

BRITISH DESTINY
THE PRINCIPLES OF PROGRESS

BY
D. N. DUNLOP, A.I.E.E.*

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Introduction

THE Contents of this volume consist partly of articles that have appeared during the past year in a quarterly periodical; all but one have been rewritten, and two entirely new chapters have been added. I feel, however, that the philosophical conceptions which are the basis of this brief examination of the Principles operating in human life, are worthy of a more leisured and careful treatment than my present business activities permit. But as ideas are important at the present moment, they are published forthwith for the consideration of all who have at heart the well-being of the British nation and of the Empire.

The rise and fall of civilization has always interested and puzzled historians; but the ordinary ethnological interpretations of races does not explain this phenomenon nor give any hint of the meaning of human evolution. Races overlap and intermingle, and competent students of history have pointed out that no race is absolutely pure. The origin of races is obscure, and, however far back we trace them, they are found to be blended. Political areas are always composed of more or less mixed races. Indeed, the ties of race are seldom as strong as love of country and civil rights. Fewer wars have been precipitated by racial passions than by other causes, such as political ambitions and desire for religious or political liberty. Race ha-

ted is the result of war rather than the cause. Racial passions may be stirred up by political leaders for their own ends, but nations or empires that come under the dominance of such passions become dismembered and decline, unless a unifying principle be invoked and recognized in time. Men of different races associate in adherence to a political idea, and, if the idea be a reflection of a pure ideal and be untinged by racial or class passions, it may include many races, as illustrated in the British Empire. The unity amongst the diverse races and peoples in all parts of this Empire has been realized through the power of an abstract idea, viz. Voluntary Co-operation for Principles.

At certain crises in its affairs a nation has the choice of two paths, and it is within its power to follow either. The fate of the nation depends on whether it take the path of its decline or follow the direction that leads to the realization of its true destiny. On the downward path the disintegrating forces have full sway, and personal, class, or racial ambitions become stronger than national or imperial interest. The unifying principles depend for expression on their recognition by intelligent individuals; when understood they provide fully for individual freedom and initiative, and co-ordinate all the diverse elements of the national and imperial life in a Voluntary Co-operation, so that they become the medium for the transmission of a higher Intelligence. No nation has yet sufficiently fused the elements of antagonism within itself to enable it to completely fulfil its destiny. But, as all the terrestrial elements may be a medium for the transmission of light, so the elements of man's complex life should be a medium for Intelligence.

The co-operation of all minds, each exercising its own particular powers, renews the Intelligence latent in the universe and available for each.

The "antagonism" in nature between earth, air, fire and water maintains

the world; the "antagonism" in man's body, between muscles, bones and nerves, is necessary for his physical existence. But in nature this individualizing antagonism does not destroy the unity; on the contrary, it emphasizes the interdependence of one part upon another.

The true function of any one class or type is maintained by the interrelations of all.

The prophet depends upon mystics to realize his message by personal experience in every environment, upon philosophers to develop its principles by thought, upon artists to universalize its appeal, upon scientists and inventors to provide the means to carry it into practical effect, upon executives to establish economic and political systems for making the spiritual life serve the day's work instead of being at odds with it, and, finally upon men of action to shape the material world in conformity with the message and Vision of the prophet. When man no longer disregards the truths which a study of nature's laws reveals, he will recognize the necessity for co-ordinating all his affairs in conformity with these laws. He will recognize the spiritual unity of the race at one pole, and at the other his interdependence, as a physical being, on other men.

If the British Empire can maintain the Unity, so far realized, and extend the application of the Principles it involves, it will fulfil its destiny and lead other nations to a recognition of the laws which must be observed for the creation of a World-Civilization.

D. N. DUNLOP.

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British Civilization

WHEN thinking men review the evolution of humanity as it proceeds through nations and civilizations, they realize the complexity of man's nature and the difficulty of stating in a formula the aim of his development and the object of true patriotism. There is a tendency among many thinkers to assert the equality of nations and to place national achievements on one level. It is true that we cannot point to a perfect people in any country; the history of civilization seems, indeed, to be a long, arduous search for the ideal nation, for that capable country that has solved all problems, has no slums, no monopolies, no labour troubles, no wars nor rumours of wars; a country where all mal-adjustments have disappeared, and where well-being prevails. But just as there are grades of intelligence amongst individual men, so there must be a hierarchy amongst the nations. And as the highest types of individuals do not parade their superiority nor seek through it to dominate others, so a nation may be the custodian of ideals above the comprehension of the national mind of other countries (though not of all individuals therein), and, also, in some respects beyond its own present power of expression.

Human life is a life of effort to attain understanding, to realize self-

consciousness, to adjust environment to all the various needs of man's nature. If his essential requirements are forgotten or hidden by superficial pursuits, a cataclysm of some sort is bound to occur sooner or later: this is not a moral precept, but a law of nature, a scientific fact. Cataclysms are self-adjusting processes of nature. History does not preserve the memory any statesman, philosopher or thinker who is not really great; their fame does not survive the centuries unless they have enunciated and endeavoured to carry into practice those immortal Principles which inhere in Man and characterize the race. If they identify themselves with what is eternally true, they become part of the tradition of their country, and even of that of all countries, when their insight has been especially profound. These eternal Principles are the causes of existence, the source of all life; they are everywhere in operation; they are partially explained by mathematics and science, and are revealed to men when they begin to think impersonally and universally; they are that in which we live and move and have our being, and are secure even though continents become submerged. Principles never alter, though the understanding and interpretation of them necessarily changes as humanity evolves. The nation that interprets them most clearly leads evolution.

According to their development men and nations approximate in different degrees to an understanding and embodiment of these principles. History shows, without doubt, that the highest civilization, in any period, prevailed in the nation, or nations, who most nearly interpreted the principles which have been variously translated as justice, liberty, law, beauty, balance, order, etc. These are forgotten when the people become engrossed in outer things, in personal gratifications and ambitions; degeneracy and decay ensue, and "supremacy" passes away to other nations who express more accurately the real ambitions and desires of humanity. But wherever

the fundamental laws are firmly rooted in the consciousness of a nation, a just war will strengthen the convictions of the people and nerve them to preserve their existence through which their ideals are realized and made manifest.

A catastrophe, like all other facts, has both an inner and an outer significance. Viewed externally, it breaks up existing conditions, alters environment and associations, or altogether obliterates them. Many catastrophes have occurred on this planet, but the human race has not perished from the face of the earth. Apparently nothing can daunt its deathless desire for experience. Men have died, families have been wiped out, nations have disappeared, civilizations have passed into oblivion, but no outer disaster has been able to crush the indomitable Spirit of Man. As a race he is at least as immortal as the hills, whatever we may think of him individually. Moreover, outer catastrophes strengthen the inner will of those persons and nations whose motives are associated with the principles that are permanent rather than with the forms that are passing. Disaster strengthens a strong character, because it stimulates thought and throws him back into the world of the mind, where he questions and ponders over the causes of conditions, and where are revived forgotten ideals.

There is a half-truth in the Prussian theory of the necessity for war to maintain the vitality of a nation. This is put forward, however, *only as a justification of a desire for war*, for man as a thinking being does not seek war; it is the unthinking, irrational element in him which provokes war, as though by a self-adjusting process to force men to think. If human beings were more developed intellectually, and if all nations were conducted according to Principles, war as we know it would cease, but virility would not decrease. It would be evident in man's increased mental and spiritual powers, and in his dominance over passions which are not evidence of man-

hood but of a strange alliance of manhood with the animal kingdom which perverts both human and animal life.

Man's virility and prowess are undoubtedly exercised in war, and necessarily so when passions threaten progress; but the virility of the human race will be more appropriately revealed in solving practically the problems of social and economic existence, in applying principles in the administration of national governments and in international relations. The apparently prosaic, daily duties of men of affairs demand the greatest possible virility, and it must be exercised without the stimulus of the excitement of war. Many men continue in responsible positions, subject to criticism and without any personal gratification beyond the satisfaction of exercising their powers on the side of justice and human development. Because he is an intellectual being, man's true strength is shown in his powers of thought and understanding. The heroes of the race have been martyrs for ideas. Those who have benefited their fellows have sacrificed their personal lives in the work of discovery, in scientific invention, in political reforms, in philosophical investigation, in endeavours to stimulate thought.

Thought precedes function, and the process of human evolution is a continuous effort to create bodies or organs through which ideas may function. The pioneers of thought create a nucleus of the new organism, and this effort to materialize ideas stimulates thought and kindles imagination in others. This is necessarily a slow and ordered process, as is all growth. The seed is a mental conception, which produces the physical nucleus. Philosophical generalizations will not, however, stir the mass of the people; leaders must translate ideals into ideas and outline a programme for their accomplishment in order to draw out into expression the better elements in human nature. The ideals of the race recorded in literature and art require opportunity for expression, and, if they could find a body, would accelerate

evolution by stimulating those who do not yet appreciate the need for such embodiment. A very high tradition will lose its vitality if it is not kept alive by experience, if it is not tested by events.

Many British people act according to a certain code of honour, because they are born in that tradition; they do not think much about it, but simply accept, for instance, the dictum of "fair-play" without questioning either its origin or its validity. That such an ethical conception is general, is proof, however, of the high moral standard of the nation as a whole. But a further application of the principle by more people and in different directions would never be attempted if some disturbance of the normal life did not occur. A disaster will either vitalize the traditions and strengthen and temper them as by fire, or it will galvanize old passions, atavistic tendencies, into life, according as the inner will be strong or weak. But we do not know either its strength or its weakness until it is tested. New experiences under unfamiliar conditions give opportunity for the use of mental powers and for their development. The process of growth is invisible and interior, and at a crisis men discover how far they have advanced in the understanding of causes, and whether they are able to act directly with the will, or are merely helpless puppets acting with the general reaction, and without knowledge or power to use the inner will, the vehicle of principles, by which the course of events may be directed. Every advance in human evolution has been made because some few individuals have had this power. Every great patriot, every great humanitarian, has had a vision of the future and a powerful will to direct his energies towards its realization.

The task of the statesman, of men of affairs, is to adjust policies to principles according to the exigencies of conditions within and without the nation. The people must assist in this, and must not be tempted by false voices and visions into any course of action which will violate Nature's Laws.

The people in Germany have been led astray through lack of discrimination, due partly to inexperience in governing themselves. The science which the Germans overlooked is the science of certain Principles of nature less obvious than the superficial, mechanical laws which are thought by the logical mind to include all there is in life. But it is evident that their object and methods were not in accordance with Nature's Laws; and the German people—even also the Prussians—will discover this in time, for the real, inner genius of a people never changes, though it may be obscured temporarily by perverted tendencies or by complacency.

In certain respects the British Nation had been living on the past before August 1914. It had become lethargic. But a threatened disaster stirred the inner spirit to positive expression with the strength of its long heritage of endeavour. Its light burns with a passion-purged flame, and announces to the world that Great Britain holds the flaming sword to expel evil and to protect the freedom and the rights of man, in so far as human beings can collectively understand them. In spite of confusion in administration, of mismanagement, of opportunists seeking "war-profits," of disaffection amongst politicians, and many other undesirable weaknesses,—in spite of these and above these is the magnificent spectacle of the far-reaching British Empire uniting to uphold the principles of nationality and the right of a people to choose their own form of government. The mass of the people have not been diverted from this purpose by any side issues that have been raised. They have rallied in response to the utterances of statesmen and writers who have announced the ideals upon which the British Empire has been built and the determination of Britons to hold to these ideals.

The history of the building is not without its blemishes. What nation has yet had a faultless career? But *on the whole* Britons know what principles they have, as a race, striven to express in the world. In this sense British

traditions are unchangeable, as Mr. Balfour told the House of Commons in his memorable address on the evening of January the 7th this year.

