

Some selected excerpts from *Sex and Culture* that I thought particularly noticeable, important, interesting, or wrong. Lots of definitions, conclusions, and interpretations, with some striking passages. This is not a comprehensive overview of the book; in particular, virtually all the evidence concerning uncivilized societies and most of the evidence concerning civilized societies is missing, since it gets repetitive. Since I read this in a .epub format, there may be typos or formatting mistakes present in the text. I've tried to eliminate them, but I might have missed some. There were no reliable page numbers, so I've put the chapter each excerpt appears in in parentheses at the end of each passage.

As to civilized societies, our comparative ignorance of social history is such as to preclude inductive reasoning concerning the greater part of it. This cannot be too often or too emphatically stated. I have even gone so far as to say bluntly, in my first note, that researches based on historical evidence alone cannot claim to be exhaustive. In saying this, I am thinking particularly of social regulations and conventions; and I confess that I view with alarm the current habit, deplorably widespread among historians and antiquarians, of assuming that the regulations and conventions that prevailed in a century of which we have direct knowledge prevailed also in a preceding or in a succeeding century, of which we may have no direct knowledge at all. Whenever our knowledge is complete, we find that in any vigorous society the method of regulating the relations between the sexes was constantly changing; and, unless there is direct evidence, it is wrong to assume that in any such society social laws were ever static and unchanging, even for three generations. (Intro)

My inductive survey of civilized societies is limited to the Sumerians, Babylonians (to twentieth century B.C.), Hellenes, Romans, Anglo-Saxons, and English. I also make a few references to the Arabs (Moors), and a deductive suggestion about the Persians, Macedonians, Huns, and Mongols. The brevity of the discussion is chiefly due, as I have said, to the comparative scantiness of our knowledge of other ancient societies; but I also felt that if I descended into too much detail, the significances I wished to convey would be obscured. For these reasons I have refrained from discussing many societies which I should like to have discussed. Thus the Cretans, Hittites, Assyrians, and Hindus have been entirely excluded. I make a passing reference to the early vigour of the Teutonic peoples, but the subsequent lethargy of, for instance, the Visigoths, the Lombards, and the Merovingian dynasty, is not even mentioned. Teutonic law, indeed, is only described in its relation to Anglo-Saxon customs. I have also thought it better to omit any reference to the rise of the Sassanids, to the age of Heraclius, and to those other great changes that took place in western Europe, north Africa, and western Asia after the fall of the Western Roman Empire and before the Mohammedan conquest; and I have tried to avoid unnecessary controversy by cutting short the presentation of the Roman evidence as soon as I have summarized the legal changes that took place between the traditional foundation of the consulate and the principate of Augustus. Of the events of the next three centuries I merely offer a general indication; my reasons for doing so are stated or implied in the text. As for the Venetians, Portuguese, and Spaniards, I have done no more than hint at the apparent reason for the uneven energy they displayed at different times; and I have left the reader to judge for himself the relevancy of my conclusions to the historical careers of the Prussians, Dutch, French, and other modern societies. The sacrifice of some of this material was painful;

but I thought that if I included it, the inductive character of my work would be violated, or at any rate imperilled.

In the cultural behaviour of the societies I have mentioned there was nothing, so far as my knowledge goes, that conflicts with the conclusions I have drawn; and at a later date I may seek to remedy some of the omissions. In the meantime I cherish a hope that if any historical student is impressed with the facts presented here, he will test my judgements by a reference to the cultural career of a society which comes within his expert knowledge. [\(Intro\)](#)

The evidence is that in the majority of cases compulsory continence produces social energy; only rarely does the consequent derangement of the nervous system lead to what is technically called neurosis. [\(Intro\)](#)

Briefly stated, my final conclusion is that the cultural behaviour (as defined) of any human society depends, first, on the inherent nature of the human organism, and, secondly, on the state of energy into which, as the result of its sexual regulations, the society has arrived. According to the amount of continence they compelled, the sexual regulations adopted by human societies in the past divide themselves into six classes. These have produced six distinct states of energy, three lesser, three greater. All the uncivilized societies were in one or other of the three states of lesser energy; civilized societies have always been in one or other of the three states of greater energy. Each of the three states of lesser energy produces a definite cultural condition; I call these cultural conditions zoistic, manistic, deistic. Only one of the three states of greater energy produces a definite cultural condition, rationalistic; the other states of greater energy are those of expansive and productive energy. A deistic society can display expansive energy, but not productive energy, unless it first becomes rationalistic. If a rationalistic cultural stratum retains its energy for about one generation (the records do not justify a more definite statement), its cultural tradition seems to be augmented by an element I have called human entropy. Just as the second law of thermodynamics, or the Law of Entropy, appears to reveal the Direction of the Universal Process, so this new element appears to reveal the Direction of the Cultural Process (hence its name); and so long as the stratum continues to display great energy its cultural behaviour changes in the Direction of the Cultural Process. If, however, its energy decreases, its behaviour changes away from the Direction. So far as my knowledge goes, no stratum can be shown to have moved in the Direction for more than one-half of a generation after the appearance of human entropy. The possibility of its doing so must appeal to the imagination of any speculative philosopher. [\(intro\)](#)

By their rites we shall know them. Let me summarize the position. According to the terminology which is adopted in this treatise, the cultural condition of a society is determined by its answers to two questions:

1. What powers manifest themselves in the universe?

2. What steps are taken to maintain a right relation with those powers? We have seen that it is impossible to accept the answers which have been given to the first question. We are compelled, therefore, to base our definitions on the answers to the second question; that is to say, the only reliable method is to classify human societies not according to their ideas but according to their behaviour. (Ch1)

The following terms will be employed in the senses which are hereinafter attached to them. I must beg that their significance be remembered.

There are four great patterns of human culture: (1) zoistic, (2) manistic, (3) deistic, (4) rationalistic.

Only a few civilized societies have been in the rationalistic cultural condition. All uncivilized societies can be placed in one or other of the remaining three classes. Before defining them I must explain that the words zoism, manism, and deism will not and cannot be used to denote the 'beliefs' of those societies which were in the zoistic, manistic, and deistic cultural conditions. The conceptions of uncivilized people cannot be simplified in that manner. (Ch1)

A study of uncivilized peoples reveals that some of them erected temples and that some of them did not. If the members of any society erected temples in their efforts to maintain a right relation with the powers in the universe, that society was in the deistic cultural condition.

When we analyse the rites of any society, then, the first question which we must ask is, 'Did these people build temples?' If the answer is in the affirmative, they were in the deistic cultural condition. If the answer is in the negative, they were not in that condition. (Ch1)

A study of uncivilized peoples reveals that among those societies which did not build temples there were some which paid some kind of post-funeral attention to their dead. Such people were in the manistic cultural condition.

If, therefore, we receive a negative answer to our first question, we must put 'a second question: 'Did these people pay some kind of post-funeral attention to their dead?' If the answer is in the affirmative, they were in the manistic cultural condition. If the answer is in the negative, they were not in that condition.

3. Some societies neither erected temples nor paid any kind of post-funeral attention to their dead. All such societies were in the zoistic cultural condition. We place in this class all those societies concerning which we receive negative answers to the questions I have just mentioned. (Ch1)

When I speak of 'civilized' societies I refer only to the following sixteen historical peoples: Sumerians, Babylonians, Egyptians, Assyrians, Hellenes, Persians, Hindus, Chinese, Japanese, Sassanids, Arabs (Moors), Romans, Teutons, and Anglo-Saxons (i.e. ourselves). According to my terminology any society not included in this list was 'uncivilized'.

It is a rough, arbitrary classification. The cultural condition of some uncivilized societies was, of course, higher than that of some of the civilized peoples. (Ch1)

The Meaning of 'Higher' and 'Lower'. On the grounds that a rationalistic society has more control over its environment than a society which is in any other cultural condition, I call the rationalistic cultural condition the 'highest' cultural condition. Since all those societies which have been rationalistic were deistic in the years immediately previous to the change in their cultural condition, the deistic condition occupies the second position in the cultural scale. A number of deistic peoples also carried out some form of tendance and/or cult. The manistic cultural condition is therefore higher than the zoistic cultural condition. But it is possible for a zoistic society to become deistic without being manistic, and changes may take place from any one condition to any other condition without reference to a determined order.

So much for the definitions which we adopt in the study of uncivilized culture. A similar service must now be performed for the sexual regulations of uncivilized men. (Ch1)

Definition of Sexual Opportunity. By 'sexual opportunity' I mean the opportunity which is afforded to a man or a woman to gratify a sexual desire. Sometimes the sexual regulations prevent such satisfaction; the impulse must be checked or the offender will be punished. The sexual opportunity has then been limited. (Ch1)

But the matter is not so simple as it may appear. In the first place, there is no doubt that the sexual regulations of some uncivilized societies had changed just before we knew them. Indeed, in the period to which our information applies, they were sometimes in a state of flux. Just as the Roman woman enjoyed a greater sexual liberty under the *ius gentium* than under the *ius civile*, and the Athenian woman of the fourth century B.C. was subjected to less rigorous customs than her great-grandmother who had lived in the fifth century, so also after the reign of Mutesa the Muganda wife seems to have ceased to tolerate the old restrictions (para. 166). (Ch1)

The Completed Frame of Reference. Let us summarize the position. The sexual opportunity of uncivilized men and women can be assessed by the answers which are received to eight questions:

1. Was there a demand for the tokens of virginity when a girl was married?
2. Was a betrothed girl compelled to confine her sexual qualities to her future husband?
3. Was pre-nuptial fatherhood punished?
4. Were the boys and girls sexually free (outside the exogamic regulations and /or the prohibited degrees)?
5. Did other men share the sexual qualities of a man's wife?
6. Was a wife compelled to confine her sexual qualities to one man through her life?

7. Was a husband granted access to his wife's sisters?

8. Was a widow sexually free? (Ch1)

That is to say, among these eighty societies the three great patterns of uncivilized culture invariably accompanied the three patterns of pre-nuptial sexual opportunity. Thus:

1. If a society permitted pre-nuptial sexual freedom, it was in the zoistic cultural condition. Conversely, all the zoistic societies permitted pre-nuptial sexual freedom.

