

Socialism

WILLIAM ARMSTRONG FAIRBURN



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SOCIALISM

Being the reprinted Fourth Book of a larger
work entitled *The Individual and Society*,
originally published in 1915.

By
WILLIAM ARMSTRONG FAIRBURN

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To
My Mother

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P R E F A C E

THIS book is the reprinted fourth and last part of a larger and more complete work published in 1915 under the title *The Individual and Society*. It was written in the early Spring of 1914, proof-read during the month following the outbreak of hostilities in Europe and first printed in the Winter of 1914-1915.

In the Introduction to *The Individual and Society* the author expressed the hope "that whatever the work lacks in the atmosphere of the study may be compensated by its practical reasonableness; for it was written in the early morning hours of days spent in the factory, workshop and office. The viewing at close hand of the world-old struggle going on in all mankind of every degree of enlightenment, makes one eager to penetrate the 'whys' and 'whithers' in the hope of finding that humanizing element which will pull together all the extremes of life into a sane, happy middle course."

The original work consisted of a series of essays divided into relatively short chapters. In reprinting an attempt has been made to give each chapter a general subject-heading, without making any change in either the text or the chapter divisions. An index has also been added to facilitate reference.

Socialism is as old as human record, and all the modern social theories have their prototypes in the far-away past. Bolshevism is not mentioned by name in the following pages, but its principles are thoroughly discussed, as are all the most im-

P R E F A C E

portant phases of the ever-present revolutionary social movement that seeks to attain to human well-being (happiness and prosperity) by the humiliation and enslaving of the individual and the crucifixion of virile and spiritual manhood.

Notwithstanding the distressing conditions in the world to-day—the aftermath of the most horrible and senseless war of history—evolution continues the great work of Cosmic Creation, and the world journeys onward, slowly but surely, toward its predestined goal. Man is progressing and becoming more and more susceptible to and cognizant of truth, more and more free, more and more manly and spiritual. Gradually out of the centuries is rising the individual—supreme, conscious of his divinity. No longer looking toward heaven with veiled eyes, but with feet planted firmly on the earth and looking the universe full in the face, he claims his birthright as the Son of God, a distinct entity and personality peculiarly endowed for service in the world and actuated by that great Cosmic religion which demands loyal co-operation with his fellows in the work of the world, and a life in loyal harmony with the will of God—with universal, ethical and spiritual law.

CHAPTER I

Evolution and Revolution

EVOLUTION can be defined as that series of persistent changes operating under natural law; or that unfolding process of formation which involves continuous progress from homogeneous to heterogeneous structure, and from the single and simple through development, to the more diverse and manifold in quality, power or function.

Revolution is a word of many meanings, so diversified that a definition applicable to all the phases of thought which it attempts to express, is impossible. The word is derived from the Latin and originally meant to roll back or to turn around backward; but in general usage it describes rotation or that act of revolving around a fixed point or line, returning to a point before occupied or relatively the same. The word, therefore, as used, covers rotation in any direction, but today this is only a part of its meaning. Revolution is very generally used in these days to describe a total fundamental or radical change, or an abrupt cataclysmic mutation. The word may picture to us hideous revolts with barricades, conflagrations and assassinations; or merely accelerated steps and rapid transformation in that steadily unfolding and developing law of nature, which we term Evolution.

“Revolution” was used to describe the great economic changes following the invention of the printing press, steam engine, power loom, the discovery of America, etc. It also depicts great peaceful transformations of society, such as the disappearance of slavery in Europe, which was brought about so imperceptibly that no great notice or publicity was given to it. It describes such turbulent cataclysms as the violent rebellion in our own country, where the abolition of slavery resulted in four years of devastating, terrible warfare and the loss of a million men and many billions of dollars. The word Revolution has many shades of meaning between the extreme of bloody strife, on the one hand, and the transformations accomplished peacefully but yet effectually and permanently, on the other.

If we use the word Revolution to refer to social changes, the same word should be applicable to all of nature’s processes. The violent thunderstorms as compared with the normal, gentle cycle of evaporation, condensation and depositing of moisture as rain; the geological cataclysm such as an earthquake as compared with the inappreciable adjustment of the earth’s crust. But after all is not Revolution merely descriptive of some phase of Evolution, that is of such an intensity in relation to the time factor, that our finite minds can perceive it?

Marx defined Social Revolution as “a more or less rapid transformation of the foundations of the juridical and political superstructure of society arising from a change in its economic foundations.”

We need not accept Marx's definition *in toto*, for his schools carry the definition to the point where they differentiate between Social Revolution and Social Transformation, and maintain that reform can never be a revolution. Again, certain leaders of the Marx School of so-called Scientific Socialism do not consider, as do many other Socialists, that the application of force is necessary to promulgate a revolution; moreover, they do not consider that every reform must be peaceful and every revolution an armed and violent revolt. Marx in a speech at Amsterdam said, however: "In most European countries force must be the lever of revolution, and to force we must appeal when the time comes." Marx generally talked and wrote of a peaceful evolution; but like his class generally, if he could realize his ambitions quickly by force and violent revolution, he was quite willing to assist the slow-moving universal law of evolution and endeavor to effect in a few days, what nature would, by her sure working cosmic laws, take centuries to accomplish. Leaders in Social Movements have to learn the great truth that evolution and not man-made revolutions lead to lasting good. Man must be fitted for a higher plane before he can reach and hold it.

The world never stands still. Its accepted beliefs and institutions are constantly changing. All new thoughts are more or less revolutionary; they are called forth by that law of eternal progress which we call Evolution. If the application of the thought to life materially disturbs our views or behavior, we may call it revolutionary, but in the

true fundamentals of life, Evolution and Revolution are one and the same.

Social Evolution by violence is revolt and war. It is opposed to all laws of universal progress and no promulgation of any eternal verity or cogent ideal by brutal force is possible. The greatest advocates today of Social Revolution will fight only with the ballot and never consider the rifle and dynamite.

Such writers as Kautsky of the Marx School of Socialism, differentiate most positively between Social Reform and Social Revolution. We are told that measures, which seek to adjust the juridical and political superstructures of society to changed economic conditions, are reforms if they proceed from within the ruling class, whether given freely, secured by the pressure of the subject classes, or conquered through the power of circumstance. On the contrary those measures are the result of revolution, which proceed from the class that has been economically and politically oppressed, which has captured political power and must, in its own interest, transform society. Such doctrines preach and develop class consciousness, foster class hatred, and are opposed to the obliteration of social boundaries, the elimination of which is demanded by evolution steadily operating through education, ethics, political freedom and equality of opportunity. Social reform is in harmony with the universal law of evolution. The class lines of demarcation are rapidly vanishing. The proletariat of today is the Bourgeoisie of tomorrow; in one generation the son of the humble peasant becomes, through sheer

merit, the leader of thousands. The printing press has done much to eliminate class distinction, and this invention alone liberated a power greater than that of all the despotic autocracies the world has ever known.

The agitators who dwell on class distinction are blind to the fact that today the world lies open before any son of toil; and ambition, industry, integrity and right living demolish all barriers of class. After all, the world is realizing more and more that antiquated class distinctions are only imaginary, traditional beliefs. The weaknesses of Feudalism, the need of wealth by the aristocracy, the rise of the Bourgeoisie with its power gained in commerce and industry, the development of true altruism in man, and the increased opportunities for the acquirement of knowledge, have all tended to level the Mediæval classes of society and to mix the blood of old time aristocrats with the energetic strain of the moral and dominant peasant blood.

In mediæval days, many a man of humble birth was Knighted for making his King a loan, for establishing an industry, or amusing his Monarch. King Henry VIII of England, while squandering the lands wrested from the Church of Rome, created Bourgeois landlords by wholesale, lifting upstarts into an aristocracy that even then was more Bourgeois than Feudal,—England's Civil Wars having killed off most of the scions of the old families. In the so-called proletariat class there is a dominant power that will revolutionize the world, not by anarchism, violent revolution, or the practice of socialistic doctrines, but it will come by the

elimination of class consciousness and by the gradual improvement and development through true education. There may be revolutions or very perceptible steps in evolution, but true progress will come from the merging of classes into each other, and not from upheavals, with the supplanting of one despotic class authority by another equally despotic and intolerant. No man can fittingly fill a position of leadership until he has been educated and equipped to creditably and acceptably perform the duties of the position. The proletariat must be trained to efficiently and gracefully occupy a position of responsibility and authority before he can rightly expect to realize any ambition he may possess along these lines.

Not many years ago the average proletariat was so low that even leading socialists shuddered at times to think of the practical outcome of the theoretical doctrines which they taught. Rodbertus wrote in 1850: "The most threatening danger at present is that we shall have a new barbarian invasion, this time coming from the interior of society itself, to lay waste custom, civilization and wealth." Heinrich Heine wrote: "This confession that the future belongs to the communist, I make in sorrow and greatest anxiety. This is in no way a delusion. In fact it is only with fear and shuddering that I think of the epoch when these dark iconoclasts come to power; with their callous hands they will destroy all the marble statues of beauty, etc." The proletariat will never by revolution or evolution come as conquering vandals into any power of domination, laying waste the culture and

beauty of the world; neither will true art ever be suppressed by barbaric ascetics.

The aristocracy of hereditary feudalism, autocracy, oligarchy, or any other authority of hereditary privilege will pass. Today the Bourgeoisie is the aristocracy of America and the leading power in every civilized country. It represents the guiding and directing force in industry and commerce, intellectual attainments, science, art, and the virile forces of progress. The Bourgeoisie came into power by evolution, although the process, violent in some countries and positively peaceful in others, may be designated as revolution; it is well to note that where the most violence was evident, the more terrible was the action and reaction of adjustment.

In olden times the lower and middle classes bowed before the authority of the Church and the despotism of worldly rulers. Today men see that divinely constituted authority to keep men resigned to a fate of serfdom was religious blasphemy, and they decline to accept the "Divine Right" of rulers. Kautsky writes: "Not only the government of France, but the dynasties of Italy, Spain, Bulgaria, England and Holland, are of revolutionary origin. The Kings of Bavaria and Württemberg, the Grand Duke of Baden and Hesse, owe, not simply their titles, but a large share of their provinces, to the protection of the revolutionary *parvenu*—Napoleon; the Hohenzollerns attained their present position over the ruins of thrones, and even the Hapsburgers bowed before the Hungarian revolution. Andrassy, who was hung in effigy for high treason, in 1852, was an Imperial

Minister in 1867, without proving untrue to the ideas of the National Hungarian Revolution of 1848.”

Revolutionists who teach prompt and violent action often oppose the scientific doctrine of social evolution by referring to the experiments of De Bries, who maintained that occasionally in the development of plants, species are apt to suddenly “explode” and give life to countless new forms, some of which are virile and multiply, while others, in harmony with the law of the Survival of the Fittest and the elimination of the Unfit, disappear. There is much we do not know about plant culture; the agencies of nature are multitudinous and plant “explosions” may occur under peculiar influencing conditions and under the domination of agencies of which we are ignorant and cannot, therefore, control. Has any scientist discovered that the human or any other type of animal life may “explode” and produce a variegated conglomeration of new animals, thus refuting the doctrines of steady evolution and suggesting a law of revolution? Some new power may seem to descend on man out of an apparently clear sky, but every force expressed in life is the result of gradual evolution. The act of birth is revolution, but the development of the fetus to the period of birth, and throughout the lifetime beyond birth, is evolution.

The day for preaching class distinction and contrasting the exploiter with the exploited, has passed. Life does not consist of a struggle between the hunted and oppressed, on the one hand, and hunting, crushing, brutal forces on the other.

Life's struggles are competitive, for such conditions bring out the best in man; but they also eliminate class barriers and make the world of possible achievement open and free to all. Evolution demands the absolute liberation of the individual and the regulation of social chaos; these are being rapidly realized, not by revolution or anarchism, but by that Universal Spirit of Progress which is moving all things steadily but positively toward its goal. Evolution, void of violence, organized or legalized theft, or class upheaval, will perfect mankind, glorify true individuality, intensify the power of progress, and produce a society, where peace and harmony are fundamental and where each man will be placed according to his capacity and rewarded according to his work.

CHAPTER II

Evolutionary Human Progress

THE progress of mankind has not been due to the fanatically extreme movements of an unbalanced part of the Body Social, no matter what beneficial ideals they may have inscribed upon their banners; nor has progress ever been definitely realized by anarchical revolts and defiance of law and order. All such movements are centrifugal, tending to fly out from the centre of things and thus act in violation of natural law.

Universal laws act upon the soul of man with forces that are antagonistic and opposed to the bigoted, sensational and intolerant characteristics of pseudo-reformers, void of the virtue of poise and true humanity. The Great First Cause of all things is the centre of all things and tends to draw the spirit in man ever toward Himself; thus the soul journey in life is from the extended circumference and materialistic activity, by centripetal motion through the humanities of life, nearer and nearer the source of all life and knowledge. Great ideals may be prosecuted with tyranny and cruelty; some of the greatest horrors of history have been perpetrated by fanatics, urged forward by a false and intense conception of duty, with unswerving allegiance to an ideal that their finite minds were not capable of understanding. The greatest vices

of all times have sprung from human egoism, coupled with ignorance and false mental images of truth.

Nature marches onward, silently, inexorably, to fulfill its destiny. All things happen according to their nature; and all nature and the universe, far beyond our finite understanding, function in harmony with the Creative Will. Shaftesbury truly said: "In the main all things are kindly and well disposed." An undistorted vision of life, as a whole, vitalizes the embers of a smouldering love into an energetic soul fire of active, progressive optimism. Our human knowledge, our classifying powers and mental grouping of concepts, may be variable. Our views, intensity, clearness and angle of vision may change, but not the eternal verities.

Complete, unadulterated truths are difficult to see. They are blinding in their brilliancy. Man is generally happier for the moment when dabbling with half-truths, because they seem easier to comprehend, appear more humanly comfortable, and are still easier for man to attempt to explain; but half-truths lead to discontent, pessimism, and ultimately centrifugal action. The whole truths, on the other hand, must inevitably cleanse and regenerate the soul of man, show the true purpose and the breadth and bigness of life, the power and justice of the Creator, and illuminate life with the conviction that "all things work together for good." "Evolution" is the Cosmic answer to the fanatic, who would immediately "reform" a heterogeneous society and eliminate what he considers error, even if this error seem virtue from another's viewpoint.

No true reform can ever spring from without; it can never be a political or social movement; it must originate in the inner soul of man and work out. Reformers of mankind would do well to imbibe the wisdom of St. Bernard, who wrote: "Nothing can work me damage except myself, the harm that I sustain I carry about with me and never am a real sufferer but by my own fault."

The world's geniuses have never been reformers; they have never felt, Atlas-like, the burden of the world; they have never inspired or fostered revolutions, but have always been actuated by the spirit of truth and progress, working unconsciously by the law of evolution through the channels of their souls. Corrective reactions, possibly with some violence, may follow the work of genius, but this is generally due to human impulse, void of all true spirit and knowledge of life. Through the annals of history, man seems, at times, to have blindly striven to produce sudden, intense and spectacular changes, rather than the nicer adjustment and less harmful modification of existent conditions. These impetuous measures are, as a rule, ultimately responsible for much human suffering and distress.

Evolution does not function as a steady flux of progress, void of accentuated periods. It is a well regulated and never ceasing forward movement; and when analytically and microscopically examined, we find it to be a series of alternations composed of minute, pendulous oscillations from action to reaction. Every period of life is an attempt to establish equilibrium between stability and variability. To maintain that which is solid and of true

worth; to eliminate that which we know to be false; to strain forward into the haze ahead, searching for greater truths, ever moving forward and upward as we correctly differentiate between truth and error and grasp another rung in the ascending ladder of eternal progress.

The general trend of motion on stepping-stones of progress is the same and the actions to acquire new truths are harmonious, no matter how different the courses may seem. The dissimilitude of evolutionary phenomena blends, at a little distance, into one glorious blaze advancing to ideal completeness. As Emerson says, "The voyage of the best ships is a zig zag line of a hundred tacks. See the line from a sufficient distance and it straightens itself to the average tendency." True revolutions are but pronounced steps or well defined grooves in the unfolding to man of universal liberty, unfettered human reason and recognition of eternal verities through the operation of the ever-advancing law of evolution. The Creator speaks and works through man, and His instruments of service are men of reason, of tolerance and imagination. He never insults human intelligence by revealing new phases of truth through the medium of human perverseness and fanaticism; such mental degeneracy precludes their harmony with the Cosmic will. "To a crazy ship all winds are contrary." When the mentality is unbalanced and does not function true, the judgments formed are erroneous and the resulting prejudices are strong and apt to be numerous. It is much easier for the average man to be critical than to be cor-

rect, and it is always easier to tear down than to build up. Samuel Johnson said: "I have found you an argument, but I am not obliged to find you an understanding."

True revolutions are not made; they come, agitated and inspired by the calm and generally unruffled and apparently placid surface of progress. The path against tremendous head resistance may be like the tacks of the sailing vessel against head winds, but the direction is always forward; true revolutions are never retrogressive. Every step taken in the advancement of civilization originated as a ray of eternal light and a flash of divinely inspired thought, making its imprint on the plastic and receptive mind of man. Every pronounced step in the advance of civilization was once an individual's opinion, based and built upon a flash of truth from the Eternal, although often attributed by an intolerant society to the work of the devil.

Looking backward over the blood-stained pages of history, we have to admit that, in spite of the hideous mistakes of man, the course of evolution has been progressive and sure. The truth and beauty of the universe are steadily becoming the possessions of free and enlightened man. The genius is no longer hurled from society as an atheist and heretic, but is hailed as an especially gifted messenger to reveal the forces of the universe to groping man. In this age of liberty and a growing knowledge of truth, man is giving and receiving recognition of ability in every field of endeavor. Moreover, the trend of evolution is

conspicuously evident when we see man bending his efforts toward universal freedom, the brotherhood of man and the perpetual peace of the world.

CHAPTER III

The French Revolution and Social Evolution

FRANCE has seen many Revolutions, both before and after the Revolution of 1789-1794, yet we speak of this period of horribly dramatic and rapidly changing activities as The French Revolution. Other countries have suffered or benefited by momentous Revolutions, yet the French Revolution was of such wide-spread importance and gigantic proportions that it is spoken of as "The Revolution." This tremendous upheaval had its inception in a more or less aimless revolt and kept gaining impetus and periodical concentration of purpose until it became a mighty unmanageable thing. With hands steeped in blood, it devastated with anarchical frenzy, correcting error with error, preaching love and brotherhood while practicing hatred, jealousy and avarice.

The French Revolution prepared the way for Napoleon, the world's greatest autocratic upstart. Although it preached democracy and the equality of man, yet the French conception of such splendid doctrines was indicated by their attempt to govern and enslave the world, though unable to govern and control themselves.

And yet this great cataclysm of rebellion, which rent Europe and has left its indelible mark upon the world, would have been prevented and the same results most probably achieved by less harmful

means, if only Marie Antoinette had been French in either blood or sympathy, or if Louis XVI had been, by nature's endowment, fitted to rule. The King had the characteristics of a country squire, of very narrow interests; but in addition he was stupid, slow in thought and movement, avoided the making of decisions, and took pleasure in sleeping on his throne, or in his Chapel. If Louis had been more of a man and less of a bigoted churchman, the Revolution could not have happened. The overthrow of royalty in France was the sickening disgust of a people wearied in doing homage to very ordinary, mediocre rulers, who by nature were never fitted to occupy thrones, notwithstanding their regal pedigree. As Louis was better fitted for non-arduous agricultural interests, Marie Antoinette with her energy and extremely narrow vision, could have acceptably performed the rôle of a farmer's housewife. There was no thought in the early days of the Revolution of removing the King; the people revered the imaginary, traditional sanctity of the throne; but as they came in closer contact with the weak humanity of Kingship and the active, disloyal mind of the Queen, all their respect as well as reverence vanished. Intimate contact of a people with Royalty and Aristocracy generally proves that the glories and halos which seem so wonderful, glittering and dominant from afar, quickly change to tinsel and vaporous nothingness at close hand. No royal couple could have been selected from the pages of mediæval history who possessed less real substance of autocratic leadership, or more superficial attributes of regality

than the simple, crude Louis and the erratic Marie, whose conception of her superiority to others was accompanied by vulgar crudities, errors of vision and intuition and capabilities that limited her usefulness to her own family circle.

In the Eighteenth Century, France was socially depraved; the country reeked with the oppression of the poor, the vices of the upper classes, serious economic conditions, the vacillations of Royalty, and the worldliness and indifference of the Church. The people clamored for the revival of representation which had fallen into disuse for two centuries. Their desires were not concrete; they craved for an improvement in the conditions of the masses; they desired some definite plan of reform and representation in government.

Jean Jacques Rousseau, hailed as the chief prophet of the Revolution, was born in Geneva in 1712, of French parents; his father was dissipated, violent-tempered and mentally deficient. Rousseau was always a nervous, excitable individual and it has been said that he had "a diseased sort of character." His contemporaries unite in describing him as a flighty sentimentalist in morals and politics and of a temperament artificial, fanatical, dishonest and ever insincere. Rousseau proved incompetent in every line of work in which he engaged; stole from an employer and benefactor and to escape the consequences, accused a fellow-servant of the crime. His superficial pretensions proved early that his mind was unbalanced; part of his life he spent in voluntary vagabondage; his children he placed in a Foundling Hospital. He was indo-

lent, persistently refused responsibility, and was obnoxious to the philosophers as well as to the orthodox coterie of his day; his one talent being style of written expression. He was, by nature, emotionally impulsive, in later life became admittedly insane, and it has been claimed that he committed suicide.

Rousseau wrote on many topics, most of which were trash. Belloc, describing his literary productions, says: "He wrote upon education, and the glory of his style carried conviction, both where he was right and where the short experience of a hundred years has proved him to have been wholly wrong. He wrote upon love, and half the lessons to be drawn from his writings will be condemned. He wrote upon human inequality, and though the sentences were beautiful and the sentiments just, the analysis was very insufficient and the historical conception bad. He wrote upon a project for perpetual peace which was rubbish." Yet one of the writings of this man,—the "Contrat Social," which was possibly, with one exception, his only lucid work, became the formula of the Revolutionary creed and the Bible of the Revolution and Reign of Anarchy. It has been said of the "Contrat Social," a small unobtrusive volume, that its "style and logical connection may be compared to some exact and strong piece of engineering." No one man can mold a people or create a creed; but the erratic, half-maddened Rousseau did more than any other half dozen men in France to inspire the Revolution, when he wrote and vocalized a timely creed for an oppressed people. His thoughts dominated the

turbulent years of the Revolution and the leaders of that bloody period of history regarded the memory of this hysterical, unbalanced man with adoration and undisguised idolatry.

Rousseau's work on *Conscious Association*, or *Social Contract*, is not free from flaws, but it is a book of merit and contains much unanswerable logic; its noblest expressions can be found in our own Declaration of Independence. The Revolution of the New England States and the liberation of the United States from the humiliating and restraining hand of badly governed Britain, was a revolt for freedom, a definite purpose toward democracy, permeated with true principle and the spirit of life. The Revolution of France, affecting its twenty-five millions of people, was more needed for the advancement of civilization than our own rebellion against oppression; but France had an indefinite purpose, a vacillating ideal; the spirit was deadened and the materialistic, brutal passions of man, void of the true religion of the universe, gained in intensity and magnitude, as a snowball rolling down hill. The soul of France was enchained and no literary efforts of man or creeds of mortal mind were sufficient to keep the animal in man from finding its expression in human passion.

Revolution allied with anarchy, removed the French King, Louis XVI, by murder. They claimed that they needed no King; later they crowned the greatest tyrant of modern history, Napoleon, as Emperor; and still later gave the crown to Louis XVIII, of the same ruling house

that they had previously so ruthlessly condemned.

