Lecture IX,

In the lectures of this course thus far we have been applying the theory of the social basis of the individual both intellectual and moral Wet everywhere we have been dealing with cases th of our study we could feel fretty anse we approach in the present discussion, the effort, to apply our social theory to the conception of nature, it may seem to some that here at last we reach the limit. In what sense can man's conceptions of nature be said to be due to the social influences that are brought to bear upon him by his fellow men? Here is a factor of the knows patroagaff nature of the nature here for the problem will of course show that whatever may be the truth with regard to nature herself, man's conception of nature is at all events a human product. And furthermore this human product is one which is not due to the isolated development of any individual man man's view of nature changes with the grade of his civilization. Nature is one thing

thermore this human product is one which is not due to the isolated development of any individual man man's view of nature
changes with the grade of his civilization. Nature is one thing
for the savage, and another thing for the earlier stages of civi
lization, and still another thing for the era of modern science
and modern industrial art. The theologians view nature in one
light, and tradition takes another. All these are, after all,
common-places. It ought to be plain from the very outset
that not merely the popular but also the most enlightened
views that man can form concerning the constitution of nature

are actually such as to involve mental processes that could not occur were man isolated. Students of nature do indeed frequently conduct their researches alone. The judgment of the individual investigator is frequently influenced in the main upon a specific question by what he himself has observed. The power to make independent observations, and to draw independent conclusions concerning natural facts is actually cultivated in all forms of scientific investigation. But on the other hand there can be no doubt that even the most exact sciences is under the influence of the ruling ideas of its time fluences these ideas, it is all the more in land social re sponsibilities. We shall easily observe also that the scientific spirit itself has had its history; that it has resulted from Connegues particular political between the interests of industrial a of theology; and that in these, as in many other ways, the scientific spirit has been influenced by social conditions. To a study of these social influences I shall Wet it is not such a vague impression of the general relation between what we call the study of nature and the sodd consciousness of mankind that I wish to bring to your attention

al relation between what we call the study of nature and the so-da consciousness of mankind that I wish to bring to your attention today. It is rather the precise way in which our views about nature must be influenced in the long run by the essentially social structure of our consciousness and by the essentially social conditions under which this consciousness grows up. It is this which I wish to bring out by means of the discussion that now lies before us.

is the mental motive, the idea the natural world which is our Under require very little philosophizing to be topic at present. able to see that whatever the natural order may be in itself, man's idea of nature is a product of very specific human condi-If man's sense organs were different, his knowledge of nature would ipso facto be different. If man's memory, if his imagination, if his power to construct conceptions were different, he would necessarily, in case he got any view of nature at all, have a somewhat different notion of her laws and of her constitu-As a fact of the history of the race, man's ideas about tion. nature have gone through very widely various stages. Our idea atury rate targely of nature depends then upon conditions which are south determined by the constitution or by the evolution of the human mind. But the human mind, as we have seen, has been influenced by social conditions throughout the whole course of its intellectual as well as its moral development. It remains, then, to see in what way this social constitution of the intellect has influenfind that this influence has been genning, he happlusge. But what haven't now, to begin a response to this question, I may point that man's where nature, if taken historically, appear as of hor Nature is either a collection of in and company Man views distinct types. man ruis nature as se is a realm of law. sempo, or howers of a more of less intelligent grade, or else is a realm of law.

I many to gapy marry

That is, nature is conceived either in one or the other of these accordingto rst I say nature lis some times conceive Genemics and strongers, all w pralie man as a collection of ideal comrades a more

intelligible seral order gammated keings and and collection Everybody knows that primitive man garded nature as in large parts a realm of spirits (hy Every one is aware that this comeption has influenced a great deal of to great a great than the savage level. know that this view of nature has tended on the whole to go in A or to be low altractives the background were becoming the place as science has grown. the scientific view maintains that while nature On the contrary, is independent of man's mind, nature is not alive, and cannot be regarded as an ideal comrade, but is absorbed subject to rigid laws. As a realm of ideal corrects hature is viewed. laws.) as a realm of ideal carres, hature is viewed, in so far as one explains the thunder-storms, by supposing that spirits or gods are expressing their anger or displaying their power by means of the lightning's flash or the thunder's roar or there are spirits where rule over or the dwell in the rivers, or which animate the trees, or there are gods to dwell in the heavens, perhaps are identical with the sun or with the shining sky. In all such cases the beings of whom one speaks are thus far powers of nature. They may perhaps be confused with the visible objects; they may be very sharply separated from them Wheir visible representating and merely made responsible as causes for what causes. beings who in such case animate, or produce, or express themselves in nature, may be above the human level or they may be by their baseness or capriciousness decidedly below the rational human level. Many of the ghosts in which savages believed were certainly decidedly ill-worthy of the name of rational beings.

