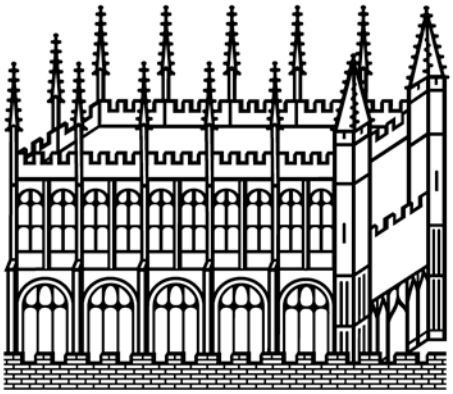

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WORLD PROBLEMS OF TO-DAY

ANNIE BESANT D. L.

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A SERIES OF LECTURES DELIVERED AT THE QUEEN'S HALL IN THE AUTUMN 1925

BY

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A SURVEY OF WORLD CONDITIONS

SHALL THEY BE CHANGED BY FORCE OR BY REASON?

FRIENDS,—

In inviting all of you to consider with me to-night, and in the following five lectures, some of those great World Problems which face us to-day, I am well aware that I am essaying a task very, very difficult; that I have to deal with matters on which opinions vary very, very much; but I hope that by thinking over these together, by your also helping me in my thought as I hope to help you to some extent, we may, on these six Sunday evenings on which we are to meet face to face, be enabled to win some light at least on these problems, the solution of which is so essential for human welfare; problems that are pressing on every country to-day; problems that are realised as the more serious the more deeply you think upon them, the more fully you try to estimate the many, many aspects which each of them presents and the vital questions for the human race which we are trying to some extent to solve.

I have called them World Problems, because there is no country in the civilised world in which thoughtful men and women are not striving to see their way in the great tangle of human life, of human interests, arousing passions, prejudice—those great clouds which dim the human vision, and which make it hard for any

one of us to see clearly, directly, justly, how they may, to some extent at least, be solved.

And these problems, as I have ventured to classify them in the subjects of these six lectures, follow the one upon another in a very definite order of thought. To-day, an introductory talk, a survey of world conditions, an attempt to measure to some extent the greatness of the problems; and an attempt also to reach the spirit in which these problems must be solved, if they can be solved at all. And I have put in the forefront of these for our thought next week, the Problem of Colour; the different races of mankind; those problems of white and coloured races which, perchance, affect this country more than any other, because of her far-flung empire of the many races and divisions of races which own the sway of your Parliament and your Crown. That problem is one of pressing importance; one which will have to be dealt with by the wisest amongst you with the utmost sympathy, with a clear sight of the conditions, and a sense of the heavy responsibility that rests upon each of you.

And then, after that Problem of Colour, I have placed the Problem of Nationality. An attempt to realise what really a nation is; what the word means; what each nation has to contribute: its own message to the world at large.

And then the Problem of Education, for on that depends the training of the citizens of the world. Not the citizens of one nation only. Not the citizens of one colour only. But of all nations and of the many colours into which the human race is divided, with different traditions and customs, and with different views of life and different views of conduct. These have to be dealt with, if at all, in the Education of those who, when we have passed away, will hold the destinies of the world in the hands that now are young, but are to grow up into men and women worthy of

building a greater civilisation—a civilisation that shall be the Civilisation of the Brotherhood of Man.

And then we have to realise, also, some of those great problems which concern, what we call, Labour and Capital; of interests that are supposed to be divided, even inimical the one to the other; problems which, if they are to be solved, must be solved by heart as well as head in everyone who has to face them and to deal with them. Those problems which involve also that third, the real source of wealth, the Land Interest, that question which, in every nation, is clamouring for solution.

Then lastly, perhaps, the most difficult of all problems, the one most likely to raise controversy; the one on which people are so profoundly divided: the Problem of Government. Difficult to solve where opinions are so many; where passions are so easily roused and are so difficult to soothe; difficult above all in the nations where a great gulf tends to split asunder class from class and man from man; a gulf that must either be bridged by reason and by love, or else in which must perish the civilisation of our modern days.

Great are the problems; but not too great to be solved if every one of you remembers that you yourselves, each of you, is divine; if you remember those wonderful words of an ancient Hebrew scripture that: "God made man in the image of His own Eternity." For if you learn to see the divine in the face of every human being; if you realise that the true service of God is the service of your brother man; if you can feel that what you would not tolerate for a brother of your blood and in your family, you will not tolerate for the poorest of our brethren where wrong or injustice may be found; if you realise not only your own divinity, but also the divinity in every one of your fellow men and women; then the problems will not

be so hard to solve, for is it not the Ancient Wisdom that " mightily and sweetly ordereth all things " ?

But it may seem somewhat strange to you, perhaps, if you have seen the notices of these subjects, that one subject seems to have been left out, namely, that of Religion ; and the reason is that Religion, if true, is everywhere and in everything.

For these problems can never be solved unless you, each one of you, are spiritual men and women. For what is really meant by the Spiritual Man ? It is the man who realises that in his daily avocation, in his work in the world, in his providing for those nearest and dearest to him, he is learning that great lesson that all the youngers are his children, all his contemporaries are his brethren, and all the elders are his parents—that great lesson of the Indian legislator, the Manu—if you learn that each of you individually is, as it were, God's own finger put out to guide the affairs of His world ; that there is a great truth in the saying generally read in another sense : " There is no God, O Son, if Thou be none." If you understand that that divine life lives and moves in you ; that your thought should be the echo of the divine thoughts ; your will as loving as the divine will ; oh, then, you have the really spiritual man, who knows that where one life animates every being, that the grain of dust and the highest Archangel are in their lives a portion of God Himself ; then you will bring to the solution of these problems a wisdom which is the reflection of the Divine Wisdom, a love as all-embracing as that of Him whose very name is Love ; and a strength, an intelligence, a sense that human society should be as orderly and as beautiful as the Nature around us, with inviolable laws and ever striving to restore beauty where man has made things ugly : Oh, then you and your children after you will be able to solve the problems that imperfectly we shall consider to-day, for all will realise

himself, herself, as members of a mighty Brotherhood, a Brotherhood that has its birthplace indeed in the heavenly places, but its realisation in our lives on earth.

And so, in dealing with these problems, I have no sense of hopelessness, no sense of despair; for what man has marred man can mend, and where man has erred he can return to the righteous path. For while it is true that the ways of error are many, it is also true that the way of Truth and Righteousness is ever one. One Right, amid the innumerable wrongs; and to find that Right Way is the task for every one of us who claims to be a part of a humanity which is really, essentially eternal.

And, dealing with these problems, first then I deal with Religion, because that underlies every one of them. Only as you realise your own divinity will you be able to put right the wrongs of our evolving race. And in thinking of that Religion which underlies the whole of the problems that we have to solve, I would ask you to remember that if you study, you will find that the great basic truths are to be found in every faith; that though the faiths seem to differ, they are fundamentally one. Even those who call the study of Religions, Comparative Mythology, even they acknowledge and point us to the fact that Religions reproduce certain features; that the highest religion, as men may think it, is, according to them, only the refinement and the growth and the intellectualising of the ignorance of savage peoples. But we, who do not talk of Comparative Mythology but of Comparative Religion, we know that that is true, that likeness; and that it is the image of the divine that shines through every faith, even when ignorance may have obstructed it; even where human selfishness may have marred its lesson of love and of compassion. And so, we begin to think of a World Religion; not one where one man

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shall seek to convert his brother, but where every man shall realise that these great truths form a precious chaplet of jewels, given to the human race, one after another, by the World Teachers as They come forth from that mighty Hierarchy of the Elder Brethren of our race; who, from time to time, sent out one of Their number as a Messenger for the helping of the world. And, is it not the fact, that Each, who has proclaimed the message of a new religion, as we call it, has spoken of a diversity under which there is a unity, which the Teacher recognises even when His followers do not?

Some speak of the faith of the great Arabian Prophet, the Lord Muhammad, as though it were different in its essence from many of the other great faiths in the world; and yet He Himself, that very Prophet, gave this word to His followers: "We make no difference between the Prophets." And did not the Christ, before Him, speak a similar word when He said: "Other sheep I have which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear My voice; and there shall be one fold and one shepherd"? And did not Shrî Krishna, before the coming of the Christ, also speak in similar words in that proclamation of His in the *Bhagavad Gîtâ*, where He says: "Mankind comes to Me along many roads, but on whatever road a man approaches Me, on that road do I welcome him, for all roads are mine"? Is not that true, and are not all these sayings the promise of a World Religion, in which every religion—while loving best its own presentation of the Truths—feels that other faiths are sister-faiths and not rivals in the House of the Father? Is not the day coming, do we not see it even approaching us, when men of every faith will realise that there is but one great Household? that they worship the One Supreme, and that their differences are the successive lessons which mankind has to learn in building

up the mighty Faith which at last shall dominate the world? For each has its place. Each suits some type of mankind; the many different types of intellect, the many temperaments of men, needing a different presentment; and the many civilisations that have to be founded while men are striving to realise on earth Social Union, this also must be built up brick by brick, stone by stone, to that Great Temple of a Divine Humanity, to which evolution is ever tending and shall at last achieve. And each one of us, whatever our special religion may be, whether it be Hindu, or Buddhist, or whether it be Muhammadan, or Parsi, or Christian; shall we not realise in the faiths of others the same great qualities that make us love our own? And shall we not all learn to share what is special to our own, in order that every one may be enriched by the successive messages from our Father's House? For as the nations grow nearer together, they must either hate each other more, or love each other because they understand each other better. And the great explanation is really to be found in the teachings of all the great Prophets of humanity; each with His own message, clothed perhaps in different language, but ever containing the same soul-purifying and uplifting Truth. And I have often liked to think of the different religions of the world, as you might look at a number of exquisite chalices—beautiful each with its own beauty, but each of them capable of containing that Water of Life which alone shall quench the thirst of the nations. And a time shall come when religion shall be no longer a matter of feud and controversy, but a matter of helping every man his brother; a day dreamed of by an ancient Hebrew Prophet when He said: "Behold the days come . . . and they shall teach no more every man his neighbour and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for they shall all know Me, from the least of them unto the

greatest of them." And because I thus believe; nay, I will dare to say, because I thus know, I have not made the Religious Problem a separate problem in the list that I just read; for every one of the problems must be solved by the spiritual intuition of man; every one of them must be dealt with not only by the strong intellect, but by the living spirit that sees the One Life. And so, if we approach these problems in that spirit, we shall find them not insoluble, and we shall realise that all the differences are only like the differences of children quarrelling over trifles, and not knowing the splendour of that human life into which they shall grow in their manhood and womanhood.

And so, in these days, I would ask you to realise that in human life, when recognised as one, there is really no place for all this quarrelling, but that what we need is adaptation to each other's thoughts and feelings; that profound sympathy which alone can make one nation understand another, just as a smaller measure of it makes friend understand friend.

And, coming then to the survey of the world conditions, I have asked one question here: "Shall they be changed"—taking it for granted that a change is necessary and in that at least we all agree—"shall they be changed by force or by reason?" For that is one of the problems that faces us to-day with regard to the whole of these questions with which we are to deal on these Sunday evenings.

And that question is one which needs swift and strong attention. For sometimes I am inclined to think that too many of us forget the pressing nature of the question. We whose lives comparatively, however strenuous they may be, are not yet in the desperate condition in which so many of our fellow men and women live we, at least, are not spurred to change by continual hunger; we are not made desperate with the suffering of those we love from the

misery of utmost poverty. When sometimes I think of that country, India, which I love so well and am striving to serve, I think of the statement of one of your British rulers there, who said—and it was many years ago and there are more now—that there were forty millions of that vast population who never knew what it was not to be hungry! Imagine, if you can, that you, or anyone dear to you, were in that condition. If you knew how it shortened the life-period; if you realised the death-rate of the infants who are born into the world of half-starved fathers and half-starved mothers —oh, it is easy, so easy, for all of us who do not share the agony of the very poor; so easy for us to talk of "patience"; to tell them not to be in a hurry; to tell them that they must wait awhile—they who have waited so long. And we have to be careful, lest in the counsel of "patience" to the hungry they forget, in a desperate uprising, that their hunger may be satisfied for awhile by force, though not continuously That is what many also forget; that it is by reason and by knowledge, by careful thinking, by continuous intellectual endeavour, that it is by these things that society must be changed; unless the old condition is again to come back upon us as bad, if not worse, than it was before. For it has been truly said, "Force is no remedy"; it only generates more force, and the weary, weary circle of hatred breeding hatred; and despair, despair.

Did not the great illuminated Teacher, the Lord Buddha, declare, that "Hatred ceaseth not by hatred at any time, but hatred ceaseth by love"? And the despair and hatred, sometimes bred of hunger, must be met by the love that pardons all because it understands; and because there is the imagination, which places itself in the place of the suffering one, and makes allowance for the folly, for the anger and the hatred, which have grown into a thick darkness around

the divinity of the human heart. Not for us to talk of "patience," but to strive to make things better by reason; by understanding the causes which threaten the world to-day, and by bringing the solution which will make peace instead of warfare upon earth.

For they told us only a few years ago of a war which was to end war. And in the midst of that, the horrors of that last fratricidal struggle, many a one said: "We shall never again enter into this world madness of physical force!" And yet, even now we are told of the menace of another war; and our memories are so short, though still the mutilated forms that suffer are seen in our streets as a witness of the horrors of the last. And so, surely, this question: "Shall they be solved by force or by reason?" shall have a unanimous answer from all who believe in real evolution: "By reason and by love, and *not* by force!"

Take then, for a moment, this Problem of Colour. It is much discussed at the present time. Very many of you may have read that remarkable book, *The Clash of Colour*; a book showing much insight and much understanding. And when we think of the coloured races and the white races, we ought surely to begin to realise, that the great force which changes conduct is right thinking. And we should realise also, I think, that right thinking must precede right believing; and that both must be followed, before right conduct can be found. We are too apt, sometimes, to try to force our beliefs instead of stating them, confident that every fragment of truth that they may contain will work out to its own beneficent result. For right thinking should ever precede believing; and right thinking is of the utmost importance to mankind. And it is not without some lesson, I think, for all of us, that the great Hindu faith, the root religion of the Aryan race, gives absolute freedom to thought. There is no barrier there with regard to

thinking. The barriers are with regard to conduct, social conduct, and so on. But in the great scriptures of the Hindus, man is encouraged to think to his utmost; to strive upwards continually, so far as the wings of intellect can carry him. But he is warned that he will reach an atmosphere so rare, so subtle, when a vision of divinity dawns upon him, that the intellect will sink back silent, unable to express that which the spirit alone can see. But that liberty of thought for thinking is one precious gift that Hinduism has given to the world; and it comes out in its philosophical systems; for not one only, but six great philosophical systems there are, and every one of them founded on one basis, and they are called the Six Darshanas, or Views; the Six Ways of Seeing the Truth. And that very name Darshana in itself implies that Truth has many aspects, and that the different aspects are seen by different kinds of temperament and of intellect. And so they simply call them "Views of Truth"; that which *you* can see of a tremendous Truth, that no human mind can grasp in its entirety; happy, indeed, if he see one aspect and see it clearly as a basis for life. And of these six systems (Purva Mîmânsâ, Vedânta, Nyâya, Vaiseshika, Sânkhya, and Yoga), one, which will be familiar to you, at least by name, the Vedânta, was by its great Teacher prepared for by any who would strive to study it, by what in modern days we call the Path of Discipleship; for Shrî Shankarâchârya demanded, that he who studied the Advaita Vedânta should hold and practise all the qualifications which are now considered to lead upwards along the Path of Perfection—to what a Roman Catholic writer with marvellous insight called the Deification of Man. (Some of you may have read the book from which I take that phrase, the book which is called *Interior Prayer*; it traces, step by step, the ways in which the Truth is

found. And you can parallel that, those of you who know anything of Hindu philosophy and Hindu teaching, as being practically the same as what the Indian calls Yoga—Union. And that Union with the ONE, to the Hindu, is exactly the same as what the Roman Catholic teacher is authorised by his Church (for it bears the imprimatur of Roman Catholic authority) to teach, as leading up to what he called the Deification of Man. Man made God! And you will realise that, for any who understand—that the finding of Truth is not only a matter for the intellect, is not only a matter for devotion, but for "knowledge wedded to devotion," and it has steps one after another, in which emotion is quelled, remaining strong and mighty but under perfect control; in which the intellect is developed, keen and subtle, but yet knowing its own limitations as in the depths of our own being it seeks for the Divine; and, having found God in himself, the Yogî sees Him everywhere. Those who have studied something of that great Science, will realise that for the Christian, as for the Hindu, the Path is ONE; and that all the great Mystics teach an identical truth when they say, it must be found by the individual for himself; for it cannot be taught by the mouth to the ear, it is to be found only in the depths of man, the germ of a divine humanity.

And, realising that this is so, you will be able to look with new eyes of love on different theories worked out by different human beings in relation to those questions of colour, and perchance you may begin to ask yourself: Why is it that no great religion has been founded save where the Founder was of a coloured race? Partly because they are older than the white race. Partly because colour is of the skin and of the climate, as well as, after a time, partly of descent. And you may begin to feel, that there may be something in that Eastern world which has led every great

Founder of a faith to take therefrom His body. Something of temperament; something of nervous organisation; something of keen and subtle brain; that unified together, make it easier to plunge perhaps into the depths of one's own heart, than in a younger race full of eager desire to know, full of the genius for discovery of Nature's deepest secrets, save that of the Divine; and that among those ancient civilisations—some of whose wonders have been revealed to you by the work of your archæologists and your excavators—there was a depth of wisdom, wisdom which is knowledge wedded to devotion; for neither intellect alone, nor devotion alone, can find the perfect truth proclaimed in each religion of the world.

And, thinking thus, you may perhaps ask yourselves the question, whether it is always right to think that the white race is to dominate the earth. You may begin perchance to question: Why is it that the great religions and the great philosophies have been born among the coloured races? For you might sweep away all your great German philosophers and yet restore them, one after another, by those wondrous Eastern teachings, of which one of the greatest of them, Schopenhauer, said that they had enlightened his life and would be his consolation in death.

And you might begin to realise why Pythagoras travelled to the East in order to find the basis of his great philosophy. You may begin to wonder whether the wisdom of Egypt was only a dream and not a reality. Whether those mysteries that Plato sought, and in which he found the Immortality of the human Spirit, were after all mere tricks of a priesthood; or whether they gave a light greater than the West could find in itself.

And then, looking on history, you may notice how the pendulum of power has swung backwards and forwards from Europe to Asia, from Asia to Europe,

and back again; and how one of your own writers lately pointed out that the time had come for another swing, after Europe had been dominating Asia, for Asia again to have her turn, perchance as a harmoniser of the world; and you may realise that the restlessness in China to-day, in India to-day, is largely due to a feeling that there was a danger lest Eastern Ideals should be crushed and be submerged in the flood of Western domination; and may yet catch a glimpse of the underlying reason of the war between Russia and Japan, where a Far-Eastern nation showed herself strong even in that strength which Europe deifies, and met a mighty Western nation and conquered, and saved Asiatic ideals from being taken away from the rich heritage of the world to come. And we shall have to consider that problem more closely when we deal with the Problem of Colour.

And then we shall have, as I said, to take up the Problem of Nationality, and to try if we can to find out what we really mean by a Nation. To see how far as individuals differ, so the nations differ, and fundamentally for the same reason. To find out whether each nation, before it dies, has not some message to give to the world. How nations reincarnate, reproducing their great characteristics; as individuals reincarnate and are the product of many life-experiences, and many buildings-up of character in the Heavenly worlds. And we may begin to realise something of that Divine Plan that we call Evolution, which makes differences in order that Humanity in the end may be a mighty harmony; a great chord and not a monotone, a single note; and that all our discords are on the way to resolution into harmonies; and that all our quarrellings will, after a while, be changed into a richer and an ampler peace; for Humanity is gaining something from each of its great differences of Colour, and of Nationality, and of Race;

and would be the poorer if any one of these different peoples passed away before its message was wholly delivered to mankind.

And that will bring us to consider what kind of Education we need to make the world-citizen, and not only the good citizen of his own nation. We shall have to realise, that there is such a thing as International Morality; of which some have seen glimpses but which the great masses of our population seem entirely to ignore. For that which is murder within one nation, becomes glory when war is waged against another people; and the shells that burst down at your east end of London, one of them, a bomb on a school, scattering the limbs of little children, surely that is a crime against humanity? Surely the slaying of man by man does not become righteous and glorious because multiplied by thousands and by millions? Surely what we call within our own nation murder and theft, and call war and annexation when practised on another people, surely these are greater crimes in the sight of Divine Justice than the mad action of a single criminal driven by passion or by hatred to kill his fellow-man! And there is some hope of that to-day. There is at least the recognition that the quarrels of nations should be settled by arbitration, rather than by war. There is set up, at least, a Court of International Justice at The Hague in Holland; but whether a nation found guilty of any international wrong would yield to the decision of such a tribunal, it would be hard at present to say. Yet, may I not venture to say, that every one of us can do something at least towards bringing about that happier future? And we can, for every nation, do what we have done for our own nation and each nation does for itself; to realise that wrong is wrong whether national or international.

In reading old inscriptions, carved in India some-

times on the walls of temples, sometimes engraved on metal plates, I came across a case in which a man of one village had killed a man of another village; and the penalty inflicted upon him by the court of his own village was, the keeping of a temple lamp alight for a certain number of years. We may smile at that, as showing a very poor sense of morality; but, after all, it is very much what you find in the highest civilised nations when they say, that where their nation's interests are concerned they will not submit to the tribunal of law. And we can all do something. We can strengthen that League of Nations that some people laugh at, I know; and it is a feeble thing in many ways; but the feebleness is the fault of the nations and not the fault of the ideal. The ideal is right; and the great man who gave birth to that idea over here in the midst of war, was a prophet of the day when, just as the old robber barons in Germany used to plunder the old caravans of merchants and by their strength prevent justice being done, nations also shall realise that law and justice are international and not only national; and that so long as we regard them as national, we are only a very little removed from those simple villagers, who thought that to kill a man of another village could be expiated by keeping a lamp alight in their temple! And it is as well, sometimes, to bring our prejudices to the bar of what seems a folly on the part of people less instructed than ourselves, and to understand, that much has still to be done before a true morality of nations is recognised throughout the world.

