

TWO NEW UTOPIAS.*

AT all periods of social transformation, generous-hearted and high-minded men, advocates of justice, are to be met with who are grieved and indignant at the wrongs and sufferings of the lower classes. They believe that the cause of these lies in existing institutions, and they indulge in dreams of a better order of things, in which peace, harmony, and happiness are to be universal. They evoke a Utopia from their own imagination. It was thus that Plato composed the "Republic." What the greatest philosopher of Greece most rigorously proscribed—and we find the same in all the Utopias imagined later on—was selfishness. It is selfishness which keeps men apart, and is the great cause of rivalry, jealousy, and hatred of class for class. The law of *meum* and *tuum*, applied to property and family life, gives rise to covetousness, and makes harmony an impossibility. Family and property must therefore be done away with, and everything be owned in common—both wives and goods—in due conformity, of course, with the prescription of reason. Animals fight and tear each other to pieces when disputing their prey. This is the struggle for life so much spoken of nowadays. But men who submit themselves to laws based on the decisions of wisdom should be ready to act in concert for the realization of the general welfare. The final object with Plato was not, as at the present day, the more complete development of the human being, but the perfecting of society in general. Men were, so to speak, merely the materials, the putting together of which, as ordered by the political architect, should form the ideal city.

The Utopia of the Millennium, which sprang from Judaism and

* "Looking Backward." By Edward Bellamy. "Etudes Sociales—Mon Utopie." Par Charles Secrétan.

Christianity, exercised a far greater influence over our Western world than that of Plato. The prophets thunder forth with wonderful eloquence against this world, where the wicked triumph and the just are oppressed; they foretell the coming of a Messiah who will redress all wrong and establish a reign of universal Justice. The Gospel, the *Good Tidings*, is the announcement of the Kingdom of God, where "the last shall be first," where "the peacemakers shall inherit the earth," where those "who mourn shall be comforted," where "blessed shall be those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs shall be the Kingdom of Heaven." "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled." (Matt. v. 1-10.) Such was the sublime ideal, the divine Utopia which Christ held up to mankind. Deceived by certain passages of Scripture, and, more particularly, of the Apocalypse, the early Christians hoped, for a long time, that the Kingdom of God would be in this world. Nearly all were Millenarians, and this belief remained general till the year 1000.

The belief in Palingenesis—*i.e.*, the coming of a new and better world, is to be met with throughout antiquity, and was combined, as Pierre Leroux demonstrates ("De l'Humanité," bk. ii. c. 6), with certain theories as to the cosmic periods in the existence of our globe. This world, delivered over to evil, must perish in the flames, and "a new heaven and a new earth" spring forth to replace it. In Mazdeism the successive cycles of the development of humanity terminate in a general conflagration, followed by a universal renewal and revival.

In the *Woluspa* of the *Eddas* the Palingenesis is conceived almost exactly as in our Gospels. The signs of the doom are these:—

"The sun shall grow black,
The earth shall sink into the sea,
The bright stars shall vanish from the heavens.

* * * * *
Smoke and fire gush forth;
The terrible flame shall play against the very sky."

The Scandinavian Sibyl thus announces the world to come:—

"I can see earth rise a second time, fresh and green out of the sea.
The waters are falling, the erne hovering over them;
The bird that hunts the fish in the mountain streams;
The fields unsown shall yield their fruit;
All ills shall be healed at the coming of Balder:
The asses shall meet on the Field of Ith,
And do judgment under the mighty Tree of the World.*

In Virgil's splendid lines, in the fourth Eclogue, is to be found the echo of this aspiration after a new world, so frequently met with in ancient literature, especially in the Sibylline songs:—

"Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo . . .
Jam nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto . . .
. . . . Ac toto surget gens aurea mundo . . .
. . . . Omnis feret omnia tellus."

* "Cor us Poeticum Boreale," By Vigfusson and Powell. Vol. ii. p. 625.

Virgil depicts the regeneration of nature ; the Gospel and the Edda dwell rather on social regeneration and the triumph of justice. The anchorites and great saints of the Middle Ages, St. Benedict and St. Francis of Assisi, seeing that the kingdom of God so long expected did not come, fled from the haunts of men and lived in desert places, in this way carrying out their notions of the Christian ideal. They, like Plato, did away with private property and family life, but they acted under the influence of asceticism, which imposed vows of perpetual chastity and poverty. If all, men and women alike, had hearkened to and obeyed their teaching, evil of all kinds would have been effectually banished, for humanity would have ceased to exist.

Later on, when the Renaissance and the Reformation had brought about a general excitement and agitation of men's minds, and opened fresh social problems, new Utopias came to light. Sir Thomas More wrote his "Utopia," Campanella his "Civitas Solis," and Harrington his "Oceana."* In the first part of his book, published in 1517, Sir Thomas More sums up in this way the causes of the misery then prevalent in England :—The great number of nobles who rack-rent their tenants and keep a multiplicity of servants as good-for-nothing as themselves ; the communal lands taken from the villagers ; and, more particularly, the sheep which devour men's possessions and oust them from their own :—

"Oves, quæ tam mites erant, nunc tam edaces esse cœperant ut homines devorent, ipsos agros, domos, oppida vastent ac depopulentur."