The British people have not pompously paraded their patriotism, because to claim exclusive prerogatives in Principles, to be proud of them as possessions, is impossible. They are the property of any people or nation who understands them; the function of Great Britain has been to express certain principles as far as it is able, and to endeavour, that others shall also understand them. This is why we are slow to adopt any national policy of retaliation or reprisals. It is our tradition to try and make Justice and Right speak for themselves. When the minds of any within or without the nation are closed to these ideals, we must then find means to make our nation effective, so that Justice and Right will prevail. Lord Bryce expressed this national ideal in a few words: "We stand in this war for Justice and Right, and we stand for Humanity. From that position we must not depart. I do not myself believe for a moment that we shall gain anything by departing from it. If it comes to cruelty against cruelty, the enemy would always win. I see no reason to think that any recourse to inhuman practices, shocking to philosophy and morality, which the enemy has adopted would have the slightest effect on him or promote in any way our military success. We should not gain; we should certainly lose, because there is nothing that has won for us more the approval and sympathy of all that is best in neutral nations than that we have championed the cause of Justice and Humanity. This is what nerves our arm and has created a unity never paralleled in any crisis in history."¹

The unifying power of Principles is, indeed, being demonstrated to be stronger and more enduring than that of any external cohesion. An artifi-

¹Remarks introducing a lecturer at Bedford College, February 4, 1916, reported in *The Daily Telegraph*.

cial organization of a people under state-control wears out in time—faster under the pressure of a crisis; but where the power resides in the democracy, the national strength grows as the people learn to love and to live for right ideas, although when suddenly attacked they may be unprepared at first for warfare. But moral force nerves brain and arm with a strength of greater capacity than mere physical force without this inner reinforcement. The British Empire is proving this under terrific stress and strain. "It has proved for the first time in the history of mankind, that free, self-governing communities can cherish that sentiment of unity which hitherto was only supposed to be possible in some form of government, whether monarchical or republican. That new experiment has now been put to the test. It has survived the test, and we may truly say that from this war, dates, not as a matter of theory, but as a matter of practice, the most novel and perhaps the greatest experiment in imperial government the world has yet seen."²

This is an achievement of which members of the British Empire everywhere may be legitimately proud. It is a vindication of the whole human race; it proves the intuitions and prophecies of the poets and idealists of all ages and all countries, and disposes of the materialistic hypothesis that man is a race of animals with no moral standards or desires above mere physical necessity. Only a spiritual intelligence could create this ideal of unity, and achieve its realization without the material ties of written constitutions, trade-agreements, etc.

There is a pride which is its own inner justification, a pride not based on dominance over others; it arises from Self-realization in its deeper meaning—a recognition of the possibility of this Self-realization by all men and by all nations; it is founded not on what we have taken from the world, but on

²Mr. Balfour, as Chairman at the luncheon given February 1, 1910, by the Empire Parliamentary Association (or the Right Hon. Andrew Fisher, Commissioner for Australia).

what we have contributed towards the development of mankind. We do not, therefore, conclude that we are the people, and that wisdom shall die with us; but we have satisfaction in seeing wisdom prevail ever more widely.

We cannot take the credit in a personal sense for what we have learned to understand. The Principles which are now clearer to us have been working through us often unconsciously; to our recognition of Them is due what so far has been accomplished, as through Them all nations will ultimately attain true Self-reliance and Self-realization.

If it had been possible for the British race to live a self-sustained existence on these little northern islands, it might have become the most priggish, self-conscious set of people on the earth. It has been forced to navigate the globe, to trade in all foreign lands, to establish protectorates amongst different races and to administer colonies from its own stock. These experiences, with its persevering and virile qualities as a basis, have strengthened the British race, in its highest range of consciousness, with impersonal characteristics that are in advance of those of any other people. It has had a longer national life on modern democratic lines than other Western nations, and has learned that it does not pay to deal unfairly with other races and nations. This is the origin of whatever sense of "international morality" British people possess. They have learned the latter by their mistakes, by experiences in which, it must be said, "fair-play" was not always the motive. Their experiences have been constantly modified by outside influences. Trade in this country has always been dependent on exportation and importation, and the manufacturers, agriculturalists and traders have fought generation after generation for the liberties of the people against restrictions, and won their battles because the prestige of Great Britain could not be maintained if the people were discouraged and curtailed in their freedom.

The powers of initiative, developed by a wide and varied experience,

stimulated the demand for the rights of the individual. These experiences, gained in the struggle for freedom during the centuries, have disciplined many individuals, and taught them to use their freedom more or less impersonally. When a person is disciplined he is free, he has become impersonal in a universal sense and freed from the narrowness of personal bias. This sort of freedom, earned by experience, not granted by others, has in it a refreshing sense of humour, of proportion and perspective, and is far different from the false idea of freedom which demands *laissez-faire* for personal preferences and desires.

It is a very narrow interpretation of the British idea of civilization to say, as some do, that the British Empire grew up because in our schools and colleges emphasis has been laid on the necessity for acting according to one's conscience. A "conscience" may be a most finicky, personal and superior affair. It is truer to say that the experiences of the race have revealed to the people certain Principles inherent in all men, and thus an atmosphere has been created which has permeated all institutions to some extent and inspired the higher types to exercise tolerance for the convictions of others. Religious liberty and self-government have thus sustained individual initiative, and produced developed individuals in all parts of the Empire who are able to recognize intellectually the universality of these Principles and to unite under them and fight for them.

The British idea of civilization has never been tied up in a formula; we have an unwritten "constitution." This ensures the future, if we have faith in ourselves, if we are willing to think seriously, and if we retain the imagination which Britons above all others have exhibited in their political history and in their scientific discoveries and inventions. The Germans have been industrious in their application and extension of scientific laws and discoveries. But the imagination of Britons has penetrated to Prin-

ciples, and British scientists have made the most fundamental discoveries of the last one hundred years or so, and have enunciated the philosophical generalizations that have dominated the thought of the past century.

A review of history is of value, however, only in so far as we see in it the realization or temporary defeat of Principles. We can find no model in the past for the future. The future grows out of the past and the present, but it is a *growth* according to certain inexorable laws which we may understand and use. We must make our own model. If the British Nation with the British Empire is to maintain its ascendancy, if it is to realize its destiny in leading the world to a further understanding of Human Life, the people must study the laws underlying individual and national life; they must hold resolutely to these principles, and continue the work which may terminate in due time in the creation of a world-civilization. Such may be the Destiny of Great Britain. The moment is decisive; but if Britons fail in understanding at this critical time, the British Empire will go the way of many past civilizations, and the work that has been already accomplished will have to be gone through again, perhaps in other lands by other peoples.

The principles which we may use in constructing the model of our future civilization are discussed in the succeeding chapters, and a plan which will utilize the energies of all classes of the people in the building of a strong, healthy nation is briefly outlined in the concluding chapter.

The Equilibrium of Society

IN the abundance of literature on Sociology, in the prolific pamphleteering on war-economics, one may find enumerated many causes for our social mal-adjustments, and many cures each of which is the "cure-all." The interesting feature of this is that every system and plan expounded by modern sociologists and economists has been in operation at some previous period in the world's history, and none of them has ever proved to be a permanent panacea for restless human beings. Democracies, Republics, Monarchies we are all familiar with in the history of Europe. Even "State Socialism" has taken many forms; the Roman Empire was conducted upon a system which was in fact a kind of state socialism. China in ancient times was a completely organized state whose officials regulated the life of the Chinese people into their remote parishes. Germany is the best modern example of state socialism; it is, however, often termed an Autocracy, an anomalous *finalé* of a mechanically organized state.

"Democratic Control" is a new phrase, but it is also an ancient aspiration; it has been tried many times, and in Asiatic history it was the undoing of many civilizations. The migrations from one continent to another and to a different part of a continent were additional evidences of the desire of the

people to control their own destinies. The history of Greece and of Rome reveal many popular risings and several experiments in democratic control of government. More recently, France has shown the "people" trying their hands at righting things. Nevertheless, true liberty, equality, fraternity are not realized in France to-day in a greater degree than in many other countries.

"Guild Socialism" is another social formula advocated by some thinkers in England to-day. But it appears that India under its thoroughly organized caste system had what might be called a form of guild socialism.¹ During the Middle Ages industry was carried on by guilds of craftsmen in Europe and in England. Various reasons are given for their decay, but the inevitable urge of Bergson's *élan vital* may have had something to do with it. Certain it is that evolution is too creative to allow one good custom to corrupt the world for long!

Now the probable truth of the matter is that every form of government is ideal in its conception. We can imagine an ideal Autocracy, at the head of which is a monarch so wise that absolutism is safe in his care; he chooses wise ministers to manage the affairs of the nation, and the interests of all are preserved.

We can imagine a perfect Caste or Guild System, in which each guild has its function and every member of the different guilds realizes his place in the whole scheme, which works together for the good of all.²

We can imagine a Republic of States so beautifully balanced within themselves that there is no friction between the parts; where each Republican exercises his highest capacities without partisan disturbances, and none

¹See "What has India contributed to Human Welfare?" by Dr. Coomaraswamy, the Supplement to *The Athenaeum*, October 2, 1915.

²This system is well thought out and presented in *National Guilds*, edited by A. R. Orage.

is for his party but each one for the state.

Ideal Democracies we have also dreamed of, though, perhaps, with less confidence. The prophets, apostles and leaders of the people have been many during the last one hundred and fifty years all over the world. They have conceived of an ideal humanity, of a race of men so developed that with complete self-consciousness and understanding they could "govern themselves" by choosing their own administrators from amongst themselves; a race of men wise enough to know that they themselves constitute the state and are individually responsible for the form of government under which they live; in a word, "government of the people, by the people, for the people."

There were such idealists in America toward the end of the eighteenth century who drew up the Constitution of the United States of America and declared that "all men are born free and equal." There were such idealists in France who fervently sought to establish an ideal Democracy on the basis of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. In England *The Rights of Man*³ were ideally expounded by Thomas Paine. Later, Italian patriots rallied round Mazzini to free Italy and to establish an Association of the People.⁴ During the same period revolutions in other countries, notably Russia, sought to give Democracy expression.

History, however far back we go, reveals man as an idealist. He feels the Hero potential in the race. Hence all his experiments at creating a perfect social organism. He repeats the same idea in many forms and never tires in making new attempts to establish his ideal on earth.

³Now published in "Everyman's Library."

⁴See *The Duties of Man*, also in "Everyman's Library." Mazzini disavowed individualism as preached by Thomas Paine and the French Revolutionists. But his idea of Associations for Mutual Service was possible only after the awakening brought about by the individualistic propaganda. Strong associations require strong individuals.

As in their conception, in their ideal forms, all systems of government are perfect, if they were carried out as they are conceived a civilization would result in which justice is accorded to each individual. The form is relatively unimportant if the mental and moral characteristics of each are taken into consideration and different interests are harmonized.

What then is required to bring to expression any ideal social system?

In a perfect absolute Monarchy we presuppose a wise monarch; in a perfect Republic we presuppose wisdom to inhere in the officials of the state; in an ideal Democracy we require the people to be imbued with wisdom. But, *until men are agreed as to what wisdom really is, the world will continue subject to experiments in social institutions.* When they attain to true wisdom the people will peacefully govern themselves, and autocracies, republics and democracies will be found *au fond* to be much the same thing.⁵

Lao-Tze, an ancient Chinese philosopher and friend of kings, said:—

”A free and generous government gives the people a chance to develop.

”When the government is rigid and exacting, the people are cramped and miserable.

”Therefore the wise man says: ‘I will design nothing, and the people will shape themselves.’

”The wise man is full of rectitude, but he does not chip and carve at other people.

”The difficulty in governing the people is in having too much policy.

”The state should be governed as we cook fish, without much business.

”The man who commands well is not imperious.”

⁵*The New York Evening Post* reported recently a conversation with a prominent Chinese business man, who said that it was a matter of indifference whether China were a Republic or a Monarchy. What was essential for the progress of that country was that it should not be subject to frequent changes of Government officials. These revolutions were engineered by office-seekers, and the turmoil of transition from one government to another is distinctly disturbing to industry and the interests of the country.

If the democracy should ever attain this ideal, nations would be well under either an imperial or democratic form of government. But that which is necessary under either or any system is Intelligence, and any process must be desirable that will develop this. In order to be effective, wise "rulers" must be recognized as wise by the people, and this recognition implies wisdom and intelligence on the part of the democracy. What then, finally, would be the difference between an ideal Autocracy and an ideal Republic?