And then, when we come still nearer home, and have to deal with the Problem of Capital and Labour, with the Ownership of Land—a question on which so much of passion arises amongst us to-day—might not each of us in his own small circle of friends and acquaintances state the real truth as he sees it, and strive to see it

without the passion or prejudice belonging to his special class? For neither the great capitalist, nor the labourer in his mills, is looking at this fundamental question of human society apart from his own interests, apart from his own particular life, apart from all those class-prejudices which it is so difficult to kill out in any one of us. How many of us realise that this question can only be solved by men taking counsel together and thinking of the interests of the other as well as of his own? Hatred between class and class, is no solvent for a problem. By love, here once more, may the problem be solved.

Here, once more, we may learn something, the great nations of the earth, from the smaller peoples who are trying to solve their problems for themselves. Think for a moment of Denmark; a little country, and one that has been very badly used by its once mightier neighbour. Yet in that little country, you find one of the ways to a solution, where coöperation is taking the place of competition; where the worker in the summer time is the student in school and college in the winter, when the agricultural work demands less labour to be carried on. And you may read, how one who is an agricultural labourer at one time of the year, and a student in a college at another time, unites, in his own person, the education of what are called the higher classes with the manual labour of the lower. And in that little country, we have also the first example of a country that has dared to disarm itself, to say that its people, to say that its forces, shall only be used to defend their own soil against invasion, and never for aggression against another land. If some of the Great Powers would take a lesson from their smaller neighbour, if only one of these mighty ones in Europe would venture to follow the example of little Denmark, then we might see a nearer dawn of peace on earth; and then we

might begin to breathe more freely, fearing less the menace of war.

And I would suggest to each of you, to keep your eyes open for signs of the better age that is coming; for the next age is to be the Age of Brotherhood; of men joining together for a common object and sharing the common product; for putting an end to waste and extravagance from the over-rich; and the counter-weight of that, the starvation and the misery of the over-poor. For these extremes in civilisation are modern products, remember. Great civilisations in the past have perished because they were founded on slavery. We speak of the splendour of Grecian Athens, and we wonder at the literary productions of those Greeks of a former age; we marvel at their artistic achievements, as well as at their literary triumphs; and we realise that all of that exquisite culture, and that refinement, and the beautiful things they produced; the wonderful works that their brains conceived, that all these were built on the slavery of their fellow-men; that the Greek looked on the outer world as barbarian, only worthy to administer to his refinement, to his love of beauty and to his splendid artistic sense. But, is it so very different in our modern civilisation? Is not much of the leisure of to-day built on the starvation and the wage-slavery of the poor? I know that in this land, education has begun to make for a better social system, although feeble as yet; but how far from any real civilisation! How much we have of those contrasts which have whelmed the former civilisations in ruin; and shall we simply hope that British moderation, and British caution, and British love of order, will always be able to stem the tide of misery which comes from a social system which is not brotherly, which is not coöperative, but which is the striving of man against man, of class against class, and a striving which will destroy the

civilisation of to-day, if the wrongs under which the many suffer are not removed from them by reason and by love?

And so, in following out this classification of the problems, we shall come finally to that Problem of Government; which is perhaps, in some ways, the hardest of all to solve. Mankind has tried so many ways of forming governments. There has been Autocracy; there has been Aristocracy; and now they have what you call Democracy; and none of them seems to be a very great success, if you look upon the condition of things in Europe, and in America, where I suppose civilisation finds its fairest flowers. But that problem has to be solved.

Who has the right to rule? That is a question that this generation will have to face with the spread of education and thought among the great masses of the people. Not without significance is it that when you extended your suffrage, an educational Bill followed swiftly as the less-educated had something of the power to influence Parliament by possessing the enlarged franchise.

Not unnaturally, in India, where we have a poor pretence of giving some power to the people, the moment the question of Education came into the hands of the Indians—although when their leading men had pleaded with the Government for education free and compulsory for their people they were told there was no money; no funds could be spared on education—it was without significance, that the moment that problem passed into the hands of the Indians, seven out of nine provinces of India passed Bills for free education, and four of them for compulsory education as well. Before many months are over, in that great Presidency of Madras, where my home is, we shall have the education of the population of Madras free and compulsory. For all who suffer know the

need of education. Suffering teaches wisdom; and the poor have become wise as to the means of altering the evils of their conditions, in ways that shall not reproduce themselves by means of further wrong.

And I shall have to ask you, in my last lecture: "What gives the right to rule?" Are you so sure that Politics are the only things that can be well carried out without training? without special ways of educating the men who rule? You do not let a doctor play with your body, until he has passed through a careful course of training in Medicine—whatever it may be worth—and other forms of modern medical science. You do not let the quack play with your bodies; but you do not seem to mind how many quacks you have in your political field! It does not seem to strike you, that while you do not let cabin-boys elect the captain of the vessel, requiring that he shall know something of the science of navigation, you make no such demand for the steering of your Ship of State through difficult storms and difficulties where knowledge and skill are wanted. I know that that idea at present is not a popular doctrine in the outside world; but I want to extend vocational education to the affairs of the nation, to the vocation of guiding the people and solving international questions.

I do not believe there are enough people of natural-born genius who are able to solve the many difficult questions, of conflicting interests, merely because they are elected to Parliament. In the old days, they said the King ruled by the Grace of God; and most of you probably think, that was a superstition of the past. Are you so sure that the counting of heads that may be empty is not as much a superstition among you as a King ruling by the Grace of God? There was an off-chance that the King, by tradition and by custom, knew more than a labourer picked out of the fields. And these Problems of Government are amongst the

subtlest and most difficult, that every nation must either solve or perish.

And so, friends, in these six Sundays we may very much disagree with each other—I think that very highly probable—but I doubt not we may learn from each other, the wisest sometimes from the humblest, and not those who are so absolutely sure they are right —that is more the attitude of the schoolboy than of the man of science—for no one is so sure of himself as the sixth-form boy, I think, in a public school! And yet, there may be much that he needs to learn—for sometimes humility is the magic which opens the way to wisdom—before he will be fit to guide his nation, and to give a real contribution to the world of thought.

And so I would hope that all of us, however different we may be in our thought, and however different our outlook on life, however different our attitude to the great problems of the day, may be none the worse for thinking over these things together; for there is one thing more powerful than speech, greater than words, more potent than oratory; and that is the thought of the man earnestly desirous of finding the Truth and seeking the Light; and all of you in your thinking, all of you in grappling with these problems may, for all you can tell, give me more help in my thinking, than my words can give to you.

THE PROBLEM OF COLOUR

LECTURE II

THE PROBLEM OF COLOUR

To whom does the world belong? That is the question, friends, we have to consider to-night. Generally, if we are to go by the facts of history, we should say that the world belongs to the strong; the strong from the physical standpoint, and not from the moral or the spiritual.

Looking at the past, to the great race that came out of Central Asia—and sent its emigrations westward, gradually founding civilisation after civilisation in Egypt, in Persia, and then onwards into Europe, giving rise to the great civilisations of Greece and of Rome, then going northwards, building the great Teutonic nationalities, strong with the strength of the concrete mind, strong in their scientific discoveries, in the application of these to their own advancement in the strife of nations—glancing over that, we cannot but ask—looking for a moment at the teaching of the Christ which is supposed to be the foundation of the European civilisation—whether strength is not ill-used throughout the course of its history—whether the wars, the invasions, the thrones set up and toppled over, whether all these have not been instances of strength used for the aggrandisement of worldly greatness, and not for service to the nations of the world. And yet, if there be one thing more than another that comes out from the teachings of the great World Teacher who came to our world to start, as it were, with His Blessing a new departure, a new human type; if His teaching were really the foundation of European civilisation, then we

should no longer say that the world belonged to the strong, either in body or in mind; but that the civilisation that bears His name should be a civilisation that uplifts the weak and does not trample them down; that teaches the ignorant and does not take advantage of their blindness. "He that is greatest," said the Christ, "is he that doth serve!" And where are we to look for such greatness among the nations that bow at His name, but deny Him in their national policies, in their attitude to the world outside their own civilisation?

We have seen many wars, many invasions; and with the atmosphere of horror caused by the last terrible war in so many theatres of struggle, in which all the powers of science and the discoveries of men were used to bring about more effective devastation, more terrible slaughter —looking at war from that standpoint, it is natural that the humane and the thoughtful should cry out against the recurrence of war, even when from many sides the menace appears to be approaching.

But there have been uses in the older wars and the older invasions; certain purposes served in the evolution of humanity which seem to have dropped away from the conception of modern war. There have been wars of pure devastation; such, say, as the invasions of the white Huns. But there have also been wars where devastation was not the object, and where the whole policy of peoples was not revolutionised by war. Sometimes you must have wondered, I think, in glancing at the great nation that you rule in India, how it was that with many, many wars, and even many invasions, so little effect was apparently caused, so little lasting misery, so little devastation. But the reason, when you look into it, is simple enough; for among the Indians, as you know, war was confined to a single class of the people. Wars were the occupation—if you like, almost sometimes the amusement—if you will, of kings

and armies, but did not touch the productive resources of the nation. The great Kshattriya caste in India, whose sword was broken in the great battle of Kurukshetra, ushering in the great age, the Kâli (black) age, in which the world is still moving; that was composed of the governing and the fighting classes; and as the object of the war was mostly to annex some portion of a neighbouring State, and as the wealth of the invader depended on the prosperity of the people that he added to his realm, you do not find in these ancient wars, by all accounts, much, if any, of the devastating effect that you connect with those invasions that I just mentioned of the white Huns from Central Asia. You find, as is said, from time to time, an army fighting within eye-reach of the agriculturists driving their ploughs; for the life of the producer was held sacred, and war was a matter of a special class and not of the nation. And so, despite many such local wars, many such wars of king against king, you find the great wealth of India constantly being amassed, so that it grew to so stupendous a whole, that all the nations of the West began to covet its trade, and gained from its kings, what they had no right to give, charters to establish themselves in the East in the Indian territory.

But there was one use of some of the foreign wars that is worth remembering, and that is, what they added to the invaded people. Take the time when Alexander the Great invaded the north of India; take the centuries which followed, when a part of that northern land paid tribute to Greek rulers, deputies of Asian monarchs; and you will find that the mark of Greek art makes its way in the art of India; that the Greek love of beauty and of graceful curve and line appears as an addition to the art of Indians themselves, so that you can tell the statues carved under the Greek influence, so that you can recognise in the architecture traces of the wonderful artistic ability which distinguished the Greek Republics,

Looking at it thus, you will realise that there is a side to wars not so brutal as those of the ancient savage or of modern science, where, in default of any normal close communication between the peoples, they sometimes shared what each had learnt, and exchanged something of knowledge and of art in the very process of conquest or annexation ; so also you may find there were wars which saved instead of destroying. Take one which is modern, the war between Russia and Japan. What was it that that war really conserved ? What was it, for the East, that was gained by the victory of that far-eastern nation, small against the mighty armies of Russia ? The victory of Japan saved the ideals of the East from being submerged by the ideals of the West ; preserved the great heritage of India, of China, for the helping of the world in the centuries to come. For, at that moment, India, dazzled by the scientific triumphs of Britain and of the western nations, was in deadly peril of losing her own great ideals of priceless value to humanity. She was in danger of being submerged by the flood of western power and subjugation ; and it was through that victory of an eastern nation, the showing that the East had power to resist western pressure and western ideals, that a new spirit went through the vast sub-continent of India, and made Indians begin to realise that the East had something to give to the West, as well as something to learn from the white peoples whom they knew. And I say that to you because sometimes, I think, we forget ; and by forgetting, we miss the lesson of what has been done of good in the struggles between the nations. It is no light thing to teach men who care most for physical things, to be willing to give their lives for the sake of an ideal. It is not a thing to be utterly despised and looked down upon, when the younger of the nations learn that there is something greater than physical life, something greater than physical enjoyment ; when,

for example, France, governed by great ideals, went forth to battle in the name of Liberty for all peoples, and gave to death her children in order that others might profit by the sacrifice. When we realise that, we understand we are in a world, a world in which Evolution is the Divine Plan, and this repetition of war over and over again, must have some reason behind it. But now we have reached a time when our position should be: We have learnt that lesson; we know enough now to realise that ideals are greater than food, greater than raiment; we no longer need to be taught to give our lives to death in their defence, but rather to give our lives in service without the slaying of our fellow-men.

And so, looking at that, we may see that James, the American author, was not without some insight into realities when he pointed out that there must be found in modern civilisation some substitute for the virtues that war had developed; something of willing sacrifice; and that is our greatest need to-day. Only as we reach the ideal of service shall co-operation take the place of competition; and willing service, which is a sacrifice, shall attract the noblest hearts and the greatest minds amongst us. There must be that voluntary giving of oneself, the surrender of what others prize, in order that the helpless may be uplifted. For there is no other way of redeeming man from ignorance and from misery, than the willing sacrifice of those who suffer less, but are willing to suffer, in order that the suffering of others may be done away with. It is understanding that is necessary; and the understanding of its problems cannot be where people are maddened by passion, by suffering, by misery, and by hunger. The redemption of the world must come from the thoughtful, from the loving, from the self-sacrificing; and then this question: "To whom does the world belong?" shall find a real answer that will bring happiness to all.

And now let me put before you just a few figures,

although I know statistics are said to be dull. But my old friend, Charles Bradlaugh, who was my teacher in political life very largely, used to remind his hearers sometimes, when he plied them with statistics, that these dry figures meant the food, the education and the life of the people for whom he was pleading; so that they were not merely lists of figures which we studied, but the happiness or the misery of our fellow-men. And so I will ask you to give me a moment of patience while I ask you to consider something of the distribution of the world among the white and the coloured races.

There is a very useful book that I would, in passing, recommend those of you who have not read, to read, called *The Clash of Colour*: useful, because in very graphic and vivid language it puts the danger which threatens the white races to-day. And, I may say in passing, that the first figures I am using I have taken from that book; and any others I may use in relation to India, which is perchance specially concerned, are taken from the Government's Abstract of Statistics; that is, I am not taking them from any ordinary so-called agitator, I am taking them from where you cannot challenge them, from the Government formed by your own people. These figures are too little studied by those whose eyes they might open as to your relations with that so-called "great Dependency."

Now we have to deal with coloured races, and they are very various, of course, in their colour; varying from the black of the African, through all shades of brown, red brown, golden brown—perhaps the loveliest colour that the human skin has ever taken—and all sorts of shades, massed together under the one phrase "coloured races." And then you have the white races, the small minority, face to face with the overwhelming numbers of the coloured races of mankind.

Now, looking at the available land, the habitable land of our globe, we find some 53,000,000 of square miles.

Out of those, 47,000,000 belong to the white peoples, leaving 6,000,000 only for the coloured races. 4,000,000 of those are monopolised by China and Japan, and the other 2,000,000 are found amongst the scattered coloured peoples of the world.

Then, as to the number of the populations, and I take the British Empire because of its enormous extent. Now you have in the British Empire 460,000,000 human beings. Out of those 460,000,000, 65,000,000 are white, 395,000,000 are coloured, and the 65,000,000 dominate the 395,000,000. We shall see presently, a little later, in dealing with areas, how much of the land is held by white races and barred against the coloured; for there is one of the most dangerous questions of the near future—the contrast between large areas and scattered populations and huge numbers of people living on scanty lands.

Taking those figures for the moment and looking back over a very considerable time, we shall find amongst the coloured races that are dominated by the white races, or interfered with by the white races, a kind of quiet acquiescence, a kind of recognition of white superiority, a kind of desire to share in that apparent superiority. But looking at the coloured races to-day, we find that the feeling has disappeared and they challenge the superiority of white civilisation. They question: Where lies the right of these modern white peoples to rule our ancient lands? They compare their past with their present, and they do not find the comparison tends to satisfaction with the foreign yoke under which they have passed. And in India especially, the past has been very closely studied, not only as regards its great philosophical and religious literature—translations, treatises on its influence on the western philosophy—but as regards other lines of literature as well; the life of the people, their political institutions, the immense variety of political schools of thought before

the Christian era, as well as many after it. This has been done partly by European scholars; very largely by Indian scholars: and the foundations on which they have built up their structure of Indian history are foundations that cannot be challenged by any competent student of that history; partly built up on the literature produced; literature, certainly much of it magnificent in philosophy and in religion; but also extending to the drama, extending to art, extending above all to political institutions and political schools of thought; so that we find the Lord Buddha—when He was asked as to what was the best way of governing a country, and whether a particular State near which He was, was going along the right way of government—approved the Republican form that there had been established and had long ruled the people, and said that as long as the Council of that Republic followed the ways of righteousness, others might well take pattern by its example. And, when He founded His great Order, His Sangha, which is one of the three great jewels of the Buddhist faith, He modelled the government of that Order on the form of Council Government that He found in the States around Him; laid down rules of discussion, and rules of voting, identical with those which were working well in the ordinary life of India. We read that the Sanghas ascertained votes by slips of wood, differently coloured for "Yes" and for "No"; that they strove as far as possible after unanimity, so that the vote would be put three times before it was actually decided by a majority; and He laid down such rules for that Order that it has lasted through all these thousands of years that have passed since He lived and taught.

And we find, as I say, all kinds of political governments in India before the Christian era. You have the City States, like the State of Athens. You have States ruled by a Council of Elders. You have States ruled by a Monarch with his Council, and unable to act with-

out the Council. In addition to the literature you may refer to, you are able to find many an inscription carved on stone, carved on rock, engraven on copper. And these have been dug up and deciphered; uncovered and studied through the last thirty or forty years, giving a picture of ancient India astonishing in its variety, and most of all astonishing in the liberty of its people and the slight interference with individual life. And all these have made a great change in the Indian mind towards western civilisation; and when in 1914 the Great War broke out, and when some six months later the Indian Congress met, that Congress passed unanimously a resolution that, in the reconstruction following the war, India might be placed on an equality of status with the self-governing Dominions.

Well, later on, in 1919, the demand began to be made that that equality might be worked out by Indians for themselves; and all the historical studies that had been published, the growing familiarity with the unexampled length of their civilisation, its learning, its culture, and its wealth, all these began to engross the minds and the hearts of educated Indians, and they began to question whether their country were unworthy of being ruled by coloured men, when it seemed to have fared so admirably in the past. And that great war introduced the same question from another standpoint.

To the great mass of the coloured peoples of the world, that war was really a civil war among white peoples. They did not trouble very much about the difference of nationalities. They saw Europe divided into two great white camps, so that to them it appeared rather a war, not so much of ideals, as of the ambitions which moved one nation against another. And then they were brought into the quarrel. The combatants drew upon the coloured races and brought them over to take part in the civil war, as they thought it, of the

whites. England drew on her vast Indian Empire, and the great army there, kept on a war footing in order that it might be called upon in time of need; and, as you know, Indian soldiers came over by the thousand, and ultimately by the million—more than a million Indians volunteered to take part in that great struggle—and the cemeteries that are kept sacred by the white nations in one theatre of war after another, those have coloured bodies mingling with the soil of the many peoples, bearing testimony to the help in the struggle that the East gave to the West.

And then there were struck out in the war certain words which caught the imagination of the East; not meant, I think, really to travel so far as they did, but they rang all through the eastern nations. There was that phrase of President Wilson's, that the war was fought "to make the world fit and safe for free men to live in." Mr. Lloyd George, then Prime Minister of England, spoke of the application of the great ideals of Liberty, of Self-determination, "to tropical countries." And the tropical countries caught up the phrase; it was heard in Persia, it was heard in Mesopotamia, it was heard in India, it was heard in Japan; and, translated into their own tongues, it became the watchword of Freedom for Asia. And then, another Prime Minister, preceding Mr. Lloyd George, the Earl of Oxford and Asquith (Mr. Asquith as he then was), descanted in words that again rang through the East about the "intolerableness of a foreign yoke." He only meant it to apply to England, possibly to be conquered by Germany; but India applied it to India's Government by white people. And so they thought they were fighting for real ideals, for Liberty. And, when the Peace, or the armistice, was signed, and the remnant of her soldiers went home once more and told of the ways of the West in their villages—told the widows and the orphans in the villages that their fathers had died

for Liberty, for Indians to be free as their white masters were free—then there spread throughout the whole of India a great wave, first of hope. But before the war had ended, a somewhat strange phenomenon took place. One white man, one white woman and one coloured man, had been preaching Home Rule, on the lines laid down for her as the ideal for which the great armies were fighting; but the Governor of the Residency of Madras told his Legislature to put Home Rule entirely out of its mind; and this trio did not care to put it out of their minds, and so they were interned. And then, feeling became so strong, that the higher Government had to overrule the Governor of Madras, and to set them free. And then the white woman of that trio was elected President of the National Congress of India. Then she pointed out that the white civilisation, from the Indian standpoint, had been tried and found wanting in the war. She spoke of the awakening of the masses, of the great ideal of recovering their old self-government, of Home Rule; of the awakening of the merchant class—the backbone of the trade and the commerce of the country; and she spoke, most significant of all, of the awakening of the women of India. And those three awakenings, of the Masses of the people, of the Merchants and of the Women, those were the forces that have made India what she is to-day—a nation claiming to be part of a Federation of Free Peoples, and no longer a great Dependency. For a Prime Minister of England had told India that the word Dependency was never again to be used; that she was no longer a subject nation, owing to her sacrifices in the war. And the redemption of that promise has been looked for, but has not yet reached realisation.