2. If a society adopted such regulations as imposed an irregular or occasional continence, it was in the manistic cultural condition. Conversely, all the manistic societies had adopted such regulations as imposed an irregular or occasional continence.

3. If a society insisted on pre-nuptial chastity (in my sense of the term), it was in the deistic cultural condition. Conversely, some of the members of all the deistic societies demanded the tokens of virginity as proof that a girl was *virgo intacta* when she was married.

My submission is that on such evidence a social scientist is compelled to induce that there is a close relation between sexual opportunity and cultural condition among uncivilized peoples. (Ch1)

In our examination of the five Melanesian societies we found that they ascended in the cultural scale if their pre-nuptial opportunity were limited, the zoistic condition accompanying pre-nuptial sexual freedom, the manistic condition accompanying a compulsory irregular or occasional continence, the deistic condition accompanying pre-nuptial chastity. We found also that the higher subdivision of the manistic condition (cult) was coincident with a more stringent irregular or occasional continence, and that the lower subdivision (tendance) accompanied those regulations which, although they must be included in the same category, did not entail the same self-denial. In Uganda we found three societies of the same racial extraction living in a similar geographical environment which regulated the relations between the sexes in three different ways. Their cultural condition also differed, the manistic condition again accompanying a compulsory irregular or occasional continence, the deistic condition accompanying a demand for the tokens of virginity. Moreover, the elaboration of the means whereby a right relation was maintained with the powers in the universe was seen to be coincident with a more limited post-nuptial sexual opportunity. On turning to Western Africa and Central America we again found that the people who insisted on pre-nuptial chastity were in the deistic condition, and that the manistic condition accompanied a compulsory irregular or occasional continence; but none of these three societies was more than cursorily examined. Our knowledge of the *Ibibio*, indeed, does not warrant a more exact study. (Ch2)

The whole of human history does not contain a single instance of a society which has advanced to the rationalistic condition unless its females have been born into an absolutely monogamous tradition; nor is there any example of a group which has retained its high position in the cultural scale after less rigorous customs have become part of the inherited tradition of all its members. When marriage is a

compulsory lifelong association of two equal partners, and a woman knows no man except her husband, and a man knows no woman except his wife, sexual opportunity is reduced to a minimum. (Compulsory celibacy does not limit sexual opportunity. It attempts to deny sexual activity. Its effect upon cultural condition is devastating.) (Ch2)

There is one point, however, which I wish to emphasize again: a change in opinion is never uniform throughout a society. When a society ascends in the cultural scale, some sections of the people retain their old opinions and remain in the lower cultural condition. Then the society is divided into two cultural strata. Indeed, the higher a society ascends the greater is the difference in the culture of the various strata, the number of those strata depending on the nature of the rise of the society. In a deistic society which passed direct from the zoistic into the deistic condition, there would be a zoistic as well as a deistic stratum; in a rationalistic society we may find a deistic stratum, and/or a manistic stratum and/or a zoistic stratum, according to the manner in which the most developed stratum emerged. In every case each cultural change would leave evidence of its occurrence in the existence of the stratum for the culture of which it was responsible. It is for this reason that the culture of a rationalistic society is produced by a minority of its members, for only a few keep step with the advance. Moreover, as time goes on, the cultural condition of each individual stratum changes, either upward or downward, these cultural changes being responsible for the revolutions and upheavals which are the chief events in social, political, and religious history. (Ch4)

Moreover it is not necessary for a zoistic society to experience a period of manistic culture before becoming deistic. It is true that at one time our ten deistic societies appear to have been manistic, but there is at least one historical society which seems to have proceeded to the deistic from the zoistic condition. I refer to the Israelites. The Israelites are not included in this treatise, first, because the facts, and especially the chronology, of their history are not well authenticated, and secondly, because we do not know the native meaning of the words which they used to denote the power in the universe, Elohim, Jehovah, El Elohim Jehovah, Adonai, Shaddai, Sabaoth, El Elyon, etc. These words have been merely translated as God, Lord, Almighty, Most High, etc. Since, however, at some later period of their career the Israelites were deistic, that is, they erected temples wherein they maintained a right relation with the power in the universe, I wish to call attention to those ancient Israelite laws which ordained that a husband should demand the tokens of virginity, that a bride who was not a virgin should be stoned to death, and that the parents of the bride should defend themselves against a false charge by the display of the tokens before the elders, or 'chiefs' (Deuteronomy xxii. 13-29). These customs are exactly parallel to those which were in vogue among our deistic societies; and it is interesting to observe that among the Israelites, at the period to which these laws refer, a man who had pre-nuptial intercourse with a betrothed girl was killed and that a man who deflowered an unbetrothed girl was merely fined, the girl becoming his wife. This differentiation between intercourse with betrothed girls and intercourse with unbetrothed girls is a common feature of uncivilized life, and there is every reason to believe that if our certain knowledge of Israelite chronology and customs were more extensive, further evidence would be forthcoming in support of the induction I have made (para. 24). Moreover, the facts illustrate forcibly that the culture of no human society is founded on a basis which is peculiar to itself.

The Arabs are another instance of a society which seems to have proceeded direct from the zoistic to the deistic condition. (Ch4)

Granted, therefore, the division of phenomena into usual and unusual, normal and supernormal (I am concerned not with the psychological origin of this mental attitude but with the bare fact of its existence), it is rational for a zoistic society to apply the same word first, to the power in the universe, manifest in strange uncomprehended things (para. 146); secondly, to a magician who fundamentally is merely a supernormal man (para. 147); thirdly, to the corpses of those whose manner of birth, life, or death had been supernormal.

To this simple philosophy I have applied the term Dead Level of Conception (para. 66): and having analysed and appraised the evidence in its connexion, we have completed our most difficult task. A dead level of conception is the rational outcome of a reaction against anything unusual or beyond comprehension; and upon this basis, I submit, uncivilized culture (in my sense of the word 'culture') rests.-(Ch4)

Incalculable harm has been done to our study of uncivilized ideas by the translation of such words as *oololo* as 'sacrifice' and of such words as *vui* as 'spirit', for by virtue of such inaccurate translations, and by no other means at all, we have concluded that uncivilized men propitiate 'spirits', whereas the truth is that according to the native terminology zoistic men simply place offerings in 'unusual' places, their object in doing so being identical with that of the payments made to living magicians (n. 294).

The ideas of manistic societies are similar. They also regard the power in the universe as dangerous to touch, yet precious to possess; they also consult their magicians when they need help or protection; they also make offerings to the power and payments to magicians, and for identical purposes; but whereas zoistic societies only make payments to a magician when he is alive, manistic societies continue to make payments to him after he is dead. And it is in this important detail that manistic behaviour differs from zoistic behaviour. We have already seen (para. 149) that the first fundamental difference between zoistic and manistic societies lay in their memory of the powerful dead: whereas the former forgot them, the latter remembered them for varying lengths of time. Now we come to the second fundamental difference: manistic societies not only remembered the powerful dead but also propitiated them, their behaviour being tendance or cult according as their desire was to escape danger or to secure assistance. I have suggested that the first difference was due to thought and reflection. This seems to be the explanation of the second difference also. (Ch4)

Thus a change from the manistic to the deistic condition was of the same nature as a change from the zoistic to the manistic condition, the difference being that both the memory and the energy were intensified. The factor responsible for the change, therefore, must have been one which intensified thought, reflection, and social energy. Moreover, it must have been the same factor as was responsible for the change from the zoistic to the manistic condition, but operating to a greater degree in deistic societies than in any manistic society.

Now the evidence is:

1. All the zoistic societies permitted pre-nuptial sexual freedom; conversely, all the societies which permitted that freedom were in the zoistic condition.

2. All the manistic societies had adopted such regulations as compelled an irregular or occasional continence; conversely, all the societies which had adopted such regulations were in the manistic condition.

The two societies, SE. Solomon Islanders and Shilluk, which remembered and conciliated their illustrious dead for a longer period than the other manistic societies, which introduced more elaborations into the 'unusual' place, and which conducted a cult as well as a tendance of the dead, insisted on a greater degree of continence than their manistic neighbours.

3. All the deistic societies insisted on pre-nuptial chastity; conversely, all the societies which insisted on pre-nuptial chastity were in the deistic condition. (Ch4)

Dr. Freud says: 'Always and everywhere the meaning of the symptoms is unknown to the sufferer; analysis invariably shows that these symptoms are derived from unconscious mental processes which under various favourable conditions can become conscious... Not merely is the meaning of the symptom invariably unconscious; there exists also a connexion of a substitutive nature between the two; the existence of the symptom is only possible by reason of this unconscious activity. Every time we meet with a symptom we may conclude that definite unconscious activities which contain the meaning of the symptom are present in the patient's mind. Conversely, this meaning must be unconscious before a symptom can arise from it. Symptoms are not produced by conscious processes; as soon as the unconscious processes involved are made conscious, the symptom must vanish.

Now all the patients whom the doctors examined were members of the white man's society, and in the last twenty years of the nineteenth century every individual born into that society was compelled, and usually is still compelled, to repress not only his emotional reaction to some particular event or person but also some of his innate desires; for the social system was, and in most cases is still, such as to inflict certain limitations upon them. Foremost among these innate desires are those connected with sex; and, as the analysts penetrated more and more into the life-history of their patients, they found that a large number of hysterical symptoms were due to the repression of desires and emotions which belonged to that extensive category. So great, indeed, was the proportion of such cases that Dr. Freud was compelled to conclude that the repression of sexual impulses 'played a particularly large part, never before sufficiently appreciated, in the causation of nervous and mental disturbances'.