In the meantime, however, the essential thing for any progressive state, whatever the system of government, is an increasing attainment of Intelligence. That power, position or money do not contribute to Intelligence is evident by the state of civilization to-day. Idlers, spendthrifts, ambitious office-holders and greedy "commercialists" are found in all classes as wealth increases, and they do not illustrate Intelligence, rather they exhibit those personal passions inevitable in the process of the development of individuality. It is only by means of experience, under the action of the law of equilibrium, or cause and effect (the Nemesis of the Greeks), that individuals will gradually attain Intelligence.

There is really something *naïve* in the confidence with which different writers advocate State Socialism, Democratic Socialism, Liberal Socialism, Guild Socialism, a Union of Democratic Control, etc., as systems to be applied for the remedy of the glaring evils brought about by the "Individualism" which, during the last one hundred years or so, has stimulated the development of Intelligence in various classes in all countries. For the imposition of any system will not *in itself* increase Intelligence. Social systems, no matter how perfect in conception, must be directed by admittedly imperfect human beings; and an organization as perfect as the solar system could be wrecked by unintelligent men.

"To perceive things in the germ is intelligence," said Lao-Tze. "All

difficult things have their origins in those that are 'easy,' and great things in what are 'small.'"

"Things in the germ" are the fundamental laws of existence, the Principles in which we live and move and have our being. The germ is "the seething principle," that "well-kept latent germ, the Centre," around and about which men and their nations and states rise and fall and rise again.

Man's search for the fundamental law of existence springs from his very constitution. His faculties, his reason and intuition, suggest to him an Ideal for human society, because all civilizations he has known have fallen short of that perfect balance which he seeks in his many experiments, and which he sees adjusted so nicely in those regions of the universe over which he has no direct jurisdiction. The solar system, the earth's nights and days and seasons, the action and reaction of the chemical elements, the growth of cells, the propagation of species, the behaviour of heat, light, electricity, etc., all apparently are grounded in Intelligence, and act in 'the nature of things according to laws that are so and could not be otherwise.

Chemical, mineral, plant and animal life all exist as rhythmic expressions of these laws. Man, however, has attained to a certain degree of self-consciousness, and, ages ago, repudiated the semi-conscious existence of organisms, which, however perfectly adjusted in function, could not express his desire for self-conscious, responsible existence. Therefore he undertook to *consciously* form a society consisting of human relationships that depend on individual initiative. Thus man is responsible for his civilizations.

Now Democracy in its real modern meaning signifies the general awakening of men to a sense of personal responsibility to Society and for its administration. And this intensive feeling for life has furnished the material out of which the big modern States of Europe and America have been built. The imaginations of the people were fired by the conception of a

United States of America, of a United Italy, a Greater Germany, a British Empire! If the people had not been interested no co-ordination of states could have been accomplished. But that the people themselves constitute the state has not yet been realized by them to any serious extent in any country. They still look upon the state as something separate and external; in some cases, as something superior to them, though constituted of officials like unto themselves. Therefore it comes to this, that every people has the government suited to its understanding, and the world as a whole is regulated pretty much according to the average intelligence of men.

Each nation is distinctly individual and has its own temperament and ideals, although the wise men of every age and race have all seen the same Principles latent in humanity, and have all made the same fundamental statements regarding man's nature and destiny. And the different types and temperaments of nations have given opportunity to discover these Principles in operation under various guises.

But the wise men have been few, barely sufficient to keep alive from age to age the memory of what humanity is seeking. The dreams of idealists have never yet been realized on earth because their expression required the acquiescence and understanding of more people than have yet attained to this Intelligence. The laws and social institutions of each nation express approximately the average outlook, bias and development of the people of the country. Tradition grows up in this way, and a nation gradually becomes fixed in its ideas until in time its laws and customs are petrified, decay sets in, and only the skeleton of a nation remains. The reason for a periodical change of system is therefore evident. Circulation is *a sine qua non* of Life,⁶ and so even the long - established caste system of India is disintegrating. At one time Peru contained a highly-developed race, of which there is nothing

⁶The Study of Science indicates this.

now but "remains." In North America there was a marvellous civilization ages before it was "discovered" by Europe to be inhabited by Indians, the decadent remains of a former splendid race. Egypt was the scene of many a rise and decline of civilization where scientific knowledge was greater in some respects than ours.

The forms of "matter" are not eternal; all are subject to change, and for this reason no civilization can be retained permanently in a given system. Its life escapes. In general the most advanced types of human beings are found in the newer nations.

Internationalism, however, presents a factor that appears to be new in the history of the world. Through it a Principle seems to be emerging which may contain a clue to the mystery of human evolution; it may suggest a means by which mankind may in time be preserved from the constant actions and reactions of past history, and all nations may then advance together.

The circulation which is essential to virility may find its channels in exchange between nations. This internationalism has always existed in the realm of ideas, in Philosophy; for the best philosophy that has remained to us from all ages and races is fundamentally the same. In Science this internationalism has also been developed; its laws in every branch are found to be the same in whatever country they are studied. Commerce is the means by which exchange between nations has been effected on physical levels. But the methods of exchange are conditioned by the philosophy which each nation has accepted or evolved. The thoughts of a people take form in their social institutions, in their trade regulations and agreements, in their fiscal systems, etc. Whatever be their philosophical doctrines as accepted by the average intelligence, these are seen expressed in their manners and customs and laws.

It is therefore evident that international Philosophy and Science, and even the study of Comparative Religions, have not been carried far enough yet to secure a working basis for physical or geographical internationalism.

The philosophy of Free Trade between all nations is sound and based on fundamental principles, for open ports the world over would secure the circulation necessary to prevent stagnation, and the natural laws of supply and demand would adjust balances. But Free Trade will not become a fact in the world until the nations are really *thinking internationally*.

As fiscal policies, both Free Trade and Protection have their sincere adherents who seek to find a method for the adjustment of the various factors in society both intra-and international. The problem of supply and demand is at bottom the same as that of the balance of power in politics, the problem of resistance in physics and electricity, etc. All sciences and arts when they come to be applied must satisfy this law of balance if the result be satisfactory.

As indicated previously in this chapter, this is the problem men have to solve before civilization can express that harmony apparent in all realms of nature not controlled by man. In Science and Art it is never solved by imposing on materials or forces a *theory* which a scientist or artist would personally like to prove; the solution depends always on the discovery and application of the law which expresses in that particular science or art the universal Principle of Equilibrium or Balance.

This Principle seeks expression everywhere, and men suffer individually whenever it is violated in personal relationships, in business, social or class dealings. Indeed, the different parts of the nature of one man may be out of harmony and clash with one another so as to lead to disharmony also in his outer relationships.

The problem, then, for men is infinitely complex; it begins with each

single man and ends only with the vast issues of international life. Is the truism not true then that "The proper study of mankind is Man"? The intelligence to which the average man has attained, his power of poise and balance, is the measure of the stature of nations and of the world. Many men have learned to think nationally in the personal sense, as many others think personally of their own class or individual interests as against others. But as the latter tendency will not build up a coherent nation among a people, neither will thoughts of national domination on the part of single nations develop an international or world civilization.

No nation has yet attained true equilibrium within itself, nor can this be said except of a comparatively few individual men. No man and no nation can accomplish such a task independently of others. The progress of even the most advanced ones is limited by the condition of the whole. Each nation must first seek to balance conditions within itself and with others; and this involves, *pari passu*, the recognition of the necessity for others to do the same, and for each to take what steps are necessary for self-protection and development.

The Philosophy of Co-operation

IN our modern admiration for "organization" and "scientific management" we emphasize the superficial aspect and discount the essential. There are certain laws which must be fulfilled in the building of any organism, whether constructed by Man or by nature. They are not laws relating merely to the external adjustment of parts as in the making of a machine; they are rather Principles which inhere in all that lives.

Creative force is focussed and expressed through individuals. In every realm of nature individualism is a basic factor, but the functions of individuals are exerted and observed only in co-operation with other individuals.

All organisms consist of smaller organisms one within the other, each exercising its special function. We cannot, for instance, dispute the individual characteristics of the minerals which compose the earth; the individuality of the chemical elements has been established by science, and the atomic value and reactionary characteristics of each element are distinct; the individuality of crystals, flowers, trees, etc., depends on the cellular combinations which, when altered, produce a different result; the functions of the eye, the ear, the olfactory and gustatory organs, the functions of the internal organs and of the skin of any animal are distinct, and all are necessary to the indi-

vidual animal. The activity of the tiny cells in a man's body are necessary to his existence as an individual man. In fact, the whole earth, the field of activity for many races of men, is maintained by countless individual exertions.

In addition to the co-operation of individuals within their own realm or "class," each realm co-operates with other realms *without losing its distinctive characteristics*. This is evident in the chemical exchange between plant life and animal life, between plant life and mineral life. The existence of the human race is secured by the existence of the other "kingdoms" on the earth and in the air. And the more highly developed and individualized a community or nation becomes, the greater is its knowledge and use of the resources of nature and of the different classes among its people. A great nation rests on the co-operative activity of all its members. In nature this co-operation is a spontaneous operation of the law, but when men attempt to copy organisms of nature the result is a machine driven by external force, which in the end either drives the mechanism to destruction or exhausts its power to move a machine that has become too large and unwieldy. The inner vitality in a natural organism is its source of power. An organization that has been formed by external force and compulsion sooner or later either becomes mechanical and loses its vitality, or meets destruction by overreaching itself. The former result has indeed overtaken some of the industries in the gigantic Trusts in America, and the latter is being illustrated before our eyes in the self-destruction which the great industries of Germany have apparently brought upon themselves. In any successful organization the principle of individuality cannot be suppressed, and if England were to forget the function of individual freedom, now so strikingly illustrated in the British Empire, the Empire would soon become dismembered.

Organization is a wonderful fact of life, and we have really underrated its infinite possibilities; but when man undertakes to operate with energy he will always overreach himself unless he follow the same Principles by which nature organizes. The Germans are "materialistic" because they have not perceived the *meaning* of the very scientific facts on which they placed such confidence and reliance. Spontaneity, freedom, individuality (organic characteristics in nature), they have ignored in an overwhelming greed—"a national ideal"—and Germany as a tremendous machine has "warped past the aim," for assuredly the aim of any race or nation is not at heart to create a mere machine and to change Life into a mechanism. "Government," says President Woodrow Wilson, "is not a machine, but a living thing. It is modified by its environment, necessitated by its tasks, shaped to its function by the sheer pressure of life. No living thing can have its organs offset against each other, as checks, and live. On the contrary, its life is dependent upon their quick co-operation, their ready response to the commands of instinct or intelligence, their amicable community of purpose. Government is not a body of blind forces; it is a body of men with highly differentiated functions, in our modern day of specialization, with a common task and purpose. Their co-operation is indispensable, their warfare fatal. There can be no successful government without the intimate, instructive co-ordination of the organs of life and action. This is not theory, but fact, and displays its force as fact, whatever theories may be thrown across its track. Society is a living organism and must obey the laws of life; it must develop."¹

It is very apparent to-day that there are laws governing the use of energy which we do not understand, for without much imagination we can conceive of wiser, saner uses of energy than the present European embroglio involves.

¹ *The New Freedom*, Woodrow Wilson.

This war has been forced on Europe by a nation which had very thoroughly organized the energy of its people, but with what object?

The recognition of the "rights" of individual States is, we know, one of the objects of the Allies, and international relations will never be secure until the interdependence of the smaller on the larger and on each other, and of the larger on the smaller, is understood. It is only the perverted passions of men and their ambitions for power which would hasten nature's processes in one direction at the expense of another, and therefore to the detriment of the whole. No nation can live unto itself alone; the day has dawned to prove this, and no nation will live who tries to do it; each nation must come into the scheme of things if it would save its soul. The basic falseness, superficiality and suicidal direction of modern Germanic methods of thought are quite self-evident.

"The survival of the fit" does not mean that one dominates over others, but that certain forms are suited for certain functions for which their constituent elements fit them. Several scientists have demonstrated that the forces of evolution involve the principle of co-operation as well as that of individuality. Kropotkin² traced the evidences of the operation of this principle through lower forms of life, and gave the results of his own observations of animal life in the wild, as well as of many other scientists, to prove that birds and animals of the same species, and often of several species, co-operate to protect themselves against untoward circumstances of nature. The same he found true in all forms of primitive life and in the evolution of later communities, as well as of the kingdoms of Europe during the Middle Ages.