Revolution, aided and abetted by anarchy, divorced the Roman Church from the State. All ties were severed, property confiscated, and priests were hunted like criminals; yet within a few years Roman Catholicism was once more officially declared the dominant religion of France.

Revolution, accompanied by hysterical and passionate anarchy, preached liberty, fraternity and equality; but no life was secure in the Kingdom. Avarice, the lust of despotism, and tyranny of conquest, entered the souls of the people and Europe became a field of blood. Liberty for one became serfdom for another; fraternity merged into hysterical militarism; tolerance and equality degenerated into an autocracy of absolutism which United Europe at last rose up in indignant wrath to crush. And thus perish all revolutions which are yoked with soulless anarchy against the peoples, creations and laws of humanity.

It is well to beware of the popular catch phrases of the glib revolutionary vocabulary. Burke called the French citizen-patriots' slogan "rights of man" merely an "institution and digest of anarchy." Shakespeare in Henry IV says:

"O God! that one might read the book of fate
And see the revolutions of the times
Make mountains level, and the continent
Weary of solid firmness, melt itself
Into the sea!"

Materialistic human nature frequently expresses a yearning for change, for variety, for novelty.

This feeling is not a desire for the acquirement of truths beyond, neither is it the praiseworthy ambition for achievement, for constructive purpose, for advancement in service; but it is the restless, unsatisfied craving for diversity, the anarchical spirit that would thoughtlessly and with utter disregard of consequences, dissolve the foundations of our structure of life into the sea, in order to split open by catastrophe, what seems to the mentally deficient or slothful pessimist, to be a mere hum-drum, useless existence, decreed by an indifferent and non-understandable fate.

Ignorance is the first essential to anarchy, and this is followed by repudiation of God and the unchanging laws of creation and development. Anarchy is the devil's sop to failure and moral cowardice. It typifies brawn rather than brain; animal impulse rather than spiritual reflection; action without reason; destruction and not construction; vindictive, despicable sabotage, void of justice, and often abrupt change without cause.

Only by the encouragement of the individual and the establishment of the Social Order, founded on bonds of moral faith and with the soul's contact with the Divine, can the world continue its upward march from the savagery of the past. Freedom of thought and unrestrained expression of such thought is the greatest boon that man has wrested from all time. But absolute freedom has its disadvantages, in that it tends to intensify error by unfettered expression and circulation. Time, without any other aid, will ultimately see to the victorious predominance of truth, the supplanting or

uprooting of error, and the restoration of equilibrium. In the meanwhile, false doctrine subtly charged with magnetism for human failure, sloth and discontent, have free circulation; these ideas make converts of those who act with the spinal cord, void of true reasoning faculties. With a cramped and dwarfed soul-vision, the victims of false doctrines are unable to look beyond their own environment of voluntary restriction.

Even an ascetic, an ethically minded teacher or an apparently altruistic reformer, may do more harm than good in the world unless he plants his feet on the solid earth of men—real men of flesh and blood; he must have eyes of wide focus and depth of vision which perceives not one wrong, but life with all its goodness as well as evil, and the relation of each phase of fluttering life to other phases of what is but an interconnected, progressive and almost indivisible whole. Every theorist not in the midst of the fray of life, may feel that he can reform the world. If circumstances bring him into the battles of life, his viewpoint, provided he be honest and non-fanatical, will in all probability change; his puny and limited ideas quickly fade and he sees both the little which he can do and the much which he cannot and should not attempt to do. “Great should be the joy of the world over every reformer that comes to himself.” The world has not the desire to, and could not if it would, return to any former state. Its errors are of the past; man grows and develops toward truth. He is never re-formed or re-modelled, but by evolution expands in knowledge, in perception, and in that

recognition of the Universal Spirit which throws light on his path and gives vision to his soul.

And so life with all its so-called revolutions and reformations, is but a concatenation in the links of evolution. The links are not of uniform size and the chain of progress is not "paid out" at a uniform speed, but rather at an accelerating speed with periods of pronounced alternation of intensity and apparent inaction. Evolution is progress toward an ideal. Social evolution, whether influenced by social reform or social revolution of a positive or negative nature, will be accelerated or retarded according to the spirit and true humanity of each movement; but evolution is certain, it cannot be checked by man's errors, even though it may be slackened. Evolution is a positive flux toward a positive, unchanging goal. Man assists or hampers true progress, but he cannot change the law of motion or reverse the direction of flow.

CHAPTER IV

Anarchism and Nihilism

THE word Anarch means without head or chief, and anarchy, therefore, implies an absence of government or a state of society where there is no law or supreme power. Anarchism has many diversified shades of meaning, but in its essence it is anti-authoritarianism. Proudhon preached Individualistic Anarchism; Bakunin described himself as a collectivist anarchist; Kropotkin advocates communist anarchism, and Tolstoy typifies what has been termed Christian anarchism.

The term Anarchism first originated with Pierre Joseph Proudhon, who was born in France, of humble parents, in 1809. As a boy he was self-educated, but he succeeded in working his way through college and we are told that his family was so poor that he would return home from school, laden with prizes, to find a bare table and empty cupboard. Proudhon's life was marked by pronounced simplicity and strict religious ideals. He was upright and honest, possessing charming attributes of friendship and domesticity; he was bitterly opposed to the Socialism of France because of its immorality and Utopianism. Born under different conditions and with the benefit of a less severe, unlovely environment of injustice and suffering, Proudhon would have been a great power in the world; as it was he became deeply embitt-

tered against all forms of government, and although we are told that he was positively free from personal hate, he, nevertheless, seemed to revel in wild paradox and vehement invective against the dominant ideas and institutions. Proudhon said that the "Government of man by man in every form is oppression. The highest perfection of society is found in the union of order and anarchy." He permeated the word anarchy with variable shades of meaning, declaring at one time that it was not used in a revolutionary sense, but to forcefully express the highest perfection of social organization; again he said that anarchy was the goal of the free development of society, and through the ethical progress of men, government should become unnecessary. "Each man should be a law to himself."

Proudhon's famous paradox, "Property is Theft," is but a keen and forceful expression of the Marx Theory of Capital. Proudhon taught that "as slavery is assassination, insomuch as it destroys all that is valuable and desirable in human personality, so property is theft, insomuch as it appropriates the value produced by the labor of others without rendering an equivalent." Proudhon advocated equal pay for all service. He preached justice, liberty and absolute equality, and even believed that men would all in time be leveled to the plane of uniform talents and similarity of inheritance and desires. Proudhon would give the same pay to an ignorant garbage collector that he would to the greatest executive, artist or scientist of the day; thus he proved his narrowness of vision

and his ignorance of the dominant forces of life and evolution. Man will ever be unequal, for progress demands it; property will become compensation for services rendered; and reward for work acceptably performed will always be commensurate with its relative importance and difficulty of achievement. Proudhon had a splendid mind, warped in reasoning power and judgment by class oppression. Some of his theories were true, but many were wild and false; nevertheless, he was not a violent revolutionary anarchist, but rather a peaceful protest against the errors of his day.

Marx disliked Proudhon, and although he gained much knowledge from him, he afterwards persistently attacked him on matters in which they were both in error. Marx's treatment of Proudhon is a stain that the intolerant, vindictive and egotistical founder of so-called scientific socialism must ever bear.

Engels, the collaborator of Marx, writes of a future ideal condition of society not materially different from that contemplated by the Anarchical School. Engels said: "The appropriation of the means of production in the name of society is also its last independent act as state. In place of the government over persons there will be an administration of things and the control of productive processes. The State is not abolished; it dies away." Therefore, both anarchists and socialists, although the latter maintain that the two schools are polar opposites, look forward to a time when the admin-

istration of social affairs will be conducted without the exercise of any degree of compulsion.

Although anarchism originated with Proudhon, it owes its fuller development chiefly to the free thinking and protesting Russians, of whom Michael Bakunin, born in 1814 of Russian nobility, was the great leader. Bakunin was a forceful, dominating thinker, of dogged and obstinate energy. Somewhat fanatical, he fought his battle of life ever true to his ideal as he saw it, although his vision became more and more unreal as he grew older. He looked with scorn on fortune, worldly rank and glory; suffered in prison and in exile, but was ever aggressive in giving expression to his doctrine. He urged the complete abolition of the State, which he claimed belonged to a lower state of civilization representing the negation of liberty, and spoiling everything it undertook to do. In a word he said: "We object to all legislation, all authority, and all influence, privileged, patented, official and legal, even when it has proceeded from universal suffrage; convinced that it must always turn to the profit of a dominating and exploiting minority against the interests of the majority enslaved."

In 1869, Bakunin with his anarchists joined forces with the International, but Marx and he were each too domineering, autocratic, and uncompromising to get along in harmony; so Bakunin and his followers were expelled by the stronger Marx party at the Hague Congress in 1872, and the General Council of the International was removed to New York. Bakunin then formed an

alliance which was known as the International Social Democratic Alliance, and it declared itself atheistic. It suggested the abolition of all religions; the displacement of faith by science; the triumph of human justice over the false conceptions of divine justice; elimination of classes and of marriage; the political, social and economic equality of individuals and sexes; abolition of inheritance, and it advocated common property and the condemnation of patriotism and national jealousy.

Bakunin's followers, losing completely what little balance they ever possessed, became destructive and violent. They named themselves autonomists—not rulers of self, but indulgent advocates of self-license—and the history of their efforts to overthrow all existing institutions with a view to reconstructing them to please themselves was a drastic expression of Anarchy. The movement was particularly bloody in Spain until they were wiped out of existence in 1879.

Bakunin was a revolutionist. He strove to establish an erroneous conception of an ideal by peace or by force; but he succeeded in increasing suffering instead of diminishing it, by urging his followers onward to a wretched, impossible task which inevitably involved merciless and universal destruction. He died in 1876, but his School continues to teach the pernicious doctrine that a revolutionist is "a consecrated man, who will allow no private interest or feelings and no scruples of religion, patriotism or morality to turn him aside from his mission; the aim of which is by all available means to overthrow existing society." Thus

the word anarch came to refer to one who excites revolt, an assassin, a seditious bomb-throwing insurgent against established law and order.

In the meanwhile a revolutionary socialism of an academical character had developed in Russia. It became known as Nihilism—nothingness—and was expressed in its early stages by negativism. The country was oppressed by an almost incomprehensible encumbrance of prejudices and abuses, and Nihilism represents a curious moral awakening of certain educated classes following the humiliation of the Crimean War. It was originally a movement among the educated classes; its advocates desired to throw aside all religion, family life, private property and centralized administration, and regulate all life by the light of natural science. Nihilists, as described by Turgenief, were “men who bowed before no authority of any kind and accepted no faith or principle, whatever veneration might surround it.” Kirkup says that they weighed political institutions and social forms, religion and the family life in the balance of negative criticism, which was their prevailing characteristic, and they found them all wanting. With revolutionary impatience they rejected everything that had come down from the past, good and bad alike. They had no respect for art, poetry, sentiment or romance, and “a new fact added to positive knowledge in the dissecting of a frog was more important than the poetry of Goethe or a painting by Raphael.”

We may respect the courage, integrity, steadfastness and unselfish purpose of the early Nihilists, the harmless student teachers working in

secret to teach freedom to the ignorant, half-brute, down-trodden peasants, but we cannot have any sympathy for their cynicism, crudeness of sentiment and indifference to the true spirit of life, love and brotherhood. It has been said that from the first, the Nihilists felt a broad and real sympathy for the lowest suffering classes. But how can this be, when the Nihilists boasted of hardened hearts and positive indifference to all human feelings?

The Nihilist Movement of Negation was followed by revolutionary, socialistic teachings and secret propaganda with the anarchism of Bakunin as the source of inspiration. As has been said, "Negation may be the physic, but it cannot be the diet of the mind." Among the student body of Russia, it became a fad or mania to absorb the extreme utilitarianism of the socialistic Nihilists and to "go among the people" in humble disguise. There was no real organization, although Netchaiev, an energetic agitator, organized a small secret association, known as "The Society for the Liberation of the People"; when the founder suspected one of the members of treachery, he caused him to be assassinated.

Prior to 1876 the Nihilists were peacefully inclined. They worked among the peasants, but were treated with suspicion by the class they endeavored to elevate. The Russian authorities, between 1873 and 1876, arrested two thousand Nihilists and by violent methods endeavored to stamp out the growing germ of protest against prevalent abuse. Then the Nihilists became Anarchists and

commenced a propaganda of action; two years of arrest and punishment were followed by three years of terrorist crimes and eight years of stamping out and successful despotic victory over anarchism. The Nihilists received no mercy, so they showed none. Their resolute and merciless struggle for liberty against the crushing vice of the Czardom, resulted in assassinations in 1878 to revenge crimes of despotism against innocent humanity. Strong secret organizations were now formed. All kinds of propaganda were illegal in Russia; there was no freedom of speech, no right to congregate, no liberty of the press. Laws could be suspended, trial denied and victims of the Plutonic autocracy could be exiled, jailed or executed at the whim of the dominant powers in the Bureaucracy.

Czar Alexander II was killed in 1881, a martyr to Russian traditions, for he himself had liberal views and desired conciliatory reforms. His successor, Alexander III, had no desire to limit the autocratic power or make any concessions of any kind to the revolutionists; and Russia continued a land where liberty and freedom were unknown; police and spies ruled or intimidated the people and at times goaded them into violent action. During these long years of revolutionary secret anarchism, there has been a horrible toll of torture and suffering which has decimated the noblest and best families of the land. Liberty in Russia is still a farce; during the five years ending 1910 there were 19,145 convictions for political offences and over 5,735 death sentences.

A new revolutionary movement arising from industrial conditions, became evident in the gigantic strike of 1896, at St. Petersburg. The atrocities of January, 1905, with its "Bloody Sunday" added fagots to the flame of human passion and class hatred. On this day one hundred thousand, unarmed and peaceable, followed Father Gapon to the Winter Palace to claim political rights, and were shot down like wild animals. Great strikes and uprisings followed, and the battleship Potemkin was captured by mutineers.

The history of the past few generations proves the hopelessness of any country's attempting, in these days of rapidly increasing enlightenment, to govern its people by an autocracy. Instability accompanies despotism; a constitutional monarchy is far more stable, but the world must come to true democracy with direct representation and absolute freedom, before peace will reign throughout all lands.

Prince Kropotkin was born of the highest aristocracy of Russia. He is a man of culture and of peace, yet he preaches "an objection to all authority and all government." In all human relations he would "in place of legal and administrative control, substitute free contract perpetually subject to revision and cancelment." He would place capital at the disposal of all, and desires equality of fact as corollary or rather as a primordial condition of freedom. Anarchists of the Kropotkin School maintain that the leading principles of anarchism are "rejection of all external authority and all private appropriations of land and capital; human

relations will depend on the free action and assent of the individuals concerned," and it has been said that "because of the continual misery and degradation of the proletariat, they proclaim the sacred right of insurrection."

Tolstoy, the founder of the School of Christian Anarchy, did splendid service in Russia as a perpetual protest against the inhumanities of the government. He possessed great literary ability, had no great following and fortunately for himself and mankind in general, he was powerful enough by birth and friendship to defy the traditions and the bloody hounds of Russia. He advocated anarchism, but it was the anarchy of non-resistance, and his doctrine has been described as a strange compound of modernism and mediævalism constantly changing.

Many crimes of recent years charged to anarchy, are not the work of political anarchists, but many are. Vaillant, who exploded a bomb in the French Chamber of Deputies, 1893, when reproached for endangering the lives of innocent women and children, cried out "There can be no innocent Bourgeois." The assassination of President Carnot, of France, 1894, Empress of Austria, 1898, King Humbert of Italy, 1900, President McKinley, 1901, and the Haymarket atrocities at Chicago in 1886, are all horrible instances of frenzied anarchism. In 1894 our country passed a law to keep out foreign anarchists and to deport any found in this country.

All criminals and degenerates are not anarchists, neither are all political conspirators who practice

violence, anarchists; Meunter was a degenerate and not an anarchist. Kirkup states that anarchism is in part a matter of temperament, and in part of environment, and adds: "The type of mind which vehemently resents control, which idolizes personal independence and considers protest against authority a virtue, readily adopts the notion that any method of discrediting and destroying the existing government is lawful and expedient and the examples of outrages in countries where the government is the enemy have been occasionally followed, chiefly by exasperated exiles in other lands, where such actions have scarcely the shadow of excuse."

War is but anarchy among nations and will pass only when the alliances among nations expand into one great federation. A world of powers presenting their grievances at an International Court of Justice, instead of resorting to the bomb-throwing, diabolical manias of anarchism, will hail the dawn of that day, when the citizens of all the world will be freed from the sufferings and horrors of strife and the non-productiveness of organized destroyers. Then will the world proclaim, with this Renaissance of moral and economic conditions, "Peace on earth—good will toward men."

CHAPTER V

Anarchism, the Creed of Human Chaos

THERE is a modern school of Ethical Anarchism which condemns violence of every kind, whether on the part of the individual or on the part of society. It maintains that government by force has established and by law protects the worst manifest frauds and wrongs. It calls our attention to the Government's barbaric way of settling international questions by force with the accompanying destruction of millions of human beings and suffering far beyond any power of comprehension; whereas such disputes are all subject to rational adjustment. Anarchy is preached as the ultimate freedom, human emancipation—a great ideal; but this is not anarchism, but rather idealized individuality. Every thinker is more or less of an anarchist, using the ethical interpretation of the word; and the world is slowly moving to an ideal state, where government will be within men instead of over men. The way to perfection is through education, encouragement and the extension of law and positively not through the immediate abolition of it. Co-operation in material production and anarchism in the intellectual forces of life, may form a social creed of the future, but a man must have social union with his fellows and work in concert with them, maintaining at the same time his individuality and mental freedom, if he is to develop

into a creative human unit and fit into the machine of progress, operated by the Eternal Cosmic Spirit of life.

Anarchism, which defies all authority, denies the existence of the authority of universal creation expressed by the immutable laws of life. Even ethical, idealistic anarchism is, therefore, but sublime materialistic and dogmatic egoism, imperial individualistic selfishness which it is hoped will be dominated by an altruistic code of ethics; but where will such a code come from and what power is going to cause man, with animal passion and inherent selfishness, to willingly adopt such rules, when he sees that no immediate benefit will accrue to himself? Anarchism is individualism dethroned; it is individualism void of the co-operative, ultra-rationalistic spirit of mutuality in social intercourse; it is individualism robbed of the soul—a mere materialistic shell.

Anarchism is immoral in its incompleteness. All government is not evil; the law of the universe and the controlling, harmonious forces of life govern and they are not evil. Great enterprises and the world-changing industries of life, down to the simpler codes of economic work, cannot be performed without organization and anarchy will not cohabit with any form of social mutuality. It poses as a law unto itself—the deification of self-interest. It is opposed to socialism and both are opposed to true perfecting and creative individualism. We hear at times the term “philosophic anarchism,” which is supposed to describe ethical anarchism. It may be anarchy represented by forbearance, calmness of temper and fortitude; but it is not practical

wisdom, it is not philosophy. It is a negative theory of life and could more justly, because of its materialism, be termed Philistinism. Anarchism as presented and expressed by different schools and creeds, has today as many shades of color as the rainbow, but in our further discussion of it, we will paint anarchism in its true color of red, and red it will be whether clothed in the blue garb of culture or the yellow garb of militant feminism. Anarchism at the core is unrestrained and uncontrolled revolution; a riotous centrifugal divergence from law and order.

Anarchy cannot be successfully organized, for the principle of the anarchist is opposed to any authority other than his own perverted mind. There can be no such thing as a reasoning, reflective or judicial anarchist. He is egoistic and purely destructive. His creed and belligerent cry is always the same—"Whatever is, is not." Any law that he dislikes, or that interferes with the unrestrained expression of his unlicensed passion, should be repealed. Harmony and love should be turned into discord, hate and envy; peace into bitter strife; truth into falseness; life into death.

No reform can ever come to mankind through the medium of anarchy; the remedies advocated are worse than the disease. In these days which herald the dawn of world-wide freedom, it is but natural that liberty should intoxicate and cause unanchored and untutored minds—possibly the progeny of an oppressed ancestry;—to swing with momentum beyond the poise of mental equilibrium to a reaction of extreme intensity and unrestraint—defiant, de-

structive and aggressive. At such times people with unbalanced minds have the hallucination that they are instruments in the hands of eternal progress; they fanatically shout with exultation as they destroy, and they loudly and persistently affirm that they overthrow and devastate solely to clear the ground for a wonderful new creation which is never built and never will arise from the ashes of any social structure. For every wrong there is a remedy, but the Creator has never yet ordained that a violation of immutable laws shall be the remedy of any previously existing error. The Cosmic plan of progress invariably demands the abolition of the wrong by the forceful crowding out of evil with good.

Many writers are glorifying anarchism. It is being glowingly pictured as the only principle of life which will bring true freedom, individualism and lasting benefit to man; whereas, in truth, anarchism is the most positive enemy of both the individual and collective society which the present century has to reject, if true progress is to continue. Anarchy is a diversion, not a need; it is a picture falsely conceived and is not true substance; it is a mirage enticing heart-sick wanderers to a Utopia which does not exist; it is moral and spiritual disease originally clothed in garments of bloody violence, but of late in apparel that, with dulled human vision, seems to be the garb of conservatism.

It is surprising to note that the modern leaders who advocate anarchy as a nostrum for all human ills, claim that they believe that harmony among all

the multifarious classes and diversified interests of society can be obtained by free, voluntary agreements. They repudiate submission to law or obedience to any authority. They, therefore, cannot believe that there is any Cosmic law controlling and regulating the universe and they must feel that natural law is but chance. Anarchists speak glibly of "free agreements concluded between the various groups, territorial and professional, which must be freely constituted for the sake of production and consumption, as also for the satisfaction of the infinite variety of needs and aspirations of a civilized being." They urge a condition where society would represent nothing immutable, no fixed points, no responsibility, and they enthusiastically affirm that "harmony would result from an ever-changing adjustment and readjustment of equilibrium between the multitude of forces and influences." Such infantine doctrines and drivellings of unbalanced and undeveloped minds are, in analysis, their own denunciation. But anarchism, if not plausible, is at least persistent and we hear that only by anarchy and the renouncement of all state and society allegiance and the rejection of eternal religion, will man "be enabled to obtain the full development of all his faculties, intellectual, artistic and moral. He would thus be guided in his actions by his own understanding, which necessarily would bear the impression of a free action and reaction between his own self and the ethical conception of his surroundings. He would thus be able to reach full individualization."

If anarchism had been the creed of man in pre-

historic ages, there would have been no civilization and very probably no surviving human race. Anarchism is void of the spirit of progress. It maintains that any form of government will always be unsatisfactory because of the depravity of mankind, and then it affirms that "gentlemen's agreements" between individuals and factions of the same depraved humanity, will stand with that harmony which even they admit to be essential for success and prosperity.

Anarchism is the creed of human chaos; it leads to inane confusion; it fosters the spirit of revolt; it is a deadly poison for the soul of man and not a panacea to eliminate all human ills. It is the doctrine of unbridled and uncontrolled autocracy with complete absolutism exemplified by each individual member of society. In its essence it denounces that mutual dependence and confidence which is the basis of social life, and that consideration, helpfulness and unselfishness which are the reflection of the divine mind in man.

In the last analysis we will find that love is the remedy for all existing evils and the only effective solvent for all social errors and misunderstandings. There can be no cohabitation of anarchism with religion, for one is the antithesis of the other. Without religion there can be no abiding code of morals. Pope forcefully describes the destructive depravity of anarchy in "The Dunciad."

