UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OU_150042

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

By the Same Author:

THE MIND AND FACE
OF BOLSHEVISM

LENIN AND GANDHI

RASPUTIN
THE HOLY DEVIL

THE POWER AND SECRET
OF THE JESUITS

LEADERS, DREAMERS, AND REBELS

An Account of the Great Mass-Movements of History and of the Wish-Dreams That Inspired Them

BY RENÉ FÜLÖP-MILLER

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN
BY EDEN AND CEDAR PAUL

LONDON
GEORGE G. HARRAP & CO., LTD.
BOMBAY & SYDNEY

FIRST PUBLISHED 1935
BY GEORGE G. HARRAP & CO., LTD.
182 HIGH HOLBORN, LONDON, W.C.1
COPYRIGHT. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Printed in U.S.A.

CONTENTS

Guiding Thought of the Book 3

I. Masters of Dread

1. The World's Anxiety-Dream 8
2. Fettering of the Demons 17
3. Revolt of the Devil 27
4. The Drama of Virtue 32

II. Masters of Promise

1. The Wish-Dream of Supreme Felicity 56
2. The Coming Deliverer 67
3. Redeemers of the East 78
4. Witchery of the Non-Existent 89

III. Seeds of the Rights of Man

1. Clamour of the Deranged 100
2. Rule by the Common Folk 111
3. Baron Cloots's Supers 120

IV. The Burial-Ground of Reason

1. A Dead World 142
2. The Fanaticism of Abstraction 152
3. The Lawyer from Arras 164
4. A Voice from a Madwoman's Cell 173

V. Earthly Harmony

1. The Purified Revolution 180
2. Greatest Happiness of the Greatest Number 188
3. Sceptre and Umbrella 203
4. Master of Nature 215
5. The Great System 223
6. World of the Anti-Lion 233
7. New Harmony 243

VI. The Dream of the Great Magic

1. The Horn of Plenty 252
2. "Machinery Has Done It" 267
3. The Lash 276
4. "New Gods" 289
5. In the Paradise of the Machines 308
6. The Three Epochs of Kilogramme-Calories 324

VII. Propitiated Fate

1. Revolt against Reason 334
2. Birth of the Masses 348
3. At the End of Wisdom 369
4. Amor Fati 382

Appendix

Bibliography 428
Index 453

ILLUSTRATIONS

	FACING PAGE
VISHNU ON THE GIANT BIRD GARUDA	28
THE TERROR-GODDESS MKHA-SGRO-MA	28
THE TEMPTATION OF ST. ANTHONY	29
JAPANESE TERROR-DEMON	29
"LUST"	44
INFERNO	45
THE DEVIL TEMPTING A VIRGIN	52
A SCULPTURED DEMON	52
JOHN OF VINCENZA	53
THE REVIVALIST BERTHOLD	53
"WITCHES' SABBATH"	60
THE BLIND HUSSITE GENERAL ZISKA	61
DEATH MASK OF CROMWELL	61
THE LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS	76
PRAYER-MEETING OF ENGLISH PURITANS	76
GENEVA IN CALVIN'S DAY	77
"BUNDSCHUH" PEASANTS IN REVOLT	77
JOHN BOCKELSSOHN OF LEYDEN	84
THOMAS MÜNZER	84
THE CORONATION OF SABBATAI ZEVI	85
JOANNA SOUTHCOTT AND HER GOLDEN CRIB	92
"CROMWELL PRAYING"	92
THE MAHDI'S ARMY OF DERVISHES	93
THE TAI-PING REVOLT	93
THE PEASANT REVOLT OF JOHN BALL	108

FACING PAGE

THE FIERY CORONATION OF GEORGE DÓZSA 108

THE DANCE AROUND THE TREE OF LIBERTY 109

FESTIVAL IN THE CHAMP DE MARS 116

TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE 117

SIMON BOLIVAR 117

"THE ZENITH OF FRENCH GLORY" 124

PARISIAN MARKETWOMEN BRINGING THE KING FROM VERSAILLES 125

MARIE ANTOINETTE ON THE WAY TO THE GUILLOTINE 125

DESMOULINS CALLS THE PEOPLE TO ARMS 140

"THE FESTIVAL OF THE SUPREME BEING" 141

"THE CARMAGNOLE" 148

"ROBESPIERRE EXECUTES THE EXECUTIONER" 148

NAPOLEON GREETED ON HIS RETURN 149

"THE MAN AND WOMAN OF THE FUTURE" 156

CARICATURE OF "GENERAL LUDD" 156

"THE LEGISLATIVE BELLY" 157

LOUIS-PHILIPPE 172

VOLTAIRE AND HIS CIRCLE 173

ROBERT OWEN 220

COLONISTS OF "NEW HARMONY" 220

TRANSPORT OF A WINGED BULL IN NINEVEH 221

SKETCH OF ONE OF THE FOURIER PHALANSTERIES 236

RUSSIAN PLAN FOR A COLLECTIVIZED CITY 236

"HARMONY OF INTERESTS" IN AMERICA 237

THE SPINNING "JENNY" 244

THE MACHINE IN THE MIDDLE AGES 244

CHILDREN OF POVERTY-STRICKEN ENGLISH WORKERS 245

MODERN RAILWAY SWITCH- AND SIGNAL-CONTROL TOWER 276

THE "ALPHA ROBOT" 276

TURBINE INSTALLATION IN A MODERN POWER STATION 277

MODERN SEWAGE FILTERING PLANT 277

	FACING PAGE
CARICATURE OF JEAN JAURÈS	284
"THE AGITATOR"	284
KARL MARX	285
STALIN	285
LENIN	300
YOUNG RUSSIAN PEASANT ON A TRACTOR	301
TECHNIFICATION OF MEXICAN AGRICULTURE	301
FANTASY OF COLLECTIVIZATION	308
NEW FORMS OF MASS ARCHITECTURE	308
THE CULTURE OF THE MASSES	308
RUSSIAN DESIGN FOR A FESTIVAL OF THE MACHINE	309
RUSSIAN DESIGN FOR A SPEAKER'S ROSTRUM	309
TEN THOUSAND HUMAN BEINGS AND TEN THOUSAND APPLES	316
THE STANDARDIZATION OF THE MATERIAL WORLD	317
RUSSIAN MASSES: A WORKERS' MEETING	317
THE MASSES IN MODERN ART	332
BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE HOLLYWOOD BOWL	333
COLLECTIVIZED CITY OF THE FUTURE	340
A GLIMPSE OF THE BANKING CENTRE OF NEW YORK	341
THE CROWD WATCHING THE POPE	344
CROWDS IN THE AMPHITHEATRE AT VERONA	345
REVOLUTIONARY MASS MEETING IN CANTON	348
POSTER: "CHINA, AWAKE!"	349
GANDHI SPEAKS	364
MUSTAPHA KEMAL PASHA	365
SUN YAT SEN	365
MASS DEMONSTRATION: FUNERAL IN BOMBAY	368
DEMONSTRATION OF LOYALTY TO THE TSAR	369
COMMUNIST DEMONSTRATION, BOKHARA	369
"MACHINE CONCERT" OF FACTORY WHISTLES	372
COLLECTIVIZATION OF BREASTS	372

	FACING PAGE
RUSSIAN DESIGN FOR COLLECTIVE DWELLINGS	373
MODEL OF THE PROJECTED LENIN INSTITUTE	373
MUSSOLINI SPEAKS	380
GERMAN MASSES	381
NATIONAL SOCIALIST PEASANTS' FESTIVAL	396
THE MASSES MAKE MERRY	397
MODERN SPORT FESTIVAL	397
NATIONAL SOCIALIST LABOUR VOLUNTEERS	404
"THE DEMAGOGUE"	405

The author is indebted for the illustrations facing pages 109, 116, and 141 to the kindness of Dr. Joseph Gregor, Director of the Theatrical Collection in the Viennese National Library. Many of the illustrations were supplied by Messrs. Scherl, of Berlin.

LEADERS, DREAMERS, AND REBELS

GUIDING THOUGHT OF THE BOOK

THOUGH many attempts have been made to account for the sublime advances and the ludicrous failures of human history as brought about by the working of material needs and the attempt to satisfy them, such "materialist interpretations" have never proved fully convincing. No less unsatisfactory has been the endeavour to recognize a stupendous, logically consistent spiritual principle as the motive force of history. Both methods of explanation leave an inexplicable and enigmatic residuum which defies facile and obvious solutions. "Material" and "spiritual" causes determine a large part, but not all, of human history. There is a third force, everlastingly at work, deciding human fate quite as much as do material necessity and spiritual conception. I refer to the power of dreams.

Historical happenings are rooted in dreams no less than in the material and the ideal; and it is through dreams alone that both bodily need and philosophical cognition acquire that magical power which enables them to lay a spell upon millions and to transform the aspect of the world.

It is from such three-dimensional substance, likewise, that the great personalities of history are fashioned. Maybe the demands of his earthbound, bodily self drive the rebel to revolt; maybe it is an ideal aim which inspires the leader or the visionary; but to all alike it is the gift of their dreams which provides the imperturbable faith, inflames the ardour of the will, confers the suggestive power they exert, determines their tragical destiny. It is for the sake of dream-faces that to them the impossible becomes possible, that they sweep insuperable obstacles out of their path; and dream-faces beckon them on until, again and again, they shatter the established order of society, pulverize and demolish accepted realities, that they may, on the cleared ground, build anew from the foundations.

Outgrowth of dreams, finally, are the everlasting symbols arising

here and there from the uniform flux of material comings and goings, and which are superimposed upon the bubbles of transient ideas to constitute lasting monuments of human greatness.

Thus a mere acquaintance with material presuppositions suffices no more to furnish an understanding of historical processes than does a knowledge of the extant philosophical situation; for even the summation of these two components does not, of itself, produce the third, the indispensable factor which, yet more than in the individual life, is operative in determining the momentous, the fateful decisions and deeds of mankind.

This outlook, which the author unreservedly accepts, has spontaneously decided which historical incidents shall form the subject-matter of his book, and which shall be excluded from consideration. Where events have mainly issued from realist premises, or where logical reasoning has guided men's actions, the field has been left to works already penned. The present book deals only with the situations in which history has been made by visions, in which dreams have operated formatively upon the life of human society.

But for the description of these great collective dreams, neither a formal chronicle such as is applicable to phases of history in which materialist and realist influences have been dominant, nor yet a systematic account like that given by one who writes a history of the growth of philosophical doctrine, would have been suitable. When we speak of dreams, we speak of vital processes which go on in the deepest and most hidden workshops of the mind, beyond the range of ordinary corporeal experiences, and beyond the range of what the person concerned may think about these. There is no adequate way of describing dreams except as the expression of an attempt to enter sympathetically into the rhythm of such hidden vital processes, and thus in one's own person to dream the dreams of mankind.

That is what I have tried to do. This volume essays to follow the form of those dreams. Like them, it prefers a multicoloured and free play of imagery to chains of causal connexions and flawless deductions, while allowing the logical conclusion to reappear unexpectedly in a dissolving view. If, now and again, a cognition be accepted as an ultimate truth, and immediately thereafter discloses itself as folly; if the sublime transform itself into the abstruse, if beauty disclose itself as a caricature—then the author is

but following the dream-logic which is the only logic valid for his theme.

For that is how man's dreams run their course. First comes a vision, upon which the understanding begins its indefatigable labours, building a bridge consistently into the unknown, a wonder-work of clear and consequential thought, to span the way into the future. Mighty systems are constructed; and in their train come into being actualities, in which the system seems to realize itself down to the last letters of the alphabet. Somewhere, however, this reality lapses imperceptibly into dreamland, is metamorphosed into a new imaginative construction, in which all that had seemed the last fruit of exact knowledge becomes nonsensically slurred, and what had shaped itself as reprehensible absurdity now acquires convincing force. The dreamer is not guided by the valuations of his waking self, but by a law of form that surges from the depths, painting pictures, creating images, and sounding calls to action.

But if, the reader will ask, whatever is materially determined, whatever regulates ideas and cognitions, whatever strives purposively towards a goal, is subject to perpetual "interference" on the part of a sovereign dream-logic; if this dream-logic razes the established, supplies new and unanticipated aims, changes wisdom to folly and folly to wisdom—can it be maintained that history has a meaning, or that human effort has any valuable result?

Jean Paul once wrote: "Man has believed the most preposterous absurdities, and has discovered the sublimest truths." When man's day is done, this saying would be his worthy epitaph, conveying to those who may come after him in remoter ages a knowledge and a memory of our strange race of mortals.

Is it not, indeed, the core of man's mystery, that in his greatest follies his last wisdom lies enfurled? Those religious communities of the Middle Ages which regarded the fool as peculiarly endowed with God's grace, and revered folly as a mystical revelation—were they not near to the truth, and to the inmost significance of life?

In man's great wish-dreams, the kinship between wisdom and folly remains alive; and the history of the attempt to realize these wish-dreams bears witness to the greatness of our race. Every page of this book is a testimony to human greatness.

Vienna, April, 1934. RENÉ FÜLÖP-MILLER.

I

Masters of Dread

THE WORLD'S ANXIETY-DREAM

THE great and primal dream, common to all the peoples of the earth, one which has troubled the mind of man since the dawn of his first beginnings, is an anxiety-dream; for apprehension dominates the earliest and deepest strata of human thought and feeling; dread inspired by the vastness of the universe, and by man's loneliness therein; dread of the mysterious, incalculable, capricious powers with which his imagination peoples the realms of space.

This primordial fear is imposed by nature's own fiat. It arises earlier than any other sensation; antecedes will, activity, feeling, thought. The thousand cares and alarms which life with its concrete perils continually evokes—fear of illness, pain, poverty, loss of love—one and all of them are but circumstantial condensations of an inextinguishable and original terror, which is projected upon the obscure background of the ancient cosmic anxiety-dream of helpless loneliness felt by a creature grown self-conscious amid the eternal silences of boundless space, where deities dimly felt to be inimical hold sway. The omnipresent gods: these spooks, these "numina," which are the products of man's animistic thinking!

The conceptual outlook of our race has from the first been tainted by this horror and disquietude; the first creations of human fancy were the awful forms of hostile demons, inhabiting earth, air, and water; peeping from behind every tree-trunk, awaking with every sunrise, lurking in all that was edible; ever ready to attack, to inflict discomfort and torment and death. The clouds, the fountains, the forest, the steppe—all nature is full of elemental spirits, spooks, kobolds, dragons, devils, which are stronger than man and to whose whims he is subject. Man cannot escape the delusion that his life is passed in a charmed circle that is essentially evil.