Many of the higher nature-gods of process theology rise far above the level of any known human wisdom or power.

himself and beyond the minds of his fellow, there is a world which may attle be called in general the world of the alter, only now this alter is no longer human. It is a collection of spirits or a realm of gods, or, finally, it is the realm where power of perhaps a single divine being gets expressed. Men who view nature in this way may merely fear nature. They may regard the realm of the ideal where as one of intolerable capriciousness.

They may invent magic formation for dealing with these wills, Bullas men use such fringles, there arms dinky how aight another these formulas, they are very likely to add the notion that in addition to the spurity, there is in the 10 crent world something which may be called "fate," an impersonal kind of power to which the spirits and the men, the gods and the mortals, natural Mer the conseption of Fate is from the starta very voler. are alike subject. Fate as a sonception about what is personal curious one. A magic formula compels the will of the the fundamental appears very early in savage superstitions. One may urrom w say perhaps that the idea of fate is as early as the idea of the address. spirits who along with the men are more or less subject to fate. the realm of fate Ozcourse fate is far from being identical with the realm Because yot in the idea of fate the idea of natural Company Al Even piz a savage of natural law, as we now conceive it. would appear that there are two ways of explaining a fact. Both ways are used. Both may be in mind almost at the same time... And the two ways in the savage mind do not wholly conflict. A natural fact may be explained by telling whose will it expresses. Boful

one takes the first and more primitive of the live

and it is easy to exemply his justing of explaining Thus, in many savage nations the natural fact of death or beginning of the world or the origin of old age tion of woman, or any other fact of experience that is sufficiently interesting to need explanation, may be explained by telling who did it, whose will caused it, whose purpose is expressed in it. In a Polynesian legend, for instance, death is explained by saying that the moon was jealous of mankind when men appeared on earth, because the moon is obliged once a month to come very near to destruction, while the men so far were not Hence the moon men magic expressed subject to this lot. her jealousy by forcing the men to die, and by making their fate worse than the moon's in so far as they not merely went near to destruction, but were henceforth entirely destroyed. the jealousy of the moon, which supposed to expressive somebody's But this very will, the appearance of death is explained. and suggests the other idea - the idea of natural long story involves another element. That one asks why subject to the monthly decay and to that nearness of destruction which in the Polynesian mind sufficiently explained the moon's feeling of jealousy towards mankind, the answer is that this mistrance, of the moon was a matter of fate. This in a 2017 of dim primitive suggestion that the morn is subject to natural the morn is subject to natural the morn is subject to natural the morn in the phenomenon not merely by thing whose will it expresses, the same fact in some other form, and thus repeating the fact closely in some generalized or the property of the same fact in the same fact in the same fact in the same fact in some other form, and thus repeating the fact closely in some generalized or the same form, and thus thus giving it the name of a fatality. There are a great many primitive sources.

death by telling about the person to whom this first happened,

must be to ace huro then assuming and by the state that it seem natural this thing once having happened, continued as a mere fatal necessity happening gain, Thus and les to constition happening again, The Polynesian legend explains old age and consequent death by saying that there was a certain early hero of extraordinary rank and dignity, who after many years had elapsed happened to discover that grays hairs were growing on his head. In one form of the story, he suspected that the might be coming, and asked his wife if she saw them, and as soon as she answered him, or as himself the hards he said: Now it must happen; I must die; and soon as he henceforth all men must die as I do. Thenceforth as a fact, according to the story, all men died. Or in the familiar Grimm tale of the mill that ground salt, the saltness of the sea is expressed, once more, as a sort of combination of will and of fatality. Why is the sea salt? First because somebody wanted to make salt and was skilful enough to be certain magi machine that would grind the But then why did the machine grind so much salt? Answer: - a fatal mishap led after the starting of the machine to a situation in which nobody knew how to stop it, and it has been grinding ever since. tion these comparatively trivial instances to indicate that very probably the conception of nature as a real of ideal comrades subject to the caprices of their will but not subject to any fixed laws, is a conception that probably never existed apart from some very abstract notion of a fate or necessity

that pervades it. The gods in Homer are subject to an impersonal fate beyond them, and I suppose that this idea may be said to pervade nearly all religious beliefs.