"Religion blushing, veils her sacred fires,
And unawares morality expires,
Nor public flame nor private dares to shine;
Nor human spark is left, nor glimpse divine;

Lo! thy dread empire chaos is restor'd,
Light dies before thy uncreating word;
Thy hand, great Anarch, lets the curtain fall,
And universal darkness buries all."

Many a crank reformer today, with his fanatical creed "All things are wrong," is rapidly drifting to the realm of destructive anarchy. The self-elected, unbalanced reformer, one of the trials and evils of our times, with his unreasoning zeal, his unrestrained frenzy and wild, extravagant notions, is merely a victim of a perverted conscience. This form of moral insanity is in the ultimate, fully as pronounced and offensive as total depravity. A mind that has lost its bearings, that has deliberately flown centrifugally into space, defying the restraining and controlling power of all law, cannot reform or even function in evolution; it must fly uncontrolled through space with meteoric wildness and its inevitable end is disintegration and destruction.

Wisdom in humanity is evidenced by recognition and voluntary compliance with universal laws; not in defiance or violation of them. Voltaire said: "To be a sage is to avoid the senseless and the depraved." The world teems today, with pseudo-reformers masquerading in the garb of wisdom, who by persistent expressions of their senselessness, are branding themselves with their own created depravity. A world of workers with minds single to the furtherance of eternal laws, cry out to be saved from the talkative, fault-finding, muck-raking reformers of the century, whose very ignorance, lack of human confidence and destructive remedies have a profound savor of anarchy.

There is a class of egoistic, social reformers, whose ranks are recruited from the "unplaced" but mentally active world's workers,—the "Brainy Unrest" of society, the badly focused and incomplete students of life. Emerson well describes them: "Their feet are cold; their heads are hot; the night is without sleep, the day a fear of interruption—if you come near them and see what conceits they entertain—they are abstractionists and spend their days and nights in dreaming some dream; in expecting the homage of society to some precious scheme built on a truth, but destitute of proportion in its presentment; of justice in its application, and of all energy of will in the schemer to embody and vitalize it." This class, forever attempting and preaching reform, is a great trial to the practical men and women who, free of ostentation, are conscientiously performing their ordained work in the world; with head, heart and hands, they are striving through their legitimate work to bring humanity nearer its Creator and Sustainer.

The pages of history are filled with lessons for humanity, but mankind ignores the experiences of ancestry. The ancient Greeks urged that "History is but philosophy, teaching by examples," or, as Carlyle said, "by experience." History should be the antidote to anarchism and to that class of "spinal cord" fanatical reformers, whose effect upon the minds of men is fatal, for they leave in their wake hysterical passion, indescribable human suffering and ultimate death. Anarchism is not the Nemesis for individual or social error, as is freely claimed; anarchism may portray vengeance,

but it cannot be considered the "Divine Vengeance" of the ancient Greeks; even in its sophistry it can never pass as retributive justice. Anarchism is born of failure, mental astigmatism and prejudice; it is nurtured by suspicion, hallucination and delusion; it sets back the clock, blurs vision, deadens the senses, and walks in the way of phantoms; it pollutes the thought, harbors the unreal, serves despair, and ravishes right.

CHAPTER VI

Radicalism, Rationalism and Democracy

RADICALISM in modern politics has, through an erroneous conception of the root and true meaning of the word, come to describe the doctrine of pronounced changes in government or social institutions. To be branded a "Radical" in these days is almost as bad as to be called an "Extremist," or even a "Revolutionist." The word "radical," derived from the Latin, means that which pertains to the root or proceeds directly from the root of a thing. Radicalism is, therefore, not an intermediate stratum between orthodox conservatism and anarchism, and all such conceptions of it are erroneous. In these days of conventional error, of drifting from the truth, of wandering from the source and essence of all that is enduring and eternal in life, to be radical is to turn to the root of things and seek to directly learn constructive and purifying wisdom from the Creator, the source of all life and wisdom.

We are told that a radical is one who agitates and urges the leveling of inequalities of conditions. This definition may be true or it may be false. On the other hand we know that anarchists urge the elimination of all government, desire no social institutions and impractically seek to eliminate all inequalities.

True radicalism urges good government, demo-

cratic in principle and representative of the people; purged from bossism, graft, and class predominance, seeking only to administer justice based on laws, founded on truth. It would delve into causes and get to the source and root of all things, rather than theorize on effects. Radicalism diagnoses disease and strives to eliminate error without interrupting or disturbing the performance of the vital functions. The basic thoughts and essential principles of radicalism are diametrically opposed to those of anarchism. Radicalism is positive and progressive; it aspires, has definite purpose and is spiritual. Anarchism is negative, destructive and aimless. The term radicalism has been outrageously abused in politics, but that is the fault of the users and not the principle. The upsetting of the tried and proven, the uprooting of the solid foundations of a stable society, the elimination of law and order, and the destructive attacks on good government, are not radicalism but anarchism. Radicalism preaches freedom of thought, religious freedom, emancipation and political freedom, but it does not teach mental and social equality. It is not a bidder at the auction of ever-changing popularity; it maintains that men are equal spiritually and politically, but as long as they vary in mental and physical endowment, so they will vary in characteristics, that will ever result in various degrees of knowledge, culture and social adaptability. Radicalism maintains that aristocracy should and will be founded on the development of the brain and heart and not on fate and avarice. Radicalism is the tool of evolution; it checks up the atoms

that, combined, make for progress; it assures mankind that the new link of knowledge is being welded into the true chain of universal advance. The radical is the organizer and guard of those forces which make for truth and lasting civilization. Progress to be lasting must be welded and become thoroughly rooted into the great forces of life, grounded in eternal and never changing truth.

Radicalism, like young Siegfried of the Nibelungs, may melt down the old weapons into new ones; but the metal, to be effective, must be that sent by the Creator to draw man through the phases of progressive evolution nearer to Himself.

True revolution is a pronounced step, a conspicuous advance in the progress of evolution. Through such non-anarchical, transitional periods of human advancement, was this country born and nurtured to adolescence. Jefferson, in his first inaugural address in 1801, discusses most fittingly the fruits of the inspired radicalism of his period, when he said: "We stand for equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce and honest friendships with all nations,—the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad,—these principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation." By rationalism should all the multitudinous doctrines of the day be tested, but it should be the rationalism of the complete man with the human mind controlled by the spirit, and

not the rationalism of mortal ignorance, which denies what it cannot with physical senses see and understand. Many a so-called rationalist today is a false reasoner. In the realm of Christian religion, a rationalist may object to humanity's being "plucked as a brand from the burning," and rightly so; but instead of scorning religion, the true rationalist, the radical of religion, works to "put out the fire." Mental reasoning of itself is cold and many so-called rationalists are but materialistic nihilists, negative agnostics, who have been described as those who "find in the soul of man nothing but selfishness, no basis of human integrity but in the interest of self-preservation, no virtue but in lack of opportunity, no altruism but in some form of self-indulgence, no religion but in fear of future punishment."

True rationalism is not blind faith; it goes into the depths with a rope firmly secured to solid earth and to firmly establish truth. Growth demands free speculation and history shows how knowledge has grown since restrictions on inquiry into the mysteries of life and things have been removed. The advances made through liberated thought, during the past century, would have seemed diabolical to the slaves of mediævalism, but such advances have been made in spite of materialism and solely because of rationalism, founded on the spirit of life and that radicalism which seeks for and must learn and build upon eternal truth. Religious fanatics have no faith, no spirit; they are afraid of their suppressed doubts and finiteness. If they believed absolutely in truth and love, they

could not become irrational, they could not possibly persecute others.

“Who lights the fagot?

Not the full faith, but the lurking doubt.”

Worldly rulers and governments have to learn the same eternally rational and radical truths that the Spirit of Life is forcing upon the Church. Government, like the Church, has to be reconstructed, robbed of false beliefs and rebuilt upon the firm foundation of eternal justice and universal law. The French Revolution of riotous anarchy did not alleviate the distress of the poor; it created some reforms, but it led to many other revolutions and social upheavals. After all the hysterical exploitations of the ideal represented by liberty, equality and fraternity, after France had given the blood of her best sons to promote an ideal founded on error, we find one of the many reactions of such unspiritual attempts at progress in the cry of the starving workmen at Lyons in 1831: “We must live working or we shall die fighting.”

Democracy—the rule of the people—is the government of the future. It is government by popular representation, in which the supreme power is retained and directly exercised by the people. The rule of autocracies, despotisms and plutocracies must pass, either by reform or revolution, but the sure working law of evolution demands that they be supplanted by the rule of the people; the legislation of the many, for the many, and not of the few over the many. Revolution is rendered superfluous by democracy, and anarchism

cannot take root in any country where the people rule. Representative government was at one time a revolutionary innovation. A so-called revolutionary movement is, at times, merely a new movement looking toward pronounced change. It is to be regretted that in the past, many worthy reform movements have been attended with the exercise of force, but as is the case of the rebellion of our original colonies against oppressive and arbitrary taxation without representation, this has generally been due to the powers in possession attempting to suppress such movements by the exercise of force.

Democracy, as represented in our own Republic, should be expressed in a commonwealth governed for the common weal. Our faces are pointing right; we are far in advance of other nations, but our methods of government need as much purification and purging by true rationalism and radicalism, as do many other generally termed less progressive nations. We need not and will not tolerate either revolution or anarchy, but the country should be true to its ideals and basic principles. We should enjoy a true government by the people, not an oligarchy of professional politicians and spoilsmen, who place power and party first, and truth with justice afterwards. During the Tariff Revision of the recently elected, so-called Democratic Party, facts were not desired unless they conformed with a predetermined policy of the Party Oligarchy. A representative elected by the people said, "We don't care for the truth, our minds are made up." A prominent Senator said:

“I do not care to refute what —— said. He was in error, but I have too much prudence and must consider my Party.” Such principles are not even as worthy as the inhuman, prejudiced slogan, “My country right or wrong.” It is not even “my party right or wrong”; it is the political Oligarchy of “my party” which cares only for power, “right or wrong.”

The Democratic Party is probably no worse than other American political parties; and fusion, independent reform, citizen and socialistic movements, whenever successful in American local politics, have soon degenerated into machine politics, full of intrigue and policy; and if the life of the movement is long enough, corruption and plunder of the many for the benefit of the few, seem to become inevitable. The purification of politics by impractical men, or by any machine of men, is no purification at all. We need no professional politicians, no dictators of policy, no grafters or spoils-men selling protection, favors of political jobs, or creating positions for their loyal henchmen. When our country is run like a large, efficient corporation, where merit and fitness for positions are demanded and where waste is abhorred, then we will enjoy liberty and true representation; taxes will be reduced, industry encouraged, capital and labor equally protected, and our land, instead of being a burlesque on democracy, will be a true expression of democratic government, which is the practical answer to the threats of the revolutionist and anarchist and to the impractical dream of the socialist.

CHAPTER VII

Communism—Utopian Socialism of Old

COMMUNISM is Utopian Socialism; it was the doctrine of all socialists until about the middle of the Nineteenth Century. It can be defined as a scheme to equalize all the social, environmental and economic conditions of life by the abolition of all class distinctions, privileges and inequalities of every kind, especially those which pertain to the possession of property.

It must not be confused with Communalism, which is a French theory of government, urging the forming of certain cities or districts into communes, each of which is to have the privilege of an independent state; the National Government being merely a confederation of such states with limited powers. The Commune of Paris in 1871, endeavored for more than two months to set up its authority against the National Assembly at Versailles. The Communal Movement, antagonistic to centralized National Government, has been a political and not an economic movement; it recalls the Mediæval Communes, at one time very common, especially in Germany, and must be considered as an anarchical and retrogressive movement.

The socialistic plan of communism is not the product of this age of freedom; it is as old as history, as old as man. Primitive man adopted communism in his early stages of existence to obtain

strength through unity. His motive was self-love expressed in self-protection; if man had refused to be socialized he would undoubtedly have been annihilated by animals far larger, faster and stronger than himself. It has been estimated that 95 per cent. of the total period of human existence has been lived by man in crude tribal communism. Through the ages of recorded history, socialism has taught what in reality is a return to the first principles of social life; it is, therefore, a retrogressive and not a progressive movement.

In the "Republic," Plato advocates Communism. He would completely change existing social life. Children removed from parents would be nurtured and educated under the supervision of the State; the "blasphemous nonsense with which mothers fool the manhood out of their children" would be eliminated. The occupation and marriage of each citizen, and the number of births, would be controlled by the officials of the State. The most perfect equality of conditions and careers was to be obtained; women would be trained like men and no doors of opportunity leading to careers or worthy ambitions denied them; yet Plato expresses the prejudices of his day, when he says that Monogamy is mere exclusive possession of property that should be for the benefit of the public, and "the wife is part and parcel of the property of her husband." He asserts that the State should provide for all; therefore, inequalities and rivalry between rich and poor would cease. Plato recognized the absolute inequalities of men, when he states that although there would be no exclusiveness of

birth, the citizens of his Republic would be divided into classes according to their capacity and ability.

Aristotle said: "Justice is thought to be and is equality; not, however, for all, but only for equals. And inequality is thought to be and is justice; neither is this for all but only for unequals." This same thought has been well expressed by Menger: "There is no greater inequality than the equal treatment of unequals."

Lycurgus, of the Ninth Century B. C., was the reputed founder of the Spartan Constitution. He is said to have promoted certain socialistic reforms, such as a Citizens' Assembly, prohibition of Gold and Silver Currency, and the division of land into equal lots, but these traditions cannot be verified.

Solon, the great law-giver of the Sixth and Seventh Centuries B. C., was impressed with the tyrannical attitude of the rich toward the poor and the evil of unregulated aristocracy, with the unrestrained exploitation of capital. He eliminated the prevailing practice of giving one's self as security for a loan, thus doing away with a diabolical system of extending slavery; he freed debtors; regulated the accumulation of land and rate of interest; but he refused to sanction equal division of land or wealth. Solon was the founder of Democracy; he instituted courts of justice and juries selected by lot; but in reality his government was a moderate Oligarchy with four clearly defined classes, and his reforms did not tend toward socialism. In the *Timaeus Dialogue* of Plato, Socrates is told of a tradition handed down by Solon that nine thousand years previously, before the great deluge, Athens

was the leading city of the world, pre-eminent for the excellence of her laws. The greatest act of these ancient Athenians had been to resist an invasion from the great island of Atlantis, when all other nations had been overwhelmed by the forces emanating from this mystical land of the sea. Atlantis had been described by an Egyptian Priest as a mighty power, a great and wonderful empire which became inundated in a day of violent rain, flood and earthquake, and vanished below the surface of the great seas. A Spanish writer in 1552 suggested that the newly discovered continent of America was the Atlantis of the ancients, the same Atlantis which Plato describes in Critias.

A short time before his death in 1626, Francis Bacon wrote "The New Atlantis," but he placed his imaginary island in the Pacific Ocean, between America and China. This ideal land was permeated with a spirit of religion "animating the whole with love of men and honor of God." Bacon describes a weak form of Communism, as exclusiveness of a people which maintained a trade "only for God's first creature, which was Light; to have light of the growth of all parts of the world." Bacon considered that knowledge obtained from other lands was a necessary foundation upon which, with research and concentration, an abiding structure of wisdom could be reared, and this knowledge he affirms is the prime requisite for success, development and happiness. He does not advocate equality of man; he has chambers befitting the rank and importance of men. His ideal is a just government, with no poor or distressed. "The

King," he says, "is debtor to no man but for propagation of his subjects." The Tirsan, a father of thirty children, above the age of three, is honored, but no equality of sexes is advocated, for while all honor the father of the family, the mother at the Feast sits in a gallery, unseen and unhonored. Polygamy is unknown in Atlantis, and no marriage can be made without consent. Bacon dwells upon the practice of the doctrine of Christ and the nation's great thirst for knowledge. He loves to describe pomp, splendor and form, and his attempt to depict an ideal land is marred by his class consciousness and his old-fashioned conception of religion. Atlantis is really ruled by Solomon's House and not by Governors or Kings, for knowledge is placed on the pinnacle of power and fame. "The end of all foundations is the knowledge of causes and secret motions of things; the enlarging of the bounds of human empire to the effecting of all things possible"; and he adds, "for upon every invention of value we erect a statue to the inventor and give him a liberal and honorable reward." Bacon's visionary land of Ideality did not give much consideration to the common people. It was a veritable heaven for the scholar and inventor; knowledge was of all things the greatest boon, and the learned man headed all society, being the true aristocrat of the race. Bacon was one of the world's greatest prophets of investigation and learned achievement; he was not a great investigator himself, and his art of interpretation, as exemplified in his "Novum Organum," proved disappointing and impossible. He never finished his

“New Atlantis,” and the second section of the book in which he was to describe its laws, proved too formidable for him. He probably felt the difficulty of creating a code which would eliminate all crime, avarice, discontent, and poverty from a land of such pronounced authority, conventions and impractical modes of life. Nevertheless, Bacon’s work stimulated science and research and it has greatly affected, not the growth of Socialism and Communism, but of civilization and knowledge. Bacon probably felt, as later expressed by Keats, that “Beauty is truth, truth beauty—that is all ye know on earth, and all ye need to know.”

Communism was practiced by the early Christians, not as abnegation of private property, but as voluntary sharing of it. We are told that “The Essenes and the Therapeutæ in Palestine had a strict form of Communism, and the former required the surrender of individual property.” In the Middle Ages various religious sects, followed by Christian and Buddhist Monastic Orders, were communistic with common property and common enjoyment of it. The basic idea of socialism has found advocates in every century of the Age of Tradition and in many different countries; and for two or three thousand years these movements have expressed a deep dissatisfaction with existent political and economic conditions.

In 1516 Sir Thomas More published his famous “Utopia.” Under the fiction of an ideal state, undoubtedly inspired by Plato’s Republic, he expressed his optimistic and impractical political and economic ideals of reform. Utopia means “no

place," and More, giving the name to an imaginary island, also unconsciously gave the name to the socialism of Communism, now branded the world over as "Utopian." More describes a "happy country" governed by principles based upon popular elections. Community of goods prevailed and officials distributed the instruments of production among the people; all wealth resulting from the industry of all was equally divided among all; not in money, however, for money was unknown. More advanced beyond Plato in his appreciation of the sacredness of family relations and fidelity to marriage vows and suggested no community of wives. He considered marriage indispensable to the well being of modern society, and in this respect his vision was clearer than many of his predecessors and most of the later day communists. Although More, impressed by Christian teachings, discountenanced community of wives, he, nevertheless, advocated slavery—a gross inconsistency—maintaining that he would have to use slaves in Utopia to do all the disagreeable work. He contended that in a communistic state "all the uneasy and sordid services"—laborious, dangerous or offensive—must be rendered by human beings operating under compulsion. Who would be the slaves? Other less enlightened races possibly; or Utopians convicted of crime instead of being imprisoned would be condemned to slavery. Brilliant as More's mind undoubtedly was, he has given the world a hodge-podge of impractical pictures in his Utopia. He would maintain private family life, but all meals should be taken in common, "rendered attractive

by the accompaniment of sweet strains of music, while the air was filled by the scent of the most delicate perfumes." Women must work like the men; there shall be no idle individual—"And this you will easily apprehend," he says, "if you consider how great a part of all other nations is quite idle. First, women generally do little, who are the half of mankind." How little More could have known of the unceasing labor of the women of the peasant and lower classes, of their unceasing struggle for a mere existence and for the maintenance of their families, their only possessions. No reward here or hereafter can ever repay the Great Mothers of the majority of the surviving race. Yet these faithful heroines are classed as "Idle Individuals."

More's "Utopia" was not responsible for his ultimate disfavor with Henry VIII. In his relation to his fellows he showed no tendency toward socialism and preached none. As Counsellor to the King, he displayed pronounced ability, loyalty and conscience. He retired into private life, a poor man, rather than approve officially of his King's action in proclaiming himself the Head of the Church, in order that his well known lax ideas of marriage and divorce might be sanctioned and materialistic benefits wrested from Rome. More was executed for "maliciously, traitorously and diabolically" denying the right of the King to become at will the "Supreme Head" of the Church. He never expressed an opinion disloyal or traitorous to his Monarch, but he was indicted for treason, when in response to persistent questioning, he replied to the King's messenger sent to him in the

Tower: "Suppose that Parliament should make a law, that God should be not God, would you then say God were not God? No more can Parliament make the King the Supreme Head of the Church." The vengeance of Henry at More for expressing, by passive non-concurrence, his disapproval of the King's theory of infallibility, was further manifested when he confiscated the small property of More, legally assigned to his wife, and drove Lady More and her children penniless from their home. This incident only serves to illustrate the power, tyranny and injustice of Kings. Emperor Charles fittingly said of Henry's crime: "If we had been master of such a servant, we would rather have lost the best city of our dominions than have lost such a worthy counsellor."

William Morris, English poet and artist of the last century, had "the divine rage against the competitive system." His life was a continual protest against commercialism. At one time he was a fanatical Socialist and an advocate of Communism; his book "News from Nowhere" was a peep into the "Merrie England" of two centuries hence. There is nothing new in Morris' work. It is the artist's protest against a low standard of architecture, ugliness and the machine age, rather than a truly socialistic work based on justice and economics. Swinburne said of Morris that he "was always more truly impressed by literature than by life"; and it is true that the socialism of Morris was not inspired by real love of man; at heart it was but a passionate enthusiasm for an impossible artistic ideal. Morris was interested in things rather than

in men, and his life was lived in an atmosphere of Mediævalism. Morris' Utopia is a land of handicraft, of banded workshops for handwork, with no factories and modern labor-saving machinery. His contempt for machinery was great and coupled with it was a strange fear emanating from both art and economics. He wrote:

“Fast and faster our iron master,
The thing we made, forever drives.”

He refers to the world's wonderful Nineteenth Century of progress—“The great achievement of the century was the making of machines which were wonders of invention, skill and patience, and which were used for the production of measureless quantities of worthless makeshifts,” adding: “It was a current jest of the times that the wares were made to sell and not to use.” The great manufacturing centers were an eye-sore to the artist-socialist, so he removes them, saying that “manufacture serves no useful purpose but that of the gambling market.” Morris asserts that the so-called science of the century was merely an appendage to the commercial system, but he admits that in his ideal, visionary land there could not be new inventions.—“The last epoch did all that for us.” The Morris Utopia is, therefore, a land without any possibility of further progress or development. He calls our comfort “mere stuffy inconvenience,” and our civilization “organized misery.” He despises the rawness of our own land, saying that “for nearly a hundred years the people of North America have been engaged in gradually making a dwell-

ing-place out of a stinking dust-heap." His chapter on Politics is one brief paragraph, the gist of which is: "We are very well off as to politics—because we have none." Punishment for crime is left to the conscience of the evil-doer; stores for sale of goods are "swindling dens"; money is unknown and private property does not exist; Morris advocates marriages of convenience; large or small houses for many or few families; open door for all; and like More's Utopians, they take their meals collectively, in Dining Halls, to the strains of sweet music. Morris says that the reward of labor is life, and man in the performance of his work, which is apparently voluntary and principally agricultural, gets the "same wage which God gets." Morris pictures an impossible, impracticable Utopia, showing the prejudice of the artist coupled with a positive lack of knowledge of human nature. He pictures an artistic heaven, populated with gods, but lacking in all that makes life worth while.

The fundamental facts of human nature have wrecked every attempt at Communism, no matter how much their founders have attempted to anticipate mankind's variability, inherent selfishness, and peculiar characteristics.

