

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the
Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER

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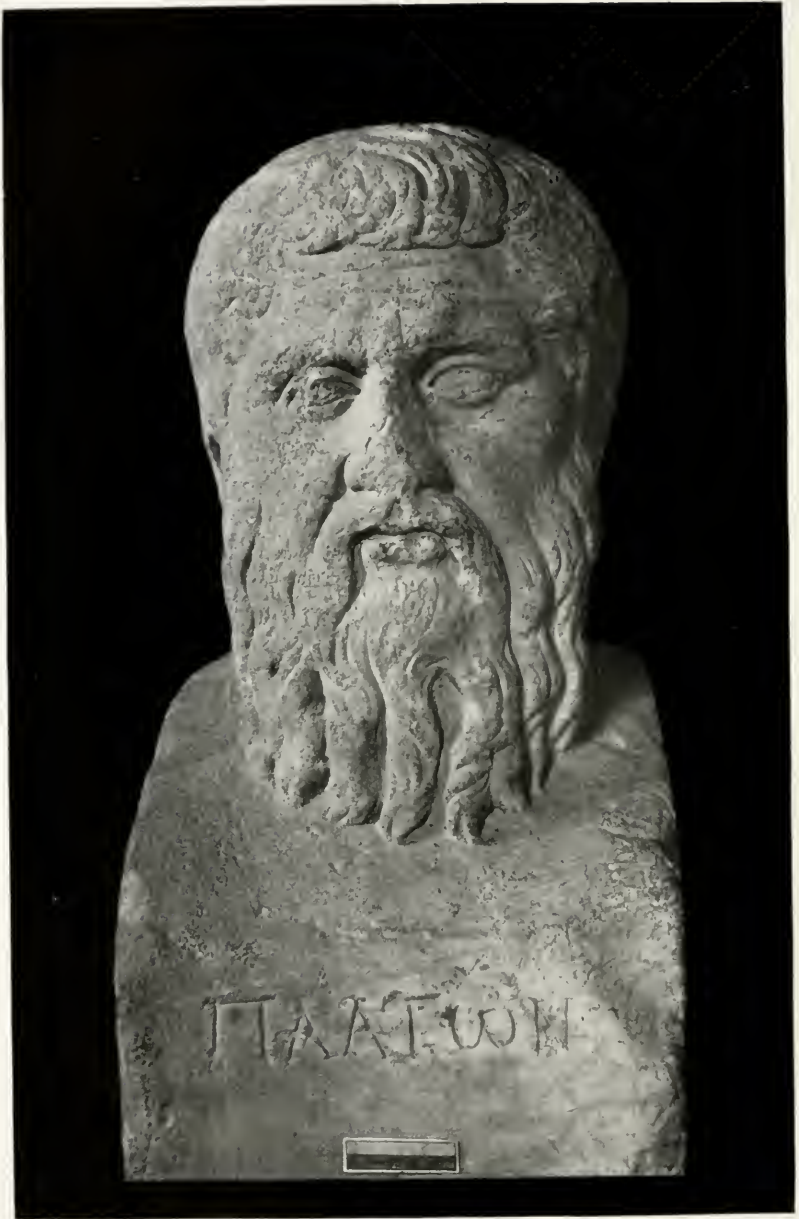
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PLATO

Frontispiece to the Open Court.

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AN ANATOMY OF DEMOCRACY

BY J. V. NASII.

I.

PROBABLY there is no other political dogma which in the United States has been so fondly cherished and so unquestionably accepted, almost as an inspired pronouncement, as the statement in the Declaration of Independence which proclaims that all men are created equal. True, many of the very men who borrowed this dictum from Rousseau and wrote it into our Declaration at Philadelphia in 1776 were themselves the owners of slaves.

"With this letter," wrote George Washington to Captain John Thompson, a sailing master about to start for the West Indies, "With this letter comes a Negro, Tom, which I beg the favor of you to sell in any of the islands you may go to for whatever he will fetch and bring me in return for him one hogshead of best molasses, one hogshead of best rum, one barrel of limes if good and cheap, one pot of tamarinds, two small pots of mixed sweetmeats, and residue, much or little, in good old spirits."

But by one of those psychological sleights of hand which enable statesmen to wave blandly out of mind unpleasant facts which conflict with theories adopted to rationalize a political policy—in this case the separation of the colonies from the British Crown—the signers of the Declaration were not disturbed by the existence of the institution of slavery in their midst.