Inspired as he is with boundless fear by the thought of these

demon shapes, man endows them with powers and dimensions no less boundless, transcending experience; and he ascribes to them as personalities the terrible characteristics and qualities which he projects into the outer world from his inward experience of primordial dread.

Primitives see gigantic distorted faces glaring at them out of the void, see huge creatures lashing the heavens with their tails. The sun that leaps from behind the horizon is a fiery dragon; and as soon as the orb of day sets, the darkness swarms with hosts of nocturnal spirits, which scatter sickness and death, hover round helpless infants, and maliciously give the little ones suck from poisonous breasts.

Stranglers and vampires fly hither and thither in the moonlight, drinking the blood and draining the very souls of sleeping mortals. Glowing serpents creep into maidens' beds, and rob them of their virginity. Packs of werewolves and bloodthirsty hounds with bodies of prodigious length hunt over the tree-tops; sinister goblins flit like will-o'-the-wisps across the plains. From his lair in the murmurous brushwood, the monster Thuremlin sallies forth to rattle at the doors of houses; the bogle Iruntarinia, armed with a spear, attacks his victims from behind, piercing them through neck and tongue. Bush-spirits, hyænas, ghouls, lamias, afreets, harpies, disembodied souls rising from the tomb—since the beginnings of human thought these creatures of a terror-stricken imagination have ranged far and wide, mislooking the cattle, spoiling the crops, sowing pestilences, raising storms, turning men into beasts, beasts into men.

The entry of man into this existence takes place with the shattering experience of birth, which leaves ineradicable traces in the mental life of us all. Accordingly, with the idea of the mother's womb as a delightful place of shelter and rest, there is inextricably associated a profound sense of anxiety. "Whoever catches sight of her shall perish from dread," we read in a Babylonian hymn to the Primal Mother who forms All Things; and in Greek mythology Gæa (Mother Earth) gave birth to Echidna, half woman, half serpent, whose offspring were Chimæra, Gorgons, the Sphinx, and other monsters.

These awesome spirits, procreated by a contaminated imagina-

tion, people space, man's own inner self, the sun, the process of birth, the generative organs, trees, the marriage-bed; we sense them behind the visages of our fellows; and it is upon the intimate and cruel experience of primal apprehension that depends the powerful, inescapable influence which such notions have, throughout human history, universally exercised upon our thoughts and our feelings. For this fearful anxiety is, to quote Kierkegaard, "absolutely formative, inasmuch as it destroys all that is finite, by stripping off the veil of illusion." He, therefore, who "has been formed through dread" has been "formed in accordance with his infinitude."

Thus, likewise, in the early stages of human development, all activity is directed towards one end, that of escaping the horror which overshadows the whole of life. To counteract the influence of evil spirits there arise complicated ceremonies of exorcism, there are established rites and commandments and prohibitions. A cult grows out of these first attempts to allay panic dismay, a system of taboos, concerning whose psychological foundations we have in recent years learned so much that is important, thanks to the investigations set on foot by Sigmund Freud and closely followed up by his pupils and disciples.

Every action becomes enmeshed in a tangle of confusing, unsystematized, incalculable, but extraordinarily strict series of prescriptions and specifications as to what is "clean" or "unclean," "allowable" or "forbidden." A thousand objects become untouchable, are avoided with religious fervour, because to handle them would provoke the wrath of the demons; a thousand sins of omission or commission are deadly crimes against the incomprehensible laws of the spiritual world.

In the taboos of primitives we already discern the functioning of a higher understanding. They imply a growing awareness (no matter how misguided) that whatever happens is the consequent of an antecedent, that causality everywhere prevails; for only on the assumption that there is a causal nexus, a mutual determination, between the realm of human beings and the realm of spirits, can it be supposed that the favour or the anger of demons can be dependent upon the observance or the neglect of taboos.

Furthermore ritual, however complicated, and however nu-

merous the prohibitions it enforces, establishes a sphere of the permissible in which the writ of dread no longer runs. Whoever observes the prohibitions faithfully, whoever wears the prescribed amulets and talismans while confining his activities within the limits of the permissible, need have no fear, for into the fenced precinct the images of anxiety-dreams cannot enter.

Yet danger still lurks everywhere, inasmuch as the malignant spirits are ever on the watch, and the utmost conscientiousness, the most effective equipment of charms, cannot ensure that a man will not now and again heedlessly infringe a taboo, will not perform an action which enrages a demon, and arouses a lust for vengeance. Once more dread takes possession of the recently tranquillized mind, robs it of its false sense of security, and hands it over anew to the torments of disquietude.

Now emerges the notion that infuriated numina can be appeased by sacrifices, that the infringement of taboos can be atoned for by appropriate ceremonies.

When faith in this possibility becomes rooted in men's minds, the edge of apprehension is yet further blunted, and the margin of safety is broadened. No longer need he who has committed a punishable offence, or has failed to comply with a prescription, despairingly await the inevitable outcome of his misdeed or omission. By the wonder-working ritual of voluntary atonement he can buy forgiveness from the offended demon, and thus avert the menacing disaster.

Unceasingly man tries to force the incalculable into a system, to bit and bridle the uncanny powers, to mitigate their cruelty and arbitrariness, and thus to free himself from the nightmare of the world's anxiety-dream. This remains one of the basic traits of all religions. Nay, more, the history of human civilization has been, throughout the millenniums, fundamentally nothing other than a persistent attempt to dispel this primal dread.

Nevertheless, in the religions of the civilized nations, terror holds sway over large domains. True, the demons have now assumed the anthropomorphic lineaments of a personal godhead; they have divested themselves of the beast's hide and horns, of the dragon's tail and the wolf's ravening maw; they no longer roar and

bellow, but speak with the human voice: yet these gods in human form remain incalculable, malicious, bloodthirsty; and mortals' attitude towards them is one of blind, perplexed, despairing uncertainty.

Zeus is a capricious, revengeful, malignant demon; and, like their chief, the other gods of the Greek Olympus are pitiless tormentors and destroyers. "The gods' one concern is to make us suffer," complains Euripides; "the wrath of the Heavenly Father" has neither meaning nor purpose; he is nothing but a mass of whims, obstinacy, and envy. Whatever happens here below happens because the gods delight in hurting mortals, to whom, therefore, life often seems not worth living. "It would be far better never to have been born; but if thou livest, the next best thing is, as speedily as possible, to return to the place whence thou camest," chants the chorus of the elders of Colonus in Sophocles' drama.

How many horrible figures did the Hellenic imagination create, in addition to the gods of Olympus: Pan, the god who dwelt on earth, and whose sudden appearances caused unreasoning terror ("panic"); Dionysus, the tipsy blaster of the shape and form of things. Besides these, there was a host of spookish monsters: Hecate, Medusa, Empusa, the mormo, the lamia, the harpies—and, as the mightiest among the dream-born symbols of primeval dread, the misshapen strangler, the Sphinx.

The notion of such omnipresent malicious powers pervades the religions of antiquity. In ancient Egypt, the falcon-headed gods, with their cruel beaks, hovered threateningly over the faithful. The gods of Assyria were fierce robbers and assassins, their muscles swelling with wrath, and they held axes and scourges in their pitiless hands. Even Ishtar, goddess of love, never embraced without slaying. The chief Mexican goddess was Cihuacohuatl, goddess of adversity—poverty, toil, and sickness—through whom sin came into the world. Supreme in the Chinese pantheon is the awe-inspiring figure of the giant dragon. The Hindu imagination is enthralled by Kali, goddess of terror, hideous and dishevelled, bloody consort of Shiva, the destroyer. Even Agni, "the richly rewarding," is said in the Rigveda "to snap sharp-toothed with glowing flames at those who disregard the ordinances of Varuna, the enduring ordinances of the heedful Mitra." In Buddhist poly-

theism, reverence is paid to the lion-headed Mkha-Sgro-Ma and to the giant bird, Garuda. Grim and ghastly are the Persian Ahriman, the Egyptian Set, and the Teutonic Loki—each of them a god of evil.

A fount of intense dread is the vengeful God of the Old Testament. His divine strength is manifested in wind and storm and earthquake. Yahveh shows his wrath ferociously when his people are chary in their sacrifices or annoy him in any other way. Again and again he vents his senseless rage on men: cutting them down in swaths as a reaper sickles corn; visiting them with famine, blight, illness, and war; tormenting and martyrizing them. "His breath kindleth coals, and a flame goeth out of his mouth. . . . His heart is . . . as hard as a piece of the nether millstone."

The patient Job endures all the cruelties this vengeful God can inflict, and, in his despair, he exclaims: "Know now that God hath overthrown me, and hath compassed me with his net. Behold, I cry out of wrong, but I am not heard: I cry aloud, but there is no judgment."

Man, however, in the long run, found it intolerable to go on believing himself to be subject to the unceasing spite of an almighty evil spirit, and he therefore gradually transformed the cruel tyrant into a just lawgiver, who no longer plagued his creatures from mere caprice, but punished or rewarded them in accordance with the dictates of eternally valid moral laws. Every distressing experience, every unsatisfied want, every visitation, was now regarded as the necessary outcome of a divinely benevolent ordering of the world, as the expression of the reign of law. God was not to be regarded as vengeful. Infallible Providence ruled the world.

With this enthronement of an all-wise, all-good sovereign, man seemed for a time to have got the better of his primordial dread. But the old adversary would not so easily accept defeat. Scarcely had the need for liberation from fear led to the conception of a God who dealt with people according to their deserts, when persistent apprehension evoked the sense of original sin, and made people feel they would never dare to face a just judge.

With distressing clearness, they became emotionally aware of

the infinitely manifold possibilities of wrongdoing, recognizing their incapacity to resist temptation; and out of this annihilating conviction of guilt developed the thought that man himself must be to blame for the imperfections of the world, that he had to atone for the Fall which had brought a curse upon the whole human race.

Once more the only refuge was in magical conjurations. Sacrifices must be made to turn to mercy a God who would punish if he acted only in accordance with the dictates of justice; for how could man, burdened with original sin, expect from a just God anything but damnation?

Pangs of conscience made men tremble in face of this idea of a just God. Terror inspired by the conviction of an unknown sin cries to heaven in a Babylonian penitential psalm:

> The sins I have sinned, I do not know;
> The offence I have committed, I do not know;
> The forbidden fruit I have eaten, I do not know;
> The uncleanness in which I have trodden, I do not know!
> Wash me clean, God, from the sins I do not know,
> Though my sins be seventy times seven.

It is in this mood that the Hebrew prophets issue a call to repentance: "Cast away from you all your transgressions, whereby ye have transgressed," says Ezekiel, "and make you a new heart and a new spirit." Entering the great and populous city of Nineveh, and summoning the inhabitants to repent, Jonah declares: "Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown!" The words of the prophet arouse in the proud capital a frenzy of penitence, in which even the dumb beasts must share: "So the people of Nineveh believed God, and proclaimed a fast, and put on sackcloth, from the greatest of them even to the least of them. For word came unto the king of Nineveh, and he arose from his throne, and he laid his robe from him, and covered him with sackcloth, and sat in ashes. And he caused it to be proclaimed and published through Nineveh by the decree of the king and his nobles, saying, Let neither man nor beast, herd nor flock, taste any thing: let them not feed, nor drink water: But let man and beast be covered with sackcloth, and cry mightily unto God: yea, let them turn

every one from his evil way, and from the violence that is in their hands."

Among the cities of Greek civilization, full of the joy of life in Sicily, appears the philosopher Pythagoras. In Crotona he summons the citizens to repentance. While in the neighbouring Sybaris the inhabitants glory in their splendid banquets, decorate their most skilful cooks with golden crowns, and make even war-service the occasion for wanton display in dress, arms, and music, Pythagoras induces the women of Crotona to offer up their finest robes and their most gorgeous trinkets upon the altar of Juno's temple, and the men pass strict laws against luxury and dissipation. Soon penitent Crotona declares war against the Sybarites, who are weakened by riotous living; the Crotonese conquer Sybaris, raze the city to the ground, and turn the waters of Crathis to flow over the ruins.

When the new doctrine of redemption was about to be preached in Palestine, there appeared beside the Jordan John in "his raiment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins . . . the voice of one crying in the wilderness." To the Baptist "then went out . . . Jerusalem, and all Judæa, and all the region round about Jordan." Pharisees and Sadducees, the soldiers of Herod Antipas, tax-gatherers and harlots—people of every class forgathered in the valley of the Jordan, united in the sense of human guilt and in the craving for repentance.

The same dread that had produced the taboos of primitives now overcame the members of the civilized peoples which had wrestled their way to the notion of a just God. Indeed, this very justice often assumed the most alarming shapes. It was the same nightmare as that which, among the Greeks, had given birth to the avenging deities, the Erinyes or Eumenides, winged maidens with serpents twined in their hair and blood dripping from their eyes, whose function it was "to detect the crimes of mortals," and to pursue the offenders even into the world of the shades.

In proportion as God began to shed his violent, cruel, and bloodthirsty attributes, becoming just, humane, kindly, and merciful ("Allah, the merciful, the compassionate"), did the recognition force itself upon his worshippers that the happenings of actual life were nowise consistent with this assumption of universal justice

or even with that of divine considerateness. Inevitably, therefore, belief in a good God culminates in the conviction that there must be a second Being who fights against God and is to blame for the imperfections and evils of the world.

Thus originated a dualistic image of the universe, most clearly developed in Zoroastrianism, according to which all that happens on earth is the outcome of a perpetual conflict between a Spirit of Good and an equally powerful Spirit of Evil, each of them for ever baffling the plans and wishes of the other.

What, by strenuous labour, has been expelled from the humanized world of the gods therefore re-enters it as a devilish counterpart; and the apprehension-free world, created by man's mind through the device of assuming the world to be ruled by a beneficent deity, is reconquered by invaders from the depths who bring back with them new visions of the old terrors. As rebel against Ormuzd, Lord of Light, appears Ahriman, Prince of Darkness; and when Yahveh is no longer a God of Wrath, Satan uplifts himself as the disturber of God's peace.

In the most diversified religions and civilizations, the same process is repeated. Under all skies, the abysses of hell yawn.

A spectral "Habitation of Darkness" undermines Babylon; "clad in wings like bats and owls," the spirits of the departed feed there upon dust. Seven stories below ground extends the inferno of the Jains; nine-and-forty stories, that of the Brahmins; while the Buddhist hell has ten circles. Everywhere the souls of the damned endure unending torment in the firelit spaces—burning or freezing, as the case may be. Sometimes, shaped like birds of prey, they tear their own flesh; sometimes the rulers of hell, like the Emperor Emma of the Japanese or the ten kings of the Taoist place of everlasting punishment Ti-yu, are unceasingly engaged in devising new sufferings, sawing the accurst in twain, boiling them in oil, or braying them in a rice-mortar.