CHAPTER VIII

Communism—Owen's System of Social Reconstruction

COMMUNISM, the old order of primitive human life, is the imaginative and Utopian Socialism of the Middle Ages. It never became a living force or potent movement because of its conspicuous impracticability. Modern, scientific socialism may condemn Communism, but until a few decades ago Communism was pure Socialism; even now it is one of the many kinds of socialism advocated by enthusiasts and one of the two prime divisions of modern socialism. The modern movement can be said to have commenced with Robert Owen, the British cotton-mill operator and social reformer. In 1817 he presented to a parliamentary committee a scheme for a socialistic community. The word Socialism first appeared in the "Poor Man's Guardian" in 1833, and it was used by Owen two years later to describe his scheme for Social Reconstruction; it was also used in connection with the theories of the communists, Saint-Simon and Fourier, then agitating social reform in France.

Owen was not originally a flighty sentimentalist, but a successful business man. He was born of humble parents and his school education terminated at nine years of age; when only nineteen he became manager of a cotton-mill, and he was the first to import, and successfully use, American cot-

ton in Britain. He soon became the acknowledged leader of the cotton spinning trade and his resourcefulness and originality were proverbial. It was Owen, the practical genius of industry, who revived socialism from the dying embers of impractical theory; but, in his attempt to right the wrongs of the working classes, to elevate the masses, and ameliorate their conditions, even Owen was swept away by philanthropy into a well-meaning but impractical scheme of communism based on his theory of Labor and Economics. He died in 1858, not what he could have been,—the greatest practical benefactor of the working classes and the most successful, humane and liberal-minded employer of his day, but an unbalanced secular-socialist, discredited by manufacturers, considered fanatical and impractical by the working classes, atheistic by spiritually-minded people, and more of a menace than a benefactor of society. Owen's views on marriage were very lax; his conversation in later years was apt to be offensive; his disappointments in the exploitation of his theories disturbed his mind, and before his death he drifted into spiritualism.

J. S. Mill, the English philosopher and economist, referring to the communistic socialism of Owen and his contemporaries, wrote: "Between communism with all its chances and the present state of society, with all its sufferings and injustice,—all the differences, great or small, of communism would be but as dust in the balance." Mill maintained that fundamentally it is all a question of securing and preserving the maximum of true

individual liberty; he would "have nothing that puts this liberty in jeopardy."

Robert Owen's practical work to improve the working classes was conducted at New Lanark, where he was part owner of a large mill. About two thousand hands were employed, and of these, about one-quarter were children, most of whom were brought, when only five or six years of age, from the poor houses of the large Scotch cities. The conditions in the factory, and all similar mills, were vile, the hours long, the work "demoralizing drudgery"; sanitation was unknown and education neglected. Owen did a man's task in the improvement of existing conditions. His work was timely, truly philanthropic and noble; the mill prospered, but Owen was carried away by his own uncurbed enthusiasm. His partners endeavored to check his exploitations, but he bought them out and formed a new company, from which he ultimately resigned because of continued friction.

Owen endeavored to substitute a crude belief in what he believed was original with him, for true religion. He maintained that man is not in any way responsible for what he does; that man does not form his own character by thoughts and deeds, but that character is formed by circumstances over which man has no control. He preached, therefore, irresponsibility of man, and this most pernicious doctrine is the real basis of Owen's system of Social Reconstruction. A poet of the period, in a poem dedicated to Owen, aptly expresses the doctrine of the Social Reformer:

“We are the creatures of external things
Acting on inward organs, and are made
To think and do whate'er our tutors please.
What folly, then, to punish or reward
For deeds o'er which we never held a curb!
What woful ignorance, to teach the crime
And then chastise the pupil for his guilt!”

His plan to create a proper environment around mankind was the only virtue of his scheme. Owen advocated before Parliament the subordination of machinery, which seems to have always been a socialistic principle. He urged that communities be established, consisting of twelve hundred persons, settled on about twelve hundred acres, all living in one large, common building, built as an apartment house, each family to have its private apartment, but meals to be served in a common dining room and food prepared in a public kitchen. All children at three years of age should be removed from their parents and be brought up by the community. Work would be required of all, and the enjoyment of the fruit of work should be equal for all. He later advocated communities of various sizes, each self-contained and independent. As such communities “should increase in number, unions of them, federatively united, shall be formed in circles of tens, hundreds and thousands until they should embrace the whole world in one great republic with a common interest.” Notwithstanding Owen's growing fanaticism, in all probability he would have been guided, restrained and helped by Britain's most influential

leaders, and his name would have come down in history as one of the greatest Social Reformers of the world, had he not lost his head in a public meeting in London and denounced, in no uncertain terms, every form of religion. No infidel, hostile to religion in all its phases, and to the Eternal Spirit of all life, could ever suggest an acceptable reform to the humblest worker of Britain or to any other class who refuse to separate love and true philanthropy from the Eternal Source of all such virtues.

Owen commenced the establishment of communities in 1825, at Orbiston, near Glasgow, Scotland, and the same year he acquired New Harmony, Indiana, from the Rappists—the old Shakers Society. He also formed many other communities in the United States, all of which had a brief existence. It has been said that “the members were of the most motley description, many worthy people of the highest aims being mixed with vagrants, adventurers, and crotchety, wrong-headed enthusiasts.” Owen made further attempts, in 1839, to promote and demonstrate his ideal. Communities were established in Clare County, Ireland, and also in Hampshire, England; the latter soon failed and the former was ruined by the gambling of the management.

Brooks says: “Communism captivates at the same time the saint and the loafer. It offers to the imagination what the heroic are glad to give, and to the dead-beat what he is greedy to take.” An old English poem tells us of the attitude of

Morris' contemporaries toward Utopian theories of communistic life.

“What is a Communist? One that hath yearnings
For equal division of unequal earnings.
Idler or bungler, or both, he is willing
To fork out his penny, and pocket your shilling.”

Communism, or Utopian Socialism, preaches the doctrine of equality in all things. It advocates a Parochial Autonomy, the destruction by absorption of private property for the benefit of the community, the absolute political and social equality of mankind, the elimination of individual wealth and of currency. And yet, if the members forming a community had a goodly share of this world's goods and another community were formed of poorer people, would we not have wealth or property inequalities in communities? Again, one community may establish itself on rich agricultural or mining ground and soon grow rich as compared with a community located less favorably. How can the equality in worldly goods of the members of one community ever result in the equalization of wealth over the entire country or world? Once more, the quality of the inmates of a community would prove a great factor in the virility of the Social Colony; if a community of average persons fails to succeed in its battle with life, how quickly would an aggregation of drones rush into failure and bankruptcy?

CHAPTER IX

French Communism—Saint-Simon and Fourier

THE Nineteenth Century revival of Socialism has been generally attributed to the industrial revolution, with its Bourgeois avarice in Britain and the revolution of thought and freedom of the Press, which found its most positive expression in France. Owen worked under the influence of British industrialism; but in France, Saint-Simon and Fourier had before them “the hoary abuses of an idle and privileged feudalism, shaken by the Revolution but still strong in Europe, and in France, as elsewhere, powerfully revived after Waterloo.” Comte Henri de Saint-Simon, born in 1760, was the founder of French socialism. He was an ambitious aristocrat and accumulated a fortune in land speculation. He assisted the American colonies in their rebellion against British oppression, but took no part in the French Revolution. At forty he married most unhappily, lost his property, and during the last twenty-five years of his life was reduced to poverty and distress. Kirkup tells us that at one time he lived on the generosity of a former valet, and in 1823 attempted suicide in despair. And this is the man who first conceived the Panama Canal and whose servant was ordered to awaken him each morning with the words: “Remember, Monsieur le Comte, that you have great things to do.”

Saint-Simon, like Owen of England, was not a Revolutionist; as Owen presented his scheme for Social Reform to the British Parliament, so Saint-Simon appealed to Louis XVIII of France, to create a state of workers directed by modern science, with centralized authority as represented by the State. Saint-Simon interpreted Christianity to mean that all men should act toward each other as brethren. "The whole of society," he wrote, "ought to strive towards the amelioration of the moral and physical existence of the poorest class; society ought to organize itself in the way best adapted for attaining this end."

The French School of the Saint-Simonian Faith commenced its turbulent career in 1831. The members lived out of a common purse, wore queer prescribed clothes, and practiced communism; dissensions soon arose and Bazard, the strongest and most logical man of the School, seceded, leaving the leadership to Enfantine, whose purpose was the establishment of an arrogant and "fantastic sacerdotalism" with lax notions as to marriage and the relations of the sexes. After about a year's existence, the sect was condemned and broken up, for proceedings prejudicial to the morals and well-being of the State. In official declarations, the Society affirmed its belief in the Christian law of marriage, but Enfantine fell, we are told, into "a prurient and fantastic latitudinarianism, which made the School a scandal to France."

The most pronounced features of Saint-Simon's socialism are the placing of each man according to his peculiar ability and characteristics, and the

rewarding of each man according to the importance, quality and amount of work performed,—truly a magnificent thought, but unfortunately it never got beyond a hope or belief. The vices of Saint-Simon's followers killed the virtues of their creed. Kirkup sums up the inevitable disaster of the movement when he says: "The most prominent portion of the School attacked social order in its essential point—the family morality. Thus it happened that a School which attracted so many of the most brilliant and promising young men of France, which was so striking and original in its criticism of the existing condition of things, which was so strong in the spirit of initiative, and was in many ways so noble, unselfish and aspiring, sank amidst the laughter and indignation of a scandalized society."

François Fourier was the noblest of Utopian socialists. His writings antedated Owen and Saint-Simon, but the Fourier Communistic Movement of Socialism did not gain much impetus until the power and work of his contemporaries had begun to wane. Fourier was born at Besançon, France, in 1772; his father was a tradesman in good circumstances. In early life François, as a result of his shop experience, travelling, and work in a merchant's office, became convinced that existent social conditions, the result of prevailing principles of competition, were essentially imperfect and immoral. We are told that when five years of age he was whipped for telling a customer, in his father's store, the truth about some goods he was considering purchasing; at twenty-seven he had to

participate in the destruction of large quantities of rice which had become unfit for use, it having been held during a period of great scarcity and actual want, in order that the owner might realize an exorbitant price for it. Fourier was a natural optimist with a mental equipment at times touching greatness, but mostly occupied with absurdities that expressed themselves in extravagant fantastical theories and writings. He was in private life, a retiring and extremely sensitive man, a model of simplicity and kindness. His ideals were high and his career was marked with unwavering integrity and disinterested devotion; and yet his writings were at times uncouth, obscure and unintelligible. Fourier likened his claimed discovery of the harmonious principle of human passions to Newton's discovery of attraction or harmony between material bodies. In order that man might attain this much desired harmony between his fundamental forces, which he characterized as social, animal, organic and material, he advocated communistic life with co-operative industry.

Fourier's fantastic psychological and cosmographical schemes are too complex to admit of a description here. He admitted that his views on the age of the world and his statement that it had thirty-three thousand more years to reach its prime, were immaterial to his system, but he urged the study of his twelve radical human passions with the great social passion, "Unitéisme." Fourier advocated the establishment of independent "phalanges," each covering a square league of land and being populated with four hundred families, or eighteen hun-

dred persons; the individuals of the community to band themselves into social units of less than ten persons, and about thirty such units to form a social series, all grouping in harmony with his principles of attraction and of "free elective affinity." The living abodes would all be under one roof, named the Phalanstère; officials would be elected, phalanges would combine into federations and ultimately there would be a world-wide federation with its great illustrious chief located at Constantinople, the Capital of the World. Here we see a strange mixture suggestive of an autocratic socialism.

Fourier was a staunch advocate of Communism, but he made provisions for some local and individual freedom. He admitted private capital brought under certain social control. Every member of each Phalanx should be granted the minimum of subsistence; the remainder of the total income of the Colony to be divided, distributing five parts to labor, four to capital and three to special talent. Fourier, therefore, had sufficient true vision to recognize inequality of talents, and he urged the prompt recognition and utilization of such talents for the public good. He also divided ordinary work into grades, paying the most for hard and menial labor, useful work next, and pleasant, congenial work would receive the least pay of all. This reminds one of Morris' Dustman or Garbage Collector, who figures in his Utopia as an exceedingly well and gaily dressed individual, a sort of Beau Brummel honored by the community. Fourier insisted that all individuals in each Phalanx should

have the opportunity of becoming capitalists, thus again showing a practical knowledge of many of the essential fundamentals of progressive and social life. Moreover, individual capital is perfectly mobile and the possessor of it obtains freedom of individuality, is independent of the possible tyranny of the majority, and can migrate to other Phalanges or travel at will. Fourier, in this respect, gives the communists of his day, and of the present and indeed all the adherents of Socialism, both Utopian and scientific, a good hard jolt and a much needed lesson. His ideas on marriage are free love, with the hope that free union would result in permanent marriages.

Thus throughout his ingenious and elaborate specifications and creed for an idealistic Utopia, are worked sane, practical thoughts and inane immoral ideas. His scheme is the most fantastical, inventive and thorough ever devised by human brain; it abounds in much that is worthy of study and emulation; much that is crude and chimerical, and much that is unworthy of any attention whatever. Fourier's life was spent in the working out and propagation of a better social order. Two attempts were made to establish Phalanges in France; several were attempted in our own country, but they all failed. We are told that during the last ten years of his life, Fourier waited in his apartment at noon every day for his wealthy philanthropic capitalist, who, his optimism convinced him, would appear to give the substantial backing which he always felt was alone necessary to prove

the practicability of his scheme to improve the conditions of mankind. No wealthy patron appeared and Fourier died "from sheer heartache because the world wouldn't listen to him."

CHAPTER X

Communism, Equalitarianism and Democracy in America

THE recently discovered New World of North America, with its new people from the Old World pledged to Democracy, and with its vast territory and immeasurable natural resources, was a veritable Utopia to the restricted and circumscribed communists of Europe, and a Land of Promise to all Socialists. It became the home of the "International," the harborer of the virtuous, passive and revolutionary socialists, and the retreat for Old World anarchists, whether of idealistic, incendiary or murderous intent. To this land, the original home of the Redskins, who for centuries had practiced communism, came all sorts and conditions of men, the bad and depraved, with the good and moral; and our country, shouting to freedom, became a melting pot of all nations, offering wide scope for the exercise of almost all human desires. During the Nineteenth Century North America was a most favorable setting for a great variety of picturesque attempts to realize social equality.

Jefferson, elected in 1800, had seen much service in France and was influenced by the Revolution. His persistent antagonism to Hamilton caused the formation of our two great surviving Political Parties. Jefferson was carried away with a perverted idea of equality; he refused to recognize

any differences in rank, and discountenanced the use of all titles; even "Honorable" and "Mr." were displeasing to him. He refused to ride in a coach to the Capitol for his inauguration, but walked, dressed in most ordinary clothes. His Cabinet, at his request, agreed that "when brought together in society, all are perfectly equal, whether foreign or domestic, titled or untitled, in or out of office." He effaced at his table and at receptions every form of class distinction. It is said that a Foreign Minister, appearing in the usual gold lace uniform to pay his respects and first official call on our President, was received with studied purpose by Jefferson in negligent undress and slippers down at the heel. Jefferson's attempt at "the equal life" in Washington was doomed to failure. The British Minister informed his Government that conditions were so degrading to the country he represented, and so humiliating to himself and family, that they had become intolerable. Jefferson, being antagonistic to Hamilton, who was friendly to the English, did not care for the British viewpoint and was not in sympathy with anything that emanated from Britain or a British subject. Although Jefferson was very French in his sympathies, yet his friend, the French Minister, wrote to Talleyrand protestingly saying that "All Washington was turned upside down." Jefferson's equality plan, however, was killed, not by foreign ambassadors, but because our own citizens treated it with ridicule and disdain. A change and a little novelty were amusing and not unwelcome, but when it became imbedded as a habit and a fixed

principle, they did not like it. The theories which Jefferson tried to force on a people and their foreign guests recall, somewhat, the recent sensational and so-called democratic utterances and practices of a Secretary of State. Such an attitude is not democratic, but the egoism of ignorance.

America, the land of equality and freedom, has seen many communistic experiments. These have been classified by Hillquit as:

1. Sectarian,
2. Owenite,
3. Fourieristic,
4. Icarian.

The "Sectarian" class is represented by the old "Shakers," whose first settlement was established at Watervliet in 1776. The Harmony Society or Rappist Community was introduced into Pennsylvania from Germany in 1804. Eleven years later they moved West to New Harmony, Indiana, and were bought out by the Owenites in 1825, returning to Pennsylvania and founding the village of Economy. Emigrants from Germany also founded the Community of Zoar in Ohio, in 1817, and the Amana or True Inspirational Society in 1842. Between 1844 and 1856, Sister Communities were established in Bethel, Missouri, and Aurora, Oregon; both were dissolved about 1880, and the Zoar Community kept up a lingering existence until 1898. A Colony was founded at Oneida in 1848 by Noyes, as a settlement for the Society of Perfectionists. It was maintained that "no intrinsic difference exists between property in

person and property in things; and that the same spirit which abolishes exclusiveness in regard to money would abolish, if circumstances allowed full scope to it, exclusiveness in regard to women and children.”

This outrageous creed calls to mind the story of John Graham Brooks: “I knew an apostle of unflinching equality, a French *égalitaire*, who was dedicated absolutely to his principles. The coat on his back, his writing desk and books, the wife with whom he lived, belonged, he claimed, as strictly to another as to himself. ‘The principle,’ this man said, ‘loses its greatness and its power over men if it is not harmonious and complete.’ The so-called scientific socialist roused his wrath ‘because they pick and choose,’ he said, ‘like the stupid Bourgeois, this or that fragment of equality, according to their taste.’”

Sectarian or so-called Religious Communities have always existed for much longer periods of time than attempts at communism founded on political and economic reform. If we review the spectacle of Dowie of Zion City dominating his semi-hysterical following with threats of hell and proffers of heaven, and if we consider how many inmates of Sectarian Communities are practically robbed of their individual property and held under control by the power of suggestion and an artificially created sense of duty and soul purification, we can understand why such communities have existed for fairly long periods of time, whereas every other type of Colony exploiting equality and the elimination of private property as a cold-blooded

economic reform, has been doomed to speedy failure.

The Owenite class of Settlements in this country was heralded forth with a blare of trumpets. Owen had the rare privilege of speaking two evenings in the Hall of Representatives in Washington. In 1826, with his American converts, he purchased New Harmony, Indiana, in the valley of the Wabash, paying \$150,000 for the Mill, houses, and thirty thousand acres of land. As soon as Owen commenced to enforce his theory of equal life, trouble and mutiny followed. The women claimed the boon of free and persistent speech; they positively objected to equality of dress and would not tolerate the style selected by the Managers. Even the most desirable men protested and the Communists organized a strike,—a splendid inaugural for a Utopia of Equality! Owen, who loved to be called “Our Dear Social Father,” was in reality a benevolent feudal lord over his Communities. Psychologically, he knew nothing of the working classes; he was an autocratic philanthropist with democratic creed and intentions. His way was the only way, his views did not admit of argument, and it never occurred to him that the poor people could think and act for themselves in their own way. Owen wrote of his people: “They are slaves of my mercy,” but he soon discovered that in America, under the sky of freedom, whereas human nature may be somewhat plastic, it refuses to lose its personality and become shaped to the desires and dictates of Owen or any other man, no matter how worthy he may be. Owen’s assertions

that New Harmony was to become a wonderful centre of learning interested Abraham Lincoln as a boy, and great was Lincoln's disappointment when his father refused him permission to go. Owen organized Socialistic Communities near Cincinnati and in other parts of Ohio, in Tennessee and New York State, but all had short existences and from the first were doomed to failure.

Albert Brisbane, a disciple of Fourier, was responsible for the introduction of Fourierist Communism into this country. The North American Phalanx was established in New Jersey in 1843. Many more were organized and whereas only two Phalanges were attempted in France, about forty were started in the United States. They all, however, soon became insolvent Utopias, for "human nature will not submit to have thrust upon it the externals of a literal equality."

The last class of Colonies exploiting Communism were the Icarians, established in harmony with the teachings of Etienne Cabet of France. Acting under the advice of Owen, fifteen hundred of his followers journeyed to Texas in 1848, but disappointments and failures followed them and in a year one thousand had deserted the Colony. The remainder split up into parties, forming new communities, but ultimately all the branches were dissolved.

The Jeffersonian clause in our Declaration of Independence that "All men are created equal," has at times given the greatest minds of this country much concern. Lincoln was goaded by statesmen, politicians and petty demagogues in his day and

had to admit that there was inequality between the negro and the white man; but that underlying all, there is a basis of equality, positive and impregnable. "There is," said he, "no reason in the world why the negro is not entitled to all the natural rights enumerated in the Declaration of Independence: the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. I hold that he is as much entitled to these as the White Man. I agree with Judge Douglas that he is not my equal in many respects—certainly not in color, perhaps not in moral or intellectual endowment. But in the right to eat the bread, without the leave of anyone else, which his own hand earns, he is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of every living man." And again in response to unfair questions of the astute, persistent Douglas, he said: "Anything that argues me into his idea of perfect social and political equality with the negro is but a specious and fantastic arrangement of words by which a man can prove a horse-chestnut to be a chestnut-horse."

If we consider mental resourcefulness and the development of the brain by usage, then the Caucasian race excels every other race which has not been subjected to similar conditions, for the White Man has had to work in cold, damp climates and either dominate his environment or succumb to its inexorable laws tending toward extermination.

The White Man claims not equality, but superiority, to all other races, but in regard to time, ethnology suggests that primitive man was black or dark brown, certainly not white. If we consider

ancestry and pedigree as a great factor in social life, then the Caucasians have not the aristocratic, pure lineage of the dark-skinned races. The Mongolian looks with tolerance upon the Whites, whom he ranks on a lower plane than himself; the Indian aristocrats of the high castes admit equality only with Caucasian Royalty, but claim great superiority to ordinary white men. The original Red Indians never felt inferior to the Caucasians, but they painted their devils white, and apparently with good reason. We often see members of the Negro Race, here in the North, ignorant and intolerant, filling the rôle of public servants and endeavoring to impress their self-importance on the Caucasians whom they patronizingly serve. The most condescending arrogance I ever saw was expressed by a Negro Pullman waiter to a cultured Chinese official, an Oriental aristocrat, who was travelling with his retinue of assistants and servants; toward the white men this pompous negro displayed superior indifference, but to the Chinese gentleman he assumed the rôle of a god.

Socialists may say that their creed of absolute social equality does not refer to all races of men, but what about the Owen and Fourier international schemes of Federated Communists? If the socialism of unqualified equality was real substance instead of an impossible, vaporous theory, then communists of mixed races, as well as of varied assortments of temperaments and capabilities, would be in order, for socialism in any form is but a positive revolt against any kind of inequality.

At the core of every socialistic aspiration is some conception of equality; in the heart and brain of every real individual is some protest against equality. Nature abhors uniformity and loves variety. As the world advances the greater become the extent and quality of variability. Huber tells us that he was able to distinguish the individual ants on the hill, each being different from its fellows. The uniformity of today is the variation of tomorrow; and man, the highest of all creations, is the most complex of all. Communists have discovered by bitter and expensive experience that mankind has great diversity, inequality of talents and tendencies, and we know that such differences deepen and broaden with progress and development. It is human nature "to shrink from monotony and rejoice in variation—a world in which none are better, braver, more gracious, more eloquent, or more masterful than others, presents a sorry spectacle to the imagination." If beauty became common it would be monotonous and there would be no beauty; if property was eliminated there would be no gifts; if surroundings were standardized there would be no inspiration and no poets; if men were all equal, we would all want to be farmers or loafers, carpenters or managers, and a community or colony would sink into oblivion with equal impetus, whether all were loafers or all managers.

Closely following the passion for wealth and an inequality of property is the wild search for genealogical evidence or bogus fabrications of ancestry, whose remoteness in the archives of the past inevitably tends toward the creation of an aura of

distinguished aristocracy; and so we have the modern mania for inequality in fortuitous birth. Even William Shakespeare's brilliant mind, with all its wonderful comprehension of human bigness and smallness, could not overcome his petty social aspirations. He strove to forget his humble birth, his wife at the tubs, and mingled with the Royalty and aristocracy of his day. Although comparatively poor, he became a "Social Pusher," and even bought for himself a bogus Coat of Arms.