Dr. Freud has been much criticized for the emphasis which he placed on the effect of sexual repressions, but it is not surprising that a large number of his patients had failed to adapt themselves to their cultural environment, for, when his researches were being conducted, the white man's inherited tradition contained (and still does contain) many factors which placed a more effective check upon normal sexual intercourse than had been known in any previous civilization. It is true that recently in many sections of the white man's society there has been a considerable extension of both prenuptial

and post-nuptial sexual opportunity; but this is not the tradition in which Dr. Freud's patients were reared. They had been subjected not only to stern post-nuptial regulations but also to the operation of certain ideas which were equally, if not more, effective in preventing normal intercourse, especially at puberty. I refer to the teaching that pre-nuptial intercourse is a sin and that post-nuptial intercourse is a concession to the flesh. If we accept the usual interpretation of the appropriate passages in the New Testament (Matt. v. 32, xix, 9; Mark x, 2-12; Luke xvi. 18), we must conclude that the Founder of Christianity forbade divorce, at any rate except for adultery. The white man's post-nuptial regulations used to be based on that teaching, but it is doubtful if they affected pre-nuptial sexual opportunity as much as the (at one time literal) interpretation of the teaching of Paul of Tarsus: 'It is better to marry than to burn' (1 Cor. vii. 9). Among all nineteenth-century white men there was a sense of shame and sin in regard to sexual intercourse which still exists among many twentieth-century white men; and this sense of shame was, and is, responsible for as many, if not more, sexual repressions than the social regulations which merely punish sexual lapses. This, I think, accounts at least in part for the preponderance of morbid symptoms which seemed to arise from sexual repressions; and it was unfortunate that the prominence given to the discussion of sexual repressions should have caused so much misunderstanding of, and hostility towards, Dr. Freud's suggestions. (Ch4)

As I have said (paras. 39, 70, 143, 148), a developed society consists of a number of cultural strata, the number of these strata depending on the nature of its cultural history. Thus in a rationalistic society there may be also a deistic stratum, and a zoistic stratum too. An individual, therefore, who is born into that society may spend his early years in any one of these cultural environments. (Ch4)

When a desire is compelled to remain unsatisfied, strong mental tension occurs; the emotional energy is compressed. According to Dr. Rivers, 'the energy arising out of the conflict is diverted from some channel which leads in an asocial direction and turned into one leading to an end connected with the higher ideals of society... Many lines of evidence are converging to show that all great accomplishments in human endeavour depend on processes which go on outside those regions of the mind of the activity of which we are clearly conscious.' To this diversion Dr. Freud applied a word which has been translated 'sublimation'. It is not a satisfactory word; indeed it has almost disappeared from technical literature; but I shall retain it, for it occurs in the simple text-books from which I am quoting. Dr. Rivers defines it thus: 'By sublimation is meant a process in which an instinctive tendency, more or less fostered by experience, which would normally find expression in some kind of undesirable conduct, has its energy diverted into a channel in which it comes to have a positive social value.' Dr. Freud says: 'We believe that civilization has been built up by sacrifices in gratification of the primitive impulses, and that it is to a great extent for ever being recreated as each individual repeats the sacrifice of his instinctive pleasures for the common good. The sexual are amongst the most important of the instinctive forces thus utilized: they are in this way sublimated, that is to say, their energy is turned aside from its sexual goal and diverted towards other ends, no longer sexual and socially more valuable.' (Ch4)

Among the accomplishments of extremely energetic societies are territorial expansion, conquest, colonization and the foundation of a widely flung commerce. All these things, and their like, are

manifestations of what I call expansive social energy. A society which displays productive social energy develops the resources of its habitat and by increasing its knowledge of the material universe bends nature to its will. All such accomplishments as these imply the previous exertion of thought and reflection, these being necessary precursors to all human achievements.

This is the sense, then, in which I employ the term social energy. I do not refer to that futile energy which in popular writings is alleged to be exhibited in the contemporary lust for scurry and haste. I refer to the manifestation by human societies of powers that are essentially and exclusively human (para. 175). (Ch4)

Now in human records there is no trace of any display of productive energy which has not been preceded by a display of expansive energy. Although the two kinds of energy must be carefully distinguished, in the past they have been, as it were, united in the sense that one has developed out of the other. As Sir James Frazer has said, 'Intellectual progress, which reveals itself in the growth of art and science, cannot be dissociated from industrial and economic progress, and that in its turn receives an immense impetus from conquest and empire. It is no mere accident that the most vehement outbursts of activity of the human mind have followed close upon the heels of victory.' Conquests and empires are created by expansive energy; the vehement outbursts of mental activity which follow close upon the heels of victory reveal the existence of productive energy and of rationalistic culture. Certainly it is no mere accident that sometimes the one has succeeded the other, but many victories have been won which have not been followed by a burst of productive energy. The intellectual progress which sometimes has taken place after a victory has been caused by a depth of thought and reflection which has been lacking in those societies whose energy has been displayed only expansively. (Ch4)

In this manner I bring the term social energy into line with the definitions of the various cultural conditions in which human societies can be observed (para. 7). A society which displays productive energy possesses a rationalistic culture. Expansive energy is more typical of deistic societies, or of the deistic stratum in rationalistic society; usually a war is waged, or a colony founded, in the name of a god. I am far from identifying expansive energy with deistic culture, however, for although the two are often coincident, there have been many deistic societies whose energy was not great enough to be exhibited in an expansive manner. It has received a more humble manifestation. It was always greater, however, than that of manistic societies, which in their turn always display a greater energy than zoistic societies, though the products of that energy are not great. And just as it is impossible for any society to display productive energy without a greater amount of thought and reflection than that which is exerted by an expansive society, so a period of thought and reflection must precede any other exhibition of social energy, whatever its character. Every human society possesses potential social energy (para. 70); the ability to apply thought and reason to the details of the inherited tradition is inherent in the human organism; but a display of that energy, the psychologists assert, depends upon sacrifices in the gratification of innate desires, the energy arising from the emotional conflict producing a depth of thought and enterprise which is not manifest except under those conditions. In other words, psychological researches reveal that the placing of a compulsory check upon the sexual impulses, that is, a limitation of sexual opportunity, produces thought, reflection, and energy.

Now the evidence is that a cultural advance has been caused by a factor which produces thought, reflection, and social energy (paras. 149-51) and that it occurs only when the sexual opportunity has been limited. I submit, therefore, that the limitation of the sexual opportunity must be regarded as the cause of the cultural advance. (Ch4)

We have arrived, therefore, at a point when the psychologists can help us no longer. They tell us that according to psychological evidence there is a causal relation between a limitation of sexual opportunity and an outburst of social energy, but it is from the cultural facts that we must decide the precise nature of that relation.

Whenever we use the word 'cause' we must distinguish carefully between immediate, final, and ultimate cause. If, in our interpretation of the available evidence, we may lay it down that a limitation of sexual opportunity, whenever and wherever it occurs, will produce an outburst of social energy, we may fairly regard the limitation as the immediate cause of the outburst. It is not the final cause; that depends on the volition of the society which consents to suffer the limitations and to make the necessary sacrifices of its instinctive desires. Nor is it the ultimate cause; that depends on the inherent nature of the human organism, which is such that under certain circumstances social energy can be displayed. If, however, our induction (para. 24) be accepted literally, the actual limitation must be regarded as the immediate cause of the observed result. (Ch4)

Application of these conclusions to the Cultural Data. When we apply these principles to the cultural data, two conclusions follow at once. The first is that the full effect of an extension or limitation of sexual opportunity, whether in the whole society or in one of the social strata of a society, is not revealed for at least three generations (roughly a century) after its adoption. The second is that in the production of social energy the sexual opportunity of the females is a more important factor than that of the males. (Ch4)

Since this is so, it follows that generally speaking the character of the female has a greater influence than that of the male, for normally an infant spends his earliest and most impressionable years in the company and under the influence of his women-folk. (Ch4)

Both these facts must be carefully borne in mind when the conclusions of this treatise are applied to any civilized society. In the records of history the full effect of any extension or limitation of sexual opportunity is visible in the succeeding century, while the varying sexual opportunity of the women explains the variety which has existed in the intensity of the social energy displayed by different civilized societies. Only after the sexual opportunity of the women, pre-nuptial and post-nuptial, has been reduced to a minimum does the sexual opportunity of the men affect the amount of that energy. (Ch4)

Anything which is subsequent in time is regarded as more enlightened and more developed. Culturally, twentieth-century white man is assumed to be more 'evolved' than nineteenth-century white man; twenty-first-century white man will be more evolved than twentieth-century white man; and so on.

It is a quaint and comfortable doctrine; yet until it is dispelled we shall understand neither our own culture nor that of any other society. It vitiates many of our historical judgements and plays havoc with our efforts to understand the culture of societies which have passed away. If, in the study of a society which no longer inhabits any part of the earth as an organized unit, we discover an institution which we ourselves have adopted, we call it a civilized society. If the society allowed the institution to fall into desuetude, we say that then its members were degenerate. Sometimes we applaud as more enlightened the introduction into our own society of a custom which in the culture of another society we have condemned as decadent; but this does not embarrass us; we simply rewrite the history of that society. Sometimes we find that an ancient society introduced a reform which recently we ourselves have adopted. We call attention to this strange phenomenon, and condescendingly observe how civilized those ancient men were. We forget that there is another point of view; a more disinterested spectator might remark that only recently have we become as civilized as they were. Admittedly the vague use of the word 'civilized' is responsible for some of this woolly thought; the word is essentially meaningless, yet masquerades as a technical term; but this is not a sufficient explanation for our culpable inexactitude. Always we assess the development of another society by comparing it with our own; always we assume that each successive change in our own culture is an improvement on that which preceded it. (Ch5)

According to the amount of their energy, too, these vigorous societies change their opinions on every conceivable subject. At one time they have faith in one opinion, at another time in another; at one time they adopt one method of behaviour, at another time they adopt another. The new opinion is always hailed as the most enlightened; the people are always convinced that their new way is better than their old way; but actually they have merely exchanged one convention for another convention, the nature of the new convention depending upon the amount of their mental and social energy. Indeed sometimes we can watch the changes in their opinion and behaviour, and observe the manner in which first they have faith in one method, then in another, and then again in the one which they had discarded as superficial and uncultivated. (Ch5)