While the United States, therefore, was apostrophized in song and story as "the land of the free," its democracy necessarily had a somewhat Pickwickian flavor, since human slavery continued to flourish here long after it had been outlawed by monarchical Europe. In Europe, with its numerous population and superabundance of cheap white labor, there was never any market for Negro slaves; hence the moral sense of the governing class was not warped by

economic considerations which always seek to justify social conditions that are profitable to the dominant financial interests in the community. In America, on the other hand, there was from the beginning a scarcity of white labor south of the Mason and Dixon line, in the great plantation country; and, following the invention of the cotton gin, which made large-scale production possible, slave labor became a source of unbounded wealth to the landed gentry which exercised supreme political control throughout the South and for many years dictated the policies of the Federal government at Washington.

Before the economic effects of the boom in slave-produced cotton began to be fully felt, Thomas Jefferson, Henry Clay, and other liberal Southerners had indeed looked forward to the gradual abolition of slavery. From this Southern emancipation movement had sprung the Liberian colonization scheme, which aimed to solve the Negro problem by the ultimate repatriation of all American slaves, who were to be transported back to and assisted to settle in Africa. The struggling Republic of Liberia still clings to a narrow strip of the low and sultry coast of equatorial West Africa, a forlorn reminder of this all but forgotten movement of one hundred years ago.

But when the economic prosperity of the South became obviously rooted in slave-grown cotton, which constituted the principal article of export and the source of a constantly increasing wealth to the planter class, the Liberian project was abandoned. It began to dawn upon the consciousness of the Southern aristocracy that chattel slavery was a God-ordained institution. The Mexican war was fought in order to gain fresh territories for its expansion at the expense of a benighted neighbor which did not recognize slavery, and by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise vast areas in the West were thrown open to the slave power. Finally, in 1857, slavery was assured the fullest protection of the Government by the decision of the Supreme Court in the famous or infamous Dred Scott case. In this decision the Supreme Court no doubt acted just as conscientiously as it did the other day in maintaining the constitutionality of Child Labor.

It was only in the North, where slavery had never been economically profitable, that the movement for abolition continued to find adherents after, say, 1825. The South would have even prohibited the discussion of the slavery question in Congress but was frustrated, largely through the efforts of the venerable John Quincy Adams in the House.

The Christian churches in the South could see no moral issue in slavery. Without exception they endorsed and re-echoed the prevailing economic doctrines, and they were ready with Biblical texts in support of their position on this point. Paul's injunction, "Servants, obey your masters," (all servants of course were slaves in his day) was thundered from a thousand pulpits.

The great Methodist and Baptist communions—the largest Protestant denominations—were rent in twain over the slavery question, and the breach has never been healed to this day. The Roman Catholic and Episcopal churches, it is true, maintained their unity of fellowship, but were not behindhand in furnishing 100 per cent patriots to both the Union and the Confederacy, although in the North, as late as 1864, an Episcopal bishop (the Right Rev. Dr. John Henry Hopkins, D. D., Bishop of Vermont) published a book in which he sought to establish, by an overwhelming array of texts from the Old and New Testaments and from the Church Fathers, the divine institution and sanction of slavery. A Southern Episcopal Bishop became a General in the Confederate Forces. Again, while the Catholic Archbishop Hughes of New York went on a diplomatic mission to Europe for President Lincoln, the noted Catholic poet-priest, Father Abram Ryan, served as a Confederate chaplain, and, so it is said, when the fray grew particularly hot seized a rifle and took his place in the ranks. Bishop John England of Charleston, S. C., the most distinguished Catholic prelate in the South at the time of his death a few years before the war, eloquently upheld the morality and lawfulness of slavery.

But by 1860 the world had reached a stage in the progress of Liberalism and Democracy in which the existence of slavery was an anachronism and could not long be tolerated in any civilized country, no matter how profitable it might be to a handful of wealthy planters in one section. Had there been no Civil War and no Emancipation proclamation by President Lincoln in 1863, it is altogether probable that slavery would have disappeared in the lifetime of the generation which fought in that conflict. Slavery had been outlawed by the Supreme Court of World Opinion, and its survival much beyond 1870, even in the United States, is inconceivable.

Possibly, indeed, if there had never been a Lincoln there would have been no Civil War, although it is not meant to intimate that Lincoln was consciously responsible for the conflict.

