves as a political and social factor which keeps up irritation and adds to the many things, like language, religion, and art which divert attention from the immediate practical problems of political life. They are blamed for all the radical movements, serving for Poland exactly the same rôle that is played by all aliens in America when there is an effort to divert attention from economic upheaval by arousing prejudice against Jews. The Jewish question is so ubiquitous, not only in Europe, but in America that a special chapter is given to it.

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CHAPTER VIII

MIDDLE EUROPE

(Continued)

SOUTHEAST of the Poles are their cousins, the Czechs and the Slovaks. The Czechs have been generally known as Bohemians. They are with respect to longitude the most eastern and with respect to latitude the most central of the Slavs; and their history offers many illustrations of the psychological influence of both external and internal stimuli.

Miss Balch said of them: "The struggle (of the Bohemians) with the Germans is in a sense the master thread of their whole history, and this contact, even though inimical, has meant interpenetration and rapprochement. No other Slavic nationality is more self-conscious and patriotic, not to say chauvinistic, in its feeling, and at the same time, none begins to be so permeated with the general European Culture and so advanced economically."¹

The values that have accrued to the Bohemians by their intercourse with the Germans who almost surrounded them have been incalculable, but appropriation of culture values does not necessarily make for gratitude. The fact that German and Bohemian customs may be indistinguishable from one another has in no way mitigated the hostility of the Czech for the German. A writer who knows them well says: "The Czechs of Bohemia, the most virile of all the Slavic peoples, in spite of their stubborn struggle have not metamorphosed their Germanic fellow citizens into

¹ Emily Greene Balch, *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens*. The Survey Press.

Czechs, although they cannot easily deny the strong influence of their Teutonic neighbors upon themselves. The truth is that the Slav has nowhere become a dominant factor in the environment in which he has been placed." ² Before discussing this problem another quotation will be given from a personal letter written more than a year before the outbreak of the war, by a Bohemian who for thirty years had been a professor of German in a German gymnasium. He says: "I am not pessimistic enough to give up all hope that Providence may have some good things in store for the Slavs. What keeps me up is a certain hazy impression that human development may some time be in want of a new formula, and then our time may come. I conceive ourselves under the sway of the German watchword which spells 'force,' and, as watchwords come and go like everything else human, perhaps the Slav may sometime be called on to introduce another, which I shall like to see spelled 'Charity.'"

Whether there are any significant racial differences between the Slavs and the Teutons is not easy to determine. But the fact that there is a great deal of Slavic blood in the Prussians makes the contention as to biological determination of difference seem of slight importance. There are, however, differences in ideas and symbols, and a marked group consciousness.

Four events had great significance in the history of Bohemia before the Great War and are still national symbols: the founding of the University of Prague in 1348; the life, and death at the stake, of the priest and patriot, John Huss, in 1415; The Thirty Years' War which began in Prague in 1618; and the work of the Bishop and educator, Comenius, who lived through the period of

² Steiner, *The Immigrant Tide*, p. 212. Revell.

the Thirty Years' War. An oppressed group magnifies the promises of the past because it sees so little promise in the future. The result in the case of Bohemia was to focus attention on historically constructive forces, and these have had a profound influence in shaping the development of attitudes and ideals which have determined the character of the people. The outgo of energy in these directions is directly comparable to art and religion among the Poles, and orthodoxy and socialism among the Jews, however different the form.

It is true also that there was the happy circumstance of geographical location in the current of the western world, the Czechs being thrust out west of the other Slavs, and almost in the centre of Europe north and south. It was the resulting contacts combined with the above mentioned epoch-making historical events that must be credited with the peculiar character of the Bohemians, and of the new Czechoslovak Republic.

The University, founded by Charles the Fourth, favored the Czech language at a critical time, when it might have been absorbed by German, and the university immediately entered into the controversy over the question of language which brought it to the foreground of national consciousness from which it has never gone for any length of time. The management of the university about 1390 came to be entirely in German hands because the university was divided into four "nations," but those from the Polish "nation," after the founding of the University of Cracow, were almost entirely Germans from Silesia, and those from the Bavarian "nation" also were German, so that the Bohemians were in the minority, and they felt this to be unfair since they had founded and endowed the university. A temporary adjustment was secured with the

help of the Pope by which five of the six university dignities were to be held by Bohemians.⁸

The University of Leipzig was founded in 1409 as a result of this controversy over the "nation" control; when the Bohemians insisted on retaining control of the language, the non-Czech students seceded, and founded the first German University. The university tradition as an academic institution has been influential in many directions, but it has in particular to the present day been an important part of the national symbolism.

The more popular intellectual impetus, however, was given by Komensky or Comenius, as Bishop of the Bohemian Brethren. He was exiled during the Thirty Years' War, and was one of the most influential educators of the world, originating much of the modern school system of Europe, and revolutionizing educational theory. He was elected president of Harvard College, but never came to America. The fact that illiteracy is almost non-existent among the Bohemians can be traced to the profound influence of the University and Comenius.

Huss was a priest, a scholar and a moral leader of unusual ability and influence. From the time of his martyrdom in 1415, he has been the personification of the Bohemian's purpose. He made Bohemia Protestant a full century before Luther. As Count Lützow says: "In Bohemia, where the inhabitants instinctively saw in Huss the greatest man of their race, he was from the first revered. Huss the Bohemian patriot, is loved by many of his countrymen who are devoted adherents of the Church of Rome." It is estimated that in the year 1600 as the result of the Hussite epoch, at least nine-tenths of the Bohemians were anti-Catholic.

In 1620, in the second year of the Thirty Years' War,

⁸ See Lützow's *Story of Bohemia*, p. 93. Everyman's Library.

which was a counter reformation movement, the Bohemians were completely defeated. Hundreds of thousands of people were killed; and all the extensive literature of the Hussite period was burned. The overthrow was so complete that some historians claim that there was no Bohemian history after 1620. According to Count Lützow, "Bohemia presents the nearly unique case of a country which formerly almost entirely Protestant has become almost entirely Catholic. The popular optimistic fallacy which maintains that in no country has the religious belief of a country been entirely suppressed by persecution and brute force is disproved by the fate of Bohemia."⁴

Had Count Lützow lived two years longer (he died before the end of the war), he would have seen in Bohemia the complete proof that there was no "fallacy" in the idea just referred to. And he might also have seen similar proof if he had been familiar with the freethinking movement among Bohemians in America. In Cleveland in 1915, twenty thousand Bohemians gathered to celebrate the five hundredth anniversary of the death of Huss. It is not at all strange that the nationalistic reaction to the Hussite standard should have taken a definite anti-Catholic and even anti-religious symbolism. Bohemia, in fact, offers one of the best illustrations that can be found of the fact that "the religious belief of a country cannot be suppressed by persecution and brute force." Although the full power of the state in coöperation with Rome was used to stamp out heresy, nevertheless it kept its vitality in secret from 1620 until the Act of Toleration in 1781.⁵

The sequel of the burning of Huss is nowhere better demonstrated than in the following quotation from the Czechoslovak Declaration of Independence issued on the

⁴ *Story of Bohemia*, p. 107. Everyman's Library.

⁵ See Chapter VI.

18th of October, 1918: "We accept and shall adhere to the ideals of our nation for centuries. We accept the American principles as laid down by President Wilson: the principles of liberated mankind, of the actual equality of nations, and of governments deriving all their just power from the consent of the governed. We, *the nation of Comenius*, cannot but accept these principles expressed in the American Declaration of Independence, the principles of Lincoln, and of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. *For these principles our nation shed its blood in the memorable Hussite Wars five hundred years ago, for these same principles, beside her allies in Russia, Italy and France, our nation is shedding its blood today.*"

It can be seen from the juxtaposition of "Comenius" and "Hussite" to the statements about freedom that *they* have come to symbolize the struggle for full national self-expression.

Within the movement have grown up many other symbols of unity and purpose besides religion and language, though these two are the most obvious and significant. One of the most important is the Sokol, or gymnastic societies, which have done much to bind together not only the Bohemians, but also all the Slavs. This movement was organized first by a professor in the University of Prague in 1862, and in fifty years had spread to all Slavic nations culminating in a Pan-Slavic meet in Prague in 1912. It is a method of physical training which contributed much to the military ability of the Czechoslovak army, but it also offered an opportunity for cultivating national consciousness among both men and women, and was not easily attacked by the government. The success of the Czechoslovak soldiers in Siberia was in large measure made possible by the physical excellence and self-discipline developed

by the Sokol, and at the present time the Sokol Union is doing much to solidify all Slavs, but it should be remembered that its origin and its hold on the people is the result of its value as a symbol of the national struggle.

The intellectual and political developments of the Czechs do not make it easy for them to live with their neighbors, within and adjoining the new Republic. Their crystallized attitudes, which have been growing under the experiences of the past greatly increase the difficulties. The anti-Catholic movement complicates relations with Poland, and with the Slovaks, for while both peoples have been aiming at the same thing, namely national freedom, they have adopted symbols which lead them into direct antagonism, and there are many leaders who cultivate the potential religious conflict to prevent the amicable adjustment of political and economic relations.

The Slovaks, who have had a different religious experience from the Czechs do not easily accept the aggressive religious or irreligious expression of the Czechs and they resent the assumption and actual possession of cultural superiority on the part of the Czechs, so that a great deal of tact is being required to weld them together into a unified state. However, the Magyar assertion that the Slovaks would prefer to join the Hungarian state rather than the Czechoslovak Republic is utterly contrary to the experience of the nationalistic development, and any tendency in this direction will be temporary and artificial. The Magyars tried to denationalize the Slovaks, and for a time, some of those who were Magyarized may approve, but in the long run Slovak consciousness which is also Slavic, and near Czech, will assert itself, so that the final result is inevitable, that they will group themselves with Slavs.

POLITICAL PROTESTANTS LACK SOLIDARITY

Within a suppressed group there grow up many bitter factions. This has become notorious among the Irish. The dissensions within all the suppressed nationalities is an illustration of the same thing. Each has focussed on its own struggle for freedom and selected particular outlets for the struggle, and when these factions find it necessary to work together to accomplish a common end there is the immediate tendency to call attention to the differences which, though subsidiary, are considered of prime importance. Under the conditions of freedom both for the individual and for the group this particular aspect of the psychosis will gradually wear off, but it must be accepted as an inevitable consequence of restricted freedom.

In Czechoslovakia, there is not a Jewish problem as in Poland, but there are large German minorities, and, in Slovakia, many Magyars. Unfortunately the animosities that have been nurtured among these nationalities are very deep seated, and just how and when harmony can be secured is not clear, for a conscious effort to deal with the problem of national minorities was never made until this period following the war. President Masaryk had studied the problems objectively and has both judgment and high purpose, but the practical solution is very complex.

In Czechoslovakia, and in all the other nations of middle Europe, there are many political parties which propose many ways of solving problems. These parties under the old condition of oppression might have merely academic differences from one another. Under the present condition of political responsibility, there is a struggle for justification of program with accompanying confusion and inefficiency; but gradually under experience the parties will modify their programs, at least to harmonize with the possibilities of practice.

THE MAGYARS THOUGH DOMINANT ARE
CONFUSED

The Hungarians, or Magyars, were for a time under the rule of the Turks, and more recently were dominated by the Austrian Germans. They had a hard struggle to get rid of both oppressions, and they developed all the characteristic psychoses. It is scarcely a generation since their successful effort was made to secure equality in the Dual Empire. The Magyars occupying the rich middle territory of the Danube Valley were surrounded by nationalities who were not kin, but who became subject to them, and they merely imitated the practice under which they had suffered and which they had observed other rulers in Europe to employ. Like the Germans and the English or any other dominant people they had perfect self-assurance of their superiority to all who were alien to them, and they applied all the usual methods of forcible assimilation. In many ways they have absorbed the cultural qualities of the Germans. They have been economically better off than the nationalities surrounding them, and they had the good fortune to have a variety of religious sects, so that nationality was never identified with religion. Their oppression psychosis became imperialistic, and they strove to maintain a kingdom in which they were in the minority. To justify their assumptions it was necessary to claim the possession of high culture, and they have a feeling of kinship with the Polish aristocracy. The first effort was to make the Magyar language the one language of the state. This they did with ruthless severity, with the result that dormant nationalism was aroused among all the subject nations, great numbers of whom came to America to escape the repressing conditions. The non-Magyar peoples were the Slovaks, Ruthenians, Rou-

manians, and Croatians in addition to the Germans, and besides there were many Jews, and some smaller groups within the borders. Even more serious than these potential and actual hostile groupings, is the fact that the Magyars have no racial connections to whom they can look as partners in their struggle, as each Slav nation does. This isolated people of some eight millions, though aggressively dominating yet is still suffering psychologically from her own experience of oppression. There is no nation in Europe which will have a more difficult problem of self-control than Hungary in the practical problem of living with its own peoples.

The Roumanians of Transylvania under Hungarian rule furnished ninety-nine and more per cent. of all the Roumanian emigrants to America. Under the Austro-Hungarian influence they had become predominately Greek Catholic, as contrasted with the Greek Orthodoxy of the Roumanian Kingdom. Both in Roumania and in Transylvania the Roumanians had suffered from both political and economic domination. The great landed estates of the Magyar nobles on the one side and the Roumanian Boyars on the other kept the peasants in a constant state of hopeless suppression. And further, the great number of Jews in Roumania have had a history similar to that in Poland. The attitudes resulting from these internal conditions have been aggravated by the policy of the Great Powers of using Roumania as a pawn, ever since her deliverance from Turkish rule. The ancient relationship with Italy has been revived and this has added greatly to the feeling of national self-respect.

THE KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES

The recent war was precipitated by a Serbian youth living in territory inhabited by Serbians but possessed by Austria. The new Yugoslav state, officially known as the "Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes," inherits a group of oppression psychoses whose intensity and diversity make the problem of living together unusually difficult. For centuries the Turks controlled Serbia and killed her emergent men, which together with a lack of surplus wealth militated against the development of culture. Since the retirement of the Turk, Serbia has suffered with the other Balkan states, the vicious effects of the struggle for control by the Great Powers. The repression of the individuality of Serbia has been so long and severe that the rebound cannot fail to make difficult the relationship which she bears to the other members of the Kingdom. Slovenia and Croatia have suffered even more from the political and cultural domination of the Austrians and Magyars. Although all the Yugoslavs speak the same language with only dialectic differences, the Serbs use the Cyrillic alphabet and the others the Latin, and the religious adherence is divided between the Greek Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Churches. There are also many Mohammedans, but they are considered alien in a Slavic state.

So far the natural tendency to disintegrate and start civil war has been averted by the common hatred of the aggressions of the Italians, who by their effort to possess Fiume and control the Adriatic have enabled the Yugoslavs to live together until there is now a strong probability that, with occasional outbreaks, their Slavic consciousness may weld them together.

Eventually for the same reason, Bulgaria is likely to be closely associated with Yugoslavia in spite of the long period of hostility between Bulgaria and Serbia.

SUGGESTED READINGS

BALCH, EMILY GREENE: *Our Slavic Fellow Citizens*.

ČAPEK, THOMAS: *The Slovaks of Hungary*.

ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA: *John Huss*.

GILLET, EZRA HALL: *Life and Times of John Huss, The Story of Bohemia*.

MONROE, WILL S.: *Comenius*.

LÜTZOW, COUNT: *The Story of Bohemia*.

SETON-WATSON (SCOTUS VIATOR): *Racial Problems in Hungary*.

SETON-WATSON (SCOTUS VIATOR): *The Rise of Nationality in the Balkans*.

STEINER, EDWARD A.: *The Immigrant Tide*. Revell.

STEINER, EDWARD A.: *Sanctus Spiritus and Company*.

CHAPTER IX

ANTI-SEMITISM

THE effect of oppression on the Jews is deeper and more far-reaching than on any other people because it has been longer continued and of greater variety. Their identity as a people has been maintained, though they have had no political sovereignty since before the Christian Era. More completely than anyone else they have adopted a compensatory technique in attitudes and habits to meet the disabilities under which they live.

There has been an anti-Jewish feeling in the world for thousands of years, and we may assume that it originated quite capriciously, but once started it gathered about itself a mass of tradition which has raised it to a high level of sacred antipathy.

Western civilization adopted the monotheistic system and moral code from the Hebrews and thus the European cultural and religious unity is largely from this source, so that the conflict between the Jew and the Christian is between people who have a common inheritance.

The original antipathy to the Jew did not result from the crucifixion of Jesus, though at times this fact has been used to greatly stimulate it, and has given a religious sanction to a capricious traditional hostility between Jew and Christian. In the later Middle Ages, so it is said, in the City of Prague, good Catholics thanked God that there were Jews in the city whom they could persecute, and by persecuting show their love for Jesus.

The Holy Roman Empire combined political and religious authority with a resultant fervor and fanaticism which nurtured hostility to whatever was not absorbed. The

Jews who lived in the midst of Christians were always subject to attack as being alien to the great institution of the Church. This is in part the expression of anti-Semitism during the Middle Ages.

At the present time we do not openly denounce the Jew merely because he is not a Christian, though it is still exceedingly common, but we have taken the popular prejudice against economic exploitation and tried to believe that this is a peculiar habit of the Jews. During that medieval period when Jews were prohibited from many forms of work and ownership, they lived by lending money. The laws, taking their suggestion from the Bible, forbade interest or usury, but when there was need the Christians borrowed money, and the Jews lent it at interest. They thus became law breakers and this fact easily justified the prejudice against the Jew in trade and finance. His methods have now been adopted in the business world, and the modern usurer is called a capitalist, and stands at the top of prestige in the Christian world, and yet the prejudice against the Jew goes on.