Genealogical societies, professional genealogists—reputable enthusiasts and discreditable fakers—daughters and sons of this, that and the other, are all worshippers at the shrine of Heraldry, and tormentors of our Librarians. Brooks tells us of a Colonial dame, flushed with delight because on a great occasion in another city, her badge had given her showy precedence over certain Daughters of the Revolution who, at home, never failed to let her feel her social inferiority. She cried: "In all my life, no minute ever gave me a joy like that." And this is the malleable human nature that socialists would mold into common, equal shapes! Organizations of men, strutting like peacocks, with "grand," "sublime," "supreme" and "illustrious" titles, show that pleasure of apparent superiority is not confined to the female sex; the original inhabitants of this country or the aristocracy of African jungles and races beyond the archives of tradition never searched for feathers more assiduously than modern man, who socialists believe can be levelled to one plane of absolute, unswerving equality. The education of the typical American soci-

ety girl is planned with the sole idea of her making a good impression, rather than fitting her for life as a useful member of society; and the boy in school and college is urged by his ambitious bourgeois parents to cultivate the proper social connections. This land of democracy is a social travesty of equality and fraternity with a snobbishness of nothingness playing the leading burlesque rôle. With what thrills of joy the proud mother reports the presentation of her daughter to British Royalty, or the equally socially ambitious man of affairs tells his friend of the German Kaiser's visit to his yacht during his last trip abroad. Inequality is certainly embedded in the minds of prosperous Americans, and social inequality is evidenced by the servants of our homes who draw the lines of class distinction among themselves. The shop girls will not mix with domestics; we have heard of the dances of Boston Store attendants to which all shop workers were invited, but the doors were placarded, "No servants admitted." Governesses and nurses will not commingle or eat with a superior class of house workers, and ordinary servants at times refuse to eat at a common table with laundresses and other domestic workers.

With all this stratified division among the servants, we see a singular indifference to the proper environment for small children as shown by supposedly respectable parents. At the best hotels the very young children are denied the privileges of the parents' dining room, and are huddled into hot, stuffy quarters, near the kitchen and in company with all sorts of transient chauffeurs and per-

sonal servants. A mental and material Bedlam completes the picture of a communism depraving to the susceptible mind of a child. Not until some children arrive at the age of administering to the vanity of their ambitious parents, is their instinctive exclusiveness considered a virtue. These people are surely void of true culture and display heartless ignorance of the psychological needs of their children. The hotels will only continue this abuse of the rights of children so long as their parents are indifferent to their welfare; but unfortunately, the average wealthy American cares only for social distinction, and displays immoral indifference to the little ones until they are ready to parade before a world of lorgnettes. And what is this society of habitual classifiers that wealth and assumed aristocracy tend to make so exclusive? Surely not the aristocracy of intellect, genius, or of workers. True individualism is debarred and real workers disturb their equanimity. The existence of this society is a shameful reflection on its members; it has not the virtue of superiority, nor does it represent true class; but it harbors people who have drifted into the worship of false gods. Most of the members are worthy of better things and should assert their freedom from fettering social slavery and rise superior to insipid drones, whose mathematical training has been limited to the counting of dollars and whose history never went beyond the stage of farcical genealogy.

A generation of wholesome, successful workers in America is usually followed by a generation who ludicrously ape an aristocracy of birth, who spend

freely only to be followed by a third generation of squanderers and degenerates. Work, human sympathy and the soul in man, alone can prevent such flights after false gods with the resultant degradation. Inequality of man is a virtue when maintained and honored as the Creator intended it to be; but inequality is limited to inherent endowments, capabilities, intuition, human magnetism, physical size and appearance, soul longings and peculiar expressions of the spirit and equipment for the duties of life. Inequalities caused by man-raised barriers of exclusiveness built with the false stones of superiority of birth, accumulation of money or the power of oppression exercised over the weaker members of the race, lead to the condemnation by socialists of all inequalities.

CHAPTER XI

Inequality of Man—Nature's Repudiation of Socialism

TRUE individualism teaches the psychological and physiological inequality of created man, and it condemns with ruthless scorn the trashy, inhuman inequalities which are the product of an unspiritual, debased society, false at the core and arrogantly ignorant of all that is truly human, spiritual and eternal in man. The psychological inequalities are so great and manifold that men could not be equally comfortable with equal incomes, and the wealth of the country divided equally among all would make some rich and some poor. After such a division, many would in a short period of time be poorer than ever, some destitute, and soon would again be established the great differences between the extreme rich and the extreme poor. Our race develops principally by exceptions; pronounced and great individuality ensures progress. True individuality glories in its inequality, but it does not run riot; it is creative and co-operative and not destructive and avaricious. The inequality of true individualism will not lead to class consciousness of the masses, but to the worthy ambition of individuals to rise from one plane through work, development, and sheer merit, to a higher plane of human usefulness and productivity.

The doctrine of strict equality ignores the in-

equality of sex and the bi-polarity of nature. The sexes are positively dissimilar, and this does not imply the superiority of one or the other. The inherent characteristics and attributes of women are very different from those of men, yet one is the necessary complement of the other. Many women are born with masculine tendencies, and men with some feminine characteristics, but sex tendencies are quite marked and will always be so. The sexes are not identical, and though of equal merit, are unlike in traits and psychological functions, and are, therefore, examples of an inequality which pure Utopian Socialism should neither acknowledge nor permit.

We acknowledge political equality with our servants. We study their wants and personalities and endeavor in all ways to promote their highest interests, but for our social enjoyment and their own happiness they have their own quarters, their own meals, and are left free and unhampered, after their work and duties are faithfully performed, to follow their own individual desires in the pursuit of legitimate pleasure.

Discipline, order and the laws of organization and co-operation are the foundations of any true and creative individualism. True socialism demands equal pay for all kinds of work, whether dangerous, extremely difficult, physical or mental. Would the weary worker staggering under a load all day be satisfied to see a sitting door-keeper enjoy equal benefits with himself? Would the brainy engineer, who designs and supervises the building of a wonderful structure, be satisfied with

the same bed and board as is granted to the illiterate loafer who idles his time away each day? Could cooking be made of equal palatability to all, or will each stomach function acceptably on a common diet? No common kitchen can cater to individuals. The work one does, the food one eats, the surroundings one desires, the books one reads, the company one keeps, and the friends one makes, must all express the personality of the individual, and the development of these personal traits and inherent yearnings give that growth and power to the individuality which is suppressed and enchained by communism. It is difficult to get together a dozen congenial souls for a social dinner, and how can any one hope to open wide the doors of a community and permit all kinds of humanity to enter: the ascetic with the criminal, the religious fanatic with the materialistic atheist, the high-brow scholar with the lazy, unwashed and untruthful tramp, the virtuous, bigoted matron and the daughter of the streets, the intolerant Catholic and the prejudiced Protestant, the active worker of skill and ideals and the lazy, worthless parasite of industry? Can one imagine such a motley assemblage holding any promise of equality and joy of companionship as anticipated by the founders of Communistic Life? One who has seen much of the better grade of community life writes that a sweet pudding was enough to disturb the social equanimity of their Christian community and produce the sourest ferment of ill humor. "We all liked each other at first, as brother and sister should. But a very devil of ill will and suspicion began to show itself

in the second month, between Brother H. and Brother F. It began in a way so contemptible that I am ashamed to tell it. Brother H. had an ailing stomach and could not eat a certain sweet pudding served once a week. Brother F.'s great fondness for this dish so worked upon the feelings of Brother H. that he could not refrain from un-Christian remarks to those about him." Brooks says that in default of pudding Brother H. would have seized upon the soup, or the cut of the beard, manner of eating, too much or too little talking, gossip, jokes ill-timed, low vitality in one and buoyant health in another, humor here and lack of it there, romantic fervor in this member and in another only grey matter of fact. We all know how the passengers, and even the crew, on a ship grow weary of constant companionship during a long voyage, detest the common table, and with the Captain yearn for a change of social environment. The common tables at hotels have now generally vanished, and before them, rooms with several beds, giving rest at night to friends or strangers. The American plan with its table d'hôte is being replaced by the European à la carte service, whenever the diner can afford the charge, just as the separate dishes have replaced the old common dish of the Middle Ages.

Men and women destitute of poise or virility may enter a community based on some distorted precept of religion; they may for years live tractable, passive lives and function automatically on lines of non-resistance. Real men and women with character and personalities—true individuals—

refuse to have their bodies and souls so imprisoned. Bellamy in his "Looking Backward" could not get his people to inhabit his imaginative Utopia until he had numbed their faculties by the influence of a great, all-pervading religious revival which carried them off their feet in a frenzy of fanatical determination to enter the Promised Land. Many communists have been charmed with the pictured beauties of Utopian equality before they tried it; but after a period of experiment, the principle of Utopianism is to them a repugnant, inhuman vice, and their life, during the trial, like a bad dream.

One of the last fictitious journeys to an idealized socialistic country is told by Parry in "The Scarlet Empire." His imaginary land is a democratic Atlantis where the majority rule and the individual must implicitly obey. The law is based on the fundamental idea of universal equality; persons are numbered, not named; speech is limited; to decline to take medicine from the State physician is rebellion; all dress alike and eat the same food and all arise by bell and retire by bell at the same hour each day. Praying is required by law and the period specified; the State arranges all marriages, each for a period of three years; the fair marrying the ugly, and the large the small, in order to produce equality of offspring. Referring to inventions and progress, Parry says that with social democracy, which was the crowning achievement of the brain of man, the state of perfection was attained, and although the Department of Invention has produced no improvement of any

kind for centuries past, this alone is ample proof that the limit of invention and perfection has been reached. Each citizen was given a card with his number and official duties described thereon; the spy and police systems flourished, there being one inspector to every three citizens. Industry was at a standstill, time was not wasted on sculpture, paintings or any of the fine arts; the State controlled and directed the acts of all the people from the cradle to the grave, and the government did all the planning and thinking for them. Capital was a monopoly of the Government. Large fat men were given the same amount of food as small thin men, for equality must be maintained and the State is justified in rectifying the errors of nature.

Individuals with marked traits of character were the most dangerous delinquents in Atlantis, and atavism was punished by imprisonment and death; money was unknown and absolutely not one vestige of private property existed. To make men appear equal, every opportunity and means of acquiring superiority over others had been wrested from them and the race had degenerated to the level of our penitentiaries. Energy, ambition and ability had been stifled; sympathy, love and self-sacrifice were unknown and the spirit in man was numbed. Parry says that "Russia is a despotism of one man and his Bureaus, while State socialism is an ossified despotism of laws. In both, the individual possesses no rights which the State need respect." The children in Atlantis are placed in Public Nurseries, then into Institutions, where

disciplinary mills grind the children into docile subjects of the State and every act of the child must conform to a fixed standard. The policy of the workers was: "Let us shorten hours and no man perform any greater share of this labor than he can possibly avoid." Tasks were allotted by the spinning of the Wheel of Chance and the pace of work was set by the slowest. Parry, referring to the individualistic visitor to the Democracy, says: "You have inherited qualities of self-reliance and resourcefulness. In your blood is that determination that will conquer obstacles, and you possess confidence in the dictates of your own judgment and the power of your own right arm. Generations of men molded in the storm and stress of individual freedom, have bequeathed to you strength of character not to be found by any other means." Speaking of the citizens of the Social Democracy of Atlantis, he says: "Miserable wretches, with souls withered into nothingness, moving like automata through their aimless, barren lives, slaves to their laws! Was there ever before in all the universe a country where man-made laws had embalmed in mummydom an entire race?" Social democracy, infatuated with equality, took every vestige of independence from the individuals and the result was social petrification. Utopian socialism is now very seldom advocated as such, the "dream excursions" of unbalanced socialists are generally considered impractical as presented, but hundreds of thousands of socialists continue to believe implicitly in much that we have

herein discussed, although generally conceded to be impossible, untrue to life, and opposed to the spirit of progress and the highest interest, happiness and development of the individual and mankind. The old Utopian and the true communistic socialism upon which modern socialism rests, has been repudiated since the middle of the Nineteenth Century by the so-called Scientific School of Marx; but socialism with all its variety of branches, springs from the same trunk. Communists with their fanaticism and lack of knowledge of human nature, were in the main far more humane and charitable than the leaders of later day schools. The old Utopian leaders were generally lovable though misguided fellows, and their lives void of all anarchy or thought of violent revolution, are in many respects lives of self-renunciation, unselfish charity and sincere, earnest purpose. The aristocratic Saint-Simon, dying penniless and friendless, with shining face, uttered his last words: "The future is ours." Fourier said: "My heart breaks, for the world has refused to hear me." Owen's life was more turbid, sinking from exalted heights of hopefulness and assured success to deep despair. His last words to man were of joy that "relief has come."

"Their visions will not come to naught,
Who saw by lightning in the dark,
The deeds they dreamed will well be wrought
By those who work in clearer light."

CHAPTER XII

Socialists and Socialism

THE period of transition from Utopian Socialism to what has been termed, for many decades, "Scientific Socialism," is generally permeated with the thought and works of Cabet and Blanc of France and Weitling of Germany. The basis of this intermediate phase of socialism was not the brotherhood, justice and organized equality of the earlier imaginative Utopians, but rather a crude class doctrine, with an appeal to the laborer, as one suffering from injustice and oppression. Cabet, the author of a philosophical and social romance entitled "The Voyage to Icaria," wrote an imaginative story of a far away wonderland, an Elysium, a new terrestrial Paradise, where a communistic government prevailed and all enjoyed the full benefits of equality and co-operation. His appeal was to the working classes of France; and it is said that several hundred thousand joined his organized movement. But when the call came to journey to Texas and enter the Eden of the West, only fifteen hundred made the venture and their dream of a heavenly Utopia was soon dispelled. Cabet's life was spent in political intrigue and exile; he was alternately engaged in the attempt to organize Working Men's Communisms, and in defending himself in the Courts from the

attacks of his disappointed and disillusioned followers. He spent his last days in America, not in Texas, but in Illinois, with a small band of "The Faithful," and he died in St. Louis in 1856, having entirely abandoned his community life.

Wilhelm Weitling was a man of the people, born in Magdeburg, Germany, in 1808. He was a tailor by trade, but travelled extensively and gained knowledge of communism by reading a Fourieristic paper, and ultimately became an enthusiastic socialist, writing some books of real merit. Hillquit says: "In his Social Philosophy, Weitling may be said to be the connecting link between primitive and modern socialism. In the main he is still a Utopian and his writings betray the unmistakable influences of the early French socialists. Misery and poverty are to him but the result of human malice, and his cry is for eternal justice and for absolute liberty and equality for all mankind." His plan was to organize an attractive industry with three prime divisions of labor,—necessary, useful and attractive. He urged the working classes to form an Independent Labor Party; he dwelt upon the oppression and exploitation of the poor by the rich and his fantastical dreamland of the future was to be ruled, not by Kings or Presidents, but by a commission of the three greatest scientists of the world, supported by other similar committees of specialized experts. Weitling was exiled and came to America for a year, in 1846. He returned to Germany to participate in the Revolution of 1848, and after its failure he came back to this

country to conduct a futile but tireless propaganda, until he died in Brooklyn in 1871.

Louis Blanc was born in Madrid, of French parents, in 1811. He lived in poverty in Paris, studying law, and later, writing. His first famous essay, published in 1839, attributes all the evils that afflict mankind to the pressure of competition, whereby the weaker are driven to the wall. He urged, at first, variable wages for work, according to its value and importance, but later became a staunch advocate of the equalization of wage, maintaining that "Genius should assert its legitimate empire, not by the amount of tribute which it will levy on society, but by the greatness of the service which it will render." He writes of the joy of discovering knowledge, and affirms that exceptional endowments will always find development and a fitting reward in the exceptional service that they render to society. Blanc was an advocate of "Social Workshops"—a sort of combined, co-operative society and trade-unions, where the workmen in each trade were expected to unite their efforts for the common good. He became a member of the Provisional Government of 1848 and urged the Government to undertake the "guarantee of the existence of the workmen by work." He pleaded, unsuccessfully, for the formation of a Ministry of Labor, but only succeeded in being appointed on a Political Labor Commission that sat at Luxemburg. Blanc was caught between the relentless grindstones of parties, all more or less antagonistic to him, and he fled to Britain with

false passports after being shamefully maltreated. Blanc was a picturesque figure, a splendid orator, but a writer of politics rather than philosophy or economics. His experiment with National Workshops showed some promise, but ended a disastrous failure because of his political opponents, who craftily filled the shops with mob labor whom they intended to use for revolutionary purposes. He opposed, as early as 1839, the idea of Napoleonic restoration, predicting that it would be "despotism without glory—an empire without an emperor." He spent his last years in Paris, and died in 1882, after urging the abolition of the Presidency and the Senate of France. Louis Blanc was not a strong, fearless leader; he lacked in personal force and endurance, but he greatly influenced the socialism of the period. He saw most clearly that social reform as an end, could not be attained in his day with political reform as a means to that end. He urged a democratic government and the emancipation of the proletariat. The working classes should obtain, through government, the instruments of labor. If Blanc had to define what the State should be, he would reply: "The State is the banker of the poor." Blanc had to learn the lesson that the proletariat of the country districts were not in accord with the proletariat of towns and cities and that all were opposed to the working classes of Paris. Classes existed within classes. Blanc did not agitate revolution; he always avoided direct connection with it. He was a genial, amiable fellow, lacking in a certain sort of cour-

age and leadership, but always true to his principles.

Karl Johann Rodbertus, a German socialist, born in 1805, is considered by many to be the founder of Scientific Socialism. Rodbertus was a prosperous Prussian lawyer, a cultured and unobtrusive student who detested violence and agitation. He believed that society was gradually developing from a crude to a complete, attractive and wholesome state, and in this thought he expressed the law of evolution, maintaining, like a true Hegelian, that there are three prime stages in the economic progress of mankind: 1. Heathen period with property of human beings; 2. Period of private property in land and capital; 3. Period not yet reached with property dependent on service. He estimated that it would take five hundred years to reach this period of complete perfection. Rodbertus did not repudiate the Monarchic institutions of his country, and, whereas, he looked favorably upon social democracy, nevertheless he hoped that a German Emperor could be fitted to acceptably perform the functions of a Social Emperor. He maintained with Adam Smith and Ricardo, that labor is the source and measure of value. He objected to the Iron Law of Wages, but would safeguard the interests of all existing capitalists and landlords, maintaining that with proper laws, the workers could reap more and more the benefits of an increasing production and a rapidly gaining international wealth. He advocated that wages should be paid according to ability; and de-

sired that competition should be maintained, but supervised and controlled. The state should manage production and distribution and ultimately universal socialism would be realized.

It is interesting to note that socialism is not a fixed and clearly defined social creed. There is indeed no such thing as understandable socialism, for practically every leading socialist has a theory of his own looking toward the reconstruction of society. Socialism covers a field large enough to include, in some form or other, every social virtue and every social vice. One can draw a fairly accurate mental picture of true democracy, a limited Monarchy or a despotic autocracy revealing to us definite pictures of social existence under such forms of government. Even the Prohibition Movement gives us one fixed point to work on, but the Socialistic Movement gives us none. What is preached today is condemned tomorrow, and what Jones says is pure socialism, Smith, with ridicule, denies. Socialism is, therefore, in its true essence, but a protest against existing society, and although we do not feel honored with the much abused name, all true individualists and evolutionists are as truly socialists as the street corner orators or those learned individuals who write profusely and scientifically upon social conditions and imagine they belong to a revolutionary proletarian cult, named Socialism.

Socialism was a word coined by the advocates of Brotherly Love and Justice. It was intended to signify faith in the comradeship of man as the

basis of social existence; the expression of a great ideal, of man's loftiest and noblest aspirations; of harmony between men individually and collectively, and of that brotherhood which would eliminate all strife, discord, suffering and injustice. Such was Socialism intended to be; but it is now any theory or system of social reconstruction which requires a more equitable distribution of property and the fruits of labor. It may mean a form of the revolutionary spirit with a suggestion of anarchy and dynamite, and it is often used to describe any lawless, revolutionary scheme, as well as any revolt or political propaganda against inequality. Von Scheel has defined it as "the economic philosophy of the suffering classes"—the protest of the under-dog. It covers all schemes urged upon society to interfere with property, the idea being that such acts will be for the benefit of the poor. It includes the limitation of so-called individualism, popularly known as *Laissez-Faire* or let-alone-ism, in favor of the unfortunate or suffering classes, and it seeks to eliminate by pronounced acts or measures, the existent system of private property and free competition.

One advocate of a peculiar branch of socialism has said that socialism is not anarchy but order; that it is not communism but justice. Socialism of today generally discredits communism, whether it be of the old, new, idealistic, religious or economic type; therefore, socialism of the present looks with scorn upon the socialism of the past, and it is very probable that the socialism of the

future will be equally intolerant of the socialism of today.

When Marx and Engels wrote their Manifesto for an International Congress of working men, in 1848, they maintained that socialism was a decadent middle class movement and that the communism of Cabet and Weitling was a working class movement. Engels wrote: "As our own notion from the very beginning was that the emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself, there could be no doubt as to which of the two names we must take." Thus appeared the great and complete theoretical party program of the Proletariat under the name, "Manifesto of the Communist Party"; and ever since, the words communist and socialist have been at war. Marx condemned the socialists who were said to be communists, and the communists of Marx and his party, we are urged to regard as socialists and not communists—a mere transference of names.

Whatever we may call the social schemes of the past, it is nevertheless a fact that the modern phases of socialism were heralded forth conspicuously by Marx and Engels, who were the first to weld together the teachings of several of their predecessors into a real declaration and platform of what is now called by its advocates "Scientific Socialism." The Manifesto says that Communism (Socialism) is already acknowledged by all European Powers to be itself a power and that it is high time that Communists (Socialists) should

openly, in the face of the whole world, publish their views, their aims, their tendencies, and meet this nursery tale of the Spectre of Communism (Socialism) with a Manifesto of the party itself. Marx, who dominated his collaborator, Engels, was an autocratic leader who ruled his environment and followers with a prejudice, arrogance and power, at times very similar to that of the despotism which he despised in other rulers. Marx placed socialism firmly as a class struggle, taking his thought from the peaceful utterances of his socialistic predecessors; but he added passion, hatred, and threats to the movement. His Manifesto reads: "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open, fight, a fight that each time ended either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes. In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank. In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves; in the Middle Ages, feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs; in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradations. The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society, has not done away with

class antagonism. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression and new forms of struggles in place of the old ones. Our epoch, the epoch of the Bourgeois, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeois and Proletariat.”

After expressing his views and presenting his demands, Marx continues: “In short, the Communists (Socialists) everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things,” and he concludes his famous Manifesto with this battle cry of the Proletaire: “The Communists (Socialists) disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic (Socialistic) revolution. The proletariat have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries, unite!”

And what has all this bombastic harangue, this bitter and venomous denunciation of society, amounted to? Is it the living creed of the socialist today? Only to a limited extent, and it is daily becoming less potent. Does it express the belief of the working man of today? Positively not, for Marxism is discredited by the greatest Labor Parties and Unions in existence.