"Lincoln," says the late Goldwin Smith in his *Reminiscences*, with all his wisdom and goodness of heart, never took—or at least never showed that he took—a right view of the case with which he had to

deal; if he had, perhaps there would have been no war. He viewed and treated as a rebellion that which was in fact a natural disruption, postponed for some time by uneasy shifts and compromises, but inevitable in the end."

Perhaps a truer view is that of Henry Adams, a New Englander of the New Englanders and one of the most penetrating students of history in his generation, who in his illuminating *Education* writes: "Not one man in America wanted the Civil War, or expected or intended it. A small minority wanted secession. The vast majority wanted to go on with their occupations in peace. Not one, however, clever or learned, guessed what happened. Possibly a few Southern loyalists in despair might dream it is an impossible chance; but none planned it."

Jefferson Davis, later President of the Confederacy, in one of his last speeches on the floor of the United States Senate, in December, 1860, said:

"This Union is dear to me as a Union of fraternal states. It would lose its value to me if I had to regard it as a Union held together by physical force. I would be happy to know that every state now felt that fraternity which made this Union possible; and if that confidence could go out, if evidence satisfactory to the people of the South could be given, that *that* feeling existed in the hearts of the Northern people, you might burn your statute books and we would cling to the Union still. But it is because of their conviction that hostility and not fraternity now exists in the hearts of the Northern people, that they are looking to their reserved rights and to their independent powers for their own protection.... If you can submit to them that evidence, I feel confidence that with the evidence that aggression is henceforth to cease, will terminate all the measures for defense." (Congressional Globe, 1860-61, P. 30).

This may justly be considered a fair reflection of the attitude of the sober-minded leaders of the South even as late as a month after Lincoln's election.

The fact seems to be that the South was precipitated into the war largely by psychological forces, the chief of which was a widespread distrust of Mr. Lincoln, whose uncouth backwoods antecedents, combined with his ungainly, unkempt appearance, bizarre manners, and irritating public utterances, instilled in the Southern people an instinctive and unreasoning fear of his purposes toward them. In vain, upon taking office, he disclaimed the slightest intention to interfere with slavery or to meddle in any way with the local affairs of the South. In the eyes of the frightened Southern folk Mr. Lincoln was an ogre, Seward a villain, and their party, the "Black Republicans," little better than cut-throats and pirates. Charles Francis Adams, on reaching London, found this caricature

of Lincoln and Seward so firmly imbedded in the minds of even the English people that to fight against it was useless. To quote once more from "The Education of Henry Adams":

"London was altogether beside itself on one point in especial; it created a nightmare of its own, and gave it the shape of Abraham Lincoln. Behind this it placed another demon, if possible more devilish, and called it Mr. Seward. In regard to these two men English society seemed demented. Defence was useless; explanation was vain; one could only let the passion exhaust itself. One's best friends were as unreasonable as enemies, for the belief in poor Mr. Lincoln's brutality and Seward's ferocity became a dogma of popular faith."

And so the war came.

II.

It is sixty years since chattel slavery was abolished in America. With the blot of slavery cleansed from our national banner, surely we could now, without the least trace of hypocrisy, proclaim anew and in louder, fuller, more triumphant tones, the gospel of the Declaration of Independence: "All men are created equal, with inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Were not all now, black or white, free in fact and equal before the law? Of course, poor men could not hire expensive lawyers to move juries by their skill and eloquence, and if a man had not the money wherewith to pay a fine he was sent to jail. But then, was it not a man's own fault if he was poor? Was he not on an equality with every other man, and if he failed to accumulate a fortune, was it not an evidence of shiftlessness, laziness, or downright perversity, for which he should suffer the consequences?

In my school days years ago in Boston, Montgomery's *American History* was one of the official text books, and the source of all historical truth. Who Mr. Montgomery was, I never had the least idea; probably the good old gentleman is long since dead and gone. The history was written in simple yet sententious language, setting forth the United States as a nation providentially raised up by God as a refuge for mankind,—a haven for the oppressed of all the earth, a land where all men are "free and equal," with glorious and unlimited opportunity to.....*get rich*. We were no longer a mere United States; we were the whole Western Hemisphere—We were "AMERICA." And so, at the conclusion of the history, which left off about the year 1890, the author, as a fitting climax, wound up with the sublime reflection that the story of American (i. e., United

States) history, through which the book had conducted the youthful student, pointed conclusively to one moral, which was: *AMERICA MEANS OPPORTUNITY*.