At the end of the eighteenth century Immanuel Kant looked out over the States of Europe and declared that their egoistic tendencies, if per-

²*Mutual Aid*, P. Kropotkin.

sisted in, would perpetuate war, which in the end might destroy the whole civilization of Europe. He compared these nations to individuals who, in their struggles for domination, were violating the "cosmopolitan law" of co-operation by which they had reached the stature of a state. He said: "The law of the preservation of nations shall be based on a FEDERATION OF FREE STATES."³ And though he wrote over one hundred years ago, he thought he saw the human race already carding threads by which the world would be eventually knit into a many-coloured fabric. He stated it as though it had even then come to pass: "The intercourse, more or less close, which has been everywhere steadily increasing between the nations of the earth, has now extended so enormously that violation of right in one part of the world is felt all over it." Kant, the greatest philosopher of European birth, of whom the Germans are proud, believed, indeed, in co-operation, but not as his countrymen have interpreted it.⁴

Industry is also an organism subject to the laws of life, and the interdependence of the parts on each other and on the whole is not incompatible with the individuality, freedom and spontaneity of the component parts. On the contrary, such a combination of principles should be the basis of true commercial co-operation.

In its broadest sense, Industry is the root of any nation's life; on it depend all other activities of the people. In its various operations arise all the psychological, scientific, technical, and even ethical problems of men, and therefore it is that to-day the two fundamental principles of evolution

³*Perpetual Peace*, Immanuel Kant.

⁴In this connection the following from Wilhelm von Humboldt, about 1836, is also interesting: "If we would indicate an idea which throughout the whole course of history has ever more and more widely extended its empire—it is that of establishing our common humanity—of striving to remove the barriers which prejudice and limited views of every kind have erected amongst men, and to treat all mankind without reference to religion, nation, or colour, as one fraternity, one great community, fitted for the attainment of one object, the unrestrained development of the psychical powers."

are challenging attention in the methods of industrial administration. In natural organisms Individuality and Co-operation are as exactly adjusted as the most delicate balance, but in most organizations of men one is always threatening the other, because it is not recognized that co-operation is necessary to give value to individual efforts. The co-operation of the heart and lungs and of all the other organs is the *sine qua non* of a healthy man, and only those men survive whose organs are fit for their functions. This is nature's criterion of competition, a competition for *quality* which alone ensures and preserves individuality.

Now the individual characteristics of the elements and organisms of nature arise apparently *without self-consciousness on the part of the forms which express these distinctions*. This is because intelligence resides in the Principles which construct the forms, and not in the forms *per se*, for construction is a process of the Mind.

Man is a self-conscious, intelligent being, and belongs to the Mind Kingdom. Therefore it is possible for him to work intelligently with nature through his powers of *understanding*. All that Man has accomplished, all the achievements of his civilizations, are due to the union of Man's Mind with the Principles of existence. He *recognizes* the laws of mathematics, the laws of gravity, of heat and light, the laws of energy, resistance and polarity, etc., and builds and constructs accordingly.

In the investigations of modern science this Science of Principles is often apt to become obscured by the accumulation of facts. In the realm of politics and economics (so-called sciences) this is especially true. The tendency is to collect facts, and to argue from a limited knowledge both as to the number of facts and the period covered. Statistics in this complex world are seldom complete, and they are interpreted, usually, in ignorance of the many unknown factors in the situation or with a desire to prove a theory

or to impose a system on Society. But facts are not causes; we cannot understand facts or conditions until we know their origin. If we discover the cause we may be able to alter conditions.

It is evident that the union of Man's Mind with the creative Principles is far from complete. In industrial and social affairs we have not yet thought deeply enough. We have observed both competition and organization active in nature, but the secret of their regulation in our own affairs we do not know. We have discovered in the commercial world (1) that unfettered competition means ruinous reduction of prices *and consequent deterioration in quality*, and (2) that quality is lowered also when corporate control becomes so strong as to completely minimize individual enterprise. In both cases quality suffers, and there is no "survival of the fit"; large concerns then lose equally with the small in international competition. Thus individuality and cooperation appear to neutralize themselves at certain stages in industrial and social affairs, and to lose their mutual creative functions which in nature are exercised spontaneously.

What, then, is defective in our social and industrial experiments? Evidently it is a defect that keeps us living under the cycles of reaction in business and political affairs, and it is due to our *partial* interpretation of the law of co-operation. It is one-sided and artificial. We have not learned yet how to provide for individual expression in cooperative enterprises. This is admitted to be the most difficult problem in social history, but society will never be free from cataclysms and reactions until the solution is found.

Since men have the power of choice by reason of the kingdom to which they belong, the secret of balance lies not only in the *recognition* of the Principles involved but in their voluntary adoption by men. Voluntary Co-operation has its impulse from within, therefore it is not mechanical; by becoming *intelligent co-operators* men do not repudiate their own kingdom,

Mind, and the spontaneity of nature in their world is ensured. This principle of the voluntary co-operation of individuals has not yet been tested to any appreciable extent, because men refuse to co-operate even when they have the intelligence to recognize the value and validity of the principle. They find it quite interesting to read about co-operation as a scientific fact, and do not deny it; they are aware that, consciously or not, each class lives in dependence on every other class, and that any man's remuneration and rewards should be commensurate with the forces he employs and the needs he supplies. Still, they fear to relinquish something if they should boldly step out and say: Let us consciously cooperate together for the good of Society. The "good" is vague, the present personal "profits," whether large or small, are more or less secure. But from these "profits" in industry come the donations that support hospitals, asylums, sanitoriums, institutions of science, etc., a clear indication of the responsibility which the unconscious co-operators feel for social welfare and advance.

A clearer indication of this undoubted concern for society is the organization of Conference Boards of Employers' Associations to cooperate in plans for the welfare of employees and to encourage scientific invention. This may of course be interpreted as a measure of self-interest, undertaken with an eye to larger profits. But it does not vitiate the fact that co-operation is thus recognized to be an essential fact of existence. A man, or a firm of large interests, may stand out against co-operation and declare that he sees no advantage in it, because he does not wish to give others the advantage of his co-operation. And he will not voluntarily adopt it until he sees that *his* advantage is tied up with the advantages of others, until he really learns somehow or other that the interest of others *is actually also his interest*. *It is not possible to get beyond self-interest*; what is possible is an enlargement of intelligence to perceive how extensive self-interest really

is. Petty, personal self-interest learns expansion through experience. In its narrow, self-seeking aspect it is revolting to intelligent persons, and is as ugly as an ostrich with its head buried in the sand. But it is a stage in the process by which we all evolve.

In considering the present state of industrial and social development in relation to this principle of Voluntary Co-operation, it is interesting to note that Great Britain is freer to initiate an experiment in this direction than any other nation. And, in making this statement, the co-operative enterprises already well forward in other countries, especially in agriculture, dairying and housing, are not overlooked. Ireland, Denmark, France and Siberia furnish actual illustrations of the beneficial results of cooperation to the people concerned and to the community in general. The strongest and most valuable associations, however, are always composed of the strongest individuals. Individualism has held sway for many years in Great Britain; it is characteristic of her institutions and of her industries, with the result that the *quality* of British goods is undisputed. Compulsory, artificial combines had the opposite effect in the United States of America, as, where competition had been eliminated, the quality in many cases deteriorated, and individual initiative and invention greatly decreased.⁵ So much so, indeed, that the immense, unused capacities of the people throughout the country revolted at being held in check, and the result has been the recent antitrust legislation, which aims at removing restrictions from individual opportunities and enterprise.

Races and nations are constituted just as are individual men in that

⁵An instance of the reaction against this is an announcement of a famous electrical firm in a recent well-known American weekly magazine: "For many manufacturers this is the beginning of a period of business aggression, new campaigns are being planned, machinery is being brought up to date. Methods are being modernized. In the past too many concerns have had sales efficiency counteracted by factory deficiency."

nothing apart from experience is of any practical value to them. At crises in a nation's life the statesmen and leaders study the events of the past in their own and in other countries, in order to find the best course along which to guide their people. This material of world-wide experience is available to-day as never before, and the results of our great industrial civilization are ready for the consideration of thoughtful investigators and experimenters. It may be noticed that nations appear to tend either to compulsion or to *laissez-faire*; but there is a middle course which may combine the advantages of both doctrines, provided the people of the country are sufficiently advanced intellectually to understand the reasons underlying it. It is not necessary for Great Britain to react from her doctrine of Individualism and to adopt compulsory, aggressive methods which will, in time, end as disastrously here as they have in other countries. She may be able to understand the problem and to find a way out of the dilemma which is really a vicious circle of action and reaction.

Men too readily adopt a policy of reaction when difficulties arise. It is the easiest thing to do at the moment; the dispassionate study of the course of history in different nations for even a period of one hundred years requires thought, concentration, and a disinterested desire to learn the meaning of human evolution. It is easier by far to say, "Oh, things appear to be in a muddle, something must be wrong, let us change our policy," than to stop and consider whether it is *our* policy that has created the muddle or the policy of other nations. It might even be that our policy has preserved any coherence that remains, and that to extend it would provide a new opportunity for social evolution and give a new direction to our efforts. But we do not study policies in the light of Principles, we use them rather as expedients, as temporary attempts to adjust things, and under them we can live only from hand to mouth, so to speak. It would be difficult to

imagine the Universe changing its policy every fifty years or so and adopting expediency instead of the laws of Reason and Intelligence to carry on its work! Men must adjust their policies to these laws before a successful social structure can be built. This will require understanding, imagination and faith. But it may "save the people from their sins," *i.e.* it may prevent reaction and provoke creation. What is there new in any proposal or plan on foot to-day? One feels like Solomon even though we live in our "great Western civilization." There is, indeed, nothing new *under* the sun! Politics are stale; tariff discussions are threadbare; "Capital" and "Labour" hold their same old ideas. When shall we see through all these veils and penetrate to the real issues, the vital causes of conditions? Like automatons, all go on with the game, bored often to terrible dullness, and we wonder *why* catastrophes happen and why we are so helpless.

The only escape from dullness is creative work. But creation is always epigenetic; it is not a rearrangement of materials; it begins at the *source* of life, from whence flow all ideas. In men the source is Intelligence. If we had sufficient of this we should set to work to understand its laws and to put them into operation. We should clear the decks of prejudices and dry bones of the past, and meet together to devise ways and means to further social development and the high ideals of our race.

We cling to individualistic formulas and, therefore, the contact of men throughout the range of their religious, philosophical, artistic, and economic relations still remains nothing but the sum total of countless individual experiments, the haphazard, ever-changing meetings and partings of the blind.

Who can predict the results of Voluntary Co-operation? When a new idea is let loose on the planet, no one can say what will be its "appropriate and characteristic form." Certain it is that size, mere bigness, is not

per se the characteristic of equipment required for the future. The essence of Voluntary Co-operation is in its Quality, not entirely in the number of co-operating individuals. To-day we are stirred by the wonders and ramifications of commerce circulating round the whole globe. All the world is before us where to choose, and we become hypnotized by "size." Big empires, big kartells, big territories—bulk, in a word, has deceived the Germans. The British Empire is big in extent, it is true, but once bigness became its essential characteristic it would surely decline. It is not its size, nor any large trusts, nor corporations which constitute it an Empire, as is now clear; nor is it held together merely by commercial compacts and trade agreements, valuable as these may be. It is united by trust, but not a Trust. The vitality and energy of millions of people of diverse races and national ideals constitute the British Empire, and they remain part of the Empire *voluntarily* to support the principles of Freedom and Self-government. This is the greatest Cooperative Association in history, a voluntary union for a principle. But the principles of the German Empire practically stand condemned to-day before the whole world.

World-wide commerce as it now exists enforces the fact that the world is a unit, and war is suicidal to this unity. The unity of the world depends on the unity of nations, and the unity of each nation on that of its component parts. All unity is maintained by intelligent co-operation; blind, brute-like egoistic aggression cannot sustain any association of men for long.