The explanation of these diverse phenomena is, I think, as follows. The inherent nature of the human organism is such that when collected into groups it possesses the power to manifest mental and social energy. This energy, however, can be manifested only under certain conditions. If these conditions are satisfied, energy will be displayed. If on the other hand they are not satisfied, necessarily no energy can be exhibited. As the earth pursues its cosmic journey round the sun, human societies arise in different places, manifest their inherent power, then fall into decline. During the period of their great activity, they happen to have satisfied the conditions under which alone their energy can be displayed. Before their decline they have chanced to depart from their old habits; their subsequent decrepitude is the inevitable result. Within each of these vigorous societies, as it displays its energy, various groups are more energetic than other groups. The more energetic men dominate the less energetic men, according to their relative energy, the methods of government which the historian calls monarchy, aristocracy, and

democracy being adopted as circumstances dictate. Moreover, according to their mental energy these vigorous societies change their cultural habits, their ideas concerning such things as the treatment of sickness and the method of obtaining rain depending upon the amount of mental energy they have devoted to these problems. (Ch5)

The Science of Human Affairs. There is no pessimism in this outlook. The contrary is the case. In human affairs the doctrine of determinism is sometimes derided, being alleged to conflict with the noblest aspirations of the human mind; but I do not comprehend why this should be so. Indeed, if we examine the misgivings with which the doctrine is sometimes received, I think we must conclude that it is merely the name which arouses mistrust and despondency, for, if the doctrine itself be considered dispassionately, it assumes a different nature from that which is commonly attached to the name.

We must distinguish, of course, between what has happened in the past and what can happen in the future. In the past human energy has been displayed only fortuitously, for it is only by chance that the necessary conditions have been satisfied; but, like all natural forces, those which control the manifestations of human energy can be controlled by men. Thus in the future high culture, or any other form of culture, can be consciously created. Just as when petrol is compressed in a cylinder, and then fired, its potential energy is transformed into kinetic energy, so the potential power of a human society can be made to manifest itself, either in large or in small quantities, either for a short or for a long time, or even for ever. Thus the cultural development of any society can be controlled; the human organism can take charge of its own cultural destiny.

So long as we regard our destiny as outside our control, we must sit quietly while more powerful forces operate. Under such circumstances hope is regarded as the greatest of virtues; human beings are mere tools of a power or powers which may be well or ill disposed towards them. If, however, we adopt the deterministic attitude which the facts demand, a human society can assume the mastery of its own development; its future is in its own hands. In that case hope descends to a low place in the scale of virtues, for it implies inaction. A humble acceptance of inherent nature (and therefore humility before the power responsible for it), combined with a firm creative resolution, takes its place. Such an attitude seems optimistic, not pessimistic. (Ch5)

Thus the cultural condition of any society in any geographical environment is conditioned by its past and present methods of regulating the relations between the sexes. (Ch5)

Seven Classes of Sexual Regulations. According to the continence they compelled, the sexual regulations adopted by human societies in the past may be divided into seven classes. Three refer to pre-nuptial, four to post-nuptial, conduct. We are already familiar with the former (paras. 18, 19); I merely repeat them so that the whole problem may be seen in its proper perspective. Pre-nuptially (1) men and women may be sexually free, (2) they may be subject to regulations which compel only an irregular or occasional continence, (3) under pain of punishment and even death the women may have to remain virgins until they are married.

When I speak of pre-nuptial sexual freedom, I refer to complete freedom outside the exogamic regulations and prohibited degrees (para. 17). In every human society known to us there were always some men with whom a woman might not have sexual intercourse, and some women who were forbidden to a man. (Ch5)

In reference to the four types of post-nuptial regulations I employ the terms modified monogamy, modified polygamy, absolute monogamy, absolute polygamy, which I define as follows:

Modified monogamy—the practice or circumstance of having one spouse at one time, the association being terminable by either party in accordance with the prevailing law or custom;

Modified polygamy—the practice or circumstance of having more than one wife at one time, the wives being free to leave their husbands on terms laid down by law and custom;

Absolute monogamy—the practice or circumstance of having one spouse at one time, but presupposing conditions whereby legally the wife is under the dominion of her husband and must confine her sexual qualities to him, under pain of punishment, for the whole of his or her life;

Absolute polygamy—the practice or circumstance of having more than one wife at one time, these wives being compelled to confine their sexual qualities to their husband for the whole of their lives.

(Ch5)

We have already seen (para. 157) the reasons why, so far as the production of social energy is concerned, the sexual opportunity of the female is a more important factor than that of the male. Thus an absolute monogamy or an absolute polygamy produces greater energy than either a modified monogamy or a modified polygamy, for in each case a woman knows no man but her husband. Since in an absolutely monogamous society a man's post-nuptial opportunity is less than that of an absolutely polygamous man, absolute monogamy produces greater energy than absolute polygamy. Thus on a scale of post-nuptial sexual opportunity the regulations arrange themselves in this order, those affording the most extended opportunity being placed first:

1. Modified monogamy or polygamy—neither party is compelled to confine his or her sexual qualities to the other for his or her whole life;

2. Absolute polygamy—the female knows only her husband, but the male is free to have other sexual partners;

3. Absolute monogamy—the female knows no man but her husband, the male is confined to one woman for so long as she obeys the social ordinances.

The evidence is that post-nuptial regulations are not a productive factor unless the society insists on pre-nuptial chastity. Thus in the past the compulsory continence suffered by human societies has been of six different intensities, according as they

1. permitted pre-nuptial sexual freedom (outside the exogamic regulations and prohibited degrees),
2. insisted on an irregular or occasional pre-nuptial continence,

3. compelled a woman to be *virgo intacta* when she joined her husband,
4. permitted a modified monogamy or polygamy,
5. insisted on absolute polygamy,
6. instituted an absolute monogamy.

The sexual regulations of the eighty uncivilized societies fall into one of the first three classes. Those of the ten societies which insisted on pre-nuptial chastity also fall into (4). None of them insisted on absolute polygamy or on absolute monogamy, but there is some evidence that in the past some of them may have adopted the former. I shall refer to this matter when I discuss the question of degeneracy (para. 166). The extension of post-nuptial opportunity which is afforded by such customs as those of e.g. the Bakitara (para. 36) is included under (4), the regulations under this heading affording a varying post-nuptial opportunity. (Ch5)

Generally speaking, in the past when they began to display great energy (as opposed to the lesser energy of uncivilized peoples), human societies were absolutely monogamous. There is only one example of a polygamous society displaying productive social energy, that of the Moors; but in their case the women whom the men took to wife had been reared in an absolutely monogamous tradition. The energy of the Moors faded away when the mothers spent their early childhood in a less rigorous tradition. With this exception, the energy of the most developed civilized societies, or that of any group within them, was exhibited for so long as they preserved their austere regulations. Their energy faded away as soon as a modified monogamy became part of the inherited tradition of the whole society. No group of human beings, however, has ever been able, or at any rate has ever consented, to tolerate a state of absolute monogamy for very long. This is not surprising, for it is an unequal bargain for the women; and in the end they have always been freed from their legal disadvantages. To express the matter in popular language, they have been 'emancipated'. This has happened regularly and unfailingly in every recorded example of absolute monogamy, except one; in that case special circumstances prevailed. The Sumerians, Babylonians, Athenians, Romans, and Teutons began their historical careers in a condition of absolute monogamy; in each case the women were legal nonentities. After a time the laws were altered; a woman became a legal entity, the equal of a man. This happened among the Sumerians before they were dominated by the absolutely monogamous Babylonians; then among the latter just before Babylonia fell under the sway of the uncultivated Kassites. Under the *ius gentium* the Roman matrons were freed from most of the disadvantages from which they suffered under the old *ius civile*. Among the Anglo-Saxons the same changes were taking place when after the reign of Cnut the ecclesiastical authorities succeeded in obtaining control of sexual regulations. After the introduction of a pseudo-indissoluble monogamy (which, so far as the position of women and sexual opportunity were concerned, was the same as absolute monogamy) the English instituted the same reforms, which were still incomplete in the twentieth century. Only among the Athenians was the emancipation of native-born women never completed. Yet there seems to have been an emancipating movement in Athens too, but apparently the Periclean decree of 451 B.C. and the laws in regard to the *epicleros*, never repealed, prevented the native-born women from being freed from their legal disadvantages. In Athenian society the part which was played in later Sumerian, Babylonian, Roman, Anglo-Saxon, and English society by emancipated women was played by the Outlander women (as Professor Zimmern has called them). Thus

the impulses which helped to inaugurate the changes were operative, and to some extent satisfied, in this case also.

I mention the matter now because, owing to the egocentricity in our historical outlook, to which I have already referred (para. 159), it is often supposed that female emancipation is an invention of the modern white man. Sometimes we imagine that we have arrived at a conception of the status of women in society which is far superior to that of any other age; we feel an inordinate pride because we regard ourselves as the only civilized society which has understood that the sexes must have social, legal, and political equality. Nothing could be farther from the truth. A female emancipating movement is a cultural phenomenon of unfailing regularity; it appears to be the necessary outcome of absolute monogamy. The subsequent loss of social energy after the emancipation of women, which is sometimes emphasized, has been due not to the emancipation but to the extension of sexual opportunity which has always accompanied it. In human records there is no instance of female emancipation which has not been accompanied by an extension of sexual opportunity. (Ch5)

A secondary law is a particular formulation of a primary law which is couched in general terms only. The first secondary law is this:

Any society in which complete pre-nuptial sexual freedom (outside the exogamic regulations and prohibited degrees) has been permitted for at least three generations will be in the zoistic cultural condition. It will also be at a dead level of conception if previously it has not been in a higher cultural condition. (Ch5)

The second secondary law is this:

If in any human society such regulations are adopted as compel an irregular or occasional continence, the cultural condition of that society will become manistic. If the compulsory continence be slight, the post-funeral rites will partake of the nature of tendance. If it be great, they will partake also of the nature of cult. (Ch5)

The third secondary law is this:

If in any human society the girls of an uprising generation are compelled to be pre-nuptially chaste, that society will be in the deistic cultural condition. If a zoistic culture be inherited, the same power will be manifest in all temples. If a manistic culture be inherited, different powers will be manifest in different temples. (Ch5)

I have represented a cultural development as due to mental and social energy, the products of the latter being the sole objective evidence of the existence of the former. I have suggested that the cultural condition of any society depends upon the amount of energy which it displays, the amount of that energy being dependent on the intensity of the continence imposed by the sexual regulations. The cultural evidence which I have employed as the foundation of these conclusions may be as considerable as one man's mind can retain conveniently or communicate readily, but compared with the multitudinous items to which human beings apply their mental energy, should they display it, it is

insignificant. If, therefore, the suggestions I have made are correct, it should be possible to check the entries on my cultural scale by arranging the same societies on another scale according to other criteria.