Meanwhile, that study of history that I spoke of had been going on with very remarkable effects. One of your Professors, speaking to the graduates of Oxford and of Cambridge, used a phrase that I have used over

and over again, with the change of one word only, when speaking to my Indian audiences. The Professor said to his English undergraduates: "If you would know what England can do, you must know what England has done in the past." Those same words are applicable to the Indian peoples with their enormous length of history, and if India has to be judged, she must be judged by what she has done. And I have said to my Indian audiences: "If you would know what India can do, you must know what India has done in the past."

And now, friends, who know a little of that wonderful history, may I take a few salient points on which the welfare of every nation depends, white or coloured, and tell you not a fairy tale but hard dry facts—briefly, what India has done in the past.

First: What has she done in Education? that which is the very life-blood of a nation. You may go back to one great University that was destroyed in the fifth century in the Christian era, that you call generally Taxila—Takshashila it is called in India; we do not know when it began, although we know a great deal of the splendours of that huge University. It was on the trade high-road between India and Central Asia, up to the north of Rawalpindi would be the easier way for many of you to recognise its place. Seven nations took that border city, as it then was, from 500 years before the Christian era to 400 and odd years afterwards. Alexander found it as a huge city with a great population around it; and you may read in the ancient books a number of references to it repeated throughout the centuries, telling something of the education that was there given.

Now before there was any university in India, the teaching of the deeper knowledge was carried on in the forests. A great Sage with his pupils would go into the forest and there wrestle with the deepest problems

of existence; and some of those wonderful Indian scriptures, many large parts of the Upanishads, were written by those dedicated—not for a few short years, to go out again into the world, but lives that were devoted—to study; they found out by deepest meditation, by the practice of Yoga, things that are hidden from the mere intellect and the logical powers of the mind. And some of these great scriptures are traced back to the Forest period. Dr. Rabindranath Tagore has pointed out that the learning of India, the culture of India, the greatness of India, streamed out from the forest to the villages and to the cities, and not from the cities to the villages, as is more common in the West.

And, after the Forest Age passed, then we come to the age of great Academies of learned men—Sanghams, as they were called, especially in the south of India—and you will find them described by English writers; their functions resembled those of the French Academy, for the books of the learned men—and women also, I might tell you, for we come across the name of a woman poet, of a woman philosopher, who had been honoured by the king of her country and won the highest praise—came thus to the Sanghams of Madura. We read of them and of the learned men coming to them, submitting their works to obtain their imprimatur; just as a French writer becomes one of "the Immortals" when he is taken into the French Academy.

And then you come to the Universities, of which I have just mentioned one; the third great stage, you may say, in Indian education. And I want for a moment to pause on that one, to see if it has any lesson for the education of our own days. From every part of India were sent students to that northern University. You may read about it in the Jātakas of the incarnations of Him who became the Lord Buddha. And there are many, many stories there of this University, and of

the dangers to be faced in reaching it and the conditions of the pupils. Princes' sons came with a fee for the teacher; but they lived in the same poverty as every other pupil lived. The pupils were trained to poverty, to obedience, to moral action. Not only were they taught along literary lines, but they were taught the arts and the crafts. And the curriculum, probably, of that old University would rather alarm your modern students, who only give a few years of life in order to get knowledge and acquire culture. And you read how there this wide moral education was insisted upon. There must be no difference between students by one being rich and the other being poor. And one might, having no fee to pay the teacher, help in woodcutting and by cooking, and so help in the support of his teacher; but princes themselves even had not money enough, as we learn from one story, to replace a bowl that a lad in his haste had broken; and when the poor man claimed the price of his bowl, the answer came: "When I go back home, I will repay you; now, I have nothing!" And such debts were ever honoured, we read; such debts were ever paid. But was it not a wholesome idea to send off princes to study at such a University, princes who were to rule over the people, but who were as poor as the child of the peasant who learnt in that same University? Was it not well that education should be given to all whether they could pay for it or not? And we learn of poor students who, when they went back into the world, taught and followed some avocation in which they might earn money and send it back to the University which had taught and had fed and had clothed them in the days of their poverty.

And then, coming down the centuries, there is another great University worth dealing with for a moment, by the name of Nālandā. Now four kings, successive kings, built that University. It covered an enormous

extent of land and it was surrounded by a high wall. No student might come until he was sixteen years of age and had had a fair education, and there was a doorway there in the high wall guarded by a pandit, who examined the pupil before he would open the door, and who sent him back if he came too ignorant, wanting in elementary instruction; for there was a network of elementary and, of what we should call, secondary school education; for every temple had a school attached to it, and when the Muslims came, every mosque had equally an elementary school attached to it, and secondary schools and universities also; a network of educational institutions all over the country; and they were kept up to the mark by the great universities of the land. You need not take any record from Indian writers; take them from Chinese travellers who came from China to attend, in some cases, the University, and in some cases travelled in order to learn something of those great cities of learning, and you will learn how in Nālandā there were no less than ten thousand pupils; and how, also, there were monks who lived there studying all their lives, and were clothed free and fed free and supported free; and how the State, that through its monarchs and its nobles showered wealth on its universities, had no authority therein; education was controlled by the learned only.

I read one account of a raja, a king, coming into what we would call a Convocation of the University of Nālandā, and not one person rose from his seat to greet him; but when the head of the University, called the "Venerable of the Venerables," came in, then everyone, king and all, sprang to their feet to do homage to learning, which was regarded as the greatest wealth that any could possess. And that University, destroyed after seven centuries of splendid life, was only one among the many universities whose names are recorded n In dian records. These and many others, teaching

not only literature but also law and medicine, the arts and crafts, kept up that wonderful skill in village craftsmen which produced all the brocades, and the carpets, and the silks, and the cloth of gold, and the cloth of silver. The prince, after learning these, went back to his kingdom, and visited the craftsmen and examined their work, so that the level of artistic production was kept up among the village artificers. And it was that wide curriculum, kept up in these centres of learning, but also penetrating into every village of the land, that made the wealth of India; that wealth that made the merchants of Europe fight with each other on her own soil, in order that they might drain her of that wonderful wealth her skill produced, thus making her what she is to-day, one of the very poorest countries of the world, with a population of which millions—forty millions, Sir Charles Metcalfe said, many, many years ago—never know what it is not to be hungry.

Is it any wonder that the Indians, knowing the story of their education, think they could educate their country better than it is educated by their white rulers? Do you remember that Sir Thomas Munro, giving evidence before your House of Commons in 1813, declared that there was a school in every village? For, as I said, there was no village without its temple, and therefore no village without its school; and wherever were Musalmans, there was no village without its mosque, and therefore no village without its school. And even as late as 1838 I find an English Inspector, a Mr. Adams, saying of Bengal the same thing that Sir Thomas Munro had said twenty-five years before; adding that in the larger villages and in the towns there were colleges kept up in Bengal, and that in the little villages, every village had its elementary school teaching children until they were sixteen years of age. And it is not to be wondered at, with all that behind them, that one of the

first things that Indian ministers did, when education was placed in their hands by the Reform Bill of 1919, was that seven Provinces out of nine made education free, and four made it compulsory; and the Councils that did not make education compulsory at once, instructed the ministers that so soon as they could do it without the dislocation of industry—for children now work in our mills and in our coalmines—they should also introduce compulsory education.

Now, I submit to you, friends, that that story of Education is a story that it might be worth while for you to study, so that you may realise the ruin that has come upon India in the loss of that old educational system. For, if I turn to it now, what do I find in the Government statistics? I find that we are educating in the primary schools of India 6,328,173 children. Six millions out of a population of 247 odd millions! There is the point; this coloured people claim that their country was an educated country before the white man invaded and dominated it; and they point to these very statistics, issued by a white Government, to show the ruin that has been brought upon India by leaving her people in ignorance.

And if we turn to other causes which at present are making India seethe with discontent and with anger, we find among the chief causes the terrible poverty from which they suffer, that of taking away of the land held communally by the village, and handing it over to peasant proprietors; individual ownership where common ownership had existed for thousands and thousands of years. This economic problem has to be faced. And might it not be that that country has some lesson also for you; that co-operation is better than individualism; and that the world does not in justice, and ought not, in fact, to belong to some, but to all those who are born into it, who live on it; that a man should not be born into it and find all means of

subsistence already monopolised, so that he must sell himself in order to preserve his existence, and become enslaved in order that he may keep himself alive.

May you not begin, perhaps, to realise that the pressure of populations on the lands I called scanty is again an economic problem which must be solved, unless the coloured nations are to overflow their boundaries and swamp both coloured and white civilisations in a common ruin?

Take those figures that I said I would mention, the relation of the area of land in the British Empire and the United States to the people who live upon the land. In the United States we find 105,000,000 white people living on 3,000,000 square miles of land. In Australia 5,500,000 white people hold 3,000,000 square miles of land. In Canada, as large as Europe, 8,000,000 white people hold that enormous area. And, when you turn to look at the other side, you find Japan with her 40,000,000 coloured people living on a mere fragment, as it were, of land as compared with Australia, on one-twentieth part of the land that Australia holds, while you have over 40,000,000 of population on the one-twentieth and you have only 5,500,000 on the other.

Those are hard facts that, as a nation, you have to face. The coloured populations cannot remain restricted within their own countries. They must overflow, and whither shall they travel? Those living along the sides of the Pacific Ocean naturally cast their eyes over to the vast lands uncultivated but held by small bodies of white men. And it is there, in those economic problems also, that you will find difficulties hard to solve, unless you disregard the ideas of colour and judge nations by their intellect and by their heart and not by the colour of their skin.

There are some lessons that I think you might learn, as I said, from India. Take the fact that India in

her civilisation has been able to reconcile high thinking with simplicity of living and with beauty of daily life. How often have I seen in a drawing-room in a western land, here in England, some Indian vessel, beautiful in shape, artistically moulded, which to an Indian is a kitchen vessel, but here finds a place on a bracket or table of beautiful objects in a drawing-room!

India has managed to reconcile in her own civilisation not only beauty of daily life with little of wealth, but she has also learnt in her poverty, through her old education, those gentle manners which alone make social life possible or supportable. The old maxim of Winchester public school that "Manners maketh man" has a good deal more truth in it than some of our modern democracy, I think, are ready to acknowledge. For gracious and kindly manners draw people together, draw ranks and classes together. And I have sat on the floor in the house of a wealthy Indian, in his drawing-room, side by side with a shopkeeper who came in to show his wares, and the children of the rich man played with the shopkeeper, and the rich man himself sat beside him on the floor, scarcely different from him in his dress, easy and friendly as to a brother.

That civilisation, even, I was going to say, in its ruin, is a beautiful civilisation. A civilisation in which you may be poor without being looked upon with contempt; and wealthy, without being bowed down to as though you were made of finer clay than your fellow-men.

And looking thus at this great land, I would ask you to compare the civilisation in the things that really matter in the daily life of men and of nations. Take from their Education that idea of vocational education, which is being discussed amongst us to-day. A common education was given in the way that I spoke of, up to the age where special temperaments and talents showed themselves, and then it was the habit, over in

India, to teach the boy or the girl according to the vocation that he was to follow in his manhood or in her womanhood as a part of the State. Only in some such fashion will the people reconcile individual liberty with the stability, and the order, and the welfare of the State. Only by realising the differences of temperament, the differences of qualities, the differences of powers, giving a freedom in your education that enables the boy and the girl to show what is their temperament; what are their intellectual qualities; only thus, by spreading such education everywhere, will society become tolerable, will society become stable and the nation successful in its organisation.

There are so many of those lessons that you can learn from ancient civilisations of the coloured peoples of the East. Take China, looked on by European nations as a land that may be plundered at will, as a land that may be poisoned with opium, as a land where the foreign Courts were to settle the matters where natives of the country were concerned with those of the neighbouring whites; and you will realise why China has reason for revolting on every hand, and is demanding non-interference from the West, so that she may work out her own destiny, as she worked it out for so many thousands of years.

And I would ask you all to consider—you who are members of the British nation, of the mightiest Empire left on the surface of the globe—I would ask you to remember that you alone among the nations of the world can solve the Colour Problem that is threatening civilisation to-day. You *can* do it if you will. You, with one white person to every six coloured persons in your Empire. Was ever before a nation given so mighty an opportunity of affecting the destinies of the world? Had ever such a little island as your own put before it so wonderful a destiny, so great a possibility? You, who might reconcile the coloured and

the white races, and weld them together in bonds of equality, of mutual service! Oh, I would pray you who have learnt something at least of the possibilities hidden in the human heart and the human brain, to turn your brains and hearts to this problem of your Empire. Get rid of the very word "Empire," which has a connotation of force, of violence, of imposing itself on others; and take a nobler word, "Commonwealth," or the Federation of British Peoples of Free Coloured Nations—realising that India is not lost to you, if you are willing to meet her on equal terms—a nation with strong heart and loving thought; a nation not full of the aggressive pride of nationality as some of the westerns are. I know that Indian nationality is said to be created by the British Empire; I read that India was never a nation until a foreign yoke was imposed upon her.

Do you know on what Indian nationality is founded? She has had many, many an empire before you; Hindu Empires, Musalman Empires; none of them interfered with her nationality. Your Empire is but a young one. How should that build those millions of coloured people into a consciousness of their own nationality? That comes down to them from their length of history and their length of religion. Do you realise that the same great men, the same great saints, the same great sages, and the same great writers are recognised, and owned and reverenced in every part of India to-day? Indian nationhood rests on her history, on her heroes, on her saints, on her poets, and not on the short period of a few years in which your nation has dominated her.

Do you realise that every Indian in his daily prayers names the seven sacred cities of the One Land? to which he gives his own name in India, of Bhârata-varsha, the land of the Bhâratas; or Âryavarsha, the land of the Aryans. That these seven great cities are in the extreme north, and south and east and west and in the

middle land, and these are daily repeated and speak of the unity of India in their religion, while varying in details, one in its consciousness, and that the One Life is appealed to by every Indian, no matter what his sect or devotional name may be. It is by Indian religion, Indian history, by her mighty past that stretches back into the night of time; it is by virtue of these that India claims to stand erect, as a nation before the nations, the younger nations of the West. And I tell you, if you will stretch out your hands to her, if you will cast aside prejudice, and ignorance, unworthy of your minds and hearts, of your feelings and your real good will to men; if you will not let a colour-bar block you; if you will not think that a white skin means superiority; if you will only realise that all the world's greatest Teachers were clothed in the coloured skin that you despise; oh, then, I can dream of a Commonwealth which shall make the Glory of the World; wherein coloured men and white men shall stand together; wherein each shall share with each, his own gains and his own advantages; wherein there shall be no talk of force, no talk of a British garrison in India, for you will garrison her with amity, with comradeship, and with love that spans the ocean and binds both countries into one. Oh, take India's hands while they are still outstretched, though now doubtingly, hardly trusting you: grasp them now! Then will the blessing of the future rest upon you, when the great fear of war between coloured and white has passed away from the minds of all nations; and the name of Britain shall shine with a greater glory, shall be gemmed with nobler jewels of human love and adoration. Oh, cast not away the possibility of bequeathing to your own, to your children, to the latest generation, such a heritage; a heritage of love, good will, power, unity and service, which shall mean the Peace of the World.

THE PROBLEM OF NATIONALITY

LECTURE III

THE PROBLEM OF NATIONALITY

TO WHOM DOES A NATION'S LAND BELONG? NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL MORALITY

FRIENDS,—

As you know, the subject to-night has for its title the Problem of Nationality; and how serious that problem is will very readily be seen if you glance for a few moments at the East of Europe and see the continual friction, the tendency to quarrel, and generally the condition of disturbed equilibrium which characterises that part of Europe, and makes a continual menace for the peace of Europe in general; it is easy in these difficult days for the striking of a match to provoke a conflagration. Hence, some definite and clear thinking on the question of Nationality seems to be one of the things specially necessary. And not only because there is what may be a temporary difficulty in one part of Europe, but also because in every country this problem is one which needs clear and definite thinking; since, on our conception of a Nation—what it really is, where the roots of nationality are struck—these questions arise continually in that vast portion of the world for which you are largely responsible; and we need always, in dealing with these so-called practical questions, a clear conception of the factors that enter into them; a careful thinking out of the applications that should be made from the principles accepted, from the theories that appear to be sound.

You will remember the order in which the Lord Gautama Buddha put the early stages of the great Path to which He pointed mankind. He began with Right Thinking; and not until Right Thinking had been done could there be Right Believing and Right Conduct. Here, perhaps, almost more than in any of the great Problems of the day, is Right Thinking desirable among those who would attempt to solve them. That Right Thinking must deal with the general principles that are to underlie the solution of the difficult Problem of Nationality. We need them in the regular political life of the day, for without them, all the great nations are really marching in the direction of a catastrophe; are going slowly, perhaps, but yet definitely, towards that precipice, over which former civilisations have plunged.

An incident that happened to myself in India comes into my mind, which is cognate to this subject. It was once when I was on a long pilgrimage in the Himâlayas, and I came to a place where the goal of the pilgrimage was visible very, very far below. And, not quite recognising the dangerous nature of the ground on which I stood, I stepped slowly forward to get nearer to the edge. I had an alpenstock in my hand, and naturally, feeling that I was going rather faster, than I wanted to walk, I tried to strike the alpenstock into the ground. It was too icy, it was too hard, and it begun then to slide; and one of the party called out, " Let the alpenstock go ! " Well, I let it go, and stopped myself. And so it gathered speed as it went towards the edge of the precipice and plunged over into the gulf below. Now that is very much a simile of what may happen in political life. It is at first a very slow approach to the dangerous gulf, then a slipping somewhat in that direction, the failure of the ordinary support to be useful, only proving to be a danger, and, if we are fortunate, seeing only the usual support vanish over

the edge while oneself remains behind. But I have never quite forgotten the curious feeling, as if one were sliding towards an inevitable fall.

Now there are these dangers in our Political Problems to-day, and we need to realise exactly what we mean by the words that we use, and we use them to describe what I call the factors which have to enter into the problem. And one of these points that we need to consider is the fact that we find everywhere around us in evolution the formation of great groups showing out certain characteristics. Divisions of the human stock into Races, and these again dividing into Sub-races, and the Sub-races again sub-dividing, until we get great families of nations, nations, and so on. And most people will be inclined, I think, to ask: Why these constant sub-divisions? What is the object of the unity of life, if that life is continually branching off into diversity of forms, and all these forms are discordant and striking out notes that give rise to quarrels of every kind? Why cannot mankind march along a common path? Why must it be continually breaking up into sections, and those sections tending to fight the one with another? The same question has sometimes been asked with regard to that great primary division of the human being into the two sexes: Why, if the human being is gradually to develop towards perfection, should we have a division of this kind? Why should we find the two sexes so different from each other in many respects, while the ideal human being, it may be said, would be the blending of both? And we very often see that the perception of these discords is met by an attempt to smooth away the discords themselves. In the last case I mentioned, that is very much the case amongst a very large number of our own people in dealing with the questions affecting men and women. They tend rather to what they think might be a solution, by making them more like each other in their

occupations, in their lives, and to some extent in their outer appearances. Whereas, the true Evolution is not that kind of unity which would abolish the gains that are obtained by the diversity. For the reason for diversity is, that the great Life of the Divine Builder cannot express Himself in single forms. One form shows out one part of His perfection; another form a different part, and very often one that seems in opposition to the first. And so we find a struggle towards unity which lies in smoothing away the differences; whereas the very purpose of evolution is to develop all these differences and then to blend them into a magnificent chord of many notes; not a monotone, not a single sound, but many sounds blending together, each lending its own richness to the common chord; and this, the great Orchestra of Humanity, sends out the image of its Maker in a chord composed of vast varieties of individuals, all correctly blending together and giving the perfect image of Him from whom it comes.

What we need to do is not to get rid of the differences, whether of sex, of nations, or any other things that war the one with the other, but to learn how to harmonise them into a fuller expression. For, as you study the differences of Races, a great characteristic comes out in each as its main mark, and all the civilisation is built upon it. And so you find, link after link, as it were, of a great golden chain of humanity; and each link has its own beauty, each link has its own place in the wonderful chain, and we think of humanity as made up of all perfections and gaining its own perfection by their blending, not by their destruction; by their relative perfection, and not by their effacement.

And so it is, as I think I mentioned to you before, that in one of the eastern scriptures, the great Father of our Race, the Lord Vaivasvata Manu, spoke of the human being as a single being, composed of the husband, wife and child. Neither by itself the human being, but

the human being made up of the union of the three. And that idea of the human being as the family, not a separated, isolated part in that family, lies at the root of many of the problems that distress us to-day; and the reconciliation is found in recognising the diversity and blending the diversities together; thus reaching a higher form of consciousness and a nearer approach to that universal consciousness, of which we all are fragments.

Looking then at that for a moment, as a general idea of the purpose of this diversified evolution, let us consider what we mean by the word "Nation". So many definitions have been given of the word in books of Political Science; and yet, in spite of all the definitions, we find two words used as though they were interchangeable: the word "Nation" and the word "State". Now a Nation, I submit to you, is a natural growth. The Nation becomes a State when it becomes an organised body, when its various functions have their rightful organs; and where the government—not any particular form of government—turns the Nation as an enlarged family into an organised community, working for a common end, trying to realise the general happiness and prosperity of all its citizens.

Now, on this question of what is called an individual —scientifically sometimes called the biological individual —you find a fundamental difference and a very bitter contest going on in the last part of the nineteenth century, as to what lay really at the root of all evolution. Some of the older amongst you, like myself, will remember the tremendous excitement caused by Tyndall's Belfast address, and it centred around one sentence of his: "That we had to change our conception of matter, and see in matter the promise and potency of every form of life." Twenty years later Sir William Crookes —a member, by the way, of the Theosophical Society, and guided in some of his researches by some of its larger

views of life—from the same chair, though in a different place, of the British Association, exactly reversed his predecessor's statement, and he declared: "We have to see in life the origin of all forms."