JEWS ARE CONSPICUOUS

This prejudice has been rationalized, and qualities that are accepted but disliked in others are made the basis for condemning a whole group. This has been explained by Walter Lippmann as follows: "The fundamental fact of the situation is that the Jews are fairly distinct in their physical appearance and in the spelling of their names from the run of American people. They are, therefore, inevitably conspicuous.

"It follows that the vices of civilization stand out in the Jews as under a magnifying glass. And a very great deal, I believe much the greater part, of ordinary anti-Semitism in America is simply the startled recognition of evils

that are not so recognizable when they occur in people of less distinct characteristics. Thus, while the Jews are not sharper traders than the Greeks or the Scotch, and while there are not among Jews more blatantly vulgar rich than among other stocks, sharp trading and blatant vulgarity are more conspicuous in the Jew because he himself is more conspicuous."¹ Our question is, Why is he conspicuous?

Immediately following the Franco-Prussian war, there swept over the European world a wave of anti-Semitism much like the present one. The reason was that this period saw the beginning of a rapid rise of that new phenomenon in the world—nationalism. The peculiarity of the Jew is that because he has been made self-conscious by his experience, he has acquired a solidarity which has been kept vivid through adherence to the Law. He did not keep it through talking about himself as a member of a nation, but by worshipping, whether in Spain, or England, or Holland, or Germany, or Poland, or Hungary, or America, according to the same ritual and interpretation. Thus there was an international consciousness on the part of the Jews, which the rising nationalism could not understand. And so, as Prussia, Austria, Russia, France, and the rest began to be conscious of themselves as nations, the Jews who did not enter quite so whole-heartedly into the national patriotism which, as has been described, always used some Christian symbolism, became immediately objects of suspicion and prejudice.

With the rise of nationalism there also was developed a very complex commercial internationalism, which, in Europe, was carried on by the one people who were prepared to carry it on, namely, the Jewish bankers. The Rothschilds and other Jewish bankers were, so far as their

¹ Public Opinion and the American Jew, *The American Hebrew*, April 14, 1922.

organization of capital was concerned, quite indifferent to national lines. But since the Jews were doing it, the rest of the people could reap the advantage and at the same time by hating the Jews, feel complacent in their chauvinistic patriotism.

NATIONALISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM

My thesis is that modern anti-Semitism finds its explanation in the present growth of nationalism.

The two countries in Europe in which there is the largest proportion of Jews are Poland (formerly part of Russia), and Roumania, and both of these countries have had tragic political and cultural experiences. Out of these experiences the Poles have developed an exaggerated emotional solidarity in which are involved both the institutions of the aristocracy and of the Church, and of course, the greater this solidarity especially when symbolized by such institutions, the greater the difficulties into which the Jews fall. In Roumania, there was the self-centered and somewhat dissolute landed aristocracy allied with the Orthodox Church. There was nothing in Polish or Roumanian culture, civilization or opportunity, to attract the loyalty of a group with another history and an aggregate superior culture, such as the Jews had. So that the gap between these peoples and Jews has grown wider and wider.

In Germany, when Prussian nationalism became imperialistic, it carried some Jews along with it; but there, too, we have Lutheranism supporting Prussian imperialism. The Jew was outside of this, and it was quite natural for a patriotic German to be anti-Jewish.

In France, the Jew entered more completely into the social and religious life. The Jew was largely responsible for the separation of church and state, which practically rendered the Catholic Church politically powerless in

France. It meant, however, that the Catholic Church, seeing what the Jew had done, tended to develop within itself a constantly increasing consciousness of the misfortune which the Jew had brought upon it.

THE JEW AND CAPITALISM

The present great conflicts in society are those between nations on the one hand, and those between classes on the other, and since frequently the same people are involved in both, there are many contradictory interests. The national organization I have called vertical and the class organization horizontal. In the vertical grouping patriotism is the crowning virtue, although patriotism is an obstacle to progress for it makes a conflict between people who have common interests entirely apart from national and state lines. The capitalist class, which is thoroughly international, is organized against the proletarian class, which is also tending to become international.

These two conflicts involve the Jew very intimately. In America the banking system is by no means monopolized by the Jews, but in large parts of Europe, it is almost entirely in their hands. The capitalist class, however, is most conscious of the necessity of stimulating patriotism to maintain its control. And so we have the absurdly irrational situation in which the great United States Steel Corporation, with its highly perfected international connections, justifies itself in a strike by claiming to be the defender of Americanism against Bolshevism, and, in the name of patriotism, getting the mass of public opinion on its side. The American Legion, the newspapers, and the public quite generally gave their adherence to this horizontal grouping thinking that it was vertical.

This confusion of real interests is of the utmost danger and its clarification is one of our first responsibilities. The

conflict between nations has been the more acute, but henceforth that between classes will increase in intensity.

It is true that some of the leaders of the proletarian organization have also been Jews. The most ominous word for the capitalistic world is socialism, and socialism was founded by Karl Marx, a Jew. Engels, and many others of the socialist leaders, also have been Jews. When an idea is given to the world, it no longer belongs to anybody in particular. Anyone may follow it, but since the originator of socialism was a Jew, and many of the prominent leaders have been Jews, capital can easily summon the holy prejudice of nationalism against the Jew in order to maintain more successfully the economic system which it thinks to be essential.

It is true that there are characteristics of the Jews which are to be contrasted in general with those of non-Jews. Any group with a long period of unity develops distinctive habits and attitudes. The Jews, in addition, have had, during the ages, the continuous experience of oppression which could not fail to have its peculiar results. In fact, most of what is called "Jewish" is the psychopathic result of this abnormal experience.

JEWISH "CHARACTERISTICS"

Hypersensitiveness or self-consciousness is perhaps the most conspicuous symptom. There are also methods of adaptation to secure survival such as alertness or aggressiveness. The psychological peculiarities of groups must be explained as the natural consequences of causes. If this could be thoroughly understood the conflict of groups could be greatly mitigated by substituting normal for mythical and supernatural explanations.

People who are most sincere in their desire to be free from prejudice find it very difficult to get rid of a revulsion

of feeling coming from specific associations with particular Jews. The nervous push in the face of coldness and repulsion is a failure to play according to the rules of the social game, and when this same characteristic leads to furious speeding through the town regardless of traffic laws or personal safety, there is being laid the foundations of what may lead some day to an American pogrom. Only education which turns the attention of the Jews to the desirability of inhibitions will make their adaptation to others easier, and will overcome the ever-present tendency to anti-Semitic outbreak. The conspicuousness of the Jew is in large part due to his psychopathic adjustment to his environment. It is further due to the necessary technique for survival. When the Jew was driven to the ghetto, when laws against owning land and other strictures were put upon him he had to be aggressive or starve. The Jew who waited for customers suffered, so he went after them without waiting for an invitation. He was a pioneer in salesmanship which we now teach in schools, but many of his mannerisms persist in his habits, and make uncomfortable those with whom he associates.

The psychoses of both the Poles and the Jews in Poland are so highly developed that it is impossible to foresee the outcome of this conflict. The excessive chauvinism of the Poles together with their ignorance, ecclesiasticism, and archaic system of aristocracy in addition to their own oppression psychosis on the one side, comes in contact with great numbers of Jews who have their own outstanding and equally complex characteristics. Nothing short of several centuries can make it possible for the development of normal relations. In Hungary anti-Semitism has become a mania though in almost no other country had the Jews entered more fully into the life of the state. Much of the culture of Hungary and also the nationalism

was the product of Jews. Many of the greatest Magyar literary men were Jews, and practically all the financial interests of Hungary were in the hands of Jews. Soon after the war a reactionary government was established which was absolutely in the hands of the clericals, and the aristocrats. In order to maintain themselves in power, it was necessary for them to divert the attention of the people from the real situation to a subsidiary situation; so the blame was put upon the Jews.

There is no denying that the political and economic conditions of Hungary are tragic, but the war, not the Jews, was the cause. It is true that many of the leaders in the political revolution which took place in Hungary before the Horthy régime came into power were Jews. One could name a half dozen of their leaders who are Jews, beginning with Bela Kun. This makes it easy for the clerical reactionaries in power, to place the blame for all the present difficulties in Hungary on the Jews. Jewish students were excluded from the university and all the Jewish professors, who numbered about half the faculty, were either removed or not allowed to give lectures.

In Czechoslovakia there are relatively few Jews, but there is a good deal of unofficial anti-Semitism. President Masaryk is one of the few statesmen of the world who has taken a human and scientific attitude toward the Jewish question. When the Jewish committee visited him, to present the question of forming a political party, he gave his hearty approval. A Jewish party was organized in Czechoslovakia, though it did not succeed in electing a deputy, nevertheless, it cast some eighty thousand votes, and relieved the pressure as nothing else could.

Over against this official attitude there are the nationalistic and clerical parties that are openly anti-Semitic. The attitude of the latter is expressed in a recent cleri-

cal paper in Prague, which laments the liberal movement among the Czechs by saying that Protestant rationalism, and Talmudic Judaism, are alike within the range of German thinking and contrary to the spirit of the Bohemian and the Slav.

THE JEW IS A VICARIOUS OBJECT OF HATRED

The great war succeeded in organizing national solidarity in a very unusual degree, and it did it by making a positive appeal to love of one's nation, and a negative appeal to hate of the enemy. These emotions were greatly over-stimulated, and with the close of the war, both claimed satisfaction. The disorganization which is going on everywhere within states is evidence that the love side is not getting full opportunity, but on the hate side, there has been more success.

All the people of the earth succeeded in organizing their emotions of hatred. It is a very delightful experience to hate. Love and hate are both of them normal, natural emotions, and for a long time during the history of man and of the pre-human ancestor, hatred had a survival value. Simply to stop hating is impossible. The thing we must do eventually in a normal society is to sublimate that hatred in some harmless way. The athletic contest and political conflict point the way.

At the close of the war, the old enemies ceased to be the appropriate objects of hatred as they had been, but the Jew was a vicarious substitute having the support of tradition. Very much of the present anti-Semitism is a transfer of emotion from the former enemy, simply because there is need for some emotional outlet. Also, since it is never easy to blame an abstract situation for social and political conditions such as the war brought, the Jews furnish a concrete object. All over the world the

war has not only disorganized society, but it has brought an enormous amount of hardship, and it is very essential psychologically that there be somebody on whom to put the blame. There are millions of people in the world who now blame most of the suffering they are enduring upon the Jewish capitalists and Jewish proletarians.

THE JEWISH CONTRIBUTION

I feel very strongly that the Jew has the greatest contribution to human progress to make at this particular time that he has ever had in all his history. It is becoming obvious that the present organization of the political state is irrational and cannot survive long. We have seen empires composed of heterogeneous peoples broken to pieces. It is one of the most outstanding results of the war. Austria-Hungary was dissolved into groups that had some natural unity. But that kind of unity is irrational as an economic and administrative form. It is merely a necessary step to the next stage. The political state in which political interests are dominant is an artificial organization of society, and it must vanish. But it will yield reluctantly to economic and cultural organization because our emotions are so easily stimulated in this particular grouping. Our real interests, we are gradually learning, are not rationally connected with vertical organization. I have friends in half a dozen countries with whom I am infinitely more in sympathy than I am with most of the people in my own state or town, and so it is actually or potentially with everyone. Our economic and scientific interests have no real connection with political frontiers. The evolution into a natural and normal organization of society will be violently resisted, but it is inevitable.

Now the Jew, because he has had no nation—some may question this—has become an internationalist by

necessity, and he is leading the way in the organization of the machinery for international relations.

In the summer of 1920 I was at the Uzok Pass in the Carpathians on the frontier between Czechoslovakia and Poland, whose relations at that time were strained almost to the breaking point. There were barbed wire defenses and armed guards, but at the otherwise deserted station there were three Jews, one from Czechoslovakia and two from Poland, arranging for the exchange of manufactured goods from the former for petroleum from the latter. The anti-Semites may rage, but in international trade between peoples whose vision is so warped by their patriotism that practical matters get scant consideration, the Jews are performing one of the most vital services to mankind.

The accumulation of capital and its organization was a necessary attainment for human progress. It involves a multitude of evils; but we must learn to separate the existence of capital from the evils incident to its ownership. The first is essential and the latter accidental. We are beginning to recognize the inherent immorality of some phases of its private ownership, and the Jews have been leaders in pointing this out.

The proletarian movement, like the capitalistic, is international. The working classes are discovering that they really have more in common with people across frontiers than with other classes within their own states, and they have started a movement for realizing the advantages of better understanding. It was fortunate that there should be Jews to take the leadership, for they were able to match the capitalists without fear. The conflict is going to be a long and hard one, and there will be much hardship and discomfort before it is finished, but the Jew has been tried and not found wanting in surviving under hardship.

THE JEWS MAY BE THE "CHOSEN PEOPLE"

It may be difficult to find a theological basis that will be universally accepted for the claim to be a "Chosen People," but the peculiar history of the Jews with its consequences on their attitudes and wills, may actually make them such. Living under many governments and religions, their faith in their scripture and devotion to ritual gave them unity which differed from the imperial unity of the Roman Catholic world, and made them the original people of "plural" sovereignty. This has been very offensive to the absolute patriots, and thus anti-Semitism has been rampant in the chauvinistic periods succeeding wars. Whatever may have been the divine purpose, the accident of existence has made it inevitable that the Jews should be internationalists, and, both as capitalists and proletarians, they have had a leadership in the direction in which society is inevitably tending.

There is a third group of Jews who are of the greatest importance. They are the idealists. Their number is large, and their influence is incalculable. It is no accident that Jesus, Rothschild, and Marx were Jews. These three symbolize the three fundamental directions in which the world organization must take place—by idealism, by economic organization, by the common interests of the masses of mankind. These typically Jewish attitudes are complementary, not exclusive.

There is no way of escaping the consequences of discrimination and hate. Attention may be diverted to the disagreeable characteristics of Jews and thereby aggravate the very characteristics which ought to be inhibited, and to the individual Jew the recompense is wormwood and gall. To a large degree the measure of success in the extension of these fundamental principles of inter-

nationalism and economic reorganization will be indicated by the contumely heaped on the Jews. If this prospect does not mean *divinely chosen*, I have no other to offer.

ZIONISM A SEARCH FOR SOLUTION

Zionism is one of the attempts to find another compensatory object. If there could be the dignity of a political state then all Jews who are now subject to the caprice of any state in which they live, but of which they are not a part, could have the added self-respect of being the representatives of a sovereignty. The practical difficulties involved have nothing to do with the psychological demand, nor does the objection raised by those Jews who are entirely merged into the life of the free state in which they live, and who feel the Jewish continuity only through tradition.

The outcome of the Jewish conflict cannot be foreseen, for it will undoubtedly last for centuries. It is inevitable that the Jews as a group shall give their attention to defense in the fields that are open to them. The field of finance is no longer monopolized by them, but they can still exercise a tremendous influence. The press offers a field that they have not been slow to appropriate. One of the best defenses, however, has been the seeking of eminence in good works. Philanthropy and leadership in social enterprises has been one of the best assets of the Jewish people, and it can hardly be doubted that many individuals have been actuated by a search for a worthy reputation to compensate for that of being a member of a despised people.

There is no easy nor immediate way of solving the Jewish problem. The mental complexes actually exist. All the unspeakable injustice which is heaped on the Jew will go on, and most of the prejudice by which it is justified has a sound basis in present characteristics. The

method by which the Jew has had to survive is the method which makes his survival so often offensive to those among whom he lives. He is the finest example of the mistaken method by which people live together that we have ever had. He is a manifestation of the psychological result of the kind of oppression which has become psychopathic. The cure will be made only in a long process of time by the application of methods which will resolve or sublimate the psychoses.

SUGGESTED READINGS

- ANTIN, MARY: *The Promised Land*.
 COHEN, ISRAEL: *Anti-Semitism in Germany*.
 COHEN, ISRAEL: *Jewish Life in Modern Times*.
 DEARBORN INDEPENDENT: *The International Jew*.
 FISHBERG, MAURICE: *The Jews*.
 FRIEDMAN, ELISHA: *Survival or Extinction*.
 JEWISH ENCYCLOPÆDIA: *Anti-Semitism*.
 LEROY-BEAULIEU, ANATOLE: *Israel Among the Nations, A Study of Jews and Anti-Semitism*.
 PETERS, MADISON CLINTON: *Justice to the Jew*.
 RAVAGE, M. E.: *An American in the Making*.
 STEINER, EDWARD A.: *From Alien to Citizen*.

CHAPTER X

THE IRISH

IRELAND, India and Egypt instantly suggest the problems of political and cultural domination and subjection. Ireland and Egypt have been given that semblance of freedom which once might have established normal relations, but their pathological attitudes are now so deeply seated that their momentum will carry on for generations.

In *Back to Methuselah*, Bernard Shaw describes a genuine possibility when a character speaking in 3000 A.D. says: "Can I, . . . forget that when the Empire transferred its seat to the East, and said to the turbulent Irish race which it had oppressed but never conquered, 'At last we leave you to yourselves; and much good may it do you,' the Irish as one man uttered the historic shout, 'No! we'll be damned if you do,' and emigrated to the countries where there was still a nationalist question, to India, Persia, and Korea, to Morocco, Tunis and Tripoli. In these countries they were ever foremost in the struggle for national independence; and the world rang continually with the story of their sufferings and wrongs. And what poem can do justice to the end, when it came at last? Hardly two hundred years had elapsed when the claims of nationality were so universally conceded that there was no longer a single country on the face of the earth with a national grievance or a national movement. Think of the position of the Irish, who had lost all of their political faculties by disuse except that for nationalist agitation, and who owed their position as the most interesting race on earth solely to their sufferings. The very countries they had helped set free boycotted them as intolerable bores.