I will give an example of what I mean.

One of the most essential details of human life is the possession of a numeric system or a method of counting. It is plain that a society which possesses and employs a complicated system displays greater mental energy than one which is satisfied with a simple one. Now every one knows that some uncivilized societies have no numeral beyond two; others can count up to four; others still can conceive of sixty, using this to indicate any large number. If, then, I am correct in representing the difference between a zoistic and a deistic society as due to mental energy, we ought to find that deistic societies conceived of numbers beyond the mental range of zoistic societies, and that manistic societies occupied a mid- way position between the two. (Ch5)

Degeneracy among Uncivilized Peoples. Indications are not lacking that, when first the white man came into contact with them, some of our ten deistic societies were relaxing, and that some had relaxed, the severity of their sexual regulations. The best manner in which we can appraise the evidence is to consider it in the light of contemporary events. (Ch5)

Now if I am right in my interpretation of the whole evidence, I should expect these societies to have fallen or to be falling in the cultural scale. By the application of the secondary laws to the available data I should predict that the Maori, who at one time may have demanded pre-nuptial chastity, were once deistic, and that the Baganda, who, instead of demanding pre-nuptial chastity were tending to substitute an irregular or occasional continence, would be falling from the deistic to the manistic condition. The evidence fulfils these expectations.

According to what appears to be a trustworthy report (n. 174) the first Maori immigrants into New Zealand erected a temple at Taporapora, in which they placed the sacred paraphernalia they had brought with them. Apparently they regarded the erection of this temple as a matter of prime importance, for they did not wait until they had penetrated into the country; they erected it as soon as they had landed. Indeed they appear to have been in such a hurry to build it that they put it up too close to the beach; on the waves came and washed it away. No more temples seem to have been erected; Maori energy relaxed; and when first the white man met them the people merely placed a few stones around their sacred places. So little energy did they display that some students have described them as 'objecting' to any further elaborations (n. 184). (Ch5)

The evidence concerning the culture of the Baganda is noteworthy (para. 39; n. 135). Let us formulate our prediction precisely. First we are told that before the reign of Mutesa the Baganda were absolutely polygamous, that is to say, a wife knew no man but her husband; even the king possessed only three wives. Moreover, two of these women were cultural necessities rather than sexual partners. Secondly, there are signs that after Mutesa's death virginity was not prized as highly as in former times, the people tending to substitute such regulations as imposed only an irregular or occasional continence. Under the

influence of their former absolute and limited polygamy we should expect the ideas of the deistic stratum to be more and more intelligently formulated; the decrease in the intensity of the pre-nuptial continence among the common people would cause a descent to manistic practices. Now the evidence is that at the court of the king great mental energy was displayed. Mutesa extended a hearty welcome to his first white visitors because they would join him in those theological and philosophical discussions in which he delighted. Apparently he had lost his faith both in the Uganda theogony and in the pretensions of the native priests, so he 'changed the status of the gods and reduced the power of the priests from its unique position'. Doubtless he imagined that in this manner he was liberating his people from the shackles of an imperfect creed, and that in the future his nation would be troubled no longer by the superstitious claims of a dominating priesthood; but the actual outcome was very different from what Mutesa supposed it would be. When Canon Roscoe was in the country, the priests were comparatively powerless, but this was not because Mutesa had disbelieved in them. The medicine-men, *basawo*, had usurped the priestly functions, and, though the deistic stratum still erected temples, the ghosts, *mizimu*, were more venerated than the gods, *balubare*, the people conducting those rites which would qualify them for inclusion as manistic only. Yet, if any particularly frightful event occurred, they remembered their ancient faith. In times of plague and unaccountable distress, they approached a temple. (Ch5)

An absolutely polygamous society preserves but does not increase its tradition. It does not possess the energy to adopt new ideas; it remains content with its old institutions. Yet in such a case there may be complications. So far as the production of social energy is concerned, the sexual opportunity of the female is of more importance than that of the male. Thus, if the male members of an absolutely polygamous society mate with the females of an absolutely monogamous society, the new generation display a greater energy than that displayed by the sons of women born into a polygamous tradition. That is why, I submit, the Moors in Spain achieved such a high culture. Their fathers were born into a polygamous tradition; but their mothers were the daughters of Christians and Jews, and had spent their early years in an absolutely monogamous environment. The sons of these women laid the foundations of rationalistic culture; but soon the supply of Christian and Jewish women was insufficient, so the incipient rationalism failed to mature greatly. The Moors in Spain, however, could never have advanced up the cultural scale if they had not mated with women who had been reared in a more rigorous tradition than their own. They would simply have remained deistic, as other Mohammedans have done. As it was, the quality of their wives was such that a rationalistic culture was almost created. This tradition, however, was not preserved after all the mothers of a new generation had spent their early years in an absolutely polygamous environment. (Ch5)

In an absolutely polygamous society the sexual opportunity of the female is at a minimum; she is married as a virgin and must confine her sexual qualities to her husband. The sexual opportunity of the male, on the other hand, although restricted, is not at a minimum, for he need not confine himself to one woman. In the past a male has suffered this limitation only when a form of absolute monogamy has been adopted. In the records of history, indeed, there is no example of a society displaying great energy for any appreciable period unless it has been absolutely monogamous. Moreover, I do not know of a case in which an absolutely monogamous society has failed to display great energy. In the past different

societies have risen up in different parts of the earth, flourished greatly, and then declined. In every case the society started its historical career in a state of absolute monogamy, manifested great energy while it preserved its austere regulations, and relaxed after a less rigorous tradition had been inherited by a complete new generation. Moreover, the political organization which it adopted from time to time reflected the relative energy displayed by the various social strata of which it was composed. Each society began as a monarchy; and any subsequent change in the identity of those which possessed the sovereign power was due to the changes in the sexual opportunity of the ruling clan or of its subjects.

The existence of a monarchy depends upon two factors: first, the energy of the ruling clan; secondly, the lethargy of the subjects. If the ruling clan loses its energy, or if the energy of its subjects increases, the sovereign power is transferred to those who hitherto have tolerated its rule. In the former case the monarchy disappears; in the latter case it may be preserved in name; but in no case does it enjoy its ancient privileges and power. When the sovereign power is transferred, it may fall into the hands of a small group; alternatively it may be possessed by the whole people. It depends on the relative energy of the new dominants. If a small group displays a greater energy than the remainder, the political organization is aristocratic; and the aristocrats retain both their power and their privileges so long as their energy is greater than that of their subjects. If they relax their sexual regulations, their energy decreases; those who hitherto have been dominated succeed to the domination. This is what happened among the Athenians and English. If, on the other hand, the small group does not relax, and if its subjects, by adopting stricter sexual regulations, increase their energy, the society becomes homogeneous and extremely energetic. This is what happened among the Romans in the time of the Republic. (Ch5)

In historical records a polygamous society sometimes displays an amount of energy which at first sight seems out of tune with its sexual regulations. The explanation is that a greater post-nuptial continence was imposed on the fathers and mothers of the two previous generations. Sometimes a polygamous society springs suddenly into the pages of history (the Persians, Macedonians, and Huns are examples), displaying great energy; this energy was created by the sexual regulations of a previous epoch. Usually we are ignorant of the ancient customs of the society; but the effect of their extended post-nuptial opportunity is apparent in the third generation after polygamy is known to have been generally adopted. This later extension of post-nuptial sexual opportunity is the explanation also of the fact that the social energy of civilized polygamous societies has been unequal; their old sexual regulations imposed an unequal continence on the fathers and grandfathers of the historical generation.

Unless its males marry females who have been reared in an absolutely monogamous tradition, an absolutely polygamous society remains deistic. It can never advance to the rationalistic condition. This advance takes place only after sexual opportunity has been reduced to a minimum. (Ch5)

The advance from the deistic to the rationalistic condition, however, does not occur as soon as sexual opportunity has been reduced to a minimum. The initial results of such enforced continence are of another character.

The first thing that happens is that the society becomes dissatisfied with the limitations imposed by its geographical environment. The repressed desires of its leading members are manifested in a lust for power; ardent men explore new countries which hitherto have remained unvisited because the necessary urge was absent; vigorous individuals dominate their fellow citizens and lead them forward on a career of conquest and triumph; the eyes of thoughtful men are lifted beyond the horizon which their fathers regarded as the limits of the earth. The energy of such a society is displayed also in the production of material comforts; they demand tribute from their conquered enemies, whom they despise as barbarians. Commerce is developed; wealth increases. This is expansive social energy (para. 155).