The Competition for Quality

AN inherent characteristic of the human race is its tendency to reaction. It was pointed out in the previous chapter that we frequently seek to improve conditions by repudiating ideas which have assisted evolution in the past, and adopt unthinkingly what appears an opposite idea. We oscillate between two poles, living first on one side of the circle and then on the other. But we never leave the sphere—we never can in the nature of things. The pendulum may swing to one circumference, but it is attached to a Centre which holds it within the sphere, and, inevitably, the pendulum swings back.

Nature is dual in whatever she attempts. Every idea is a sphere of which man sees usually only one aspect, and forgets its complementary side. No human theory nor conception is true without its complementary. All ideas exist in pairs. These "pairs of opposites" are fundamental to existence, and through them we experience and attain individuality by exercising discrimination. We should not know darkness without light," nor light without darkness; we should never think of peace if we had not known war, and peace would have no significance if war had never prevailed. Beauty is such by contrast with ugliness, wealth by contrast with poverty, strength

by opposition to weakness.

Any idea is dangerous to human progress when it is unduly emphasized and its complementary ignored. Religious ideas are fatal if they become fanatical, and emotion obscures thought. Scientific knowledge may menace Society if it repudiate emotional obligations. Art loses its power if it ignore scientific principles and religious values. Political policies lead nations to destruction if they are framed in the interest of one class in the country. Commercial theories bring ruin if they are either excessively co-operative or individualistic in practice.

Co-operation is a dangerous idea if it is urged as a mechanical conception without consideration of its complete significance, which includes individuality and competition. We are satisfied too readily with a half-truth, and we have spent many generations in experimenting first with one half of an idea and then with the other half. If we could conceive of mankind as a sphere, of Society as a whole consisting of complementary units, we should reconcile more easily doctrine and life. A false doctrine, a half-truth will produce a distorted materialization; it is imperfect in its conception, and its expression as a fact will be imperfect. A one-sided view of co-operation and organization has produced a degenerate amongst the nations. Monstrosities are born when nature's laws are violated.

Men are the individuals in Society, not states; when individuals are subservient to a state, they have abandoned their individuality to other individuals who administer the state; state-control is bureaucratic control. At the present stage of evolution these offices in autocratic countries are sought by personally ambitious men, by self-seeking individuals who misinterpret Co-operation and use it as a system to further personal ends. The higher types of individuals are not in evidence in the councils of a nation, the aims of whose statesmen are materialistic; only in nations where the

people seek freedom for individual development is there intelligent appreciation of statesmen whose ideals are measured by Principles and not in terms of possessions.

In the brief exposition of the Philosophy of Co-operation it was found necessary to take account of individuality as a basic fact of existence. The world would disappear if individuals ceased to express themselves. The distinguishing qualities of the various orders of existence define their individuality. Humanity is one of these orders, and has a distinctive property which differentiates it from other orders, viz. the Mind. But men also vary amongst themselves; each is individual as, by reason of *self-consciousness*, the experience of each is peculiarly his own, and produces a character whose qualities are different from those of every other man. The higher the type the more differentiated the man, the more distinct are his individual qualities. How, then, are these qualities developed and preserved? Competition is the law in operation to this end, every one defines and develops his individuality by association and experience with others. Each competes to preserve his quality. But cooperation underlies competition; *the latter is possible only because others are competing to preserve their qualities.*

Competition is the action and interaction of individuals. It does not seek the extinction of others, because in the nature of things such a process could not be maintained; individuals would tend to annihilate one another if there were no realization at all of mutual dependence. To compete is "to vie *with* another in a *quality*," "to strive *with* another in doing." This is the "survival of the fit" : the essential conditions of existence force individuals to seek fitness or quality. The best survivor is the best co-operator, because by mutual competition he has developed a strong individuality. A weak individual cannot successfully cooperate with his kind because he has not developed the qualities of his kind. A cell that cannot fulfil its function in

any part of the body is replaced by others, because it lacks the qualifications which constitute it a cell in that particular place.

Individuality has been more thoroughly liberated in Great Britain than in any other country in the world. The "rights" of individuals have been fought for and protected. But it must be admitted that it is not fully understood because we have not yet realized how it is supported and completed by Co-operation. The test of our understanding of this Principle may be still before us. Reactionaries may swing us back too far, for without intelligent comprehension of the forces and energies in man we may be led into time-worn experiments of state-socialism, and lose all that we have gained.

Co-operation is meaningless and loses its vitality unless it is entered into *voluntarily* by strong individuals who co-operate according to a method that safeguards individuality and the progress of the race.

Competition is a word used very loosely in its commercial connotations. That "competition is the life of trade" is a truism that would seem to go without saying, and yet in its ready acceptance many modern competitors interpret it superficially. The real competition in business is a struggle for fitness, not a price-cutting contest.

The old-established houses are those that have a reputation for trading in reliable goods. Concerns which cater for cheap trade are always more or less ephemeral, for the simple reason that the buyers of cheap commodities are seldom well-established, and their existence is precarious. There is always, it is true, a large demand by short-sighted people for inferior goods, but this is a custom that must be constantly sought, for it is fickle and uncertain, and the *personnel* of the retailers is constantly changing. The margin of profit on cheap goods is necessarily small, because of the price-cutting, and, therefore, few firms who deal in such goods survive long, and these have associated with them the undesirable reputation of underpaying

their staff. The best that can be said of them is that they give employment to workmen whose qualifications are not suitable for higher grades of work.

There are certainly all sorts of tastes to be catered for in society; but there is a growing class of custom which demands Quality, and which increases as civilization improves and progresses. "Like attracts like" in every aspect of life, and people who demand superior quality are attracted to those who deal in goods of such quality. The educated classes, the experienced manufacturers and business men know that the best article is, in the end, the cheapest. They demand good goods, not only because they wear longest, but because, while serving well, they give satisfaction to all the requirements of intelligent persons. There are a growing number who abhor anything cheap and shoddy in their environment, whether in the home, the office or factory. And this is the class who build for permanence, who accumulate resources, and who may be depended upon as regular customers of high-grade articles. The little tradesman without resources is the customer of those who manufacture and deal in cheap wares.

Quality indicates improvement; cheapness spells deterioration. It is clear that the law underlying the operations of commerce is the same law that rules all other human affairs. Men finally reject the bad for the good; only the best endures, whether in literature or art, in political policies or business methods, in buildings or machinery. And the same "inexorable price" has always to be paid for their production. It is by "the sweat of the brow" metaphorically and actually that anything worth while is created. High-grade workers and thinkers and organizers must live in a manner to assist their work; good materials must be paid for. Happily for our civilization there are always those who are willing to pay; the price for the sake of results. If all the world wanted inferior things—the cheapest that could be got—we should be in a sorry, way; we should quickly come to a low

level of life and exterminate one another in our fight to produce and obtain necessities at lowest cost.

If this had been the order of society and the sole impulse of men, social institutions and nations would never have grown up; invention would never have had an opportunity; reserves of capital would never have been accumulated—in a word, Thought would have been non-existent. Thus the permanence of life is secured by the pursuit of Quality.

Science has demonstrated that the operations of nature are essentially intelligent. Life proceeds with intelligence wherever it is not baulked by the pseudo-intelligent actions of men. Now the measure of this Intelligence in life is Quality, not quantity. The most intelligent and therefore the most permanently successful men in business and in all human affairs are those who set up the standard of Quality and never lower it, who never compromise to meet inferior demands.

If we ignore the class whose intelligence demands superior quality we are enemies of progress and enlightenment. We owe what is best in society to-day to those who have persistently followed this standard, and on them we also depend for improvement and betterment and enlargement of life in the future. Cut-throat competition is a perversion of the laws of life due to incomplete understanding, and, as we said before, is suicidal in its result. We do not find this method anywhere in nature, and when men or nations adopt it they are tending to annihilation.

The pursuit of science has been inspired by this imagination which sees a better quality of life always before us. All branches of manufacturing have arisen from the desire for better conditions of living, and scientific knowledge has been specifically applied through countless inventions. Manufacturing is the chief commercial activity which has persistently sought the aid of science for the adaptation of means to ends in practical affairs.

As it is impossible to compromise with scientific facts with ultimate success, Quality is, per force, the standard *par excellence* in the manufacturing business. In order to maintain a reputation it is necessary constantly to seek new aids for the improvement of the quality of the goods which a firm manufactures. This is, in truth, the function of science in relation to industry; it assists competition which is the life of trade; it cannot be ignored, as on its data depends the improved quality which every one desires in his productions in order to compete successfully for business.

Science and invention grow apace as men follow the impulses of evolution toward higher standards; and the inventions which have revolutionized society and raised standards of living depend for their successful practical application on the quality of the materials and workmanship used in their construction. To stand the test of experience a new invention of any value requires the best possible form for its expression. No one knows this better than an engineer, on whose work often depends thousands of lives—unless it be a manufacturer who may have succumbed to the temptation to cut his price and so been compelled to use inferior materials—with after results that do not need to be enumerated.

The very laws of nature in their manifestations provide through the "pairs of opposites" for this pursuit of Quality. Our discrimination, our powers of individuality are developed as we exercise our freedom to choose between "good" and "evil." This is the meaning of man's sensuous life; through it he attains the knowledge that what is good is "whole," and this whole for us is relative to our powers of vision; the circumference is infinite. But he who pursues Quality is not swinging at the outer end of a pendulum, viewing first one side and then the other of the sphere. He is *one-pointed*, he is at the Centre, and can see all through and round the globe. He becomes Intelligence, the Sun of the system, *and for him as an intelligent*

being there are no nights and days, no darkness and light—no competition without co-operation. He sees life *as a whole*; he is an *individual*.

The earth is not a cock-pit, neither is it a mechanism. It is a field for the play of Intelligence through men.

The Magic of Industry

WHATEVER ideas any person or group of persons undertakes to execute, Industry, in the broadest sense, must always be relied upon. To properly define Industry it is necessary to understand its relation to the nature of Man. As pointed out in the third chapter, Mankind belongs to the Mind-Kingdom, and he has undertaken to seek "salvation" for himself, therefore it is incumbent upon him to be *industrious*, *i.e.* to work. Labour and Thought jointly constitute work, the means by which all the resources of nature may be made available and useful to Society: the real asset, the underlying resource is, obviously, *human energy*.

Every force is polar; everything is dual and is caused by polarity; there would be no world without polar force. Human energy is no exception to this universal law, and it operates between two "poles"; it flows from the Mind to expression, and back again to the "sphere" of ideas, following a circuit. If the current be interrupted no new ideas are generated, as the contact of the poles is impossible. In such a case work becomes mechanical, and the worker loses interest because the vitality which inspires progress is lacking. Ideas are an evidence of virility, as their sphere is the positive or generating sphere; but there would be no ideas at all if it were not

possible for the current to flow and carry ideas or conceptions into the physical world, and so complete their expression. Conception requires the negative pole "matter" as well as the positive pole "mind." Thus we see the philosophy of work.

Ah little recks the labourer
How near his work is holding him to God,
The loving Labourer through space and time.¹

This "Labourer through space and time" is the Principle of Intelligence which operates by means of polarity, and is known in Man as the Mind. The basis of all Industry is therefore the Mind. Construction is a process of Mind. The animals do not construct; they were constructed. The earth does not construct; it was constructed. Natural organisms are constructed by "nature," but this does not mean that the sun and the earth or the trees and the animals, *as physical facts*, construct. The polar principle behind all these builds the Universe. *Mind constructs*, the Mind hidden in nature and revealed in Man.

I see the constructiveness of my race;
I see the results of the Perseverance and
Industry of my race.²

We are in the habit of dividing the interests and activities of Society into separate sections, and of considering each as independent of the others. In order to prosecute any line of work successfully, it is, of course, necessary for individuals to concentrate in certain directions; but the results of specialization are contributory to the general advance of humanity, and are valuable only so far as they are linked with other kinds of achievements. When any

¹Walt Whitman.

²*Ibid.*

department of human interest becomes merely theoretical or personal and dissociated from social needs, it tends either to atrophy or to degenerate, just as does any person who loses touch with his fellows.