Yes, America meant opportunity—Opportunity for SUCCESS—to all. To question that statement would have seemed something akin to blasphemy. If it were questioned—as it never was—the heretic would instantly have had pointed out to him the figure of some conspicuous “self-made” man of the latter nineteenth century. “Look at Andrew Carnegie!” parents admonished little boys.

But the greatest object lesson of all was the life of Abraham Lincoln, the rail-splitter who became President and “saved the nation.” The incontrovertible fact of Lincoln seemed a triumphant, an utterly overwhelming confirmation and vindication of our beloved dogma of political and economic democracy and of Success through the exercise of free will. And so we have with due solemnity preached to our children the gospel of democracy somewhat after the following fashion: “Any one of you can become President. If you fail to become President, it will be due to willful laziness, shiftlessness, or some other form of culpable depravity.”

Of course, one might interpose an objection which seemed never to occur to these simple people; that even if all the good little boys did their very utmost to cultivate every moral and intellectual excellence, and all of them were to achieve 100% results, still, they could not by any possibility *all* become President, any more than that several million little boys could *all* catch one red apple which some benevolent old gentleman might throw among them once every four years. Granted that all little boys were equally industrious, thrifty, studious, and deserving, the one who should win the prize of the Presidency would *a fortiori* be determined by quite other factors, just as has always been the case.

Some of the Presidents, to be sure, have been men of marked ability, although Dr. Harry Pratt Judson, for many years President of the University of Chicago, speaks of even Monroe as “an excellent example of that eminently respectable mediocrity which a long experience has now taught us to expect in a president of these United States.”*

Take a recent instance of the practical operation of “democracy” in the choice of our chief executives. In 1901 a young anarchist, inspired, it is said, by the teachings of a well-known lady revolutionist, shot and killed President McKinley, a worthy but quite unremarkable gentleman whose election had been procured by “Boss”

* The growth of the American Nation, Page 191.

Hanna. Theodore Roosevelt, who had been shunted into the Vice-Presidency by the "interests," for the express purpose of keeping him out of the Presidency, stepped across McKinley's dead body into the White House, later appointed Taft his successor, quarreled with him, and produced a split in the Republican party, through which aperture Mr. T. Woodrow Wilson (whose nomination in turn had been due to a quarrel between Mr. Bryan and Mr. Champ Clark) squeezed his thin pedagogical form and for eight years stood before the world as the voice and conscience of 100,000,000 "Americans," notwithstanding the fact that he received only a minority of the popular vote, both in 1912 and 1916. Having achieved such perfect democracy at home, we were ready in 1917 to send a conscripted army to Europe to "make the world safe for democracy."

III.

I have referred to Abraham Lincoln as the traditional example of the heights to which, it has been proudly asserted, any poor boy can rise in "America." But we are beginning to realize the naiveté of this belief, for in the light of modern psychology we know that Lincoln was not congenitally like *any* boy, certainly not like the stunted offspring of a steel mill worker living in a city slum. He was born in the great outdoors, waxed in strength through wrestling with the elemental forces of Nature, and was endowed with a mind of extraordinary power.

As water will always rise or fall to the level at which it finds equilibrium, so Lincoln, born under whatever system of government, or in whatever social milieu, would have sought and found some avenue for the exercise of his native talents. That Lincoln became President, however, was due to the confluence of many factors of time and place. Had the Republican Convention of 1860 been held elsewhere than in Chicago, the course of history would have been changed.

But, it may still be reasoned, although election to high office in our government may not be a reward of pure merit, and may depend mainly on factors over which an individual has little or no control, are not all "free and equal" in that they have an equal opportunity to achieve material "success" and the enjoyment of a high degree of happiness?

Here again, the answer must be that water cannot rise higher than its source. And now, what is the mental source, in which

all ability originates and from which all "success" must flow, among the great mass of people in democratic "America"?

"Every human being," says Goddard,* "reaches at some time a level of intelligence beyond which he never gets; these levels range from the lowest or idiotic, to the highest levels of genius."

Samuel Scott, writing in the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* for March, 1922, says:

"An examination of the drafted men of America during the late war leads to the conclusion that 'most of the population is of the mental age and capacity of a pupil in an upper grade of the grammar school.'"