The latter statement was generally, after a while, adopted; for the more closely the lowest forms of life were examined, the more it was realised that it was not the form that gave birth to the functions of the life, but it was the functions of the life that gave birth to the form. That view, I may say in passing, is the one that you may find in very, very ancient times, in one of the great Indian Upanishads, the "Chhândogyopanishad," for there it is said that: "The spirit (a fragment of the Divine Life) becomes embodied in a form"; and it goes on in a number of very short sentences to say: "The spirit desired to see; and the eye. The spirit desired to hear; and the ear. The spirit desired to think; and the mind." There you have the very central idea of the East; all forms are moulded by the indwelling life. And modern Science, with its close and careful examination, with that "sublime patience of the investigator," of which Wm. Kingdon Clifford rightly spoke, we find that modern Science, in its careful investigations, has traced out for us the wonderful ladder of ascending individuals; the test of the individual being that it is capable of a separate life, but may also, in a group generally, become interdependent with other lives, and so form more complicated forms, or bodies. And they will tell you, that if you examine the very lowest form, the mere plastid, without even a wall to make it a cell, you will find—it is familiar naturally to all of you, and I only remind you of it—that any part of that plastid can exercise any one of the functions that support life. It can take in food anywhere, although there is no organ that grasps food. It can breathe anywhere; it can digest anywhere; it can circulate anywhere. And, by that constant exercise of the functions,

on the ascending scale of living organisms, the same cell, and then the larger and the more complex organisms that gradually appear from the simple ones, until you come up to the human being, you find several of these creative forces of life at work ; and then the generalisation comes, which was put in the few words I quoted from Sir William Crookes, " That you must see in life the shaper and the moulder of matter." That is literally true ; and when we pass from these simpler individuals and see one organism after another appear on the great ladder of evolving forms, then we come to certain bodies, which we would scarcely at first call individuals, and yet Science places them on that ladder in their own place in every case.

Thus you come on to Tribes, to Nations, you come on to the great organised collections of Nations that you may find in an Empire or Commonwealth and—not existing anywhere yet on each, but seen by the scientific imagination—a time when all humanity shall form one mighty individual, and in that individuality perfect that long evolution up which man has climbed on our habitable earth. And this is not only an idea confined to the purely scientific mind. You find it put forward, and put forward very, very fully, when you are studying any of the great writers on, what is now called, Political Science. You find, for instance, that when you have the State, the organised Nation, you should think of that really as an individual. And one well-known German writer, Professor J. K. Bluntschli, as well as several English writers, view this fact as of the greatest importance in the life of nations ; and he is only working out, fairly completely, the answer to what was put shortly by Professor Seeley, when he said : " Are not States living organisms ? " And Professor Seeley goes on to argue that that is so very shortly, and Professor Bluntschli works it out at greater length. He urges :

> "The State (the organised nation) is in no way a lifeless instrument, a dead machine; it is a living, and therefore organised, being. This organic nature of the State has not always been understood. . . . It is the especial merit of the German school of historical jurists to have recognised the organic nature of the Nation and the State. This conception refutes both the mathematical and mechanical view of the State, and the atomistic way of treating it, which forgets the whole in the individuals. . . . In the State, spirit and body, will and active organs are necessarily bound together in one life. The one National Spirit, which is something different from the average sum of the contemporary spirit of all citizens, is the Spirit of the State; the one National Will, which is different from the average will of the multitude, is the Will of the State."

And that, the Body of the State, is the form in which the Nation manifests its common life. He goes on into a number of details, with which I need not trouble you; but, commenting on that, I pointed out a good many years ago now that:

> "The conception of the State, fundamentally true, had been wrought into the mind of the German people, and had given them the marvellous coherence, endurance under suffering, and power to sacrifice all that makes life dear. So powerfully do ideas work out in the conduct of a Nation, so important are literary teachings to the State."

But, I submitted:

> "The German error lies in making the State supreme and in sacrificing everything to it, as Machiavelli taught, even morality, truth, justice, righteousness. And, we need to add to this, the Indian idea; that above the State is the Supreme

> Law, Dharma, the expression of the Divine Nature. The most absolute Indian monarch was regarded as the administrator, not as the creator, of Law; and, if he disregarded it, the Shâstras, the scriptures, taught, the Law he disregarded would sweep him away and his House with him."

Now that view you will at once realise comes very, very near to the modern view put by Matthew Arnold, when he wrote of "The Power that makes for Righteousness." This Law, the expression of the Divine Nature, is the Law that the State must follow if it is to endure. Many a civilisation has fallen by disregard of this Law, which is perfect justice between man and man, class and class; and where the Power that makes for Righteousness finds a Nation transgressing the Law, then, as the Indian would tell you, Dharma, the Law, sweeps away the offending Nation, and it disappears from the stage of history. And I find, in looking at modern writers, that this idea of the State which Bluntschli calls a person, lives very actively in the minds of some of the great teachers of our time. It comes out in the writings of Mazzini, whom you may remember, finding his people clamouring too much for Rights and forgetful of Duties, wrote that wonderful treatise on "The Duties of Man". And, in speaking of the Nation, he gives a true and brilliant idea, couched in allegorical words, but containing a supreme truth, that: "God writes a word on the cradle of every Nation, and that word is the Nation's message to the world." That I believe to be profoundly true. Every Nation has its own place, its part of evolution to perform, its word to the world, which is its message to mankind; and while that word is not wholly spoken, the Nation continues to live, continues to exist, despite every difficulty, despite every obstacle, despite every sorrow and humiliation that may fall in its way. And sometimes, as in the case of the East, we find very ancient Nations still living,

because their full message is not yet spoken, because something yet remains which they have to give to the world before they die.

And in considering this view of the Nation as a living individual, repeated over and over again by modern writers on the State, you will find the continual pressure of the idea that this is a fact and not an allegory; that part of the One Great Life abides in every Nation as its indwelling spirit, and that according as that Nation allows itself to be moulded after the inspiration of that indwelling spirit, so will its Life in the world be either long or short. And in this connection we find many of our learned writers laying immense stress on the fact, that the root of Nationality lies in the Past of the people.

Now, many of you who have studied this very modern form of Political Science will have noticed that most of the western writers—I think all of them with the exception of one, Sir Henry Maine—goes only as far back as Greece in dealing with the materials on which the Science is built. Even a man like Professor Sidgwick, in his famous University Lectures, laid stress on Greece as the origin of political institutions. Dr. Woodrow Wilson—that great President of America, whose wondrous dream of a League of Nations has yet to find its realisation among the warring peoples of the earth; that man who spoke the truth that was in him for the world's teaching, and died broken-hearted because even his own people rejected the vision he has proclaimed—Woodrow Wilson even dealt with all forms of Government before the Greeks in some four-and-twenty pages in a volume of over 600 pages.

It is to Sir Henry Maine, among the great writers on constitutional and legal matters, that we owe the instruction that we must go behind the West into the East if we would try to realise the Past, even of the western nations. He points out in considerable detail, that when the great waves of emigration came westwards

from the East, they brought with them certain definite organising and political ideas. He points out that the Past, in the West, is dead. "The past," he says, "is past." But that, if we would study that Past in a still living form, then we should go to India, where we should find still living the very foundations of European civilisations in the village life brought to Europe by the emigrants from Central Asia. And he goes into a very long and detailed description of the common factors that you find in the Constitution there of the Ancient East, and the Constitution of Saxon England, the Constitution that you find in Germany, the Constitution that you find in Scandinavia; the whole of these having the same kind of village life as still exists in India itself. And he points out, in that connection, that "the Past *is* the Present" in India, and can be seen in its working order forming even now the foundations of the Anglo-Indian Administration, and showing how the difference in the later evolution lay at the root of the differences that constantly arise between East and West.

And if the Nationality of any people be, as all these modern writers declare, rooted in the Past, then you can understand why a foreign government can never really rule well a people with whom they have no common Past. That is the reason that no foreign government for a Nation can ever be stable, it having nothing in common with their Past; and even the best intentions break against that fundamental difference. The traditions are not in common, the customs, habits, attitude of life, everything that makes the characteristics of a Nation, has nothing in common with the foreign government that rules it. And so it is, that wherever one Nation, old, civilised, with a great literature, a mighty Past, can never be permanently ruled and managed after the image of some modern civilisation. Either it must perish under the weight of a hostile Present, or it

must claim its freedom from the foreign yoke and develop along the lines of its own Past, evolved into a Present and into a Future, even greater than that Past had been. And it is here that we find so many of the problems of your British Empire coming to the top, and points to their solution, if only you could look at the question impartially, if you could only for the time put away the fashion in which you have built up your own principles, and try to understand that there are methods in other Nations different from your own.

If there is one thing more than another in which India has been a success, it has been in what is here called Local Government. But the form of Local Government imposed by British rule in India has been one of the many failures that have met well-intentioned attempts; for it is imposed from above, by authority, and does not grow out of the national life. The Indians ever build from the small unit upwards to the larger by aggregations, until even the mighty Empire that stretched from the Hindu Khush right down to the Nerbudda—and this was extended by two other monarchs that followed down to the South of Madras—even that mighty Empire was all built up on the model of Village Government; what you would call Departments of the State, there had the name of the Panchâyat, dealing with such and such subjects—the multiplication of Village Governments forming the essential basis for the government of that mighty Empire. And it was an Empire so huge, remember, that no less than four Viceroys ruled it under its great Emperor Ashoka, himself the fifth in that Government.

Now, looking at it in this way, is it not possible to see that there may be a solution found by the careful study of national peculiarities? Granted that at some points we shall have to realise that we use the word "Nation" very carelessly, but some so-called essentials are not essentials, such as the Government that makes it a

State, or the Land on which it lives. For you have one Sub-race, scarcely that, which has neither Land nor Government: the Hebrew Nation. Yet none of you would deny to that people their national characteristics and their special place in the human family; the marvellous artistic gifts which often distinguish that oppressed people, and the fact that the faults of the Nation grow out of the past oppressions, which denied them a citizen's place in the land in which they wandered, and forced them, as it were, to do nothing but to lend money at high rates to make themselves the hated of the Nations among whom they dwelt.

But, speaking generally, a Nation has a settled territory. It has some form of government under which it is organised. And so the question very naturally arises, which I put on the little programme: To whom does the land of a Nation belong? Now there you have one of the questions of so-called practical politics, which are mostly the most unpractical kind of thing that you can find anywhere; for a great many of your politics make a kind of turning, which makes many turns around a place you have already turned. But the reason that is so is, that politics is the only thing a man can do without having been educated in it and having had a special training in it, as you have in Medicine and in Law, and all the professions; the life of the Nation, the business of the Nation, the welfare of the Nation, all of these are supposed to come by some kind of internal knowledge which has never been acquired by practice or hard thinking! And so I am inclined to think that Politics are mostly unpractical, because the means they adopt to cure the evil so often give birth to other evils they have not foreseen.

But on this question: To whom does the land of a Nation belong?—the answer to it, it would seem should be very obvious: To the Nation that occupies the land. And yet, that is by no means the answer that a large

number of people give to-day with regard to the land, say, of your own country. And on that point you need to go back perhaps to simpler forms of living, in order that you may realise what it means when a part of a Nation holds land either by conquest or by force of law, growing out of past conquest usually ; so that the land of a Nation really belongs to the few, and the many are dispossessed and landless.

Now what does that really mean when you come to bring it right down to facts? Let me take the old village life and see exactly how that was carried out with regard to the land of the village. The land was held by the village itself. The whole of the population of the village, the whole of the villagers, were not agriculturalists. Only a part of any population can work upon the land, which is the only thing from which the material things necessary for the life of the village can be obtained. But you find the plan adopted—I am thinking especially of the Indian village, where we have such masses of details preserved—the arrangement there was a very simple one, that so much land was given to every household for the raising of crops. The land of the carpenter, or the ironsmith, or any other craftsman, and the land of those who preserved the order of the village like the watchman, or the priest of the temple, or the schoolmaster of the school, everyone of these had allowed to him so much land of the land occupied by the village as a whole. I can give you the names of some of the people to whom the land was allotted in that way, when the land of the village needed in any way to be subdivided by fresh trades, fresh forms of work. The part of the population that was agricultural cultivated the whole of the land. The various craftsmen who made the things necessary to every villager, the builder and the carpenter, the ironsmith who made the plough, and the carpenter who made its shafts, and all the other men who were necessary to provide not only food but

clothing, the material for clothing and the weaving of that material into cloth, the whole of these were engaged in their separate avocations, while the agriculturists cultivated the soil for all. And then, in the very early days, a simple system of barter: so much of the crop to go to the artisans of the village, and so much of the crop to go to the guardians of the village peace and its protection, and so much of the crop to go to the priest and to the schoolmaster, and so on. And that even goes on still, for even now when the village crops are reaped, all the fairly strong men and women take part in the reaping of the crop; and then it is threshed and the grain separated from the straw. Then the grain is made into definite heaps assigned to each household. And everybody is perfectly contented and everyone gets his share. The complaint is, of course, that the harvest is bad very often and the soil less productive than in earlier days; but the system is there.

Now, a civilisation becomes more complicated as villages become towns, and it is evident that that very simple habit of exchange of the products of his labour by each cannot be carried on under the new conditions And then you get trading instead of barter within the village. Then you get tokens which represent the value, both of the articles and of the crops. And so, step by step, you come to the present complicated arrangement for the production and the distribution of the necessaries of life. But the principle that underlay that simple village life is the principle that ought to be adapted to the complicated needs of the present civilisation, and that principle is: THAT THE LAND BELONGS TO THE NATION, and not to a few individuals in it, or even to a group of larger individuals.

The life of the Nation depends on the land on all that the land gives: without it, none can live. And because not even those who cultivate it, but who need to be supplied by others with many of the necessaries

of their daily life, not even they, the cultivators, have the right to the real ownership of the land. They should pay to the State, to the organised Nation, the rent which now goes so largely into private hands, and then their payments—payments for the advantage they are given in the holding for cultivation of a portion of the Nation's land—would flow back to the Nation by the rent which they pay; and so those who were landless, nominally, would be sharers in the advantages that accrued out of the land owned by the Nation. For it is in that that lies the only justice between the Nation and the land it occupies. None should be shut out from his share, as it were, in the land into which he is born; and if a class, or a few, or even a considerable number, should have personal, individual possession of the land, then what of those that are born into the Nation and find no place which they can occupy that gives them a share of the national inheritance, the land by which that Nation lives?

You have to consider this question not in the light of the mere changes in proprietorship that you may make. There is only one rightful proprietor, and that is the State, the organised Nation; and it is the nationals of that State who have the right to the control and the management of the Nation's land. Without that you get continually a mass of unearned wealth coming from the land and a mass of undeserved poverty among the landless, who have only the strength of their bodies to sell and who are driven down by competition continually, until, as in this country, they have grown so strong and so educated that they refuse individual bargaining and insist on collective bargaining, not only with those who own the land technically, but with those who hold the results of the labour employed on the land and unconsumed by the Nation, which is called Capital. With that question I am dealing in another lecture. I must keep to this question of the land to-day, and I

must ask each of you to think it steadily out, step by step, and to see whether these great extremes of wealth and poverty, arise from the fact that the labour of many, the results of the labour of many, comes into a few hands instead of being fairly distributed among all who have contributed to the production. I ask you to think whether the holding of land in your country is justifiable as it is held to-day. For you must remember that the land being the only place on which a Nation can live, you have, where there are aggregations of people, an enormous increase in the value of the land. Think of the value of the land as it was some centuries ago here in London, and notice the fabulous height of value to which it has reached, because it has been owned very largely by a few individuals who have become inordinately wealthy through the labour of the masses, through the trade of the crowds that have come to make this mighty capital city of your Empire, and the greater London that lies all around it. Not to the landlords, but to the people and their work and their trade and their labour should go really these collective products of the organised industry of the people.

Now I know at the present time, the land-holder, who has inherited his land, has many, many heavy responsibilities, and very often finds himself short of the wealth with which he should meet these responsibilities. It is not the fault of someone coming into the world to-day, into this crowded English land; it is not his fault that he is born into the class of landed proprietors, where his path in life may be made easy for him and where he finds himself in full possession of part of the nation's land; so his standpoint has to be considered as well as that of the dispossessed many. For it is true that the great injustices in a Nation are due to the indifference of large numbers of the people; who, with the education, and the intelligence, and the power

to change these conditions, have not exercised them. It is idle to blame a single class for being what it is. You have to look at the whole state of the Nation, the whole condition of the Nation; trace out the causes of the unearned wealth and of the undeserved poverty, and deal fairly then with everyone who is one of the nationals of the State.

Once in your history you did a great act of national righteousness, which has been the greatest factor in raising you to your dominant position among the Nations of the world. It was in that case where slaves—not wage slaves, but chattel slaves—were sold in some of your colonies, where men's bodies were bought and sold, and they raised great wealth for their owners. And when the conscience of England arose against that national crime; when those who tried to think rightly, and so to act rightly, made a great agitation here to do away with the slave trade, then the Nation took on itself the burden of the national carelessness and indifference, and compensated the then holders of the slaves; for they were not the only ones to be blamed because slavery existed. And that is a view that you have to consider in making any great changes in your country. You cannot put on the heads of those who to-day profit, not only by their forefathers' actions, but also by the acquiescence of the Nation in the continuance of the wrong. You cannot put on that comparatively small class the whole burden of the whole reform, of the nationalisation of the land. You know, from what I have said, that I believe it is necessary, and that I hold that a great wrong is done where child after child is born a landless creature. But not by doing one injustice to undo another can a Nation really cöoperate with "the Power that makes for Righteousness". And so I would beg you to go carefully into the question, you in whose hands the determination of the question lies. And I would ask you to remember that no act of in-

justice to any can be left unexpiated by the Nation that has committed it. It is true, though a quaint statement, that

> Though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small;
> Though with patience stands He waiting, with exactness grinds He all.

That Law that I alluded to, the Law of Duty, of Dharma, that Law rules every Nation, whether it knows it or not. It is true, the word that the old Hebrew prophet said: "Righteousness exalteth a Nation"; and no material power, no material wealth, no material triumph over rivals, can keep the Nation among the leaders of the world unless its hands are clean from wrong and from every form of oppression and unrighteousness.

That leads me to the last point of what I have to say, as to national morality. You know how many writers tell us that morality evolved. First the morality of the family within the family, and outside that no morality at all. And then morality extended to the tribe, and then gradually from the tribe to a number of tribes that formed the Nation; and that is the point where morality stands to-day.

You have certain laws which condemn certain forms of crime, not all forms of crime. There are many wrongs which are done which are wrongs that no law at present touches. For you stop sometimes gambling in your streets, where a few pence or shillings pass from one pocket to another, but you do not stop gambling on your stock exchange, where millions change hands without any right equivalent.

I was reading the other day of some of the wonders of the New York or the Chicago exchange, and I read of how a young lady, a governess, bought certain shares, and how, by what they call a "corner"—I do not very

well understand the words here—these shares went up to a fabulous price. They were shares in a company connected with wheat, and they were trying to " corner " wheat ; and so the governess found herself practically a millionaire, and having done nothing for it ; evidently it came from the pockets of other people, who were not to be pitied for losing it. But some of them may be really trying to earn money honestly, which is not always an easy thing to do in a highly civilised society, I admit. But the figures given were astounding, and I quote this incident in order that people may see, that if you gamble in millions you were very much admired, but if you gambled in pence you were taken to the police cell. And I wondered what kind of a morality it was that allowed all the big fish to break through the net of the law and caught all the little ones who, after all, are far less to blame than those whose triumph meant the impoverishment of hundreds. We have not then reached even national morality ; and I submit to you that here again the family is the model that the State should copy. For moral duties have their basis in the family life, with the parents who are the elders, the brothers and sisters, and the little ones and the dependents on the family ; those are kept right by right emotion, by love, the supreme law. But if we talk of extending the morality of the family to the morality of the State ; if we point out that in the State also there are elders, and equals, and youngers ; if we ask for the tenderness to the weak citizens of the State that is so readily given in the family to the little ones of that family ; if we point out that there are many who are starving, because they have been left ignorant and are not able to win their bread ; then we are told that we are encouraging pauperism, as I remember they told me when I was on the School Board, and I proposed those foods for starving children which now, I am glad to know, is common over the whole of your country.

Have we no Dharma? Have we no Duty to the members of our society who are what we call wastrels, what we call defective in a moral sense? Has it ever struck you that it is the weak that have rights; it is the strong who have duties? If you had a wastrel in your family, you would try to mend him or, at the worst, you would try to keep him somehow. And the wastrels of our civilisation are those who have been born into misery, born into poverty, born into criminal families; who have never known the love that can cure wrong by affection, or the training that can gradually enable even a criminal to grow into a decent citizen of the State.

You have no morality hardly as to your prison life. You claim the right to punish those who have never been taught to know right from wrong; who know suffering, and by suffering are driven to despair; and when in their despair they commit a crime, you fling them into prison where their life is miserable, and you care not until they come out again—not cured, for how are they to be cured by the way so many of them are treated—? again to be sent back until they become the habitual criminal, who is one of the great problems of the day?