Even the hell of the Greek philosopher Empedocles was a gloomy abode of terror, "a joyless place, where murder and hatred and troops of unhappy spirits, where drought and corruption and pestilence and putrefaction, flit hither and thither through the gruesome obscurity."

FETTERING OF THE DEMONS

A SHUDDERING fear of God, a quaking dread of the Devil—these remain essential elements of Christianity, for in that faith the existence of the lesser spooks of earlier civilizations was continued.

St. Augustine explicitly affirms the reality and activity of demons. Owing to their incomparably tenuous physical structure, they can make their way unseen into the souls as well as the bodies of human beings. According to Tertullian, the Devil is a sort of bird, and can move so swiftly that he is able to be here, there, and everywhere at the same time. Even Thomas Aquinas, perhaps the most celebrated teacher of the thirteenth century, still firmly believed in the power of evil spirits to harm men and animals, to raise storms, etc.

The Devil, as monarch of the demon realm, is the conspicuous centre of the fear-imagery of the Christian world. He is incorporated wickedness, and to him has been transferred the cruelty, the senseless wrath, and the incalculability which were formerly ascribed to the vengeful Supreme Being. He mocks at man's puny efforts, persecutes and torments human beings for the mere pleasure of the thing. He destroys the fruit of honest toil, hurls rocks down on churches and monasteries, dams rivers to let loose the floods, causes devastation with thunder and lightning, wind and rain. Often he quits his subterranean abode to affright men and women by appearing before them in person. As "a terrible giant whose head touched the clouds," he presented himself to St. Anthony; and St. Bridget experienced an equally alarming manifestation.

The horrors of the region where his victims are prisoned for all eternity do not pale beside those of the Persian, the Indian, or the Chinese hell. Woe unto them who must answer for their sins in this place of punishment.

With a precision untroubled by the shadow of a doubt, Chris-

tian teachers of the Middle Ages describe the topography of hell, and the tortures which Satan's myrmidons inflict upon the hosts of the damned. Vainly do the nude and emaciated sinners writhe in the furnaces, vainly do they stretch imploring hands for help, vainly do they sue for pardon.

These images of horror found a stupendous climax in Dante's *Inferno,* with the malign, marish Styx, the bloodthirsty Erinyes and Furies, the demons that had repulsive birdlike shapes, and the hideous amphibian Geryon. The damned fled across the fiery plains pelted by a rain of flaming missiles; evil-doers were transformed into an undergrowth at which the Harpies gnawed unceasingly, while as each twig broke the blood flowed and piercing screams were heard; black bitches tore the doomed spirits with their fangs; horned devils flogged swindlers and plunged wantons in stinking mire.

Nevertheless, Catholicism, though it built these notions of hell into its general system of instruction, contributed greatly to the work of dispelling dread (the work which is the most essential significance of every religion); and, thanks to it, countless souls were freed from intolerable fear.

For even though the Church, in conformity with its origins and with the mentality of the masses entrusted to its care, had to preserve many of the terrifying notions that had been characteristic of earlier cults and creeds, it did more than any religion had yet done to provide the faithful with effective safeguards against the perils of the demoniacal.

In classical antiquity the Stoics had tried to dispel dread by inculcating contempt for the world, by preaching impassibility—a method which, from its very nature, was applicable only by the few. Catholic Christendom, on the other hand, while admitting the power of demons, set up against that power a stronger one—the power of the Church established by God himself for the protection of mankind. In the Christian scheme, the world is not explained dualistically as the seat of a struggle between two equipotent deities (Ormuzd, God of Light, and Ahriman, Prince of Darkness, in the Zoroastrian theology); the fundamental superiority of good over evil is confidently assumed. The Devil can function only by God's leave; and the wickedness of the Evil One can

never frustrate the admirable intentions of the Creator, into whose system even Satan is incorporated only as fulfiller of the Supreme Will.

The true believer has, therefore, the comforting assurance that he is safeguarded against the wiles of Apollyon so long as he abides by the commandments ordained by the Church of Christ: he is able to choose freely between heaven and hell; and to him who chooses heaven God's grace will never be denied. Even if the Devil should now and again succeed in drawing near to or actually entering into "possession" of a pious person, there is always a consecrated priest at hand—a chartered exorcist with power to drive out demons.

Weaker mortals, who lack strength to walk steadfastly along the strait and narrow path of sinlessness, need not therefore despair. Are they not sheltered in the bosom of Mother Church? Is it not their privilege to enjoy the "treasure of grace" which Jesus bestowed upon us all by the vicarious sacrifice of his death upon the cross? He died for those whose natural faculties do not suffice to win salvation unaided.

Always and everywhere the Church gave assurance that God in his justice would not be too hard on the sinner, that before the heavenly throne true penitence would be regarded as sufficient atonement for terrestrial transgression.

An army of saints was ready to intercede between heaven and earth; they themselves had once been mortals and sinners, and understood the weaknesses of the flesh; with confidence, therefore, could the repentant sinner pray them to re-establish him in God's grace. Here below, moreover, the priest was always watching over the welfare of his flock. To him was given power to bind and to loose in the name of the Almighty.

The Hellenes, under stress of their fear of demons, had, as a memorial of their terrors, imaginatively created the Sphinx, a man-destroying, man-eating she-monster. Christendom (immunized against such apprehensions) constructed, as an emblem of deliverance, the Gothic cathedral, whose nave in chaste simplicity aspired heavenward, while the demons, expelled from the interior of the sacred fane and changed into stone, clung as gargoyles to the edge of the roof. These grotesques, these chimeras, bore wit-

ness, indeed, to the continued belief in demons, but also to the faith that Mother Church had power to exorcize and fetter them.

Inasmuch as for the Christian these fiends had been driven out of the place of worship, he was relieved of the terror they had inspired. Doubtless eternal rejection, banishment to the darkness of hell, remained the portion of the souls of those who died at enmity with God and before they had purged themselves of their guilt; but whoever repented while there was yet time, whoever became reconciled with God before drawing his last breath, would be made welcome in the abode of the blest, where he would enjoy eternal happiness.

For the hell of the Christians is not the autonomous domain of an independent Prince of Darkness. It is a penitentiary established by God's will to scare mortals away from the pleasant paths of sin, and to spur them on to the arduous climbing of the narrow and steep way to heaven. That is why Dante, the great poet who wrote a sublime apologia for medieval Catholicism, tells us that inscribed above the portal of the Inferno are the words:

> Fecemi la divina potestate,
> La somma sapienza e il primo amore.

Fear and hope are at length wedded in the conception of purgatory, the place of purification and trial betwixt heaven and hell, a place where sin can be atoned for even after death. Of course purgatory, like hell, is a region of torment and terror; but whereas those who enter the Inferno must leave hope behind, the soul's stay in purgatory is for a limited term. When punishment and purification are complete, the poor sinner finds the road to heaven open.

The Catholic Church thus offers an abundance of rites, symbols, and imagery to dispel man's primordial dread; and, substantially, for hard upon a thousand years it was able to achieve this with its system of the remission of sins and of absolution—a system perfected in every detail. It was during these same thousand years that the foundations of western civilization were laid.

Towards the close of the Middle Ages, however, a profound

transformation occurred in the mentality of Christendom. Hitherto there had been no serious doubt as to the Church's power to keep the demons under control; but now this faith began to weaken.

There was a steady increase in the number of persons to whom the cathedrals and churches seemed to provide no adequate safeguard against the onslaughts of the Devil and his myrmidons, and whose confidence in the saving magic of the priesthood had waned. Primordial dread now invaded people's minds with the added force of waters which have accumulated behind the dams for centuries.

Sinister doctrines akin to those of the Manichæans in the early days of the Church began to find currency. It was said that the world had not been created by a good God, but by a fiendish demiurge; that nature at large, man and the lower beasts included, were subject to his malevolence. The Cathars, the Waldenses, and the Albigenses professed this gloomy faith. Once again, by their terror-stricken imagination, the atmosphere and the earth were peopled with multitudes of dragons, toads, cats, monkeys, and spectral hounds, the spawn of hell, continually trying to infect the pious with atheism, and to make those who would otherwise have been redeemed partners in their own damnation. Nor had these poor wretches a Church or priests to help them; they rejected as illusion all means of consolation or grace.

With the aid of the Holy Inquisition, and with the fire and sword of such movements as the Albigensian Crusade, the Roman Church was able to make an end of Catharism as the doctrine of organized bodies of heretics. But this availed nothing. Dread continued to demand its rights over the soul, and could not be assuaged either by burnings at the stake or by the unsparing use of the executioner's axe. The chimeras which had been petrified by the spells of orthodoxy came to life once more, and grew warm with malice as fresh blood suffused their reopened veins. More and more rents and fissures appeared in the walls of the cathedrals; and through them, unexpectedly, the demon-faces of the gargoyles glowered at the congregation within.

In many pious hearts doubt grew apace. How could anyone be sure that the defensive ceremonies and safeguards of the Church

—confession, absolution, the intercession of the saints, and the exorcisms of the priests—could really keep the demons at bay, could really enable true believers to escape punishment for their sins? On all hands, a fear-inspired conviction grew that a man could avoid the fires of hell only by completely transforming himself, by compounding for his offences through the sacrifice of his ego. The sense of original sin grew keener, and with it came an increasing need for self-chastisement; until at length, amid the widespread repentance which characterized this epoch, there arose a belief in the need for a new and more efficacious quasi-magical ritual of propitiation.

Self-inflicted, purificatory suffering was indispensable as the seal of true repentance; shattering blows directed against the self-created dread could alone bring salvation: such thoughts as these inspired mass-movements that lasted for decades, and were most impressively embodied in the preaching friars (revivalists, we should call them nowadays) whose sermons gave the thoughts thunderous expression.

From the steps of the churches of German towns, in Vienna, Prague, and Linz, in Spires and Pforzheim, the Franciscan monk Berthold of Ratisbon now convulsed the populace by his sermons calling them to repentance. Roger Bacon said of him: "By his preaching, Berthold has done more good than the brethren of all the other orders put together." Tens of thousands flocked to hear him; and consequently, to avoid being responsible for the starvation of these destitute multitudes, he had to be continually on the move. "During his sermons," reports John of Winterthur, "hardened elderly sinners, who had grown grey in wrongdoing, would often loudly acknowledge their wickedness, promising repentance and restitution."

It was in 1210 that Francis of Assisi began to preach at Bologna. "His clothing was soiled, his aspect insignificant, and his face devoid of charm; but God gave his words wonderful power." Such is the description given by Thomas of Spoleto, who adds that the whole town flocked to the great square in front of the Palatium, where this revivalist was saying his say.

Soon all over Italy were marching the ragged battalions of the

"grey brothers," summoning their hearers to devote themselves to religious contemplation. One of the strangest was Brother Benedict, whose long black beard flowed down over his chest, and whose head-covering was a Phrygian cap. From a small metal pipe, described by the chronicler as "tuba ænea sive de oricalco" (made of bronze or brass), he produced plaintive notes with which he called the crowds together. In this guise he wandered from village to village, from church to church.

Amazing was the effect which the preaching of these revivalists had upon the masses. True "masters of dread," they knew how to play upon the primordial disquietude which (though objectless and timeless) is hidden away in all minds, how to circumstantialize it into a panic fear, to temporalize it into terror, and thus to produce that convulsion of the spirit in which "the old Adam would be broken up," and in which, with a transformation of the guilt-ridden soul, the nightmare of guilt would be dispelled. In this way the preaching friars produced in the dispositions of their hearers that profound change which otherwise nothing but "the death of the body and the purification of the soul in the fires of purgatory" could have brought about.

Their power depended, above all, upon the spontaneous, passionate will to penitence of contrite sinners in an excited condition of "catharsis," and was therefore rarely lasting; but while it lasted, their influence upon the masses was overwhelming.

When the Dominican Venturino of Bergamo, announcing himself as "God's messenger," alarmed his congregation with vivid word-pictures of damnation and hell-fire, he moved them far more profoundly than could gentle priests who talked of the forgiveness of sins; and men of all classes, seized with remorse and fear, openly repented. "Never since the days of John the Baptist," said Venturino's contemporaries, "have such vast congregations assembled to hear a preacher."

Everywhere men grown old in vice acknowledged their sins; usurers and robbers hastened to restore their ill-gotten gains; men who had been at enmity for years embraced and forgave one another. In Parma, as soon as Giovanni da Schio had uttered a malediction upon any who should harden their hearts against the

thought of repentance, Bernardo Bafulo, one of the wealthiest nobles of the city, had himself tied to his horse's tail and flogged through the streets by a groom.

As late as the end of the fifteenth century, amid the jubilations of the Renaissance, the revivalist preachers were still calling sinners to repentance; and whenever their words conjured up the old images of terror, the air re-echoed with cries of "Misericordia!"

If a preaching friar was about to enter a town, he was welcomed with processions, bell-ringing, and loud, joyful shouts. Shops and places of business were closed, as on feast-days. No one dared refuse his servants leave to go and listen to the sermon, and even persons who had been drummed out of the town were readmitted for the nonce. Before the gates were opened in the morning, the roads were thronged with countryfolk awaiting entry.

In Brescia it had been the custom to hold an annual festival during which, for the amusement of the populace, the public wenches of the town rode donkey-races. But when Bernardino of Siena, Franciscan monk and famous preacher, appeared upon the scene and, in sonorous tones, described the torments of hell which God would visit upon those who witnessed and participated in such loose spectacles, the donkey-race of the harlots was transformed into a penitential procession to the cathedral, and all Brescia was imploring forgiveness.

In the squares, ladies of rank cut off their long trains, which Bernardino had declared to be "red with the blood of the poor." Remorsefully, these same women of station divested themselves of their elaborate head-dresses and, in sign of contrition, covered their faces with thick veils.

At Ferrara were renewed the scenes which Nineveh had witnessed two thousand years earlier under the ministrations of the prophet Jonah. After listening to a revivalist preacher, Duke Ercole put on mourning, the court and the common people began a great fast, and the inhabitants wore sackcloth or hair-shirts. The authorities opened the prison-gates, and the criminals as they came out joined the troops of penitents.

In the zeal for repentance aroused by the fierce sermons of Savonarola, all the finery of Florence was consigned to the flames. During the carnival days of 1497, a huge pyramid was heaped up

in the Signoria. At the bottom of the pile were masks and dominoes; then came a layer of costly books, parchments, and manuscripts; next, ladies' ornaments, trinkets, and gala dresses; next, musical instruments, chessboards, and playing-cards; on the top of the pile were heaped the portraits of lovely women. Trumpets were sounded; the town councillors appeared on the veranda of the Palazzo Vecchio; and, amid the acclamations of a huge mob, Savonarola put a torch to the most costly bonfire on record.