The spoliation and expulsion of cultivators is described in most violent language :—

"Ergo ut unus continuatis agris aliquot millia jugerum uno circumdet septo ejiciuntur coloni, aut circumscripti fraude, aut vi oppressi exuuntur aut fatigati injuriis adiguntur ad venditionem. Itaque quoquo pacto emigrant miseri, viri, mulieres, mariti, uxores, orbi, viduæ parentes cum parvis liberis."

As a contrast to this state of society, thus oppressed and decimated by the injustice of the great ones of the earth, More depicts to us the harmony and happiness reigning in the Island of Utopia. All possessions are there held in common, and every one works alternately in the fields, or the workshops and factories. Six hours labour a day suffices to produce in abundance all that is necessary. The mode of life is simple ; there are no drones to consume without producing ; workmen, who elsewhere are occupied in creating mere frivolities, here only make useful articles. The production is limited to known requirements, and everything being regulated, there is never any excess. Nothing is bought or sold for money. All commodities are

* The best book on the ancient Socialists is one by M. Quack, professor at the University of Amsterdam. It is entitled, "De Socialisten," and is written in Dutch. See also "Hist. du Socialisme et la Protestation Communiste," in the *Revue Socialiste*, Dec. 1889, by Benoit Malon.

stowed in large storehouses, where the fathers of families go and fetch what they require. All the inhabitants of the island consider themselves equals. They dine nearly every day together at common tables. By regular physical exercise they acquire strength, agility, and beauty. In a word, it is a sketch of an existence combining Plato's ideal of a republic and the ideal of monastic life. In tracing it the author describes the political, economic, and judicial reforms which he would fain see carried out, and ends with an eloquent dissertation against the inequality to be met with in modern society:—

“Is it just that the nobleman, the usurer, the jeweller [the banker of that period], who live in idleness and produce nothing useful, should indulge in every enjoyment, while the tiller of the soil, the workman and artisan, suffer misery, and can barely earn sufficient to subsist upon by excessive hours of labour? The lot of beasts of burden is preferable to theirs.”

Southey, in 1830, in his book on “Sir Thomas More,” refers to these Utopian ideals, and seeks to find therein a remedy for the evils of the then existing industrial system, which was worse than it had been, owing to a very severe economic crisis. He mentions among other things the “cannibal sheep.”

Bacon, in the “Nova Atlantis,” wished also to draw up a programme of social reform:—*De legibus sive de optimo civitatis statu*; but he only wrote the first part of his book, in which he explains that man should make a servant of Nature by studying its forces and its laws. In his “Oceana,” dedicated to Cromwell (1556), Harrington specially considers political institutions.

The “Civitas Solis,” by the Calabrian monk Campanella (1623), is very like More's “Utopia,” but this ideal city still more nearly resembles a monastery, for the government of it is entirely theocratic. Society is governed by a sort of Pope, the Metaphysicus, and under him by three ministers,—Pou, Strength; Siu, Wisdom; and Mor, Love. A remarkable point is that the “Civitas Solis” is only a portion of a large work, in which Campanella tries to build up a whole system of sociology, the outline of which much resembles Herbert Spencer's scheme: the first part takes into consideration the laws of nature; the second, the manners and customs of men; the third part is political, and the fourth economic.

The inhabitants of the City of the Sun live in magnificent palaces, enriched with all the splendours of art, and in all ways so arranged as to make life as pleasant as possible. Everything is in common—wives and goods—as in Plato's “Republic”—so that there are no more selfish struggles, nor conflicting interests, nor misery, nor theft, nor crime of any sort. Men and women are all engaged in work of some kind, but each individual in accordance with his or her aptitude and capacity. Equal consideration is shown to all branches of occupation, which are regulated and distributed by specially appointed magis-

trates. Women and children, as a rule, are every day practising music. There are no poor nor rich, and four hours' labour per day is amply sufficient to provide the necessaries of life for all, because idleness is unknown. Out of 70,000 Neapolitans, says Campanella, barely 10,000 or 15,000 work; these wear themselves out by too hard labour, and the others by luxury and vice, and sickness resulting therefrom :—

“In Civitate Solis, dum cunctis distribuuntur ministeria, et artes et labores et opera, vix quatuor in die horas singulis laborare contingit reliquum licet tempus consumatur in addiscendo, jucundè disputando, legendo, narrando, scribendo, deambulando, exercendo ingenium et corpus et cum gaudio.”

Each branch of production is under the direction of a manager, who regulates the labour to be accomplished, and assigns to each his post.

M. Quack mentions another Utopia very little known, although Southey refers to it in his “*Sir Thomas More*” (vol. ii. p. 373), and Sir George Cornwall Lewis in his “*Methods of Observation and Reasoning in Politics*” (vol. ii. p. 271.) The title of this book, which is written in French, and was published in 1672, is “*Histoire des Sevarambes.*” It is dedicated to the Baron Riquet who made the famous Languedoc canal. The anonymous author was, in all probability, Vairesse d’Allais. The people of Sevarambes, whom a traveller has visited on an island in the Austral Ocean, live happily under the guidance of their king. As riches and the possession of property give birth to envy, avarice, extortion, and an infinite number of other evils, the king has wisely willed it that all land and all riches shall belong to the State. Each citizen works eight hours a day, and all are wealthy, for their wants are amply provided for. A magistrate distributes to each family what it requires. There is no idleness, no encouragement of useless arts, which may serve to foster vanity and luxury, no inequality, no intemperance, no crime. The laws of morality are imposed on all. The Sevarambes live in enormous buildings called Osmasies, in which a thousand persons can find accommodation. These abodes are pleasanter dwellings than our present palaces, and there is a storehouse attached to each, which contains all that could possibly be required. These Osmasies are indeed nothing more or less than Fourier’s Phalanstères.