But however the matter may be worked out in detail, nature is conceived as a realm of ideal comrades or as a realm where ideal comrades express their purposes in case of all such savage superstitions or stories as have been suggested. speak of ideal comrades, using that word "comrade" in the general sense with which we are now familiar. An ideal comrade in the mind of a happy child or in the brighter superstitions of savagery is likely to be a comparatively friendly, social relative, but darker savage superstitions have involved the belief in the live beings who differ from literal men by virtue of their capricious or hostile bearing. But it is obvious that the ideas of such beings have been derived from men's acquaintance with men. These beings in whom superstition believes are still in so far as they are ideal comrades, conceived after the fashion of men. It is very customary maintain that man has derived the conception of a spirit working in nature from his observation of his own will or own experience or of his own power. But I must insist that after what we have said concerning the developments of ego and alter, it is quite impossible to suppose that all this savage belief in spirits which is so often technically called animism, can ever have developed upon the basis of an isolated man's

private experience. He becomes social in social relations. He learns from the alter what and who the ego is. And as a number of modern writers have pointed out, the animism of the an extension of the limits of human society, an extension governed by motives essentially similar to those which govern the child's belief in the ideal comrades. Of course this world of extended society is far more complex and capricious and from our point of view irrational in the case of the savage than in the case of the ordinary playful But that is a matter of the special conditions. child. Plain cut least The spirit whose ly, then, so far we can see that the savage conception of ma ture has through and through been influenced by social motives. If I move as the further development of the notion of well In the history of the early conceptions of nature, it is easy to follow the way in which the transformations of about shirt belief followed the transformations of the social order. Isolated savage tribes with a rude and primitive society believe in spirits of a base and essentially capricious sort. As society organizes, the realm of the ideal companies, who are used to explain the phenomena of nature organizes. One comes to believe in a hierarchy of gods. Stress is laid upon the more significant and universal of these gods. And while it is sometimes true that tribes who have a comparatively rude political organization, as was the case with the Polynesian, believe in gods of a decidedly high level, it is also true that these divine beings are associated in the minds of the believers with at least certain more human social ideals which sug

laws and ideals which go far beyond the limits of their actual tribal organization, so that their gods stand rather for their ideal than for their actual society, but are none the less intimately related to the social conceptions which these people possess. In the higher cases, one finds that a belief in a capricious realm of spirits gives place to a pretty organized polytheism precisely at the point where civilization gets well ordered. And as we saw at the last time, at the very moment when social conceptions become universal enough for an ideal society, an ideal humanity to come into sight, just at that point one's conception of the realm of the unseen world gets unified accordingly. But the organization of the divine realm involves also a belief in a somewhat

more organized constitution of nature. If nature expresses the will of God, it may or may not be what we should call a world of divine, natural laws, but at any rate it has some sort of unity that makes its phenomena otherwise than capricious. They are connected together, and both Oriental pantheism and the monotheism which is more familiar in our own type of faith agree in regarding nature as a more or less connected whole, just because it is an expression of a unified divine world.

the social conditions which get expressed in one's belief in the ideal comrades, which get expressed in one's belief in the ideal comrades, the social and ethical ideals that determine

and in turn are determined by the supposed constitution of this world of ideal comrades - all these are factors in one's view of nature. The natural realm is so far the refelction of this ideal social realm. Und Uns one reaches height of what might be called the religious theory of But on the other hand, the social relations ception of fact which as we saw is already present is the savage mind, and the way in which the modern conception of natural law has grown out of that primitive idea of the fact which does not express anybody's will but which simply is what it is But rure this process needs a further study. Even for the savage nature is not merely a realm of intercompanies - not asne have seen It is also merely a world whose phenomena express somebody's will. a realm where things happen more or less because they must way of the world. happen, because that is The modern conto be ception of natural law appears more or less a development out of this primitive conception. ask how man has come by the modern conception that nature is a realm which is not as the capricious expression of will but is a place where Law reigns, the customary answer is that a careful study of facts themsday has gradually bearing man to recognize that as a of nature fact nature has this lawful constitution. It was far now ascar
recial factors have had anything to downth this process wherey man has
careful study and a collection of the facts with Mow we have next toask whether Come To selier A (transform the fatog the sarraye intodefinite Cares ture has gradually brought man to this result, we have of course a view of nature which does indeed depend upon social To this greek conditions for unless man's social traditions their stable