Joan of Arc likewise began her struggle for the liberty of France with a summons to repentance. By her orders, everyone in the French army was to atone for any wrong he had done. The Dauphin must join with his subjects in receiving the Eucharist and must swear to live at peace with them all; for two years in succession the French were to don the grey robes of penitence. If these observances were neglected, said the Maid, the Dauphin and the realm would speedily be lost.

Influenced by Joan's victories, Charles VII actually entered the path of contrition she had prescribed. With profound emotion, shedding tears, he forgave his enemies, whether French or English, any offences they might have committed against him.

Again and again the masses feel that self-accusation, self-mortification in word and fancy, do not suffice to effect the God-desired martyrdom which is essential to the purification of the spirit. The scourge is requisite to complete the penance.

Self-castigation was already practised in antiquity. We read accounts of ecstatic flagellations at the festival of Isis in Bubastis, during the Syrian rites, and even as part of the sacrificial ceremonies among the Greeks and the Romans. If towards the close of the Middle Ages, at a time when pangs of conscience were rife, there was a revival of these self-castigations, such punishments were inflicted on themselves by persons who hoped thus to avert yet more fearful torments which would otherwise befall. Of St. Anthony of Padua, an early thirteenth-century divine, we are told that his sermons worked like "streams of fire," stimulating "a countless number of sinners" to penance, so that they ranged the country "in hordes, flogging themselves and singing hymns."

In those days, during rough winter weather, thousands upon

thousands, armed with scourges, set out from Perugia. Carrying banners, crosses, and lighted torches, they moved from town to town; men, women, and children, clamouring and lamenting. As soon as such a troop reached a new agglomeration, to the accompaniment of church-bells and their own singing of the *Kyrie Eleison* they betook themselves to the square in front of the principal church. There the penitents ranged themselves in a circle about their leader, bared the upper part of the body, and flung themselves face downwards upon the ground. Wielding his scourge busily, the master made the round of the devotees, administering to each a number of lashes "to awaken them out of the sleep of sin." Then followed a general self-castigation, while the flagellants sang psalms.

Soon it came to be regarded as the duty of every good Christian to participate in such self-scourgings, and one who refused to do so was "regarded as worse than the Devil." There is still, however, a pious controversy as to whether "disciplina secundum supra" (the flogging of the back and shoulders) or "disciplina secundum sub" (the flogging of the loins and buttocks) was more likely to avert eternal punishment in hell.

When the Black Death raged in Spain during the fourteenth century, it was the revivalist preacher St. Vincent Ferrer, above all, who pressed the discipline into the hands of the masses. Wherever he appeared, public affairs came to a standstill: the handicraftsmen laid down their tools; professors and students streamed forth from the lecture-theatres; and all flocked round Vincent to follow his rede.

The wealthy, laughter-loving citizens of Genoa at first received the flagellants with scorn; but when the enthusiasts had paraded the streets for three days, the great seaport, too, succumbed to the infection. Persons of every class, including women and children, crowded the churches, bared their bodies, and engaged vigorously in self-castigation.

An avalanche of frenzied flagellants, whose piteous cries resounded from the hills, stormed through Italy. The movement spread across the Alps. Processions of flagellants traversed Austria, Hungary, Poland, and Bavaria. Even Denmark and England, in the less fervid north, were not exempt.

3

REVOLT OF THE DEVIL

YET even the spontaneous penance of the masses of the population in vast areas was unable to hinder the onslaughts of dread that surged up from the depths of the mind. Futile were the loud self-accusations of the penitents, futile their praying and psalm-singing, futile was the swish of the scourges. Step by step, individual after individual, primal terror reconquered the territory which the Church had wrested from it in the course of a dozen centuries. It seemed as if the whole artificial edifice erected by Catholicism for the protection of the faithful were collapsing, and that the Devil with his myrmidons, emerging from the abyss, would regain exclusive dominion over the world.

Too long had the doings of the Evil One been no more than furtive; he had slipped into the beds of virgins, had insinuated himself into the souls and the anxiety-dreams of sinners, had been a humble servitor of the Almighty, permitted to tempt and to lead men and women astray, and then to punish those whom he had seduced from the right path. Now he was deriving new strength from the reawakened alarms of Christian people, and was enlarging to more formidable dimensions. Equipped with all the insignia of royal majesty, surrounded by demon courtiers, in a coach drawn by four black, shadowy, winged steeds, he drove out of the dark gulfs of apprehension, and entered men's hearts to the accompaniment of thunder, lightning, and hailstorms. To those who knelt by night on their prie-dieux or, with guilty consciences, raised imploring hands heavenward in the loneliness of cloistral cells, the inner vision made horribly plain this devilish invasion; with attent ears they marked the hoof-beats of the demon horses; through dilated nostrils they inhaled the sulphurous fumes of the yellow cloud that enwrapped the Prince of Darkness and his myriad subordinates.

These fiends crawled into the arms of chaste maidens and faith-

ful wives, inciting them to lewd and scandalous thoughts and actions; tormenting them the more, the more strenuous the victims' resistance. If a dozen of the tempters proved unable to mislead the steadfast, whole troops would follow in the train of the first-comers. Had not priestly exorcisms driven a hundred million devils out of the woefully possessed body of a woman named Johanna Seiler?

With this belief in the Devil, which filled the whole earth with the terror-begotten abortions of human fantasy, there became more and more closely associated, as the Middle Ages began to yield place to the modern era, the illusion of witchcraft. The Lord of Hell was now not satisfied with the evil deeds wrought by himself and the lesser demons under his command, but levied a host of helpers from among human beings to assist him in his satanic enterprises. Above all it was women in the first bloom of youth whom the great seducer endeavoured to win over to his cause; and with red-hot claws he set his mark upon the shoulder, flank, or buttock of those whom he had made witches.

Those who had thus sold themselves to the Devil were accorded magical powers. It was easy for witches, changing themselves into cats or mice, to scurry down chimneys into the houses of peaceful Christian folk, inflicting grievous bodily harm, blighting them with illness, disordering their minds, rendering the men impotent, making the women miscarry. Domestic animals would fall sick, cows go dry, crops be ruined or laid by the wind, vineyards and orchards and cornfields and meadows be rendered barren—all through the nefarious activities of witches.

The Devil taught them the art of brewing hailstorms and thunderstorms on the hilltops, to be scattered athwart the lowlands; or of riding a broomstick through the skies to guide these hell-made storms to any selected spot.

Every year on Walpurgis Night, the eve of the first of May, the witches would forgather on the summit of the Brocken or some other mountain to dance in a ring, back to back, paying homage to their master, and invoking his aid for the working of further mischief on mankind.

Often the fearful tidings would come to town or village that a legion of witches, riding billy-goats, broomsticks, or cats' tails

THE TERROR-GODDESS MKHA-SGRO-MA
(After sculpture in the Musée Guimet)





THE GIANT BIRD GARUDA
(Sculpture in the Musée Albert Sarraut)



JAPANESE TERROR-DEMON
(Block-print by Hokusai)



THE TEMPTATION
OF ST. ANTHONY
Engraving after Martin Schongauer)

COURTESY METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

smeared with blue ointment, was on the march. Thereupon the panic-stricken inhabitants, armed with blunderbusses, would sally into the fields, and as soon as they heard the clamour of the horrid rout above the clouds, they would discharge their weapons skyward, would shake the trees, twirl rattles, blow whistles, and sound trumpets. Such nights, no one went to bed. While the husbands raised clamour in the countryside till cockcrow, their wives at home were busied in keeping doors and windows tightly closed, in barricading the inlets to the stoves, and in safeguarding byres and barns with consecrated candles.

From the fifteenth century till late in the eighteenth, the affrighted peoples of Germany, Britain, Italy, France, Spain, and the Americas were perpetually discovering witches. Enough for an old woman to have an unpleasing expression of countenance, a crooked nose, a club-foot, pigmented patches on her skin—and forthwith she was stigmatized as a witch. A cross-grained word or phrase would suffice. A woman closely related to Kepler was burned as a witch; the great scientist's mother narrowly escaped the same fate; and Kepler himself said that the reality of witchcraft was indisputable.

Suspicion of being witches would fall also upon young and attractive girls and women. When any such person had been "discovered" to be a witch, all doors were closed against her, and everyone gave her a wide berth until the authorities had done their duty and had taken the offender into custody.

More and more, as the delusion gained headway, did the "maleficium" of witches become the subject of judicial proceedings. Justice, which in sane and quiet times is called upon to deal only with offences that have been actually committed, was in those days eager to turn its whole armamentarium of trial and "proof" against the victims of the universal delusion of witchcraft. Birthmarks, freckles, deformity, or a broken nose bore witness to the unclean and sacrilegious relations of an accused woman with the Devil; and torture was used to extract "confessions" which not only were taken as ample evidence of the guilt of the person chiefly concerned, but also helped to heap higher the mountain of prejudice ready to crush other suspects. Burnings at the stake were general, and the number of those who thus perished as witches is

believed to have exceeded nine million—certainly much greater than the number of men slain in the many wars waged during those same three centuries.

The widespread devastation that ensued upon the bursting of dread through all dams and safeguards (heralded already in the great penitential and flagellant campaigns of the thirteenth century) did not reach its climax until the tremendous upheaval of the Reformation. By insisting on the rejection of the institutions and methods which the Catholic Church had established for purgation from sin and for quieting the pangs of conscience, the new doctrines of Luther and Calvin robbed man of that defensive armour against primal terror with which belief in the saints, the treasures of grace, the confessional, and penance had furnished him.

Simultaneously, moreover, the Reformation severed the ties which Catholic scholasticism had woven ever more closely between religion and reason. Whereas the schoolmen, led by Thomas Aquinas, had introduced Aristotelean philosophy and the concepts of natural science into theology—thus bringing demonology and animism under the spell of the rational—Martin Luther emptied the vials of his wrath and pious contempt upon "reason, the Devil's arch-whore."

God was not to be grasped by the puny efforts of human understanding; his anger was not to be averted by the remission of sins for which there was no forgiveness, nor yet by repentance for wrongdoing. The essential conviction of the reformers was that nothing but the fear of God could bring salvation.

"God creeps into a body," writes Luther, "and takes such delight in doing so that his zeal and wrath drive him to consume the wicked. . . . For God is a fire which consumes, devours, and rages; that is to say, he overthrows you as fire consumes a house, turning it into dust and ashes."

In the Protestant principle of the responsibility with which every Christian has personally to confront his God have been revived all the elements of the relationship of veneration and terror as between powerless creature and Almighty Creator, as between the miserable sinner and a Just Judge who rules the world.

Nevertheless, during the first, Lutheran, phase of Protestantism, this terrible gulf was bridged over by a joyful confidence in the saving power of faith. Luther himself had a sincere belief which gave him courage enough to throw his inkpot at the Devil's head and to drive away the Enemy with the power of God's written Word. Ere long, however, Calvin, pushing the Reformation into its most revolutionary phase, deprived the sinner of the last hope of rescue and handed him over, bound and helpless, to the forces of despair. For while even Calvin recognizes that faith justifies man before God, according to his harsh doctrine of predestination the power to believe rightly is accorded only to an infinitesimal minority of the elect; and no one can be sure that he is numbered among them.

Therewith the Creator is not only deprived of his prerogative of mercy and of the power of forgiveness which Catholicism ascribed to him and which had been a prominent feature of Lutheran Protestantism; but, further, this God of Calvinist predestination, who from the beginning of time has by his inscrutable decree condemned the vast majority of his creatures to eternal damnation, has actually been stripped of the attribute of justice and has lost the desire to save human souls.

An impassable chasm yawns once more between weak mortals and "Divine Majesty," and from this chasm there re-emerge with elemental force the horrid shapes of fear to grip the minds of poor wretches whose defences have been broken down.

Again, as with primitives, does it seem that the laws of human activity are established by enthroned caprice; and once more is infringement of these arbitrary laws regarded as for ever unpardonable. Thus for weak man the only hope left of avoidance of everlasting fire is to shun, in fear and trembling, any breach of the complicated rules. The most trifling sin will be punished by eternal damnation.

Whilst the campaigns of the medieval preaching friars had led to a revival of primitive rites of atonement for sin, Calvinism resulted in a renewal of the earliest mode of protection from dread —the taboo. Wherever in the Bible, the Book of Life to which the reformers appealed as the source of their teachings, a prohibition was so much as hinted at, the Calvinists fortified it into a taboo

whose infringement would be visited by the pains of hell. Terror, therefore, lurked again at every corner, and the Calvinist must be perpetually on the watch lest by straying an inch from the appointed path he might deliver his soul into Satan's clutch.

4

THE DRAMA OF VIRTUE

CALVIN, the inventor of the doctrine that atonement for sin was impossible, recognized plainly enough that man's own powers would never enable him to escape the snares of evil. It was therefore necessary to fortify the taboos of faith with the powers of a State organization, and thus to subject weaklings to the rigid discipline of secular legislation and a punitive authority. Only under perpetual supervision and control was it to be hoped that people would behave themselves in such a way as to avoid the least taint of impiety.

Long before Calvin, Savonarola (in many respects a forerunner of the Genevese reformer) had, for like reasons, enveloped Florence in a fine-meshed system of espionage. He had established a "child-police." These youngsters pervaded the streets, made domiciliary visitations, always on the look-out for personal ornaments, rouge, false hair, salacious books and pictures, as spoils to be carried off for the burning.

But what in Florence had been no more than the transient outcome of a coup d'état, carried out by a fanatical revivalist monk rising temporarily to power, developed in Calvin's theocratic Geneva into organized, stable, enduring institutions. The taboos excogitated by an unceasing dread in the hope of placating the malice of the animistic powers, which in other days and beneath other skies had been a mere ritual and ceremonial, became, in the city at the western bourne of Lake Leman, a historically constructive, vitally formative power, equipped with the full executive authority of the State.

And lo! at this period it was enough for primal dread to take

living shape anywhere, to embody itself in rigid social institutions —and thereupon, with the compulsive force of example, kindred institutions were conjured into existence all over the world.

From far and wide, men made pilgrimage to Geneva in order to admire the taboos which Calvin enforced in his "Second Rome." The regent Somerset, ruler of England during the minority of his nephew King Edward VI, applied to the Genevese reformer for advice concerning the new order which was to be established in the island realm. In the Low Countries, adhesion to Calvin's teaching was the unifying element of the revolution. In Poland, Calvin was acclaimed as "godlike"; his words were accepted without examination as "incontrovertibly true"; he was often invited to visit the distant land, and since this was impossible, he maintained a brisk correspondence with a number of Polish noblemen. Prince Radziwill was so much impressed by Calvin's notions that he attempted to introduce the Genevese system of taboos into his own manorial estates.