I know that many improvements are being made. I know that in America, where there are some of the vilest of prisons, there are also some of the most splendid. I know a Judge there who, before he would accept the judicial office, went into prison for a time, in order that he might know the nature of the punishments that he would be called upon by law to inflict. He concealed his rank; only the governor of the prison knew that one of his prisoners was in reality a man who was to sit on the bench to try criminals. But that Judge learnt what was meant by "solitary confinement"; he learnt what was meant by a dark cell; he learnt what was meant by so many of the brutal punishments that

still continue ; and when he sat on the bench he was a Judge who remembered that the criminal was a man, and that if he had had the previous life of the criminal he also might have become a criminal in his turn. What we want to do to improve your national morality in your prisons is, to remember that one of the curses of prison life is its frightful monotony, its humiliations, and its treating of human beings as though they had no need of relaxation ; no need of social conversation ; no need of some gleam of beauty in the lives that are so dull and grey. And I often, often wish that many of our people who made the laws had had experiences of the prison life to which their laws send so many people ; and that they would realise that where by bad birth conditions, or bad conditions previous to birth, human beings are born as what they call " congenital criminals," then society has the duty to try to make their lives such that they shall not continue always miserable, even though it may not be possible to allow freedom to them, unless you help them to earn it ; man has no right to punish man ; he has only the right to help his brother criminal to improve.

If there are so many faults in the morality of a Nation, what about international morality ? Is not the time coming when that which is criminal within the Nation should be held to be criminal when practised on another Nation ? Ought international crimes to be changed into national virtues ? Should cruelties that you would punish cruelly at home be rewarded with medals and pensions if wrought on a foreign Nation ? And so at least let us admit that we have no international morality save that which is beginning to show itself in such things as an International Court of Justice at the Hague, the attempt to formulate international law, the attempt of the League of Nations to substitute arbitration for fighting and justice for force.

These are the gleams of a coming dawn. These,

often despised and rejected to-day; called weak because we leave them unstrengthened; called helpless, because we refuse to lend the help that we might give. But there is the dawn of a better day breaking, a day when cöoperation shall take the place of competition, when tenderness shall replace force for the miserable and degraded; when none shall be content to be happy while others are unhappy around him; none be willing to be learned, save as he uses his learning to enlighten the ignorance of others who are miserably neglected; when none shall be glad to be called rich, unless he holds his wealth as a steward holds the wealth of his master, to be rightly administered and not as his personal possession.

Oh! if it were possible that the learned; if it were possible that the rich; if it were possible that the highly placed, would in this country realise that honour and wealth, honour and place, unearned power, are things to be ashamed of and not things to be proud of; If they would realise that their one duty is, while they have to hold what they have no right to, that they should use it for the benefit of others; and by one great act of sacrifice should uplift the poverty-stricken, and show that England has not yet fallen so low as to look on wealth as the right to social position, on learning as a matter for barter instead of a matter for gift.

THE PROBLEM OF EDUCATION

LECTURE IV

THE PROBLEM OF EDUCATION

EDUCATION AND CULTURE; THE NECESSITY OF BEAUTY IN A NATION'S LIFE

FRIENDS,—

You will, I am sure, excuse a prefatory sentence or two before I begin the lecture on Education. In the matter of Education, I am not only a spinner of theories, but have had a large and wide experience in the practice of those theories. It began in London, on the London School Board, in the late eighties of the last century, and it has gone on practically continuously in India and elsewhere, since about 1896. I only say that because, on some points that I put to you, you may be inclined to think that I am a dreamer rather than one acquainted with the practical work of Education; and although with some of my theories on it you may very likely disagree, I would ask you to consider in thinking them over that they are theories that I have very largely put into practice, and have seen the result of the practice in the manhood and the womanhood of the students with whom I have been connected in the control and development of their education.

With that short preface, let me begin with the question, What is the object of Education? And I put to you as the object of Education the training up of a good citizen in the life of a Nation; of developing the qualities necessary for such citizenship. I believe

Education should be directed, not only to train the individual, but to train him in relation to his fellows, trying gradually to develop the character and the qualities which make the boy or the girl in their manhood or their womanhood contributors to the happiness of the society in which they live; and so, under all the details of Education, it seems to me that this object should be kept in sight. How far will the Education you give to the child fit him for his entrance into the world? During the period of his dependence upon others, until he goes out into the life of the Nation, how far can you so model your Education as to make him really the citizen in the implication of that word, a man or woman who is fit to live in society? For that is really what we mean when we speak of the citizen. And you may remember that in ancient Greece, the word "politics," taken as a derivative of the Greek word for City, "polis," that the politics idea included the whole life of the City State. A man was judged by his ability to contribute to the happiness, the prosperity, the refinement, the general upliftment of those who were his fellows in society. We have narrowed the word, I know, down from its original meaning to a mere strife of parties in some legislative assembly; but the real meaning of the word is the methods whereby human beings living in society shall develop their highest qualities.

Now it is perfectly true, that in looking at the man as a citizen, you do to a considerable extent circumscribe what is called his individual liberty. But the liberty of the individual, as it seems often to be regarded in modern days, can only be a fact if a man is living in isolation. More and more, as we live together, we must adapt ourselves to those with whom we live. More and more must we learn the great lesson of co-operation with our fellows, striving so to develop our character, so to increase our culture, so to refine our own nature,

that we may be really fit to live happily and usefully in the society of our fellow-creatures.

Too much stress is very often laid on "liberty"; for it sometimes seems to demand a condition which is quite incompatible with the higher development of the useful qualities, those qualities which bring out all that is best and noblest in the human being, and make him a part of a mighty organisation, the organisation of a Nation, and finally, a citizen of Humanity.

Looking then at that for a moment, we have to consider in relation to this Education, how far that which we see around us, that which we desire to bring about, is fit for the great object of Education, as I submit it to you, the rendering of the child able to grow into a useful citizen of the State, of his Nation. And this view of man's true end in society is not only to be found in ancient Greece, but you find the same idea in ancient India. You find the same idea in modern days, for if you take a great and poetical writer, John Ruskin, you will find that he looks on the individual as one who should be fit to live in an organised Nation, fit to discharge the functions that come to him in that respect. You may remember that, in dealing with the vital functions of the Nation, he makes, in regard to each function, one great point of honour which should govern the life of the citizen in his relation to the discharge of that function in the State. He asks: What is it in the individual citizen, that falls to him as a duty and obligation, which it is dishonour to disregard—points of duty which he holds so dear, that he would die rather than fail in those? And Ruskin works out some of the great functions of national life, and says what in each is the point of honour as to which the citizen is dishonoured if he fail to discharge his obligation; and he brings it down to the avocations of ordinary life, to the teacher, to the physician, to the merchant, and examines these in the light of the duty of the citizen in the Nation.

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And thus working it out, he shows us emphatically, vividly, what are the real obligations of all of us who live in society, obligations which should be held so sacred, so necessary in our life, that we would rather forfeit life itself than break the obligation that we have undertaken.

Now I believe that that is a fundamental truth in society, and it is being recognised to some extent in modern Education, where you find that that which in the older, the ancient Education, was regarded as a class or caste obligation, is now spoken of as "vocation", literally "calling". There was a time when the word "vocation" was only thought to be rightly used when it was used in connection with the duties of religion. Now it is realised, and rightly, that every intelligent human being born into a Nation has, or ought to have, an employment which is literally a vocation, a "calling" from his own nature to that function that he can best discharge; a vocation as sacred to each as the dearest thing he possesses, which, as Ruskin says: "he should die rather than disregard."

For a moment, then, taking Education as having for its object the creation of such a citizen, we next require to examine the human being who is the subject of Education; and there again, in modern days, Education is becoming very, very much improved with regard to the treatment of the child. But before taking any detail in that, let me ask you for a moment to consider the nature of the human being. When you observe him, what are the manifestations that you meet with in that observation? Obviously, the very first thing you see in your examination is the physical body. That, then, must be considered carefully when you are planning Education. Then you find out, as you watch, developing the one after the other, certain activities of consciousness manifesting through and by the body. You observe that there are three great aspects of conscious-

ness in every human being that show themselves in the human life, and therefore must form the basis of a true and adequate Education.

First of all, you are bound to observe there appear in the child what are sometimes in a rough classification called the feelings, the sensations that the youngest child, the very babe, shows out ; sensations of pleasure, sensations of pain, of hunger and thirst, and other elementary demands which are made from the helpless body, and which have to be met and supplied by others if the child is to live, if the body is to grow. So there you have one great department of Education. After you have considered the physical, come the training of the sensations, the training later of the passions and emotions ; the whole of these being the material, as it were, on which knowledge is to be gained and built up, for which the training of thoughtful Education is eminently necessary.

Then, later, there is the dawning of intelligence, the manifestation of that thought which fundamentally is the making of relations, first between the mere bundle of sensations that we call the babe, and the objects around him which give him either pleasure or pain. And then you begin to see that this emotional training is the next great department of Education, on which the development of character, on which the gradual training of the sense of duty and obligation, that which we sum up in the word " Morality ", essentially depends. And then you notice as the intelligence grows stronger, this making of relations becoming more and more complex, the gradual development of the brain and of the body marking out the natural stages of Education. And you find one other department in what we may call the three-aspected consciousness inhabiting the body : that which gradually shows itself out, the recognition of the unity of life, the recognition that happiness really depends on our relations with our fellows in that

higher part of their nature, in which the One Life, the Divine Life, gradually flows out and makes the man a spiritual man, whatever may be his function in the Nation, whatever may be his duty in the State.

And, observing these four departments in the human being, the physical body, the triple consciousness using it, you begin to realise that there must be in the Education to which this human being is subjected a department dealing with each of these four things that make up that constitution of the human being. The body, the emotions, the mind, the spirit, such is the human being in his constitution in his condition in our world; and the Education must be so designed, so adapted, that every part of this complex being shall have its own training, its own stimulus to development, to evolution; and as we then study man we realise these departments in Nature, marked by the development of the child as he grows, and thus we realise that an Education that excludes any one of these departments is an Education fundamentally defective, and will fail in bringing about that all-round evolution which Education ought to help the human being to develop.

And thus studying man, we are bound to realise that, in the first years of life, the body should be the primary thought of those in whose care the child is placed. I do not know how far all of you realise that the whole health and strength of the body in manhood and womanhood depend on those early years of childhood and the supplying of everything that the body needs. Neglect in that particular, insufficiency of the conditions of health, poor development of the body, can never be made good in later life; and there you at once come face to face with a terrible problem: the conditions that surround the children of the great masses of the people in the large cities, in which the inhabitants dwell in congested areas, in unwholesome surroundings. Think for a moment what are the conditions of the healthy

development of the body in these early years of life. The first seven you may take as the most important, as an injury then permitted leaves its scar on the body of the man or the woman.

First you require ample, wholesome and nourishing food. Underfeeding of the child, malfeeding of the child, these sow the seeds of weaknesses, and therefore of inefficiency in the body of the man or woman citizen who has not had that necessary supply in the early years of life.

Then you require pure air. How is that to be obtained in the slums that still disgrace the great cities of the land? The children breathing air polluted with every form of foulness; packed together in rooms that I knew fairly well when I was in London, in miserable, underground cellars in which a whole family would live; or some attic far up in the air, truly better than the cellar, but still unfit by the impurities of the air for the healthy development of the children born into such rooms.

After food and pure air, you need sunshine for the child. The life of the child largely depends on the forces that come down to it in the rays of the sun. And when you find, as you may find, in many of your manufacturing cities that there are parts of those cities where trees will not grow, where plants will not flower, then you may be sure that the lack of the sunshine for the child is as fatal to healthy development as the lack of the sunshine is in the vegetable kingdom; for the child needs the sunshine to give him vitality and health. The third great necessity of child growth is absent in the narrow streets, in the unwholesome atmosphere of the courts, in which so many of the children even of this great city live.

Then you want plenty of sleep. Sleep in which the little body grows; sleep in which the pure air fills the lungs; sleep which the health and the strength of

the child need for nourishment as much almost as it needs food. Has it never struck you, that every child that is born into a Nation has a right to surroundings in which he can develop every faculty that he has brought with him through the gateway of birth? That is the primary right of the child; for rights belong to the weak and helpless, rather than to the strong. How many of the children born into the great cities of so wealthy a land as this have a chance of developing their inborn faculties, of growing up into healthy and vigorous lives? You know some cities, as I know them, where the bodies of the class that becomes workers with the hands grow up undersized, where they grow up narrow-chested, where they grow up rough in manners, clumsy often, save in their special trade wherein they have been trained; and I claim for the children of the land healthy surroundings for every one of them, that they may know the country and not only the town; live as far as possible in the beauty of the country, and not be only taken out for a day perhaps—a day's holiday for the children of the poor. The child has the right to all that which comes out of the healthy country life. Not for the city is the young child born into the world; and if there must be, as I suppose there must be at present, great aggregations of human beings, then at least let there be large spaces wherever men and women are crowded together; great spaces such as you have in your Hyde Park; such spaces as I learn have lately been made down in the Isle of Dogs, as it is called, where there are gardens, where there are flowers, where there is open space which the children of the poor can play in, and breathe in such air as is permitted in that gloomy neighbourhood, as I knew it in the past. And I want, if I can, to win you to the principle that every child has the right, I spoke of, to surroundings in which he can develop the whole of the qualities he has brought with him. Those opportunities are offered to

the children of the rich, they are offered to large numbers of those who are called the middle classes of the country; but what of the great masses of our labouring population? What of those who supply the other classes with the necessaries of healthy and comfortable life? What of those little ones unable to make their wants articulate, and finding only few who claim for them the right to a fully developed life, as much their right as it is of any other better-to-do class? And I submit to you, that where the children are not surrounded with those necessaries of healthy life, there should be in such a Nation no luxuries for the adults—except for the sick or for those growing feeble from old age. For how has the adult the right to waste on luxury that which is absolutely necessary for the health and the true efficiency of the children, who are born into the same Nation as that which gave him birth? And on these general principles I would say that our Education should be based.

Now take the first signs of consciousness that I alluded to, the sensations which are regarded as the great basis later, when worked up into more complex fashion, as the very basis of knowledge on which we are to build our thought; if these sensations in the child are to develop, are to show themselves definitely, then the first necessity for that little child in this first manifestation of his consciousness is, that the atmosphere around him should be one of love, one of sympathy, one of tenderness, where there is never a harsh word or a gesture which would suggest fear to the child. In the home, the first duty of the parents, after supplying the needs of the body, is to remember that the whole future of the emotional nature of the child, if it is to be healthily developed, depends on the atmosphere; and in that atmosphere there must be nothing to frighten the child, nothing to alarm him. One fault that ran until quite lately through Education, and still

is found in very many schools even for the young, the very young, is that it is thought necessary to restrict the freedom of the child, and instead of allowing the child his natural freedom, his experimenting with a strange world in which he finds himself, there is a continual atmosphere of telling him what he ought *not* to do. I would like to see the word "don't" cut out of the vocabulary which touches the ear of the child. "Don't do that"; "Don't do the other"; and all the "don'ts" generally based on the comfort of the older people, and not in the least depending on what the child is trying to do. As much liberty as possible the child should have; and the only justification for limiting it is to save him from danger, into which, otherwise, his ignorance, his inexperience, might lead him. Short of that, give the child the fullest expression; let him try his own experiments.

Do not make a system for the education of your children, for every child is an individual, and has to be studied before you know the kind of Education that will fit him. There was a gentleman, I believe, in ancient Greece called Procrustes, and he got hold of people and made them prisoners; and when he had them prisoners he put them on to his bed, and if they were too long, he chopped off the part that went over the length of the bed, and if they were too short, he pulled them out until they were long enough for the bed by which he measured them. And I am inclined to think that the Procrustean system of modern Education very often does not help the development of the child, but too often hinders it. Education should be fitted to the child, and not the child fitted to the Education that his elders have made a system for him.

And the position of child and teacher needs to be reversed. I have often found the teachers in the schools I was looking after asking the children questions. But why should the person who knows ask questions

from the one who does not know? Why should not the child ask the questions of the teacher? unless the teacher is afraid that the questions of the child will be too difficult to answer, and is not prepared to face that difficulty, or to study the child so as to see the need in the child from which the question comes.

And I lay such stress on the absence of fear, because it is often found that that sad emotion has been started either in the home or in the school. And I remember being told in a Benares school, where my friend Bishop George Arundale and I have had a good deal of experience, that one day the inspector said that because we had nothing to do with the brutality of corporal punishment, because there was no such thing ever seen in any of our schools as a cane, with which to strike the helpless child, the inspector said: "Oh, you cannot keep discipline unless you use the cane!" That is a superstition that I think is largely being outgrown, although it has not entirely disappeared yet, I am afraid. But the teacher who cannot keep discipline without inflicting bodily pain should rather go and break stones in the road than break the hearts and paralyse the emotions of the children unfortunately committed to his care. I remember in Benares a school close by ours where a child was caned if he came late. "Oh, they *must* be in time; they *must* be punctual!" Children are punctual enough if the school is made attractive to them. In a school we had in Madras for the outcaste children, the children were at first afraid to come; and one day when we had collected a number of the children, we were surprised to see approaching a crowd of grown-up people, armed with sticks and all kinds of things. We asked them what they came for. "Oh, because we think the children will run away from the school and we want to drive them back again." Well, we did not find that was necessary at all. We found we could make the school so attractive that the

children ran to it, dancing and singing, instead of wanting to get out of the schoolroom as a place of rigid discipline. And I would that every teacher understood that any fear on the part of the child dulls his intelligence, as well as wounds his emotions. The child who fears punishment cannot use his intelligence to the full. If you were frightened by some giant who came along and seized you by the collar and struck you, I do not fancy that even your intelligence would perhaps serve you as well as it does in an atmosphere where you are at ease and happy. And so I would ask every father and mother, every teacher, to let the child express itself, and never to use one harsh word to the helpless creature entrusted to their care. For you must remember that all these children came into the world with a character. They are not blank sheets of paper, as was once supposed, whereon parents and teachers could write whatever they chose. We, who are Theosophists, of course believe in Reincarnation. That is, we believe that the immortal Ego comes back to this world for lesson after lesson in mortal life, and brings with him the germs of the faculties that he has woven in the Heaven World out of the experiences of the previous mortal life; that these germs are sent down into his lower vehicles, and that those are drawn out and cultivated by right Education. And that Ego is sometimes, perhaps, older than the teacher, and only wants the opportunity of further development to show how far he has climbed on the great Ladder of Evolution. Modern Science, again—though not believing in Reincarnation for the most part, I expect, for that needs Philosophy and not only Science—admits that the child comes into the world with a character, for it observes facts and sees the differences in the children born into the world. There they look upon the heritage of the child as coming out of the past of the Race; not always agreeing about the details and methods of

heredity, but admitting that the child born into a highly civilised Nation differs in capacity, in character, from one born among one of the Races dying out, because the bodies are too little developed for the Ego, or the Soul, that is to dwell therein. On this there is really no quarrel, as to this character and the germinal abilities of the child; sometimes in a right direction and sometimes in a wrong direction they may develop; and where this is thoroughly understood, then the Education should be so fitted to the child as to encourage the good germs to flower into well-developed faculties, and to starve out the evil germs by affording them no nourishment, as it were, from the outer world. For, remember, when you have to deal with children, they are essentially imitative of those who are around them. Remember that every irritation on the part of the older folks gives rise to a corresponding revolt in the child. That the children grow either towards right or towards evil, according to the thoughts and the emotions of those who come most closely into contact with them. And hence it is essential for the healthy development of the young child that he should be surrounded not only with love and tenderness, but also, as far as is possible, with beauty, which shall play upon his nature and develop it harmoniously along the lines of grace, as well as along the lines of growing knowledge.

And when you come to the development of the emotions, the age then being chiefly between the seven years of infancy and the fourteenth year of adolescence, there your Education should chiefly deal with the training of the emotions, with the holding up of great Ideals that history, well taught—not taught as of one Nation against other Nations, but taught as the common heritage of the human race—trying to make the young child, the youth and the girl, sympathise with other Nations rather than suspect them; teaching them how to see in the inevitable past that wars sometimes

caused a sharing of civilisation, although now we should have grown far beyond that brutal method of the sharing; holding up to them as heroes the benefactors of mankind and not the great warriors, not the great admirals and generals, but rather those who have lifted the Nations a little higher in Evolution, those who have been helpers of the poor, the protectors of the weak, and the improvers of social conditions; who have sacrificed themselves for the sake of others, and have left behind them examples of courage—courage not in destroying but in saving life—and teaching them to see as heroes of a Nation, the miners who will go down into the pit where they risk death from the gases that have broken out there, who will be drawn up exhausted and fainting, and will go down again into that hell of misery as long as a chance remains of saving their comrades and of helping those who are bound up with their own lives of toil. Oh, if you look for heroes in every rank of life amongst those who help and not amongst those who tyrannise and oppress, then your youth will grow up with the noblest social ideals, and will be stimulated to those actions which are the salvation of Nations and of States.

And it is during those impressionable years of seven to fourteen that you should have that training of the emotions which is the real basis of morality. For what is it really, that collection of actions that we call virtues? It is only the kind of actions which in a family are dictated by love, made permanent, made general, extending far beyond the limits of the family, and so becoming a part of the character, the essential qualities of the man or woman who sees, as was said by a great Legislator of our Race, "who sees in all the elders his parents, in all his contemporaries his brothers and sisters, in all his youngers his children to be protected and helped". That is the growth of the family love into the great virtues by which Nations

are exalted and are made really happy in their relations among themselves and with other Nations as well. It is truly said that "Love is the fulfilling of the Law," and it is all the qualities which love inspires in the family, which should be the civic virtues, made permanent and rendered general in an ever-widening circle of recognised human obligations.

And you should take advantage in these years of the retentive memory of the young, and store the memory with great examples of noble living. Fill it with poems that help and stimulate the love to our fellow-creatures. Hold up before them examples also of duty, of gentleness, towards the non-human, the sub-human, kingdoms of Nature. For by that you are helping them to realise the unity of Life which draws out the powers of the Spirit, and gradually permeates the Spiritual Nature of the student, of the man and of the woman.