in natural

the customary answerin again simple. The Days: Ma

observed, man wouldness of course acquire the idea of the uniformity of nature. In Inless political organization were definite enough to give individual men the opportunity to investigate natural facts, the traditions of science could never have arisen. Now the this sense in this sense only many investigators recognize that our conception of nature in so far as we conceive nature as a realm of law, depends upon social conditions. But I myself am not satisfied that this view is an adequate expression of the way in which man's notion of nature has been dependent upon his social relations to his fellows.

I should say that distinctly social factors have affected the w Winds growth of the scientific conception of nature precisely as much factors affect the growth of what one may call the the ological conception of nature. As the realm of the ideal the spirit world, the that enlarged primitive society gradually passed over into the realm of a single divine principle, so that man on that side of his intellectual life has come in so far as he is a religious man to believe that nature expresses a will we have seen the social organization had a great deal to do with this unification of conception. But on the other hand, I should distinctly maintain that the development of the modern conception of natural law out of the primitive savage idea of a fate governing nature has equally been determined by considerations that could only occur to man in and by virtue of his enabled man to discover natural land. But I add that the very

idea of a law of nature is biret inggested to man by social interests

And now I shall try to show how the growth of the conception of natural law out of the primitive conception of fate has been due thus to social factors.

say that nature exists apart from man, to say that natural things are subject to universal laws, when for the time being we abstract from any belief that we may have with regard to the relation between naanotto ture and God, wiew natural things not as an expression of the wife will, but exect select as things existent by themselves, what do we mean by this existence of nature? walls here about us are natural facts. They are subject to natural laws. Were a sufficiently violent earthquake to shake them, they would fall, and that with mechanical necessi-When they were built, they were built by means of conformity to natural laws, that concern the strength of materials the tendency of heavy bodies to fall, the tendency of solids brought in certain relations to cohere together, and so forth. We view these facts, these things, these processes, these laws, as existent by and for themselves. Even if we say that they express the divine will, we can of course abstract from this conception of the divine will, and we can view these natural processes as something existent for themselves. And now what we actually mean by this existence for themselves? answer, what we mean by this requires for its explanation the observation of twokvery important In the first place, we believe in the natural fact, as for instance, in the exist-

ence of these walls, because each one of us individually perhis own Each one of us observes the charceives something acters of the wall tests on occasion experimentally the coherence of the materials or the strength with which our pressure. Every one of us is constantly making experiments upon natural facts, even if he is not at all a scientific student of nature. Every one knows more or less about the weight of things and the relation of weight to many other proper-Each one of us, Observes, for himselfaline that wood may be burned in the ties of matter. fire; that water boils when heated. And so in general by the laws of nature and by the facts of nature and by the things of nature we mean in the first place a coherent collection of experiences that any one of us in a measure can verify for him-In so far when I speak alone for myself of natural facts and processes, and when I speak of them in so far as I myself personally can verify their existence, I refer to the fact that a certain group of perceptions which I have cohere to gether in certain more or less exactly definable There are, to use an expression which had played considerable part in modern discussion, certain relatively permanent possibilities of experience which I myself, quite apart from my fellow man can examine, can remember, can treat with respect as facts independent of my will, and in these various ways can regard as possessed of something like reality. far, then, nature exists for me, and that quite apart from any

effort on my part to interpret nature socially or to conceive nature as an ideal comrade or to call nature the expression of God's will. The nature which I can thus observe for myself extends in the field of vision indefinitely into the heavens there are objects which I myself, quite apart from instrumental assistance from any scientific instruction, come to regard as extremely no me alone, as midnights.

