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THE GOLDEN AGE OF GREECE,

Mural Painting by Kaulbach in the New Museum at Berlin.

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THE GOLDEN AGE

A Study of Warfare in Relation to Survival and Progress
BY WILFRID D. HAMBLY

URING recent years there has been so much popularising of science that phrases such as "Struggle for Existence," and "Survival of the Fittest" have become current coinage for an exchange of ideas relating to civilization and progress. Nature has been generally accepted as "Red in tooth and claw," while the whole world in times ancient and modern, has been represented as a battle ground for human, plant and animal life. No doubt this is largely true, for the record of the rocks reveals many a romantic episode in the unfolding of various forms of life over unmeasured millions of years. Feeble were the beginnings in the form of microscopic plants and plant-like animals. Then followed a series of changes in which fishes, amphibians, reptiles, birds, mammals, and lastly Man appeared. Every tropical forest is today a battleground. The sand dunes around America's great lakes are a striking object lesson which illustrates the ceaseless fight between several forms of vegetation, each of which is competing for the primary necessities of sunlight, warmth, and moisture.

That Man had to play his part in this Armageddon there is no doubt; nor were his competitive efforts limited to inter-racial combat. Through slow cycles of time climatic changes brought the ice cap further from the Poles. In the northern hemisphere the presence of boulder clay, striations on the rocks, and the scattering of masses of stone called erratics, tell the tale of Nature's enmity toward Man. In intervening epochs between the glaciations he established himself, only to be ousted again when a more rigorous climate overtook him. Much has been said of the "Fall of Man," but Henry Drummond was nearer the mark when he wrote of the

"Ascent of Man." A fair-minded perusal of human history and pre-history emphasises the heroism of mankind in a struggle against adversities of nature. The Eskimo illustrate Man's ability to make a good cultural response to harsh environmental conditions. The Arunta of Central Australia have met their difficulties of existence with an ingenuity which is remarkable. Now, in the most recent phases of combat, the engineer has to solve problems of irrigation, and the construction of flexible steel dwellings which will withstand the tremors of earthquake and the blast of the tornado. Conquest of the plant and animal world is well advanced by application of the experimental results of Mendel. Great advances have been made in surgery and parasitology; though the conclusion that a prolongation of life is progress, may be fallacious.

Taking for granted that life has been, and always will be of the nature of a fight, what may be said of the competitive relationships of human beings among themselves in the past, present, and future? Was Man ever the simple harmonious child of nature, the "Noble Savage" of Rousseau, who in one phrase of his writings glorified the primitive past? Perhaps the consensus of opinion would be that man is by nature pugnacious. Furthermore it might be agreed that the incentives to combat in elementary society have been, and still are, matters of sex and food supply. These factors must have operated in early times. The primitive pugnacious streak, so much exploited in novels and moving pictures, appears to provide great delectation for readers and audience. We hear likewise of the woman who responds only to cave-man methods; for tunately she remains to most of us a figment of the imagination. Perhaps an examination of some of the most retarded peoples of today will throw new light on this question of a primitive pugnacity. At the same time there may be some assistance from reviewing the great civilizations. What has been gained and lost, for themselves and posterity, by the warlike and the passive?

In 1914-18 there stepped out, more or less spontaneously and cheerfully, millions of men and women who obeyed the herd instinct. It is well that this is the case, for with war at the door there is little else to do. A sudden attack on one's person leaves only the alternative of ignominous surrender or a fight. At such a crisis speculation on the reform of the penal code, the more skillful handling of juvenile delinquents, and removal of corruption from

the police force are of little avail. A quick choice has to be made. But, with regard to international situations, is humanity to wait complacently for the next inevitable cycle of greed, unskilled diplomacy, and nationalism, to complete itself? as it surely will. On the whole, the present generation, somewhat inarticulately and without determined cry, says "we hope that this abomination of war will not occur again." In sonorous voices and muttered responses, the prayer for freedom from war ascends in thousands of churches. Unless, however, the outlook is changed by definitely and radically altered Education, the next generation will come up smiling to take its gruel. In spite of his lapses, Man can claim some amount of intelligence and pure reason. It is the scientific spirit, applied to social problems on a broad scale, that will set up a new standard of conduct and responsibility.