The particular and little observed merit of this later reformer is that he carried the optimism of the eighteenth century to its logical and, if you will, absurd conclusion. The philosophers of the period maintained that man is naturally good, in opposition to the Christian idea of the Fall, which considers man as inclined to evil. But if man be good, his passions and instincts must also be good. Is it not God, who is goodness itself, who has endowed us with them? The sufferings of humanity arise solely from the attempts that have been made, in contradiction to the natural order of things, to eradicate

or restrain the passions. They should, on the contrary, be respected and stimulated, and be made the motive powers of the new Society. Make labour attractive, and men will work with ardour from the mere fact that they love pleasure. Let the favours of the most beautiful women be the reward of the cleverest and most diligent workers, as in the times of the tournament, when the most beautiful became the prize of the most valiant, and sexual attraction, which is condemned as sin, would become the one great incentive of the economic world.

After having analysed and depicted human passions from his point of view, Fourier tries to demonstrate how each one of them might be turned to account in the work of production of wealth. One example will suffice to explain his system. However perfect the organization of the Phalanstère may be, thanks to the advances made in machinery and chemistry, still there will always be certain duties to be performed less pleasant than others, and even some more or less repugnant; these, he suggests, should be done by children, who appear to enjoy playing in the dirt and mud, to judge from what one often sees in the streets after heavy rain.

Cabet's "Icarie," which was written a little before 1848, reproduces the chief characteristics of previous communistic Utopias. It is again an ideal of monastic or barrack life, each working for all under the guidance of a superior; production and consumption of goods being in common; and perfect harmony reigning everywhere, because property, the source of all dispute, is abolished.

The celebrated novelist, Lord Lytton, also amused himself by writing a novel on social reform—"The Coming Race." In this book the ideal people are to be met with, not on some far-off island, but in the bosom of the earth. An explorer goes down into a very deep mine, when the chain breaks, and he finds himself suddenly transported into a marvellous world, entirely lighted by a uniform, perpetual, and extraordinarily soft light. He there meets with human beings similar to ourselves, but in every way a finer race, stronger and wiser. They have discovered a force, far more powerful than electricity, the *vril*, by means of which they can reduce animals or men to ashes in a single instant. Perfect harmony exists in all economic relations in this underground world, for all competition is done away with:—

"The primary condition of mortal happiness consists in the extinction of that strife and competition between individuals, which, no matter what form of government they adopt, render the many subordinate to the few, destroy real liberty to the individual, whatever may be the nominal liberty of the state, and annul that calm of existence without which, felicity, mental, or bodily, cannot be attained."

The production of all goods and possessions is easy and abundant for, in addition to the almost limitless power of the *vril*, the "future race" use the most perfected mechanical means for all work:—

"Machinery is employed to an inconceivable extent in all the operations of labour within and without doors, and it is the unceasing object of the department charged with its administration to extend its efficiency. There is no class of labourers or servants, but all who are required to assist or control the machinery are found in the children, from the time they leave the care of their mothers to the marriageable age. These children are formed into bands and sections under their own chiefs, each following the pursuits in which he is most pleased, or for which he feels himself most fitted."

There is very nearly equality of means; at all events, none are in want of any necessary of life, and wages are the same for all:—

"According to their theory, every child, male or female, on attaining the marriageable age, and there terminating the period of labour, should have acquired enough for an independent competence during life. As all children must equally serve, so are all equally paid, according to their several ages or the nature of their work."

In this happy realm there is marrying and giving in marriage, and as all the inhabitants enjoy excellent health, the problem of the overgrowth of population soon presents itself. It is clear that Lord Lytton had read Malthus:—

"Each community sets its own limit according to circumstances, taking care always that there shall never arise any class of poor by the pressure of population upon the productive powers of the community, and that no State shall be too large for a government resembling that of a single well-ordered family."

In order to maintain the balance between the number of inhabitants and the means of subsistence, a certain number of families go off from time to time to colonize hitherto unoccupied land. As with the Germans of Tacitus, the women have great authority. Their power is greater because their knowledge is wider. The dwellings exceed in elegance and comfort anything that is known at the present day.

A particular point to be noticed is that

"Every room has its mechanical contrivances for melodious sounds, usually tuned down to soft-murmured notes, which seem like sweet whispers from invisible spirits."

Bulwer's novel on social reform is a mere sketch, very inferior to More's "Utopia;" the latter is far more real and life-like in its picture of the evils of the social order.