"It was then that these devoted Irishmen, not one of whom had ever seen Ireland, were counseled by an English archbishop, . . . to go back to their own country. This had never occurred to them, because there was nothing to prevent them and nobody to forbid them." The upshot of it was that they did not like the country so they left the next day and "no Irishman ever again confessed of being Irish, even to his own children; so that when the generation passed away the Irish race vanished from human knowledge. And the Jews did the same thing, lest they be sent back to Palestine. Since then the world bereft of its Jews and its Irish, has been a dull, tame place."¹

In middle Europe, as we have seen, the dominating people have been prevailingly Germans. In the case of Ireland, India, and Egypt, aggregating an enormously greater number of subject people, Great Britain was consciously and primarily actuated not merely, and in recent years, not mainly by the motive of exploitation and glory, but largely by a desire to bring a wider spread of order and civilization. Nevertheless, Great Britain, whose democracy cannot be doubted, and which has been considered the one nation that could deal wisely with subject people, came to the period following the Great War to find revolutions against her in these three countries. In an inconceivably short space of time, considering the past, she has conceded her power and prestige in Ireland and Egypt and must soon do so in India.

CULTURE AN EXCUSE FOR CONQUEST

There are two logical points of view for a powerful and advanced nation. The German, English, and American principle, and one that actuates many honest people

¹ George Bernard Shaw, *Back to Methuselah*, pp. 175, 176. Brentano.

in all countries, is that an admittedly superior culture which brings order, efficiency, and sanitation should be given to other people who lack them even though they have to be imposed by force. On this principle, England can justify herself in Ireland, India, French Canada and Egypt, and the United States in the Philippines and Mexico, and Japan in Korea. Unfortunately, as some one has said, "England goes into wars with the ten commandments and comes out with new territory."

The other and newer point of view is that rule is not successful unless there is created a capacity for self-control and education. The process of development rather than the attainment of order is the end to be sought. In other words, the measure of goodness is not inherent in the thing done but in the relationships that develop.

The evil of wrong emphasis is becoming so apparent that it ought to be easy to see that the creation of resentful attitudes is worse than idolatry, or illiteracy, or even a high death rate. The chief and essential success of a political institution must be found in its influence on the minds of the people. Neither Germans nor English can point to outward signs of civilization and say their rule has been successful when there have been bred in the process of securing them attitudes that make living together more difficult than if abject savagery had prevailed. We have worshiped at the shrine of efficiency and forgotten that it is a secondary, not a primary value. If democracy is measured by efficiency it will often be found wanting, but if measured by the training of citizens in the difficult art of self-government it will be found of superlative value even if most inefficient, for success is subjective, not objective. This is a hard lesson to learn. The methods of pedagogy have accepted the principle and begun the prac-

tice, but political science and practical politics have been very slow to discover it.

Judged by this criterion, control in the countries under consideration has been a bitter failure. Order and cleanliness may have been imposed, but they have meant the sowing of whirlwinds, the reaping of which is fraught with disaster.

Some Englishmen say that no one has a right to talk about Ireland who was not born and raised there. It is more probable that no one who was born and raised there can talk right about Ireland. Certainly the resident of Ireland whether he be Irish or English can hardly view the problem objectively.

ENGLISH RESPONSIBILITY FOR AMERICAN PROBLEMS

The failure of the English method of dealing with Ireland is almost better illustrated in America than in Ireland. The following quotation from a letter by the president of the school board of a Massachusetts city, in explaining his own active interest in the Irish, illustrates what colors the attitude of several million people of Irish stock in America, perhaps twice as many as the Irish population of Ireland.

"Our immediate ancestors, fathers and grandfathers, felt the iron heel upon their necks in their early lives, and in our childhood we were fed with stories of evictions, landlord oppressions, and religious persecutions which sent us to bed night after night in fear and trembling, lest before morning some Englishman should get into the house and snatch the children away in chains and slavery. Growing older we went into the world and met, more often than not, petty persecutions at the hands of those who did not understand us and the things we held sacred. We saw in it all, translated to this side of the Atlantic, the same

spirit of persecution which drove our fathers from the land of their birth and we have come to manhood carrying chips on our shoulders because of the things which men have done to us on account of our race and our religion."

The group-consciousness of the Irish is one of the finest examples of a psychosis. Carrying a chip on one's shoulder through life is certainly pathological. Neither knowledge of English nor the status of American citizenship through naturalization or by birth affects in the slightest degree the vividness of the Irish emotion. The Irish illustrate what, until justice is established in Europe, will happen in every oppressed group some of whose members have migrated in such large numbers to America, but it will be much more complicated in these other cases by the varieties of language and religion.

The Irish have entered into American politics and in many cases have been eminent officeholders. They have occupied an important place in journalism and business. Although they have become fully identified with American life they have kept just as strong a feeling of Irish identity as though they had not spoken English nor taken out naturalization papers. Denied an opportunity for political expression in Great Britain they have sought it aggressively here, probably because they have overestimated its importance over there. The church has been a rallying ground here as there, and the much-advertised pugnacity and factionalism of the Irish finds its illustration in American life. The Irish in an American city will unite if attacked, but will develop many diversities of organization if left to themselves. This is a typical oppression reaction. The peculiarities of the Irish are the result of centuries of pathological development.

But the issues of the Irish problem are in no way affected by calling the Irish queer, or Catholic. We shall

not get anything like an election on its proper issues in an American city until the settlement of the Irish question has lost all suspicion of English coercion. A graduate of a middle western high school was complaining that in his time the Catholics had just over a majority in his class, and they took all the elections, regardless of any other qualification. Why did it happen? The Catholics were all Irish and they had acquired the technique of solidarity as a weapon against England. An Iowa town ought not to have to pay for England's bad methods in Ireland, but social consequences are indifferent as to the source of origin of the blame. A large part of the Irish problem now is not the question of freedom or control, but of attitudes that actually exist. It will require a far longer period for the cure than would have been necessary had freedom been given a generation or two ago when the feelings had not become so acute. On the one side it was said that England could not permit Ireland to be independent for reasons of defense. On the other side it may be said that England could not help making Ireland free for the sake of her own existence.

The political reaction of the Irish in America is part and parcel of the disappointing civil war that followed so close on the establishment of the Irish Free State. The Irish are habituated to unity only against their opponents, and like all oppressed groups they have allegiances to academic slogans of liberty, and such slogans encourage them to fall into most bitterly antagonistic groups when not on the defensive. In Boston and New York the potential unity is so great that it is not worth while to nominate a candidate for Mayor who is not Irish, and the only hope of electing the better one is for the non-Irish to unite on him, though the result in several cases has been that because of this seeming alliance of one candidate with the

non-Irish, the majority of the Irish have succeeded in electing the worse candidate.

THE INTERNAL PROBLEMS OF IRELAND ARE DIFFICULT

Is it any wonder, then, that a people habituated to destructive rather than constructive coöperation should tend to be disorganized by a government actually on their hands. Poland, Jugoslavia, and all the other countries that have come into freedom out of domination are having the same kind of experience, though the overt acts may take a different form. There are ten to fifteen political parties in all of these countries. The thing to be noted is that after seven hundred years of effort by England to carry on government in Ireland, there is now more disorder and bitterness than ever before. The position of the Ulster Presbyterians complicates the problem, and while the present descendants of the Scotch immigrants were, so to speak, born in good faith in Ireland, it should be remembered that their ancestors were colonized some centuries ago for the very purpose of assisting the Protestant domination. There is probably no escape from some vicarious compensation for the evil intent by which the original immigrants came to North Ireland. There can be no doubt about the superior physical cleanliness and the cultural superiority of Ulster as compared with South Ireland, but it is superficial to condemn the latter whose attention for centuries has been devoted to securing that self-respect which could only come through freedom.

Ireland has become symbolic of all domination experiences. Seventy-five years ago Havliccek, a Czech journalist wanted to arouse the people against Austrian oppressions, and not being allowed to criticize the Austrian government, he wrote what purported to be a series of "Letters from Ireland."

The deep seated attitudes of the Irish are illustrated by the following story told by an American missionary in India, whose mission, during the Boer War, was close to the camp where Boer prisoners were concentrated, though they were free to go about the community. One day a reception was given an American, and the English and American flags were displayed. One of the Boer prisoners came to the reception saying: "I saw my flag over the platform and came in." And on being asked what he meant he replied, "I am an Irishman from Chicago."

The part played by the Irish in blocking America's ratification of the League of Nation's Covenant was very large. The position of Senator Lodge was unquestionably influenced by the Irish vote of Massachusetts. The reason for this opposition was in part due to the vague feeling that it would make more difficult the separation of Ireland from the British Empire, but more because opposition would advertise the Irish cause. They felt that after seven hundred years of injustice they should not let an occasion pass, when, by blocking other action, they could focus attention on their own problem. This is not a high type of morality, but in various forms we must expect it in local and world politics until the pathology induced by oppression is cured, and that will take generations after the causes are removed. In the meantime the rest of the world must share in paying for the immorality of the past.

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HACKETT, FRANCIS: *Ireland.*

JONES, FRANCIS P.: *History of the Sinn Fein Movement.*

MCCARTHY, JUSTIN HUNTLY: *Outline of Irish History.*

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Manifesto of Leaders of the Intellectual Life of Great Britain on Ireland, *The World Tomorrow*, 1921.

CHAPTER XI

FRENCH CANADA, INDIA, MEXICO, AND KOREA

THE relation of England to French Canada is in many respects similar to that to Ireland, though with distinctive differences. Canada was settled by the French and came into the possession of England through conquest. In the case of the Arcadians there was an effort made to deport them. This has been made classic in Longfellow's *Evangeline*. The distinctive history of the Arcadians makes them as group conscious in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Maine today, as though they had had a different language from the other French. Relatively to the English in Quebec, the French were aborigines, and the English immigrants. It is very difficult for an English immigrant of the present generation to realize this, but the French are keenly aware of it. The English confidence in Anglo-Saxon-Protestant superiority is never forgotten, and, as elsewhere, atrocious acts are committed in its name.

PERMUTATIONS OF LANGUAGE AND RELIGION

In Quebec, however, with ninety per cent. French, it has not been possible for the English to control, though they have actually assumed credit for permitting the continued use of the French language. The natural increase of the French population in Quebec is probably the highest in the world, for, differing from most regions, an excessively high birth rate is not accompanied by a correspondingly high death rate, so that there is no hope that the English can gain an ascendancy in numbers. The French political control in the Province of Quebec has a very

strong Roman Catholic solidarity which makes an excuse for Protestants to direct their attack on the French on this ground. The grouping not only in Quebec, but in Ontario and other parts of Canada where there are French tends to be English-Protestant and French-Catholic. The conflict allows permutations of attack into English *versus* French or *versus* Catholic, or the converse. Thus the national and religious group consciousness are constantly confused, but there is the advantage on both sides of being able to identify itself in the conflict with the side of God, when other justification of methods fails.

In Ontario, which was originally French there is now a majority of English. In both Provinces the Protestant English who are on the side of the British Government use the organization of the Orangemen as an agency around which to rally politically. Of course the Catholics feel that the attack is being made on them directly, and they are much strengthened thereby. When a Methodist minister, known as an Orangeman, was put in charge of the draft in French Quebec it was not at all surprising that there were draft riots. The amazing thing is that practical statesmen should have learned so little about group psychology as to make such a foolish appointment. It was matched in Ireland by the appointment of Protestant English police in a solid Catholic country, and the maintenance of a conspicuous Protestant organization.

There is as yet no real attempt to supplant French by English in the schools of Quebec, but in Ontario the majority insists that English must be the language of the schools, and they constantly try to put Englishmen into public office. There is not yet much feeling of historic relationship with France. The alienation has been made nearly complete by the feeling that France treated the Catholic Church badly, but it will not be impossible for the English

to drive the Canadian French into a common consciousness of their historic relation to the French of France. In the summer of 1918 I was in Quebec and found an intense feeling, because Mr. Borden, the Prime Minister of the Dominion, had never learned French.

One of the greatest limitations of all English-speaking rulers is their indifference to non-English languages. With all their morality and democracy they are not able to understand the interest of a people in its own language. To be sure many English-speaking people in Quebec, and even in northern Maine speak French perfectly, but a prevailing attitude is illustrated by the following quotation from that excellent study of French Canada, *The Clash*, by Moore.

“ ‘The French Canadians are illiterate,’ said an Ontario high functionary one night when Regulation 17 was being discussed at the dinner table. And illiteracy has been so often charged that it cannot be passed with a mere denial.

“ ‘I have not found them so,’ I replied. ‘Quebec is the most illiterate province in the Dominion,’ he said. ‘Not according to the census,’ I answered. ‘That statement has been made by a member of Parliament.’ ‘A French member?’ I asked. ‘Don’t be facetious,’ he replied. ‘What are the figures if you know them?’ We sent to the library for a Canadian Year Book and found—to his surprise—that although Ontario has compulsory education, there is attendance at school of only 51 per cent. of its boys and 52 per cent. of its girls between five and twenty years of age; and, while Quebec has voluntary education, 50 per cent. of its boys and 51 per cent. of its girls, between the same ages, are at school. Evidently voluntarism in Quebec is almost as efficacious as conscription in Ontario in securing school attendance. There are more grown-up illiterates in Quebec, where only 86 per cent. can read and

write, than in Ontario where 92 per cent. can read and write. But it is only fair to add that Quebec stands fourth in literacy, not last, among the nine provinces. 'French-Canadians of Northern Ontario are very stupid,' continued my friend, apparently not at all abashed that the official statistics failed to back up his dogmatic assertion. 'You have had business with them?' I suggested. 'Most of my business is with them,' was the answer. 'Besides, I have lived with them since I was a boy, and I know what I am talking about when I say they are stupid. Their mentality is not as good as that of English-Canadians,' 'And in what language do they talk to you?' 'In bastard English,' he replied in tones of contempt. 'I don't understand French,' he added as if submitting evidence of his own superiority. I have related this bit of conversation because it illustrates the attitude of mind in which English-Canadians frequently approach this much discussed question of comparative literacy and intelligence. Surely there are evidences of megalomania here. The average English-Canadian does not understand French and yet presumes to judge the quickness and soundness of the French-Canadian mind."¹ This attitude is typical of the American feeling about the non-English speaking immigrant.

THE EFFORT TO KEEP THE LANGUAGE PURE

It is no wonder that there are organizations for promoting the French language and even for keeping it free from the contamination of "Anglicism." It is impossible to teach the French geography and history in its proper spirit to French children except in the French language, but that is proscribed in Ontario by Regulation 17, and as Moore says: "The French-Canadians are justly proud of the achievements of their forefathers, for they bespeak

¹ William Henry Moore, *The Clash*, pp. 125-126. Dent.

the soundness of the national stock; and bitter is their regret that these things may no longer be told in school to their children and their children's children in the French language."

Their realization of the danger which will result from the loss of language is brought out by a little book entitled *En Garde*. The first chapter is headed, "L'Anglicisme, voila l'ennemi!" The appeal is made "que chaque citoyen de notre Province a le devoir de mettre l'épaule a la roue et de contribuer, selon ses ressources, au mouvement generaux et patriotique qui se fait de ce temps-ci en faveur du precieux heritage que nos accestres legu, de la langue francaise." When I was in Quebec in 1918, the Prince of Connaught visited the city and made a speech in French—good French. The papers were full of appreciation of the fact. The same satisfaction is indicated by the following sentence from *En Garde*: "Le fils de notre Gracieux Souverain Georges V, le Prince de Galles, est actuellement a Paris ou il se familiarise avec notre langue qu'il tient a parler aussi bien que le Roi, son pere."

Again from the same source we have the refrain that is repeated by every people which sees its nationality threatened through the absorbing of its language. "Il y a un grand danger pour notre race d'etre continuellement en contact avec l'Anglo-saxon. A ce danger se joignent les flots d'une immigration debordante, choisie a dessein de race etrangere. Qu'advientra-t-il de nous devant l'irresistible force d'absorbition du peuple Anglo-saxon? L'Angleterre a meme absorbe des nations qui l'avaient conquise, comme la race normande. Elle c'est assimile les Ecossais et les Irlandais. Aurons-nous la force de resister a cette pieuvre dont les tentacules enormes et vigoureuses nous enserrrent et meacent de nous confondre avec elle? Pourrons-nous lui resister, si les Ecossais proteges par

leurs montagnes, les Irlandais, gardes jalousement par un bras de l'Océan, n'ont pu le faire? ”

At the present time most of the French want to remain an integral part of the British empire, though some would like to join the United States. The whole force of their religious organization is hostile to heretical France, but the Church is also the conserver of the language and if the attack against the language is continued in the haughty way in which it is done by most English Protestants, it will be as easy to lose the loyalty of French Canada as it was of Ireland; and Ireland could have become as closely welded to England as is Wales if the method had been used of conceding to the demands of national individuality before the pathological attitudes had been bred. In French Canada these attitudes are now forming, and with as much unwisdom as Prussia practiced in Poland, there are indications that the French are being alienated.

It is as true in French Canada as in Ireland that certain culture values are lower than those found among the English. There may be bigotry among the Catholics, but unfortunately Protestants seem utterly unable to see bigotry in themselves. But the practical question is not superiority of culture but the preparation of the ground for amicable living together, and that has nothing to do with level of culture. The fifty per cent. illiterate Poles and the well educated Czechs reacted in the same way to domination, and the revolt is the crucial test.

INDIA

The greatest English problem is India. A population of more than three hundred millions of people, divided by religion and language at its best could not fail to present indescribably difficult problems, but when in addition to its internal conflicts there are being bred the same kind

of attitudes that prevail in Ireland and French Canada it becomes perhaps the most immediately ominous problem in the world. The English efficiency in administration is probably unequaled outside of India. Many Englishmen undoubtedly have a profound sense of responsibility to the Indians, but psychological results are the decisive test of success in government. At the present moment England is failing in India, judged by this test.