Most of you, I expect, remember the rhymes that you learnt in childhood when you had to learn lists of kings and all those other things which unnecessarily burden the memory that might be used for better purposes. I believe I could repeat off-hand from William the Conqueror down to modern times:

> William the Conqueror long did reign;
> Red Rufus, his son, by an arrow was slain;

and so on. We cannot help remembering those things we learnt when we were very young. Take advantage then of that facility to learn, and teach things in this period where the memory is active, and so plastic and yet so tenacious, that while it takes readily the impression, it retains that impression. And I know no better guardian of the growing boy or girl from the surge of emotions which come a year or two later than a store of noble poetry enshrined in the memory and feeding the thoughts, so that there is no room for anything that is low and base.

Remember that as you train the growing boy, the growing girl, you have to train them for the attacks and the temptations that they will meet as they go out into the world. Remember that they have within them passions and emotions surging which they do not understand, which they have not learnt to control, and see that in their surroundings you supply them with non-stimulating food, with plenty of exercise, with everything that tends to vigorous manhood and womanhood; but teach them contempt for sloth, for laziness, for unused and useless leisure; then they will grow up strong, really manly and really womanly, to be the centres of happy homes in the national life into which they will enter in their maturity.

But, you will say, what are you saying about intellectual teaching? Until the brain has formed the basis of logical thought and reasoning, there is but little of that kind of Education that you can give which demands the exercise of the logical and reasoning faculties. Have you never found that in Euclid, when it is taught to schoolboys, they learn it by the order of the letters that you find in Euclid's propositions? And if you draw a proposition and change the letters, they will calmly repeat by rote the letters which they have learnt to prove a proposition, and will be quite surprised when you try to prove to them that they have proved nothing except an absurdity! Now there is a physical reason for that. That special part of the brain, those cells that grow but do not divide, that send out their delicate rootlets which anastomose with other rootlets of other cells and make the great network, as it were, that is the physical base of logical and mental activity, is not sufficiently complete, and until those are developed to a certain point the child may learn Euclid by rote, but he cannot follow the reasoning in it. And a little experiment on your own part, if you disbelieve me there, will show you that is the case. Every department of

thought, of emotion, has its own time, when Education in that department should be given. To make Education scientific in that fashion but flexible in its application is really to solve the great problem which confronts every Nation to-day.

Hard, strenuous thinking should fill the years from fourteen to twenty-one years of age. I can see some of you are rather horrified at the suggestion that Education should be so lengthy! And yet the better-to-do classes do not think the time wasted when they fill these fruitful years with the materials which shall make their children useful citizens of the State. I am one of those who hold that Education is the right of the child; and if you ask me, Where is the money to come from to teach all these children through so long a period? my answer to that is: Money spent on Education is an investment rather than a mere expenditure; and that that investment brings in valuable interest of the most useful character to the Nation, who has dared to make such an investment. For, side by side with these classes or divisions of Education, remember that the training of the body also goes. That you should have not only literary and artistic training, but training of the eyes, training of the fingers; so that as the child grows he may become efficient in all the parts of his body, and may develop those faculties of useful creation, which is one of the greatest things in national life.

General Education should go on at least to the age of fourteen, so that people may be able to meet in easy, pleasant, social conversation and enjoyment when they grow up into manhood and womanhood. For our classes are divided not so much by intellectual ability as by the different circumstances which fail to impress upon the youth and the maiden of the poorer those graces of manner, those refinements of speech and of thought, that development of artistic enjoyment, which would make human society so great a school of learning,

of development, if only all the people could share it, and not only those who have been born into the richer and more cultured families amongst us. We can never have anything worthy to be called a Democracy until we can associate happily in play as well as in work with those who follow avocations different from our own. Hence, the need for an Education which shall make society pleasant and profitable to all the children of the Nation.

Specialisation should begin later and be carried on from fourteen upwards; for that also is necessary for the vital functions of the national life. For a man or a woman should be judged, not by what they are doing in the way of labour, or of thought, but by their character, their usefulness, their serviceableness to the Nation to which they belong. Not the use of any special instrument, of the driving of the pick, of the use of the hammer, should make a necessary difference in the intellectual and emotional training of the child. All kinds of work are wanted in the Nation's life; and the only distinction you should make there is, where you are using machinery much, where by the use of machinery lessening the real ability of the man in the use of his own body, you make the man the slave of the machine instead of the machine the slave of the man; also, until you have made your hours short for all kinds of labour that are of the nature of drudgery which cannot be done by machinery, until you give shorter hours and higher wages for this, to secure leisure to cultivate the human qualities of the man, you have no right to call yourselves a civilised Nation—you are a social anarchy and not a society.

And these questions turn on Education; therefore you must educate the children of every so-called class and portion of society that they may grow up into a real social union, happiness coming to all who have the good fate to belong to it.

And then I would finally ask you to consider, how it is we are to develop, or are to help in, the unfolding of that higher part of man that I alluded to as the Divine Spirit within him? By acts of service; by learning to give and to share whatever you have of value; by love and by sympathy; by the uplifting of the down-trodden; by the comforting of the suffering; these acts create the atmosphere in which the Spirit unfolds. As the petals of the rose unfold in the sunshine, so do the spiritual qualities in man unfold under love, and tenderness, and pity, and compassion. ONE LIFE IN ALL? Then you should see that One Life in your faces of your brethren; you should realise that in every act of service to the suffering and every attempt to lessen the pressure of life on the unfortunate, in the face of every sufferer you should see the face of the Christ, and serve Him in the helping of your brother-man.

I know no thought more fruitful for the unfolding of the Spirit than those words put into the mouth of the Christ, where, turning to some, He said:

> For I was an hungred, and ye gave Me meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave Me drink; I was a stranger, and ye took Me in; naked, and ye clothed Me; I was sick, and ye visited Me; I was in prison, and ye came unto Me.

And they, surprised and startled, answered:

> Lord, when saw we Thee an hungred and fed Thee? or thirsty and gave Thee drink? When saw we Thee a stranger and took Thee in? or naked, and clothed Thee? Or when saw we Thee sick, or in prison, and came unto Thee?

And He answered:

> INASMUCH AS YE HAVE DONE IT UNTO ONE OF THE LEAST OF THESE MY BRETHREN, YE HAVE DONE IT UNTO ME.

That is the Voice of the Spirit, invoking from each the answer to suffering and to misery: love, tenderness, strength to help and to serve. Those are the Divine

manifestations in our world of men and make every man a servant of God.

Looking at it then in that way, you will begin to realise that the Education that others can give you is quite a different thing from that culture which grows out of the study of man himself, out of the study of human history, out of the assimilation of all that is beautiful, with the attempt to understand the thought of the artist who sees more than we see of the Divine creative thought and is truly the Priest of the Beautiful.

Then you will begin to develop that ever-widening sympathy, which is the result of the self-application of all that you learn, and the understanding of your fellow-man. A Nation, educated in youth, self-educated in the true culture in maturity—such a Nation will draw round itself all other peoples in whom the Divine Spirit is not yet manifest so fully. Think of yourselves as Divine rather than as sinful. Think of your nature as Godlike, rather than as low and vile. Rise up to the dignity of human nature. "For God," it is written, "created man in the image of His own Eternity," and you who are Eternal in your nature, are verily, verily, Children of God!

THE PROBLEM OF CAPITAL AND LABOUR

LECTURE V

THE PROBLEM OF CAPITAL AND LABOUR

THE ORGANISATION OF PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION

FRIENDS,—

Let me for one moment recall to your mind the lecture that I gave on Land the Sunday before last. You may remember that I then asked the question: To whom does a Nation's Land belong? and answered that question: It belongs to the Nation. Naturally, the questions of Land and of Capital are very, very closely connected, since it is the control of both of these for the use and the prosperity of the Nation, the recognition that the welfare of the State should over-ride the private interests of individuals, that is necessary in both cases; and very often Land and Capital are so closely connected together, that you cannot carry out great Industrial acts—which require a large amount of Capital in order that they may be properly carried out—without, at the same time, interfering with what are too much regarded by Governments as the private rights of individuals over the Land. I was, therefore, very glad to come across a statement—not telegraphed over here by Reuter, though—of very great interest and significance in this respect.

We have had in Madras very many difficulties about the control of the water in different parts of the Presidency. There are recurrent famines in one part, and

an enormous amount of water runs away in floods, and a great deal of it runs to waste in the sea. If it were preserved and directed to the land, and the power generated by its falls used for the production of electricity, there would be an absence of these recurrent famines ; and it would also be possible to supply power comparatively easily, to assist, not only great industrial undertakings, but the smaller undertakings which are managed by groups of villagers.

Now the statement made was in the course of a speech, which had to do with a far-reaching scheme of irrigation and of the generation of electric power, defended by the Law Member of the Executive Council of the Government. (I do not know why he has to do with irrigation, but that is the arrangement, and I only deal with the facts.) He had been able to bring to an end a dispute which had been going on for thirty-four years, and which had prevented the utilisation of great sources of water belonging to the Mysore State. It is not the details of it that are interesting in this connection, but the statement that he made, a quite unexpected statement, I should think, to most people in the Legislative Council, when he was defending these far-reaching schemes which had caused some trouble, because he was necessarily obliged to over-ride, to a certain extent, the supposed rights of the land-owners, through whose property the large supplies of water flowed. And he said there: "The Government is convinced that these great sources of power are the property of the people, and ought to be conserved as the property of the people, and developed as the treasure of the people." Now the Councillor who said that was an Indian, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., a remarkably able man. The interest to me is with the public announcement that the Government takes that view with regard to the Land, and the possibilities hidden in the Land, as belonging to the people, and to

be used for the benefit of the people, and not to be interfered with by " rights " of individuals, who would utilise the water for their own advantage, indifferent to the good of the Nation, and to the enormous amount of wealth that can be produced by its use along well-devised lines. The water, which is technically " Land," becomes, when applied to industry, " Capital ".

Now with regard to that special part of our Problems that I am now to deal with, the question generally of Capital, there are certain difficulties connected with that which do not apply so much when dealing with the Land. For when you come to deal with Capital, you are face to face with a great international association of capitalists ; not necessarily standing as a recognised organisation, but a group of men whose interests are identical and who hold together, whatever may be their nationality, in defence of their control of this Capital. Speaking quite frankly, the autocracy established by the great capitalists over questions affecting the whole of Europe, America, and beginning to affect largely other lands as well, that autocracy is far more dangerous to the welfare of the Nations than can be the autocracy of any single King. It is they, practically, who decide questions of war or peace ; for without their consent Nations would not be able to raise the necessary loans to carry on the war. It is they who control, very largely, the diplomacy which goes on between one Nation and another. It is they who are able either to help or crush movements of national importance, by assisting or discouraging them, as they affect the interests of their particular clan. And so you find that many hopeful attempts on the part of the workers to control, or at least to share in the control, of the wealth they have produced, are constantly thwarted and destroyed by the capitalist interest ; for the Banks, for the most part, are on the side of the interests of Capital, far more than on the side of the

interests of Labour. Those Banks form a very, very convenient instrument, when skilfully manipulated, to prevent the success of industrial concerns, which they think would threaten the capitalist supremacy. I shall have to refer to that later on, when I am dealing with workmen's organisations, because it is the Banks that control the system of Credit and which, by withholding Credit, can ruin an otherwise promising industrial endeavour on the part of organised workmen.

Looking then at that general condition of the Nation with regard to Capital, we cannot but notice—especially when we look over to America, where the organisation of capitalists has been greater and closer on the whole than it is over here—that the path trodden by those few individuals who are spoken of as " multi-millionaires " is a path which is strewn with ruins. And, when we look at the ruins and the nature of them, we find that these ruins practically cover over the broken hearts, the shattered hopes, of many an attempt at Industrial Reform ; attempts on the part of the workers to organise Labour, that they may have a greater share in, or may control, the results of their industry. And we are gradually beginning to realise that this far-reaching power is a power that has to be dealt with, if civilisation is to continue, to endure. For the result of excessive wealth in a few hands, contrasted with the ever-growing unemployment of great masses of people, this makes a contrast too intolerable to be borne with patience by those who suffer. Some great change has to be made in our industrial methods, in order to prevent these huge accumulations of wealth on the one side, and the terrible accumulations of sorrow, caused by unemployment, on the other. And when we talk of political reform and the gaining of political power, we have to remember that political reform is a means to an end, rather than an end in itself.

It is of course true that the sense of liberty is an

ennobling, a refining, and strengthening influence in a people ; but for the most part, political power is wanted more to be turned to the ends of the general prosperity and happiness of the people than simply to measures asserting that supremacy, that do not bring about the desired results. Dealing with political power, let us realise that the advantage of gaining that is really because it substitutes legislation, the embodied will of the people, for violent rebellion when conditions become intolerable. Where the people have the power of the vote, where their Parliament controls the Government, there, if they are wise, if they are strong and united, they may bring about that will of the people for greater happiness, greater culture, greater refinement, which the present system withholds. When once the people understand their strength, when once they see that the prosperity of the whole Nation should be the object of political power, and not so unfairly divided prosperity as is the case to-day ; when they realise their power and exercise it for the good of the whole, then the desperate resource of revolution will no longer occupy the minds of the unhappy ; for they will feel that by that embodied will in legislation they can make the prosperity for which all good men and women yearn.

And that seems to me to be the relation between political power and national welfare. Where the people do not have political power, then they may be driven to a point of suffering where, as was once well said, " the suffering of revolution is less than the suffering of submission ". It is when that point is reached that revolutions occur, with all their unthinkable results, too often ending in a military dictatorship, which brings back the old evils and makes one more failure on the path of national happiness.

Now if we are going to deal with this question at all, we shall have to reduce our ideas to what one may call the " bed-rock " facts with which we have to deal,

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the fundamental principles; just as we did with Land. And, if you begin to enquire into the facts which surround the production of what we call wealth—that is, of articles necessary for human life, necessary for human comfort, necessary for human education and growth in all that is best in human life—then it is best to take it first in a simple condition, recognise the facts of the case in a condition easily examined, and then trace out how they can be dealt with in the complicated conditions of the present, in accordance with the principles followed when they were in their simpler form.

And so, let me take the very simple case that you find in any Nation, where production is very largely by hand; that is, before the introduction of power-machinery. And let us, looking at those conditions, find out what are the conditions of production, how they are related to consumption, how the work of the labourer is limited by certain unchangeable limits, and how he is to work within those limits with the greatest amount of success.

Supposing you take the simple case that I suggested to you, for the moment, with regard to production by labourers, living in the simple conditions of a village; let us ask: How are they to labour? On what materials will they labour? and To whom will go the results of the labour employed on those materials? Now we can lump together the different materials under the one name of Land; because the materials are products of the Land; and according to the wisdom of that cultivation, of course, will be the amount of these crops by which a labourer is to be fed, is to be clothed, while he is at labour; and we find very readily, that the labour of a family produces sufficient, when applied to the Land, to support that family so far as food, as clothing, are concerned. The clothing will be made by village industries. The crops raised by the cultivators will supply the whole of the population; and by a very

simple system of barter, or exchange, the necessaries of village life will be produced within it, and the villagers will live in comparative prosperity. There will be none who is very rich; there will be none who is miserably poor.

Now there is no doubt in the mind of anybody, looking at that simple condition, that the labourer must produce more than he consumes; for unless there is a surplus as the result of his labour, he will not be able to continue that labour during the time when his products are coming to maturity. Past labour with its surplus will provide him with the necessaries of life while the new crops of food and cotton are growing, and the new cloth is being woven; but we can see clearly in this simple case that there must be a surplus over consumption, put by to support the labourer when he cannot touch the final results of his labour, these being grown in the earth and part being manufactured in the looms, or other means of manufacturing articles for his use. But there is no doubt in the mind of any, that that surplus belongs to the labourer who produced it. There is no challenge at all that the savings of one crop belong to the labourer—the savings of food or other necessaries, or tokens that represent food and clothing; these will be wanted by him during the season when he is again engaged in productive agricultural toil. But no one would think of saying that that is not the result of the labour, and that it does not belong to the man, or family, who produced it.

Thus we get to a definite position, that labour must produce more than it consumes; and that that surplus of labour, remaining after the sustenance of the labourer and his family, will be his support during a period when he cannot force into use that which he is producing from the Land.

Then, when we come to a more complicated condition of things, how would these principles be applied? The

labourer is no longer working alone. (I ought to say, although I forgot that in passing, that he must have also a sufficient surplus to pay, if he be an agriculturist, the rent of the Land to the State; for he is monopolising part of the national property, and must give a fair equivalent for that monopoly. Moreover, he must also produce enough to supply protection for his life, for his family's lives, for the general order of his surroundings. And those are fairly burdens that should be included in the disposal of the surplus which results, after he and his family are fed and clothed.) Passing from that, to the complicated conditions that exist now, we still have the same three factors: we have Land, the source of wealth; we have Labour to be applied to that Land for the production of wealth; and we have the surplus created by the labourers who, in order to continue labour, must produce more than they consume. But now comes in a great new factor, we may say, though not entirely new; the factor of Capital. What is Capital and what does it represent? Where hundreds or thousands of labourers are employed by a single individual; where their power of production is hugely increased by power-machinery belonging to the one who engages them to labour in this great group of labourers; then you find production enormously increased, partly because of the many, each of whom makes a surplus over his consumption, and partly by the increased power of the labourer, where he has a machine at which he works; and then comes up the question: How are these surpluses of labour to be considered?

It is said, and quite truly, that the employment of capital in productive industry—of the organisation of the labourers, of the supply of the machinery, of the whole of the conduct of such a great group in a factory supplied with this machinery—that in order to carry on that industrial enterprise successfully, you need con-

siderable brain-power in the organisers; you need that power of organising men which enables you to influence and to control them; you need special knowledge, where you are no longer dealing with single labourers living in a village, but with hundreds or thousands of labourers, living together in a town and working together continuously.

Now there is a truth in that statement, but there is a fundamental injustice, which lies at the root of Labour troubles. And that injustice is, that all the surplus of each individual goes into the hands of the organisers and the owners of the machinery, and the labourer gets as his share of the work, what is sometimes called "a living wage"—and a very poor "living wage" at that—when he is regarded as a human being and not only as a "hand".

Then you have, in addition, the ownership of the machinery owned by the capitalist, which so immensely increases the productivity of Labour. There are certain moral disadvantages in this connection, because the life of the true craftsman is not like the life of the artisan, who is not a man, but a mere appendage to a machine, from the standpoint of ordinary political economy. That machinery has been bought by the surplus products of labours in the past, but is owned by the individual who has been able to appropriate those surplus earnings for his own advantage and enrichment; and as you regard that condition of affairs, you begin to realise how it is that the confiscation of a large amount of the surplus of the labourer by individuals, or by groups of individuals, is the cause of the enormous increase of wealth on the side of those who organise, and the continual struggle with poverty on the part of those who are organised, not, from the capitalist standpoint, for their advantage and their rising in the scale of humanity, but in order that by their becoming practically the property of the owner—

as definitely his property as the machines are his property—he is reaping a result out of all proportion to that which he contributes to the result; and that that injustice must be remedied, as it lies at the root of the constant industrial troubles.

Those troubles are not merely the strikes that occur. There are other troubles, even causing more suffering than the occasional strikes; although it should always be remembered that there is many a strike which is started and carried on, not merely for a higher wage, but to win a more human life for those who receive the wage. As the people become more educated, they are not—they would be wrong to be—contented with the narrow lives they lead. Everyone who sees our industrial population in some of the great industrial towns knows how men are stunted by the conditions of their industry—men, women and children suffering from the conditions in which they live. There are parts of Sheffield which I have been through where no trees will grow, where no flower will grow in the windows of those artisans; and where a tree cannot grow, where a plant cannot grow and flourish, there the children wither and become the stunted manhood and womanhood that crowd the streets of many of our industrial towns. I know some of the conditions are improved, but they are still not what they ought to be. You always know when you pass into the places in the towns where the workers live: the beauty diminishes, the amenities of life diminish, the poorest quarters are the least well lighted, they are the worst supplied with air and sunshine, owing to their crowded and congested condition. I have been into many a cellar where a woman has lain in childbirth, with three or four children playing on the floor; the woman taking in not only her husband but lodgers, in order to be able to pay the rent of that miserable cellar; and I have seen a country woman, splendid in her form, fit to be a mother of splendid

children, if she had not left her country village to come to this crowded cellar in some back alley, even in London with all its wealth and splendour; and I submit, that as these people become educated, they cannot remain content—they ought not to remain content—with a stunted life, with a life stunted in all that makes the highest and noblest side of humanity. What possible sense can they have of beauty, they who work in the factories of these districts, come out weary with exhausting toil, and have not the leisure to cultivate those higher faculties that every human being possesses to some extent, however stunted by the condition of the living? What do they know of the real joy of music? At one time I went round all the lower places of amusement in the East End, for I wanted to see of what nature were the enjoyments of the people whose children I was responsible for in the London Board Schools at the East End at that time. And I went to one place of amusement after another; and I found in many respects they were cleaner in their thought than some of the music halls I visited in Oxford Street and other places near Tottenham Court Road. But they were very rough and very unrefined; they had not the sense of delicacy; they had not the inclination to exert their brains in any connected story or plot. The theatres put only scraps on the stage, bits of drama, songs from something else, a few songs from a music-hall artist, introducing a prize fight in one case, the only prize fight I ever had the pain of seeing; and that means that the mind is not developed; the result of that scrappy application of the mind is to weaken its natural powers. Popular papers are often at fault wherein you read a lot of short paragraphs that let your mind jump about from one to another, and there is no connected thought. What kind of training is that for the human mind, which gains in strength by effort of connected thinking? The whole brain force

is wasted in that kind of rubbish which passes as "amusement" for great masses of the people.