Diagrams and statistics of the army tests have recently been prepared by the Surgeon-General and published by authority of the War Department. They will repay a little examination. It should be borne in mind that the tests were made by trained scientists upon a large group of men, taken from all walks of life, from whom the actually idiotic, feeble-minded, crippled, and seriously diseased had already been weeded out by the local draft boards.

The following table correlates the official ratings of the men with the approximate mental age limits of each group:

D—	10 per cent.....	Mental age of 10 and less.
D	15 per cent.....	Mental age of 10 to 11.
C—	20 per cent.....	Mental age of 11 to 12.
C	25 per cent.....	Mental age of 13 to 14.
C+	16½ per cent.....	Mental age of 15 to 16.
B	9 per cent.....	Mental age of 16 to 17.
A	4½ per cent.....	Mental age of 18 and over.

The tests applied by the psychologists were worked out to cover the mental age of 18 as the upper limit, indicating "very superior intelligence." But only 4½ per cent of 2,000,000 picked young men were able to qualify for that classification. It appears that 10 per cent (200,000) of the conscripts—men of from 21 to 30, inclusive—were unable to give satisfactory answers to a set of fifteen questions such as the following:

1. How many are thirty and seven men?
2. Are cats useful animals because they catch mice, or because they are gentle, or because they are afraid of dogs?
3. Is leather used for shoes because it is produced in all countries, or because it wears well, or because it is an animal product?
4. Do these two words mean the same or opposite: wet—dry?
5. Do these two words mean the same or opposite: in—out?

* *Human Efficiency and Levels of Intelligence*, By Henry Herbert Goddard, Director of the Bureau of Juvenile Research of Ohio, Princeton University Press, 1920.

6. Do these two words mean the same or opposite: hill—valley?
7. Rearrange this group of words into a sentence and tell whether it is a true or false statement: lions strong are.
8. Do the same with this group: houses people in live.
9. Do the same with this group: days there in are week eight a.
10. Do the same with this group: leg flies one have only.
11. Write the next two numbers in this series: 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.
12. In this series: 15, 20, 25, 30, 35.
13. In this series: 8, 7, 6, 5, 4, 3.
14. From the four words in capitals select one that is related to the third word in italics as the second is to the first:
gun—shoots :: *knife—*
 RUN, CUTS, HAT, BIRD.
15. Do the same with these:
ear—hear :: *eye—*
 TABLE, HAND, SEE, PLAY.

We are told that a man was allowed fifty minutes in which to solve these problems. Each type of question, moreover, was fully explained, and the method of procedure illustrated, before the test began. No one who passed this or a similar test successfully was rated as low as D—(mental age 10 years or less). The net result of these examinations was that just 70 per cent of the men rated mentally fourteen years of age or less.

IV.

The tragedy in the conditions revealed by the army tests lies in the fact that when a mind reaches a mental age of, say, fourteen years, and then stops, it has stopped forever. The man may grow to physical maturity; he may manage to earn a living by unskilled labor or at some simple trade or industrial task; he may and usually does marry and raise a numerous family; but no amount of ambition, thrift, or perseverance will enable him to attain to a position beyond the capacities of a mental child. We shall seek in vain among the ranks of the mental fourteen year olds for a potential Andrew Carnegie or Abraham Lincoln.

Roger W. Babson, an eminent statistician, reports that 2 per cent of the population are responsible for all our "progress"; that they control and use the other 98 per cent, who are mere ciphers.

There are certainly many features of American life which tend to confirm the inference of the relatively low mental age of the popu-

lation at large. The fact that baseball has taken its place as our great "national game," is highly suggestive in this connection. Baseball is not an adult's game. It is a game of the adolescent boy; and it is a matter of common observation that boys are its most enthusiastic "fans" and non-professional players. Every vacant lot in our cities furnishes a field for the youthful players. But the appeal of the boyish game to the great mass of average men has in recent years grown so great, that baseball has become not only our "national game," but a highly specialized industry in which millions of dollars are invested and thousands of professional players are employed. One of the most noted of our Federal jurists was recently taken from the bench to become its general manager, at a salary which a movie queen might envy.