Even though India were now governed with the utmost wisdom, there would remain the sting of the economic methods of the East India Company, whose methods of economic exploitation were utterly selfish, and the experience of military control and corrupt civilian government before the Civil Service was reformed. At the present time there is, in addition to the memories which rankle, still enough of the military method left, even if there had not been the unspeakable massacre at Amritsar in April, 1919, to be a constant irritation; and there is a continuation of economic discrimination in favor of the Manchester cotton mills, and absentee capitalism of various sorts. The British government may not exploit India, but British business does. The consciousness of injustice may be exaggerated somewhat, but in a matter that involves the attitude of one-fifth of the population of the earth no government can be justified in using or permitting methods that dangerously aggravate discord.

The problem of India is greatly complicated also by the fact that there is a difference of race between ruler and ruled, and the ruler not only is convinced of the superiority of the British institutions, but also has never yet even admitted a question of the superiority of the white race. The combination makes the most hateful form of domination that can be imagined. England has been most successful in governing colonies and in introducing meas-

ures of political equality, but as someone who had observed England has said: "England gives her colonies political equality but not social equality." Of the two, the lack of social equality is far the more hateful. Social equality does not mean social intercourse, for there could not be much of that anyway, but it means an attitude of equality measured by some ultimate standard. It means absence of the self-assured superiority which makes some Englishmen speak of the Indians as "dirty brutes."

Great Britain has done wonderful things for the good of India, but in the working of psychological law gratitude plays no part in allaying the inevitable consequences of a wrong method. The unpardonable sin is the setting in motion of psychological processes which run on to the disorganization of human society.

We have then in India, a vast population of the brown race, divided into two main religious groups, Hindu and Moslem, and many smaller sects almost completely illiterate, a caste system, and a tendency to civil wars. Great Britain cannot be blamed for getting possession of India, for she did it in days when imperialism had no moral obliquity attached to it.

We hear it said of India, of Ireland, of French Canada, of the Negro, of the proletariat that they would be perfectly contented if it were not for the agitators who work up the people to demand a freedom for which they are incapable, and which they do not really want. The peculiar fact is the recurrence of this phenomenon in every case where there is repression. It is not true, as is alleged, that the agitators are merely psychological or moral perverts who are actuated by self-interest. Their type is much the same in whichever of the groups they are found. They are symbols of the psychosis of the group and are the stuff of which martyrs are made. Sometimes they are personally normal

and eminent, and sometimes they are excitable and fanatical, but in either case they are the product of the condition under which they develop. They discover that, as members of the nationality or class to which they belong, there are limitations placed upon them of which they cannot help becoming conscious, and they react to that consciousness in behalf of the whole group. When the movement has gained some momentum, the leaders become identified with it in a peculiar way so that the mass feels that any attack on the leader or agitator, according to the point of view, is an attack upon themselves. It is the customary procedure to try to suppress these leaders and invariably the result is an increase in the solidarity of the group behind them, which it is the real object to suppress.

The most effective Indian leaders have had an English education and are able to meet the English both with a knowledge of their language, and of British tradition and purpose. This may seem ungrateful, but it only serves to emphasize the discrimination against Indians. While the old native rulers continue in office with the semblance of power, and there are many native soldiers in the army, office-holding both in state and army beyond fixed limits is proscribed for Indians, and the people of India are not allowed to have in their possession any kind of firearms. A white immigrant may carry arms, but a native Indian may not, and while he may be a soldier, he cannot become a commissioned officer, no matter how intelligent he may be. The constant evidence of both national and racial discrimination, rankles in every Indian's consciousness, if he has experience enough to be aware of it, or has it suggested to him by leaders.

The most outstanding leader of any revolutionary movement in the whole world today is the Indian, Ghandi, whose method of passive non-coöperation is the most

effective weapon that could be secured, and whose followers have made him a saint and taken on a religious zeal. Ghandi was put in prison, but the result could only be the stimulation of his followers, and the hastening of the eventual expulsion of British control.

The following orders indicate the straits to which the English were reduced after their exhibition of power at Amritsar:

"No. 16.

"Whereas I have reason to believe that certain students of the Dyal Singh College in Lahore are engaged in spreading seditious propaganda directed against His Majesty's Government and whereas I deem it expedient in the interest of the preservation of law and order to restrict the activities of such students, I make the following order:

"All students of the said college now in this command area will report themselves to the officer of the commanding troops at the telegraph office daily at the hours specified below, and remain there until the roll of such students has been called by the principal or some other officer acting in his behalf, and until they have been dismissed by the Officer Commanding Troops at the telegraph office:

07.00 hours. (7 A.M.)

11.00 hours. (11 A.M.)

15.00 hours. (3 P.M.)

19.00 hours. (7 P.M.)

"First parade at 11:00 hours (11 A.M.) on the (?) April, 1919. The latest order under martial law passed today makes it unlawful for more than two persons to walk abreast on any constructed or clearly defined pavement or sidewalk in such area. Disobedience to this order will be punished by special powers under martial law."

"No. 24.

"Whereas I deem it expedient to make provision for the preservation of health and the greater comfort of the British troops stationed in the area under my command,

"And whereas a number of electric fans and lights are required in the buildings in which some of the troops are quartered.

"Now, therefore, by virtue of the powers vested in me by martial law I authorize any officer appointed by me for that purpose to enter any college, public building, hotel, private or other residence or building and remove such number of electric lights and fans required for the purpose aforesaid. . . ."¹

The objection may properly be raised that these orders were issued because the condition of revolution made stringent methods necessary. The significant thing, however, is that all of India was aroused by it, and Hindu and Moslem came together as had been thought impossible. The fact that the Government has since been trying to introduce more self-government in order to prevent revolution illustrates the characteristic of governments which blunder first and reform afterwards.

The common reaction of the Indians to British rule is the breaking down of barriers to Indian solidarity which have been impregnable, and it is moulding India slowly into unity of both purpose and action. It is superficial to say that it affects too few people to amount to much. It is the leaven which portends much for the world and it is working as inevitably as it has worked in middle Europe or Ireland. India is probably in advance culturally and economically of what it would have been if England had not been there. The Negro in America is infinitely in advance of what he would have been if it had

¹ Lajpat Rai, *The Political Future of India*, p. XXIV.

not been for Negro slavery; but slavery as such cannot therefore be justified. The principle that should have been adopted, and it is now too late, was that India should be governed for the sake of India, and not for the sake of England. Failure to practice this principle can only mean the end of British imperialism in India.

It is little wonder that practical statesmen in England found President Wilson's utterances on "self-determination" fraught with much danger to them, for a moral sanction was now given to activities which had previously been openly treasonable.

IMPERIALISM AND CULTOCRACY OF THE UNITED STATES

The United States has no better record than Great Britain and Germany. The typical American believes with cocksureness in the superior civilization of his country with its advanced institutions. It is hard for us to believe that we are just as great sinners as those others whom we condemn. Europe and Asia trusted us as they trusted no Old World Power because they felt that we did not desire territory, and we interpreted it as meaning that somehow we had succeeded in attaining superior virtues.

The Red Indians were our first conquest and we had our "Century of Dishonor," which we have not yet expiated. The original conquest of Mexico belongs to the era before conquest was in evil repute, but we still complacently try to interfere and coerce. The Philippines, Jamaica, Haiti belong to the new era, and yet we have assumed the superiority of both the English language and American institutions. All of South America has become sensitive to the fear of the dominance of the United States. A recent chaplain of the American Legion

said: "We want the nations of the world to respect us but first they must fear us."

Even that trained militarist and great soldier, General Grant, who fought in the war of 1848, said not only before we entered the Mexican War, but long after we had won it, that it was never justifiable. It was a war of conquest in which we made great winnings, adding not only territory which was taken from Mexico by force, but getting with the territory many Mexicans, whom we have ever since looked upon as foreigners. They are not immigrants to the soil on which they live, but rather we are the immigrants to the soil their ancestors possessed. We think of them as Roman Catholics, illiterate and crude, merely good to work on ranches and railroads, but that we have a responsibility for them has entered the heads of very few Americans who consistently look down on the "Greasers." Mexicans in the annexed area naturally feel a relationship to the Mexican state, while Mexicans in Mexico look upon us as victors who took unjustly a great piece of their territory, and that many of their annexed fellow citizens have lived in the United States under limitations and discriminations. Since 1848 the bitterness of feeling against America has been partly due to the nursing of animosity towards a conqueror, and partly to our methods of dealing both with Mexico and with the Mexicans here. We have taken advantage of the ignorance, economic innocence, and the greed of individual Mexicans and have gone into their country buying vast areas of rich land for a song and then assumed a hateful air of self-satisfied superiority. We are surprised that the Mexicans despise us when we are so much better than they are, and when their hatred engendered by both the past and the present becomes aggressive, many of us advocate taking

our advanced civilization and order into Mexico by means of military force.

We justify ourselves on the score of an illegal attack on property, and that there is something so sacred about property, that the sacredness of life is not measured in the same terms with it. This comes from medieval customs, and the organization of the common and statute law has resulted from the legalistic interpretation of rights, but, as has been repeated several times on previous pages, when legalistic interpretations find themselves in conflict with psychological processes, human welfare and international harmony, it is so much the worse for the law.

Our difficulty in dealing with the Mexicans who are living within the United States indicates something of our problem if we should by any means have a military occupation of Mexico.

Hawaii and the Philippines present situations that at best are full of danger. The same phenomena that have appeared in Ireland and India are brewing there in one form or other.

KOREA AND JAPAN

Korea has but recently come to the attention of the world, but it brings an example of the same blind and ruthless creation of a condition of injustice. The open revolution on March 1, 1919, and the declaration of independence from Japanese rule was the culmination of a period of oppression which politically did not extend over many years, but which had previously been nurtured by the Japanese method in dealing with the Koreans, so that there was fear and hatred dating back even for centuries.

Imitating Europe, Japan had undertaken to enlarge her Empire by the illegal annexation of Korea in 1910 following the military occupation, which she promised to

relinquish in 1905. She then naïvely undertook to force the Koreans to become Japanese, with a failure more obvious than in most other cases, because of fortuitous circumstances growing out of the World War. Japan is no worse in this than other nations, but she suffers from being the last of the predatory nations. There was no higher morality in the entrance of England and France into China, than in Japan's occupation of Shantung, but Japan did not begin until it had become bad form in the rest of the world to get territory openly in that way.

Entirely apart from the cruel means used by Japan in Korea, the idea of self-determination and democracy, which the issues of the war had forced upon the world, were adopted by the leaders of oppressed peoples everywhere, and its logical application to their own plight soon became obvious. It is no wonder that some statesmen curse the day when President Wilson gave the idea utterance.

Japan, however, has used the most archaic instruments of force on the Koreans. If they had deliberated as to the best way to bring about immediate failure for themselves it would have been difficult to have chosen better in dealing with Korea. They used all the known ways of oppression: cultocratic, autocratic, economic, militaristic and always in crude forms. The fact that it was cruel, was not so significant in bringing about the revolt as that it became conscious in the Koreans. Brutality has been practiced and accepted as though it were the order of nature, but now that an alternative way has been found, open force arouses bitter resentment. The Japanese have been peculiarly crude in their applications of cruelty. Not only has there been torture, but the force of the police and the army have been unnecessarily con-

spicuous. Sooner or later Korea must be freed or Japan will suffer as England has suffered from Ireland.

Defense, aggrandizement, exploitation and benevolence of a feudalistic sort are the reasons for imperialistic aggression, though it is conventional to allege only the first and last. The assumption of benevolence may cover a multitude of evils and justify itself by its superior culture whether in Ireland, India, or Korea. Pragmatically the logic is bad. In Korea, the Independence Movement is the refutation.

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CHAPTER XII

THE MYTH OF SUPERIORITY

THE rise and fall of dominant ideas can be charted as well as the rise and fall of powers and principalities, and their rise and fall mark the course of the world's history. Our own time has seen the fall of the idea of the divine right of kings, of the divine right of class and of male superiority. Though the French Revolution killed the fiction of the divine right of kings it took the last war and the dissolution of three empires to bury it.

It is hard to understand why it took the world so long to discover that empires and monarchs were simply tribes and chiefs grown large, the forms and the individuals being quite accidental, and why it was that although the course of their development was marked by brute force and injustice, yet, when once established, the claim of God's sanction and protection for both state and ruler was accepted as a statement of fact. This which was once a religion we now know to have been a myth.

It is the custom of men to make divine approval bear the burden of that to which they have become habituated, and of that which they desire. Kings lost their prestige and their power, but there were still those who possessed power and position, and who were just as eager to be permanently entrenched as ever kings were. Because they had culture and refinement which gave a moral flavor, it was easy for "the classes" to claim to be on the side of God.

We do not hear the bald assertion of the divine right of class, because the idea of democracy is so widespread that it would arouse opposition. Recently, however, the-

ology has made a marked change from transcendency to immanency and so we get the same quality of divine sanction by the identification of God with nature, that formerly came from direct gift; and through combination with the technicalities of science, we confound and delude the masses, as was done by priests and symbols of old. The divine rightists can now seize on biology, the process of evolution and the preëminence of the fittest to establish social position which formerly was only secured by aristocratic birth.

The same kind of reasoning that so glibly established the superiority of kings and classes was long used to prove the superiority of the male. The myth of masculine superiority is almost exploded, but from the creation of woman out of the rib of man, to "the sphere of woman is the home," equality of the sexes has been contested, and God called on to witness that man was born to rule. It is difficult for us now to realize how recently this notion of the mental inferiority of woman has prevailed. Even in the most advanced colleges, a short generation ago, in addition to the classical course, and the scientific course, there was a "Ladies' Course." Wellesley College was founded as the result of a facetious article in the *Atlantic Monthly* by Thomas Wentworth Higginson entitled, "Can Women Learn the Alphabet?" Now, almost as few people will claim the inherent superiority of man as will claim the divine right of kings.

THE MYTH OF RACIAL INFERIORITY

The myth of racial inferiority—or racial superiority—differs from most myths in the modernness of its origin. Two hundred years ago it did not exist. It is true that races always had little compunction about killing the members of other races; but in those days power, and not

right, was the justification of action, and there was no difference between attacks on races and those on nations, when they offered opportunities for exploitation. It is only when an entrenched idea is under criticism that it has any necessity of justifying itself. Kings held their positions naturally until challenged, and there was need of an artificial prop, then God was appropriated to sanctify the position; in the same way, at the present time, as the dominated races are beginning to assert themselves, the dominating groups are searching for moral support. They find it in the theory of evolution. The reasoning is that of *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*, that is, since they find themselves in a dominating position, therefore they are inherently superior.

The result of such reasoning is the perversion of Darwinism to give cosmic approval of those in high places. A half unconscious reaction against this fallacious use of evolution had a part in bringing the present anti-evolution movement into prominence. The social process would be simple if the explanation by evolution were only valid. To identify social progress with biological evolution is very misleading. Spēncer tried to make the analogy actually parallel, but his own disciple, Huxley, formulated the issue in his lecture on *Evolution and Ethics*, saying:

“There is another fallacy which appears to me to pervade the so-called ‘ethics of evolution.’ It is the notion that because, on the whole animals and plants have advanced in the perfection of organization by means of the struggle for existence and the consequent ‘survival of the fittest,’ therefore men in society, men as ethical beings, must look to the same process to help them towards perfection. I suspect that this fallacy has arisen out of the unfortunate ambiguity of the phrase ‘survival of

the fittest.' Fittest has the connotation of 'best' and about 'best' there hangs a moral flavor. . . . Social progress means the checking of the cosmic process at every step and the substitution for it of another, which may be called the ethical process; the end of which is not the survival of those who may happen to be the fittest, in respect of the whole of the conditions which obtain, but of those who are ethically best."¹ In the time of Huxley there seemed to be no other way of escape from the antinomy of the moral and cosmic processes, and the self-assurance of the cosmic arguments have made much headway. Now a new note is struck in *The Grand Strategy of Evolution*, by William Patten, who finds that the moral and cosmic laws must be one, and that coöperation instead of conflict is the outstanding fact of evolution.

A modern culture group results from the fortuitous possession of organization, accumulated wealth, momentum, machinery and prestige; each of these as a factor multiplies the significance of both the individual and the group incalculably more than any possible variation in natural endowment could do. Nor must any one of these be taken alone. The possession of a machine alone has a very different effectiveness from the possession of a machine along with organization or prestige. Certain ideas and the organization of government gave the white race a start some four hundred years ago that enabled it to expand to the uttermost parts of the earth, but there is not an iota of proof in this expansion that therefore the white race is better endowed than those whom they have subjected.

As an attitude there is no difference between caste prejudice within a race, and prejudice between races, and

¹ *Evolution and Ethics*, p. 80. Appleton.

much of our race prejudice is so involved with caste that it is impossible to tell which predominates, but it is all attributed to race and explained as harmonizing with the cosmic design. Wherever there is dominance of one race over another there is a class cleavage, and since we have relegated class to the region of myths it is obvious that part of the race feeling is based on an extraneous accident. In fact, we may conclude with Professor Ross that "Race is the cheap explanation tyros offer for any collective trait that they are too stupid or too lazy to trace to its origin in the physical environment, the social environment, or historical conditions."²

Professor Royce said: "Our so-called race problems are merely problems caused by our antipathies.