In Scotland the Genevese example was imitated down to the last detail, with intensified strictness. Calvinist doctrine became the programme of a revolution, and the commandments of a rigid discipline were the basis of fierce denunciations of the "papistical corruption" of Edinburgh.

This chill anxiety-dream, however, first acquired full historical significance and complete formulation upon English soil, where it was definitively translated from the religious sphere into the realm of political reality. What in Geneva had been no more than the ordinances of a semi-medieval city, simple in type, with provincial and inconspicuous party-formations and institutions, expanded in seventeenth-century England to the dimensions of worldwide political happenings, for here the resurgent primal dread had to adapt itself to the problems awaiting solution by a modern great power with its multifarious and far-reaching interests.

The scenic apparatus of an important political drama formed the setting for the struggle of this apprehension to achieve embodiment into the forms of State. If what had once been Merrie England was to be forced to comply with the numberless and strict biblical taboos discovered in Geneva, the Calvinist-puritan

fanatics must gather round them the scattered energies of political dissatisfaction, must turn to their own profit the dawning conflict between king and parliament, and also the progressive differentiation of the estates with the consequent divergence of interests as between the nobility, gentry, burghers, and peasants.

At length from among the masses there emerged in devastating swarms the "godly horsemen" of dread, singing psalms, their Bibles in their saddle-bags, to fight fiercely against the king's Cavaliers. When they had gained the victory, dread transformed their instrument into a "Parliament of the Saints," which sent the king to the scaffold and, voicing the fierce phrases of the Old Testament prophets, established the taboos of a "Republic of the Pious."

It was theologians and statesmen who founded those republics of dread in England, Scotland, and America; and beyond question their personalities are among the most remarkable known to history.

Whereas the earlier "masters of dread" who came to the front in the Middle Ages and during the Renaissance had been characterized by the magnanimous emotions of persons inspired with a profoundly sympathetic concern; whereas they, stirred to the core, had become spokesmen endowed with marvellously suggestive powers and able to move their hearers deeply with visions of hell—the men who acquired high position and widespread influence during the wave of spiritual terror which spread across the western world during the Reformation era were sour, arid creatures who aimed, not at the spontaneous transformation of the masses by the "change of heart" characteristic of repentance, but at the enforcement of a cold and rigid discipline petrified into a code of rules.

Their greatness was not the expression of the alluring pathos of souls deeply moved, but was exclusively the outcome of the uncompromising harshness with which they fostered dread ("the fear of God") in themselves and their fellows, of the extensive claims which under stress of this apprehension they made upon all and sundry, of the indomitable firmness with which they maintained their convictions in defiance of the fiercest opposition.

Leader among these leaders was John Calvin, founder and ruler of the "état chrétien" of Geneva. Throughout life he was a sorely afflicted man, in feeble health, sedentary, tormented by gout, blood-spitting, and gravel. These were but a few of his numerous ailments.

In 1564 he wrote to his medical friends at Montpelier: "As soon as I had recovered from an intermittent fever, I was seized with severe pains in the legs; then they let up for a time, but returned twice or thrice. At length they developed into an inflammatory trouble, which extended from the feet to the knees. For a long time, too, I was plagued by a sort of ulcer in the hæmorrhoidal vessels, and had horrible itching from threadworms, but of these I am at length happily rid. . . . Last summer, too, I had kidney trouble, so severe that remedies were of little avail. . . ."

Calvin had to struggle persistently against mental as well as bodily troubles. His insuperable shyness made every public appearance an agony to him, and he sedulously avoided anything that might attract attention. He spent most of his time in his study, remote from the world, entrenched behind piles of books and manuscripts.

His emotions were as feeble as his frame, and he was never stirred by the intoxication of the senses. As indifferent as if the choice were for another, he left it to his disciples to find him a wife. "I am not one of the fools who fall in love!" Such are the words with which he begins a letter announcing to a friend his approaching marriage.

Even his friendships were arid, without a trace of emotional cordiality. If, on some rare occasion, he was stirred by anything like "tenderness or weakness of the heart," he strenuously endeavoured to nip these deceptive feelings in the bud. Having no likings, he could not take pleasure either in nature or in art. Nothing cheered him or aroused his enthusiasm; his soul was completely overshadowed by the gloomier side of mortal existence.

His outward aspect, too, was painfully serious. His skin was of a brownish tint, without a trace of red in it. A huge nose, a bony forehead, and a long goatee accentuated the leanness of the cavernous, fleshless, and bloodless cheeks. Nothing but the brightness of the piercing eyes gave life and vigour to his countenance.

Even in the pulpit, he was careful to avoid exuberance. Chary of words, making few oratorical movements, thrifty of metaphor, sober in expression, he gained his effects solely by the incisiveness, coldness, and weight of his logical deductions.

But from this body incessantly menaced by illness, from this joyless and jejune mind, there issued a mighty work which influenced the world for centuries. With his sparing gestures and his unemotional speech, he revolutionized a city, profoundly modified traditions and customs, controlled the activities of myriads down to the smallest details of their daily lives, created a world-order based upon dread and taboos and inadequacy of gratification—so that the timid scholar became a religious and political leader on the grand scale, whose name was to be revered for generations.

When after his death the Town Council of Geneva met for a commemorative session, the members of the urban patriciate were so much under the spell of Calvin's greatness that, using the highest possible term of respect, they spoke of his "majesty."

Whereas Calvin was before all things theologian and theoretician, John Knox, the Scottish reformer, was moulded amid the activities of political and religious strife. When, a careworn man approaching fifty, he came to Geneva to sit at the feet of Calvin, it was as one who had some years before spent a term in the French galleys, to which he had been sentenced for fidelity to his Protestant convictions, for having taken up arms in its defence.

In this fighter for the faith, the cold academic sobriety of Calvin's deductions had flamed up into the implacable wrath of a sanguine rebel, and this was what gave him such power over the minds of his fellow-countrymen. "There is here a man named Knox," wrote the English envoy to the court of Edinburgh in one of his reports, "whose voice livens us up more in the course of an hour than could the blare of six hundred bugles!" For by this time Knox had set the whole realm in an uproar with his sermons, had driven his queen out of the capital, and had inaugurated throughout Scotland the strict regulations of his Genevese teacher.

Here, in this revolutionary atmosphere of devastation and murder, the bitterness of Calvinism grew yet more bitter, more venomous, more narrow-minded. Vainly did the young and much-admired Mary Queen of Scots try to win over the reformer with

her charms. He remained rough and unconciliatory to her as to others, confronting her with the relentlessness of a prophet of old, until the queen at length lost countenance and wept like a whipped child.

When nearly blind, a broken man, prematurely old, he had to be carried to the church, with his quavering voice he continued to threaten sinners with damnation; and the mute ranks of the faithful continued to shudder when the moribund John Knox was borne past them. While he still breathed and long, long after his death, thanks to him there hung over Scotland a pall of terror which robbed life of its joys.

In England, a century after the days of Calvin, amid the perils and vicissitudes of the hard-fought struggle between the Calvinist-puritan parliament and the Crown, there gradually emerged from obscurity the sturdy figure of Oliver Cromwell, which grew to colossal proportions.

"You know what my manner of life has been," he wrote to a friend shortly before the opening of his political career. "Oh, I lived in and loved darkness, and hated the light. . . . I was a sinner, a leader and master of sinners!"

The pangs of conscience which find utterance in these words determined his views, convictions, and actions, even in such trifling matters as the way he did his hair and his style of dress. While all who belonged to the king's party wore their hair long, in ringlets falling to the shoulders, he made the close-cropped skull of the "roundheads" the symbol of puritanism. He railed against the "love-locks" of the courtiers. Only a broad-brimmed hat, a rough cloak, and heavy riding-boots seemed to him the attire that could be pleasing in God's eyes.

"The town of Cambridge," writes J. R. Green, "sent him as its representative to the Short Parliament as to the Long. It is in the latter that a courtier, Sir Philip Warwick, gives us our first glimpse of his actual appearance. 'I came into the House one morning, well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking whom I knew not, very ordinarily apparelled, for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor. His linen was plain, and not very clean; and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar.

His stature was of a good size; his sword stuck close to his side; his countenance swollen and reddish; his voice sharp and untunable, and his eloquence full of fervour.' He was already 'much hearkened unto,' but his power was to assert itself in deeds rather than in words. Men of his own time marked him out from all others by the epithet of Ironside."

To a neighbour in the House of Commons, who decried Cromwell as an "awkward lout," Hampden replied with a smile: "This awkward lout, as you call him, is likely to become the greatest man in England."

In truth the seemingly insignificant country squire—who was hard upon thirty when he became M.P. for Huntington, and over forty when sent by Cambridge to the Short Parliament and the Long; who had spent most of his time during these decades cultivating his land, tending his flocks, and brewing beer; to whom market-days had hitherto provided his most outstanding experiences; and who down to the opening of a late career had seemed (except to Hampden and a few others endowed with exceptional insight) to lack knowledge, culture, and talent—was to be impelled by the daimon of pangs of conscience to become the most formidable general and the ablest statesman of his day. He created armies out of nothing, led them from victory to victory, subjugated three kingdoms, consolidated them into an exemplary State, and laid the foundations of the coming British empire.

His sturdy figure incorporates the discipline and self-restraint of puritanism. In the harshness of the rough-hewn, reddened face, the high-bridged pimply nose, the energetic forehead, and the tight-lipped mouth, and in the steely sparkle of the grey-blue eyes, the epoch seems to have found its appropriate visage.

"Il me fait peur," said the king of Denmark, standing in Cambridge in front of Cooper's portrait of the Lord Protector; and Andrew Marvell sang of Cromwell as a punitive instrument sent by heaven to make mankind suffer for its sins. In Amsterdam, people danced in the streets when news came that Cromwell's course was run. Exultantly they shouted: "The Devil is dead!"

The preachers and zealots who founded and ruled the puritan colonies of New England were of the same kidney as their great exemplars. What distinguished them from their European teach-

ers, Calvin, Knox, and Cromwell, was not disposition or conduct, not modes of thought and speech, but that from the nature of the case their works were duodecimo editions.

Whereas the informing dread-born will of the English puritans was confronted by a pleasure-loving society with institutions and customs dating from centuries back, the puritan colonists, who in America had to win ground for their taboo-State, and who built a realm for themselves in a virgin wilderness, had no fight to wage against adverse customs and usages. Unrestricted by constitutions or traditions, with no need to enforce their convictions upon a world-in-being where the writ of primal terror did not run, they could unrestrainedly make the taboos of their creed an exclusive legal code. Consequently, puritan America became an uncontaminated experimental farm in which could be cultivated the social forms germinating from the seeds of a modern civilization under the influence of primal anxiety-dreams.

Not alone, however, were the leaders of Calvinism persons of a circumscribed and unified type. Upon the subordinates, likewise, perdurable dread impressed the lineaments of a collective character. The mentality of these puritan colonists, leading them apprehensively to suppress every surge of instinct, and filling their thoughts with the persistent fear of hell, soon gave their whole demeanour, their gait, their words, and even their voices a quality peculiar to themselves.

Solemnly and slowly, with a serious, sour expression and downcast eyes, walked the puritan. With a nasal twang he unctuously, ever and again, quoted biblical texts. Unemotional, bald, and reserved were his vital manifestations.

"In this country, as in others, we find a mixture of vices and virtues," writes a French traveller who visited New England in 1800 or thereabouts; "but the virtues seem less attractive than elsewhere, since they rarely have the charm which could make them lovable. The vices, on the other hand, seem more repulsive, owing to the lack of the art which could hide them behind a mask."

The gloomy environment and the life of these people seemed to have originated in a nightmare. It was a world in which persistent spiritual dread had solidified into strict police regulations,

and in which a sense of guilt and the need for punishment had taken shape in the judicial and penal methods of a theocratic dictatorship.

The degree to which, in political systems thus rooted in fear, a deeply felt psychological need of the citizens had found expression is plainly indicated by the fact that the members of these communities voluntarily submitted to the reign of terror imposed on them by their spiritual dictators, as through the famous "blue laws" of Connecticut. They themselves regarded cruel institutions as indispensable, and believed that the individual, weak of will and infirm of purpose, might be strengthened by them against infringement of the taboos and thus be saved from damnation.

If in the puritan States of New England taboos were imposed with especial severity on every manifestation of the impulsive life, every stirring of the senses, everything that savoured of Dionysiac intoxication, this was in conformity with a primary trend of the human spirit which in all ages and in multifarious forms has manifested itself as a dread of the impulses.

Primitive societies surrounded the impulsive life with a quick-set hedge of taboos, restrictions, ceremonies, and bonds; and in early myths the demoniac figures in which terror is embodied are equipped with remarkably plain sexual symbols.

Even in advanced civilizations there are always many who are eager to flee into solitude in the hope of finding refuge from the dangers of impulse (especially the sexual impulse): Egyptian Therapeutæ and Palestinian Essenes, Aztec tlamakasks, Christian anchorites, Buddhist monks, Indian ânaprasths. Whole troops of them, or singly, they withdrew into the wilderness, hid themselves in caves or aggregated into monastic communities, subjected themselves to rigid rules, chained themselves to pillars, tied themselves to planks, locked themselves up in iron cages; always with the same end in view, to enable the spirit to master the "base" impulses of the flesh.

From the time of Pythagoras, the first great Master of Dread, fear of the intoxicating lure of the impulses was the basic motif of classical philosophy. Whether Socratics, Cynics, or Stoics, the philosophers sedulously inculcated the repression of impulse. "Better go mad than give rein to desire!" Precepts like this dis-

close what a horror of impulse the sages of antiquity had, a horror which in Plato went to such an extreme that from his Republic art was to be excluded, as too closely associated with the impulsive life.

We get a hint from Plutarch that the dread of impulse was ambivalently at work even in those orgies of the Greeks and the Romans in which instinct was supposed to be given free play and sensual delight to be unalloyed. Such occasional discharges of lust were permissible because "alike in bows and harps we slacken the strings that thereafter we may tense them more effectively."

Until the Catholic Church began its work of dispelling dread, the Christian's attitude towards impulse was one of panic fear. From the days of the early Fathers onward, Christian thinkers were wont to depict the fires of hell luridly and to make much play with the perils of eternal damnation in order to scare man's corrupt nature from indulgence in the sensual.

"Walk in the Spirit," writes Paul the Apostle in his Epistle to the Galatians, "and ye shall not fulfil the lusts of the flesh. For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit . . . And they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts."