There are some writers who invite us to look beyond the sordid cruelty and waste of war so that we may see a horizon of new ideals, cultures, and capacities. The strain on the evesight would indeed be great in order to discern clearly the benefits conferred by the struggle of 1914-18. There is the possibility that the condition of some of the belligerent countries might have been worse had they refused to participate. The opinions of many writers on warfare are curious in their disparity. War has been regarded as an ordeal by God for the welding and purification of nations. Hostilities have been described as an indisputable adjunct of culture, and a necessary expression of strength and vitality. Waitz, an anthropologist, says that war through waste hinders progress, but on the credit side it arouses nations from psychological indolence, and gives cohesion. L. F. Ward finds that for primitive races peace means social stagnation. Karl Pearson defended the selective value of warfare, opining that, apart from war, selection would take place through famine and disease. This idea seems to lose sight of the fact that the class A men go to the field while the class C men stay at home. Of the class A men exposed to casualty, those of the best constitution are most likely to be killed because their physique enables them to remain in the danger zone for the longest periods. The weaker of the fighting men gradually become invalided from the front, owing to the development of one disability and another under conditions of stress. Men of the most daring and initiative volunteer for the most dangerous enterprises, and the casualty list in this section is high. War selects the best manhood for slaughter. Kant saw war as an obstacle to progress and spent much philosophical thought on the means of abolishing conflict. Comte regarded theology and militarism as two main obstacles to progress and reason. This diversity of opinion arises from two main sources. The philosophical and historical method is selective and synthetic, borrowing here and there, sometimes consciously, sometimes unwittingly. Then follows interpretation according to prevailing politics, or on the contrary, there may be a complete negation of the generally accepted evaluation of warfare. In the latter case the pioneer lays himself open to the opprobrium of the mob. The word 'progress' is capable of many interpretations, not infrequently the term is used as if synonymous with complexity, speed, and physical power. In addition to these causes of disparity in views on warfare, there have to be added those which arise from Christian teaching, and at the other extreme those which result from deliberate scheming of financiers.

The historical and comparative ethnological methods of survey have their weaknesses, but these tools, like any others depend on the skill and caution with which they are used. There is nothing inherently unsound in such methodology; the danger of arriving at conflicting or unwarranted conclusions arises from the possibility of having a major premis which has resulted either from a too narrow observation, or a range of observation which has been too heterogenous, having no regard for time of occurrence, and no cognizance of physical and social setting.

A consideration of an ethnological map shows that there are certain peripheral peoples, ostracised, and living on the margin of subsistence. They represent so many races, and sub-races, Mongoloid, Australoid, and Negro, that a theory of racial inferiority will hardly serve to account for their position in the scale of civilization. If civilization is rightly said to be that which is over and above what is necessary for existence, in a biological sense, these marginal people are low in the scale, for life is at the best precarious. There are no margins through saving the proceeds of agriculture. This science is either impossible owing to adverse geographical situations, or for a complexity of reasons it has not been developed, although conditions are not prohibitive. To call such people unprogressive is, in a sense, question begging, because progress may be

regarded as the attainment of peace with extreme simplicity. So argues Gandhi, who would oust western civilization and place the spinning wheel in every Indian home.

The chief of these peripheral peoples are the Eskimo, Tierra del Fuegians, Pygmy groups of Africa and the Malay Peninsula, Bushmen, Veddas, Todas, Andamanese, Punans of Borneo, Australian aborigines, and the now extinct Tasmanians. All these groups are static or decadent in numbers, all have come to occupy unfavourable situations, and none have any contribution to leave to posterity at large. What are the causes of isolation and stagnation?

Aborigines of Australia are still to be found unaffected by European contacts. This is especially so in the center, the north west, and a region to the south of the gulf of Carpentaria. Habits of life connected with hunting and collecting are simple, neither is there any knowledge of agriculture. Vessels of bark and bags of fibre are made, but pottery is unknown. Stone is well flaked into the form of spearheads having fine serrations round the edge. Though the material culture is so elementary the social organization is complex, especially in relation to totemism, exogamy, and magical ceremonies.