"Now, the mental antipathies of men, like the fears of men, are very elemental, widespread, and momentous mental phenomena. But they are also in their fundamental nature extremely capricious, and extremely suggestible mental phenomena. Let the individual man alone, and he will feel antipathies for certain other human beings very much as any young child does—namely, quite capriciously—just as he will also feel all sorts of capricious likings for people. But train a man first to give names to his antipathies, and then to regard the antipathies thus named as sacred merely because they have a name, and then you get the phenomena of racial hatred, of religious hatred, of class hatred, and so on indefinitely. Such trained hatreds are peculiarly pathetic and peculiarly deceitful, because they combine in such a subtle way the elemental vehemence of the hatred that a child may feel for a stranger, or a cat for a dog, with the appearance of

² E. A. Ross, *Social Psychology*, p. 3. Copyright 1905 by The Macmillan Company.

dignity and solemnity and even of duty which a name gives.³

We may say, then, that prejudice is the bias of judgment that comes from either caprice or training. Caprice is individual and sporadic, and may sometimes be explained by psychoanalysis, and sometimes is too subtle to be accounted for. Trained prejudice is social and persistent. The spontaneity of capricious prejudice gives it the appearance of an instinct, and thus releases the possessor from moral responsibility.

Trained prejudices are preëminently artificial, pure creations, but they have social sanction, and thus a distinct moral flavor. In the past they have been developed in religious and class groups. At present they predominate in the form of nationalism, but looming ahead is intense race consciousness and its own set of prejudices.

GROUP EGOTISM

The machinery for the inculcation of group attitudes is complex and efficient. The impulse which underlies most prejudice is probably egotism. Individual egotism is recognized as a vice, and there is a constant struggle to hold it in check. Group egotism, on the other hand, is magnified as the highest virtue, whether in church, nation, or chamber of commerce. The identification of the individual with the group gives the emotional satisfaction of the ego urge, without the pang of conscience which accompanies it apart from the group.

When the group is convinced, as is Christianity, that it possesses the only way of salvation, rationalization of an aggressive egotism is easy. We have recognized, however, that it may be carried too far, and we call that relig-

³Josiah Royce, *Race Prejudices and Other American Questions*, pp. 47-48. Copyright 1908 by The Macmillan Company.

ious zeal which is uncompromising, bigotry. This is a vice; religious toleration has been made the law of most countries, and while bigotry and intolerance may remain, they are without constitutional sanction.

Excessive patriotism is called chauvinism, and is creating as much disturbance as religious bigotry. The next step must be national tolerance, which will correspond to religious tolerance. In fact, all the new states of Europe make constitutional protection of minorities, to meet this situation. The conflict of races has not yet reached its crisis, but it is rapidly approaching that condition, though we have as yet no word like bigotry and chauvinism to indicate the vice of racial egotism. Ethnomania is not likely to become the popular word, but it describes a condition that will come before long. The bigotry of science is more difficult to withstand than the bigotry of religion. In these days no one loses status by saying that he is an atheist, but no one wants to be called a fool in an age when science is increasing its authority.

ONE HUNDRED PER CENT. PATRIOTISM AND NORDIC CONFIDENCE DEFENSE COMPLEXES

Hundred per cent. patriotism and confidence in Nordic superiority are the two most dangerous ideas in the world today, because they lead in exactly the opposite direction from that which civilization must take if it is to survive. The fundamental objections to these ideas are, first, that they have no basis in fact, and second that the emotions which they organize, have far-reaching and disruptive consequences.

Both these ideas may be described as defense complexes which have sprung into focus with the first uneasy feeling that the old assumptions are no longer valid.

In the last four hundred years the people who are

classified as Nordics have succeeded in getting control over most of the surface of the globe. The white race, led by this small fraction of itself, has come to feel that it has been destined to rule the two-thirds of the human race that are not white. The colored races are beginning to revolt, and the scepter of domination is passing both from the white race as a whole and from that part of it which has been in peculiar possession of it. This threat has been resisted with as much energy as has been the case with the passing of every order. The vocabulary of science has been appropriated and its methods prostituted to prove what men want to prove, namely, their moral right to keep what they want to keep.

PSUEDO-SCIENCE MISLEADS BY ITS APPARENT AUTHORITY

The most fruitful medium for this method has been intelligence testing. We have developed a large crop of pseudo-scientists. They are of two sorts; first, those who have genuine scientific standing in one field—say, biology, psychology, or education, and who go into other fields to make generalizations such as they would not dream of making within their own fields. I know of an entomologist who is most careful what he says about bugs, but who applies principles which he has derived from the study of bugs to sweeping statements about the Japanese. And there are many good psychologists who lay down an immigration policy as a result of conclusions drawn from the army tests. The other kind of pseudo-scientists might be called half-baked scientists. They have, in a few hours or weeks, learned to give Binet tests, and they have as much blatancy and confidence as the advertisement of patent medicine panacea.

Intelligence testing is one of the most promising fields of research now before us, but it is also liable to as much mythical use as ever came from a supernatural religion. Constant effort is being made to find tests whose results will be independent of educational and cultural differences. No one can question the almost revolutionary value of the results which will eventually come from investigations by this method, but there are two criticisms against conclusions that may be drawn about races from present data.

First, the conditions under which tests are given are necessarily artificial, and the tests themselves must be so simple that only a very narrow range of the psychological equipment can be compared. The really significant mental processes which may mark fundamental differences between people are not yet subjected to controlled psychological experimentation.

Second, granting that one race may show a larger number of individuals lower in the psychological scale than the other, every series of tests will show that the number of either race who fall outside the curve plotting the cases, either above or below the other race, is a very small per cent. In other words, instead of drawing a line between races, psychological comparison demonstrates, by the overlapping, similarity instead of difference. Divergences between the extremes of the "superior" and the "inferior" groups, are almost exactly equal. It is manifestly absurd for the great mass of a race whom the tests classify as being of C grade, to claim, because there are one or two per cent. more of the A grade in their race, that therefore these majority C's have a God-given right to rule all the other races which also have A's and B's in it.

It would be so much more simple if the division could be as sharply drawn as, for example, that between the intelligence of cats and dogs. It is most unscientific to

compare *average* intelligence quotients. The implication is that a group with an I.Q. of 90 and another with one of 70 are distinctly separated whereas they are much overlapped. A great deal of intelligence testing which passes for authority is now in the field of pseudo-science instead of science and many persons otherwise scientific have lost their heads in their enthusiasm for this probably epoch-making method of social investigation.

Further, since there is slight relation between the originators and possessors of culture, it may often happen that the culture of the dominant race has been secured from the "inferior" race or culture. Anthropologists think that the method of working iron, whose use has been perhaps the greatest single asset to the white race, was originated by the Negro in Africa. The Greeks made a contribution to the world's culture which does not correspond to the present status of the Greek people on the culture scale. And Korea, which Japan feels that she must rule because of Korea's backwardness, gave Japan much that is now of highest value to Japan. In the region of the Mediterranean most of European culture was developed. The Nordics after appropriating the contribution repudiate the creators of it.

The egotistical impulse is universal and exaggerates the feeling of importance and superiority. With individuals and freely competing groups this trait is harmlessly self-correcting, but when there is domination of a nation or race, and the zeal for its maintenance calls itself holy, we have the arrogance of imperialism and distorted social organization.

THE RESULT OF CULTOCRACY IS CASTE

The inevitable result of such reasoning is an intellectual caste—the establishing of cultocracy with scientific assistance. The brazenness with which some of its extreme

advocates are proceeding shows an amazing indifference to consequences. A revolution will as surely follow the application of cultural dominance based on intelligence quotients as that based on divine right of birth or on wealth. We need to take cognizance of the superiority complex as well as the inferiority complex, for while the latter may be pathological for the individual, the former is certainly pathological for a society. The following quotation shows the way it appears in the white race: "The world-wide expansion of the white race during the four centuries between 1500 and 1900 is the most prodigious phenomenon in all recorded history. In my opening pages . . . I showed that the white stocks together constitute the most numerous single branch of the human species, nearly one-third of all the human souls being whites. I also showed that white men racially occupy four-tenths of the entire habitable land area of the globe; while nearly nine-tenths of this area is under white political control. Such a situation is unprecedented. Never before has a race acquired such a combined preponderance of numbers and dominion. . . . A single decade before the voyage of Columbus, he would have been a bold prophet who should have predicted this high destiny."⁴

The significant words of the above quotation are the last two, "high destiny." They give the mark of the superiority complex. Surely four hundred out of hundreds of thousands of years of human history, and the recently demonstrated instability of political and economic domination, hardly give a proper basis for such unquestioned assurance of either divine purpose or its equivalent—high destiny.

The white race has finally succeeded in dominating nine-tenths of the world, and as murmurings of discontent and revolution are being heard, the same old sophistries are

⁴ Stoddard, *The Rising Tide of Color*, p. 145. Scribner's.

being offered that have been offered by kings and classes when they have felt themselves toppling down.

CONFIDENCE IN SUPERIORITY IS UNDISCRIMINATING

Unquestioned superiority of the white race is the honest conviction of the great mass of those in it. This is not injustice nor immorality, but illusion. The other races have had similar illusions about their superiority. Race prejudice is strangely indiscriminating. The disdain for the Chinese who are not allowed in certain restaurants in California; the saying that "there is no good Indian but a dead one;" the Englishman in India calling the native a "dirty beggar," all express the same attitudes as that held by those who fear social equality with the Negro.

In America the race problem means mainly the Indian and the Negro. Although we have much romance about the Indian and had "A Century of Dishonor," his small numbers and his comparative isolation leave the Indian problem outside the thought of most people. We think of the race problem as being essentially that of the Negroes, though as a matter of fact, the twelve millions of them in America out of some hundred and fifty million Negroes, and eleven hundred million non-whites in the world, make our race problem from this point of view relatively insignificant. Both the yellow and brown races have almost as large numbers as the white, there being approximately five hundred million of each of the three.

It is easy to think because two groups are juxtaposed, as are the Negro and the Caucasian in America, that they are living in the same cultural environment; but this ignores the psychology of groups, and the method by which cultures are transmitted and transformed. Innumerable examples can be given, not of different races, but of people

potentially alike, who had lived side by side for centuries, comparatively uninfluenced. Lowie tells of neighboring Indian tribes a few miles apart where one was agricultural and the other pastoral. German villages have been situated in various parts of Russia for a century and a half, and today the line of demarcation between Russian and German is as clearly visible to the eye as though they had just been transplanted from Germany. The fact that the Negroes have lived in America and have not all reached the same standards of life as the white people is no measure of their inability to do so, and must be credited to culture inheritance, rather than race inheritance.

NEGRO STATUS DETERMINED BY FALLACIES

The black race certainly seems to stand on a different footing from the yellow and brown races, for the latter have histories which enable them to look down on the white race and gives the lie direct to the white claim of inherent superiority. There has been Negro history in Africa, but it has not been highly organized and continuous, yet as has been suggested above, and is clearly expressed by Stoddard, white superiority makes no distinction of races when it classifies the others as inferior, so that the case for Negro inferiority is vitiated by this lack of discrimination. In making a comparison of races it is unscientific to compare Negroes on a low level of culture with whites on a high level, but rather they should be compared with illiterate backwater communities, such as may be found in the mountains of the South, or with isolated peasant villages in Europe. Then it will be found that on the basis of efficiency, superstitions and customs, there may be difference in degree but none in kind. And we do have the French author Dumas, and the Russian

poet Pushkin, who had Negro blood, and we have Negroes in America who rank with the best whites.

With the Negro it was his "previous condition of servitude" that has given him a social position that is not easily forgotten. Much that is attributed to race is merely the result of a social attitude. A Negro athlete was a captain of the track team of a Western university when his university was competing in a Southern city. As he was warming up, the spectators in a spontaneous, almost unanimous shout cried, "Take the nigger out, we don't want to see him run." The announcer took his megaphone and said that the man in question was not a Negro, but a Cuban Indian, and the crowd broke into applause.

In reactions to the larger situations, the similarity of races is most striking. The Poles, the Irish, the Czechs are members of the white race who have been outstanding examples of groups which have developed a definite psychology in their struggle to escape domination. The colored races are going through almost identically the same experience. The solidifying of the Chinese, the Indian revolution, the Pan-African movement are of the same piece with Sinn Fein, and what England has yielded, the white race must yield.

THE COLORED RACES BEGINNING TO REVOLT

The awakening of the colored races to a common interest is probably the most significant fact of the present time. When a newspaper in India prints in large type the account of every lynching that occurs in the United States it gives a stronger basis for antagonism towards white civilization, and also makes a bond between the Brown and Black races which takes the place of the old isolation.

We have characterized various stages and forms of

social organization as autocracy, aristocracy, plutocracy, and have had as an ideal, as yet unattained, democracy; but actually we live in a régime of cultocracy. The principle of Kultur was not confined to the Germans, but is dominant in the English and the Americans, and it motivates the white race. It assumes the right to rule. To question the right which inheres in Kultur smacks of sacrilege, but it has been questioned, and the mythical character of that right is beginning to appear. We may expect that the challenge offered by the races who actually are inferior in culture will be a vigorous challenge, and that the career of cultocracy will be like that of other forms of the control of the many by the few.

The rise of racial self-respect will follow the same course as the rise of national self-respect. In 1912 I asked a German in Vienna about the Czechs, and he talked just as many white Americans talk about the Negro. The Czech was all right in his place, but his place was that of a servant; in fact, this German could seem to conceive of Czechs in no other guise. But now Austria has made a treaty with the Czechoslovak Republic and accepted a loan from her. When group prejudice is released, relations that were cordial may become hostile. The man with a brogue becomes a Bolshevik or a Hun, and every one of a different color becomes an inferior.

The way of salvation is a group conviction of sin, which will condemn the egotism and immorality of a race or nation as severely as it does that of an individual. The myth of superiority will pass when we follow the injunction of Kant to treat every person as an end, never as a means. When the immigrant is to be admitted as a labor commodity, there is little possibility of respecting him as a person. When an intelligent person is classified with a group with a low average, it is difficult to separate him

from the low average, though he does not belong there except by the chance grouping. There is no evidence that the superiority of any existing dominant group is based on any thing but an accident; and any attempt to maintain that dominance by reason, is merely the rationalization of a myth.

The race problem is infinitely difficult—vaster and more difficult than the problems involved in kings and principalities. The conflict of cultures is more pronounced when there is the inescapable mark of race to solidify the area of the group. The first step towards the solution must be disillusionment from the belief that religion and ethics and science sanction the right of one race to rule another. If both the culturally superior and inferior races will accept the fact that inherent racial inferiority is a myth, the world may be saved some of the painful experience it has suffered as other myths of privilege and prestige have been shattered.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE NEGRO

MOST of the problems that we have been considering on previous pages are popularly called "race problems," and there is a germ of truth in the name, though it is technically inaccurate. The term race is properly applied only to those large divisions of human kind whose physical characteristics are distinctive and permanent. Even the designation by color is not always accepted. It is so much easier, however, to explain a social problem by a superficial cause than by a fundamental cause, that supposed characteristics of race have been made to bear many burdens that do not belong to them. In fact, it is very difficult to say whether anything but a social problem remains of what are usually called race differences after all the rationalizations made for the sake of explaining social situations by "race" have been stripped off. In other words, so-called race questions are essentially sociological rather than biological.

Very little has been felt or said on any aspect of the Negro that has not been felt or said concerning the national groups that we have been studying, and while the Negro attitudes are not yet so solidly and consciously developed as in some of the other cases, they are incipient and portentous.

NEGRO HAS BOTH VERTICAL AND HORIZONTAL ORGANIZATION

A race is like a nation in being conscious of being *vertically* distinct from the rest of the world, and at the same time that it has horizontal classes. In the last chapter we saw that the whole Negro race is being treated as a

horizontal, inferior group, as well as a vertical group. There are very many complicating factors in the case of the Negro, not the least of which are the attitudes which grew out of slavery and which must be reckoned with in dealing with the question. These attitudes are crystallized in both races—the inevitable feeling of aristocratic caste on the one side, and that of servility and uncertainty on the other.

The second complication is the actual and traditional difference in cultural attainments of the Negro as compared with the white people who dominate the institutions in the midst of which he lives. The difficulty of assimilating an alien culture is not generally appreciated, and, as we shall see, there are aggravated difficulties in the case of the Negro.

This has been well put by DuBois:

"They must perpetually discuss the Negro problem, must live, move, and have their being in it, and interpret all else in its light or darkness. From the double life that every American Negro must live as a Negro and as an American, as swept on by the current of the twentieth century while struggling in the eddies of the fifteenth—from this must arise a powerful self-consciousness and a moral hesitancy which is almost fatal to self-confidence. . . . Today the young Negro of the South who would succeed cannot be frank and outspoken, but rather he is tempted to be silent and wary, politic and sly. . . . His real thoughts, his real aspirations must be guarded in whispers; he must not criticize, he must not complain. Patience and adroitness must in these growing black youths replace impulse, manliness and courage. . . . At the same time, through books and periodicals, discussions and lectures he is intellectually awakened. In the conflict some sink, some rise."¹

In an earlier chapter the significance of a sense of race solidarity as a means for group survival was pointed out. One of the primitive emotions by which solidarity is promoted is race prejudice. On the part of the dominant race this is aggressive, but in the lower race it takes the form of an inferiority complex, and easily falls within our

¹ W. E. B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, p. 202. McClurg.

description of an oppression psychosis. Symbolisms of race are accompanied by stronger emotions than any other symbolisms. Their origin may be quite capricious or accidental, but none the less significant.

NEGRO LIVES IN TWO WORLDS

Each race normally finds itself in a world in which its own values predominate; unless it happens, as in the case of the Negro in America, to find itself in two worlds. The political and cultural dominance of the white race is now such that most whites believe the world should accept their values.