Significant, also, is the growth of fantastic secret societies, of which the Ku Klux Klan is a recent very extraordinary but in many respects characteristic example. The weird costumes and gaudy jeweled insignia which they affect, the background of barbaric Oriental grandeur which they frequently display, and their gaudiloquent terminology, as well as the air of portentous mystery in which they envelope their rites, naturally exercise a powerful fascination upon immature mentalities. The common adoption of the name of some bird or animal species as the official title of the order is suggestive of a reversion to primitive totemism.

Turn now to our newspapers, with their principal headlines devoted to crime or violence of one sort or another, and their thick "sport" supplements. A glance is sufficient to confirm our suspicion that the great bulk of the "news" carried in the press is intended to supply the wants of fourteen year old minds. At the present time the most widely advertised daily "feature" writer on the staff of a newspaper boasting one of the largest circulations in Chicago is a fourteen year old boy.

The school records and wage statistics of the United States, studied in connection with the figures of the army tests, reveal a condition of affairs which cannot be viewed without serious concern. It appears that 13 per cent of the population leave school in the fourth grade and 60 per cent never graduate from the grammar school. Only 10 per cent enter a high school, and but 3 per cent graduate. One per cent goes to college.

In the matter of wages, Clarence Darrow is authority for the following:

"Six per cent earn \$150 to \$200 a year— I mean, that is what they get. Twelve per cent get \$250 to \$300 a year. Sixteen per

cent \$350 to \$400. Thirty-one per cent \$450 to \$600. Sixty-eight per cent get less than \$15 a week, and that is less than the minimum fixed for keeping a family. Twenty-seven per cent get \$750 to \$1000, and only 2 per cent get over \$1250."

Whether or not these figures are official does not appear, but according to information made public some time ago at Washington by Representative Knight, Republican, of Ohio, and quoted in the press, average annual earnings are well below \$1,000. Mr. Knight gives statistics showing that federal, state, county, and municipal taxation imposes a burden of \$82 per capita, or about \$350 for each family annually, and he goes on to say:

"It is difficult to get average annual earnings, for there are no returns from farmers, but leaving them out and taking an average on the returns, it was about \$950 for the past year."

A respected citizen of Evanston, Illinois, celebrated his seventieth birthday anniversary recently. The gentleman is a devout Christian and pillar of the church, who has accumulated many millions of dollars in the grain pit of the Chicago Board of Trade by speculating in wheat as it passes from the producer to the consumer. He has never produced a bushel of wheat or any other useful commodity himself, but an extraordinarily quick-witted brain has enabled him to effect sensational "corners" of the market which have netted him millions, with corresponding losses to others. On his seventieth anniversary, the newspaper reporters asked the wheat magnate to tell our young men how to be successful. He obligingly gave two rules: "Work hard and save." Excellent advice to the great army of mental fourteen year olds! The canny old Pecksniff of the wheat gamblers doubtless winked when giving it.

V.

One hundred years ago a mentally fourteen year old man had, to be sure, no small chance of attaining to a position of influence and affluence, because the country was itself in the fourteen year old class. The keen-eyed, dead-shot, resourceful frontiersman, though he had never been to school, might become a Governor. He might, and often did, acquire wealth in lands and in herds. But to-day the redoubtable hunter and successful fighter of redskins has no more place in our political and economic system than has the dodo.

The mental fourteen year olds are today not only in the majority, as the army tests show; they are steadily increasing in proportion to the population. With the development of machine production, doing away with the necessity for initiative and skill in the manipulation

of tools, the mentally lower grade man is a better workman than the superior type, because his reflexes, being more mechanical, are more perfectly adjusted to the operations of the machine.

But what chance has the mental fourteen year old in the struggle for "Success" to-day? By what process can he escape from the ranks of the wage-earners into the class of executives or "owners"? As civilization becomes more complex, competition for the prizes of life proceeds over an ever higher level and so becomes progressively keener. Thus on one side we have a diminishing minority of heirs to wealth and power, and on the other side an increasing multitude of the disinherited. And just because now and then an individual of the mentally superior type is born among the disinherited, and after a long and bloody struggle forces his way up into the class to which he normally belongs, we proclaim the "self-made man," unmindful of the fact that it was not he, but a caprice of Nature, which "made" him.