The weapons are stone-tipped spears, simple wooden clubs, boomerangs, shields of wood, and spear throwers. There are also stone axe heads fitted into cloven sticks. Warfare is not a serious affair, conflict is of the nature of a stealthy blood-feud and sly retribution. After much time has been spent in painting the fighters with stripes of red, white, and black, and after women have shouted themselves hoarse, and men have danced to the point of exhaustion, the contending parties meet. A few on each side may be injured, then all the old men retire to some secluded spot where peace terms are discussed. Warfare is infrequent, without elaborate organization, and not of a devastating nature. Social functions are largely directed to securing food. In fact the struggle against drought. and the constant effort to follow game demand all available energy. With the exception of the region adjacent to New Guinea there is no culture contact or hostility from outside. So far as is known the only intrusive enemy has been the White man.

That the Tasmanians were allowed to become extinct without any well directed attempt to study them, will always be a slur on

British administration. There was no organized suppression beyond the gathering of the natives and their transfer to an island in Bass Strait. In 1876 there died the last survivor of this early stone age people, who could have taught us what we desire to know of the life of prehistoric man. The culture of the Tasmanians was even more simple than that of the Australian aborigines. Agriculture and the arts of pottery making were unknown. Stone implements were more simple than those of Australia. The only weapon was a wooden spear sharpened to a point by burning and scraping. Of clothing, with the exception of an opossum skin rug, the Tasmanian had no knowledge. His home was a break-wind shelter of bark, open to the weather except on the windward side. The only forms of personal ornament were scarification and daubing with red ochre. The climate of Tasmania is cold in the highlands, but may be generally described as warm temperate. There was no organized warfare, though there was occasional rivalry between roaming bands. Toward the Europeans the Tasmanian was, after provocation, sly and treacherous. There do not appear to have been any laws, chiefs, or systems of government. The only musical instrument was an opossum skin rug stretched across the knees and beaten with a stick. Fire was made by friction, and to save trouble glowing embers were carried in clay receptacles. The quest for food occupied most of the day. While women and children were collecting shell fish and berries, the men were in pursuit of the wallaby and opossum. Every form of animal life was edible, frogs, lizards and snails were a welcome diet. There were dances resembling those of Australia in a general way, but elaborate ceremonies of a magical kind were absent. The Tasmanians were an isolated people without culture contacts or the necessity of preparing a defensive program. They made a poor response to a good environment.

The continent of Africa shows at least two examples of an ostracised people. The Ituri forest pygmies and other scattered groups of racial affinity have a simple culture based on hunting and collecting. They occupy dense forest glades, and so far as they are known, there is no evidence of any culture except that of a very elementary kind. The Bushmen of the Kalahari desert are thought by some anthropologists to be closely allied in a racial sense to the Pygmy groups. The differences are said to have arisen through

disparity of environment. The Bushmen were driven from areas of north east Africa by Hamites, Hottentots, and Bantu. Finally Dutch and British settlers forced these primitive hunters into the least desirable parts of the Kalahari. The Bushmen are skilled raiders of cattle, and in a sly and treacherous way can take care of themselves with their poisoned arrows. They were when first in contact with Europeans a stone age people unable to stand against their enemies, all of whom made use of iron.