Tertullian, Irenæus, and Origen are convinced that the Devil dwells in us all "below the girdle," and that only through the suppression of every stir of the senses can man, born in sin, wash away his "sordes peccati."

To the early Christian teachers, every sexual function was dangerous. Timidly they regarded a woman's sexual orifice as "the gate of hell," and feminine beauty was one of Satan's worst snares. Even marriage must be rejected, lest the dangerous powers of sensuality should be awakened in man.

St. Jerome's aim was "to hew down the forest of marriage with the axe of virginity." Enthusiastically he tells us of a maiden named Ansella who never looked a man in the face, and whose knees had, through perpetual praying, become as hard as a camel's.

Temporal legislation soon came to the aid of religious teaching. Thus the first Christian emperors decreed that pimps and bawds should have molten lead poured down their throats, and that in cases of seduction the death-penalty should be meted out both to seducer and seduced.

With psychological insight, the Fathers of the Church tracked the sexual impulse into its remotest sublimations, not being satisfied with a campaign against what was openly sexual, but running atilt at whatever promoted sensuous pleasure and was thus able to bring people nearer to the jaws of hell.

The Old Testament Yahveh had threatened to shave the heads of the daughters of Zion and to strip off their ornaments. St. Paul's injunction, "that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety; not with braided hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array," was so much intensified by Tertullian and by Clement of Alexandria that Clement commanded women to be perpetually clad in black, while Tertullian fiercely censured men for putting on gaily trimmed and ornamented footgear. It was unseemly and forbidden to wear false hair, pearls, trinkets of gold and silver. Any who attempted to "beautify" their exterior resembled "those Egyptian temples, outwardly adorned, but harbouring within them idols—cats, crocodiles, and other hateful beasts."

To the Fathers of the Church, the stage, likewise, was "pompa Satanæ," and they strictly forbade the faithful to visit such haunts of the Devil, where unlawful things were wantonly displayed in attractive colours. It was chiefly because of this detestation of the theatre that the Christians were described by the Romans as "joyless folk, in love with darkness."

In proportion, however, as Christianity, from being a petty sect to which a small group of enthusiasts adhered, grew to become a world-embracing Church, "Ecclesia Catholica," it was found requisite to make concessions to the weaknesses of the multitude, and to mitigate the demands that were made upon believers. No doubt the ideal of Christian conduct was still preserved; but as time passed, the Church came to expect that this ideal would be approximately realized only by an élite of priests, monks, and saints, while in the case of the vast majority a certain measure of the insuperable frailty characteristic of created beings was expected and pardoned.

Jesus's utterances in praise of those who abstained from concupiscence, disburdened themselves of their outward possessions, and followed the Redeemer in self-denying obedience were no

longer looked upon as irrefragable commands, but merely as "evangelical counsel," to be hearkened to by those only who had heard the call to a saintly life. Therewith a state of imperfection was granted a religious sanction, provided this state was tinged by an earnest longing for the attainment of the highest possible purity; and it was no longer held that a yielding to the lure of the senses would necessarily entail damnation upon a man not under vows.

To St. Augustine the world was a place in which there were gradations of goodness, at whose zenith was absolute goodness, the Godhead. Sensual enjoyment was for him sinful only when indulged in for its own sake, by one who arrogantly turned away from the divine principle, instead of continually directing his thoughts towards God. In contrast with the Manichæans, who categorically condemned sexual intercourse, Augustine included marriage among the sacraments—though only as a means of reproduction and as a safeguard against dissoluteness. It must not be looked upon or practised as a mere source of pleasure.

The realism of the Church, which had led to so conciliatory an adaptation to the actualities of life, was, during the centuries that followed, developed into a more and more extensive system in the philosophic sphere as well. Ecclesiastical acceptance of the rediscovered writings of Aristotle resulted in an amalgamation of Christian with classical ethics, in which latter the ultra-idealist demands of Plato had had to bow before other outlooks more lenient to the realities of human nature.

"The uniform general concept of the Good," wrote Aristotle, "is that of what is achievable or attainable by human beings." The formulation of an "ideal" which lay beyond the possibilities of realization was of no use to "the weaver or the carpenter," for whom practical moral aims lying within the range of their capacities were requisite.

Aristotle tells us that the tension between the ideal and the real must be got rid of by aiming at a "reasonable measure," by the attainment of the "golden mean." He does not repudiate our inborn impulses or instincts, only demanding that reason shall keep them in their places. This "control of the impulses" by reason was reiterated at the climax of Catholic scholasticism in the writings

of Thomas Aquinas. To this "princeps scholasticorum" (as he was styled), "sin in human activity is no more than that which is directed against the ordering of reason," and consequently the purposive rationalization of the impulses was for him the fundamental moral demand. This notion was afterwards adopted and elaborated by the Jesuits, whose much maligned casuistry was wholly founded upon their insistence that the instincts must be guided by reason.

These various mitigations of the dread of impulse were frustrated by the victorious march of Calvinism. Once again people came to believe that every kind of sensual enjoyment threatened their laboriously maintained condition of sinlessness, lured them to actions which would infallibly lead them to hell. The upshot was that the harsh restraints imposed by the Fathers of the Church were reintroduced as part of the moral regulations of the new Calvinist communities.

Lest any of the inhabitants of the Genevese City of God should stray from the right path of unceasing repression of the instincts, Calvin established a moral police, a force of "Overseers of Virtue," whose business it was to keep watch on the most intimate details of family life, making domiciliary visitations and gleaning all possible information from servants and children. Anyone suspected of a breach of the moral regulations was summoned to appear before the Consistorium, a tribunal composed of priests and town councillors, empowered to investigate, accuse, and judge.

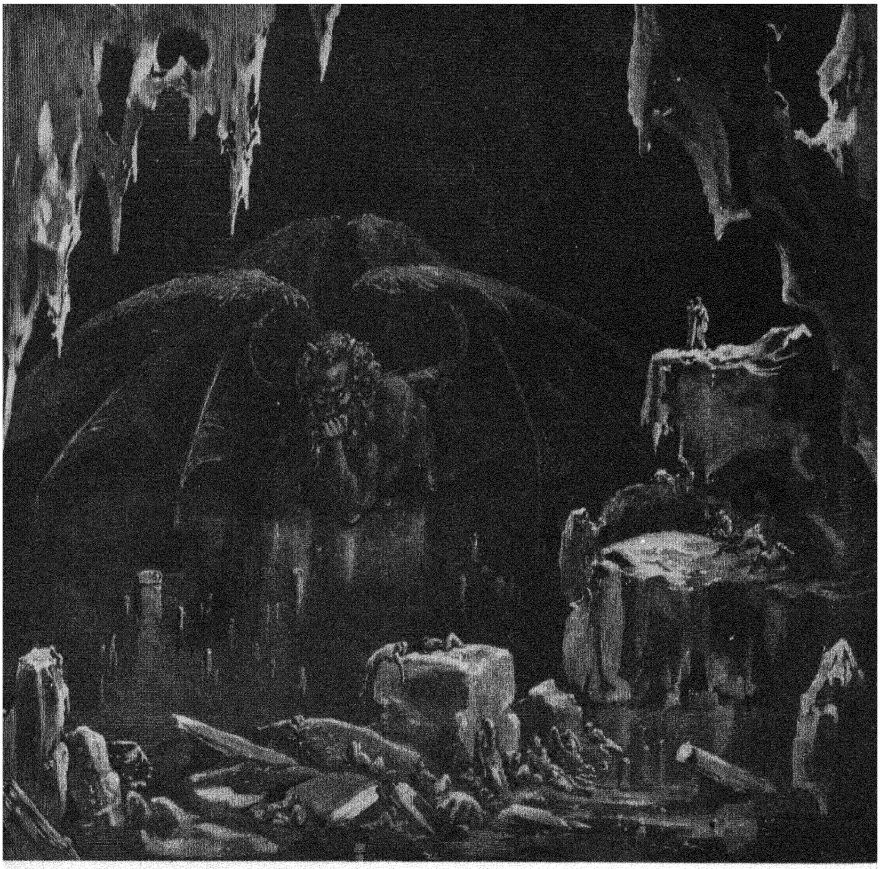
This Genevese system of moral police was copied in all Calvinistic countries. In England, during the Commonwealth, a closely meshed network of military posts was entrusted with the task of controlling public morals; and in the puritan States of New England the selectmen, town officers chosen annually, performed the same duty.

Adultery ranked first on the list of offences against good morals. Calvin and his successors threatened both the guilty parties with the death penalty. Even fornication, when neither participant in the act of illicit intercourse was bound in the ties of holy matrimony, was regarded as an exceedingly grave crime.

In like manner, English acts of parliament passed in the days of the puritan revolution decreed capital punishment for adul-



"LUST" *(Engraving after P. Breughel)*



INFERNO
(Engraving after Doré)

terers and adulteresses, and long terms of imprisonment for extra-conjugal intercourse of any kind, even when there had been no question of rape or seduction. In puritan America, a young man who declared his love to a girl without having first obtained her father's permission was liable to be flogged; men were strictly forbidden to board in a household containing female members; and married women whose husbands were absent from home must never admit another man to the house.

Dread of impulse, unceasing fear of hell-fire, made the Calvinists regard any sort of adornment or attempt at beautification as an incitement to sensual indulgence. The authorities, therefore, forbade the wearing of garments trimmed with gold or silver lace, braid, or galloons; also any unseemly exuberance in the way of collars, jerkins, hoods, coifs, or cloaks. Gold necklaces and bracelets, lockets, pearls, and precious stones came under the ban. The Genevese tailors were actually forbidden to make clothing of unusual cut without a special licence.

Nor was hair-dressing exempt from official regulation. Calvin's Consistorium had a female hair-dresser sent to jail solely for having curled a young woman's hair in an unseemly way. The passive subject of the impropriety and two of her girl friends present on the occasion were similarly punished. Not to be backward in severity, the English parliament forbade the wearing of beauty patches, and the elders of Massachusetts would not allow girls to bind their tresses with coloured ribbons.

Art was regarded as one of the Devil's exceptionally malicious expedients for leading souls astray. Since artistic appreciation presupposed a liberation of the spirit, a readiness to give oneself up to the intoxication of feeling, naturally enough, in the eyes of the Calvinists, art was a dangerous and sinful way of diverting people's minds from the one thing that mattered—the fear of God. To enjoy the pleasures of art was the expression of "a hardened, evil will," of a wanton determination to indulge the senses, which were essentially wicked.

The writing of verses and other works of imagination was a sinful occupation. The puritan author, therefore, devoted himself chiefly to the compilation of "Books of Household Discipline," enumerating every conceivable duty of man towards God and his

neighbour. Only such rare men of genius as Milton were able, while remaining fundamentally puritan in outlook, to create works full of poetic strength though avoiding sensual charm.

Music was equally suspect to the Calvinists. In England, during the heyday of puritanism, fiddlers were put in the stocks, while in Scotland pipers were persecuted as children of the Devil.

A similar harsh judgment was passed on the theatre, since the whole sweep of human passion is displayed on the boards. By the drama, according to the Calvinists, "the senses are stimulated to the detriment of reason; the impulses of the flesh, to the detriment of the impulses of the spirit; and the emotions of joy, sorrow, discontent, and voluptuousness, to the detriment of the tranquil powers of the judgment."

Wherever, therefore, the Calvinists won to power, the theatres were closed. Not merely were actors whipped as "rogues and vagabonds," but exemplary punishment was meted out to the very spectators.

Since the puritans' dread of impulse included works of plastic art in its full scope, their hostility to "graven images" became associated with a movement which had begun to show its devastating effects at the outset of the Reformation.

"There was an extraordinary turmoil and hubbub," we read in a report from St. Gall concerning the iconoclastic outburst in that canton during the twenties of the sixteenth century. "The images were carted out of the churches in forty wagons, and were instantly consigned to the flames." Writing from Basle to his friend Pirkheimer, Erasmus of Rotterdam said that all statues and pictures in the city had been destroyed. Frescoes had been whitewashed, pictures burned, and statues broken up with the hammer. About the same date, the chief magistrate of Neuchâtel recorded that fanatics had torn the pictures of the saints to rags, had broken the noses and smashed the eyes of the images. In Bavaria, during the year 1531, everything in the way of images that was not easily removable was "knocked to fragments, mutilated, and crushed." Similar storms of iconoclasm raged in France, and were even more violent in the Netherlands, where hundreds of churches, thousands of altars, and countless pictures and statues were destroyed by infuriated mobs.

While the early rebels against the Catholic faith were moved to acts of iconoclasm chiefly by the strength of their ritual and religious convictions, in Calvinism the struggle of the Reformation against ecclesiastical imagery developed into a zealous hostility to the arts as a matter of principle. As a manifestation of this fanaticism, the English parliament passed a resolution to the effect that all stained-glass windows in the churches were to be broken, that Hampton Court Palace was to be razed to the ground, and that the classical statues in the royal collection were to be mutilated.

It was a perfectly logical development that this dictatorship of virtue, this hostility to any form of sensual enjoyment, born out of fear, should in the end turn into condemnation and hatred of whatever savoured of pleasure. For these mortals unceasingly anxious about the salvation of their souls, every kind of earthly activity was a desperately serious endeavour to avoid the abysses of hell; and this was utterly incompatible with any true joy in life. Soon, therefore, inns and taprooms (places of cheerful sociability) were closed by the authorities. Calvin replaced them by "spiritual casinos," where, at mealtimes, a preacher, appointed to that end, would expound the doctrine of predestination, and would make it his business to produce an edifying state of mind in his hearers by dilating on the punishments that awaited those who were not among the elect.

Naturally, too, the puritans regarded the gratification of the palate by pleasant-tasting food as unwarrantable sensuous indulgence. The number of courses allowed at a meal was officially prescribed, and so was the nature of the viands. Delicacies, preserved fruits, game, cakes, were prohibited, and the prohibition was enforced by frequent domiciliary visits.

Games of any kind were treated as criminal offences, and the players, if detected, were sent to the pillory. Two English burghers who at Easter had indulged in a game of skittles were committed to prison. The Consistorium at Geneva was even stricter, punishing children severely if they were caught playing marbles. On the other hand, people were given to understand that they would please God by hindering their neighbours' amusements, and by breaking up convivial assemblies.

The House of Commons forbade the customary Christmas banquets in which plum-pudding and spiced ale played such important parts. Instead, the Redeemer's birth was to be celebrated by fasting and by lamentations about the sinfulness of the world.