Two more quotations will help us get our bearings :

"There is certainly great difference in the mental ability of individuals, and there are probably less marked differences in the average ability of different races; but difference in natural ability is in the main a characteristic of the individual, not of race or sex. It is probable that brain efficiency (speaking from the biological standpoint) has been on the average approximately the same in all races and in both sexes since nature first made a good working model, and the differences in intellectual expression are mainly social rather than biological, dependent on the fact that different stages of culture present different experiences to the mind, and adventitious circumstances direct the attention to different fields of interest."²

And again :

"The mind and the personality are largely built up by suggestion from the outside, and if the suggestions are limited and particular, so will be the mind. The world of modern intellectual life is in reality a white man's world. Few women and perhaps no blacks have ever entered this world in the fullest sense. To enter it in the fullest sense would be to be in it at every moment from the time of birth to the time of death, and to absorb it unconsciously and consciously, as a child absorbs language. When something like this happens, we shall be in a position to judge of the mental efficiency of women and the lower races. At present we are justified in inferring that the differences in mental expression between the higher and lower races, and between man and woman, are no greater than they should be in view of the existing differences in opportunity." (*Ibid.*, p. 312.)

No one can deny the marked difference in culture levels between races, and this is the basis for calling one race

² W. I. Thomas, *Sex and Society*. Badger.

"lower" than another. But the culture level between classes and nations differs only in degree, if at all, from that between races. If there is justification for domination in one case on that account, there is justification in the others for the same reason. It has been unquestioningly assumed that there is this justification; and nations, classes and races have proceeded on this assumption, until there has grown up a tenseness of feeling concerning race relationships that supersedes all others in its bitterness and difficulty. Culture domination gives an adequate excuse for all other kinds; in fact, it is generally interpreted as laying an obligation for political and economic control.

When the race in power has established its control it resents as immoral any failure to accept its dictatorship. Its measure of the morality of the inferior group is the completeness of its subjection.

In the Jeff Davis Museum in Richmond there used to be an exhibit dedicated to the "old-time Negro who is rapidly passing away." It was a scene on a plantation, where the old-time Negroes are going about their business in an acquiescent manner, like domesticated animals. That kind of Negro is just like a good dog. A good dog never bites, however much you kick him. A good Negro, a good servant, a good laborer, is one who never shows resentment.

NEGRO NUMBERS IN THE UNITED STATES GREATER THAN THAT OF MANY NATIONS

What is the actual situation with regard to the Negroes in the United States? They constitute approximately twelve millions of the population, or about one-tenth of all the inhabitants. They number four times the total population at the time the United States became an independent nation. They number about three times as many

as all the Irish in Ireland, and equal or exceed in numbers all of the new nations in Middle Europe except Poland. They number more than all the Jews in the world. These numbers apply only to the Negroes in the United States. There are many in the West Indies and Canada who are becoming group conscious with those here, and the hundred and fifty million more or less in Africa are now being identified with the race group in America.

VOLUNTARY SEGREGATION NORMAL

In the United States they are segregated largely in one corner, in many sections of which they form more than half of the population. Where they have gone into other parts of the country, they live in completely segregated communities, so that geographical distribution does not mean local dispersion or interracial contacts. This segregation, as in the case of the immigrants, is largely voluntary, but partly compulsory. It is socially disagreeable to get outside the group, and it is economically and socially often made impossible, and in some places actually prevented by state law or city ordinance.

Negroes, like all other people, prefer to live with their own kind, so that if left to themselves, ninety-nine per cent. of them would live in their own communities because they would feel more comfortable there; but the small fraction who go out of the community, either because they are crowded out or because they wish to assert themselves in a pioneer fashion, cause great consternation among the whites, who immediately call to use various methods of repression to stop what they think is a dangerous invasion.

There are tendencies both to resist and to accelerate segregation. Individuals make great sacrifices to stand for their rights. They move into neighborhoods in which they are ostracized; they get tickets in various parts of an

auditorium, instead of sitting in groups for fear it should become a policy of the management to set apart a Negro section. In colleges they live under wretched conditions, but resist the establishment of Negro rooming and boarding houses, lest such privileges as they now have in white places of that sort should be taken away from them.

On the other hand, the Negro is rapidly developing a self-sufficient community life, with religious, cultural, social, professional, and to some degree economic, independence. Group self-respect is found in self-dependence, just as individual self-respect is found in self-assertion. It is exactly the sort of thing that has been done by subject nationalities. The Czech who is proud that he can get a living without knowing German, has just the same psychological reaction as the Negro who can get along without dependence on the white man.

In religion there is more and more independence, and in some cases Christianity is repudiated because it is the religion of the dominant people. In some of the colored colleges this tendency is becoming quite strong among the students. This is to be expected, if we may judge by what is taking place in the rest of the world.

The Negro press, which consists of some five hundred periodicals, is beginning to exercise a very great integrating influence. It not only stands for racial rights, but focuses attention on the whole range of Negro interests.*

One of the capricious attitudes of which Royce speaks is the result of the Negro's "previous condition of servitude." The Negro was a slave. Even though one might delight to own slaves, the very kind of work done by a slave suffers in status among the slave-owning class because of its relation to the restriction of freedom. All labor involves

* See *The Negro Press in the United States*, Detweiler, University of Chicago Press.

a limit to freedom, and that is the reason why it is in so much disrepute. It is not so much that the work is disagreeable, as that it is compulsory, that makes it hateful. One of the curses of slavery was that the work the slave did was degraded, and the slave was degraded because he did the work. This creates a situation in the South that is being overcome with great difficulty, for labor with the hands has been rendered undignified; and since it has been relegated to the Negroes, it is interpreted by them as a measure of their social inferiority, and is thus increasingly objectionable to them.

The industrial development of the Negroes has hitherto been limited both by lack of industrial fitness and lack of opportunity. Under slavery they learned the simpler kinds of work, but while the experience was similar to that through which all the human race has come, in general, it did not fit for any but unskilled labor, so that the vast majority of Negroes are on the lowest level of labor. This, taken with their ignorance, makes them easily subject to exploitation. Now that immigration is restricted, there is a totally new situation, created by the industrial demand for Negroes, and it will create new problems and attitudes. Living conditions, attitudes and organization are already beginning to go through the same course as that of the European immigrants.

POLITICAL EXPLOITATION EASY

Politically, the Negro was totally untrained, and when the franchise was given him, he was easily used by white and black politicians. Efforts have been successfully made in several states to disfranchise the Negro as a race, and all the arguments of white superiority or Negro inferiority were used in justification. If the enfranchisement had been gradual and according to the development of fitness,

there would have been relatively little difficulty, but now when disfranchisement is openly on the principle that this is a white man's country, grounds are laid for future discord. Where law has not given adequate machinery for preventing the Negro vote, various illegal methods have been used to keep him away from the ballot-box. In districts where he outnumbered the intelligent white vote, obviously he could by voting solidly repudiate white control.

MARRIAGE TABOO

Social discrimination, which is the special form which culture domination takes in the case of the Negro, is first symbolized by the horror of intermarriage, which is, of course, due to a desire to keep the race pure. Marriage is the regulated system of securing the perpetuation of the species, and this has been vigorously maintained by social control, while extra-social or unapproved intermixture of racial blood has been going on constantly. The question of intermarriage has been, however, the rallying cry for social discrimination. On account of this a peculiar technique of race relations has developed. A white child may be nursed by a black woman and actual affection may grow up, but later, sitting together at the same dining-table, will be taboo. That this technique is artificial is shown by the necessity of learning it if one joins a social milieu in which it is practiced.

Intermarriage between groups within a race may be just as objectionable as between races. The Jews have striven to keep themselves pure by educational emphasis and harsh objection to marriage with gentiles. Only a generation ago Quakers were "turned out of meeting" for marrying even with another sect of Quakers. We must conclude that what seems to be instinctive aversion to inter-racial mating is in reality a social creation.

However difficult the situation—and its difficulty cannot be mitigated by explanation—these methods of keeping the Negro from asserting himself are creating additional difficulties for the future that will make those of the past relatively simple. The working of psychological law is as inexorable as that of the law of gravity. Society cannot make mistakes of method and escape paying for them.

In general, every form of repression has stimulated the desire to attain that which was prohibited. The exception seems to be that there is no excessive desire on the part of Negroes to mate with whites. To some degree this desire appears in the attacks on white women; but in spite of the publicity that is given the cases which occur, they are really very rare considering the numbers and opportunities. Negro women sometimes feel that their social position is enhanced by being the mistresses of white men, but on the whole the social control tends to lessen clandestine mating within the races, and probably there is much less mixture of blood than a few years ago.

The advantages of whiteness are so many that there are many lotions to bleach the skin and straighten the hair. Several companies have made large wealth by straightening hair, by using methods similar to that used for curling the hair of white women. These things are done for exactly the same reason that a white woman puts powder and rouge on her face, namely, to give her social advantages through enhancing her attractiveness in the direction of the prevailing standards, and in this case Caucasian qualities are standard. Often the Negro overdresses, which is merely an effort to escape from the strictures that have been laid upon him socially, and he symbolizes his escape by lavish clothing. Or, he may talk loud to make himself conspicuous, because incon-

spicuousness has been emphasized to his consciousness. This characteristic is paralleled among Jews.

Supersensitiveness to insult is becoming characteristic of Negroes. This is merely the oppression psychosis in action. The Negro is merely becoming racially self-conscious. As suggested above, a Negro man or woman of education will often subject himself or herself to insult deliberately in order to stand for "rights," and the colored working girl will see an insult or infringement of rights if some one brushes against her in the street car. This self-centeredness or subjectivity is rapidly becoming pathological. Much of Negro conversation and much of oratory and writing reflects the obsession of injustice. It is often exaggerated, but this is typical and no worse in the Negro than in the Jew, the Irish or the proletariat, but it constitutes what is really going to be the Negro problem.

AGITATIONS FOR RACE CONSCIOUSNESS

There is a tendency to feel that the Negro attitude would be quiescent if it were not for agitators of the type of DuBois, or Garvey, who with great ability keep harping on the experiences of injustice and arouse hitherto contented Negroes to self-assertion. There is no doubt that they do add greatly to the spread and organization of race consciousness, but if we may judge from the experience of all the other oppressed groups, such leaders are as inevitable as the rising of the sun. The development of race dignity and solidarity need prophets and propagandists. They are always anathema to the group against which they are agitating.

The Crisis, edited by DuBois, which is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has long been considered radical. It has opposed race discrimination and injustice. Within the last

few years a radical tendency in political and economic questions, which identifies itself as part of the world revolution, has brought out *The Messenger*. It is well written and unequivocally calls for a "new social order," to be obtained by repudiating both religion and acquiescence in every institution which has been used to maintain inequality. It assumes that the Negro cause is part of that of all oppressed classes. *The Messenger* says that ninety-nine per cent. of all Negroes are workingmen, and that the salvation of the workingmen is organization as workingmen. On account of the ignorance and the great religious interest of the Negroes, only a few can understand and not be offended by this movement; nevertheless, the conditions are right for a considerable growth in this direction.

The Garvey Movement is an appeal to race consciousness which has done a great deal to focus the Negro's attention upon himself, even though Garvey's specific plans for joining the interests of the American and the African Negro seem to have fallen through.

POTENTIAL REVOLUTION

We have a potential revolution in the Negro situation. How soon it will come, and in what form, cannot be told. There may be an increase in the number of race riots. A race riot is possible in any town in the United States at the present time. The Negroes are arming themselves against attack. They are now only on the defensive, and they are no longer submitting to being killed without resistance. The service in the army had a profound effect both on the soldiers and the Negro people. A Negro soldier took the same risks and had the same status as the white soldier, but when he returned to civilian life he found the same discrimination as before. It is harder to bear now,

and he knows about disciplined force, so the old docility of the Negro is gone.

There may be vigorous efforts for suppression or even extermination, but it is impossible to kill off twelve million people. During all the ages, efforts have been made to get rid of the Jews, and in all the world there are not so many Jews as there are Negroes in the United States.

The significance to society of this Negro tendency to solidarity is incalculable. So long as the individual Negro has no standing in white society, the Negro problem is relatively simple. The Negro as a whole is on a distinctly lower level of culture than the white people among whom he lives, and the white people insist that any Negro who emerges upon the higher level shall still be considered a member of the lower group. This is one of the irrationalities of society, which nevertheless has its positive side. Since those who are qualified cannot go out from their racial group so long as it occupies the lower level, they must work within it. It must become a formed and functioning group. The result is that the class or horizontal groupings among the Negroes are being cemented together into a vertical group with all the characteristics of a national organization.

NO EASY SOLUTION

There is no easy solving of the Negro problem. It is not only a matter of education of the Negro and of the whites, but it is one of the most complex problems of the relationship of groups where one group has been developing all the pathological characters arising from oppression experience. It is not improving, but rather becoming aggravated. The Negro himself needs perspective to enable him to see that his case is not a unique one among mankind, but one that has been

common throughout modern history. The white race should realize before it has committed too many mistakes that it is a decided minority of the human race, and that the reaction of the Negro to the practice of domination is exactly the same as that of other groups that have been subjected, and that the one thing that will not solve the problem is suppression by force.

If the race problem were limited to the conflict between black and white, it would be relatively simple; but about two-thirds of the human race is not white, and this two-thirds—black, brown and yellow—is becoming conscious of its common cause against white domination. America has an opportunity for an intensive effort at race adjustment, and if she succeeds, much light will be thrown on the larger world problem of race relations, but there can be no success by the old methods.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE CLASS CONFLICT

IT SIMPLIFIES our understanding of the conflict of groups to be able to consider what are called the class groups in the same terms as national and racial groups, for the psychological conditions are the same. During all of human history up to the present time, economic survival has been consciously related to groups that had other values than merely economic. That is, the racial and national, and even the religious groupings have included the economic interests within themselves. In modern times, however, the economic organization has been forming itself along lines which have run across the vertical boundaries.

It is not necessary to demonstrate the fact of class conflict. The press, religion, politics, and casual discussion are permeated by it. Its lines are not always sharply drawn, but Socialism, the Russian Revolution, bolshevik, communist, liberal, radical, conservative, reactionary, are words whose present meaning grows out of the tenseness of the clash between the classes.

The emerging of working-class consciousness throughout the world is the result of new methods of financial control, and new forms of production. Concentration of capital, which is given the name of capitalism, and large-scale quantity production have in a single generation changed the relation of the workman to his job and his conditions of life, so that traditional concepts of individualism and freedom are fundamentally modified. Division of labor and specialized mechanical movements, on the one side, and the impersonal control by corporations

and banks, on the other side, are beginning to create attitudes which portend revolution. The surprising fact is the slowness with which the laborer has discovered his new status. Habit, *mores*, and vocabulary have combined to prevent realization that the individual is not as free as he once was. Capitalism makes an unequal conflict, conflict, for its dominance can be maintained not only by its inherent power, but by its influence in politics and in public opinion through the press, education and religion.

CAPITALISM ON THE DEFENSIVE

Capitalism is now being threatened, and it is resorting to the same arguments that have been used by all other groups in similar circumstances. Rationalizations about the advantages of capital have given the possessors a moral sanction that has turned their heads.

The labor movement has been slower than capital to organize effectively. It has been handicapped by craft unions which have fought among themselves. They are now drawing together with the prospect of presenting a solid front. This is as inevitable as it has been for the rich and the poor Jew to join in the common cause against anti-Semitism, or the Polish aristocrats and peasants to combine against Russian and German autocracy. The psychology driving to Zionism is the same as that which underlies the tendency to the "one big Union."

The method of capital in trying to check the development of solidarity is exactly the same as that used by the great powers which played the various nations of Middle Europe against one another in order to control them. Craft advantage, religious prejudice, patriotism, language differences, have all been used.

CAPITALISM A SYMBOL OF POWER

Capitalism is a state of mind, not the possession of capital. Students working their way through college, clerks in corporations, business men on the point of failure may be whole-heartedly in the capitalistic class. Its goal is the possession of power, and capital is the symbol of power. Capital is just as much a symbol of economic control as ritualism is a symbol of religious control. Ritual in religion seems to have a reality of its own, but many people have deep religious experiences entirely without ritual. So capital seems to have reality, but the ascendancy of many capitalists would be just as certain under a system in which private capital was abolished, for their authority would be inherent in their knowledge and character. Only the inefficient and non-contributing would be eliminated from control. But everyone in the capitalistic class is coming to feel the threat to his present status by the murmurings of revolt. It is identical with the fear of the priestly class in all ages when there has been an enlargement of religious interpretation.

We have assumed attitudes and a vocabulary in connection with the class conflict which put it immediately into the same class with the other dominating groups which we have been studying. For example, we talk about the autocracy of capital, and we credit the labor movement with the name of a party or of parties, and we organize defensive measures against the class war. "Labor" now means a group of people with a resentment against things as they are.

THE HORIZONTAL REVOLT

In America and in England, where the two-party system has organized all the people vertically around different ideas, the new alignment is going directly across

the old party lines. All new party tendencies cut horizontally in accordance with economic grouping or economic theory.

The solidifying of group consciousness in the proletariat did not begin to take place rapidly until the condition of oppression became obvious. Under the old system of industry in which any workman might hope to become a proprietor, there was no threat from the workman as a representative of a group; but when industry is organized under the capitalistic system, while there are men who go up, it is as improbable that the average boy will become an executive, as it is that he will become president of the United States. It is far wiser to give up the expectation in face of the certainty of disappointment, because there is no free passage from the labor to the capital status except for the very unusual, and even they become more unusual every day in order to make it. This being the case, every workman is now representative of a class which finds itself under limitations fixed by a group of people over whom he has no control.