Negritos of the Malay Peninsula, and Andamanese, have been regarded as isolated fragments of an anciently dispersed negroid race, whose other representatives are the African groups mentioned, also the pygmy tribes of New Guinea. Physically and culturally the Semang of the Malay Peninsula show variation according to the extent of contact with Malays. Typically these Negritos are a shy retiring people who are difficult to find. They are skillful hunters of the jungle who spend their time making traps and weapons. The latter are poisoned with an extract from the Upas tree. Men assist the women in jungle forays in quest of edible roots and berries. Bark-cloth is made from fibre, while the Perak Semang have learned to beat a piece of iron into shape. The Yandis of southern India are a people of backward culture living the simplest of lives. Of the Todas of southern India Rivers said (1906) "It can not be said that the Todas use any weapons though they retain in ceremonies, weapons such as the bow and arrow." The Andamanese have no combat as a stand-up fight, but they indulge in surprise attacks and petty feuds. If they meet with any resistance or lose a man, all retire. Attacks last only a few minutes. Peace negotiations are conducted by women. Females are generallly responsible for keeping the feuds alive. Veddas of Cevlon have been influenced by racial contact and intermarriage with Sinhalese, but the small tribes of the forest are in a state of sylvian simplicity. These Veddas, armed with bows and arrows, live by pursuit of small game, collecting honey, and digging up wild vegetable produce. One observer says that in habits they are little removed from the animals on which they subsist, being timid, unapproachable, and off like the wind at the slightest intimation of danger. Communities are made up of one to five families. These share rights of hunting and food gathering over a prescribed area. A family consists of parents, unmarried children and married daughters with their husbands. The conditions are of the primitive matrilocal type. Every Vedda helps his community and shares his goods so readily that it is difficult to determine who has a claim on any other member of the group. On further observavation a scheme of sharing in order of precedence is observable. Medicine men have a special training before they are allowed to make offerings to the Yaku, or spirits. Many groups have no houses other than cave shelters. The Punans are jungle tribes in the interior of Borneo. Here indeed is the simple life. There are no houses, no crops, and no margins over and above what is caught and collected day by day. Physically and mentally the Punans are well endowed. They are no puny cowards, but on the contrary are rather feared for the stealth and certainty of their revenge. They are not aggressive. They are retiring, hospitable, friendly and brave. Commodities obtained by collecting and hunting with the blow pipe are regarded as group assets, and sharing with the group is the order of the day. The Yahgan and Ona are two simple decadent tribes in Tierra del Fuego, near the inhospitable shores of Cape Horn. The Yahgan have no organized warfare in which any combatant of one group will kill any combatant of the other force. There is, however a system of blood revenge. The Ona will fight over women, hunting rights, and to reduce the strength of a possible opponent. In seventy five years it is estimated that the Ona have been reduced from a strength of 3,600 to 70, while the numbers of the Yahgan have fallen from 3,000 to 50. The Fugieans have for long been isolated from the main streams of cultural development. They are a typical marginal group, wanting in houses, tools, clothing, domestic animals, and agriculture. The climate is harsh, but observers agree that the conditions are not so adverse as to justify the low cultural status. Here is an example of a poor response to environment.

In spite of Stefansson's description of a "Friendly Arctic," there can be little doubt that the Eskimo of the Northwest, Baffin Land, and Greenland have had a stern fight with environmental conditions. The fight has been a winning one, for ethnologists agree that the cultural response has been excellent, more colloquially, the Eskimo have made the best of a bad job. Carefully they preserve a margin of animal food, wrung from land and sea with great toil and danger. Agriculture is impossible. Timber is obtain-

able only from drift wood. There has been in some localities a development of high artistic skill in the engraving of ivory, and great ingenuity in the manufacture of weapons of the chase. Dogs are used for transport. Houses are ingeniously made. In all ways the Eskimo has utilized every factor which could contribute to his preservation and comfort. The Eskimo have had the sternest of all fights, namely that against harsh environmental conditions. They have their blood feuds, but warfare has been nothing more than a seires of skirmishes with hostile Indian tribes. It is generally assumed that the Eskimo came into North America at Bering Strait, whence they spread eastward. There is a theory that they represent men of the late European stone age who followed the reindeer northward as the ice cap retreated, but precise reasons for the migrations and settlements are unknown.

At the present day the Ainu of northern Japan offer an example of a people who have peace but alas no prosperty. Theirs is the peace of decadence resulting from complete subjection to a conquering race. Japanese legends say that in early days the Ainu were their fiercest opponents. There is some evidence too that the Ainu carried on inter-tribal warfares on a considerable scale. They have been bowed in the dust both in fact and metaphor. The Ainu are an ethnological puzzle. They have wavy hair and features which are not Mongolian. Apparently they represent the terminus of a very ancient migration which settled in Japan with comfort until the arrival of the Japanese.

The factors which arrest attention in these groups are: 1. Isolation. 2. Harsh environmental conditions in several instances. 3. Either inability or failure to indulge in agriculture. This means that there is no margin on which to build up the arts, luxuries, and defence. Just the biological needs of the present claim full time and energy. 4. With the exception of the Todas, who have herds of buffalo, these margnal peoples have no domestic animals which can serve as food. The inference appears to be, that hunters and collectors who have not been swept into the vortex of civilization, are doomed to extinction without leaving anything to posterity. Apparently retirement, absence of culture contacts, failure to build up margins of supply, and lack of weapons in addition to a want of combative organization, spell extinction without addition to the knowledge of the human race.