Finally, a book of a similar sort has been recently published, called "Looking Backward," by Mr. Edward Bellamy, which is deserving of attention for several reasons. It is well constructed and well written, and captivates the reader's imagination. Mr. Bellamy, who is well-versed in economic principles, sets himself to refute the objections which might be raised from that standpoint, and thus appears to give his book a scientific value, which was lacking to the dreams of a model state of society that had hitherto been laid before the public. The fiction which presents a scene for this

programme of social reform is very simple and ingenious. Instead of carrying us off to some far-away island, or below the surface of the earth, Mr. Bellamy merely describes what society will be in the year 2000. The supposed author of the story, an inhabitant of Boston, U.S., by name Mr. Julian West, was subject to insomnia. In order to obtain sleep he had a bedroom built under the foundation of his house. This room was a sort of vault, well closed and ventilated, where no sound from the city could penetrate; and here his doctor was in the habit of coming and inducing sleep by hypnotism. On a certain evening, the 30th of May, 1887, West is sent off to sleep after this manner by the doctor, who then leaves the town. The man-servant loses his life in a fire which destroys the rest of the house, and the sleeper is left in his subterranean chamber, of which no one else knows the existence, till he is found there alive, 113 years later, by a Dr. Leete, who wakes him up and restores him to vigour by means of a cordial. He is at once received into the doctor's family, and later on proceeds to visit the town and its institutions, which he describes, comparing them with those of our day. To all the objections he raises he receives satisfactory replies from Dr. Leete, and he thus gives us a complete picture of the new social organization.

As in preceding Utopias, Mr. Bellamy commences by showing the evils of the existing system, but he does not dwell long on this theme. He makes use, however, of a striking comparison, which I will quote, so as to give an idea of the author's style of writing:—

"To give some general impression of the way people lived together in those days (1887) and especially of the relations of the rich and poor to one another, I cannot do better than compare society, as it then was, to a prodigious coach, which the masses of humanity were harnessed to and dragged toilsomely along a very hilly and sandy road. The driver was Hunger, and permitted no lagging, though the pace was necessarily very slow. Despite the difficulty of drawing the coach at all along so hard a road, the top was covered with passengers, who never got down, even at the steepest ascents. The seats on the top were very breezy and comfortable. Well up out of the dust, their occupants could enjoy the scenery at their leisure, or critically discuss the merit of the straining team. Naturally such places were in great demand, and the competition for them was keen, every one seeking as the first end in life to secure a seat on the coach for himself and to leave it to his child after him. . . . I am well aware that this will appear to the men of the twentieth century an incredible inhumanity; but there are two facts, both very curious, which partly explain it. In the first place, it was firmly believed that there was no other way in which Society could get along, except the many pulled at the rope and the few rode; and not only this, but that no very radical improvement even was possible, either in the harness, the coach, the roadway or the distribution of toil. It had always been as it was, and it would always be so. It was a pity, but it could not be helped, and philosophy forbade wasting compassion on what was beyond remedy. The other fact is yet more curious, consisting in a singular hallucination, which those on the top of the coach generally shared, that they were not exactly like their brothers and sisters who pulled at the rope, but of finer clay, in some way belonging to a higher order of beings who might justly expect to be drawn"

Let us now see how the men of the twentieth century organize society so as to do away with that extraordinary distribution of the goods of this world existing at the present time, in virtue of which some enjoy without work, while others work with little or no reward. I will try to explain the new organization advocated by Mr. Bellamy, keeping as nearly as possible to the author's own text.

Treatises on political economy are generally divided into three sections, the first treating of the production; the second of the division and circulation, and the third of the consumption of riches. This is indeed the economic cycle. Mankind have various wants to be satisfied, it is therefore necessary that the commodities which these requirements necessitate should be produced. Men do not work each one alone and for himself, but in groups and co-operatively; the produce obtained must therefore be distributed; and finally, each one having received his share consumes it, while working so as to reproduce for future maintenance. I therefore think that I gave a clear definition of political economy when I explained it as "the science which determines what laws men ought to adopt in order that they may, with the least possible exertion, procure the greatest abundance of things useful for the satisfaction of their wants, may distribute them justly and consume them rationally."—*Elements of Political Economy*, p. 31.

Let us first of all examine how the production of riches is carried on in the year 2000. Land and all the instruments of production, farms, mines, railroads, mills, have been *nationalized*, and are the property of the State. The industry and commerce of the country have ceased to be conducted by a set of irresponsible corporations of private persons, at their caprice and for their profit. They are entrusted to a single syndicate representing the people in their common interest. The change from the old organization to the new was accomplished without violence, and with the general consent of public opinion. People had seen for many years larger and larger syndicates handling revenues greater than those of States, and directing the labours of hundreds of thousands of men with an efficiency and economy unattainable in smaller operations. It had come to be recognized as an axiom that the larger the business the simpler the principles that can be applied to it. So it came to pass that the nation, organized as one great corporation, became the sole and final monopolist by whom all previous monopolies were swallowed up.

The nation being now the only employer, all the citizens are employees, and are distributed according to the needs of industry. In short, it is the principle of universal military service applied to *labour*. The period of industrial service is twenty-four years, beginning with the close of the course of education at twenty-one, and terminating at forty-five. Women are co-labourers with men, but their strength being

less, the kinds of occupation reserved for them, and the conditions under which they pursue them, are settled accordingly. The entire field of productive and constructive industry is divided into ten great departments, each representing a group of allied industries, each particular industry being in turn represented by a subordinate bureau, which has a complete record of the plant and force under its control, and of the present product and the means of producing it. These bureaux set out the work to their men according to the demand of the distributive department which sells the commodities to the customers. The chiefs of these ten grand divisions of the industrial army may be compared to the commanders of army-corps, and above them is the general-in-chief, who is the President of the State. The general-in-chief must have passed through all the grades below him from the position of a common labourer upwards. He rises to the highest rank by the excellence of his records, first as a worker, and then as a lieutenant.