It is indeed possible to imagine a type of man who thoroughly understands the Principles in nature and in Man, but if he offer ideas or schemes which are beyond our comprehension and powers of accomplishment they are rejected by reason of the same law which hinders us travelling to other planets. Our "air-ships" for this are not yet ready; the "matter" must be evolved to correspond with the idea. Science cannot advance faster than men. Therefore science has to keep in sight the needs of Society, and its greatest achievements have been made in the realms of sanitary, medical and technical (and related) sciences, those fields which concern us at the present stage of evolution. The spur to research always has been the desire to improve our environment, to find a better, easier, quicker way to produce, to preserve, to construct, to bring the ends of the earth together; and to divorce science and industry is, in the nature of things, impossible. The history of the development of modern science shows that new inventions are born in logical sequence, one following another as the means to translate the idea into fact are available.

"Nature never provides for man's wants in any direction, bodily, mental or spiritual, in such a form as that he can simply accept her gifts automatically. She puts all the mechanical powers at his disposal—but he must make his lever. She gives him corn, but he must grind it. She elaborates coal, but he must dig for it. Corn is perfect, all the products of nature are perfect, but he has everything to do to them before he can use them. *So with Truth; it is perfect, infallible. But he cannot use it as it stands. He must work, think, separate, dissolve, absorb, digest; and most of these he*

must do for himself and within himself."³

Science is, therefore, one phase of Industry, so also are Art, Philosophy, Literature, Religion and Commerce. Men are industrious in all these spheres because they contribute to the different needs of humanity. That needs are imperfectly and inadequately met is due to insufficient co-ordination and exchange. All these diverse directions of effort are mutually necessary, and Society progresses only as each department of human labour benefits by, and contributes to, the others. When means are lacking for the circulation of energy, when the circuit is broken, then civilization languishes for lack of the vivifying influences of ideas.

Workers in the special fields of Art, Philosophy and Religion have discredited our age as purely scientific and industrial. Society is accused of having become absorbed in the work of material advancement, and, with the advent of machinery, to have discounted Art and Letters. Consequently the relation of the artist, the idealist, the man of letters to Society is frequently unsatisfactory; it is often difficult for him to make a living, and he sometimes complains that there is no place for him to-day, that he is not wanted in this sordid world. The fault is not altogether on either side; both the sordid world and the idealist need to mend their ways, as each is necessary to the other. But Society may be justly accused of not recognizing the function of the idealist. This is indeed the true arraignment of our age. We are materialistic in that we do not recognize the source of all our physical blessings. We do not know that civilization is due to ideas, for we have become engrossed with the *products* of thought and labour to such an extent that stagnation of ideas has resulted. This is the secret of the decline of every civilization that has been created on this planet. Men become hypnotized by their achievements; they cut the circuit, and their

³*Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, Professor Henry Drummond.

course is run!

Material prosperity is not self-sufficient. Modern civilization understands prosperity only on its lowest level. But underneath the striving for material prosperity there is in the hearts of men an Ideal that is expressed as a desire to remove the causes of poverty and war. Our religious aspiration and philosophical vision seek to manifest themselves in an ordered and joyous world; and each level, the spiritual and the physical, holds for the other a great gift—through the one redemption from self-destruction, through the other freedom for self-expression. With this understanding who then may be called the impractical man? The poet who cannot pay for his lodging is not more impractical and insufficient than the manufacturer who cannot prevent strikes or the statesman who cannot avoid war.

It is a truism that the great art is the Art of Life; this, however, involves a knowledge of the laws of energy in evolutionary processes. The resistance of the mass and the potency of energy in relation thereto must be understood; wise adaptation of ways and means to ends is necessary. In other words, skill in action characterizes the Artist in Life. It is clear then that there need be nothing incompatible in industrial and artistic activities. In ancient civilizations, and also during the Middle Ages in Europe, the work of artists was part of industrial activity, and their productions were for social uses and not for museums and art galleries. The invention of machinery is not a sufficient excuse for the desertion of industrial fields by artists, for the craftsmen, to-day designated machinists and technicians, were not usually the artists and designers. When machinery came into use the craftsmen were gradually absorbed into factories, and manufacturers, tempted by speed and an indiscriminating public, have lowered artistic standards by using cheap and ugly designs for most of the products in general use. Mechanics have made the models, accurate from a mechanical

point of view, but usually inappropriate for the surroundings of those who have a sense of the "fitness of things." Scientific invention is an expression of artistic imagination, and the machinery and accessories which embody these inventions should be the combined productions of artists and craftsmen. There are countless ways in which "Art" may be revealed, but latterly it has become identified too much with special kinds of expression; it has become a cult set apart from the life and occupations of humanity. This is because the circuit is broken, with the result that the energy thus dissipated assumes grotesque forms, such as are seen in much of the degenerate art of some modern "artists"; and, on the other hand, industrial products are generally barren of beauty. If the circulation could be restored, "beauty" and "use" would express in combination more of their original creative power.

The power of the creator is shown in his ability to materialize his ideas. The more resistance, the greater the skill required. The strength of the polar energy depends on the resistance of the mass. Creative energy flows cyclicly, impelled by pulsations from within; it recedes on the inward beat of the pulsation, leaving the mass in a state of inertia.

In history thought ebbs and flows in big cycles from within, out, and back again. An age when art and literature are produced and temples of science and religion are built is succeeded by a "dark age," after which the conditions imposed by inertia and resistance afford opportunities for great leaders and actors among men. Without resistance the current could produce no light. Therefore the Artist in Life, or in any special line, requires the resisting elements of sceptical human beings to enable him to bring his work to completion.

Greatness is the favourable inter-relation between psychic force and external conditions. Special powers remain latent in individuals to-day waiting upon the social conditions that are necessary for their manifestation.

But men who undertake tasks in opposition to "the spirit of the age" are denied the advantage of the very leverage which would enable them to prove themselves great.

During a "dark age" effort for social and political ends is relaxed; men have no new ideas to express, and chaos seems to come upon the world as a civilization declines. In such a period of the cycle thought becomes intensified, thinkers are busier than in the period of outer activities, and the greatest philosophies are created. Then, as the circuit flows out again, actors begin to appear to give expression to the ideas generated during the previous age. The ignorance of the mass of the people constitutes the inertia, the resistance essential for the production of Light.

When the returning energy has been discharged into the mass, the dark age again gradually approaches. It is a cycle similar to the seasons. Winter is a period of outer inactivity in nature, but within the activity must be intense, for certain processes are carried on in the mysterious chemical retorts of nature during the winter which prepare the seeds for the return toward the sun. It is impossible to pass immediately from autumn to spring; an interval is necessary to prepare for production. This cyclic action and reaction, this out-breathing and inbreathing, this pulsation is the *modus operandi* of Life. The cycles vary in duration from those infinitely smaller than the tick of a second to hundreds of thousands of years, and infinitely beyond; from the lifetime of a microscopic cell to that of the planets, stars and sun. Every thought, every desire, every expression of energy has its time of return.

There are many cycles in human affairs, but beyond the daily sleeping and waking periods and the seasons, the only one generally recognized and prepared for is the financial cycle of ten or eleven years, during which trade waxes and wanes.

We have observed only those cycles which obviously affect our physical bodies; our observation has not extended to the recurrence of moods and ideas. Most persons, however, have their periods of depression and elation, of "dryness" and inspiration, of action and introspection; and the same is true of nations and of the race as a whole. These cycles are facts in nature, they are the evidence of laws which cannot be controverted but which may be understood. Energy flows like the tide, and the wise man knows when the ebb or flow is on; he sees the hands of the clock moving to midnight or to noon, and he is neither dismayed at the one nor elated at the other. He is prepared because he understands. He understands, because he has developed within himself a knowledge of the Principle corresponding to that which universally operates, viz. Intelligence, and which functions in men as Mind. This is the means by which Man "conquers nature"; then he is not blindly *subject* to nature's laws, but he understands them and uses them. Man need not work in the dark, associated only with "matter"; it is possible for him to work intellectually in the Light, associated with energy. He is a Mind-Being, and, as such, should enter with understanding into the processes of Life. His responsibility is rooted in this fact, and, if it be recognized, his actions may be regulated and his responsibility made clear. There are times for action and times for inaction. The "dark period" is the opportunity for the thinker. In such an age when inertia is coming upon the people, due to the ebbing of energy, the philosophers and artist-thinkers withdraw with the current, and, in the world of ideas, they speculate upon the meaning of life, they study the laws of existence and learn to understand polarity, the relation of energy to mass, etc. Thus they generate ideas and prepare for the turn of the tide when these ideas may be carried out into expression by statesmen and leaders of men in the affairs of the world. In the lives of individual men these times of activities and withdrawal are also

to be observed in shorter or longer cycles.

It has happened often in the history of the world that periods of activity have not forwarded human evolution, because the function of the thinker has been divorced from that of the actor; revolutions, mis carriage of justice, cardinal errors in administration have resulted when unthinking men have entered the field of action as leaders. With the cycle of returning energy all the various elements in human nature are thrown outward, passions and sectional interests become rampant and are often in excess of impersonal, intellectual powers. Deep understanding and a desire to assist evolution in its true direction are necessary in those who come upon the scene at the flood-tide, if a *renaissance*, a rebirth, of consciousness is to take place. Human progress depends on human beings, and if thinkers refuse to act at the right time, they but delay their own evolution as well as that of the whole race. The opportunities of a man's life pass; his "period" comes to an end. So also terminate the opportunities of nations and of races. In this sense we each have our "chance." But an unintelligent man never knows his opportunity when it arrives; and it requires great skill in action for enlightened men to overcome the inertia and ignorance of the mass of the people at crises in history. There is no record of it having yet been completely accomplished, and hence reactions to the past and perpetual repetition.

When the law of periodicity is understood men will use appropriately and intelligently the conditions of each period. In the dull, dark ages when mechanism and materialism prevail, and the artist and the philosopher find their wares unsought, Society will see that they are sustained to perform their important and essential functions. Their interest is not in the material world *as such*, but in the *elucidation of ideas, by means of the material world*, for the transformation and improvement of the race. With clearer vision

men will neither ignorantly despair nor impatiently revolt at the ebb-tide. Workers in every diverse direction will then labour together to bring about a balance between all the various phases of human activity, broadly named Industry. Then the circuit will be unbroken, and men will no longer be the media of energy in the form of reaction, but, through understanding, they will apply it to the problems of Society which are fundamentally one.

The magic of Industry is the *direct* application of energy, under the control of the Will, through all types of material forms which Man has constructed as a thinking being for his experience.

When the creative thinker is adequately provided for through the operations of commerce, the commercialist will be inspired in his undertakings by the constant flow of ideas and their scientific application in industrial enterprises. Further, the thinker will realize the essential function of the manufacturer and will understand that he constructs the forms without which no ideas can find adequate embodiment. At the same time the manufacturer must also realize that, in their nature, forms are impermanent and constantly change, and the bases of these passing forms are ideas.

When scientists, philosophers, artists, educationalists and industrialists (employers and employees) all recognize the respective functions of each, they will see the necessity for their intelligent co-operation in order to produce a better civilization, and they will apply their combined energies to the solution of the social problems about which men continually speculate and theorize.

Without Letters, without Science, Art, Philosophy and Religion, Commerce would have no *raison d'être*, as it is merely auxiliary to all these. But without Commerce, scientific and philosophical ideas would not have the means of embodiment necessary for their realization by men; without Commerce, Literature could not be printed and circulated, Art could not

be produced. All man's experiences depend, in the last analysis, on the multifarious operations of Commerce, and the basis of it are the toilers in the fields and factories without whom all man's highest ambitions would never be attained.

"Labour" and "Capital" use their organizations for the purpose of bargaining with one another for their separate interests. They are each aware of the importance of the functions of the other and of their mutual dependence, but neither at present will admit it *in practice* and co-operate fully with the other. The antagonism between them is stronger than between any other classes in the community; neither has shown a spirit that will induce the other to trust it. Class interests obscure the interests of the nation and of the race, and while they prevail the equilibration necessary for progress will never be accomplished.

"The labourer is worthy of his hire" in every field, and as the working classes develop intelligence they begin to understand their importance and to demand that wealth shall be more equally distributed. The chief objection to higher remuneration for labour is that the mass of the people waste their money and spend it foolishly. But no man can learn except through experience, and it is not the prerogative of any class to deny another opportunity for experience if the demands are just and do not violate the rights of others. Balance is acquired by knowledge ; if it be the *desideratum*, all classes must learn, through experience, the relative values of opportunities, so that they will acquire discrimination and the power to choose wisely. If ideas are in circulation, through proper educational channels, self-control and efficiency will soon be recognized as essential for advancement, and, with adequate opportunities, the workers will learn what mode of life develops the capacities necessary to enable them to take full advantage of opportunities and to fulfil their functions in a progressive community.