Warlike Indians of the plains of North America were able to put up a stout resistance to foreign intrusion over a period of three centuries. The Maories of New Zealand were endowed with intelligence and the fighting spirit, so made an heroic attempt to drive the British intruders from their shores. Despite what some geographers have said with regard to the unsuitability of the tropics for culture building, Africa has produced several empires and great military organizations. Among these were Benin, a warlike kingdom, and at the same time foremost in the arts of ivory carving and bronze casting. This kingdom was not reduced until 1897. Other organizations, depending on margins of agricultural produce and cattle, were able to resist inroads of Portuguese, British, Dutch, and Germans. In West Africa the most notable kingdoms were Dahomev, and the Songhai Empire. The fighting Herero resisted the Germans by force of arms for a decade. The Zulu were not reduced until 1875, while the Masai, whose fighting machine was a remarkable organization, gave an excellent account of themselves. Defeat was inevitable, but margins gave arts and a tolerably efficient defence, except against peoples of overwhelmingly superior culture.

In striking contrast to the peoples mentioned are those which built up great empires, partly through agriculture and trade which gave margins, and an increased population. A more important factor in their progress was the utilization of these margins of supply and population for conducting both offensive and defensive warfare. In the New World the Peruvian, Columbian, Mexican, and Mayan, civilizations grew from the surrounding mediocre levels of culture. At any rate such is the opinion of those most competent to judge. Elliot-Smith has however a theory of the introduction of culture from the Old World. Fundamentally there was a building up of a surplus through agriculture, and though the details of growth are not known, it may be said that these people maintained themselves by hostilities until the Spaniards arrived. Then the empires of the New World fell before treachery, internal dissention, gunpowder, and steel. The history of Egypt is that of a struggle against Assyria, Persia, Greece and Rome. Phoenicians paid heavy tribute rather than engaging in war with Philistines and others. But the end of Phoenicia was absorption by Rome. Carthage held out valiantly, chiefly for the possession of Sicily, but

was eventually annihilated by the Roman empire. Arabian civilization advanced into Africa and India by the sword, used under the impetus of a pugnacious religious creed. The causes of the rise and fall of the Khmer civilization of Cambodia are, in the absence of extensive archaeological work, unknown. The Moghul Empire rose and was maintained through forces of arms. Greece fell before Rome, and in its turn Rome bowed before the Vandals. In Europe during the past three centuries there has been every kind of combination in an effort to preserve the 'Balance of Power,' neither is the ingenuity of politicians in that directon vet exhausted. America gained her independence by war,—there was no other way. There has been a never-ending procession of peoples rising and maintaining themselves by the sword, which ultimately destroyed them. These nations are without doubt the ones which have contributed to laws, literature, art; in general terms they have made bequests to posterity. This is as might be expected. In primitive society war is bound up with formation of age groups, councils, and rules regulating absorption of new cultures. Sometimes only the women of the defeated enemy are preserved, these bring with them new ideas relating to religion, magic, weaving, pottery, or some other aspects of culture. Warfare has had a profound effect in stimulating growth of language and culture.

It is such views as these that have led to the glorification of war by men who were supposedly taking a rationalistic point of view. The masses do not go to war because they have some logical theory that war is an indispensable adjunct of progress. Men enlist on a large scale, and rightly so, when they have a choice between fighting and extinction, or at the best, extreme humiliation. To suppose, that because complex civilization and cultural progress are usually associated with war, the two phenonema are inseparable effect and cause, is fallacious. If the two factors of war, and preservation with progress, are not necessarily connected as cause and effect, by what means can the false testimony of historical philosophy be negatived?