Marx was exiled from his country; he bitterly denounced all his "comrades in socialism" who expressed views different from his own. Although born a Jew, with his family he renounced the faith in early life, in order that as Christians their lives would have brighter prospects for material success void of race prejudices. Marx was a cold, uncompromising "Intellectual." His leadership was that of a scholarly, relentless, mailed fist—a spear that knew no brother. He died in London in 1883, a man without a country and with no friends among his mental equals, and with but a few acknowledged followers, although his name for a few decades was probably the greatest in the history of Socialism, and stands today for evolutionary and revolutionary socialism, based on a materialistic conception of the world and of human history. It seems rather incongruous that Marx, an acknowledged and admittedly great leader of Socialism, should be himself a pronounced Individualist, void of the true spirit of life. Marx never made any concession to the desires of others. He boasted that he never compromised. He trod his path in life alone; public opinion did not interest him. He seemed void of sentiment and had a tendency to welcome opposition so that he could have the satisfaction of crushing it.

There are many societarians in life who prefer the socialism of brotherly love and kindness of heart to the Marx socialism of class hatred and mechanistic, unloving and unlovable life. There is more true socialism in the individualism of altru-

istic humanity today than in the hideous, egoistic, so-called socialism of Marx, who preached a doctrine void of the spirit of love and true socialism and lived a life of arrogant, materialistic despotism. In his attitude and assumed power, Marx showed that very tyranny which had caused those social diseases, his surgical knife of revolution was heralded to cure, but if operating upon the Body Social, would have caused endless suffering, anarchy and useless violence. Evolution, the law of the universe, the law of creation and of perfection, will cure all social ills, and not the materialistic egoism of professed socialism as represented by Marx. The present has been born of the past, and by the sure working law of progressive evolution and ever advancing ideals, it will be "the parent of the future."

CHAPTER XIII

Social and Industrial Evolution

SOcial evolution is the law of gradual but definite development, from man's weaknesses, incompleteness and imperfections toward God's complete perfection. Spencer recognized the application of the law of evolution to all phases of human life, although he woefully failed to perceive and acknowledge the power which made law possible. There is the evolution of the physical body, of the mind and of society. Spencer says that by evolution we pass "from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite, coherent heterogeneity." If we analyze society we find it to consist of an amazingly large number of groups of specialized interests with peculiar individualities dominating the groups. Such a condition demands that mutual confidence exists between groups or individuals, for specialization undoubtedly necessitates interdependence. And so today society is approaching the finished product of evolution described by Spencer as "coherent heterogeneity."

This social condition is not obtained through the medium of much agitated socialism, but by socialization with true individualism. Evolution demands a changing condition until perfection is reached. The human race is undoubtedly a long way from perfection and we can unhesitatingly assert that the social condition of life prevailing today will not

obtain but will become overwhelmingly improved in some epoch of the future. As the world is in a very variable state of development, each race, nation or class must experience its own peculiar progression. Evolution, therefore, protests against that absolutism which advocates a uniform policy for all peoples, and against perpetualism which teaches that the same condition will apply for all time.

The evolution of society has resulted in a gradual differentiation of the constituents of society and a gradual interconnection of such withdrawing units. It has been said that separation and apartness increase with every step of social growth, but this is only partly true. Evolution and the progress of civilization drive men apart as individuals and weld their work into one great chain of achievement. A large number of men may be seated in a hall expressing their views on a local matter. These men may later be scattered in all parts of a vast land. Here we have an illustration of prime communism changed to extreme individualism. Suppose now a huge and persistently automatic switchboard were placed in the hall and each man connected to it and to each of his fellows by wires which carry the full expression of each individuality to each colleague; is not this expressive of a broadening life of usefulness, not through socialism but through the socialization of true expansive and effective individualism? Herbert Spencer was duped by socialism and just before his death he wrote in horror that "Socialism will triumph inevitably in spite of all op-

position and its establishment will be the greatest disaster which the world has ever known." He added, in his gloom of despondency and pessimism: "Sooner or later it will be brought to an end by military despotism." We have been told that socialists, the world over, were overjoyed at this admission from their arch enemy. Spencer's mentality was wonderful, but his spiritual eye-sight was wofully bad. The socialism that was a nightmare to Spencer was but a creation of his own mind; a pure fiction of his imagination.

As time advances, such an era of social retrogression becomes more remote. Military despotism is now on trial and the great European War will most probably do much to rob militarism of its fangs and despotisms of their power. The worst dream of the violent social revolutionist is an innocent diversion as compared with the barbaric horrors and senselessness of war, promulgated by a few and made the curse of the many. It has been said that the Marx and Engels theory of social evolution, called by its adherents "Scientific Socialism" is based on the theory that in every historical period the social, intellectual and political life is determined by the prevailing economic conditions and that in the future, the economic conditions will be such as to necessitate inevitably a socialistic organization of society. But where is the argument here for revolutionary socialism and the elimination of private property? Why should such an hypothesis array the poorer factions of the laboring class against all other classes of their fellows? If the

poorest of all men have been raised from chattel slavery to serfdom, thence to villeins and later to free-men, and are now all free-men advancing with political freedom and equality to still higher and higher planes of usefulness and power, do not these historical facts prove an acceptable working of the law of evolution? Marx's theory of social evolution is simply a nail driven by bigoted Teutonism on which to hang a coat of revolution and around which to rally a mob of law-transgressing malcontents. Evolution is the expression of the law of universal growth and development; it is the expression of the Cosmic Spirit of life; rob it of its soul as Marx and other socialists have done and nothing is left but a jellied, unspiritual mass which you may call what you please and mold to your heart's content; for it is robbed of all virtue and is no longer a law.

Some socialists maintain that as capitalism displaced feudalism, and feudalism succeeded slavery, so will socialism take the place of capitalism which is supposed to be the dominant power of today. But capitalism has really existed from the days when men first made a positive leap toward progress. In the days of primitive communism, the best weapons, fetishes and knick-knacks of value to the individual became private property, had negotiable value and were therefore the forerunners of capital. The communistic wars brought captives that had at first a value as food, then a more economic value as slaves. If a slave was put to work, his surplus product enriched the tribe and his labors relieved members of the tribe of certain duties and

permitted an extended scope for their inherent energies. Leaders, chiefs and kings of the early communistic tribes enjoyed peculiar benefits from the accumulating wealth; and the tribal distribution of its wealth was not unknown. Aristotle said that only by the invention of machines would the abolition of slavery be made possible, and in ancient Greece there existed a semi-communism of a high caste, with culture, art and a love of philosophy resting upon a lower class of slave labor. The Semitic Nomads accumulated wealth in a negotiable form by the breeding of domesticated animals, and by agricultural pursuits. Tribes and families acquired lands and held them by the right of occupation. Individual ownership of land and a monetary system came with the further advance of the power and civilization of man; and thus private property, private ownership of land, private production and exchange, and capital with slave labor became the great economic factors of antiquity. Chattel slavery died in Roman times because it ceased to be profitable; the labor of freemen, because of tradition, was regarded as a degradation. Slaves and the free proletariat were scattered broadcast and there came into existence that feudalism which was the essential politico-economic system of the Middle Ages.

The theory of feudalism has been called "The divine right of kings." God owns all the earth, a king took as large a slice of it as he thought his power could hold, and proclaimed himself the Viceregent of God, the chosen representative of

the Most High. The King then divided his land among Barons according to their strength, wealth and following, and this, their allotted domain, they had to rule over and defend; and for this favor from the Lord's anointed, they paid tribute by military service and money. Then the Barons pursued the same tactics and divided the land among the lesser Nobles, receiving tribute in exchange for land and protection. These Nobles divided the land among Freemen who paid rent; and the real work on the land was performed by the serfs, who paid for their keep and the right to live by rendering service directly to their immediate employers. Thus we have five prime classes composing the economic framework of feudalism—excluding God, who also is said to have created another somewhat similar scale of values and human importance classified as Ecclesiastical. The serf maintained himself and family in an independent home; he possessed some rights, could perform labor for himself, had really land of his own and was generally permitted to spend as much time on it as on the Freeman's Manor land. Marx maintained that from these serfs sprang the chartered Burghers of the earliest towns, and from these Burgesses the first elements of the Bourgeoisie were developed.

The feudal state was a self-dependent, industrial whole. Free laborers were in evidence as handicraftsmen or peasants who worked for wages wherever their services were required. These handicraftsmen were specialized workers who sold or

bartered their product. They formed themselves into guilds which later became their labor unions, masters and protectors. The guilds were strong enough to defy the dictates of the feudal barons and thus we see in the Middle Ages, the combats of capital and labor.

Later came the machines and the industrial revolution. The workers of the guilds were inadequate to either work the machines or to compete with them. There was a persistent call for labor to feed the wonderful product of mechanistic art that would do the work of hundreds of handicraftsmen. "Labor and very cheap labor," shouted the exploiters. "Women, children, inmates from our Charity Homes can do this simple work." The cities could not supply the demand; the country was combed for labor and the poor were enticed to the industrial centres. The wheels of machinery were making history, bringing property to their owners and degradation to the workers. No wonder that the Luddites of Britain rose in frenzied wrath to crush the relentless machines that were making slaves of Britain's working classes; and it is not surprising that a critic of the day wrote in scorn: "The spectacle of England buying the freedom of the black slaves by riches drawn from the labor of her white ones, affords an interesting study for the cynical philosopher."

Marx maintains that the Bourgeoisie is the great and only powerful class arrayed against the proletariat. He states that the Bourgeoisie came into power by revolution and the overcoming of feu-

dalism with its "divine right" Aristocracy.—"It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervor, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy waters of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value and in place of the numberless, indefeasible chartered freedom has set up a single, unconscionable freedom. In a word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation." It is very evident that Marx and Engels had absolutely no love or hope for the Bourgeoisie. They desired the overthrow of Bourgeois supremacy and would abolish all private property. Would they advocate the destruction of the property of the poor, hard-working peasant or petty artisan, property that had been hard won, self-acquired and self-earned? To such a question they answered in the negative; yet of such stuff is Bourgeois property made, and in every self-owned abode and peasant's hut lies the germ of the capitalist. The condemned Bourgeoisie are the villeins or serfs of old and the slaves of antiquity, and the proletariat dares to condemn a class that has risen by sheer hard work and merit from slavery to freedom.

The employer of labor, the makers and users of capital, are named Bourgeoisie, but in the great industrial revolution they are the dominating spirits that have invented machines and have overcome the decaying feudalism of the times with their wonderful genius and all-creative, progressive ability.

They are not necessarily the Middle Class, concerned in trade, as the name implies, but rather the offspring from the most humble proletariat homes. Richard Arkwright, the inventor of the spinning frame, and later a capitalist, and the creator of the modern factory, was born in poverty, the youngest of thirteen children, and he grew to manhood without any education. J. T. Lincoln wrote of Arkwright: "Fate was in a jesting mood when she decreed that the chief actor in that remarkable social drama, the industrial revolution, should be a penny barber; and we wonder if the governing classes appreciated the irony when, twenty years later, in recognition of his genius, the barber was raised to the honor of Knighthood." We wonder if the proletariat of the day were pleased that one of the many born in poverty without any admitted avenue of escape, should raise himself by merit to be the handler of capital and the ruler of men. James Hargreaves, a poor weaver, invented the spinning jenny; James Watt, a poor boy thrown on his own resources, invented the modern steam engine; George Stephenson, the father of the steam locomotive and modern railway, was a cowherd and could not read until he was well over eighteen years of age; Howe, amidst poverty and distress, invented the sewing machine; Columbus, a poor wharf-hand at Genoa, had the vision of a land beyond the seas; without any money or influence, but by his very persistency, he won listeners to his wild dreams, the realization of which ultimately did so much to change the

social and economic conditions of the world. To realize his ambition, Columbus had to persistently overcome obstacles, and none were greater than the mutiny of the proletariat crew against an individual member of their own class. The founders of great American fortunes have been poor boys; great inventors of all lands have generally been born in very humble circumstances, and yet these wonderful lives of success and power, the expression of eternal progress and the instruments of universal evolution are called by socialists—Bourgeois, the hated exploiting class. The Proletaire, who exercises his inherent forces and strives to subjugate nature, or the one who uses thrift and by economy and complete use of his endowed forces, earns independence or the power to employ others in business ventures for the good of mankind—what are they? They are the benefactors and leaders of the human race. Not merely depraved Bourgeois as designated by the farcical doctrine of Marx. A successful poor man who rises in the world is a hated Bourgeois; an unsuccessful poor man who remains poor because of small skill, or may be because of laziness or indifference, is known as the poor, abused Proletariat. Abused by whom? By his successful co-workers, of course, who rise to independence. Socialists claim no longer that the titled aristocracy, the favored of privilege, the decadent remains of “divine right” feudalism, are the oppressors of the Proletariat. No, they ignore such a self-evident useless class, but must admit that the poor boys

who rise by sheer merit are the Bourgeoisie that their inane doctrine so ruthlessly condemns.

We must not minimize the horrors of the early days of the Industrial Revolution. As there have been mad rushes for gold in our own country with the law on the side of him who had the best gun, the surest eye and the quickest hand, so in the early days of factory individualism, men vied with each other in a mad rush for profits from the capital invested in sheds and machines, in the acquiring of greater world markets, and the possession of gold and the power that goes with it. To obtain selfish, material success, they abused the bodies and benumbed the souls of their workers; and as little children could be obtained from Poor Houses and Asylums, they were transferred into industrial slavery under the false guise of apprenticeship. The condition of labor became so depraved, so loathsome that for many long years no pen could describe the full horror of its debasement and misery. Conditions have, however, gradually but surely improved and today industrial conditions in Great Britain, parts of Continental Europe and America are as good as they were once bad. This improvement has been made, not by threats, violent revolution, or the preaching of socialism, but by reforms from within, by a broader and truer conception of life, and by calm vision and clear working conscience following the first false and inhuman passion for wealth at any cost.

CHAPTER XIV

Socialism and Class Distinction

THE "Scientific" Socialistic demands of 1850, heralded as the platform of the "Communist League," although written by Marx and Engels, as individuals, are supposed to represent the views of international, organized workmen. They can be briefly summarized as follows:

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
2. A heavy, progressive, graduated income tax.
3. Abolition of all rights of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralization of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a National Bank with State capital and an exclusive monopoly.
6. Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state.
7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state, cultivation of waste lands, and improvement of the soil in accordance with a common plan.
8. Equal liability of all to labor. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
9. Combination of agricultural and manufacturing industries. Abolition of the distinction be-

tween town and country and a more equal distribution of population.

10. Free education for all children. Abolition of child labor in factories. Combination of education with industrial production.

Some of the tenets of the decalogue of the Communist Manifesto have solid worth; some of the suggested revolutionary reforms are now realized facts, obtained not by revolution, but by that calm, but sure-working law of evolution. Many of the planks of the socialist's platform are retrogressive, opposed to the trend of advancing civilization. In a nutshell, Marx's socialism is but the Proletariat Rule over the classes of the higher forces of industry, culture, genius, leadership, art and science. It is the rule of poverty over wealth, laziness over activity, drudgery over work, hate over love, materialism over spirituality, failure over success, and man's stupid creed of inertia and regression opposed to the Creator's plan of evolution with positive advance toward perfection. Marx aspires to overthrow all Bourgeois society with its classes and class distinctions, and he suggests the substitution of Proletariat rule which he describes as an association "in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

There can be no free development of each in any land of socialism. A proletariat revolutionary success would be brief and of no virtue. One organized class authority cannot replace another with the total destruction and elimination of the

overthrown. Marx's creed savors of the militarism of Central Europe and his mind has been warped by prejudices and association with a knowledge of the instruments of force. True socialism in human love and comradeship can never be realized by force or by the formation of classes and the preaching of class consciousness. After all there is only one prime class in the world, and that is humanity; only one political class, and that is the people, call them what you will.

The three Mediæval Estates of Lords Spiritual, Lords Temporal, and the Commons have been added to by many, some creating a fourth estate for the Mob, the Proletariat, or even the Press; but the spirit of the day is eliminating classes and not adding to their number. Spiritual Lords are relics of enchained intellects and represent a period when the true religion of the universe, the spirit of Christ, was denied men by a Hierarchy of pride and ostentation. Temporal Lords—the "Divine Right" rulers of chance, autocracy and despotism, are rapidly fading from sight and being replaced by democracy or the rule of the people. The third estate is that of the commoner; it is represented by all true Americans, and will be the great surviving class of the world. It is the people; the fitting reply of the Creator to all the class antagonisms of the Old World. Men will for their own pleasure and usefulness divide themselves into groups of congeniality, but there will be no classes, no proletariat and no bourgeois; our only aristocracy being that of the intellect, of human kindness and

of the expressions of the Eternal within the soul of man.

In this land of freedom, of political equality and democracy, the solvent of all class consciousness is education. By embracing the opportunities today for acquiring knowledge, the children of the Proletariat can fit themselves to occupy those positions of importance that had been closed to their parents through lack of education. If there is an imaginary Bourgeois class today, it does not dwell in an armed, walled city, but in the open, without moats to cross, walls to scale or gates to force. It invites the humblest boy, the progeny of the poorest Proletariat; and education with democratic opportunity is battering down the confining barricades of Proletarianism that Marx and his School have worked feverishly and devilishly to erect in anger and fortify in hate.

The "Scientific Socialists" care naught for social reform, social democracy, or any movement that tends to overcome a wrong with good, if such a movement springs from any other party than their own.

Wilhelm Liebknecht, one of the greatest followers of Marx, in 1899 said: "Socialism cannot conquer and redeem the world if it ceases to believe in itself *ALONE*. On the ground of the class struggle we are invincible; if we leave it we are lost—the strength and the power of socialism rests in the fact that we are leading a class struggle." Liebknecht has talked a great deal in his life of agitation and stirring propaganda for the socialism that is nothing but class hatred. He

preached "No compromise" with any humane, well meaning political platform or creed of unselfish love,—“He that reaches out the hand to us for a political alliance and intrudes himself upon us as a friend and brother—him and him only have we to fear.” Is it not an admission of the whole inconsistency of such a socialism, that they can only maintain themselves as a Party by preaching class consciousness and ignoring all the finer attributes of human nature? We can turn a favorite saying of the German socialist back on himself and say: “One who feels at heart that he is in the wrong, makes up for the weakness of his case by violence of speech.” The Marx-Liebkecht School of Socialism says that scientific socialism is the child of Bourgeois or capitalist society and its class antagonisms. It is a class struggle for victory, not ethics. Socialism, they add, is not pity for poverty, enthusiasm for equality and freedom or recognition of some social injustice and a determination to remove it. They also say that condemnation of wealth and respect for poverty, even the forcible equalization plan, advocated by Babœuf, of the equalitarians, is not socialism. “No,” they proclaim, “Our party rests upon the class struggle as the prime condition of its existence.” No matter how many millions of followers the Marx School of Socialism boasts today, with their determination to attempt to form a political party out of the discouraged, depraved, unambitious and revolutionary, the lazy and the great unwashed of life, and oppose with such a party, the true workmen of the world, the self-respecting, ambitious mechanics,

the mentally poised, skilled and unskilled workers, the independent artisans, the managers and stockholders of industry, their efforts will all be in vain; and such a party void of true ideals and spirituality and showing an utter lack of the knowledge of evolution, will go down in history recorded as of no more importance than the Luddite riots and the march of Coxey's army.

The aristocrats for centuries combined with the Commoners to defeat the rising Middle Class. It has been said that the aristocracy rallied the common people to their standard, offering them only a Proletariat alms bag, and all that joined were branded on their hindquarters with the Feudal Coat of Arms. They are accused of objecting to the rise of the Bourgeoisie, which would cut up, root and branch, the old mediæval order of society, but that their real hatred was against the Proletariat. "They always stooped to pick up the golden apples dropped from the tree of industry, and to barter truth, love and honor for traffic in wool, sugar, etc." "Christian Socialism," says Marx, "is but the holy water with which the priest consecrates the heart burnings of the aristocrat."

Long before the days of Marx or of Owen, the aristocracy of the earth had become "polluted by trade and industry" and the aristocrats or the upper plane of existent society joined with the middle classes and the rising Proletariat in the exploitation of those machines which revolutionized industry. Without the support of aristocracy, the Industrial Revolution would have been delayed, and in the scramble for wealth and more wealth, the

titled aristocrats, the upper and lower middle class, the Jew and the Gentile, the guild master, journeyman, petty Bourgeois and the workmen of every class, vied with one another, all engaged in a mad rush for gold and the power its possession would give. The aristocrat met the Proletariat, original capital met brains, and the battle resulted in the equalizing of classes. The trophies won have been, almost without exception, gained by the poor workers and thinkers, the humble Proletariat. The poorest families of England have given birth to titled peers; the humblest boys of America have become capitalists, masters of industry, and the Presidents of our Republic of Democracy. How can we have class consciousness when there is no class, and when the fortunes of all men, when viewed from a distance, may vary like the weather, sometimes fair, sometimes stormy. There is no one class today that cannot enjoy the sun and house themselves against the storm. Man with purpose and with passion to develop himself according to his inherent ability, eliminates all class consciousness and walks as a god among gods and not as a cringing, old-time Proletariat, a veritable Ishmael. There is too much love in the world today, too much soul, to permit any victories to be won by class socialism.

The Proletariat Movement was not a class movement conceived and engineered by the down-trodden poor; all such pernicious doctrines have originated in the minds of members of the so-called middle and upper classes, and many of them have been ambitious to right wrongs in a way that would

give great fame and power to themselves. Marx was the son of a successful lawyer, and received a university education at Bonn and Berlin. He received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and intended to become a college professor. His wife was of the aristocracy of both Britain and Germany. Many astute workmen branded Marx as an "Intellectual," void of true human feeling, and he never reached the hearts of the Proletariat he desired to lead to revolutionary victory. Engels was the well educated son of a prosperous German manufacturer. He studied labor conditions in England, wrote well, was never of the working class, and like Marx, had practically no power with the British Proletariat. Ferdinand Lassalle was the son of a very prosperous merchant in Breslau, Germany, and like both Marx and Engels, was a Jew. Lassalle was a university man, and while posing as the Messiah of the poor, was really an aristocrat of decidedly fashionable and luxurious habits. His suppers were well known as the most extravagant in Berlin, and his biographer writes: "It was the most piquant feature of his life that he, one of the gilded youth, a connoisseur in wines, and a learned man to boot, had become agitator and the champion of the working man." Lassalle was mixed up in a scandal with Countess Hatzfeldt, who was separated from her husband. He was killed in a duel brought on by a love affair with the daughter of a Bavarian diplomat. Lassalle's greatest difficulty in his two and a half years of socialistic propaganda was with the workmen themselves, for among them he met with discour-

aging apathy. He succeeded, however, in starting a definite socialistic movement in Germany, although he really cared nothing for the Proletariat; his dream was to be enthroned as the President of the German Republic, and the people were merely the means by which he sought to reach his goal.

Rodbertus and Saint-Simon were aristocrats; Blanc was born of aristocratic parents, but being reduced to poverty, he felt his condition keenly and fought against the oppression of poverty with a sincerity which was later influenced by politics. Morris was an æsthetic, an emotional, artistic temperament, yearning for beauty in things and in the men who dotted his landscapes and frequented his homes. At heart, he loathed the Proletariat, and the poor had so little love for him that they practically drove him from their midst. Owen was ultimately a capitalist and a philanthropist, but he was born of very humble stock; he served for several years in a Dry Goods store behind the counter and started in business for himself on a borrowed capital of five hundred dollars. Owen is a case of a Proletaire forced to work when nine years old, borrowing money at eighteen years of age and becoming a capitalist and a most successful one. But even Owen, risen as he was from the ranks in those days of great prejudices, found it extremely difficult to win the confidence of his workers when he moved as a capitalist from Manchester to New Lanark and married the daughter of the proprietor of the Scotch Mills.

The working classes have had good reason to be

skeptical of socialistic agitators, and even of unbalanced reformers who, with their feet off the solid ground, dramatically preach an equality which the least intelligent of the masses know cannot exist among themselves or between themselves and their employers. To preach and act political freedom, liberty of conscience and free use of the ballot, is sense which appeals to any man with blood in his veins; but to declare for absolute equality of all mankind, as many socialistic business organizers have done, is to censure God for his creation, burlesque life, and undo all the good that a well-poised policy of love, brotherhood and justice would create.