The chief of each guild is elected, but to prevent candidates intriguing for the support of the workers under them, they are chosen by the honorary members of the guild—that is, by those who have served their time and attained the age of forty-five. But what authority has the power and the discrimination necessary to determine which out of the two or three hundred trades and avocations each individual shall pursue? It is done very easily in Mr. Bellamy's Utopia.

All new recruits belong for three years to the class of common or unskilled labourers. During this period the young men are assignable to any work at the discretion of their superiors. Afterwards, voluntary election, subject only to necessary regulation, is depended on to determine the particular sort of service every man is to render. His natural endowments, mental or physical, determine what he can work at most profitably for the nation and for himself. It is the business of the administration to seek constantly to equalize the attractions of the trades; so that all trades shall be equally attractive to persons having a natural taste for them, and that, consequently, there shall not be excess of workmen in one trade and deficiency in others. This is done by making the hours of labour in different trades to differ according to their arduousness. If any particular occupation is in itself so oppressive that in order to induce volunteers to engage in it the day's work must be reduced to ten minutes, this, too, is done. The administration, in taking burdens off one class of workers, and adding them to other classes, simply follows the fluctuations of opinion among the workers themselves, as indicated by the rate of volunteering.

But who does the house-work? No difficulty here. There is none to do. Washing is done at public laundries at excessively cheap rates, and cooking at public kitchens; the making and repairing of wearing apparel is all done outside in public shops. Electricity, of course, takes the place of all firing and lighting. In the splendid

public building, where every family has its private dining-room, the waiters are young men in the unclassified grade of the industrial army who are assignable to all sorts of miscellaneous occupations not requiring special skill. No objection is made because no difference is recognized between the dignity of the different sorts of work. The individual never regards himself as the servant of those he serves; it is always the nation he is serving.

Now comes the question of distribution and wages. No wages are paid, as there is no money. Every person, skilled or unskilled—workmen, women, invalids included—receives an equal share of the general product of the nation, and a credit-card is given him, with which he procures at the public store-houses whatever he desires. The value of what he procures is checked off by the clerk. It is required of each that he shall make the same effort and give the best service in his power. Now that industry is no longer self-service, but service of the nation, patriotism, passion for humanity, impel the worker. The army of industry is an army, not alone by virtue of its perfect organization, but by reason also of the ardour of self-devotion which animates its members. Honours, instead of the love of money, prompt the supreme kinds of effort. Then diligence in the national service is the sole and certain way to public repute, social distinction, and official power.

The general production is largely increased by many causes. There are no idlers, rich or poor, no drones. The commodities, as soon as they are produced, go directly to the stores, where they are taken up by the customers, so there are no merchants, no agents, no middle men of any sort. The eighteenth, instead of the eighth, part of the workers suffices for the entire process of distribution. There is no waste of labour and capital by misdirected industry, or by the struggle of competition; there are no crises of over-production, as only the commodities that are wanted are produced according to the general view of the industrial field. What a difference of productive efficiency between innumerable barbarian hordes, always at war, the one against the other, and a disciplined army whose soldiers are marching all together in the same direction under one great general!

But how is an equilibrium established between demand and supply? Precisely as it is now. When any article is in great demand, the price is raised. Generally the work necessary to produce a commodity is recognized as the legitimate basis of its price. It is no longer the difference of wages that makes the difference in the cost of labour, it is the relative number of hours constituting a day's work in different trades, the maintenance of the worker being equal in all cases. The cost of a man's work in a trade so difficult, that in order to attract volunteers the hours have to be fixed at four per day, is twice as great as that in a trade where the men work eight hours.

It may be objected that in the new system, the parents not having to provide for the future of their family, there is nothing to encourage saving habits on the part of the citizens. That is true, but individual savings are no longer necessary, nor, except in special cases, permitted; the nation guarantees the nurture, the education and comfortable maintenance of every citizen; and, as the total production is greater than the consumption of wealth, the net surplus is employed by the State in enlarging the productive capital—*i.e.*, in establishing new railways, bridges, mills, and improved machinery, and also in public works and amusements, in which all share, such as public halls and buildings, clubs, art galleries, great theatrical and musical exhibitions, and every kind of recreation for the people. For example, the principle of labour saving by co-operation has been applied to the musical service as to everything else. There are a number of music-rooms in every city, perfectly adapted acoustically to every sort of music. These halls are connected by telephone with all the houses whose inhabitants care to pay a small fee. The corps of musicians attached to each hall is so large that, although the individual performer or group of performers has no more than a brief part, each day's programme lasts through the twenty-four hours. Every bedchamber has a telephone attached at the head of the bed, by which any person who may be sleepless can command music at pleasure, and can make a selection suited to his mood.

As will have been noticed, Mr. Bellamy reproduces several features of previous Utopias: universal harmony, distribution of occupation according to individual aptitudes, equality of reward, universal ease and comfort, reduction of hours of labour; suppression of idleness, of competition, of the struggle for life, and also of money; the splendour and commodiousness of the palatial habitations, even to the detail of the music, which all are able to enjoy. There is a little pamphlet, very ably and eloquently written, though little read at the present day, which clearly explains the basis of the new state of society to which Mr. Bellamy introduces us under cover of a tale. This little work, by M. Louis Blanc, is entitled "L'Organisation du Travail."

Let us now examine what are the objections which our author's views call forth. There are two principal ones: the first referring to the allotment of functions, and the second to the distribution of produce.