And in the realm of political "democracy," how does the mentally fourteen year old, who constitutes 70 per cent of the population, fare? What chance does he have to go to Congress? Who will manage his campaign; who will finance it? The rank and file of the population—the laborers, the mechanics, the trades union people generally—are simply not represented at all in our law-making bodies. Imagine a factory worker in the Senate! But why not? There are millions of sober, industrious, conscientious men who, by reason of their mental age limitations, can never hope to be anything but factory workers, laborers or the like. They pay taxes, they are drafted for war, and there could be no production of wealth without their co-operation. They have their legitimate interests which deserve consideration and protection. Why should they not be represented among our legislators by their own delegates? Why should our Congress be practically a soviet of lawyers and others who live solely by their wits—a Congress of the 2 per cent?

It may fairly be questioned in what sense a government may claim to be a *representative* republic when the overwhelming majority of the citizens—the great mass of bona-fide farmers and wage earners—is totally unrepresented by persons from its own ranks who understand its problems and share its point of view. And we may ask further, is a country "safe for democracy" while these silent millions are governed by members of a superior mental age group into which they can never graduate, howsoever great their efforts? I am not raising the question as to whether or not we should have

better government through a different scheme of representation. (It has been said that a truly benevolent despotism is undoubtedly the "best" government). I am merely asking whether our present system is really a government of the people, by the people, for the people.

In the light of the foregoing discussion, it may likewise be asked in what sense can America mean "opportunity" for the 70 per cent who are mentally fourteen years of age or less, who are what they are by no fault of their own, and who cannot by any possibility change the convolutions in the gray matter which determine the limit of their mental growth. Must the promise of equal opportunity and protection in the exercise of the "inalienable rights" of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness be only a mockery to the great majority?

The fact at least must be faced, that in our highly complex civilization to-day the struggle for existence, unchecked by any just system of social control, is a battle of individual wits, whereby a small aristocracy of mental supermen maintain a Nietzschean dominion over the vast majority who are doomed by conditions over which they have no control to a position of political and economic inferiority. Under such conditions, "democracy" is but a sham and a deceit, and will be, until the growing social consciousness which has already abolished chattel slavery throughout the world, shall agree that every form of exploitation of the many by the few must cease.

Mental cunning then would be allowed no greater political or economic privileges than individual physical prowess is permitted in civilized countries to-day. To-day a man is severely penalized for lack of brain, although an individual is less responsible for the constitution of his brain than he is for the development of his brawn. The acquisition of wealth and power by physical might, while once the rule, is now justly condemned, but to perform the same trick by means of mental force is still regarded as praiseworthy, even in a "democratic" society.

In my paper entitled "A Biological Interpretation of Politics," I pointed out that Huxley was convinced that the key to the problem of government is to be found in the history of the development of the family group. In Huxley's mind, however, a too narrow application of the Darwinian concept embodied in the phrase, "the struggle for existence," prevented a just appreciation of the vital part played by co-operation in the evolution of the human race. The success of the primitive family group was conditioned not by the sharpness of individual competition but by the degree of co-operation which ex-

isted among its members. It was mutual service, not a tooth and claw struggle for individual domination among the members of the group, which made possible man's progressive mastery of his environment and the development of the arts. In proportion as man has broken away from the ideal of co-operation have political and economic disasters dogged his heels, so that Huxley, at the end of the nineteenth century, could write such a despairing paragraph as the following:

"Even the best of modern civilizations appears to me to exhibit a condition of mankind which neither embodies any worthy ideal nor even possesses the merit of stability. I do not hesitate to express the opinion that, if there is no hope of a large improvement of the condition of the greater part of the human family; if it is true that the increase of knowledge, the winning of greater dominion over nature which is its consequence, and the wealth which follows upon that dominion, are to make no difference in the extent and the intensity of Want, with its concomitant physical and moral degradation, among the masses of the people, I should hail the advent of some kindly comet, which would sweep the whole affair away, as a desirable consummation."

Nature is bountiful, and with the thousand-fold multiplication of production in every direction made possible by the development of machinery, the overpopulation of the earth, which caused Malthus so much concern, need give us no worry for many centuries to come. We may, indeed, reasonably believe that the nightmare of want and war will be lifted when we go back to the social basis of the family as our standard of organization in society, substituting co-operation and service for competition and blind selfishness, in that spirit of sublimated selfishness which holds, with Sheldon, that "he profits most who serves best." Then—and not until then—shall we have "democracy," in fact as well as in name, and America as well as every other country will truly mean Opportunity—opportunity to co-operate in service for that common good upon which only can the individual good be firmly, broadly, and enduringly based.