Godin, who owned the greatest foundries of North France, carried equality to a ridiculous extreme. He lived in the same buildings with his workmen, but in the theatre he had seats apart and reserved for himself and his family. Did the workmen appreciate the equality theory and philanthropy of their master? Not at all. A workman discussing the communistic atmosphere of the foundry, said: "Godin was true to his principle up to a certain point, but we never liked it that he did not watch the play from seats with the rest of us." Workmen do not relish paternalism. They may talk socialism, but at heart they are individualists; they love their own selected social circles, they crave exclusiveness at times as do all real men. A certain type of well meaning employer is as obnoxious to a workman as a lazy tramp is to the capitalist. Workmen advance by the expression of their individualism. They ask not for charity,

worldly philanthropy, paternalism; they can take care of themselves, they desire to be independent. They do not want what does not belong to them; all they ask for, and diligently strive for, is justice. Class agitation to the true worker is a battle cry of revolution, aimed not at the aristocracy, capitalist or Bourgeois, but directed at himself, threatening all that is inspiring within him and aiming at the veritable motive forces of his soul, which through the ages have been leading mankind beyond class distinction to the highest realm of knowledge and humanity and to the subjugation of nature and the thorough enjoyment of nature's bounties.

CHAPTER XV

Socialism and Competition

SOcialism is so indefinable that each learned advocate presents new conceptions that his associates generally repudiate. We have heard that socialism is a collectivism which excludes private possession of land and capital and places them under social ownership in some form or other. Schäffle said: "The Alpha and Omega of Socialism is the transformation of private, competing capitals under a united, collective capital." Janet goes further and states that socialism is "every doctrine which teaches that the state has a right to correct the inequality of wealth which exists among men and to legally establish the balance, by taking from those who have too much, in order to give to those who have not enough; and that in a permanent manner and not in such and such a particular case, as, for instance, a famine or a public calamity." Laveleye believes that socialism is an equality but not a revolutionary movement, and he says: "In the first place, every socialistic doctrine aims at introducing greater equality in social conditions, and in the second place, at realizing these reforms by the law and the state." We are now reaching more humane definitions of socialism, quite different in their essence from the bulldozing, intolerant class doctrines, charged with Prussian militarism run riot. Adolf

Held said: "We may define as socialistic every tendency which demands the subordination of the individual will to the community." This is an extremely broad conception of socialism, for it is one of the prime tenets of that true individualism which feels that society and the individual are interdependent and that both exist for the good of the other. Individualism, however, demands, and is determined to have fair play and justice in its dealings with the body social.

Roscher, the German economist, defined socialism as "those tendencies which demand a greater regard for the common weal than consists with human nature." Roscher, therefore, unconsciously affirms that true socialism or societarianism is the expression of man's highest self. Would that we could find a word to express the heart-interplay and co-operation of individuals, that has not been so hopelessly abused as "Socialism." Expansive individualism as evidenced by man, actuated with the ultra-rationalism of the true spirit of life and progress, is true socialism. Here we obtain a picture diametrically opposed in every respect to that of the repugnant, revolutionary Proletariat imaged by Marx and permeated with a class hatred that could never be real. The Roscher conception of socialism could not become a political movement, for it is an ideal, an attitude void of political power or aggrandizement.

Socialism, notwithstanding its boast of millions of votes cast in its behalf per annum, is such a variable doctrine that its measurement by votes means but little in the real trend of social prog-

ress, year by year. It is only a theory and has never gained and held any genuine, practical footing in life. It represents today a mass of hypotheses presented to mankind in myriad forms for his consideration, with at times much soap-box oratory, blare of horns, fanatical literature, revolutionary agitation, veiled threats or sincere and earnest intellectual propaganda.

But what can the busy man of today know about socialism? If he reads the books of A, he feels that he is almost an authority on the subject. In a desire to obtain possibly a trifle more amplification of the subject, he reads the writings of B, and instantly all his knowledge of socialism becomes negative. The works of C and D are digested and socialism becomes a maze of contradictions, a mass of individual Utopian ravings, with Marx shining forth here, Fourier there, Rodbertus, Lassalle and the Fabians parading across some pages, and rambling, incoherent nothingness permeating the whole. The student is apt to see in the true democracy and social reforms evidenced by evolution, the path to perfection that impractical socialism can never realize. Most socialists of today affirm that socialism is an uncompromising rejection of the economic optimism implied in the historic doctrine of "Laissez-faire." It is, therefore, a repudiation of the doctrine that gave America her true liberty and independence and has raised thirteen little colonies to the largest and proudest, compact nation on earth. It denounces the Jeffersonian spirit of democracy which found its noblest expressions in our "Declaration of Independence"

and in splendid Virginian reforms. Socialism arrays itself against the overthrow of feudal and ecclesiastical oppression; it stifles genius and discourages merit; and carried further back, we see that it must, if consistent, urge the return of all social life to an existence of mere, primitive communism, much as the modern socialist would repudiate this logical conclusion.

The doctrine of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries was not so much the doctrine of "Let-us-alone" as it was a doctrine of "Give-us-a-chance." Liberated from spiritual and temporal oppression, with reasoning powers and knowledge of life deepened by the printing press, men, figuratively speaking, strained in the leashes of traditional mind impressions and class consciousness, and then at the call of the Spirit of Life, leaped to their opportunity. To such men is due the homage of the world. These are the real individuals, overcomers of emasculated traditions, kings of initiative, prophets and seers, who perceived needs and not only left their imaginative impressions for oncoming generations, but jumped into the fray and with the work of hands and brains, advanced the world in that knowledge which begets true civilization and carries humanity nearer its ultimate goal.

The doctrine of "Laissez-faire" is opposed by modern socialism because, we are told, it aims at the least possible interference with industrial competition, between persons individually and groups of collective individuals. Competition is the virility of life, the heart-blood of progress, the builder

of civilization, and the underlying cause of all greatness, genius, success and prosperity. Competition, unrestrained, will do harm the same as charity or faith exercised without control. The American who told his fellow citizens, who endeavored in vain to regulate his selfish aggressiveness, "The public be d—" was not an individualist, but an autocratic anarchist, and many of this class were produced in Britain in the first half of the Nineteenth Century, and in our own country during the latter half of the same century. Collectivism would rob life of both zest and progress. We hear the shout today, "Competition is hell"; so it is if unrestrained, but so are many other qualities that make up life. Competition keys one up to play the real part in life for which he is fitted; it carries with it recognition, not of chance, fortuitous birth, push or pull or social procedure, but it gives a clear track ahead and a fair track for all. Each individual should be sportsman enough to cry "Let the best man win," instead of complaining that he is handicapped because of one or a hundred and one peculiar reasons which, when analyzed, are generally the outcome of laziness, selfishness or depravity on the part of the complainant.

The law of evolution demands the Survival of the Fittest in life and the development of powers according to usage. Edmond Kelly was converted to a form of socialism different from that of all other propagandists, and thus added one more species to befog the movement; but in his book of "Twentieth Century Socialism," written just prior to his death in 1909, he says: "One

reason why communism has been discarded by the Socialist Party is that generations of competition have so molded human nature that it is extremely probable that production would suffer were it suddenly eliminated." Another authority has stated that man should have all he earns and not be deprived of it by the thriftless or vicious, as under the communism of earlier times. Such statements undermine the doctrine of socialism's opposition to competition and its unqualified endorsement of equality.

But perhaps this gelatinous, sociological farrago is intended to be a panacea for all the individual's social ills and prejudices. To one who hates competition, it can refer to authorities who decry every phase of competition. To one who longs for absolute equality, it can find many accepted socialistic leaders who preach equality. If an unbalanced ragamuffin wants to look forward to a day when the wealth of the world will be divided equally among all men, socialism can even accommodate him with a somnolent hope from the allurements of writers whom active workers long ago repudiated.

As soon as workers commenced to own their own homes, rise to respectability, and assert the equality of nobility of lives and soul, the socialist of the school of equal division of wealth found it expedient to back-peddle on a doctrine that would result, not in adding to a working man's small accumulated wealth, but according to all statistics, would actually take from him to give to many, among whom the industrious worker knew were spend-

thrifts, drunkards and habitual loafers or “ne’er do wells.” We have heard socialists say that after the reconstruction of society there will be no bosses and no bossed; Engels has said there will be no state; but all such doctrines are anarchy. Another authority says socialism is “that policy or theory which aims at securing by the action of the central democratic authority, a better distribution and in due subordination thereunto, a better production of wealth than now prevails.” Such socialism requires government and law, a democratic majority rule of the people and a gradual evolutionary reform which will overcome existing evils and prevent pernicious abuses or errors of ignorance and thoughtlessness. We have already reached the plane where a better distribution of wealth is in evidence, and as the world advances in aggregate wealth, our social conditions will so adjust themselves that the Proletariat will be eliminated, and the people fitted for greater usefulness will enjoy a large percentage of this newly created wealth. The accumulation of vast, unwieldy fortunes and the continuance of such fortunes unbroken to single progeny, is now receiving its death knell. Bourgeois fortunes have reached the zenith of magnitude and in future all who contribute to pronounced success will receive reward more equitably according to service rendered.

Henry George uttered a fundamental truth when he said: “The ideal social state is not that in which each gets an equal amount of wealth, but

in which each 'gets in proportion to his contribution to the general stock.'" This is an expression of individualism—inequality of ability and inequality of compensation.

CHAPTER XVI

Socialism and Public Ownership

SOcialism would assume the management of industry and own all national resources and instruments of production for the public good, securing for all an equitable distribution of its fruits. We have seen that equitable distribution means absolute equality to some schools and to others it means pay in proportion to service rendered; so again we have indefiniteness. Some writers affirm that all wealth should be placed under social ownership and control; others maintain that it would be impossible to hold all wealth in common and that socialism means either state or municipal ownership for the people of the land, the large centralized workshops, and the materials and means of production on a large scale. Again we find it difficult to follow the conflicting and chameleon thoughts of socialists. If all wealth cannot be socialized, where shall we draw the line? When does an industry, factory or farm become large enough to be acquired by the state and socialized?

We are told that the great American combines, popularly known as Trusts, are operating to make ownership by the people a simple procedure. Enthusiastic socialists advise the repeal of the Sherman and anti-trust laws and the encouragement of industries to combine, in order that, when they

have reached their maximum growth and all the small competitors have been eliminated or bought out, the state, which means the socialists in power, can absorb the industries, acquire the combined farms, take over all railroads and other transportation lines, telegraph and telephone wires and plants, and create at one swoop a socialistic government of the people and for the people. But how about the millions of citizens with their earnings invested in bonds and stocks of these acquired properties and operations? That is a question the socialist would much rather not talk about. If you study their writings you will find that almost all advocate the inauguration of a socialistic reign by robbery—the theft of all that the leaders and producers of the state possess, the absolute confiscation of the savings of thrift and industry. Can one imagine the realization of a millennium founded on banditism and spoliation and the iron heel of a political socialized despotism? “An advance toward heaven upon earth founded upon robbery would infallibly be a step in the other direction—backward, not forward; downward, not upward.”

Some of the leaders of the “Moderate” brand of socialism perceive the impossibility of acquiring land and industry by theft or force; some advocate a steadily increasing tax on land, thus taxing it into state ownership. Of late, as men of higher calibre have become interested in certain phases of socialism, and as the working man is recognized to be an actual capitalist, with small investments which represent his all, at stake, or a capitalist in embryo, there is a tendency on the part of social-

ists to express the hope that they will be able to pay for all the properties that they acquire, but in a way that, by law of inheritance, would make all men of equal worth in some future generation. It is said that when Gladstone was asked about socialism he replied: "Do you propose to buy the land, or to take it? If the first, it is folly; if the second, it is theft."

There is no doubt that capital has abused its privileges in the past and the people will demand of it helpfulness and justice now and in the future. Capital can never again be an arbitrary force to dominate and subjugate free men; and no matter how it may combine, its prime thought should not be power, but service. Burke said: "All persons possessing any portion of power ought to be strongly and awfully impressed with an idea that they act in trust and that they are to account for their conduct in that trust to the one great Master, Author and Founder of society."

Municipal ownership is a step toward socialism. The city ownership of its street car service, its water, gas and electric lights, is the first step toward an ideal, which in some settings have worked quite well and in others most deplorably. State ownership of railroads and control of industry have in some parts of the world passed the experimental stage and in no case have the attempts to eliminate private control produced the results desired.

Could any corporation under private management, or operated by officials and a board selected or approved by its stockholders survive, if oper-

ated as loosely and inefficiently as any of our cities, states or Federal Government? It would become insolvent in a very short time, no matter what its resources might be. Even when our municipal, state or federal officials are honest, the machinery of government seems to be as cumbersome and inefficient as it can possibly be made by human ignorance or stupidity. Experience with politically appointed or Civil Service public servants is an antidote for socialism; a few days in a "live-wire" corporation that hustles, with no loose ends, every minute of the day for its stockholders, employees, customers and the general public are an inspiration to the onlooker and an additional nail in the casket of decadent socialism.

Real men love to work, to belong to a real company that does things, that strives for superiority, individuality of product and elimination of waste. They rally as good, true, industrial soldiers around a flag of progress; the joy of achievement is in their hearts, and such workers will finish a task, go home and enjoy the fruits of their work with cheerful minds and happy hearts; while the socialized employee of the people, a sort of institutional being, void of energy and the spirit of progress, and with the air of—"do no more than you have to do"—drags his steps, watches the clock, hates himself and everybody else, and receives money that he probably does not earn. Such a man becomes stultified mentally, and at times his only joy seems to be the innate thought that he can subtly worry others and yet cannot

be "fired" and forced to do real work like a man in the world. Some officials, clerks and Civil Service men are pronounced exceptions, but it is difficult to imagine a more depraved economic condition than political handling of the entire resources, industries, transportation and business of a land like this. The picture is such a nightmare that the intelligence of a great people would not tolerate the thought of it.

A few years ago, Edmond Kelly, a pseudo-socialist, made some wonderful calculations of a most impractical nature. He computed that probably four hours will constitute the average daily labor in a co-operative commonwealth, and these ought to be sufficient to give to every citizen "not only the necessaries and comforts now enjoyed by the middle class, but some of the luxuries enjoyed only by the millionaire." He did not stop there, however, but by still further sharpening of his pencil, he found that the pay of each man would be doubled and the cost of all articles would be lowered. Kelly having been a lecturer on Municipal Government at Columbia University, must have had some theoretical knowledge of labor and labor conditions. If political control of this land with all its operations became a reality, we would be a bankrupt, discredited democracy, and twelve hours per day, per man, with one-half his present wages, would not save us from the rocks with reckless steering and devitalized manhood. Before we can talk intelligently of more socialized industries, we should make a business success of the matters already entrusted to the Body Politic of

the country, state or city. Taxes and deficits show up the economic inefficiency of political government, as notoriously evil as grafting, police corruption and inertia of departmental work.

No industry can be operated successfully as a socialized operation. For every line of human endeavor we need co-operation, but the work must be done by individuals. An industry must be conducted by an organization of individuals, not by a socialized mob; it must be a disciplined, obedient, human machine, not an aggregation of ill-fitting, indifferent, inexperienced and insubordinate social equals and wire-pullers. A man to manage an industry, an engineer to design machines, experts of operation and geniuses of conception, must be men selected by merit and competition from the world, and so placed as to work in harmonious concert with each other and with all the interconnected groups and individuals which combined, form the entire organization.

The only way to socialize an industry is to know how to place each man at the work for which he is best fitted; to make the team-work of the men pleasant; to study each man psychologically; and by the sure working law of human fitness and congeniality, an organization of individuals, the extreme opposite of a socialistic staff of laborers, will be produced, working with that fine, all-conquering spirit of co-operation—"All for one and one for all."

There used to be an opinion prevalent that the lowest classes of labor were the hardest workers.

In a land of freedom, democracy and individualism the reverse is true. The hardest workers in our land today are not the poor Proletariat, but the leading men who operate our industries and executive supervise the great undertakings of American capital and human endeavor. The ordinary worker quits his job when the whistle blows; for the manager there is no whistle and no limit to his hours of work; for the leading executive of a highly competitive industry, life consists of work,—steady, maintained work, from dawn to dark,—and he usually carries his responsibilities into his hours of rest. To the real leader of a great industry, such work, with all its shades of color, bright lights and shadows, brings joy as well as success and inner happiness with the consciousness of achievement. The success of American industry and the root of our great prosperity can be found in the enthusiasm of our workers saddled with responsibility and the ambitions of the men all the way down the line to fit themselves for higher planes of usefulness by using their hours of leisure as hours of preparation for greater responsibility and service.

Some socialists say that when they socialize an industry they will keep the organization intact and the process if now successful, will become doubly successful, for the men will be partners as well as co-workers. We are led to believe that menial labor will be paid as much as skilled workers and managers. Socialism is indefinite on all these points, but there are several facts that social-

ists should know. No true worker will stand for any uniform wage scale. Every real worker wants some scale lower than his and desires the opportunity to work upward to a higher scale. The law of humanity is opposed to socialization of workers. Take the experienced, highly specialized management from the head of an industry and it will crumble to pieces. The difference between bankruptcy and good dividends is often represented, in large business enterprises today, by the work of one man, who, opposed to all the laws of socialism, is an individual at the head of a large industry and has peculiar genius for that particular field of endeavor. The same conditions, to a much smaller extent, apply down the line, to the foreman of a shop and the leader of a gang. Men make a success of work by functioning as individuals. A fitness for work and a finding of the proper work come from the competitive system, when a man tries a job, wins out, and holds it; another tries for a position, obtains it, is unfitted for it, loses it and another more fitted for the work takes his place, while the original incumbent merely moves to another task for which he is fitted by nature and training.

Socialism is changing its doctrine daily. Its leading advocates today say that they will only attempt to handle, socially, public utilities and industries that they believe can be operated as economically by socialization as by competitive methods. When some socialists talk of non-molestation of all small industries, farms and operations

that are not a menace to the well-being of a people; when they admit that competition has virtue; that wages should be commensurate with services, that they may buy instead of steal whatever capital and properties they may desire to socialize; that they believe in the obtaining of their ends by a peaceful, political victory at the polls and not by violent revolution and class upheavals, then we are forced to admit that socialism is not socialism, that the word has so many shades of meaning that it represents today merely social reform and a multiplicity of ways and desires that blend more or less into the beliefs of every sane man. Every man can be a socialist today, no matter what his belief may be, but every socialist cannot be a true individualist.

The leaders of socialism claim that it is the economic complement of democracy. Democracy needs no such burden; it is complete in itself. It preaches not bureaucracy, but the just rule of man for the highest good and development of all,—true individualism bounded with social ties of brotherhood; ties of the human heart and not the ties of arbitrary laws, based on a false conception of the Eternal and His creations.

CHAPTER XVII

Socialism as Unethical

MANY men have imagined themselves socialists or in favor of socialism, in the past, without using their reasoning power or exercising any semblance of logic; they have been actuated primarily from sympathy with human suffering. As we have seen, the socialistic warriors of the Marx-Engels-Liebknecht army do not want such sympathizers in their ranks. Kautsky in his Holland lectures on Revolutionary Socialism, in 1902, was forced to admit that, notwithstanding the "infallibility" of his patron saint,—Marx, "the classes are not divided from one another by impenetrable walls." He admitted that a higher standard of life was permeating all society, both Bourgeois and Proletaire, that wages were higher, but he adds that the rising standard of life rouses the envy of the lower classes.

The poorer classes of workers live today on a scale infinitely higher than ever before in the history of the world. We still have debasing slums and horrors of segregation; but when the workers get out of the congested sections of big cities, their regeneration commences. The educated children help to lift their parents to a higher plane of decency and respectability and workmen advance from unskilled to skilled labor. The food on the workman's table today is superior to that of the

aristocracy of centuries ago and to the Middle Class of not many decades ago. The workman and his family enjoy sanitary conveniences that were unknown half a century ago to all classes. The Bourgeois may enjoy more luxuries today, but the working, lower classes are enjoying comforts to such a degree that their acquisition is most disturbing to the class socialist, whose whine of discontent does not materially affect the man with full stomach, bank deposit book, house with bath and running water, garden with flowers and vegetables, and sons and daughters in the High Schools receiving as good an education as any youngster in the town. Labor is honored today, and the social fakers who win over empty dinner pails do not interest materially the worker who *knows* and who is enjoying comforts and his just due in a competitive but socialized community.

If the standing policy of society is justice to all, with no difference between the justice meted out to the rich and influential and that given to the poor and comparatively helpless; if brotherly interest and helpfulness permeate society, giving all men their just due and helping the worthy needy out of the fulness of the accumulation of success, then the germ of any brand of socialism cannot exist in such an atmosphere, for socialism is antagonistic to universal justice and knows not love.

The socialist cannot get his mind away from capital. The two rubber pillars of the socialistic edifice are wages (equal or unequal), and capital (shall we buy or steal it?). We hear of the Plutocracies crushing the souls of men and we are

repeatedly told that this is the age of capital oppression. Jack London wrote: "We must accept the capitalistic stage in social evolution as about on a par with the earliest monkey stage. The human had to pass through those stages in its rise from the mire and slime of low organic life. It was inevitable that much of the mire and slime should cling and be not easily shaken off." London's theory of evolution must be a cycle—a development from monkey to man and then a retrogressive return to monkey, or the organic world would be a perfected whole at one period only to return quickly to a mass of slimy protoplasm. We cannot definitely prove our kinship with the monkey kingdom, but we are assured that the much maligned capitalistic period is far superior to many glimpses of civilization that London has seen. Were not the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries at their worst, superior to the periods of imprisoned souls, fettered minds and the degradation of superstitions, serfdom and continual strife that preceded them? But London does not refer to the hideousness following the Industrial Revolution, but his remarks apply to the period in which we now live.

There can be no capitalistic phase of evolution, for capital exists for the many, is owned by the many, and all have equal rights to obtain, have and hold. In the history read in the future, the present will be accounted a period of adjustment or social reconstruction, of the triumphs of democracy. But capital which lost its head for two centuries was merely a centrifugal movement from the

revolving wheel of progress and the solidity and love of justice of mankind have refused to permit it to defy the laws of centripetal, social gravitation.

It is amusing to read of the plans of the socialists, "the day after the Revolution." Capital, a much hated word, they cannot do without; it has existed from the earliest glimpse of the dawn of civilization, and it will exist as long as man. It has the virtues and vices of man and it will be redeemed like man. Capitalism can never be an epoch of evolution any more than a man's clothes. Some writers on Socialism have discovered a splendid use for private capital. They advise that all inventions and schemes for new, advanced processes be experimented with by private capital and when such new methods of production are perfected, the state will acquire them; the state never intends to waste its money in research or experimentation, but will leave that field to private capital, which, of course, will jump with joy at the opportunity to spend money to obtain results that the state will promptly steal. What sniveling, inane schemes are advanced under the wretchedly abused name of Socialism!

The sanctity of family life is still another plank of the platform of socialism, that shows different on each face, but which is generally quite rotten. We have discussed the Utopian socialistic lax ideas on marriage. Marx and Engels advocated an openly legalized community of women with state supervision of the children, saying: "We desire to introduce in substitution for the hypocritically concealed, an openly legalized community of

women.” Lamartine, discussing the Revolution of 1848, said: “Communism of goods leads as a necessary consequence to communism of wives, children and parents, and to the brutalization of the species.” Jager said that the possession of land in common leads also to community of wives, as but another expression of materialistic conceptions. Karl Pearson, a noted socialistic writer, says: “I hold that the sex-relationship ought to be a pure question of taste, a simple matter of agreement, in which neither society nor the state would have any right to interfere.” Gabriel Deville and Bebel, both declare that compulsory marriage is unnecessary, and many more socialists maintain that with the abolition of hereditary property, should go the necessity for marriage. They also maintain that family life is eternally at war with social life, and is inherently selfish. Hepworth Dixon says “that you cannot have socialism without introducing communism, is the teaching of all experience, whether the trials have been made on a large scale or on a small scale, in the Old World or in the New.” Jules Guesde, one of the leaders of international socialism, writes: “The family was useful and indispensable in the past, but is now only an odious form of property. It must either be transformed or abolished.”