We shall begin by taking the first of these two points. In the Church, as in the army, the chief authority has the granting of appointments. In China this is settled by examination. But the difficulty would be far greater in the new society, for every branch of production would have to be included, and would be open to every one, all having received the same education. It is quite clear that all the pleasanter trades and professions would be taken up, and there would be no one to fill the less agreeable ones. Mr. Bellamy has discovered

a means of obviating this difficulty, not yet thought of by his predecessors, which is to reduce the hours of labour in proportion as the work to be done is less attractive, even if the day's work had to be brought down to only a "few minutes;" but very often it would be impossible to apply this system. Consider the miner, for instance: the hours of labour would have to be exceedingly short for men to be willing to work in a colliery; this would entail an endless procession of relays of workmen going up and down the shafts, and it would be impossible to work the mine. The same argument applies to the workers in steamships; it would be necessary to embark for each voyage a whole regiment of stokers. And the puddlers and the workmen in rolling-mills, &c. ? Nevertheless, the principle of reducing the hours of labour in proportion as labour is less pleasant is certainly just, and might be applied in a certain measure in any rational industrial organization.

The chief objection (and this is absolute) is to the system of remuneration, which is nothing more or less than the communistic formula: *From each according to his strength, to each according to his requirements*; applied practically, this becomes equality of wages. Personal interest is the great mainspring of the economic world. A workman only does all he possibly can when the reward is in adequate proportion to the work accomplished. This is perhaps very sad, but it is undoubtedly true. Here are two facts in proof of it.

After the revolution of 1848, Louis Blanc started a workshop where these principles of equality were practised. The wages were the same for all, but the names of all idlers were written up on the walls. All work was very well paid for, as he had an order from the State to supply uniforms for the National Guard.

At the outset all went very well. The workmen were sincere and ardent Socialists, who made it a point of honour that the experiment of the new system should be a success; but very soon this good understanding came to an end. Those who were more industrious or quicker than their companions accused the latter of idleness; they felt themselves victims of injustice, for the remuneration was not in proportion to the zeal and activity displayed. They were being "cheated and duped," and this was intolerable; hence quarrels, arguments, and fights. The temple of brotherhood was transformed into a sort of boxing booth—"boite aux gifflés," which is, as is known, the name given to the building where the citizens of Geneva meet together for the exercise of their sovereign rights.

Another example. Marshal Bugeaud founded at Beni-Mered, in Algeria, a military colony on a communistic footing. The settlers were all picked men, and he supplied them with all they needed for the cultivation of the soil. Land, cattle, agricultural implements, the produce of the harvests, everything, in fact, was to be owned, and all

work carried on in common for the space of three years. The plan was excellent. It, nevertheless, turned out a failure. Although the colonists were soldiers, accustomed to discipline, passive obedience, and equal pay, and without private home or family, still they could not go through the communistic novitiate to the end. As they were engaged in pursuits other than their military exercises, the spirit of innovation and the taste for amelioration soon made themselves manifest. Each one wished to cultivate according to his own notion, and they reproached each other with not doing the work well. The marshal vainly explained that it was to their own advantage to work in common, in order to overcome the first difficulties of starting the settlement, and to realize the economies ensured by a wise division of labour: it was of no avail; the association had to be dissolved, although it had so far brought in profits.

It is true that Mr. Bellamy does not wholly ignore two most powerful incentives of human actions—punishment and reward. Referring to punishment he writes, "A man able to do duty and persistently refusing is cut off from all human society?" Does this mean that idlers are put to death, or merely sent to prison, or allowed to starve? At all events, it is compulsion of some sort. Who is to apply it, or to judge when it is necessary? Certainly, men would in all probability rarely refuse to do any work at all; but those who do as little as possible, or do it badly, are they to be punished, or to receive the same salary, or rather be credited with the same amount as the others? The State could not send away a bad workman, as it can do now; for, there being no private enterprises, this dismissal would be equivalent to capital punishment. When remuneration is in proportion to the work accomplished, diligence and activity are encouraged, whereas an equal rate of wages is a premium on idleness.

But, argues Mr. Bellamy, honour is a sufficient reward in itself; for men will sacrifice everything, even their lives, for it. It is perfectly true that honour has inspired the most sublime acts and heroic deeds which have called forth universal admiration; but honour can never become the motive power of work or the mainspring of industry. It will not conquer selfish instincts, or overcome instinctive repugnance for certain categories of labour, or the dislike to the wearing monotony of the daily task. It may make a hero, but not a workman.

I am not unaware that a system very similar to that of Mr. Bellamy has been known to work very well, for instance in Peru, and in "The Missions" in Paraguay, where the Jesuits had most admirably disciplined the Indians. The latter worked in common, under the guidance of the Jesuit Fathers, who then distributed the produce

no scope for either liberty or individual initiative.* The Indians were certainly materially far better off than are our workmen. And yet Bougainville, who visited them, reports that they looked unhappy, "like animals caught in a trap." Besides, can it be supposed for a moment that the men of the twentieth century would accept such a system of theocracy?

As Sir Henry Maine states, Peru is the best example known of the collective system having been successful.† When the Spaniards conquered the country they found it admirably cultivated—not only the rainless plains along the coasts, but also all the high table-lands and the narrow valleys running between some of the gigantic peaks of the Andes—and the people enjoying a somewhat peculiar, but certainly advanced, state of civilization. Many monuments and extensive public works had been erected; and this was the more extraordinary seeing the inhabitants knew of no metals besides gold and silver. A complete system of irrigation brought water from the highlands down to the arid plains of the coast, where agriculture was, consequently, very successfully carried on. One of these canals was really prodigious, going underground, crossing rivers, and running through mountains for a distance of about 500 English miles. The ruins of the palaces and temples still to be met with always astonish travellers.