This is the basis of the unfair conflict which is now becoming generally recognized as such throughout the world. It is beginning to have all the earmarks of the oppression psychosis, and must be dealt with as are all unfair conflicts, not by the imposition of stronger methods of restriction, but by a consideration of the inevitable consequences, if methods of freedom are not introduced.

QUANTITY PRODUCTION DIVORCES THE LABORER FROM HIS PRODUCT

Entirely apart from the methods of control, industry itself has so changed that the regard for man as a man has been displaced by the demand for man as a machine. So-called quantity production, which is inevi-

table in all large-scale enterprise, necessitates the doing of the same thing over and over with the least possible variation, in order to turn out the largest amount of identical goods. No man can survive as a free human being under this condition, unless he identifies himself with some form of activity other than his work. This is illustrated by the old man who had been employed in such an industry to give two turns to a certain screw day in and day out. On his death-bed his one wish was that he might "drive a screw as it ought to be driv." Under modern industry no man can see the complete article. He cannot identify himself with his product.

Work itself, then, is ceasing to have any attraction, and to be performed solely for the pay received. The manager or the workman with a whole machine has a problem and has an opportunity for his creative impulse. But for the ordinary workman there is no creation and no real life. His life begins when the work is done, either in the spending of the money or in some sort of social activity. If the opportunity or suggestion to find life in social organization is not presented, one student of the subject has shown that men will find their individuality in their vices.¹ The glory of the man will be measured by his swashbuckling lewdness and profanity.

The fullest life, as we have seen, comes in the community or group individuality. A man may perform drudgery for a few hours a day and feel that he has attained the dignity of a man if he fights for the group to which he belongs. The merging of the individual workman into his group is the way and the only way in which he can save his individuality.

The economic man of orthodox economics has gone

¹ See Whiting Williams, *What's on the Workers' Mind?*

with witches and similar delusions. There can be no survival without economic goods, and the economic organization of the world is a very dominant fact; but the individual is trying not merely to make a living, but to satisfy his nature, and one of his urges is for social response. The new man upon whom economic theory must be built will be a man in a group.

As laborers, men are not free. To be sure, some men by getting better wages than others are; for a time, bribed not to throw their lot with the group in whose solidarity their eventual success must be found. They have merely reverted to an individualism in which they cannot remain any more than a man in the crisis of war can long refuse to identify himself with his country.

The compulsion is coming from the feeling of unity which is being developed by the conscious conflict between labor and capital. Day by day the lines are being drawn closer, until the consciousness of grouping cannot be escaped. It is true that the finest development of proletarian consciousness was in Russia, where the oppression was so severe that the theory of revolt was academic and complete. That is, under the old conditions of Russia it was not possible to look forward to the fulfilment of an orderly progressive program, so that there was no reason for not idealizing revolution. This is exactly what the Bolsheviks did. Their name is derived from the fact that they aimed immediately at the maximum demands of their program rather than at the gradual attainment of such goals as seemed practicable to the more cautious. If there had been some experience in the responsibility of political power, the course of the Russian revolutionary undertakings would have been very different.

THE PROLETARIAN STRUGGLE IS IDEALISTIC

In many respects the object of Labor is of exactly the same sort as that of Christianity. It is for an ideal state, which cannot be wholly achieved, and the emotion with which it is supported is a religious emotion. People struggle to realize themselves through ideal values, and much of Socialism expresses idealism of the highest type. John Graham Brooks has said, "The ideals of Socialism are like the harmonies of Heaven, but the practical programs like the discords of Hell." The same thing may have been said at any time in the last twenty centuries about Christianity. No one can understand Socialism who fails to see the religious element in it, and to recognize also that the motive is the striving of the group for its survival. In our discussion of Middle Europe we saw that sometimes group struggle took the form of strong devotion to the Church, and at other times to Socialism. This did not mean that the Socialists were necessarily irreligious, but they often expressed their religious emotion in opposition to ecclesiastical institutions connected with the dominating powers. Another Socialist parallelism to religion is seen in the way in which men quote the cant phrases of the theories of Marx, just as other men quote texts from the Bible. And just as with religion there are rare men who understand those texts, so there are men of understanding among the prophets of class revolt.

LABOR IS BECOMING PSYCHOPATHIC

The labor group is like all oppressed groups in its supersensitiveness. To it capital has become as barren of decency and morality as the national enemy in time of war. There is always a chip on the shoulder of the proletarian, which leads to careful watching for discrimination

and insult. This pathological condition constitutes one of the greatest difficulties at the present time in the relations between the classes, just as with the other groups we have considered.

Carleton Parker showed that the extreme radical who belonged to the I.W.W. was the product of psychologically abnormal conditions. They were, he said, homeless, loveless, and voteless. They lacked the status which was normal and they found a substitute in the social radicalism which characterized the I.W.W. To a less degree all labor is rendered abnormal by the present system, and struggles for self-respect and self-determination.

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY IS THE SOLUTION

Industrial democracy, which is now becoming an objective, is as logical as the self-determination of nations. Both are new ideas, brought about by new conditions of social organization. Industrial democracy must be compared to political democracy. There are many who have not yet realized the necessity of political democracy for their individual dignity, and in the same way there are many who have not realized their need for industrial democracy for their class dignity; but that simply means in both cases that the individual has not yet entered into the full responsibility for the group to which he belongs.

Industrial democracy is just as inevitable as political democracy, and we must not make the mistake of confusing the purpose of industry with production, any more than the mistake of identifying the purpose of the state with efficiency, and law, and order. The purpose of both will be found to be the human values which in the one case may be worked out through production, and in the other through the organization and function of the state. But they are both means and not ends of existence. One of the greatest mistakes of both industry and statecraft has

been the notion that their object was to get things done; whereas the real objective was the doing of the things. In other words, life, not material accomplishment, is the only thing which can give contentment to men.

It may be that the introduction of control of industry by those who are engaged in it will for a time result in a lessened production, but that will be better than revolution, which is the alternative, and it is the alternative because all the conditions of oppression and the struggle for group survival are now present in the class struggle, and if we have learned anything from the experience of the other groups, we can foretell what will happen to this one.

Democracy is an educational system in which people learn to live more completely in the only way in which fullness of life is possible. Free groups must work out their own salvation, and this cannot be done when there is no assurance of tenure of position, or when the conditions of life imposed by long hours leave no surplus of nervous energy or confidence.

In the field of production there is now a race between the adoption of methods harmonious with self-respecting freedom, and the chaos of revolution.

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CHAPTER XV

THE PARADOX OF AMERICANIZATION

IN AMERICA we have inherited all the oppression problems of Europe and out of them we are trying to build up a coöperating democracy in which men may rise to their full human dignity.

One-tenth of our population is Negro with its potential and actual psychosis, and approximately a third of the remainder are either foreign-born or of foreign-born stock. Counting the Irish it will be no exaggeration to say that there are at least twenty million people in the United States who are more or less psychopathic on account of oppression in Europe. The problem of our democracy is to discover a method by which these people of varying backgrounds and intense attitudes are to be merged together. The process ought not to be and cannot be that of the melting pot out of which a uniform standard society shall come. The desirable result can be reached only by the method of the paradox, which means that to secure a thing we must go away from it. Europe is the living witness of the failure of assimilation by the direct method. For example, language cannot be taken away from a people by trying to take it away. In my opinion what is sought by the Americanizer could have been secured infinitely better if no attempt had ever been made to bring it about.

Americanization must mean the bringing of all the people of America into participation in a progressive democracy, with tolerance toward the varying customs and beliefs, so as to articulate a society rich in content and orderly in process. Americanism is, of course, a com-

plex, but among other things it is an effort at democracy—not perfect but still striving. If it were static and standardized, it would be comparatively easy to define an Americanization program. To most of us America is an ideal always in the process, never fulfilled. To the immigrant it is both a hope and an ideal. He came here with an expectation—often a glorious expectation, to escape the thing hateful to all mankind—oppressions: political, religious, economic, and cultural.

AMERICANIZATION SHOULD START WITH THE IMMIGRANT NOT WITH AMERICA

Whatever Americanization may be aiming at, it must always start with the soul of the immigrant himself. What he enters into can never be separated from what he has left. If he finds what he hated or what he feared, little progress can be made toward getting him to enter the American life. If I might define America as unconsciously the average immigrant would like it to be, I would say it is an opportunity to work out freely those aspects of life in which he had previously been restricted. Under this definition, then, Americanization is never a simple problem, but as broad as society itself. It is the problem of democracy and the problem of the world.

The real problem of society is the living together of individuals and groups in such a way that both the individual and the group can attain the highest degree of self-realization. Only in the millennium can this be fully achieved, but in the meantime we may apply such sociological laws as we know, and try to avoid what we have proved to be dangerous. At least we can try to escape some of the policies which have been so ruinous to Europe.

A New York newspaper contained the following edi-

torial comment on the Italian crisis in the Peace Conference:

Not only is the average American little informed as to Fiume and the rights and wrongs of the Fiume question, but no American interest is affected. Whether the disputed city goes to Italy or whether to Jugoslavia touches no American concern. No matter what flag is up, it will be practically the same to us.

This statement expresses the sentiment of many well-meaning Americans, who would be startled to be told that such an attitude constitutes an actual menace to that very Americanism which they are so sure of in themselves.

It might be a true expression of the state of affairs if there were not two million Italians and 345,000 Jugoslavs in America, plus all their children born in this country, who at least double the numbers. These people are as intensely concerned as if the dispute affected their own immediate personal interests, and participate vicariously in the conflict as intensely as if they were not in America but still living in the actually disputed border regions. Approximately one-fourth of the population of the United States has an interest similarly in some boundary question in Europe, differing only in degree from that of the inhabitants of Fiume.

It is much nearer the truth to say that America's relation to the question in every disputed area in Europe is such that to be indifferent to it is to invite our own destruction.

Problems arising from the presence of the immigrant among us are agitating many communities, and conscious efforts at Americanization have become manifold. The success or failure of these efforts depends fundamentally on our perception of the immigrant, not as an isolated human entity, but as a personality not to be detached from its peculiar matrix of psychological relationships, and in-

comprehensible except as part of a functioning *larger* social whole.

What the immigrant brings to America is *primarily* a complex of attitudes. What he needs is a *proper meeting* of those attitudes. These may be regarded in three fundamentally different phases: the attitude of *normal* adult individuality; the normal group attitude; and the pathological group attitude. The adult immigrant has fixed habits of thought, as the thinking habits of any individual anywhere take a definite bent with maturity. He has all the instincts and emotions common to mankind because he is a man; in each individual case these have become settled in a particular mold which conforms to the manners and traditions of a particular Old World habitat. In other words, the foreign-born man is normal with virtues and vices which are more or less fixed because of the age at which he comes to us. We must expect to find all sorts of limitations and prejudices in the mental adjustment of the immigrant as in that of any individual. By studying our own personal make-up carefully we can explain many of the problems of an alien personality.

THE IMMIGRANT IS GROUP CONSCIOUS

Just as naturally the immigrant embodies a normal group attitude. He is both physically and psychologically a member of a distinctive group, and has distinctive group attitudes. Thus we have family customs and standards of value that cannot be affected by a geographical or political change. Each nationality as represented by its immigrant group is essentially distinctive, and contributes its unique values and its unique problems. Common language, common religion, and common geographical origin have developed within the several groups,

characteristics that are definite and persistent. They differ widely from one another, and however much they may seem alike to an outsider, in the consciousness of the members of the respective groups they are most highly differentiated.

Hitherto almost the only distinction of groups that we have made has been between the earlier immigrants from western Europe, and the more recent ones from eastern Europe. The earlier comers were a relatively homogeneous migration as contrasted with the later. They were of common stock with the first American settlers, or belonged to races akin or at least familiar to the established "Americans."

THE IMMIGRANT IS A CULTURAL ASSET

What the immigrant can give us most definitely is an object-lesson in political science. If we heed it we can reform the world; if we ignore it we shall help to perpetuate what the late war sought to banish from the earth. It is quite unnecessary to travel in Europe to learn the history and results of oppression. Their impress is vivid and virile in every industrial city in the United States. One can literally learn more about Europe in a month in Pittsburgh, Cleveland or Chicago than in a year in Europe. This is the most outstanding contribution of the immigrant to America. His hatred of oppression made him one of our greatest assets in the war, for it not only made technical enemies actual allies, but made them allies of the utmost merit—a fact we were too slow to recognize.

The immigrant brings us a great and varied language content which we have hitherto almost wasted. We have actually counted it a liability when the children of immigrants have known some other language than English,

and have tried to teach them to despise rather than cherish it. At the same time we have been inconsistently spending millions of dollars trying to teach foreign languages to our native-born children.

He brings us also a number of religious forms and values which have come from the experience of human beings in their struggle for spiritual realization. A sympathetic understanding of these religious institutions may greatly enrich and enlarge the spiritual vision of America.

The tendency to clannishness or segregation which is so often emphasized in the discussion of the immigrant is an example of a normal tendency becoming pathological because of determining conditions. This segregation is, in normal circumstances of mutual respect between groups merely a manifestation of a common human impulse without any predetermining consciousness about it. People who come from the same country naturally have a like-mindedness about manners and customs and habits. All of us try to live in a congenial neighborhood with the result that we all really live in segregated districts. But when indications of discrimination arise, there grows up a proportionate self-consciousness on the part of the group which is being discriminated against, and the tendency to differentiate themselves as a group crystallizes into a definite and fixed defensive purpose.

Defense complexes have in general been created by the artificial stimulation of normal differences into conscious bases of antagonism. In Austria-Hungary this was developed to a fine art; historical, geographical, linguistic and religious differences were magnified both between and within national groups, until such a mass of hatreds was developed as will exist long after the cause is removed.

EVERY IMMIGRANT HAS HAD MAYFLOWER QUALITIES

The assurance of superiority on the part of most native-born Americans is not justified by the facts. Pilgrim ancestors did not all come over on the Mayflower; some came in the steerage of the last ship that brought immigrants to our shores. The Puritans were English-speaking Protestants while the recent comers have had various languages and religions but in multitudes of cases they have been actuated to come by the same impulses.

Society is rich through heterogeneity, not through homogeneity. The difficulty of course is in making the parts function harmoniously, and to remember that, as in the best music, even discords may give richness.

The most difficult of the psychoses with which we have to deal in America result from just these attitudes that have become pathological through the experience of oppression in Europe. The animosities between groups and within groups are as intense here as in Europe, and they present immeasurably complex problems which must be solved. If we take for illustration the case of the Jugoslavs, we have the example of a people who are trying to form a unified state and common consciousness in Europe, after having been successively ruled by Turk and Teuton, and lately living under five different political systems. They have four religions, two alphabets and four historic divisions—Serb, Montenegrin, Croat and Slovene. Their educational opportunities have been limited, and they have a different problem on each border. The complexities bred in Europe do not become less complex in America, for in the minds of the seven hundred thousand representatives here there has been perpetuated the consciousness of the past without the restraint of the immediate practical responsibilities which must be met in Europe.

We must never forget in approaching the problem of the foreign-born in America, that the questions involved are as various as the nationalities which make them, and that if we are going to succeed in dealing with them, we must know them as the product of historic groups with distinctive backgrounds.

THE PARADOX OF LANGUAGE

A favorite formula for disposing of the immigrant is to say, "Let him learn English and become a good American. Make him forget about the squabbles in Europe." As a matter of fact he neither does, nor will accept this formula, and any community which tries to enforce it is preparing to reap a whirlwind. Most immigrants come to America to get freedom—not solely nor mainly economic freedom, but freedom from alien domination. The immigrant from middle Europe brings with him traditions concerning the treatment of his language, such that when he is presented with compulsion to learn English the first tendency is to resist it, especially if the compulsion is accompanied with the implication that he will thereby quickly forget his past. Much of his nurture has been in the atmosphere of a distant, glorious, and probably exaggerated national past before his fathers came under the heel of the oppressor. As a Pole or an Irishman he has thought much more of the centuries gone by than of the discouraging future.

There is no more imperative duty for America than the right treatment of the language question. It was compulsion to learn German, Russian and Magyar that created the attitudes that underlie some of the most complex problems in Europe at the present time. Many of our zealous patriots have innocently assumed the policy of oppressive Europe, and have come to feel that assimilation

lation of the immigrant into American life can be attained by the sole method of teaching English. The value of English to the foreigner himself is so great that every effort should be made to make him realize this value, and to provide proper opportunities through which he may become equipped with our tongue. But it should be made perfectly clear to him that all that is not for the purpose of making him forget the land of his fathers. The following quotation from the *New York Nation* concerning the Lawrence strike illustrates the disadvantage to the immigrant himself of being shut off from a common medium of communication:

For years the textile manufacturers have carried on a policy of gathering in the peasants of eastern and southeastern Europe to operate the looms of New England. These immigrants were distributed so that no more than fifteen per cent of any one race were employed in a single mill, and the apportionment was dispassionately determined so that men and women racially hostile to one another worked side by side. This was to render organization impossible and thus keep wages low.

What has been true at Lawrence has been true in many other industries, so that it is obvious that the foreign-born need English to safeguard themselves from exploitation.

But the teaching of English should be called education, not Americanization, which is likely to offend because it implies the same old culture domination which is more hateful than political domination. We should foster the self-respect of the immigrant by respecting the language for whose very existence his people have struggled for centuries. One method would be to offer these languages in our colleges and universities. As Chicago and Milwaukee have already done, we should offer in the high schools courses in any foreign language for which there are children demanding it in numbers sufficient to form a class. We could thus preserve the language possession

already attained by the children, and also promote respect in the children for their parents; and in the parents we should be dislodging the suspicion that America practices the hated policy of Europe. There is no other way comparable with this for making English respected and loved, for it will thus stand out as a medium of opportunity and not as an instrument of annihilation.