Fortunately the pliability of public opinion can be demonstrated in a variety of ways. Within the subject of warfare itself there have been evidences of humanizing influences. It is a tragedy of course that scientific research has been misapplied to refining methods of slaughter, but this does not alter the fact that there have been modifications of procedure in the direction of treatment of prisoners and the country conquered. From the custom of eating the heart of the prisoner after he had been tortured to death, opinion has advanced to an indignant denial of the underfeeding or overworking of prisoners. Outside warfare there have been still more emphatic changes of social sanction. Little more than a century ago in England, it was thought a right and proper thing for children of six or eight years of age to work in factories for hours which were quite undetermined. Poaching a salmon was sufficient cause for life-long transportation. At certain times and places the man who refused to uphold his opinion by a duel would have been ostracised as a coward. Now-a-days the successful duellist would be indicted for murder. Sports such as dog-fighting. cock-fighting, and bear baiting were in their time quite normal recreations. Brutal floggings in the army, navy, prisons, and lunatic asylums were once regarded as inevitable accompaniments of discipline. Sometimes the reform has been a peaceful and very gradual penetration of a higher standard of thought, through improvement of general education and the efforts of self-constituted leaders of reform. In the instance of Divine Rights of Kings in England, and the abolition of slavery in the United States, the reform came through civil war. Sometimes self-constituted leaders are howled down by the mob. A few years later the reforms previously decried are accepted as an integral part of the social system. Custom and social habit, it is true, are often backed by law. But apart from legal sanction there can be a growth of consolidated opinion founded on reason and the scientific spirit.

The chief agencies in forming attitudes are the press, religion, education, and family life. The press too frequently has inflammatory letters relating to imperial expansion and racial animosities. The church is usually to be found on the side of current politics and policies. When a crisis is at hand the church has little choice of opinion. Usually, and notably in the Great War, the denominations of each belligerent country endeavored to show that their particular people were on the side of God, fighting for liberty, freedom, and self determination. Education in primary schools always includes historical teaching. This is largely an emphasis of the conquests of the sword. Far too little is made of the conquests of the inquiring spirit in literature, the arts, science, and exploration.

The mighty heroes are those of the battle field. Whole newspaper syndicates are controlled by the personal politics and financial interests of a few men who not infrequently misuse their power in the direction of creating suspicion and ill-will.

At the conclusion of wars, brought to an end by exhaustion of the combatants, peace is discussed around a table. The terms give no real satisfaction to anyone, and the years of quietude enforced on an effete economic organization echo the rumblings of the past conflict and presage new outbreaks. All the pressing problems of economic conflict, so-called racial antagonism, and pressure of the population on the means of subsistence, are capable of rational solution. What is represented as inevitable racial antagonism, is largely a matter of defective education, social setting, the language barrier, and lack of travel. The ratio between population and food is rationally concerned with problems of birth control, engineering with regard to transport and irrigation, also attention to intensive agriculture.

Intelligent masses in whom reason and impartial inquiry were dominant could not be forced to war. They would demand the same international standards as those prevailing for the settlement of internal disputes. When the hounds of war are straining at the leash argument becomes futile; the lesser of the two evils is to fight.

There is evidence that the Golden Age type of simple hunters, who are unable to hold their position by fore of arms, are compelled to occupy the least desirable situations. There they linger until annihilated by a stronger culture. Without doubt warlike civilizations have preserved themselves for long periods. In doing so they have been able to contribute to architecture, law, music and the arts generally, navigation, and every other factor over and above what is necessary for mere existence.

This general truth has given rise to the belief, that because warfare and development have been so constantly associated, their union is one of inseparable cause and effect. The next stage in the evolution of societal relationships is a recognition of the fact that war has depended on mob mind injudiciously led. Man is highly educable, pliable, and responsive to moulding forces. There is hardly any part of the world today where the attitude toward children, slaves, employees, prisoners, and the sick, which was accepted a century ago, would be able to survive. In this responsiveness of

Man lies the hope that emotionalism will give place to rationalism. An attitude of impartial inquiry can solve racial and economic problems which war serves only to augment. If the educational agencies of schools, the press, religion, and the family, are rightly used, there will be set up a more rational background of thought. This will permeate the public of every country so that large scale warfare will be regarded, not merely in a sentimental way as cruel and wasteful. General opinion will refuse to employ a method which is incapable of giving any thing approaching a permanent settlement to problems which are capable of solution by rational procedure. The time for instilling intelligent inquiry and pacific methods is in the more or less tranquil intervals between conflicts.

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