The following were the principal characteristics of the economic system in vogue there. The soil, which was almost the sole source of wealth, belonged to the State. It was divided into three parts: the first was applied for the maintenance of the temples and priests of the Sun, the second for the Sovereign and the nobility, and the third for the people, as a temporary privilege, they being obliged in return to cultivate all the land without exception, as was the case with us in the Middle Ages. The land was divided afresh every year among all the families, according to their requirements, as was the case with the Germans in the time of Julius Cæsar: "Magistratus ac principes in annos singulos gentibus cognationibusque hominum quantum, et quo loco visum est, agri attribuunt, atque anno post alio transire cogunt."—"De Bell. Gall. vi. 22.

Very exact registers were kept of the different plots of ground,

* See Charleroi, "Histoire du Paraguay," 1768; Muratori, "Relation des Missions du Paraguay," 1754; A Kobler, "Der Christliche Communismus in der Reductionen von Paraguay," 1879.

† "There are two sets of motives, and two only, by which the great bulk of the materials of human subsistence and comfort have hitherto been produced and reproduced. One has led to the cultivation of the Northern States of the American Union from the Atlantic to the Pacific; the other had a considerable share in bringing about the agricultural and industrial progress of the Southern States, and in old days it produced the wonderful prosperity of Peru under the Incas. One system is economical competition, the other consists in the daily task, perhaps fairly and kindly allotted, but enforced by the prison or the scourge. So far as we have any experience to teach us, we are driven to the conclusion that every society of men must adopt one system or

and the number of members of each family, so that the division might be made on a perfectly equitable basis. Each family was also allowed a certain amount of guano from the Chinchas Islands for manuring the land. All agricultural labour was carried on under the direction of the authorities, and the first to receive attention was the ground which was to serve for the support of the aged, the widows and orphans, the sick, or those employed in the service of the State. Maize was cultivated on even the most abrupt slopes of the mountains, which were covered with terraces, supported by enormous blocks of rock and stone, and then filled with fertile earth from the valleys. The State supplied each dwelling with wearing apparel and with the necessary implements of labour. There were neither rich nor poor; every one had sufficient to live comfortably, but without a surplus permitting accumulation.

Idleness was a punishable offence. There was no coinage; gold and silver were used for ornaments, or were deposited in the temples. Exchanges were made at regular monthly fairs, by bartering. The Government gave out raw materials to artisans and to women, who made these into manufactured articles, under the supervision of overseers appointed by Government.

The population was divided into communities of families, similar to the Zadrugas of the Yougo-Slavs. These numbered about 1000 members each, who lived together in immense dwellings, the ruins of which may still be found in parts of Central America, reminding one of ants' nests. On fête days large banquets brought together the inhabitants of the same canton, like the *Syssities* in Greece.

The administration we have just briefly sketched was not strictly communistic, for each family cultivated the plot of ground annually assigned to it on its own account; but, setting aside this very small concession to individual life, the whole of the economic activity of the country was under State direction. And yet, in the Peru of the Incas, agriculture was more advanced, the population and riches were greater, there was more general well-being and a more materially advanced civilisation, than either under the Spanish dominion or even at the present day. Here, as in that marvellous Egypt of the Pharaohs, where are to be admired monuments far surpassing in grandeur and magnificence all those of other nations, we can see what can be accomplished by the collective labour of an entire nation, under the sole and concentrated direction of the Government or of one superior order. Only the administration here referred to was of that "stationary" kind which Mill says we must not attack, but which is in direct opposition to the ardent love of change and progress so characteristic of the modern man. Amongst all the transformations and revolutions which are leading him to an ideal condition, scarcely yet foreseen, he will suffer it is true; but he is not likely to go so

The eminent professor of philosophy at the University of Lausanne, M. Charles Secrétan, whose writings on social questions are so highly appreciated, has also yielded to the temptation of writing "his Utopia," which is not so far removed from reality as Mr. Bellamy's. Being tired, he falls asleep on the enchanting banks of Lake Lemán. When he awakes he is accosted by a stranger, whose appearance is somewhat singular; he has the high forehead and penetrating eye of a philosopher, and the hard rough hands of a working-man. The sleeper is surprised, and proceeds to question him. The philosopher explains that the social state into which he is now transported is very different from that of the nineteenth century. Men divide their days into two parts: one is devoted to manual labour, and the other to intellectual pursuits and the culture of the mind. Although the young men's education is very complete, they are all taught a trade, which they exercise later on in life; and this only raises them in the estimation of their fellow-citizens.