distant objects, namely, the stars are observable by a cortain routine of nature is visible in the heavens above. rises and sets daily. If I live by the sea-shore I observe, and once more for myself alone, similar regularities in the ebb and flow of the tides .. As I move about, visible objects alter their apparent shapes according to extremely definite natural laws of which I also take more of less conscious ac-Yonder object appears far away, and I observe that if I try to approach it, it takes me long to reach it. mote object is one that can come to touch only in case I spend some time in getting to it. In these and countless other ways I have occasion as an intelligent being to observe that I personally am in a world of experiences, that do after a fashion and in some regions more than in others conform to rigid laws of succession. So far, then, nature is existent for me, an individual observer. And nature in this sense is neither a calmorativity any develop and description of an object as yet of their (asthus viewed by mealuris ature) is a complex of objects of experience Nature) is a ural science. that I as a matter of common sense can learn to view as familiar and as subject to routine. It is more or less under the

control of my will, while all the time more or less independent of my will. This notion of nature as the realm of possibilities, of experience, is a notion very different from the savage idea that I am dealing with ideal compades, yet it is a notion that seems adequate to express my private experience We may ma ask, however, how I come by this nothe other notion. storce recognize that in one sense my social In anower he training gets expression even in this relatively independent and lonesome view of m y relations to nature. For if I definitely think of nature as a realm of coherent possibilities, of experience, of facts which I myself can test, examine, inspect, and confirm in definite ways, I must in order to get this view be possessed of the power to think pretty abstractly. In order to become conscious of even my private conce lonesome relations to nature, I must make use of those powers of abstract thinking which, as we have seen, I can only develop in social relations. As a fact, it is one thing to be subject to a regular routine, and even to be able to find one's way about all alone in the world, and it is quite another thing to be conscious of what one is doing when one thus finds one's way about. My docility would lead me even if I were not a social animal to become acquainted with the routine The succession of day and night would inof natural facts. The routine of my bodily processes fluence my functions. would involve hunger and thirst and the search for food and all the other processes that in many a docile animal may be observed resulting from what appears to be the private exper-

ience of that animal itself. Moreover, an ingenuity can exist which is decidedly an unsocial ingenuity. In dealing with nature, I can experience such processes as are seen in children olimbing, and other forms of skill in balancing and to develope like skill skilful functions of this sort depend upon natural and routine of experience, and are acquired in a given animal perhaps only on the basis of considerable trial and failure. # Yet to know one's way about in the world is not the same as to have the conception of is not clear that an animal which Chatural order. daily follows a routine determined by the direction of the sunlight, by the difference between morning and noon and evening, conscious of nature as a uniform system of phenomena. which Nor does it follow that an animal ingeniously acquires the power to hunt for its prey or to climb, or to acquire any process, is viewing the natural world in which it lives as a world subject to law. The is one thing to be subject to law, and quite another thing to be conscious that we are subject to law. So that there may be a great deal of routine in consciousness without there being much consciousness of routine. It is perfectly true, again, that all skilful activities of an animal involve a great exactness of adjustment. animal adjusts its movements in a very precise way to the exact nature of natural objects. It does not at all follow that the animal itself intelligently observes this exactness of adjustment. But to be aware of laws of nature as laws, one must not only adjust one's self very exactly to the nature of objects, but must be conscious of the plan of action which is involved. For all clear conceptions are conscious plans of action. So far, then, as I live in a routine way, surrounded by definite possibilities of experience, and able to adjust myself to my environment, I have in my experience the conditions for acquiring the idea of nature as a realm of law. On the other hand, it is not at all clear that I shall add to this general condition, the specific condition which will enable me to develop the particular consciousness of this or that law.

In the sense then in which I can deal with nature entirely alone, it seems somewhat difficult to discover how I should ever have come to get a definite conception of natural law since this conception of natural law depends upon the calchactly since the power to think, and since the power to think so far as we can follow its development grows up in social relations only.

But now Suppose that by means of my social relations I
have acquired the power to think. Suppose I am capable of
forming abstract conceptions. The turn back to the world
of isolated experience. It ignore to experiences with my
fellows, and turn to my relations with inanimate nature.