If the sexual opportunity of the society is then extended, and a new generation inherits a less rigorous tradition, the society will begin to display less energy. It will enjoy the usufruct of its conquests for so long as it has the energy to retain them; but if it meets a more energetic society it will be conquered in its turn. This is what seems to have happened among the Babylonians; and by deduction I conclude that it happened also among the Persians, Macedonians, Huns, Mongols, and any other society which manifested expansive energy and then collapsed. If, however, the sexual opportunity of new generations is maintained at a minimum, a further cultural change occurs. The mental energy of the society is exerted on the age-old problems which have always engaged human interest, the inherent nature of the human organism always expressing itself. By applying their minds to the phenomena by which they are surrounded and by directing their attention to the causes of misfortune, the members of such a society begin to inquire into and to perceive the immediate causes of those things which hitherto have been unaccountable, and therefore ascribed to the power (or powers) in the universe. Instead of accepting normal events as normal and abnormal events as the work of the power (or powers) in the universe, the people advance to the conception of the 'natural', the conception of the power in the universe being adjusted to meet the new conditions. The power is then identified with those phenomena which cannot yet be explained, the desire to maintain a right relation with it being expressed by a further elaboration of temples and ritual. At the same time the reaction to anything beyond comprehension still asserts itself so strongly that even cultivated men, while accounting many things 'natural', will regard those things which they do not yet understand as 'supernatural', referring thereby to a contradiction or a transcendence of nature as they understand it. They will overlook the patent fact that if 'nature' be accepted as a reasonable conception nothing can transcend or contradict it, for, if that were true, the conception of the 'natural' would be untenable. Under the influence of further mental energy, many things, hitherto unaccountable, and included within the realm of the power in the universe, become explicable, and the area of the 'natural' continually expands, a new conception of the power in the universe, based on the yet unknown, being the inevitable result. And, when first the conception of the 'natural' appears, the society is divided against itself; and it is divided against itself once more whenever the area of the 'natural' expands. The new ideas conflict with the old notions; and those who would prefer to preserve their archaic faith struggle against the iconoclasts who desire to destroy it. Such a society is in the rationalistic condition. The advance to that condition depends not only on the reduction of sexual opportunity but also upon its preservation at a minimum. The great mental energy of such a society is directed to every detail of its environment, to every item of human activity, and to every problem of human life. It changes its ideas on every conceivable subject, increases its mental range, and expands in all its multifarious activities. Its method of treating sickness is altered in accordance with its new knowledge; by using the inherent power of reason it formulates and applies its knowledge of the physical universe; it produces more than it consumes, thus creating capital;

it unearths new sources of wealth which less energetic societies neglect; it discovers new ways of treating old materials, bends nature to its purpose, and assumes a mastery of the earth. This is productive social energy (para. 155). (Ch5)

Now in the past, as I have said, sexual opportunity has been reduced to a minimum only by the adoption of absolute monogamy; a complete reduction of sexual opportunity has never taken place unless the females have been subjected to the domination of their husbands. All our selected societies, Sumerians, Babylonians, Athenians, Romans, Anglo-Saxons, and English, started their historical careers in a state of absolute monogamy, in the deistic cultural condition, and as monarchies. (Ch5)

Certain forms of Christian marriage also have reduced sexual opportunity to a minimum. Other forms of Christian marriage, however, afford a greater and a varying pre-nuptial sexual opportunity, even compelling only an irregular or occasional continence. Before I discuss absolute monogamy, therefore, I will pass some remarks on the sexual regulations of the Christians.

The first thing to be noticed is that historically speaking there is no such thing as Christian marriage. The term is a comprehensive one; within its scope many different types of sexual regulations have been included. Indeed if the ideas of Jerome, Archbishop Theodore, Howel the Good, John Milton, and Pope Pius XI are to be regarded as equally Christian, all we can say is that the epithet lacks any single precise meaning. No one will dispute that in the Western Roman Empire the Christians raised the institution of marriage to a dignity which it had not known since *confarreatio* disappeared; but the precise regulations adopted by the converts are not known to us. Moreover, when one by one the Teutonic nations were converted to the new religion, the sexual regulations they adopted were by no means identical. The Franks upheld the Catholic banner while their Teutonic brethren preferred the Arian type of Christianity. We know that many members of the Frankish ruling clan married more than one wife at one time; but we do not know the manner in which the acceptance of Arian Christianity affected the sexual habits of such men as the Visigoths, Vandals, and Lombards. In later days the teaching and practice of the Catholics in the West do not appear to have been the same as those of the Orthodox Christians in the East, who, indeed, have always enjoyed a greater post-nuptial sexual opportunity than the Catholic Christians. (Ch5)

In modern times a form of Catholic Christianity is being widely disseminated throughout the uncivilized world; and, though Christians may dislike it, the effect of their teaching upon uncivilized societies is not to tighten but to loosen the sexual regulations. The reason is that the Christians merely forgive and forbid those sexual lapses which under native rule were effectually prevented. (Ch5)

The second point to be noticed in reference to the ideas of Catholic Christians is that in the course of its long career the Catholic Church has laid emphasis first on one aspect of sexual life, then on another. This changing emphasis has resulted in a changing attitude towards marriage itself; and the result in England

has been that the energy of the inhabitants has sometimes been reduced by two factors which were cancelled in the sixteenth century.

In the fourth century the Christian Fathers began to compel the acceptance of the doctrine that marriage was a compromise with sin and that those who married fell from an immaculate ideal. As Jerome put it, '*Nuptiae terram replent, virginitas Paradisum.*' It then became the fashion for new converts to found religious houses which were quickly filled by male and female votaries of celibacy. By their voluntary acceptance of compulsory continence the women who first entered these houses prove themselves to have been the very ones who, being fruitful, would have bred a generation of energetic sons; and if we examine the records of the events which took place in western Europe between the seventh and thirteenth centuries we find that after accepting and practising this type of Christianity a society soon ceased to manifest the same energy as before. It does not matter whether the people were Anglo-Saxons, Danes, Normans, Franks, or Venetians; their social energy varied according as they permitted or did not permit the custom of voluntary sterility.

A developed society may be likened to a cone, which at its base is broad and which at its top narrows to a point. As a society proceeds up the cultural scale the highest cultural strata bear a smaller and a smaller proportion to the rest of the society. If natural development is prevented, the society becomes like a cone from which the top has been removed; the most developed stratum is prevented from reaching its due point. Such was the condition of Christian society in England before the sixteenth century. (Ch5)

The Institution of Absolute Monogamy. When absolute monogamy is the rule, marriage is a means whereby a man secures domestic labour and heirs of his blood. A wife and her children are under the domination of her husband; in the eyes of the law he alone is an entity. The wife is taught to submit to her husband in all things; it is her duty to serve him and to obey him. No woman may have sexual relations with any other man than with him whom she marries as a virgin. When she is married, she is not permitted to withhold conjugal rights. In an absolutely monogamous society female chastity becomes desirable for its own sake, for after a while the women accept as a point of honour the restraint imposed upon them by their lords. Over his children also a man has complete power.

In its full rigour this institution has never been tolerated for very long. Indeed all those human societies which have adopted it were constantly revising their methods of regulating the relation between the sexes. Moreover, the reforms which they introduced always conformed to the same pattern, being apparently designed to correct a state of affairs in which women and children were legal nonentities. Sometimes (as in Babylon) the changes were made by a series of separate enactments; sometimes (as in Rome) by a somewhat violent change in legal premises; but in every case they took the same course. In every case, too, the qualification of the marital and parental authorities was accompanied by the reduction of marriage to a temporary union made and broken by mutual consent. Furthermore, in most cases the demand for pre-nuptial chastity was relaxed. In this manner the sexual opportunity of each society was extended; and as soon as a lack of compulsory continence became part of the inherited tradition of a complete new generation the energy of the society faded away. Sexual impulses could be satisfied in a direct manner; there was no compulsory continence, and consequently no energy. (Ch5)

In a coincident manner reforms were introduced into the legal position of married women. From a position of complete subjection and legal nonentity they succeeded to the status of free and equal citizens, being able to hold property, to trade, and to contract. They were granted the power of testamentary disposition, and finally took their place in society on a complete equality with men. The parental authority also was qualified, some of the privileges possessed by the father being transferred to public courts. (Ch5)

With these two exceptions the same changes were made successively by the Sumerians, Babylonians, Athenians, Romans, Anglo-Saxons, and Protestant English. These societies lived in different geographical environments; they belonged to different racial stocks; but the history of their marriage customs is the same. In the beginning each society had the same ideas in regard to sexual regulations. Then the same struggles took place; the same sentiments were expressed; the same changes were made; the same results ensued. Each society reduced its sexual opportunity to a minimum and, displaying great social energy, flourished greatly. Then it extended its sexual opportunity; its energy decreased, and faded away. The one outstanding feature of the whole story is its unrelieved monotony. (Ch5)

I have summarized these changes in matrimonial law so that the whole matter may be discussed from an impressionistic point of view. From a superficial study of the available data it might be thought that the questions of female subjection and parental power are indissolubly allied to that of female continence; but actually their alliance in the past has been due to the chance factor that sexual opportunity has never been reduced to a minimum except by depriving women and children of their legal status. It is historically true to say that in the past social energy has been purchased at the price of individual freedom, for it has never been displayed unless the female of the species has sacrificed her rights as an individual and unless children have been treated as mere appendages to the estate of the male parent; but it would be rash to conclude that sexual opportunity cannot be reduced to a minimum under any other conditions. The evidence is that the subjection of women and children is intolerable and therefore temporary; but we should go beyond the evidence if we were to conclude from this fact that compulsory continence also is intolerable and therefore temporary. Such a statement, indeed, is contradicted by the tenor of the whole story. (Ch5)

In my survey of the facts the points I wish to make are:

1. that when they began to display great social energy the societies had reduced their sexual opportunity by the adoption of absolute monogamy;
2. that in each case the society was dominated by the group which displayed the greatest relative energy;
3. that as soon as the sexual opportunity of the society, or of a group within the society, was extended, the energy of the society, or of the group within it, decreased and finally disappeared;

4. that whatever the racial extraction of the people, and whatever the geographical environment in which they lived, the manner in which they modified their absolute monogamy was the same in every case. (Ch5)

So greatly, indeed, had the relations between the sexes changed that, comically enough, Hammurabi had to protect a husband from his wife; he ordained that if a woman had incurred a debt before her marriage her husband's person could not be seized either in payment or as security. (Ch5)

At the time when the aristocratic ladies were enjoying considerable freedom, the ordinary Athenian girl was still brought up in the strictest seclusion. Her very existence pointed towards her ultimate fate, for the Athenians did not hesitate to expose an unwanted female child. A girl's marriage was arranged by her legal guardian (*kurios*), and when she was about fifteen or sixteen she was handed to her husband. A special part of the house was set aside for her; to those rooms she was confined. She was not present when her husband entertained his guests, and her activities outside the house were limited to participation in religious festivals. She was not allowed to walk the streets unaccompanied; even if she was seen looking out of a window, she was shamed. It was to the sons of these women that the sovereign power was transferred; it was their sons who defeated the Persians at Marathon and at Salamis; they were the mothers of the men who displayed such tremendous mental and productive energy that their influence on human thought, religion, architecture, and aspirations is still felt by the Western European, two thousand four hundred years later. For a time the Athenians remained deistic; then their most developed cultural stratum became rationalistic.