Free Trade or Protection

UNDER the Policy of Free Trade the industries of Great Britain have been strengthened and developed, and its manufacturing ascendancy was at its highest, in many lines, just previously to the outbreak of the war. Because of this, many Free Traders see no reason why Great Britain should imitate the methods of Germany and other protected countries, even though the Central Powers in Europe propose to form a commercial *zollverein* against the world. They point out that as we shall want to sell to Germany, therefore we shall have to buy from her. They also point out that all workmen will be required to carry on and to extend such industries as are already established in this country, and that we ought not to use capable work-people in the manufacture of small, cheap wares in which the Germans excel by reason of long experience and training. Why not buy these things from Germany, the Free Traders ask, and, in return, sell to her what she requires from us? Energy, the fountain of export and of all other business, is limited in its daily yield, and we cannot "Capture German Trade," because it would be impossible for us to buy all the products which Germany has hitherto bought from other nations in exchange for its own; ability to engross trade is conditioned by our ability to produce. The history of the industries in

countries that have been annexed to conquering nations is also pointed out by Free Traders. Prohibitive tariffs cut off old customers, and jealousy of the established industries of the nation to which they are annexed completes the temporary ruin of the industries of the people in the conquered territory. War is certainly suicidal to commerce, why, therefore, should we restrict natural competition and enter upon an artificial state of commercial war?

Why, indeed? Under ideal conditions it would be most undesirable; but it must be admitted that these conditions cannot be found yet in any country.

On the other hand, the policy of many Tariff Reformers is one of imitation and reaction; they argue superficially, and either merely repeat the words and phrases of others, or give expression to passionate desires for retaliation and "supremacy." The patent fact that such motives have brought Germany to her present *impasse* escapes their notice, so blind is passion. They do not consider the immense difficulties of framing a "scientific tariff" to suit the great complexity of modern, industrial conditions; and they do not know that in many respects Germany's protective tariff defeated her own ends, and that it was latterly administered with much dissatisfaction to many classes in that country. In fact, the Kartells, Bounties and High Tariffs brought Germany to a point where the Government could "save its face" only by war.¹

There are, of course, Free Traders and Tariff Reformers of many shades of opinion and conviction; there are Free Traders with modified ideas, so to speak, of free trade, and there are tentative Tariff Reformers. There must be a means of reconciling the idealistic position of sincere Free Traders and the passionate propaganda of extreme partisan Tariff Reformers. Both

¹A study of the reports of Sir Frances Oppenheimer, His Majesty's distinguished attaché in Germany, confirms this conclusion.

these extremes are found in human nature; both in a sense are right. But neither of them can prove the other wrong by statistics; these indicate only superficial, changing conditions, the causes of which are deep-seated and infinitely complex, and the deepest are human motives.

Tariffs are founded on the conception of nationality; free trade on the ideal of international amity and a world-civilization. On examination these conceptions are seen to be complementary. An international alliance of weak and unwilling states would be useless for progress; only a voluntary cooperation of strong nations will produce a world-civilization worth having. Therefore, the first thing to do is to increase national strength—not only in a military sense, but in the arts, sciences and industries of peace, and in the understanding of the purposes of evolution.

Fiscal regulations undergo constant modification in all countries as each seeks to keep its balance internally and internationally. A study of the facts shows that nations oscillate between periods of high tariffs, low tariffs and free trade.

It is true that, as Free Traders say, tariffs are artificial and obstruct the natural ebb and flow of trade; but all the conditions under which we live are artificial in some respect. Men *think* artificially, therefore they act artificially. The result is that the Principle of Unity, which maintains the balance in the world, automatically adjusts things when artificiality is carried to extremes. Given the cupidity and passions of our undeveloped race, it follows, "as the night the day," that Trusts, unjust monopoly and curtailment of individual opportunity grow up in time in a highly protected country. Those who do not participate in these monopolies are the agents of this law of adjustment, and reaction against high tariffs is the inevitable result. The anti-trust legislation in the United States of America is a case in point. The agitations and appeals to the Government to reduce the tariffs,

by many classes in Germany for some time before the outbreak of the war, is another case in point. But the law of balance operates still further; the facts show that, when countries persist beyond a certain length of time in keeping up a high tariff, the export trade suffers, as other countries begin to put up tariffs in retaliation and to protect themselves, and it is then difficult to continue sending goods into these countries.

Many party politicians advance their special fiscal theory as a cure-all for social injustices. They argue from facts observed during a limited number of years. The war has made evident how infinitely complex are the economic factors, and how vain to attempt to deduce conclusions by any academic or partisan methods. We must look deeply into the meaning of nationality and try to formulate its function in human evolution. We must rest our purpose on bed-rock, on the indisputable Principles which govern human progress. We must define our position in terms of Great Britain's highest conceptions of right. We must protect our ideals against destruction -by inferior standards of social and national life. We must conserve and develop the capacities of all classes in the community, with the end in view of a balanced, harmonious nation seeking to promote the interests of her people and of the whole race.

A nation's ideals are formulated slowly, and are accepted often merely tacitly until a crisis arises to threaten them, either from within or without. Then the nation may make its ideals articulate and declare that it will find means to protect its cherished traditions and to preserve its peculiar individuality. A nation will rise in this way as one man when danger threatens, just as an individual or a class will seek to protect himself or itself against unjust aggression from others. Individuality is strengthened by such encounters. But no one who has reached any degree of intelligence will go out of his way to provoke a trial of strength. The natural laws of evolution

will provide these tests. Bullies and professional fighters are of a low grade of intelligence; fanatics and unbalanced "reformers" view the world from a narrow angle of vision.

Amongst modern nations Germany has proved to be the bully, the professional fighter and fanatic *par excellence*. Great Britain, with her larger understanding of individual freedom as an essential for progress, has been content, as a nation, to let her ideals take care of themselves, not suspecting the danger to them from a determined fanatic among the nations. The fighter-nation has now come out into the open, and we know its method. But time and energy will be wasted if we spend them devising means of retaliation. No nation can learn for another; each learns only by experience. Therefore, methods of revenge will not promote our own national security; they will but perpetuate antagonism. Our ethical and moral standards are such that reprisals, merely as vindictiveness, cannot be used by any self-respecting man to-day. Neither can a nation such as ours stoop to methods of retaliation. We must not be anti-German; *we must be pro-British!* Our motive should be to develop our nation and the British Empire. It must not be to crush any other nation, not even Germany. Each will reap what it has sown, and Germany will suffer the consequences of her ridiculous desire to dominate the world and to impose her standards on others. We should suffer also if we violated the law that universally operates to give individuals the opportunity to develop.

This war is being fought to preserve this principle—to prevent one nation from dominating others by efforts for "supremacy." It is very loose thinking, therefore, to advocate, as many do, a war for *commercial supremacy* to follow the cessation of military hostilities. This would be only to fall into the same sin as Germany and, ultimately, to become corrupted by greed and lust of power.

Universal Free Trade is undoubtedly the ideal for the world, and it must be kept in view even while nations adopt methods of protection and security which seem to be necessary among unequally civilized races. Each nation finds free trade within its different divisions beneficial. The rapid growth of the German Empire was assisted by the abrogation of tariffs between her various states. In the United States tariffs between them would make business very difficult and hamper industry. But in Germany and the United States, as also in other countries, there is no antagonism in thought between the internal states and provinces to seek expression in obstructive tariffs; they are consolidated amongst themselves in national sentiment. The nations of the world, however, do not yet feel this security against aggression from each other, and until they do they will not recognize the advantage of free international trading and be willing to adopt it as a national policy. It is indeed probable that they will enter upon a period of high commercial tariffs almost in competition as to who can raise the highest wall. If so they will arrive eventually at a point when they will begin to bargain with one another to lower these barriers, and perhaps *in time* the nations would learn how necessary they are to each other, how they stand or fall together, and how Humanity really requires mutual exchange and mutual toleration amongst its members if it is to advance to its high destiny.

In the meantime Great Britain would be in a stronger position to negotiate for freer international trading if she had a tariff which Germany would find uncomfortable. This happened in the case of Canada and other countries ; and for some time before the war German traders were finding it increasingly difficult to obtain orders abroad, as so many European countries were raising higher fiscal barriers in retaliation for those Germany had erected. But the plans now on foot to form a commercial *zollverein* of the

Central Powers indicate that Germany has not yet learned the lesson, and does not understand what "a place in the sun" means.

We cannot ignore the immaturity, immorality and cupidities of great numbers of men, nor the unequal development of individuals and nations that at present makes ideal relations impossible. If one nation is ambitious for "supremacy" it means that it aspires to be the sun itself, rather than a planet in the social system—an aim possible only for a nation immature in thought and understanding. When such a nation uses unfair means to overreach another, and is dishonourable in methods, the latter is bound to adopt temporary expedients to resist encroachment on its national existence, though at the same time it ought not to lose sight of the ultimate ideal—free trading amongst all nations—nor, within its own borders, to lessen its efforts to make "fair play" prevail by the best possible adjustment of the tariff, if it should be found advisable to impose one in the country's interest.

M. Henri Lambert, the enthusiastic Belgian apostle of the doctrine of Free Trade, says² that utilitarian progress has not been balanced "by the requisite progress in the sphere of morals and philosophy"; but, he adds, this is "a defect, of which the primary cause can easily be determined, and is purely economic." This statement should be reversed, for *economic conditions are a result, not a cause*; the cause lies in human nature, and economic conditions reveal the state of intelligence, the stage of evolution, of mankind. Idealists who are able to project a world-civilization in thought, and who feel in themselves no barrier to its realization, leave out of account the barriers in others and the undeveloped state of the race as a whole. M. Lambert says that "the organization of international security will tend to

² *The Ethics of International Trade*, Papers for War-Time, No. 29, Oxford University Press

become identified with economic security as mankind completes the transition from military civilization to true industrial civilization.” ”To be able to suppress, armies we must first of all suppress war, that is to say, we must create a position of international security.” True, international security depends on the suppression of war, as war-like thoughts and feelings upset the balance amongst nations, but if the people want war they will have it, whether our civilization be characterized as military or economic. At bottom all civilizations are economic; the life of the people is sustained by industry; the military caste and the national military equipment are maintained by the thought and labour of the people just as are science, religion, etc. The military caste embodies certain ideas and emotions of the race as truly as do the priests of religion. No civilization is purely military or purely religious or purely industrial; all castes are included in every nation. When the people are ready they will use the organizing genius of the military caste in other directions than war. But are the people in any nation really interested yet in setting to work seriously to create a world-civilization?

An army and navy are necessary *at present* to preserve and strengthen national interests. We maintain our navy as a means of *defence*, not for aggression; it *protects* commerce. But further protective measures are necessary if our commerce is not to be taken from us slowly and insidiously, along with superior standards of commercial conduct and of high-class products. Industry maintains the army and navy and, in turn, should have the further protection of a tariff, in order to fulfil its obligations in maintaining the navy and supporting the nation. This is the true justification of tariffs which aim to *protect* national industries and to assist in maintaining a commercial balance amongst the nations, so that each will have an equal chance and none will crush others. Every nation has a right to live, if it respect the same right for others. But the object and motive of Germany’s high

protective tariffs were far other than this. These walls were erected to build up the German Empire *in order to use its power for conquest*. Nevertheless, the same weapon may be used with fundamentally different motives, even as our purpose in military execution is diametrically opposite to Germany's original aim.

The cost of a tariff, however, has to be considered. A tariff must be paid for just as everything else of value. Anything worth while is obtained only by sacrificing something else. The expense of the army and navy is met by the people of the country, and they also have to bear the greater part of the burden of a tariff. It is evidently fair, then, that the people should decide whether national strength is desirable and is worth the necessary sacrifices. History has shown that they usually are willing to pay for the right ideal. A statesman need never fear to declare his plans openly if his policy be based on principles; if the motive be national security, and not the promotion of special class interests. The appeal to the imagination in the former is always sure of ultimate success.