John Winthrop, the puritan leader, several times governor of Massachusetts, put down the English custom of drinking toasts. "Frivolous conversation," even among intimates, became a punishable offence in the New England colonies; a jest, a quip, the inconsiderate utterance of a cheerful heart, might entail the most unpleasant consequences. It was, as Dryden remarked, much easier for the puritans to put their lawful sovereign to death than to endure listening to a joke. Dryden was a contemporary; but Macaulay wrote with equal truth two centuries later that the puritans abolished bear-baiting, not because it hurt the bear, but because it amused the onlookers.

No less rigid was the Calvinists' condemnation of the physiological outcome of amusement—laughter. These guardians of virtue declared war upon a function of the human mind which no one heretofore had tried to suppress. Lycurgus himself, the unbending Spartan legislator, had set up a statue to the god of laughter. Aristotle in his *Ethics* numbers merriment among the virtues. The Stoics agreed that it was good for the sage to be cheerful. For centuries during the Christian Middle Ages laughter was held in high honour; professional jesters, male and female, were made welcome in the houses of pious citizens and in the palaces of venerable bishops. But in Geneva a townsman was summoned before the Consistorium and severely punished because he had dared to laugh out loud in the church square.

It seemed to the Calvinists a monstrous error, nay a "truly damnable folly," that a sinful human being should shake off his perennial dread even for an instant, and forget hellfire. Whenever two or three were gathered together, it was the duty of each one of them to edify his companions by reminding them of the dangers of eternal damnation; and should anyone among them lack the gift of such sermonizing, he would do better to hold his peace than by frivolous chatter to mislead his companions into forgetting the seriousness that was incumbent on them.

The watchfulness with which the pious had to safeguard their

own and their brethren's conduct against any allurements to sin or impropriety was redoubled on Sundays, which from morn till eve must be exclusively devoted to the thought of God's stern judgments.

In New England a man was flogged for kissing his wife on Sunday and thus distracting his mind from earnest meditation upon his sins. In the same locality, the legal records inform us that: "Paterfamilias Hunt and his wife, having frequented with the aforesaid William Harding on the Lord's Day, when they baked him a pie and a plum-cake, and when Mistress Hunt allowed Harding to kiss her, are hereby ordered to quit the town within the space of one month."

It was forbidden, on the Lord's Day, to visit a friend, to go for a walk, to water the garden, to sit in the sun before the house, to shave, or to perform the ordinary rites of cleanliness; and it was also forbidden to indulge in the pleasure of a nap before night had fallen.

In Scotland more thoroughly than anywhere else was the attempt made to eradicate the last vestiges of joy in life. The relapse into the world's anxiety-dream was here so greatly intensified that no distinction was drawn between motives for cheerfulness; and pleasure of any and every kind was stigmatized as sinful. Human nature in all its manifestations was reprehensible, and life in its entirety was forced into the trammels of a demonological ceremonial.

At baptisms and weddings among the Scots the officiating minister saw to it that no one present should derive any merriment from the occasion, for both these functions were considered quite as solemn as a funeral.

Whether bathing, which was unanimously condemned on Sundays, was permissible on weekdays became the theme of a formal theological discussion in Edinburgh. In proof that bathing, as a carnal pleasure, was necessarily sinful, one of the speakers referred to the recent accidental drowning of a boy thus engaged. This, said the reverend gentleman, was a plain indication that God disapproved of the pleasures of swimming.

The pious must not refresh themselves by the contemplation of beautiful scenery, since this pleasure must also be regarded as sin-

ful. Love of one's neighbour was open to suspicion, for it might mislead into feelings of self-satisfaction. True fear of God, declared the Scottish Presbyterians, had nothing whatever to do with earthly love. It was even wrongful for a mother to take delight in her children!

Thus did the Reign of Terror reach its climax in the realm of Calvin's disciple John Knox, degrading men's visages into caricatures and plunging their minds into the deepest gulfs of fear. The dread of demons, which in other civilizations had been brought under control, so that it persisted merely as a dark background in the ritual of atonement and exorcism, formed in Scotland the almost exclusive content of the faith.

The Presbyterian God, with his formidable exactions, was but the primordially evil and vengeful demon of earlier creeds. In the beginning of things, before our world existed for sin to enter it, he had resolved to deliver over to the Devil the great majority of still uncreated human beings; and, since the creation, he had frequently afflicted the world with famine, pestilence, conflagration, and flood. Such was the doctrine of Scottish divines, who also declared that the Almighty's wrath was visited upon walls and upon dumb beasts. If this Fiend Incarnate was sometimes pleased to awaken in mortals vain hopes of his grace and help, he did this only that the ensuing chastisement might be the more bitter.

In hell, to which the non-elect, the reprobate, are doomed, poor sinners are unceasingly roasted in a raging fire, are hanged up by their tongues, are chastised with scorpions. A river of glowing sulphur, broader than the earth, awaits the damned; into this they are flung, so that bones, lungs, and liver are continually being boiled without ever being consumed. Thus every nook and cranny of the vast expanses of hell resounds with the moans and shrieks of those who suffer unending torment.

The Presbyterian minister luxuriates in the detailed description of these horrors. Every word is carefully chosen to arouse the extremity of fear, to fill the auditors with despair and wretchedness.

But this is only a beginning. As the preacher warms to his work, hell follows upon hell, each equipped with new and unsuspected

means of torment, lest, in the course of eternity, the souls of the damned should become blunted to suffering.

Stiff with dread sit the members of the congregation, glued to their seats, paralysed with alarm, breathless and in a cold sweat.

Such sermons continue for hours, as long as the minister's strength holds out; and the longer the descriptions of hell last, the more awe-inspiring they are—the more attentive the congregation, the more admired the preacher, who thus shows himself a true servant of God.

The fear of hell follows the Scot home to his fireside. At every hour of the day and the night he feels that the Devil is at his heels, ready to seize him in fiery talons. There is no escape, and under stress of the torture of this continual struggle against sin and its consequences the only thing the devout have to look forward to is their next visit to the kirk. Thus their whole existence becomes a never-ending sacrifice to primal dread; they live in outer darkness, where there are weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth.

Being intimately associated with the State apparatus, these puritan dictators of virtue could not remain permanently exempt from the causal nexuses and dialectical vicissitudes to which every governmental structure is subject.

In England the play of political forces led in 1660, after the Commonwealth had endured for barely a decade, to the recall of a Stuart monarch, and this put an end to the gloomy puritan theocracy. The Restoration was signalized by the exhumation of the rotting corpse of Oliver Cromwell, but in general it was a restoration of merriment. The reopened theatres were packed with laughing, swaggering, gaily clad gentlemen and frivolous ladies with made-up faces and "sinfully" curled hair. On the boards, one obscenity followed another; and managers with an eye for the taste of the time transformed even Molière's *Misanthrope* into a seducer. In the "best society" of the Restoration epoch, moral stringency gave place to a frank lasciviousness. Virginity and conjugal fidelity were objects of ridicule, and one who uttered the word "virtue" aroused nausea in his hearers.

The collapse of the dictatorship of virtue, which in England

occurred with the rush and riot of a carnival, took place across the Atlantic more slowly, but none the less surely. There was a tranquil but irresistible process of decay. American puritanism was encapsuled in a State-structure which remained vital, but wherein very different elements, busily pursuing wealth and luxury, were gaining mastery over those who wanted to uphold the traditions of the Pilgrim Fathers. More and more, therefore, as the years passed, puritanism became a foreign body within a secularized nation. In Geneva and Edinburgh, too, the original foci of Calvinist rigidity, the oligarchy of virtue was gradually transformed into an opposition party of zealots.

By slow degrees, therefore, the State sceptre was wrested from the hands of those whose main object in government was the repression of natural impulses. Yet the socially formative energies which had manifested themselves in the virtue-ruled States of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did not vanish into nothingness when they ceased to hold governmental sway; they persisted at work in numerous sects which, during the Diaspora, showed themselves to be the scattered heirs of puritanism, and went on dreaming its dream of dreariness.

Calvin's doctrines find an almost word-for-word expression in the utterances of the leaders of Methodism. Wesley extolled entering into marriage without inclination as virtuous and as agreeable to God; and Whitefield, Wesley's close associate, exclaimed: "God be praised, for, if I know my own heart, I am free from any of that foolish passion which the world calls love!"

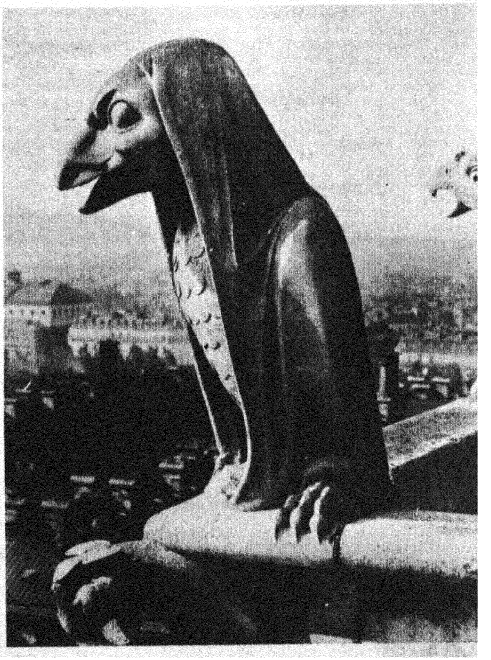
"We keep the sexes apart," said an American Quaker in the eighteenth century; "for when they mingle, their virtue melts like snow in the sunshine."

All these sects aimed at the suppression of whatever might stir the impulses or give pleasure to the senses. They demanded a methodically cultivated and controlled ascetic mode of life, in which pleasure should be kept in leash.

It is recorded of Francis Asbury, the first bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, that he never allowed himself the most innocent of jests. "He had the solemnity of an apostle, a solemnity which so governed his every gesture that even in ordinary social life or when at meat he never laid aside his episcopal



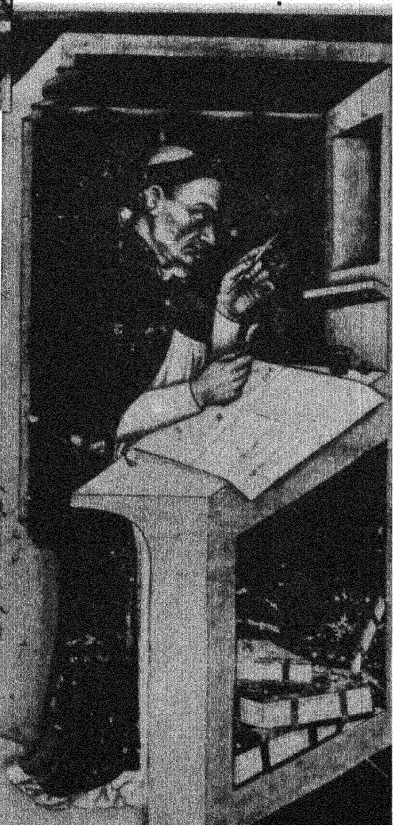
THE DEVIL TEMPTING A VIRGIN



A SCULPTURED DEMON
(Notre-Dame Gargoyle)



THE REVIVALIST
BERTHOLD OF REGENSBURG



JOHN OF VINCENZA

dignity. Nothing would induce him 'to let himself go,' or to surrender to the promptings of the flesh in defiance of the dictates of duty. Flesh and blood were enemies with which he would make no terms. His spleen was aroused by the sight of anyone who was well-dressed, anyone whose aspect betokened worldly prosperity."

With the same strictness as their puritan forerunners, the Methodists, the Baptists, and the Quakers condemned adornments, trinkets, games, dancing, the most harmless of pleasures, every allurement or incitation to sensual delight.

Notwithstanding the perpetual multiplication of sects, in the recent social and political development of English-speaking lands the principle of extreme moral rigidity for the soul's salvation has come to play a subordinate part. In modern days, when new forms of life have arisen, events seem to be very little influenced by religious ideas; indeed, in face of the scientific thought of the Enlightenment, religion as a whole has been forced into the position of an opposition sect.

While the downfall of the Calvinist theocracies deprived the champions of "virtue" of temporal power, the Enlightenment has robbed them of spiritual power as well. It was not merely that "sinners" need no longer fear the moral police, the pillory, or the stake; punishment after death had ceased to be a terror when so many people had come to laugh at such an idea as a "superstitious cobweb of the brain." In the revolt of the pleasure-seekers that followed the Stuart Restoration, contempt for the transcendental threats of religion had expressed itself with the ostentatious impudence of a recently acquired emancipation. Since then the revolt had been stabilized by the spread of the outlook of the Enlightenment.

Simultaneously, however, during the eighteenth century a new puritan State had come into being, not indeed in the Christian west, but in Moslem Arabia. As a Calvin of the desert, there appeared Mohammed ibn Abdul-Wahab, uplifting his voice against the vices of drunkenness, smoking, lechery, and comfort. Passionately he condemned luxuries and pleasures of all kinds, any indulgence in the joy of life, even singing and dancing at marriage-feasts. Eternal damnation, declared the Wahab, awaited everyone who exhilarated himself with wine, opium, and coffee, or was

present at a marriage or a funeral where a carouse took place. Nothing but strict abstinence from fleshly delights could avert the wrath of Allah or break the power of the Devil.

For years the Wahab wandered hither and thither through the deserts, and wherever he went women laid their trinkets at his feet, while the men followed him as fervent disciples. Thus in the heart of Arabia was founded a State which, in its hostility to the pleasures of the senses, was a replica of the virtuous republic of Geneva. Even the Calvinists' hatred of the arts found its reflexion, for the Wahabis destroyed the Prophet's splendid mausoleum and the minarets of various mosques in Mecca and Medina.

Under Saud, the Wahab's successor, this Mohammedan puritanism grew so powerful that it seemed likely to conquer the whole world of Islam. Not until the sultan commanded Mehemet Ali, viceroy of Egypt, to invade Arabia at the head of an army equipped and organized after European models, were the Wahabis defeated and driven away from the holy places into the desert.

Even then, however, Wahabite doctrine continued to influence the Moslems: partly in India, where the fanatic Saud Ahmed set the Punjab in an uproar; and partly in North Africa, where Said Mohammed ben Senussi, a Wahabite sectary, founded a secret organization which still exerts widespread influence today.

Thus the ever-recurring urge to "virtue," protean manifestations of the impulse to repress impulse and to impose hindrances upon the natural workings of our sensual life, discloses itself as something more than the outcome of a merely experiential insight into the dangers of uncontrolled instinct; it is an intrinsic element of the human mind, linked with impulse from the first.

The lineaments of history reveal again and again that the wish-dreams of man establish their realm beyond the range of the pleasure-principle. However frequently the individual's wishes may seem to be directed towards the satisfaction of impulse, communal longings have always aimed at the coercion of impulse, at something higher than individual pleasure. Herein, perhaps, we may discern the solution of that ultimate enigma of the creative force which impels man to establish political, religious, and social forms—a force which, since the beginning of time, has made the collective dread-born dreams issue from a region in which joylessness holds sway.