By the end of the fifth century, however, the old customs had disappeared, the sexual opportunity of both sexes being extended. There was no compulsory continence; sexual desires could be satisfied in a direct manner. Divorce became easy and common; paederasty appeared; the men possessed mistresses as well as wives; the women broke bounds, consoling themselves with both wine and clandestine love-affairs. The energy of the Athenians declined. Three generations later the once vigorous city, torn by dissension, was subject to a foreign master. (Ch5)

The parallel evidence is that at first the compulsory continence inflicted by the sexual regulations of the patricians was greater than that suffered by the plebeians, whose institutions were based on less rigorous principles, and that from the fifth century onwards the plebeians followed patrician practices.

After the population had become homogeneous, the expansive social energy of the Romans was tremendous. When they had subdued what is now called Italy, they extended their sway over the whole of the Mediterranean area, rising from an insignificant township to a position of domination in less than three centuries. Moreover, the members of the most developed cultural stratum began to show a rationalistic inclination, and listened with sympathy to the members of the Hellenistic intelligentsia who visited the growing city. Then the archaic *ius civile* was supplanted by the *ius gentium*, a form of law which came into operation in response to the demands of advancing society. Absolute monogamy was modified; sexual opportunity was extended; sexual desires were expressed in a direct manner; the

marriage institution fell out of fashion; women were emancipated; the marital and parental authorities were qualified; Roman gravitas disappeared. (Ch5)

Augustus endeavoured to effect a change by the *Lex Julia et Papia Poppaea*, but it is doubtful if his efforts to prop up a rotting edifice were successful. It took three years to persuade the people to accept the law, which Muirhead describes as 'a voluminous matrimonial code, which for two or three centuries exercised such an influence as to be regarded as one of the sources of Roman law almost quite as much as the Twelve Tables'. Certainly the tone of many of its provisions was contrary to the practices of the first century B.C., but the basis of sexual relationships remained the same—mutual consent. The object of the law was not to reintroduce compulsory continence, but to encourage fertility and to restore some order into the existing chaos. Marriage with men and women of low character was forbidden; unmarried persons were not allowed to benefit under a will; married childless people were permitted to inherit only half their legal share; mothers of children were relieved of *tutela*; concubinage received official sanction; no divorce was valid unless a formal declaration was made before witnesses. Such was the tenor of the proposals of the Princeps. Soon the emancipation of women received official sanction. The parental authority also was abolished almost completely. (Ch5)

I wish to emphasize the legal equality of the sexes among the Anglo-Saxons in the eleventh century, for no one will understand the social history of the English unless the fact is carefully remembered. In the sixteenth century the married women of Protestant England occupied a legal position inferior to that of their Anglo-Saxon forbears; and even by the twentieth century English married women had not regained all the rights which an Anglo-Saxon wife enjoyed. Under the influence of canon law, and a literal interpretation of the teaching of Paul of Tarsus (e.g. Eph. v. 22; Col. iii. 18; cf. 1 Pet. iii. 1), married women lost what they had possessed in the reign of Cnut, the reason being that husband and wife were not regarded as two individuals but as one flesh. In all his writings on the family, of course, Paul was not publishing any new opinion which Jesus may have taught; he was repeating the old ideas which as a strict Jew he had learnt from Gamaliel and in Tarsus. Thus by the sixteenth century, so far as the relations of husband and wife were concerned, absolute monogamy had been re-enacted in England. Then the usual struggle for legal recognition began to take place, its severity being intensified by the fact that organized religion was in favour of absolute monogamy. In spite of this, however, the English married women were again emancipated; and between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries, so far as the legal position of married women was concerned, the same social changes took place as those which had occurred among the Anglo-Saxons between the seventh and tenth centuries A.D., among the Romans between the fifth and second centuries B.C., among the Babylonians between the twenty-third and twentieth centuries B.C., and among the Sumerians at a still earlier date. (Ch5)

Post-nuptial Regulations of the English (sixteenth to twentieth centuries). Towards the middle of the sixteenth century some order was introduced into the chaos which had been created by the uncertainties of canon law (para. 167). No longer was a marriage declared null and void because another marriage (or a pre-contract, or sexual intercourse) had taken place between some relatives of the contracting parties within the seventh degree. For a time there was considerable uncertainty concerning

not only the nature of the law but also its future character; but the English did not go to the extremes which some of the Reformers recommended. King Henry VIII appointed a commission to consider the whole question of post-nuptial regulations; but the recommendations of this commission were never adopted. Eventually such regulations were enacted as reintroduced absolute monogamy; but divorce, instead of being impossible for the woman and disadvantageous for the man (as was always the case with pagan absolute monogamy), became well-nigh impossible for them both. The control of post-nuptial regulations remained in the hands of the ecclesiastical authorities, and officially marriage was still a concession to the flesh; but women were no longer encouraged to be barren. (Ch5)

Such, in brief but sufficient outline, were the post-nuptial regulations of these vigorous societies; such were their methods of regulating the relations between the sexes. In each case they reduced their sexual opportunity to a minimum by the adoption of absolute monogamy; in each case the ensuing compulsory continence produced great social energy. The group within the society which suffered the greatest continence displayed the greatest energy, and dominated the society. When absolute monogamy was preserved only for a short time, the energy was only expansive, but when the rigorous tradition was inherited by a number of generations the energy became productive. As soon as the institution of modified monogamy, that is, marriage and divorce by mutual consent, became part of the inherited tradition of a complete new generation, the energy, either of the whole society or of a group within the society, decreased, and then disappeared.

It is in this manner that the behaviour of these societies was controlled by their methods of regulating the relation between the sexes. In no case was sexual opportunity reduced to a minimum unless married women, and usually unmarried women also, were compelled to suffer legal and social disadvantages. The manner in which the marital and parental authorities were modified was the same in each society. In every case the same situations arose; the same sentiments were expressed; the same changes were made; the same results ensued. The history of these societies consists of a series of monotonous repetitions; and it is difficult to decide which aspect of the story is the more significant: the lamentable lack of original thought which in each case the reformers displayed, or the amazing alacrity with which, after a period of intense compulsory continence, the human organism seizes the earliest opportunity to satisfy its innate desires in a direct or perverted manner. Sometimes a man has been heard to declare that he wishes both to enjoy the advantages of high culture and to abolish compulsory continence. The inherent nature of the human organism, however, seems to be such that these desires are incompatible, even contradictory. The reformer may be likened to the foolish boy who desires both to keep his cake and to consume it. Any human society is free to choose either to display great energy or to enjoy sexual freedom; the evidence is that it cannot do both for more than one generation. (Ch5)

As soon as this new element appears in the culture of any society, the cultural tradition is refined and enriched. The ability to refine and enrich is inherent in the nature of the organism; but in the past the potential power has never manifested itself until after great energy has been displayed. Only after a new generation has inherited a tradition which has been heightened by a display of great energy has the inherent nature of a human society been manifest in the loftiest form yet known. I call this new element human entropy, for it is innate, and transforms the cultural tradition. Moreover, it reveals the apparent Direction of the Cultural Process.

It is impossible to mistake the appearances of human entropy. It can be seen by contrasting the achievements of deistic societies. Both the Uganda and the Athenian temples were erected by human energy. The former were mud huts, roofed in grass. In their early days the Athenians were satisfied with buildings of a similar character; later they were productively energetic, human entropy being manifest in the Parthenon frieze and in the Caratides. There was no need to add these decorations to the temples; moreover, other societies were equally capable of executing the work (though, of course, they would have executed it in a different manner); but the Athenians had satisfied the conditions under which alone human entropy can appear. The Teutons vaulted the Roman basilica and produced Gothic architecture; eventually they created such things as Amiens Cathedral. The difference between their early buildings and the porches of Amiens Cathedral was due to human entropy. Sometimes after being present in the achievements of a society human entropy disappears, recurring at a later period. Thus in the eighteenth century the English aristocracy was productively energetic; human entropy refined its tradition. In the nineteenth century it was degenerate; the middle classes dominated the society. At first among the middle classes human entropy was absent, and the world was strewn with their crude creations. Later human entropy began to appear among the middle classes also, and then they regarded the tradition of their fathers as graceless and grotesque.

Of course it is not only in architecture that human entropy can be seen; it manifests itself in every department of human life. Thus both Pythagoras and Copernicus supposed that the earth went round the sun; their instruments were in proportion to the energy of their society. The twentieth-century spectroscope represents the degree of energy that the white man has exerted in the production of the instruments which he uses for the purpose of studying the stars and nebulae; the desire for greater exactitude in this direction was due to human entropy. If I were asked to define a sophist, I should describe him as a man whose conclusion does not follow from his premise. Sophistry is appreciated only by those among whom human entropy is disappearing; they mistake it for sound reasoning. It flourishes among those people who have extended their sexual opportunity after a period of intense compulsory continence. The ideas of a society are translated from abstract conceptions into concrete forms by social energy; human entropy transforms the ideas by introducing a new element which in less developed societies remains potential. (Ch5)

The second primary law applies only to those societies which manifest productive energy. It is this:

No society can display productive social energy unless a new generation inherits a social system under which sexual opportunity is reduced to a minimum. If such a system be preserved, a richer and yet richer tradition will be created, refined by human entropy.