I can understand that this condition might exist if we had no great art in London; if there were no places of beauty; if there were no refinement anywhere; if all the people were condemned to a narrow and hopeless life. But I deny the right of a Nation to condemn its workers to a life like that, while many of those who do not work have all the enjoyments—nay, all the educative influences which art, and science, and the cultivation of beauty, evolve in the human life. And the workers rightly feel their deprivation. Far better, of course, their condition is than it was, because they have organised themselves and are no longer helpless; but if you think of one terrible fact, which I have never seen dealt with properly in any of our treatises on political economy, save those written by educated Socialists, you will find one point that you ought never to forget until you have changed it: The more the workers work, under the present conditions, the more wealth they produce. Under the present system, those articles produced by them cannot be disposed of at a profit, and they cannot be used by those who make them. You find "a glut in the market," they tell you; too much wealth! The workers have worked so well and productively, that they have crowded the warehouses with goods, with goods which cannot be disposed of; and yet, outside in the streets, there are people desperately in need of those goods which cannot be sold at a profit. They cannot buy them; they are "out of work" and out of wages; and so they are often thrown out of employment by the success of their own industry!

Could you have a madder system of production, than that great production should mean the lessened employment succeeding to the worker who produces? For the success of production turns the worker out, so that

there are shorter hours of labour and lesser pay; or periods through which—as in Bombay sometimes—the mills are closed down because the warehouses are crowded with the products of Labour; Labour must take a holiday; and while it takes a holiday, it starves.

Surely there ought to be some people in a civilised country able to reduce this anarchy to some kind of order. "Oh," say capitalists, "we must find new markets abroad." But why not try to create new markets at home? Why not use here the energy that seeks to reach China or Japan, or any other far-away place, in order to sell the products which cannot be sold to the unemployed at home? Why not try to have your unemployed, all potential producers of wealth, remember, why not try to find avenues for employment for them, or allow them help to organise themselves to produce that by which they themselves might live?

This constant dread of unemployment, or of shorter hours, is like a spectre in the house of every worker. He dreads too great production, and sometimes in unwise ways he tries to limit it; and then everybody abuses him and says: "See, those people are not producing at their best, at their highest power!" But there is always that skeleton round the corner, when the productive power diminishes in the limbs of the man; when he is no longer able to work, as he worked in the virility of his manhood; and then comes that terrible dread, ever brooding over the industrial worker, of becoming too old to earn his bread, and falling into the ranks of the unemployed.

Now to have together over-production and under-consumption; to have together a number of men unemployed, who could produce that which would keep them in life and comfort; those seem to me to be riddles which the Capitalist System can never solve; and the

whole attempt to solve them, while that endures, is hopeless.

Now it is true, that you cannot in a moment change a system that has grown so strong as the Capitalist System in western civilisation ; but it is also true that you may know at what you are aiming, and take steps in the direction, at least, which would carry you to your goal. You might begin to change, begin to improve, and so get time for more radical alteration ; and there are certain signs of such a possibility, coming chiefly, I think, from the United States ; for while the United States are not remarkable for the individual liberty that they give to their citizens, there are some remarkable phenomena among a few of the capitalists of the States. There is the dawn, among a few, of a social conscience, and when they become multi-millionaires, they then begin to give back to the Nation a part of that, which they quite honestly say, they have taken from the Nation ; and you do find men in the United States, enormously wealthy, who found great Universities, who found great places and institutions where students may gather together, be well housed and well fed. There is that beginning of a social conscience, that wealth which they have monopolised beyond any possible claim of right or justice, should be given back by them to the people from whose Labour it was produced. And that, at least, is a good example. I have sometimes wished that some of those great capitalists would enable workers to start industrial concerns of their own ; concerns where the workers would control and so gradually destroy their slavery to Capital, which thus might be used to enfranchise them ; but of that, at present, there is no sign, so far as capitalists are concerned. I presume they would feel they were cutting off the branch on which they are sitting and on which their children hope to sit after them, and that the whole system might come down if they gave huge grants of

their wealth into the hands of organisations of labourers, who would start industrial concerns under their own control.

Then, apart from that—which is only a palliative, which does very, very little to touch the real question—there is one remarkable thing in the States which I should like to put to you, because it is so utterly unexpected. I must tell you a short story, in order that you may realise what can be done by one noble-hearted man who started without Capital. He was a Minister of the Gospel, and he was trying to live on the little bit of land he had in order that he might live honestly, as he considered it, under the Golden Rule.

He could barely subsist out of what he could get out of his scrap of land, but he managed to save up a little and to spend that little money buying cloth; and he took the cloth he bought to a tailor who made it into suits. He then took the suits and sold them, walking about and disposing of them, practically hawking these suits. He made a little profit on them, and that profit he put by; and he went on like that for some years. He had thus accumulated a large amount of cloth, and he kept having a little of it made into suits, just to keep him going. Then came the end of the war, and the tailor who had made the suits for him and who kept a sweating workshop, that tailor went back, either to Austria or Germany, I forget which; and the man bought up his shop with the little profits he had made by hawking about those suits. But he had a large amount of cloth at that time, which had not then been worked up into suits, and he determined to make an industrial experiment with those sweated workmen; and he thought: "I can go on as long as my stock of cloth lasts and then I must stop, if I find I cannot get on honestly." So he went down and called his workpeople together; and he had learnt what each of them earned. He had never employed men and he did not know what the

wages ought to be, but he said: "If I were a workman, what should I want for my work?" And he named to himself a modest wage, which he thought would satisfy himself if he had to do the work these people had to do; practically he had doubled their wages in almost every case. Then he went off to try and sell his little bit of land, and the workpeople were left behind to carry on the work on their own account with their employer away. And I have read a curious account of the conversations of the workpeople after the "boss," as they called him, had gone. One man said: "Do you think he means what he says?" Another said: "Well, he seems honest, but it's rather queer!" And finally, after discussion, they came to the conclusion that as he had made a good offer to them, they would try to give him decent work in exchange. They started working without having an employer to look after them, giving the best work they could on the cloth that was supplied to them; and had gained a decent little surplus when the employer came back. More than that, it had waked up the sense of comradeship in them; the sense of gratitude had awakened respect and even love for this curious employer. And he, having looked over this and seen the profit to be made, raised the wages, but only took himself the wage that he gave to his workpeople. He was working by the Golden Rule "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." I think it was the first time that the Golden Rule had ever been applied to a sweated business!

However, he had made up his mind to see if it would not work, so he shared with his men. For he thought: "If I were a workman I would like to be shared with." The result was, that he had very much better work, very much more cheerful workpeople, a very happy workshop where there was no sweating and where the men themselves prevented waste, and that idling that would

have been the natural result of sweated labour. And so the business began to grow, and grow, and to make large profits. Then my Golden Rule man said: "If I were a workman, what should I want to do when large profits were coming in?" He said: "I should want to share them; they are the result of my labour partly, and I should like a share in the profits." And so he called the workpeople together and he said: "In addition to the wages there will be a share of the profits half-yearly." And he invested those profits with their consent in the business, and so the profits began to grow. Then he said: "What should I want, if I saw profits being made and I were a workman, and I had no control over my work?" And he answered himself: "I should want some control over my work." So then he determined to turn the whole thing into a company, in which the workpeople, having shares, should have their proper dividends, and they should be able to control the affairs of the firm with one exception—for he was a very sensible man. He called them together, and he said: "You, each of you, know your own part of the work. You have learnt to cut out, to sew, and to fit; and so you are cutters and fitters; but you have not learnt to manage the business. I have learnt to manage the business and I am going to keep the management of the business in my own hands for five years; and in the meanwhile I will train some of you to manage the business, when the time comes for you to take one." And, at the end of the five years, the business had grown enormously, and the men asked him to take it on for another five years, because they felt that his knowledge of fitting in all their different sorts of work together was far greater than they at present possessed: and that is now one of the largest tailoring concerns in the United States, making very large profits, which go back to those who make them, and the employer only takes his own share of those

profits. Now I mention that because it is so remarkable a case.[1]

Now that is one way that might be tried, by men of very noble character. And I wonder whether there are not men in this country who, themselves wealthy, not poor, like my man was, might not try to start industrial concerns on the principles that there he carried out; for such an example ought to bear fruit, and it would be one way to a gradual redemption of the workers.

Now one great difficulty in the organisation of workers, as you know—and I said I would refer to it again—is, the difficulty of getting Credit. Bankers will give Credit up to a certain point; if you turn your minds to some of the Guilds, Building Guilds that were started some few years ago, and trace out their work under the control of workmen, and find it at first apparently flourishing, you will find their greatest difficulty has been that, as their work enlarged and they needed loans on the Credit of their Labour, the Banks would not advance on that, which they thought to be a very peculiar form of security. You will find effort after effort of the workers foiled by their want of command of Credit. The Banks will help them to a certain point, but the moment they become dangerous to capitalist interests, that moment there are no more loans to be had, and no Credit of Labour is taken as security.

Now America is trying to meet that difficulty. Whether it will succeed or not, I do not know, for the experiment is not yet over; but an interesting account was given of it in one of your daily papers lately. The great Unions there are buying up—instead of making strikes and taking strike pay—some of the large industrial concerns, factories and shipping yards and such things;

[1] Nash was the name of this Golden Rule employer, and I wrote his story in *The Young Citizen*, published in Madras.

but wherever they start industrial concerns, they start Banks to finance those concerns. These Banks do not accept the ordinary customer, but the funds of the Union go to their support, and they use those Banks to finance those industries; and so far those Banks have multiplied rapidly, and a large number of industries are in the hands of American Unions and are working successfully.

Now in this is a point that seems to me worthy of consideration. It gets rid of this difficulty of Credit, for all great industries need to be financed at certain times if they are to extend. And where you have workers fairly dealing with their products and controlling those products, they have to consider whether they cannot finance their industries, by making these Banks, in which the money of the Unions is invested in ordinary shares like any other company. I only mention that as worthy of study, though I do not know enough about the details to say more.

And the last point I want to put to you in this connection is: Why should you not start definitely to change the conditions of the production of food, in a country like England, as a beginning? For many, many years the danger has been pointed out, that you do not supply a sufficient proportion of the food of the country by food raised within the country. You found how that affected you in time of war. Now, is there any reason why you should not change largely the method, not only in the ownership of Land, but in the kind of cultivation? Would it not be better if you turned a great deal of your pastures into arable land, and so reverse the process which, in the time of the Tudors, turned the arable land of the country into pasturage? That employs far fewer men. You do not raise the food there that you chiefly need. You feed cattle on the ground, but you do not employ the land most economically by feeding cattle, instead of raising

the crops that ground would carry, as they were raised with less agricultural power before the farmers of the Tudor period made that great mistake.

Intensive cultivation is another thing to which you might turn large numbers of your unemployed under skilled direction. Look at the cultivation in Denmark. Look at the cultivation in Holland. You do not find there great deer parks, I admit ; you do not there find vast moors which used to support a flourishing population who cultivated the soil ; you can see the ruins of their villages there in the deer forests in Scotland, and the men have emigrated, because there was nothing for them to do in the country which gave them birth.

Is it more worth while to shoot grouse than it is to feed men ? Ought a country to use Land that can be used to support men, women and children, for the mere amusement, as they call it, of killing the helpless animals like deer, or shooting the grouse ? I know it is said abroad that an Englishman has no amusement unless he has something to kill. That is largely true. People go out to kill for an amusement ; rather a barbarous form of amusement, and not very much courage developed in it, when they try to stalk a deer until they can take a shot at him with a gun that carries well, or to shoot a grouse on the wing !

If you are so rich as to be able to afford to waste your Land in that way, you ought to have no people unemployed in your country. You have to make your choice. Take little Denmark with its co-operative industrial farms, dairies, and so on. The smaller countries are learning how to manage their food supply for their people ; and although you are a larger country, might you not take a hint from them, and take areas which are smaller under the control of the Local Councils and allow organised industry the use of some of the surplus profits in reducing the taxation of the country and give you, in your towns, to a much larger extent,

the work you have so well begun of what is rightly called Municipal Socialism? Why not place the transport in the towns, not in the hands of Companies who pay dividends to private people, but in the hands of Town Councils, employing men paid a fair wage, and the profits of the omnibuses and the tramways and the local railways going to the relief of the rates and taxes of the town? It has been done in many of your municipalities, to the great benefit of the workpeople and to the employment of large numbers, who otherwise would fall on the rates.

Can you not endeavour, in dealing with these problems, to bring about the benefits within your reach? Could you not grow large quantities of fruit? Oh, you say, it costs more to get fruit to the centres of population than to use it as food for the pigs! And why? Because your railways are private affairs and not controlled by the State. I know well enough that in many places fruit has been left to rot on the trees or plucked to give to the pigs, because the freight of the fruit from the orchard to London, or to some nearer town, was greater than the freight of the fruit which was brought from a Channel Island or from the North of France. But these things are madness in the national industry and agricultural problem.

I ask you to take up these questions, one after another, and to think them out. You have education enough to do it; you have brains enough to do it; have you not courage enough to save your children from all the troubles that have come upon yourselves? And most of all, should *you* try to solve them, you who are not immeshed in the net of poverty, and so by your own suffering may be made hard and harsh, inclined to confiscate, rather than by love to win union for all classes of the people. The fault is not entirely of one class, it is the fault of all; and hatred will never redeem a people, nor will class warfare ever be the way to pros-

perity for the Nation. And you, who are not yourselves producers; you who are more highly educated, who do not share the sufferings of the unemployed, or the fear of unemployment, can you not give your best thought to the solving of some of these problems? If you have wealth, could you not, some of you, embrace voluntary poverty; so that you might raise others to the position of comfort? Think of the love that would answer your sacrifice; the gratitude that would grow out of the hearts of the children whose lives you would have uplifted and made better, from the mothers and the fathers who will see their little ones growing up in security and in comfort. Oh, there are better things than money; there are greater things than enjoyment; there is a gift which is the highest delight, because it would uplift your fellow-creatures from the crushing suffering that is destroying them.

I have often said that in the land of England you might, by your business ability, by the fact that you have done so much in organising Labour—and have also lately included in your Labour Party men whose Labour is of the brain and not only of the hand as in the earlier days—I have often said that you might be the leaders in Industrial Reform, that you might work out schemes of reform which, without destroying any, would raise thousands and thousands of your fellow-countrymen. You have the brains to do it, but have you the hearts? I believe you have, and that you may yet see in this England a great rush of the educated and the thoughtful and the fairly well-to-do, who will come with hands outstretched to their poorer brethren, not as superiors to instruct but as comrades to help; and then by love and not by war; then by co-operation and not by strikes; then by sympathy, a golden chain to bind hearts together, you who once stood for Liberty, so that the oppressed Nations looked to you for sympathy, for shelter, you might save other Nations from the

dangers that threaten you, and out of your business ability, your organising power, the discipline that you have imposed upon yourselves, you might save the world from the ruin of the present civilisation, and build a nobler humanity, a structure where poverty and ignorance should be unknown.

THE PROBLEM OF GOVERNMENT

LECTURE VI

THE PROBLEM OF GOVERNMENT

AUTOCRACY, ARISTOCRACY, DEMOCRACY, RIGHTS AND DUTIES. ORDER OR CHAOS? BROTHERHOOD OR DEATH?

FRIENDS,—

When I was a very little girl—and that is a good many years ago now—I used to think that the date in the first chapter of Genesis in the margin was part of the Bible. The date, I believe, still remains there, but we all know it was put there only by Archbishop Ussher; and that date, you may remember, is 4004 B.C. Naturally, then, I thought that the earth had begun at that particular date, and it was a great shock to me, when I began to study and found that all kinds of people writing scientific books were telling us things about the world which took place very, very much before the date of the Creation; and for some time it was rather puzzling to me how that took place. Since that time, however, very much archæological and antiquarian research has taken place, and the more research there is, and the deeper the excavators dig into the crust of the earth, the older the world becomes from the standpoint of civilisations.

Many of you must have read accounts of some of these unburied cities, and how, in more than one case, city after city has been discovered, as the excavators went deeper and deeper into the earth; so that we read

of cities which were found on the surface of the earth, and digging through them we come to earth again, their foundations; and then, digging further, another city is found, and so on, and on, to quite a number of cities in a few cases; and the result of this—speaking very generally—has been, that a great many stories in ancient books that told of long-past times and that had been regarded as myths, are now lifted to the rank of history; and these so-called myths which are found really to be records of a past that had been lost have multiplied during the many years that have passed since the time when I was puzzled by the date of 4004 B.C.; and further and further back the age of the world has been carried, beyond the time when man lived on our globe, and back, and back, and back; and no one knows how far that history of mother earth will later be written.

And looking back over the time when civilisations have been found, far, far back in the night—as we used to say—of history, we find, for instance, in Babylon great libraries, and those libraries again widen out our view of a far-off past. And then there have been other researches, as well as those carried on by digging in the world, and we find recognised continents where now there is sea; such as that of Atlantis, of which many a trace, of course, remains in North and South America; and also even some proofs of a continent that has been called Lemuria, which such men as Haeckel of Germany looked on as the origin, the cradle of the human race.

Now the only one of these that I at all desire to touch upon is one in which excavations are going on under circumstances of extreme difficulty. I do not know how many of you are aware that efforts have been made to examine into some of the mountains in South America, where only a few months of the year are available for study, because at the height at which

excavations are now going on the climate is so severe that the time in which they can dig at all is very limited. But it is worth while, just for a moment, to glance at the fact that in those high places of the great mountain range of South America they are beginning to trace out ancient cities; and what those cities may give us of the past, none can yet say, for comparatively little has been done with regard to that particular work of research.

And looking back over this enormous space of time, studying such parts of that long history as are available for fairly close study, more and more there is borne in upon us the brief period of our modern civilisations, and all that we learn of the older civilisations is on lines very, very different from the brief story of European civilised countries; so that, I think, naturally, our mind begins to wonder about these civilisations of the past, some of them traceable in detail, some of them leaving literature by which they can be judged; and where the ordinary literature fails, then rock inscriptions come to our help and tell us something of the modes of Government, something of the types of men, who bore rule in those ancient lands. And there is now quite enough remaining to put over against each other what one may call the Ideals of the Old World and the Ideals of the New; using the world "old" to cover such civilisations as those of ancient Peru, of China, of Egypt, of India, where, with the exception of the first I named, the Peruvian, you can study quite definitely, with enough of detail to be able to realise the types of thought that ruled in those civilisations, the Ideals cherished by their peoples as to methods of Government, as to social organisation, as to the aim and the purpose of human life.

I pause for a moment at Peru, because I am obliged to put that apart from the others, as far as the kind of knowledge available there goes. In the other cases

I mentioned, you are able to study material objects, you are able to study the arts and the crafts of those peoples of the long-ago. You also, in many cases, have fragments, at least, of literature, as you have in Egypt in the opening of the tombs of the dead, and the fragments of the *Book of the Dead*, which, as you know, now amount to a very large number.

With regard to Peru, you only touch practically upon history that you can trace when you come comparatively to what, for that country, were modern times; I mean the period when the Spanish Francisco Pizarro invaded the country, found a wonderful civilisation, enormous wealth—not only enormous wealth but widespread happiness—found a people gentle, kindly, quite unfit to cope with the Spanish raiders or to oppose them in any fashion in battle, when first they landed on their shores. And that civilisation, as you know, was utterly ruined by the invasion of the Spaniards, who carried away enormous amounts of the precious metals, which there were used for buildings as well as for decoration, so vast was the amount of available gold. And then, you may remember how the civilisation was practically wiped out and only the characters of the people as they were found, the prosperity of the people, the gentleness and the friendliness of the people, only those were left to bear witness to the greatness which was crushed under the armed hosts of Spain.

But the reason I put Peru apart I will tell you perfectly frankly; that, so far, we have no records—that many of you would regard as records at all; but there is a way of investigating the past which is less incredible now than it was a few years ago; for modern thought has realised that there is such a thing as the Memory of Nature, if only people can manage to read it. And there have been, as you know, some speculations, and statements sometimes even coming into our lighter literature, of the possibility of reaching some

far, far off star, whose distance is measured by light-years; and I daresay that many of you have read the notion that if you could travel with the light, then you would be able to read the history of the world, that far-off world, when the light left it. And many interesting speculations have been issued as to the seeing of what took place on our own planet, if you could go to some other world not so distant as many are distant, and see what was happening, say, a short time ago, at practically the time of the Christ. I remember reading a book on that line and being somewhat interested in it, because I saw that the writer had not the very least idea that that record was reachable, if people cared to take the trouble to develop a certain form of what is called clairvoyance, which enables them to throw themselves back into the history of the past and record exactly what took place. I am, however, not going to trouble you with any argument on that line; and you might look at what I am going to say very briefly, as a kind of fairy tale—if you prefer that view.

There is something in the later Peru which does lend some sort of corroboration to a civilisation of a very well-planned and very definite order; and it is almost worth while to take it, even as a myth, for it may give some lessons when you are dealing with the Problem of Government. Now, putting that quite shortly, the land of this ancient Peru, that is now a long way up the Andes mountains—in the attempts to undig which I wish them all success—the land then was divided into three parts: First, to the Executive power of the Government, that is, the King or Emperor, and the forces of the Crown, which protected the country and kept internal order and administered the laws; one-third of the land went to them. One-third went to those who were the teachers and the priests of the people; and the other one-third went to the cultivators and the manufacturers.

Now the interest of that is, that it took off the shoulders of the people the whole of the burden of Government; then that in the part assigned to the educators and to the priests, the whole of the education of the country, the care of the aged, those who had gone beyond the duty of supporting themselves, the whole care of the sick, the disabled or the injured or incompetent in any way, they were all supported out of that particular one-third; and the last one-third was that which belonged to the cultivators, the traders, the merchants, and so on. One point that was remarkable there was, that the life of the people was regarded as the most important duty of the State; so that when water ran short, as it sometimes did, the land of the people was first supplied with water, then that of the educators and priests, and lastly that of the Executive Government; it being considered that those who had least power and least education were those who ought to have the most of the comforts and even the luxuries of life. And I mention that—although you may think the foundation of it is somewhat airy—because there are traces of that very idea when we deal with the civilisation more familiar to those who study, the civilisation of India and China, with regard to the duties of those who govern and the rights of the people who are governed; and we can, therefore, study the matter in the countries of which records are available; and I have only mentioned ancient Peru because you see it there in working order more fully than you can have it in ancient literature, however well those records may have been preserved.