Nowadays, when every one works, said the blacksmith philosopher, six hours' labour suffices for each man to maintain his family in comfort. Machinery is always kept going in the workshops, batches of workmen taking each their turn. You see, he continued, we have no more drones, nor landed proprietors with their toadies, nor capitalists, nor parasites of any description, nor beggars, nor workmen without work. The accumulation of capital is not forbidden, but the rate of interest has fallen so low that, for a man to be able to live on his revenue, he must possess an exceptionally large fortune. Besides, wages are very high, the average being about £120 a year. All land, and even the houses to let, belong to the State, which "nationalized" them, indemnifying the former owners. This operation was commenced in Ireland, where it answered so well that it was adopted everywhere else. As for manufactured industries, these are carried on by co-operative associations. All the workmen of a mine, or a factory, are more or less part owners in it; the manager, the officials, and workmen, are all shareholders to the amount of their savings; and these savings commence on the day they first begin work in the establishment, by a certain amount being held back from their pay. Only those taken in occasionally as extra hands receive their full wages. The transition from the old industrial system to the new was effected almost imperceptibly. The struggle between capitalists and workmen had become so violent, and strikes so frequent, that the chiefs of industries saw no other course open to them than to interest all their men in the undertaking, by giving them a share in the profits. This share given to the workmen made them shareholders in the business, and the former owners became directors. In this manner the firms in which participation in profits was introduced were changed into co-operative associations.

under the auspices of, their former owners. Thus the producer became possessed of the means of production, and ownership, without which there can be no real liberty, was universal in the association, each receiving, in this way, the full value of the work he contributed. Custom-house dues being abolished, each country strove to develop those branches of industry for which its climate and the aptitudes of its inhabitants best suited it. The balance between supply and demand is very well established, because, as statistics make known, the amount of consumption, the production is regulated accordingly. All the branches of one industry in a country form a sort of association; and this arrangement has put a stop to that merciless competition which permitted a few millionaires to enrich themselves at the cost of thousands of their fellow-creatures, who were obliged to labour for the exclusive profit of their masters. The great number of hours of labour employed in making articles of luxury, which vanity and self-indulgence required, are now occupied in producing things of real utility. Thus the general well-being is considerably increased, and the portion assigned to each is in proportion to the work done.

M. Charles Secrétan's Utopia seems to answer very generally to the ideal foreseen for the future by those who have faith in the ulterior progress of the human race. The nationalization, or rather the "communalization," of land does not appear to present very great difficulties. In a recent letter to the *Times* (November 12, 1889), Sir Louis Mallet, who most earnestly opposes this measure, explains very clearly that, in order to appreciate an institution, it must be seen whether it makes responsibility effective, and whether it tends to maintain the balance between supply and demand. But from this point of view it makes very little difference whether the tenant pay his rent to a landlord, to a college, to a city corporation, to a commune, or to a county council. In Russia and Prussia the State owns a great number of farms, which it lets in the same way as any ordinary landlord. The stimulus to work and the responsibility are the same in both cases. Raise the tax on property so as to swallow up nearly the whole rent, and you will change nothing in the working of the economic machinery, only the commune, the county, or the State, will be richer to the amount by which the landlords are poorer. The only question affecting the general welfare is this: Would the revenue from land be more advantageously laid out by the public authorities than by the present owners? *

Difficulties only become great when the domain of industry is approached. Co-operative societies, which would take upon themselves the management of manufacturing enterprises, have hitherto

* The advantage and disadvantage of Land Nationalization are completely discussed in the new edition of M. Pierson's *Treatise on Political Economy*, "Leerboek

succeeded only in exceptional cases. They are wanting in two essential conditions: capacity and authority in the administration, and a spirit of discipline and obedience in the workmen. We may hope, with M. Secrétan, that, thanks to education and to experience gradually acquired, the working-classes will, by degrees, attain the necessary qualifications for the management of industries, without being obliged to have recourse to capitalists; and, from the moment this is the case, the social transformation will be brought about peacefully and inevitably, like all previous economic revolutions.

The rapid and extraordinary success in all the Anglo-Saxon world of Mr. Bellamy's book—240,000 copies sold in the States, and 40,000 in England at this date—which recalls that of Mr. Henry George's "Progress and Poverty," is a symptom well worthy of attention. It proves that the optimism of old-fashioned economists has entirely lost the authority it formerly possessed. It is no longer believed that, in virtue of the "laissez faire" principle, everything will arrange itself for the best in the best of all possible worlds.

People feel that there is, in very truth, a "social" question; that is to say, that the division of the good things of this world is not in accordance with the laws of justice, and that something ought to be done to increase the share of the principal agents of production, the workmen. An author little known, but who deserves to be better known in England, Dupont White, the translator of several of Stuart Mill's political writings,* has, in one of his books, published so long ago as 1846, perfectly characterized this fresh sentiment, which was even then gaining a place in men's convictions. He says:—

"It was hoped that the increase in the production of riches would secure satisfaction to all, but nothing of the sort has taken place; discontent is greater and more deeply-rooted than ever. From this deceived hope has been born a new science; it may be called a social science, or it may even be said that it is not a science at all; but it is quite certain that *charity in laws* is a notion which in our days should be a fundamental doctrine; for, beyond the pale of all sects of socialists, it has sown in all hearts a feeling of uneasiness, of anxiety and care, an unknown emotion respecting the suffering classes, which has become matter of public conscience."

As for Mr. Bellamy's dream, it will, I fear, remain always a Utopia, unless man's heart be entirely transformed. His ideal is pure communism, and, as such, raises invincible objections, as I shall try to show in a future article.

EMILE DE LAVELEYE.

* The translation was really made by Madame Sadi Carnot, the gifted wife of the President of the French Republic. She translated Mill's "Liberty" and "Representative Government," under the direction of her father, Dupont White. See my account of this great writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, December 1, 1879.