There is no need for the whole society to suffer the same continence. So long as the sexual opportunity of one social stratum is maintained at a minimum, the society will display productive energy. (Ch5)

If we observe the human organism, we notice that it possesses at least three attributes that appear to be lacking in all other mammals. It may be that other attributes also are peculiar to the human organism, but I myself can find no certain evidence that this is so, although I confess to being puzzled

sometimes concerning its evident aspirational behaviour. Its exclusive possession of three attributes, however, is attested and undeniable. These are the power of reason, the power of creation, and the power of reflecting upon itself. I define the cultural process as the series of events for which these powers are responsible. Human energy, as I use the term, consists of the use of these powers, which are potential in all human organisms. (Ch5)

In a similar manner the cultural state of any human society depends not on the behaviour of the majority (who often are almost completely controlled by their unconscious minds) but on that of a small minority who display their inherent powers. In the study of human history this is not always remembered; yet a few examples make it clear. When we speak, for instance, of Hellenic culture, we refer either to a few rich rationalists who left Asia Minor and settled in Hellas and Italy or to a few notable Athenians; we overlook the thousands of less cultivated Ionians who preserved their old superstitions and submitted to the Persians; we also forget the number of less developed Athenians who did not understand the anger of Euripides or the taunts of Aristophanes. Again, when we speak of modern architecture, we refer to a few isolated buildings, or to the plans of buildings that are contemplated or hoped for; we forget the vast acreage that groans under bungaloid and other growths that no cultivated architect could ever have conceived or proud craftsman ever have built. It is the same with any society. The number of those by whose behaviour we assess its cultural state bears a small proportion to the whole society; and in the past the higher the society has risen in the cultural scale the smaller has been the proportion of those who have reached the highest cultural heights. (Ch5)

If into a society which insists on pre-nuptial chastity, and has a limited post-nuptial opportunity, such habits are introduced as compel only an irregular or occasional continence among its less cultivated members, a manistic stratum appears beneath the deistic stratum. This is what appears to have happened among the Christians in the fourth century (para. 167). This manistic stratum may be squeezed out again by the adoption of more rigorous pre-nuptial ordinances. This is what appears to have happened among the English in the sixteenth century (paras. 167, 172, 173). Many energetic Englishmen wished to squeeze out the manistic stratum before that time, but their own energy was insufficient to accomplish a task which was not completed before the sixteenth century, perhaps not even then. (Ch5)

So far we have energized it by a complete reduction of its pre-nuptial opportunity, first in two stages, then in one stage, and by placing varying limitations on its post-nuptial opportunity. In order to make it display expansive energy, we reduced its sexual opportunity to a minimum. Now let us retain that opportunity at a minimum for at least three generations. The society now begins to display such energy as the world has seldom seen. Indeed, among the societies we have discussed, there are only three indisputable instances of such behaviour. I refer to the Athenians, Romans, and English. (Ch5)

We begin with a number of individuals locked together by their uniform ideas and behaviour. The first energizing, painful though it is (para. 163), produces few cultural results; with subsequent energizings

cultural effects become more noticeable; under the influence of still greater sexual checks, the society bursts its boundaries, conquers, slays, subdues, and explores; but, if this intense continence remains part of the inherited tradition for two generations, the energy increases abundantly, changes its form, and displays attributes which up to now remained hidden. The energy increases, indeed, in what seems to be geometrical progression. The society expands in all its multifarious activities, exhibits a terrific mental energy that is manifest in the arts and sciences, refines its craftsmanship, changes its opinions on every conceivable subject, exerts considerable control over its environment, and manifests its potential powers in the loftiest forms yet known. Its inherited tradition is augmented by the products of its abundant energy, and refined by human entropy. A rationalistic stratum separates itself from the main body and forms another belt outside the deistic one. (Ch5)

Such is the manner in which human energy seems to be produced and exerted. In the past no human society has displayed great energy for an extended period. Moreover, societies which have displayed it have always been dominated by the stratum which manifested the greatest relative energy. No society has ever aimed at displaying energy for its own sake; every burst of energy seems to have been fortuitous. Furthermore, no man has yet proved that human energy is a desirable thing. All we know is that, in the past it has been displayed in uneven quantities, and that the amount displayed by any society has varied from time to time. In the past, too, the greatest energy has been displayed only by those societies which have reduced their sexual opportunity to a minimum by the adoption of absolute monogamy (para. 168). In every case the women and children were reduced to the level of legal nonentities, sometimes also to the level of chattels, I always to the level of mere appendages of the male estate. Eventually they were freed from their disadvantages, but at the same time the sexual opportunity of the society was extended. Sexual desires could then be satisfied in a direct or perverted manner; no dissatisfaction demanded an outlet; no emotional stress arose. So the energy of the society decreased, and then disappeared. (Ch5)

It is difficult to express any opinion with complete confidence, but as, at the end of my task, I look back along the stream of time, it seems to me that it was the unequal fate of the women, not the compulsory continence, that caused the downfall of absolute monogamy. No society has yet succeeded in regulating the relations between the sexes in such a way as to enable sexual opportunity to remain at a minimum for an extended period. The inference I draw from the historical evidence is that, if ever such a result should be desired, the sexes must first be placed on a footing of complete legal equality. (Ch5)

In the future, it seems, a human society may continue its fortuitous career, and reflect, both in its cultural behaviour and in its structure, the amount of energy it chances to possess; but, if any society should desire to control its cultural destiny, it may do so by decreasing or increasing the amount of its energy. Such decrease or increase will appear in the third generation after the sexual opportunity has been extended or reduced. A lesser energy is easily secured, for the force of life seems to flow backwards, and the members of the society will not be slow to take advantage of any relaxation in the regulations. If, on the other hand, a vigorous society wishes to display its productive energy for a long time, and even for ever, it must re-create itself, I think, first, by placing the sexes on a level of complete

legal equality, and then by altering its economic and social organization in such a way as to render it both possible and tolerable for sexual opportunity to remain at a minimum for an extended period, and even for ever. In such a case the face of the society would be set in the Direction of the Cultural Process; its inherited tradition would be continually enriched; it would achieve a higher culture than has yet been attained; by the action of human entropy its tradition would be augmented and refined in a manner which surpasses our present understanding. (Ch5)

Some students have maintained that climatic conditions, economic opportunity, and geographical situation are factors which exert a controlling influence on any display of social energy. Thus Mr. Ellsworth Huntington, in *Climate and Civilisation*, p. 387, considers that 'climate ranks with social inheritance and cultural development as one of the three great factors in determining the conditions of civilisation'. The passage is not notable for the precise character of its meaning, and I do not know the definitions which Mr. Huntington attaches to such phrases as 'cultural development' and 'conditions of civilisation'. If by the latter phrase he refers to the variety within the cultural pattern (in my sense of the term) no one would gainsay him; but he may have intended to maintain that social energy can be displayed only under certain climatic conditions. This opinion is untenable. The geographical areas in which outbursts of social energy have taken place include the valley of the Nile and that of the Euphrates, northern India, eastern China, Mexico, northern Africa, Asia Minor, Persia, North America, and southern and western Europe. In most of these areas social energy has been displayed in varying degrees of intensity as century has succeeded century. There is no evidence that the climate has undergone corresponding changes. Moreover, within the society separate groups have displayed unequal energy, that of some groups increasing at the time when that of other groups was decreasing. Furthermore, societies which within living memory have lived in the same geographical area have exhibited various degrees of social energy. (Notes)

In this connexion it is worth noting a few of the many explicit reports concerning the loss of mental energy after puberty:

'A certain degree of precocity is apparent in young boys and is noticeably lost when they arrive at the age of puberty when sexual excess seems to reduce them to a state of, in many cases, senile imbecility. From this they may recover, or on the other hand they may remain certainly not so bright as when they were boys' (H. S. Stannus, 'Notes on some Tribes of British Central Africa', J.R.A.I. xl (1910), p. 295).

'Up to the age of puberty black children educated with white show much the same intelligence' (C. Gouldsbury and H. Sheane, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*, p. 132).

'The vivacity of mind and rapidity of comprehension decreases at the age of fifteen or sixteen' (H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, i. 99).

'Maori children show quite remarkable intelligence and aptitude at school, until at a certain period of development their aptitude or application seems to decrease' (E. Best, 'Maori Religion and Mythology', N.Z. Dom. Mus. Bull., No. 10, p. 17).

Best quotes Mr. A. H. Keane's suggestion that 'the growth of the brain is arrested by the premature closing of the cranial sutures and lateral pressure of the frontal bones'. This statement is typical of those who confuse the biological and the cultural processes. In the first place, there is no evidence that the size of the brain bears any relation to the mental energy of the organism. Secondly, before we can even consider Keane's suggestion, we must be supplied with evidence that aptitude and application depend upon the cranial structure and that the physiological phenomena referred to have been observed among undeveloped societies and have been absent among the cultivated members of advanced societies. No such evidence has yet been forthcoming.

Keane's opinion is cited also by Messrs. Gouldsbury and Sheane, who express their distrust of it, stating that in their opinion the 'strongest bar' to the continued development of mental power is sexual indulgence. (Note)

In the second century *confarreatio* disappeared, and for no less than seventy-five years it was impossible to find a man qualified to occupy the priesthood of Jupiter, for the occupier of that office had to be the product of a *confarreatio* marriage. Free marriages became usual, made and broken by mutual consent. Indeed the will of one party only was sufficient for a divorce, the intention to dissolve being communicated either by word of mouth or by messenger. There was no ceremony, no registration, no formality. Women were free from any trace of marital authority; they could hold property and could contract in their own name. The tutela remained, but a woman could appoint her own guardian, and the ingenuity of fashionable lawyers assisted them to escape the limitations which a nominal tutelage imposed. Even on these terms marriage became unfashionable, especially among the men—but perhaps it would be more just to say that marriage on these terms was despised, for there seemed to be few advantages to be gained, many to be lost. A large number of leading citizens preferred a mistress (*concubina*) to a wife. (Ch4)