In the same way the foreign-born need their press. They need it because there is no other way in which they can learn the news of the world, and the facts and purposes of American life. Even if they learn English they will not be able to get into its spirit as they live in that of their native tongue. How many of us who have studied French and German much more than the average immigrant will ever be able to study English could properly be made dependent on a French or German newspaper?

The foreign-born offer us the opportunity of appropriating spiritual values in unfamiliar forms. Unless we become able to do this we shall not be prepared to live in the new era.

THE IDENTITY OF AMERICA WITH EUROPE

We must accept at their face value, and with infinite patience, both the normal and pathological attitudes. The foreign-born will never forget the land of their origin and their responsibility for it so long as injustice prevails there; the identification of America with the problems of Europe, therefore, is so close that we cannot escape our share in the responsibility however much we may wish. There can be no real Americanization of the immigrant unless there is a real league of nations, as the symbol of a real organization which will substitute in Europe a reign of justice for the reign of immorality. The isolation of America is a pure illusion. The only way our

own life can be fully organized is by identifying ourselves with a democratic reorganization of Europe. If an unjust domination is imposed on Germany, the many millions of German stock in America will gradually and inevitably develop a political solidarity such as they never knew before.

Most of the nations of Europe have only one or two international problems, but we have every one of the problems of all the nations within our borders. To deny or overlook this is to pull down over our own heads the pillars upon which rest our political and social structures. Fifty per cent. of the Irish, twenty per cent. of the Poles, and a large percentage of all of the other long-oppressed peoples are in America and constitute from one-third to two-thirds of the population of many of our leading centers.

The foreign-born need a renewal of the faith that has been waning faith in the freedom and democracy of America—to obtain which they came to these shores. Through what those who came here told their oppressed kinsmen in Europe, the latter came to look to America for salvation, and through them America may still be the salvation of Europe. But to discriminate against those who are living among us means a perpetuation in America of the hatreds of the past in Europe. We must devise a political science and social practice which will give them the self-expression here that self-determination aims to give in Europe.

Just as finally the American authorities tried to mobilize the attitudes of the immigrants for purposes of war, so they must mobilize them for peace. Foolish and frantic methods of Americanization should yield to the realization that we are dealing with a psychological and moral problem, and that the league of nations is potential in the United States. If we could organize the representa-

tives of the countries of Europe who are in America behind a program for a reconstructed world, we should have an instrument for world-order whose potentiality cannot be measured. Instead, we hide our heads in the sand and think to make them forget by teaching them English.

There is no panacea for dealing with the immigrant simpler than that required for the whole world. And the existing deep-seated psychoses can only be cured through a long process of time. We must deal as wise physicians with a soul-sick people for whose trouble we have no responsibility but who have become an integral part of our lives.

The spirit and method of Americanization must be part and parcel of the solution of the problems of Europe. The relations of groups, both in conflict and in coöperation, is the paramount issue of human society. If we can learn even a few of the laws underlying the conflict of groups we shall make rapid progress where we have been blindly groping. But in the meantime all these problems will resist solution until there is a just reorganization of Europe. Only when the ideals of democracy have removed the possibility of imperialistic exploitation, will there be no longer a motive for chauvinism to combat it. America cannot save herself unless Europe is saved. Whether we will or not, our immigrants make the world-problem our problem.

The problems of Americanization in New York, Cleveland, and Youngstown are not going to be solved by the state legislatures, but primarily by international justice. The local problem of the city Americanization committee is not an appropriation for teaching English, but a just arrangement in middle Europe. The problems of Ohio and Massachusetts are world problems. Americanization is not isolation but integration.

The successful Americanizer must first get the social psychological point of view. He must then know the history of his national groups. After his diagnosis he must practice the homeopathic method. Meet the immigrant more than half way with the things he wants and he will meet you two-thirds of the way to accept the things you want him to take.

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CHAPTER XVI

PROPORTIONAL LOYALTY

THERE is no concept of our times more in need of revision and clarification than that of patriotism. The great problem of nationalism and internationalism is constantly befogged by the intrusion of patriotism.

Patriotism is an emotion, internationalism a form of organization. Nationalism, which may be considered as virtually the same as patriotism, is popularly thought of as opposed to internationalism, and the two are even regarded as mutually exclusive. The nation, however, is a growth from innumerable simpler social forms, and the growth to internationalism is relatively little more complex than the growth of nationalism.

The origin of patriotism is as humble as that of all our inheritances from the dim past when the human species was forming. Prolonged infancy demanded immediate and unquestioned coöperation for the young. No young survived in whose parents the spontaneous impulse was lacking to identify the self with the family or protecting unit. No individual could survive except as a member of a group. The emotion which accompanied this identification of the individual with others is the beginning of loyalty and patriotism. It is a biological inheritance no more moral at the beginning than hunger. It was necessary for survival.

As the individual evolves, survival becomes more complex, and the group in which survival is posited is determined by the aspect of the self that is involved in the situation. At one time it may be the spiritual self, and at another the economic, or again merely the physi-

cal self. In other words, the whole variety of complexes by which the self is measured determines the various directions of the struggle to survive. Because this impulse makes the individual lose a smaller self for a larger self, loyalty to the group has come to be esteemed as the highest virtue, though as an impulse it is totally blind and indiscriminating.

It is as impossible for patriotism as such to estimate social values rationally, as it is for hunger to select food in terms of calories. Both hunger and group loyalty are essential assets to life, but they are ill adapted to absolute unquestioned control of life, and yet that is what is being demanded by patriotism.

Nationalism is a very modern phenomenon. It must be distinguished from mere state organization with which it is sometimes identical and sometimes in opposition. The principle of "self-determination of nations" indicates the acceptance of the difference of interest between the state and the nation. Ireland and Korea have been examples of national patriotism in opposition to their sovereign states.

PATHOLOGICAL PATRIOTISM

Nationalism is not uniform and simple, but results from various conditions with characteristic reactions. The patriotism of an oppressed nation is full of pathological elements. The survival sought is "national self-respect." The symptoms vary slightly, but there is always hypersensitiveness and self-consciousness. The classic example is the Jew, and the Jewish problem wherever it exists can never be solved until most of the "Jewish characteristics" are diagnosed as the pathological result of the experience to which they have been subjected. Likewise the Poles, Czechoslovaks, in fact most of the

nations of central Europe have chauvinistic attitudes that are definitely pathological. It is a result of injustice in which the personality of a nation is felt to be disgraced. There is no more hope that a nation suffering from this oppression psychosis will make any but the most meager advances in the direction of internationalism, than that a sick man will take up the full activities of health.

A very large portion of the peoples of the world are suffering from present or past experiences of oppression and therefore they cannot be expected to act as normal groups. The Irish Free State will require a long period of convalescence. A Zionistic Palestine must inevitably inherit the oppression psychology of the Jewish people. Germany suffered injustice from the France of Napoleon, and France was dominated by the Germany of Bismarck, and all of the Succession states of Austria-Hungary are full of psychoses. And there are India, China, Korea, Egypt, Pan-Africa—more than half the human race still in national relationships in which national self-respect is demanding satisfaction. Patriotism exaggerated to chauvinism is an unfortunate result that cannot be evaded. At the best this situation must be met with patience. The measure of the immorality and injustice of this kind of social and political relationship is the abnormal attitudes produced.

It would be very discouraging indeed, if there were not some signs of improvement. Political practice and political science are in much the same state that pedagogy was a generation or two ago when the change was made from the principle of discipline by fear to discipline by freedom and attraction. The example of England's finally yielding something to Ireland is a precedent for herself in other relations which will affect India and China. In fact, the recent Washington Conference witnessed the

acceptance in principle of a new world attitude towards China. It is being demonstrated that the domination of empire can be yielded.

We have also patriotism of the aggression type in which the dominant motive is glory and prestige rather than "self-respect," and it may also have some pathological elements. Germany, England, and America are the most outstanding examples.

PATRIOTISM IS ARTIFICIAL NOT INHERENT

But whatever the nature and object of patriotism, it is always being artificially stimulated. An individual is not born into any group except the immediately personal ones to which he will adhere patriotically without artificial stimulation. The technique for this stimulation has become highly specialized. Appeals to hate, fear, glory, and honor are always used along with the magnification of the history and heroes of the country. Leadership is in the hands of the intellectuals because of their knowledge, or supposed knowledge, of history. It is no exaggeration to say that patriotism is always aroused by means more or less immoral. The greatest perversion is the teaching of history from the national point of view. Children are nurtured on history out of focus. Egotism in individuals is considered a vice, but in nations it is praised as a virtue. The resultant self-complacency is both tragic and absurd. We admit that in war time propaganda for patriotism transgresses truth in its appeal to hate and vainglory, but it differs only in degree from that of peace time.

But the falsest thing of all about patriotism is its demand that it be unqualified and absolute. The scope of any state or nation is so accidental and temporary that

there can be no proper rational basis for unreasoned and undivided loyalty to it.

It would be difficult to overestimate the moral and practical value of loyalty. As it manifests itself in patriotism, it merges the individual into larger interests, and identifies him with a complex of groups which breaks down the hostility which may exist between them. The trouble is that we limit our patriotism by hard and fast boundaries, as though the significant survival values were all within those boundaries. We all have interests necessary for our fuller existence which have no more relation to frontiers than the area on which the sun's rays fall.

PLURAL SOVEREIGNTY THE WAY OUT

The way out is the substitution of pluralism of sovereignty for the monistic absolutism of patriotism. The principle of sovereignty has paraded under a false philosophy which has consistently resisted the truth. In spite of the resistance, the struggle between the church and the state has proved the possibility of an actual division of sovereignty. Gladstone in England and Bismarck in Germany did their utmost to prevent it, but the principle has been established.

When President Masaryk came to America as the president of a recognized *de facto* government in the early summer of 1918—good Catholics who were also loyal to the Czechoslovak Republic were anxious to know whether it was going to be the policy of the new state to be absolute in religion, fearing that it might be anti-Catholic. When the President said that he "believed in freedom of conscience," he voiced not only his own conviction, but a principle of government which has far-reaching possibilities.

One of the greatest obstacles to truth and progress

is the preaching of 100 per cent. patriotism. It is put thus literally in America, but it prevails in the same form in many countries. It is a doctrine of absolutism which has no basis in fact. Reality demands that we begin to advocate 10 to 25 per cent. patriotism. This proportion will account for the peculiarly provincial values that our particular fatherland has contributed to our development. No one indeed can be normal who is lacking in the sentiment of loyalty to that which is intimately related to him. Our geographical environment, local history, language and customs contribute to our unique individuality and deserve their proportion of allegiance. When I am in a foreign country I always thrill at the sight of the American flag, for America means something real to me, yet not all of reality.

The 75 to 90 per cent. of loyalty that is left belongs to values in our lives that are international rather than national. If history could be taught as Mr. H. G. Wells urges that it should be taught, we all might soon learn that even in the most different of us there is more that is common to all than is peculiar to any.

The pressing problem is to become aware of "communities of interest" already existing, whose power to change the whole range of international relations only awaits a proper recognition and classification. When we get this awareness of vital international interests, it will be as easy to enlarge the emotion of patriotism from its present artificial limits, as it was to get to its present national character from the tribal and feudal groups which preceded the present stage. If we can stop the immoral and untrue limitation of the area within which loyalty is cultivated, we shall eventually find ourselves loyal to international interests which are vital to national life in the same way that we have found national values significant in community life.

MANY OF THE MOST VITAL INTERESTS HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH NATIONAL LIMITS

Already there has been general acceptance of the co-existence of loyalty to the state and to a church not co-extensive with the state. The Roman Catholic Church has borne the brunt of the struggle to establish this principle, but religious freedom has become either the accepted law or ideal of most countries within the last generation or two. It has, in fact, become obvious that the values inhering in unity are derived from sources quite outside the modern nations, and that religious expression would be impossibly contradictory if its universal categories were restricted to national definitions. The tribal gods elevated by the various nations for patriotic purposes are admittedly partial and ridiculous.

The next step is the bringing of many other interests no more national than religion to a similar level. The first in importance is the economic. Both capitalism and proletarianism have become conscious of their wider interests. The former more in practice, the latter more in program. International trade is old, but all of its present organization is very modern. This applies to commerce, banking, and production. When I was in Moscow, just before the war, I took my letters of introduction to the offices of the *International Harvester Company* whose home office is Chicago; and all over Russia I saw the products of the *National Cash Register Company* of Dayton, Ohio. In St. Petersburg, I found the American Consul in the Singer Building, a genuinely American company. While the Rothschilds symbolize international banking, they merely set the pace. Wall Street almost means international finance. In 1920 I met in Bucharest, Sophia, and Belgrade, the representative of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York who had just

come from Warsaw, and whose headquarters are in London. The daily publication throughout the world of the exchange values of money shows how intricately we are all involved.

There are certain regions of the earth in which the economic unity is so great that no amount of chauvinism can prevent it from manifesting itself. An economic Danubian Confederation, which of course is greatly helped by the political "Little Entente," was actually in operation before that political alliance was formed. I visited Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria, and Serbia just before its conclusion. I arrived in Belgrade the day Mr. Beneš left for Bucharest to take up the treaty. But all along the line I had seen evidences of international trade between all these countries, some of which had the bitterest feelings of hostility for others, and all of which were chauvinistic to the highest degree. The Danube Valley is as much of a unity as the Mississippi Valley in America. That unity however, cannot be secured by nationalistic sovereignty, which has caused such unending trouble, but by plural sovereignty, not of people but of interests. Even in Budapest after several weeks of the labor boycott, there were more signs of things that were common to all of Europe than there were of things peculiarly Magyar.

BOTH ECONOMICS AND RELIGION ARE INTERNATIONAL

We must soon recognize that plural sovereignty applies as clearly to economics as to religion. Economists have taught the principles of free trade for a generation, but at the same time there has been the teaching of absolute patriotism, with the result that there has been no diminution of the tendency of patriotic politicians to raise protective tariffs. Capital is still able to use

patriotism effectively for throwing sand into the eyes of the public in its own behalf in the class struggle, at the same time that it is strengthening its international alliances.

The success of socialism as compared to Christianity in riveting attention on the international ideal has been astounding. Patriotism has given us tribal gods, while socialism has made the international interests of the proletariat widely obvious. Whatever objections one may have to other aspects of socialism, it has accelerated our thinking on the vital nature of international interests.

NO MODERN CULTURE IS NATIONAL

After religion and economics come cultural values. Relatively few of our ideas and customs are merely local. We have some provincialisms of speech and dress and even of ways of thinking, of which we are sentimentally fond and to which we grant our loyalty, but to be exclusively loyal to them is the height of absurdity. Plato, Aristotle, Roman Law, Huss, Luther, Comenius, Shakespeare, Spinoza, Michael Angelo are a common social heritage. During the war, in most of the allied countries German music was discontinued, but the shamefaced way in which they are now taking it up again shows the irrationality of the original taboo. Fashion shows marvelous facility in jumping frontiers. Science, which is a specialized form of culture, would be absurd if it were limited by political boundaries. The laws of physics and chemistry and psychology are universal, not national.

Sport, which occupies more and more of our attention—in America an average of two pages are given in every daily newspaper to sport, and they are read more diligently than any other portion—sport is establishing itself on a basis of universality. For some years there have been in Asia, "Olympic Games" in which the Chinese and

Japanese have competed. Recently, as the contest approached, a prominent Chinese said, "Politically I am an enemy of the Japanese, but in athletics there are no national lines." This statement was paralleled by three incidents in Czechoslovakia which came under my observation.

In one of the German towns in northern Bohemia there was a Czech football team which challenged a German team in the same town. The game was arranged, and the two German newspapers wrote very bitterly in an attempt to prevent the game, but the German club replied in almost exactly the same words as the Chinese. On the Saturday afternoon that I arrived in Uzhorod, I was at once invited by Czech friends to go to a football game, at which a visiting team from Budapest was to play. This was at the time of the boycott against Hungary, and ordinarily people found it very difficult to cross the boundary. Budapest won, and the team stayed at the same hotel I did for three days. They sat at a big table in the dining-room and sang much as an American college team would do. At every meal there were many Czech officers present, and I never saw the slightest sign of irritation on the face of one of them. Sport was not political or military. At Komarno, where at opposite ends of the bridge were Czech and Magyar garrisons, facing each other with genuine hostility, and there was a big barbed wire entanglement on the middle of the bridge to emphasize the antagonism, the ministers of war of the two countries permitted the football teams to play together.

The catalogue of the universal values essential for the civilized survival of modern man could be extended at great length. What I am urging is the desirability of our becoming aware of the facts as they are. If we are "to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," or

in other words give heed to the interests of our lives which have most real significance, we cannot do it as 100 per cent. patriots. This is not to undervalue patriotism. I agree with John Morley who says: "To deride patriotism is the mark of impoverished blood, but to extol it as an ideal or an impulse above truth and the general interest of humanity is far worse." It is my claim that the truth shows more than half of the real values to be super-national, and that we have already arrived at a concept of sovereignty which is going to enable us to adapt the state to this situation. There are two events which point in this direction.

The decentralization of the British Empire, of which the formation of the Irish Free State is one sign, shows a belief in the pluralism of patriotism; apart from the fact that the prime ministers of the colonies recently met for the first time on the level of equality with the prime minister of England. The second event was foreshadowed in the "Declaration of Independence of the Czechoslovak Nation" in which occur these words: "The rights of the minority shall be safeguarded by proportional representation; *national minorities shall enjoy equal rights.*" This principle was incorporated in the constitution, and also in the constitutions of most of the other new states. Thus, for the first time we have national tolerance put on the same level as religious tolerance.

The old patriotism means stultification; an adaptation of loyalty to meet actual present conditions means enlargement of character and the possibility of a new world.

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