Am I now certain to observe that nature is a realm of definite routine, that the possibilities of experience in my own
case are subject to definite law; that this law is something

In answert quite external to my will and to my private life? question one must answer that the nature in which you and I believe when we speak of the walls and of other properties as physical objects, and of the real laws to which they are suba second matter and a wholly new one ject, - all this conception involves yet we have not accounted. The walls. That is, if we touch permanent possibilities of experience. them we shall find them possessed of the power to resist our Or again, we shall find that firerhas a power to pressure. burn, and we shall observe on occasion that it burns a stick of But our actual conception of nature involves more than a collection of such observations, however complex, however, such a collection miggine that the natural world in addition definite. to being represented by an coherent set of experiences in the mind of any one man, exists apart from you and from me, exists independently of any man, as what we call external reality. Now, I am not here inquiring in any mataphysical way as to the Atra nature is something external to mind truth of that conception I am asking only how such a conception could ever have grown up. How is that we have come to believe that the natural processes have an existence apart at last from all of us? I answer, here is a conception that has its pretty obviously social aspect. For a believe in nature as a realm of reality that exists apart from myself precisely at that moment when I conceive of nature as a realm of reality that exists also apart from you. That nature is independent of myself is something that my own private experience

How can my private experience prove to method nature exist when 9 may well ask how the could never sufficiently verify. motive should arise that leads me to make so sharp a differ-The mere rigidity of nature's ence be tween my and nature. routine does not in and for itself prove that the experiences which occur to me privately when I deal with nature stand for facts existent apart from me. My own inner world has its rou-Remembered facts are subject to law precisely as well tine. as presented facts. When I imagine one thing, I am forced to imagine another, frequently with same degree of rigidity of routine that governs my present experience of nature. the realm of images is said to exist in my mind. as a collection of possibilities of inner experience. naturally view it as a fact existent apart from me. Precisely so my world of moral experience has its very fixed routine. When I think of a certain fact in my own past, as for instance one of my acts, I may feel pride or regret, as the case may be. This feeling of pride or regret follows memory of the fact as inevitably as one natural fact follows another. process of regular sequence belongs to what I always conceive as my world of inner experience. In fact just so far as I merely experience something and am led by the experience to expect something else, I am so far explicitly dealing with So far as I become selfstates of my own consciousness. May indeed states distinguish these states from the conscious, I shall states of somebody else, namely, the states of the alter. Key Mortives that we considered in an earlier lecture may well lead

me to regard the alter as an independent being who goes on thinking when I am not present or who plans what I can never quite make out, and whose realm of ideas is in some respects inacessible to me. But no matter how constantly I deal with nature, so far as I alone am concerned, I am dealing with my The question arises: Why is it that I come own experience. to refer these experiences that I have, of sky, of sun, of stars, of ocean, to objects existing quite apart from me, and to butwhich are when I am not present? I have the affect allswered that The question. pretty obvious the this conception of na nature is independent of me, wis pretty intimately connected with my conception that nature is proper independent of you.

> ik we find many evidences the same social motives which have led to the differentiation of alter and ego have ted us to believe in a nature urre

To show how

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Let us observe a little more closely how this is possible. You and I deal together. In the course of our social each of us learns to distinguish alter and e.go. Re, Supported of one sexperience to such a simple control following that two persons are left alone together on a desert island, and grow up intelligently together. If our foregoing theory is true, these beings as they grow will imitate one another and be conscious of this imitation. will contrast their various acts. The social contrast effects

will lead to the differentiation in the concept of his idea of himself from his idea of the other. These two beings if we suppose them to have intelligence and experience enough, will in course of time become both of them to believe in a world where each lives a life somewhat independent of the life of his fellow, and where each of them believe that his fellow's life is in such wise independent of his own that his fellow may be awake when he sleeps, may see something when he does not see it, may have an idea which he himself has not, and so on. In the world of two such beings there would be as they grow in intelligence a differentiation. Each would say: I am; and each would say: You are, and you are independent of me. You experience what I cannot wholly experience. You think what I cannot myself think. You have ideas that are not present to me. And now such beings as these deal with one another - are also actually experiencing the routine of nature. In common they observe the sun. We may imagine them pointing at it, or if they were intelligent enough, speaking of it. Furthermore, they deal in common with many na tural objects, such as tools, weapons, food. These objects they hunt for together. They pass them from one to another. Edla one cam observe such a natural object when the other does not can tell the other about it, and so on. Now, how will these people come to view those natural objects? The natural ob-

jects will be for each of them more or less coherent possibili-

ities of experience of the type of which we spoke before.