In dealing now with the systems of Government, I would ask you to think very carefully—I do not mean at this moment, but when you are really studying the question—What is your Ideal of life? Of its aim and its object? Of the values in human life? Of that which ought to be sought after most of all? Because

on your decision on that vital question depends your whole view of the Problems of Government, and also the view that you will take as to the way in which those Problems should be solved in your own very modern country. Is your Ideal of life Material?—that is, a great abundance of the things for the body. Is that the most important part? Or, is your Ideal that these things are means to a greater end, the intellectual, the emotional, and the spiritual development of the Nation? According to your view, success in life will mean wealth, physical luxury, a small amount of work, and a very, very large amount of luxury and amusement; if that is your Ideal of human life, clearly then the method of Government, the method of the social union, will be immensely different from the view that the production of abundance of the physical necessities, but not of very great luxuries, is a means to an end: what you may call the human side of development, the development of the emotional, the intellectual and the spiritual nature. For according to that which you think to be the purpose of life must be your views of the way in which society should be organised and Governments should be chosen, and the work which the Government should do. You have to make up your mind for what purpose you are here. Why are you living as a civilised people?—using the modern word. What is your object? What do you want to leave behind you when you pass away? What kind of records will you write on that Memory of Nature of which I spoke? What do you wish to leave behind you as example to the future, for the building of a greater future for those who shall occupy the world after you? It is on your decision as to your Ideal that your life will inevitably develop itself. And, you know, you should look at the thing calmly, impartially—not stung into anger by the errors and the blunders of the day, not biased and

prejudiced by the injustices that you see around you, but trying to pass into that world of mind, that clear, sometimes called "cold light of the intellect," and to decide how your lives should be spent, how your society should be built, how your Executive Government should be formed. And I would venture to ask all of you who care for the future of this land, of all other lands on our globe, to see in the answer to such questions part of your great duty, not only to your own posterity, but also to humanity as a whole; to have some settled plan of life, to have some definite arrangement of society, to have some Ideal after which you will try to shape your life, realising that man is created by thought, and that "What a man thinks upon, that he becomes." And this great Problem, as to which is to be the Ideal, is a problem that, it seems to me, ought to be largely solved by those who occupy what is often called the "Middle Class" in the European countries. Not by those who live in unearned wealth; not by those who live in luxury—though many of them are also striving after a solution which would impoverish themselves of that beneficial to the State. For those of you who belong to the great Middle Class in England, who have a fair sufficiency of the material side of life, who have education, so that your brains have been developed, who have acquired the culture which enables people to think impartially and to realise the greatest needs of human-kind, I often think that you are the people best fitted to grapple with these problems. Those who are unduly rich without earning what they own may find it hard to look on the question impartially; and those whose life is laborious, who are shut out very much from the beauty, and the art, and the culture of the whole of that fairer life which so many of you enjoy, they may be in such a hurry to bring about a change that they may not have time to think out the problems to the full.

Now, looking back into the past, where you have definite records, you find China and Egypt, two of the great civilisations, which through their literature may be carefully studied and their value may be estimated. Again, with regard to India, you have an enormous amount of literature with all the Ideals of Government, and very numerous experiments in the different forms of Government which the human race has attempted in civilised lands. And I name these three countries together, and especially the first and the last, China and India, not only because the materials for study are so abundant and you can test them for yourselves, but also because they have certain great Ideals in common as regards the duties of the citizen to the Nation, to the State, as a whole. And we find in the literatures of both these countries that this fact comes at once to the eyes: that those who were highly placed in those lands were under the strictest rules of the duties that they owed to society, and that when you came to deal with a ruling class, that class was held to be responsible for the welfare of the people over which it exercised authority; so much so that, in China, it was sometimes difficult to find a Governor for some district in the country, because of the responsibility of such a post and the account that had to be given of the welfare of the people. It was not held there that if the people were discontented, the people should be blamed for the discontent. It was considered that if the people were discontented, it was because the Governor was not effective enough to arrange matters so as to spread content over the area of the Government, and such a man was removed from his post, no excuses being available. And that comes out very strongly in one case, in the words of Confucius—a fine Statesman as well as a great Sage—when a king complained to him that there were robbers in his country, and the answer of Confucius was very direct and very straight:

"If you, O king, did not steal from anyone, then you would have no robbers in your land!" And you find that responsibility also in India, in much later times, as well as in the ancient, where the governor of a province, or the king of a kingdom, was held responsible to the person who was robbed for four times the value of that which had been taken from him by the robber. A very practical thing, for the King's treasury was filled by the people on the ground that he was the protector of the people; and if he failed in his duty of protection, then it was thought just that he should not only return the value that had been lost, but four times the value, as a penalty for his failure in his duty of protecting his subject from robbery.

And I am inclined to think that that test might be applied very effectively in modern days; if you held that your police and your rulers ought to be the protectors of the people, then you would have a right to demand from them—as your ancient forefathers demanded, not only from the king, not only from the governor, but from the watchman in a village—that he should restore either the stolen goods or the value of those goods out of the money he received from the country, the province, or the village. And you may read interesting little stories of how, when a cow, or some movable creature, was stolen, the watchman had to follow the cow, and as long as it was within the village lands, he could then seize it and bring it back; if it went outside the lands for which he was responsible, then the watchman of the next village became responsible for it, and had either to produce the cow or the value of the cow. And you will find that principle running through practically all the ancient Governments, where we have literary remains which enable us to judge of the reality of this kind of duty, from those who were responsible for the order of the State.

The King, his ministers, the council, the police, the

soldiers, all these were practically the Executive of the Government, and so they became responsible for the right carrying out of the laws; and I find long ago a Buddhist monk speaking to an Indian King who had not thoroughly discharged his duties to his people: "What superciliousness is thine, O king, who art a mere servant of the body politic, and who receivest the sixth part of the produce as thy wages!" You have there the very significant point as to the relation of a King and his people. He was given authority to exercise it for the protection of his people, and if he did not so exercise it his people had the right to call him to account.

And so, again, you find another King, when a beautiful woman wanted to share his power, and his answer was: "My love, I have no power over the subjects of my kingdom, I am not their lord and master; I have only jurisdiction over those who revolt and who do wrong."

And that is the old idea of Kingship. He is placed in a particular post; he is given by the State a definite salary; that salary imposes on him the duty of the protection of his people; and you find that he had for his duty to administer the law, but outside a breach of the law he had no right of interference. And looking at it from that standpoint, you will begin to realise that the duty of a King was by no means a sinecure in those older days, for the laws laid down for him were extremely strict. It was said that he ought to watch, in order that his subjects might sleep; that he should be ready to risk his life, in order that his subjects should be in safety; and the whole duty of protection was thrown on the Executive Government and its head, and they were responsible to the people for the carrying out of the customary laws, not made by the Executive Government, but made by the various Councils of the people. The customary laws were those that the King was bound to enforce. And that might explain to you

why, in the mouth of that great Statesman Confucius, whom I just mentioned, you find his view of what is called the "Golden Rule" differing from the view of the greatest Teachers of mankind. You know very well that, the "doing to others as you would they should do to you" is one of those fundamental principles of morality that every great Teacher proclaims. You find it in the mouth of the Lord Buddha; you find it in the mouth of the Lord Christ; and it is rather startling at first to find that when some inquirers asked of Confucius what he thought of that Rule, his answer differed from the answer given by the greatest Teachers of morality. For you will find that morality, rightly regarded, is relative to the duties imposed on the various types necessary for the welfare of society in the discharge of their functions. His answer was one that all Statesmen ought to remember. He was questioned: "Should we return good for evil?" And his answer was: "With what then will ye recompense good? Recompense good with good, and evil with justice."

Now, at first, one is a little startled at that answer, knowing the other answer so well; and yet, to some extent, you try to carry it out in your Courts of Law—often not very successfully, I admit—but still you have the principle there of administering justice. And, although you believe in the Sermon on the Mount with your lips, you do not believe it in matters of the Government of your Nation. You do not, if a man steals your cloak, give him your coat also. You do not, if a man forces you to go a mile, go with him two—unless you cannot help it. So far as the coat and the cloak go, you either follow the man, crying "Stop thief!" or you hand him over to a policeman; and it does not seem to strike very many of you that there is a muddle in your thinking on this teaching. For you say in the Church one thing, and in the State another.

It was a very eloquent Bishop—Bishop Magee of Peterborough—who made the somewhat caustic remark, that any Nation that tried to carry out the Sermon on the Mount would not be able to live for a week! Well, you might say, what did he mean? or, at least, what do you mean in quoting him? I mean this: that while you may yourself forgive a personal wrong done to you, and ought to forgive it, that to carry out in your Nation a line of conduct which would practically rob the industrious for the sake of the violent and the robbers would give you in the Nation chaos instead of order. And it is injurious to the morality of the people, where they put forward, as a law to be followed, a law which they do not obey in the greater part of their ordinary life. And it comes out very strongly in a remark of a Musalman Governor, a superior Governor, when he visited a city under the control of a city Governor, and the people of the city said to him: "We have such a saint for our Governor; he prays all night long!" and the rather chilly answer of the more thoughtful man was: "If he prays all night long, how is he to administer the affairs of the city during the day?" Well, that kind of bringing theories down to facts is a very useful mental exercise; otherwise you have a number of things you pretend to believe, and that you contradict in national matters and in social matters. There is, then, a difference of duty imposed on certain classes of citizens by the State for the common good, and it is far better to recognise that than to talk beautiful platitudes which you entirely forget when you are faced by some ill-treatment or some wrong inflicted upon you.

A good many people, I think, keep watertight compartments in their brains, and they are able to hold two contradictory propositions at the same moment of time. They lock up one compartment while they consider the other; and lock up the second when they

are considering the first; and so they continually muddle their lives, because they have not a clear and definite view of morality, which guides them steadily in their duties, alike to the criminal and to the State.

It is not an easy problem to deal with. You have to realise that the only right of the Executive Government is, not to *punish* a man because he has broken a law, but to prevent him from injuring society in the future; not to inflict upon him any more loss of his natural *rights*—I was going to say, and I will use the word for the moment—than you can possibly help. That is, not to make him as miserable as you can; not to make his life as monotonous as you can; not to make him desperate by the sense that all the world is against him; you have a right to prevent, and a duty to prevent, him from injuring society by his violence, or his limited development of the moral sense; and the one great sentence that was inflicted in many of these ancient States was simply to send the bad citizen, if he were very bad, outside the limits of the State, so that he might learn the value of order and the duties of social life.

Now I have used in the sub-title of this lecture three very fine-sounding words: Autocracy, Aristocracy, and Democracy; and I want to ask you for a moment to consider these words.

If we look to Egypt, we find generally a form of Government that might fairly be called Autocracy. The Pharaoh was not only a monarch, but deeply learned as a priest, as an Initiate, in his kingdom. And in reading the history of Egypt, you will find certain Dynasties called the Divine Dynasties. In the history of every people who are civilised people you will find legends and myths, as you call them, of a time when men of supreme knowledge, of supreme wisdom, immense in not only knowledge but wisdom, stood out above their fellows; where the people were

comparatively undeveloped in great qualities of intellect; where they were really a child-nation and where their elders, holding the royal office, were manifestly above the great masses of the people. You may remember that it was said of Egypt by one of the French Egyptologists (Bernouf), that the civilisation of Egypt sprang on to the stage of history "full-grown." And among all the very ancient Nations you will find monuments, you will find magnificent fragments of buildings, you will find the movement of huge masses of material which even your wonderful modern engineer looks at with wonder and with puzzlement. Maybe, most of you do not recognise that there was a time when great Sages lived among the people and from their number great Kings were chosen—Saints and Sages: Saints the teachers of the people, Sages the Governors of the people, laying down their duties.

Turn back to one of the ancient books of India, and you will find one, whom you would not look upon as of superhuman power and knowledge and devotion to duty, ruling over a portion of that land; and you will find Him, whom you would call a Superman, visiting the Court and bowed down to by the King; you would read of the Sage asking the King definite questions as to how he was discharging his royal duties; asking him whether any of the widows of soldiers—if he had been engaged in war—whether they and the orphans were being carefully supported and nourished by the State; asking him whether every manual worker in his kingdom was supplied with the materials on which to exercise his craft; asking him whether there were any who were neglected, who were poor, who were not taken care of; examining him on all the points of his Government so that He might see that the duty of the Ruler was discharged. And there was a time when some of those Supermen took the position of the Kings of the people, and have left those mighty monu-

ments behind them, which are still looked on with modern eyes with marvel, with wonder, as to what giants can have made them, what knowledge can have raised them!

And in some of those tombs that have been opened of Ancient Egypt you have found signs of exquisite crafts and arts; which are so wonderful and so priceless in their beauty, that every Nation desires to share in the spoil of the desecrated tombs, and to place in its museums as models some of the things rifled from the sepulchres of ancient Kings. And surely, some of you must have asked, Why is it that in those very, very ancient times such art, such crafts existed? What was the wealth of the Nation that could seal up in the tombs of its Kings such proofs of the wonderful things produced under their rule, and leave them there, as we might say, useless? Surely, there must sometimes have come into your mind the question: "Are we in our modern struggles really superior to those highly organised Nations of the past?" Have we really gained so much since those Divine Kings, to whom alone the word "Autocrat" might be, I think, fairly applied? For they apparently ruled practically alone and their will protected the people.

I have read somewhere, and it seems to me the sentence is worth thinking over, that "The autocracy of the wise is the salvation of the foolish." Not a sentence very acceptable, I imagine, to the ordinary modern politician. And yet, if the value of a rule is to be judged by its results on the whole body of the State and the masses of the people, we, in our modern days, seem to have missed something of what a King should be, when we walk through the slums of our cities and see the miserable, sometimes only half-human, people who crowd the very worst quarters of our great towns. Still, I am not suggesting to you that you should go back to Autocracy, because you would want

the kind of Autocrats that in those ancient days laid the foundations of the mighty Nations of the past. But in the next word, Aristocracy—if you will take it in its real meaning—I am inclined to think that is the very thing that Democracy is groping after. For what does the word mean? The best! It does not mean people who happen to be princes, or peers, or dukes, or marquesses, or those of that kind; for it does not follow they are in the least the best. One of their ancestors may have been a man of power or of usefulness in his own time, but that does not prove that what we now call "Aristocracy" is by any means the selection of all the best of the people. China has avoided the difficulty that you find yourselves in; through some degenerate son of a noble house helping to make your laws and not doing it as well, perhaps, as it might be done; for China, when it finds and honours a great man, does not ennoble his posterity, but his ancestry. And that appears to me an admirable way of showing a Nation's gratitude and paying honour to a great man; for his ancestors had something to do at least with his production, while clearly his posterity are in no way responsible for either his talents or his greatness. And, if you must have titles—and I am not one of those who object to titles of honour when earned by service to the Nation, given as a proof of a Nation's gratitude—and make them titles of the family, not of the man, then they surely should be limited to those who are in his family line backwards, and not to those who come after him. Let them, if they can, win honour for themselves.

Now, looking at it in that way, what is it really that a Democracy must be groping after as rulers? Surely, the best. Those who are the most competent in every department of Government. Those who have been trained for the particular work to which they set their hands as members of a Government. Those who are

learned in the complicated questions which have to be dealt with not only by those who make the laws, but also by those who administer them. It was ruled in some of the ancient kingdoms that those who were wisest in the land should be the makers of the laws, rather than the Executive, which needed other qualities.

Now, there are different ways in which you reward people for their services; but there is one eastern way that I am going to recommend to your attention, and that is: that the different types of men deserve, and ought to have, different kinds of rewards for the services they do to the Nation. And, roughly speaking, there are three great rewards that people may have:

First: Honour, fame, respect, the recognition of the services they have done, given by a grateful people, whom they have benefited;
Second: Power;
Third: Wealth.

Now, the habit here, and in all the western civilised countries, it seems, is to heap all these on the same persons, and to have nothing left with which to reward some of the most useful services that are done in the production of all that is necessary for happy, comfortable, refined life. Would it not be better to divide the rewards among the different types of people, so that all should have some reward for what they do for their work in the Nation when well done, and they should not all three be poured on single persons who happen at the moment to be at the top. If you have a Foreign Minister, he has Power; why should he also have a large amount of salary? He has worked in order that he may wield power. He probably would not be a Foreign Minister if he had given all his time to the production of wealth. And the great artist, and the great writer; he has a joy in his work, intense delight in the creations of his pen or pencil or paint-brush;

why, in addition to this and his reward of fame, should he have enormous sums of money for his works? The people who really need a greater share of wealth, of material things, are the producers and the distributors who deal with the wealth of the country. They are the people who need that wealth more than others. I am not saying that the Foreign Minister, or that the Artist, should not have a fair share of comfort; but I say that those who want it most and have least are those who are employed in all kinds of labour in producing and distributing necessaries and luxuries, when they are the very people who need it most for the development of their own higher faculties. It is not right, it is not just, that the masses of the people should have the least of all the things that develop the more human qualities in them, that give them enjoyment after labour, rest after fatigue, and the inspiration of beauty which shall gradually refine and adorn their own lives. For the artist does not need a number of luxuries around him; he is far better with a simple life. I do not mean a sordid life, nor an ugly life; you can have simplicity, and dignity, and beauty together. And the man who produces great paintings, great sculptures, great architecture, that man's chief reward is the joy of creation and of the gratitude of the people whom he serves, and he does not need the luxuries and the pleasures which the less cultivated and the harder-worked man needs to have, if he is to lead a really human life. Those who have most in themselves need least from outside. There, it seems to me, is the great fault of your modern Governments. There the great problem that has to be solved. Wealth is needed more by those who create it than it is by those who are so richly endowed with the gift of genius, with the gift of intellect, with the gift of power. Their lives are full, while the others are empty of all that makes life fair and happy, and makes it possible for them also

to share in the benefits of civilisation. And the great Problem of Government to-day is: first, to pick your Governors, so that they may be men or women who understand the work they have to do; then to make the Ideal you set before them, the Ideal of Duty to the People for whose happiness they are responsible, and to make them realise that there shall be no power without duty; there shall be no authority without wisdom to justify its existence.

I have spoken here of Rights and Duties. Do you realise that Duties belong to the strong, that Rights belong to the weak? I know that is not the general view, for you talk of the Rights of man without considering of what you are thinking. It is those who cannot defend themselves who should have their rights protected by the strength of others. It is those who are too inarticulate to claim their rights who should have them poured out upon them abundantly, in the performance of their duties by the strong. And that is the older Ideal of life. That is the Ideal of advance—intellectually, morally, spiritually; that is the demand of every Nation; inarticulate as it is, it knows in what it wants to find to-day, not a struggle for material goods, but a fair distribution of the abundant wealth that is created, of which the bulk should go to the producers, and less to those who are richly endowed with all the great faculties of mind and spirit.

It used to be the rule that the highest caste, the learned, the wise, the educated, should not have wealth. You may read in the Institutes of the Ancient Lawgiver, that Learning said to a Brahmana: "I am thy wealth." And that was the old rule. A simple dignified life, devoted to study and to the spread of knowledge among others, was the duty of the learned, the wise.

I am sure the modern Nations might realise some of the possibilities of human nature realised in the past, and gradually lost again as those who had power

were of lower types, became selfish in enjoyment of power, and anxious to hold it for themselves and their families, and not as a sacred duty in which they represented the Divine Will and the Divine Justice for the benefit of the whole State which they had the duty of guiding; and I cannot but hope that in the struggles of to-day, in all the attempts that are being made to obtain a higher standard of real life among the masses of the people, I cannot but hope that among all these struggles and conflicts we shall see arise a higher Ideal, the Ideal that the highly gifted by nature should sacrifice for the sake of the less gifted; that the duty of the learned is to teach, the duty of those who know the right to set a higher example in Church and State. For the problem is growing acute among you. More and more are you faced with dangers surrounding you on every hand, unless you can solve the Problem of Rights and Duties, unless you feel your duties to the weak, not only to the human weak but to the masses of the sub-human kingdom as well, who do not exist for your convenience, and your comfort, and your ill-usage, but to work out their own lives in climbing up the great Ladder of Evolution, willing to help you if you would help them, and full of love and gratitude for those who help them to rise to a higher possibility.

This question, as I said, presses for solution. Those of you who have strong brains should devote yourselves to its solving, fearless whether you come across popular prejudices, whether you please or displease the often thoughtless crowd. Remember that on you, whose brains are strong, lies the duty of pointing out the faults of the social system of to-day and of bringing a remedy for those faults. Idle to complain, if you do not work to change. Useless to talk against those who have the power, unless you show capacity of wielding it better for the national good than those whom you assail. Try rather to understand the difficulties; try

to realise that you are face to face with that vital choice: Order or Chaos? Either Order in your State, well organised, with a happy people, or going over the precipice into disaster and chaos; and then for the future humanity to grow up slowly out of the crudeness of ignorance once more.

I believe that you as a Nation are in a position where you can save the world if you will; where you can evolve a real social order, and not the anarchy that prevails amongst you to-day. You attack the anarchist who has had some dream or vision, perhaps, that he dimly sees and gropes after; but your society is an anarchy to-day, with an absence of true rule, with an absence of true obedience, an absence of true self-discipline; yet these are necessary qualities, which you have the power to develop; qualities which you might have as your own, if you will. If not, your civilisation will go down, as others have gone down in the past, and you will reap the fruit of Death, if you deny the Brotherhood of Man.

PEACE TO ALL BEINGS.