But there is another side to the question. Whereas the earliest forms of socialism and the Marx School of Modern Socialism and many others of the day believe in the abolition of marriage, there are a vast number of socialists who differ from their brethren in this phase of socialism and who do not

hesitate to openly and positively declare themselves accordingly. If socialism expects many followers in these enlightened days, it is timely that its leaders should respect the sanctity of the home, and that marriage, which is a sacrament and the true foundation of society, should be revered and honored by all. The commoner of today, be he Bourgeois or Proletariat, capitalist or workman, loves his home; it is his in all its completeness, sacred and inviolable. He will never listen seriously to any doctrine that teaches the breaking up of family life, an immorality opposed to the spirit of life and the removal of that anchorage indispensable to the well being and moral training of his children. Socialists had to change their creed or there would have been no listeners to the propagandist; and socialism would have died because of the inherent purity and goodness of the race, notwithstanding the leprous insinuation of those who, being evil, think and see only evil.

Spargo says that the abolition of the legal marriage tie is not now a part of the socialist's program. Kirkup says that the International and Socialistic Parties clearly recognize now that their task is the emancipation of labor and that it is of an economic and political nature; those who mix up this great problem with questions of religion and marriage do so on their own responsibility. Edmond Kelly, who was too broad-gauged to be a "dyed-in-the-wool" socialist, openly asserts the necessity for maintaining the sanctity of the home. But almost without exception the socialist leaders ignore this topic and leave it out of their talk as

well as out of their program. As their attitude as a class seems most lukewarm, we are led to believe that their silence is due to the fact that, if they expressed their real thoughts, the effect would act as a boomerang and bring disaster to their party.

The same general thought applies to religion. Many socialists are agnostics, few profess any defined faith, some seem atheistic, but undoubtedly there are many who have an underlying spirituality that will keep them in touch with the universal flow of life, show them their errors, encourage them in all that is good and true, and in the years to come, this or some succeeding generation will probably see that the multitudinous paths of progress will all merge into one glorious revelation of unity.

The Prussian socialist, Marx, has still many followers, including some of the partisan writers in this country, but his plan of class hatred and revolution is so impossible and inhuman that his doctrine is being continually repudiated by socialists. Edward Bernstein, in 1899, formulated a Manifesto of Criticisms to practically all the leading positions taken by Marx. Bernstein objects to Marx's materialistic conception of history, his dialectical method, his theory of surplus value and his revolutionary conception of social development, which looks forward to a great catastrophe at the close of the Capitalistic Era. Bernstein maintains "that statistics do not favor the theory that a social catastrophe is imminent as the result of a class war carried on by a continually increasing host of im-

poverished and degraded Proletarians against a diminishing band of the colossal magnates of capitalism," and he has great faith in a peaceful evolution through the democratic transformation of the state. The School of Bernstein in Germany is the School of Revisionism and it looks forward to the day when the German Empire, with its autocracy and debasing militarism will become a peace-loving, German co-operative commonwealth.

Liebknecht was notorious for his policy of "No compromise," which meant "no change by evolution," although he preached evolution; his death was followed by the death in 1913 of August Bebel, the last colleague and contemporary of Marx. German socialism today is not a united body; it consists of social democracy and so-called radicals and Revisionists. Even these prime divisions are further subdivided, but throughout the whole it is evident that the pernicious doctrine of Marx is rapidly being repudiated and that socialism stands for almost every conceivable form of protest against the prevailing autocratic rule, coupled with variable ideas for social reconstruction.

There is marked similarity between the Revisionists of Germany and the Fabian Society and the Independent Labor Party of Britain. The famous Fabian Society was named after Quintus Fabius Maximus, the Roman General, who carefully avoided a direct contest on the field of war. The motto of the Society is: "For the right moment you must wait, as Fabius did most patiently when warring against Hannibal, though many censured

his delays; but when the time comes you must strike hard as Fabius did or your waiting will be in vain, and fruitless." The Fabians and Opportunists have recently become more cordial in their relations with the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, and a spirit of association and not antagonism generally prevails. Among the Fabians have appeared some of the brightest minds in Britain. The Society conducts a socialistic propaganda, and like all other brands of socialism, its beliefs are being modified very frequently. There will come a day when social reform will be socialism, and socialism will cease to exist as even a semblance of a party; for its work will be done and its ideals practically attained or bettered in a practical way by the real workers of all classes of the world, by the organized co-operative band of leaders and doers, workers with minds and hands all functioning under true democracy, void of militarism, corrupt politics, oppression and the social diseases of poverty and vice.

CHAPTER XVIII

Syndicalism

SYNDICALISM, an original French movement and a revolutionary brand of socialism, is a compound of anarchism, trade unionism and socialism. It has been termed "the hybrid offspring of anarchism and trade unionism," but like socialism, it is of variable creed and under certain settings has been allied with many extreme forms of socialism. Syndicalism advocates communism, common property and a socialized industrial and commercial system, all in harmony with certain tenets of socialism; but syndicalism stands with anarchy for no government. It refuses to sanction either the giving or obeying of orders and inanely attempts to believe that the people will rule themselves by attending public meetings and unanimately and voluntarily agreeing to a course of action; these meetings having no chairman and no parliamentary rules for discussions or debates. Syndicalism, like Marxian socialism, is a class movement, a genuine Proletarian product, and in this respect it differs from the latest brands of socialism, whose ranks are largely made up of the middle classes and Marx's despised Bourgeois.

It has been said that "Syndicalism is based on the conception of the ownership and control of each branch of industry by those working in it and the organization of society on the basis of occupa-

tion instead of locality.” These views are not unanimously accepted by its partisans, for others assert that it stands for communism in distribution, with the trade unions managing production but having no property in the product.

There are no maintained, distinct political parties in France, and in the hodge-podge of kaleidoscopic changing of groups formed around individuals, socialism has blended more or less with other interests. It has been said of France that “Parliament is an assembly of self-seeking chatterers.” Syndicalism, which means trade unionism in France, is a rebuke to all existing parties, including the socialists, and is an attempt to weld the working classes into a homogeneous, coherent whole, feeling that progress depends upon the integrity of working class interests, not through unstable and hysterical politics, but through the direct force and overwhelming power of organized labor.

Syndicalism contends that similarity of work welds men together with a bond far stronger than geographical residence, and they believe that men of one trade are more amenable to unionism than are different interests in one local setting in favor of communism. This theory of life resolves itself into a series of interconnected groups with the selfish interests, peculiar to their trade, seeking with a Utopian spirit to promote harmony and obtain a collective policy which will be enthusiastically concurred in by all. What an ignorance of human nature do the promoters of socialism persistently express by thought and deeds! We are told that “public life will be wholly within the trade unions,”

each union for itself, each union dominating its environment; we could more truly say, each union at war with its fellow unions. Why should the agriculturist shoulder the burdens of the masons, or the masons of the boilermakers? Why should the carpenters now being replaced by steel construction erectors, stand with enthusiasm for the union which is robbing them of their means of livelihood? It is said that as Marx urged a perpetual warfare between Proletariat and Bourgeois, so there must ever be war between workers and employers—an industrial war between capitalists and the property of capitalists, on the one hand, and the so-called exploited labor on the other hand. Marx's violent class doctrine, repudiated by most modern socialists, has fallen like a mantle, therefore, with all its revolutionary mania, on certain organized labor unions, who aspire with Marx to the attainment of the immoral and the impossible.

Bourses du Travail were organized in French towns in 1892, and a Federation of such Bourses was formed a year later. There had been no revolution in France, the land of revolution, since the Commune of Paris in 1871, and the Federation of the Bourses du Travail urged and adopted the principle of the general strike of all trades and occupations as a new revolutionary weapon of the Proletariat. Kirkup, after stating that trade unions in France are organizations especially framed for maintaining strikes, adds: "A general, that is a universal strike, even of a week's duration, will, it is alleged, destroy the existing scheme of things and the trade unions which ordered the strike

and alone can end it, will be able to make peace on their own terms.”

In 1895 the name of the Federation of Unions in France was changed to the General Confederation of Labor. It proclaimed its absolute independence of all political parties, and the previous year it had severed its alliance with the socialists. Acting under the influence of their anarchistic General Secretary, Pelloutier, the new party soon endorsed sabotage and boycott. In 1906, the Confederation authorized the much-heralded General Strike in France on the Revolutionary Labor Day, May 1st, but it proved a disappointing fizzle. Many attempts at a General Strike, agitated by insurrectional anarchists, have occurred, but all have ended as fiascos. There has been some literature written, depicting the horrors and potency of the General Strike by means of which the Middle and Upper Classes would be embarrassed, grievously harassed and ultimately starved into a condition of absolute submission, at which time the Proletariat, apparently well nurtured, strong and happy, would take possession of all the instruments of production and operate them for themselves.

Leading socialists look with dread upon the General Strike, but their fear is groundless; even Kautsky, the revolutionist, has endeavored to disillusion his followers and the Proletariat of all nations, by saying: “It is foolish. A general strike in the sense that all laborers of the country, at a given sign, shall lay down their labor, presupposes a unanimity and an organization of the laborers which is scarcely possible in present society, and

which if it were once attained, would be so irresistible that no general strike would be necessary. Such a strike would, however, at one stroke, render impossible the existence, not simply of society, but all existence, and that of the Proletarians long before that of the capitalist, and must consequently collapse uselessly at just the moment when its revolutionary virtue began to develop."

Syndicalism is, therefore, a revolutionary, laboring class movement which advocates sabotage, boycott and direct action by the workers themselves, by means of the General Strike. The ranks include many rebels against all sorts and conditions of authority. The advocates of the movement decry the slow progress than can be made by politics; they are too anarchical to consider obtaining reforms by voting for a leader or representative who will wage legitimate warfare for them as a representative of the people. They crave direct action and "let every man act for himself," which, after all, is "each man for himself."

The syndicalists are not all wrong. They see that the dream of the socialists with the whole country devitalized and functioning with military organizations, or like a national series of Civil Service Bureaus, is not a pleasant picture. Yet they do not know exactly what they do want, other than that they want to rule. Competition is to them as much of a *bête-noire*, as it is to the average socialist. They don't want organizations, except to obtain power. After that an ideal state of anarchy will prevail and they dream in an irrational, asinine way of an existence void of compulsion,

discipline, or the necessity of doing anything one does not want to do whether it presents itself in the form of work or a mere diversion.

Syndicalism has taken some root in Italy, has been repudiated in England, is little known in Germany, Russia and Spain, and is in evidence, at times, in our own country. It has been frequently said that syndicalism is the child of anarchism and trade unionism, and that unless both parents exist in one country, syndicalism cannot spring forth to further harass and befuddle the minds and morals of a people. The Industrial Workers of the World, known as the I. W. W., are American Syndicalists, and were formed in 1903 and 1904 at the Colorado miners' strike. They are a menace to law and order and are equally opposed to the Federation of Labor, legitimate labor unions, stockholders and management of companies large or small, and the democracy and government of our land. Syndicalism in America is expressed by the anarchical driftwood of European prejudices and hatred that reaches our shores. It is an organization in which vice and devilish malice are glorified, and it stands diametrically opposed to the doctrines and aspirations of American workers, socialists, and every political party. The exercise of boycott is bad enough, but sabotage and the destruction of property by ignorant, demented and malicious anarchists are so diabolical, that the spirit of our land cries out for the eradication of such influences of destruction and lawlessness. Americans are never syndicalists, and in dealing with anarchy and the I. W. W. in this country, we have to deal with

ignorant foreigners who follow fanatical and frenzied organizers, like sheep. Strikes are a source of revenue to the promoters and agitators. Money is gathered into the coffers; officer succeeds officer and many an innocent lamb among the humblest and most innocent of workers, brain-numbed by the mental suggestion of depraved orators, has been fleeced of his wool by rascals and wolfish agitators, who leave more suffering in their wake than any bucket-shop or gold-brick manipulators.

The average American workman is a level-headed, worthy man, possessing a sense of honor, fairness and justice. He does not identify himself with the false gods of anarchism or socialism. He stands for his individuality, his right to progress, his inalienable privilege to assert his freedom from all mob and communistic socialism. The true worker represents true individualism; it is his boon and his salvation. Not one of the many ropes that attempt to lasso man today and draw him toward a miraged Utopia, is actuated by the power of love, brotherly kindness and mutual affection which alone can materially change existing conditions for the better. Power and vice seem to be sempiternal; but they cannot possibly be so, for they are not the result of creation, but rather the cause of error.

Man has ever been both individually and collectively the author of his own misfortunes. Poverty came into the world when love was absent, and vice was born when indolence masqueraded as work. Denunciations and anathemas will do nothing to regenerate the world. Heartless systems of

anarchy, economics, socialism, revolutions and syndicalism will do no good, but rather increase the evil; for the world needs for the redemption of mankind, not outward and much heralded political movements, but inner convictions expressed by sympathy and love. The imperfections of individual man, the absence of the true spirit of life in man, are reflected by the sins and sorrows of the world. The finest Christian plans of socialism may eliminate poverty for a while, but it would increase laziness, the source of vice. The imperfections of any social system will be evidenced by its by-products of poverty and evil. Humanity expressed as socialized individuality will gradually, by universal laws, remove all blotches from our civilization, and such ideals can only be attained by the leavening of all humanity with the true spirit of love and the elimination of all evil lurking under the garb of social movements, full of promises but void of possible fulfilment and definite progress.

CHAPTER XIX

Ethical Individualism

THE practical distinction between individualism and socialism is necessarily one of degree, but as erroneously used by modern society, each term carries with it the reproach of its opponents. Individualism in political philosophy is the theory of government according to which the good of the state consists in the well-being and free initiative of each of the component members. Socialism subordinates the individual to the community; the state is supreme and the individual exists for the state. Individualism maintains that the state exists for the benefit of the individual, although individualism is not necessarily egoism. As the socialist is not necessarily hostile to the individual, so the individual is not antagonistic to society, but rather contemplates an idealistic condition where each man will be enabled to make the most of his peculiar inherent forces, and where society, by the environmental reaction upon these individualistic forces, will develop and draw from each man his best thoughts and work, and this not only for the good and happiness of the individual, but for the still greater good and lasting benefit of mankind.

A true individual is a conscientious, altruistic being, whose heart beats in synchronism with his fellows; he advocates co-operation, helpfulness and

human support from all to all, but he is opposed to state interference with individual freedom whenever, in his opinion, it can be avoided. Individualism is a much abused word; it has been used in a pronounced materialistic sense and also to express a mental attitude permeated with repulsive and mawkish egoism. Extreme, unrestrained individualism, the limit of the positive pole, is pure anarchy, while the limit of the negative pole is a gelatinous, social nothingness, absolutely void of personality or character. In every well-balanced man there must be a happy combination of individualistic and societarian properties, and, at times, a strong individualist may be constrained to advocate laws and procedure which will conflict with individual freedom. Thomas Hobbes, a type of individualist, vigorously supported absolute government as necessary to the well-being of individuals.

True individualism considers the perpetual benefits of the race, the obtaining of the maximum output and efficiency from each member of the Body Social; it is concerned with the teaming together of men, not as numbered units, but as individuals, all of whom must be permeated with the spirit of enthusiasm for achievement, call it competition, or what you will. Individualism opposes the tenets of any class or political body that would rob man of his opportunity to excel and rise to any pinnacle of worthy attainment. Sluggards approve of socialized industry, but not workers. Ambitious and active individuals denounce socialism; but indolent, drowsy loafers talk and dream

of it. Individualism stands as the watch-word of progress, of world advancement, of genius and of worth-while accomplishment. Socialism may appeal to the judgment of the philanthropic but impractical man; it may seem to be the means of righting the existent social wrongs, but its hopes are not real substance. Socialism interests the flotsam and jetsam of the surging waves of human life; it is in its last analysis but the antithesis of progressive evolution. In this country, at least, it is an unnecessary doctrine; the only ones who need its protection being the unfit, the lazy and the indifferent. Toilers and drudges gravitate toward communism with its false hopes of equality. Workers, be they poor, in moderate circumstances or rich, stand together, a firm, united body, for that individuality which means opportunity, usefulness and efficient service.

The health of the state depends on the exertion of individuals, first for the benefit of themselves and their small connected social body, and ultimately for the good of all. Individualism is opposed to the filling of any office by political means, and it maintains that fitness and experience should be found positively satisfactory before any man is permitted to assume the responsibility of an office. The incumbents occupying the majority of our political positions today are crimes against democracy and the good sense of the American people. Individualism preaches the Survival of the Fittest as it applies to sheer personal merit and adaptability for the job; and decries the political practice of finding jobs for henchmen, wire-pullers and that

class of human derelicts considered useful at elections, but at no other time. Dickens's Circumlocution Office was comparatively simple and efficient as compared with many American mazes of inefficiency, brazen in their uselessness and corrupt in their dealings. These politicians loathe the appearance of work and take fiendish delight, at times, in the infliction of obstacles to mar every attempt on the part of legitimate enterprises to obtain action from what is but a disgusting, chaotic mass—a travesty on organization and a reflection on the intelligence of any community that will permit such deplorable conditions to exist.

True individualism would clean house, scatter degenerates, the morally weak and lazy; and in the place of a burlesque on business, install an organization that would stand individually upon merit and function co-operatively in the service of fellow-citizens and patrons. To reduce the cost of living, we should commence with political organizations; taxes would then fall, obstructions to legitimate business would be removed, and the moral tone of a community would be raised.

Individuality, the true self-respect of man, the ideal enthroned within man, will regenerate a race; political parties never will. If the representatives and senators we send to Washington were absolutely honest, with true ideals, working with an eye single only to the highest welfare of their country, we would not need to care whether the party in power were Democratic or Republican. When the party is enthroned, instead of the people, then individualism has been overthrown, and with individ-

ualism go the good of the people and the highest interests of the land. As long as we have arrogant and ignorant upstarts in Congress, appointed on committees and commingling with men of sterling worth and honest motives, just so long will we have sub-committees who do not desire to hear anything that does not harmonize with their preconceived program, and truth will remain unheard. As long as an honest business man is welcome in Washington and our own State capital, if he appears to substantiate the prearranged policy of the administration and is insultingly branded as a depraved lobbyist if he protests against the injustice of the administration (which is usually void of real, practical knowledge on the subject before it), then just so long are individualism, justice and honor crucified and the party in power is an Oligarchy void of democracy. The belief that our republic, under these conditions, represents the Rule of the People, is sheer mockery.

We may conform with the wishes of the majority, we may function in harmony with the party in political power, whether they represent a true majority or not; but no outward conformity which is but a sign of social training and the suppression of the true individual, can change or remove the inner feeling of protest to all that our souls abhor. The great call of the century is for individuals; men who will think, reason and act; men above the crowd, the mob, the fawning, vacillating sheep of humanity. Individuality will cleanse our politics and enthrone truth. We have been created as individuals, we shall pass beyond as individuals,

why not live as individuals? "Before man made us citizens, great nature made us men."

True individualism is well expressed by Tennyson:

"But while
I breathe Heaven's air, and Heaven looks down
at me,
And smiles at my best meanings, I remain
Mistress of mine own self and mine own soul."

Why belittle mankind with thoughts of socialism? Man is a social creature, but he was created as a dominant individual. He was made to love, to serve, to work. Every man is created differently from all his fellows; he has been given a personality and an individuality, all his own, unique and invaluable. He who would mold men to common form or act, blasphemes the Creator. Man's power in the world among his fellows is due to his difference from his fellows. Eliminate, subdue or crush out these differences and progress ceases.

The state should ever strive to maintain such conditions and environments around all individuals as will give free exercise to human faculties. Mankind has passed from slavery to serfdom, and in the Middle Ages feudalism became a paternal form of government. With the breaking up of the Guilds and the Industrial Revolution, came individualism—man's highest estate. Socialism tends to throw back man to communism, the beginning of all collective life. Individualism will be deepened, purified and glorified, but it will never be supplanted by any other form of life.

True individualism, we have maintained, is opposed to anarchism as well as to socialism. It is not revolutionary, but it believes in reform, inward first, then from the inner man outward through the aura of human influence. Individualism is not as socialism asserts,—unrestrained, licensed or unrestricted commercial competition of combative individuals. Cervantes used to say “Every man for himself and God for us all.” During the days of severe competition, when selfishness seemed overpowering and the finer and nobler part of man seemed numb, this saying was modified to,—“Every man for himself and the devil take the hindermost.” The Reign of Oppression in the search for gold, has occupied only a short time in the evolution of man; it followed a period of centuries of attempts to stifle knowledge, crown superstition and hide from man the true God.

We have emerged from the era of intensified selfishness and during the period of adjustment, the perfect compatibility of nobility of soul and honest business success will be exemplified and proven by the individualists in society. The morals and honesty of business men are greater than ever before in the history of the world. To be a great and lasting success today in the much abused business world, a man must be honest and true, a real individual, radiating confidence, sincerity and true, not assumed, friendships. Individuals can be loyal workers who function co-operatively in an organization. Lordship in business no longer exists, but leadership is there; and the loyalty and respect of the individual and society are for the leaders who

function primarily for the benefit of humanity and not for their own material aggrandizement. All men are either servants of humanity or hindrances to progress.

As individualism asserts itself and people come into real self-consciousness, wars will cease, for the idea of war will be absurd to people who substitute "love" for "hate" in their individual and national creeds. The socialists of all the European countries, millions strong, could not prevent the horrible war now raging there, but nations of individual thinkers and co-operative workers would not have permitted despotic rule to exist or any other type of organization that would permit such an outrageous attack on Occidental civilization. War is indicative of a lack of self-government, it represents the stupidity of fettered individualism.

It has been said that the doctrine of co-operation is the middle ground between competition and socialism, but this is not so. Competitive co-operation is known in some of the most prosperous of American industries. Individualism is competition, but it is far more than competition; at times it borders on socialism, but it is infinitely greater and truer than socialism. Individualism is always co-operation with kindred forces, and it is pronounced opposition to contrary forces. True individualism is always creative; it performs the work of the Eternal in the humble spirit of service for the advancement of mankind. It is the ultra-rationalistic spirit of progress in man. Individualism, although enchained for ages, has given the world its civilization. Kings, potentates and rulers

of men, stripped of all their pompous regalia, have been great only as their individualism has made them great.

Individual freedom was first enjoyed by man as a reaction against privileged restriction. It will continue to be the ferment of democracy until the whole be leavened. True, whole-souled individualism is the consummation of social evolution. Civilization commenced with communism; it will reach its highest development with true individualism, but it will be an individualism where the spirit of man predominates, where pure religion rules, not as a superstitious belief or creed of finite dogmas, but as the great Cosmic force of life, creation and progress, which uses the instruments of its creation for the glorification of its works and for the progress and development of the great universal plan.

“I trust in God—the right shall be the right
And other than the wrong, while He endures;
I trust in my own soul, that can perceive
The outward and the inward, Nature’s good and
God’s.” —*Browning.*

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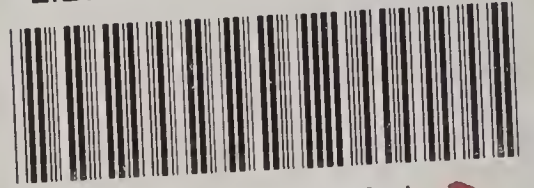
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