The *motive for security* is, however, the basic consideration. If imagination be limited by some exclusive state-scheme, which dwarfs the individual, invention, philosophy, art and literature decay, and no great men arise to stimulate thought; official state-ambitions dominate and limit development. This dearth of original ideas has been observed in Germany during recent years. The inference is that *national consolidation alone will not secure the future; it may mean, indeed, but the death of a civilization. Scientific knowledge and skilful organization may be allied to motives which will destroy a civilization after it has been constructed*. For it is not by knowledge alone that progress is made, *but by the right use of knowledge*, and this depends on the motive which prompts the people to act.

National efficiency is, of course, rooted in individual efficiency, and the

British regard for the individual is the best soil on which a nation or empire can grow. Schemes which would minimize the individual and make him subsidiary to a state have a canker at the core which will produce a rotten kingdom in time. For the play of intelligence through individuals cannot be ignored. Individual men construct and constitute each nation. Man was not made for the state; but states *are* made for man by man. A nation is a field, an opportunity for the development and expansion of individuals in co-operation and competition with each other. A state or nation *per se* cannot generate enlightenment. No policy, no science, no philosophy, no new law or religion has ever been enunciated by a "state" as such. The varying forms of government simply administer the affairs of the people and are expressions of the manner in which men choose that they shall be protected in their rights, each from the other, as well as from other states and peoples. But an individual man is always the medium of Intelligence, and the larger the number of enlightened men the better the civilization. Therefore permanent, progressive improvement is ensured only by enlarging opportunities for individual development.

Fundamentally, then, the purpose of protective tariffs in this country should be to make Great Britain strong, *because her principles and policies provide for the growth of strong individuals acting in voluntary co-operation, and her strength will endure only so long as this is so.*

If the higher motives, those consistent with the laws of evolution, are to be evoked amongst all classes, then the question must be discussed frankly. It is useless to try and hide the fact that goods which come into a country cost more under a Protective Tariff than without it. The best that can be done is to arrange the duties so that the cost does not fall unfairly on certain classes, and certain others do not reap the benefit; then the policy may have the support of the nation behind it, with the assent of all classes. Without

a broad, far-sighted national policy a protective tariff might only produce a false sense of security and encourage national laziness and stupidity. The condition for successful protection is that it be formulated and directed in the *national* interest and for national welfare. If the special claims of political parties and class-interests are the basis of the duties to be imposed, the nation will be worse off than before. The Government should be an impartial representative of all the people, and should consider no special claims for protection from any one class of industry. Some Free Traders have held out against a tariff for this reason alone, that under party politics a tariff is bound to be unfairly formulated. But it is to be hoped that the British Government can overcome such tendencies, and concentrate on the problem as one which concerns the future of the nation and of the Empire, and not any one section of the community. All tariffs are temporary, and none are perfect. A tariff should be framed in recognition of these facts, and the conditions should be made as mobile as possible for modifications from time to time. The larger object should always be borne in mind, and every effort toward reciprocity by other nations should be met wherever possible, otherwise stagnation will ensue and the industries which were to be protected will become sterile for lack of the stimulus of legitimate competition.

From the point of view of a world-civilization, there can be no doubt that the Principles of Free Trade are sound economically, scientifically and philosophically. Those who dare raise their voices to advocate it amidst the general clamour for a Protective Tariff are those real Free Traders who view the world as a whole, and who realize that all nations are necessary to one another, and that each contributes something to the world. They know that no nation can live unto itself alone, and that the richer the nations with whom we trade, the better for us. They have no junker ideals of domination

and supremacy. They do not associate with commerce the idea of warfare, but of reciprocity and exchange. The ground of their argument is sound; there are no shifting sands, no passions, no partisan interests evident in the general propositions. The foundations of true science and philosophy never change. They remain immutable and immortal, steadfast in the Heart of Life and of Man; but there they have remained for the most part, and there they still wait for recognition by men. They are not yet understood, because mankind, as a whole, is not evolved sufficiently to comprehend them. Our incoordinated existence, nationally and internationally, testifies to the imperfection of men and their ignorance of the basic principles which control evolution.

The present war has revealed how worthless are international obligations unless there are a sufficient number of strong nations to back them. National strength and security obtain only in self-reliant and self-contained nations or empires. Such nations are naturally jealous of their position, and will yield their place to none; but yet exchange among them, as among individuals, is inevitable. To establish reciprocity on equal terms between nations, an "instrument of negotiation" is therefore necessary. A Protective Tariff supplies this instrument required *by present international conditions*, and, if used wisely by a strong nation, may finally prepare the way for international Free Trade. Great Britain's motive in maintaining an army and navy is to keep the peace, and until a sufficient number of strong nations agree to reduce their armies and navies, it would be suicidal for Great Britain to do so. She has not set the pace in armament building; the nation with aggressive purposes has made it necessary for other nations to enter the race, simply as a matter of necessity to preserve national rights and enable nations to fulfil their treaty obligations.

Neither should Great Britain impose a tariff to fight others commercially

with motives of "supremacy." But the time has evidently arrived when she will be compelled, in the national interest, to construct an instrument for defence and negotiation in order to protect herself until such time as all the great powers come to a realization of the benefits of reciprocity.

A National Industrial Federation

HAVING attempted to show that Co-operation is a law underlying the competition of Individuals, and that the Equilibrium of Society will be found in the recognition of this and of the Law of Periodicity, under which individuals act, we come now to the question of the application of these considerations.

The present is an unprecedented opportunity either for making new experiments or for repeating mistakes. Every one in any kind of responsible position is aware of the seriousness of the situation. Certainly we of this boastful scientific age have been given an arrest of thought. Financiers have been puzzled, politicians are nonplussed, industrialists are anxious, socialists are bewildered, Christian doctrines have been defied and philosophy has retired. Many accepted theories, standards and duties are being disproved by guns and shells. On every side the problem is being considered, but so far little imagination is evident in the schemes that are projected in concern for the future. Many associations are being formed, pamphlets and books proposing a great variety of schemes have been issued, and organizers are feeling their way toward a National Policy which is to have all the advantages of the German organization and none of its disadvantages.

It is being dinned into our ears that we are an unorganized nation; high

authorities announce the new discovery that all industries are now interdependent, and that we must summarily organize them—organize, as the Germans have done. Surely Britons have springs of inspiration of their own, and will not wish to slavishly imitate the methods of any other country, least of all of Prussia. No doubt a point has been reached when "the next step" is inevitable in the progressive development of British ideals ; but we must be true to our own individuality and follow our own line of evolution. Let us not recant nor repudiate, but take stock of our qualities and consider how they may be best used. If we become too anxious to organize we shall only disorganize in another sense, and interfere superficially and artificially with the natural tendency toward interdependence. The fact is, men themselves bring about disorganization by their attitude toward one another, and an organization effected by compulsion will not alter the attitude of mind. The condition of war has made certain state-controlled organizations necessary, but they amply illustrate how sudden, arbitrary and external methods disorganize rather than organize.

The war has made evident how essential Industry, in its multifarious forms, is to the nation. Industrialists are becoming more conscious of their importance, and some realize that responsibility for progress rests on themselves. Many new associations are being launched, though none of them has gone to the root of the problem. Some are organized to "protect capital," some to consolidate single industries, others "to unite Science and Industry" by the collaboration of men not directly concerned with either; some are frankly vague, and at best would afford opportunities for men personally ambitious for positions; none are entirely disinterested in their objects, none show a purely *national interest* by an entire disavowal of class interest.

Industry, however, is dependent upon the exertions of Labour, of Man-

ufacturers, of Agriculturists, of Capitalists, of Scientists and of Educationists, therefore any effective plan in the national interest must include all these. A delay in facing this necessity, a playing with facts at this critical time, will be hazardous for the nation. The difficulties of industrial administration are increasing every day, but a wise anticipation should inspire the preparation of a policy to reconcile the antagonisms between different interests, and to take steps to prevent the elements of strife from creating disorder in the nation. It is highly important that there should be a friendly understanding between employers and employees, that labour should not be antagonized, and that conditions should be anticipated by making plans in conference with all the various associations concerned.

There are now in existence a number of

1. TRADE ASSOCIATIONS of the separate industries, organized to protect the interests of individual trades and industries;
2. EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS, organized to deal with labour problems and to safeguard the interests of employers as against the demands of labour;
3. TRADE UNIONS OF LABOUR, organized to protect the interests of the employees as against the demands of employers;
4. SCIENTIFIC AND LEARNED SOCIETIES, more or less academic and out of touch with practical industrial requirements;
5. AGRICULTURAL CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES, to promote the interests of farmers; and
6. FINANCIAL ASSOCIATIONS, organized for the security of the interests of stockholders.

Each of these organizations is important in its sphere; but the national interest now demands that their functions should be co-ordinated without sacrificing or nullifying their individual work. Indeed, their co-operation should enhance their separate activities.

The first step toward this seems to present enormous difficulties. Suggestions on paper, in the periodicals and the daily press, are abundant. But, as the execution of ideas depends on willing individuals, the obvious thing is a conference of a few men with the co-operative spirit, representative of all the associations mentioned above. They first must come to an understanding with one another. Then, as mutual confidence develops and their plans mature, they would attract others concerned with the work.

Labour must have an integral share in the deliberations of the Federation, for such it would be. No plans for national progress can be realized fully without the confidence and collaboration of the workers. A national industrial organization such as this should be able to arrange matters so that any unhappy relations with the working classes would be largely a thing of the past. Evils of class interest could be gradually removed, and all sections of Industry could be brought into harmony for a national undertaking for efficiency and the creation of a civilized life that would stimulate the evolution of all nations.

This Federation could lay the lines for much co-operative work, and could consummate many plans for the consolidation and mutual understanding of all departments of Industry. Matters of common concern to all the industries could be dealt with more speedily and effectively by a federation of associations than by the individual organizations.

The Federation could initiate constructive and remedial legislation, and because of its wide representation would readily enlist the support of the Government for the national interest. Unless the industries are prepared

to do this for themselves it can hardly be expected that the Government, already overburdened with legislative programmes, will take the initiative, especially as it is not sufficiently acquainted at first-hand with the industrial situation. Those engaged in the industries know the problems; when they have formulated their united plans, the function of the Government, as a representative body, will be to further these plans, if its assistance is found necessary.

Through its facilities this organization could arrange for Commercial Representatives to cover the world, to report regularly on all industrial and scientific developments, and to suggest what is most needed for the advancement of British industrial interests abroad. It could authorize Committees to report to it on the requirements for individual industries in foreign markets and in the home market.

Such a Federation would necessarily encourage the work of scientific investigation and foster inventions by ways and means which only a thoroughly representative body could undertake.

Also it could co-ordinate educational methods so as to assist in the all-round development of the young people of all classes by enlarging opportunities for those who wish training for special and skilled work, and by increasing understanding amongst the people of a correct science of industry, in its broadest significance. Art should also be linked with industry in the service of civilization. In fact, once organized on a big enough basis, the work of A National Industrial Federation would have endless ramifications. But the plans for work should be developed slowly through the patient exchange of ideas in conferences of those engaged in different fields of labour. New ideas will be generated by such mental contact of individuals, and no hard and fast methods should be pre-arranged.

Life never remains long in one mould, and human history indicates that

the Spirit of Man is more fluidic than any other manifestation of life we know, and that it soon exhausts experience in a given form. It is necessary that methods should be mobile, and should correspond progressively with the evolving intelligence of the people. The only way that this can be attained and unnecessary disturbances and reactions prevented is by creating channels through which will flow in equal strength the ideas and aspirations of all classes of the people. With such a complete circulation the whole social body will be made healthy; the forms will remain plastic, they will respond to the needs of men as they arise and develop modifications naturally without revolutions and waste of energy.

Adequate methods can be thought out only in consultations in which the experiences of men in various organizations are brought into juxtaposition. If the general purpose be kept in view, if all are anxious to co-operate and are open-minded to learn what experience has taught others, an agreement as to methods will be reached in time.

The general aim of a Federation such as is here forecasted would naturally be to preserve and promote national efficiency and the traditions and ideals which are the basis of the British Empire.

THE END

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