II

Masters of Promise

THE WISH-DREAM OF SUPREME FELICITY

THE most earnest endeavours of human beings to rid themselves of primordial dread through prohibitions and regulations, rites and ceremonies, prove futile in the end. It is possible, doubtless, to exclude apprehension from certain fenced precincts for a time, but at last the spectre creeps through or climbs over the barriers and takes possession of the mind once more.

These reiterated failures early led people to seek in the realm of imagination what was so stubbornly denied them in the domain of concrete experience; and there originated the great wish-dream of a world freed from fear, of a world in which there would be neither evil demons nor vengeful gods, neither sin nor punishment.

Into this dream, as into a gay carpet, there are interwoven the most diversified expectations. No matter whether it be in the prophecies of Zoroaster, that there will, ultimately, be a "world of light" from which darkness will have been expelled, or whether Isaiah speaks of "a new heaven and a new earth," and of how "the voice of weeping shall be no more heard nor the voice of crying" —always imaginative longing has conjured up a future of perfect security upon an earth which will have been freed from evil and especially from fear. "They shall not build, and another inhabit; they shall not plant, and another eat." Perfect harmony will prevail among the nations, which "shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

Whatever men in their careworn existence and in their mortal dread may desire will be provided for them under the new heaven and on the new earth. To those who have suffered from oppres-

sion, famine, and pestilence, redemption will bring the permanent goodwill of God, liberty, bountiful harvests, and the end of sickness. The poor will no longer suffer from the exactions of tax-gatherers, will no longer be plagued by creditors; even the law will cease to be harsh. "The multitude of camels shall cover thee," says Isaiah to impoverished Jewry, "the dromedaries of Midian and Ephah; all they from Sheba shall come; they shall bring gold and incense."

Nature itself, which has always been threatening and hostile to mankind, will put on a new face after the great change, will be illumined, transformed, purged from evil. She will become open-handed, so that no more shall any suffer from want or the fear of it. The disposition of the wild beasts will have been changed, so that a child can play with them; "the wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the bullock."

In the earliest Babylonian writings we read of these natural blessings which are to come with the redemption. Then all the crops will be good; the grain will grow luxuriantly, the rushes will be tall, the fruit trees laden, and the cattle will bring forth abundant offspring. The hungry will be full fed, the lean will put on flesh, women will not suffer when they bear children, the sick will be healed, and, amid general happiness, old men will dance for joy.

The prophet Joel announced to the Jews: "It shall come to pass in that day that the mountains shall drop down new wine and the hills shall flow with milk." Intensifying these hopes, the Baruch-Apocalypse declares that a day is coming when every vine shall bear a thousand shoots, every shoot a thousand clusters, every cluster a thousand grapes, and when every grape will yield a tun of wine. The later rabbis paint the kingdom of deliverance in yet more glowing colours. Man, now so small and helpless, will become a giant with a stature of three hundred ells; wheat will grow upon the tops of the mountains, a single grain of wheat will be as large as the two kidneys of an ox, and the juice of one grape will float a ship.

But for all their extravagance, the imagery of these wish-fantasies lacks the creative power that characterized the visions of primordial dread—a creative power which was bestowed on them

by profound spiritual experience. The improbable harmony of such mental pictures of a new heaven and a new earth, with their deliberate and carefully calculated magnification of the dimensions known to experience, though intended to symbolize happiness and plenty, was all-too-plainly the outcome of a defensive reaction against dread.

Whilst dread was able to give an unfailing semblance of reality to the visages of terror which it evoked, the imaginative pictures of a coming day of deliverance were drawn from a mythical region unknown to history, and were therefore devoid of convincing force. The legends of a Golden Age before the dawn of history were simply transferred in block to the future.

Again and again, in one civilization after another, do there recur these ideas of a return of the Golden Age, as a cyclical manifestation which is an essential part of the world-order. "Time will run back and fetch the age of gold," wrote Milton in his *Hymn on Christ's Nativity.*

The Babylonian priests regarded the movement of the cosmos as a sort of circulation, wherein times of affliction and times of blessing, periods of world destruction and world renovation, necessarily succeeded one another at regular intervals. In like manner the ancient Persians believed in a series of "revolutions," each of which lasted a thousand years. When the appointed cycle of millenniums was finished, the kingdom of deliverance would arise and persist.

In the prophet Daniel's vision of the four great beasts, or kingdoms, which was the main foundation of the Judaic-Christian Messianic hopes, we read how one of the four beasts was slain and the other three had their dominion taken away from them, "yet their lives were prolonged for a season and a time." Then arose a fifth realm, when to "one like the Son of man" there was given "dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed."

According to St. Jerome, the four "beasts" of Daniel's vision were the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Macedonian, and at

last the Roman realm. For centuries thereafter, Christian speculation was busied about this interpretation.

Numberless, too, have been the attempts to explain the twentieth chapter of the Book of Revelation, in which there is talk of the just who were brought back to life and "lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years." Nor were the puzzles of the Apocalypse confined to this chapter. Much thought has been spent and much ink has been spilled concerning the "thousand two hundred and threescore days," concerning the "seven golden candlesticks" and the "seven vials of God's wrath." All have been made points of departure for complicated arguments about the presumable date of the Second Advent. Again, from the preamble of an epistle attributed to the apostle Barnabas, it has been deduced that the six Days of Creation described in the Book of Genesis were allegorical "days," each representing a long historical epoch, and that with the coming of the Seventh Day, on which the Creator "rested," suffering and dread will finally vanish from the world.

The belief that the end and the renewal of the world were close at hand was powerfully at work during the first Christian centuries. Flavius Josephus, Tacitus, and Suetonius were unanimous in declaring that even among the Romans of the first days of the empire (and therefore before the opening of the Christian era) such expectations were rife. Witness Virgil's Fourth Eclogue, of which more will be said in the ensuing chapter. The more, in the sequel, the signs of the imminent fall of Rome multiplied, the stronger grew the conviction of the Christians that, in accordance with St. Jerome's interpretation of the prophecies of Daniel, the kingdom of God was about to be definitively established—and the livelier, therefore, became their dread of the destruction of the world. At Pepuza in Phrygia, the priest Montanus announced the coming cosmic change; while Justin Martyr, Tertullian, and Irenæus were equally sure of its nearness.

The strengthening of the Church, and the sense of security which Catholicism gave people during the last centuries of antiquity and the opening phase of the Middle Ages, were, however, succeeded by a decline in the expectation of the speedy doom of

the world to be followed by the immediate establishment of the kingdom of God through Christ's Second Advent. Neither fear nor hope was sufficiently tense to conjure up visions of a cosmic metamorphosis.

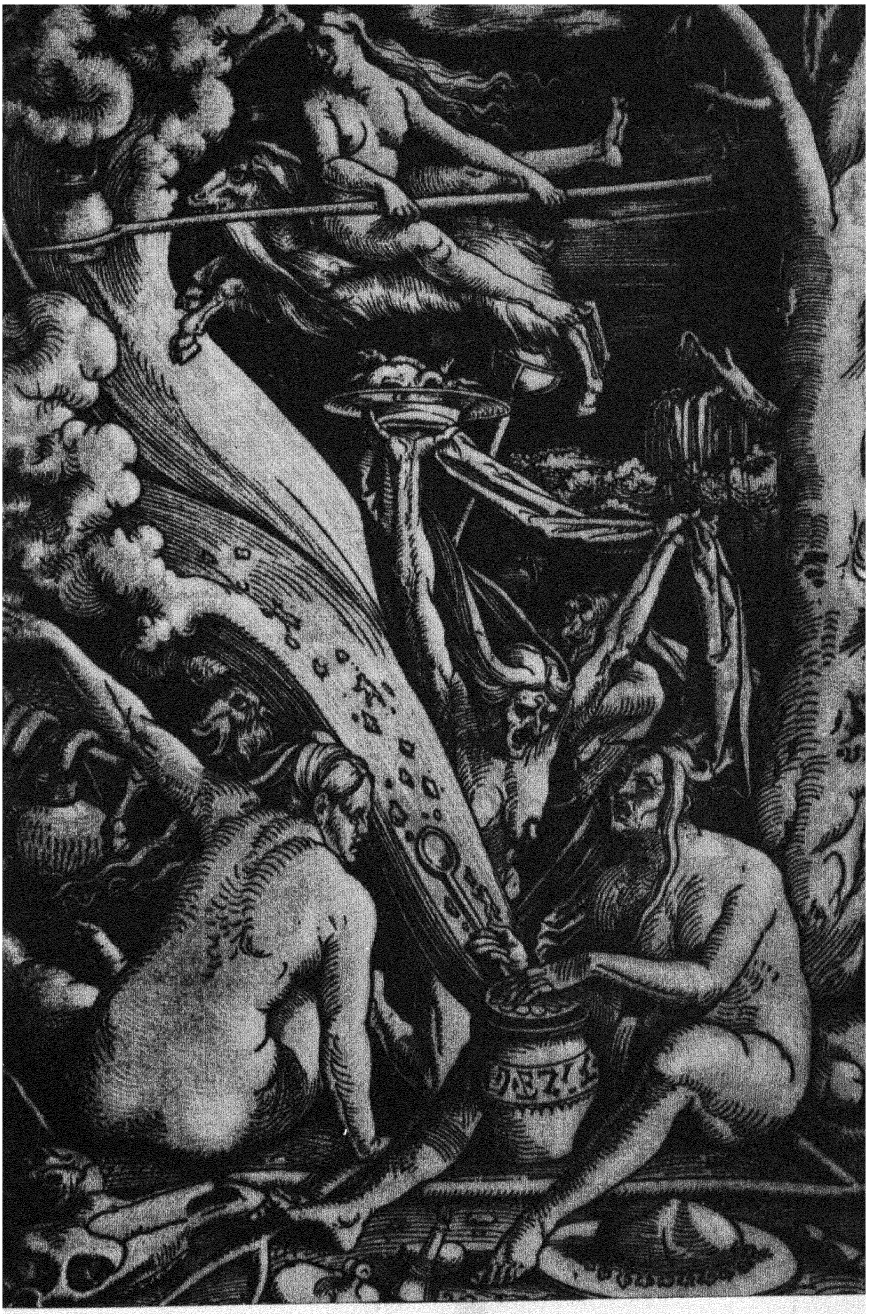
It was, therefore, comparatively late that the idea of the need for a purifying rebirth became active in the Christian imagination. The immediate cause of its emergence was the approach of the year 1000, which many expected would be signalized by the end of the world. Prophecies to this effect were taken at their face value by persons who no longer felt perfectly sure of their safety under the ægis of the Church, with the result that throughout Europe there began to prevail a mood in which apocalyptic dread was mingled with a jubilant hope of salvation.

Everywhere people disposed of their worldly goods, in order thereby to ensure for themselves a reward in the world to come. From one such disposition of property, which the donor wished to cancel as invalid when the end of the world failed to come at the appointed date, there resulted in Naples a lawsuit which was carried on in perpetuity among the heirs of the contending parties, and continued to arouse legal hair-splitting and to occupy the attention of the courts until far on into the nineteenth century.

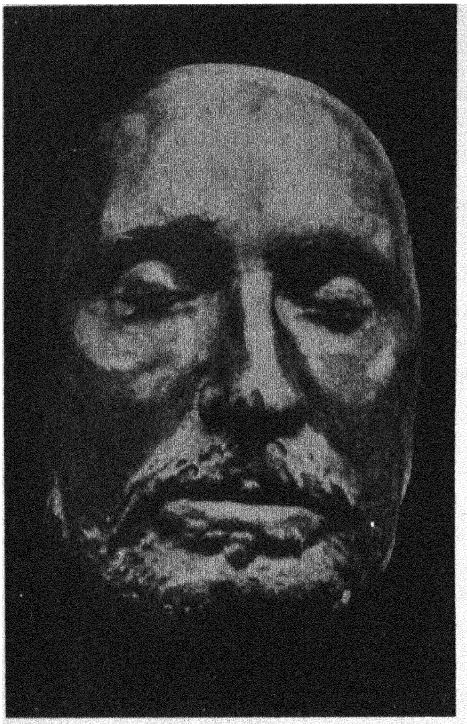
As, with the close of the Middle Ages, more and more rifts began to appear in the stately edifice of the Church, the dream of the approaching end of the world and of a new heaven and a new earth was dreamed by an ever larger number of persons, and exerted an increasing effect upon public life.

The Italian mystic and Cistercian abbot Joachim da Celico was one of the originators of this new movement. In his *Everlasting Evangel,* published about 1200, history is divided, in sound Trinitarian fashion, into three great epochs. The first of these was the reign of the Father, from the creation down to the birth of Christ; it had been an intermediate state between flesh and spirit. The second, the reign of the Son, would end with the year 1260 (Rev. xi, 3 and xii, 6, once more!). Then the third reign, that of the Holy Spirit, the period of the "everlasting evangel," would begin.

Although the Church, always mistrustful of millenary enthusiasm, frowned upon this promise of the coming "Reign of the Holy Spirit," the views of the abbot of Floris in Calabria had con-



WITCHES' SABBATH
(After a Drawing by Hans Baldung Grien)



DEATH MASK OF CROMWELL



THE HUSSITE GENERAL ZISKA

siderable influence during the decades that followed his death, and the Joachimists formed a numerous body.

At the great assembly which, almost simultaneously, in token of the nearness of the Reign of the Holy Spirit, Brother John of Vicenza had summoned to the plain of Paquaria, there arrived on horseback ecclesiastical dignitaries and temporal princes with their respective trains, and many of the townsfolk of Verona, Vicenza, and Piacenza; from the villages and country-seats, peasants and gentlefolk came, likewise, in large numbers. So great was the throng, that two new bridges had to be hastily built across the Adige.

Brother John addressed the gathering from a lofty platform, his speech formulating the Magna Charta of a kingdom from which fear was to be once for all dispelled. Wars and disputes of every kind must instantly be brought to an end; no one who believed himself wronged must henceforward take the law into his own hands; penalties inflicted during the last century, but not yet paid up, were annulled; debts and arrears of taxes were cancelled; the ban upon outlaws was raised.

Carried away by Brother John's exhortations, the authorities handed over to him their statutes for revision as he thought best. Guelph burgesses and Ghibelline patricians, at feud since the memory of man, exchanged kisses of reconciliation. The common folk watched these unexampled happenings with delight. Next day, the "Perpetual Peace of Paquaria" was embodied in sealed charters.

Thus 1233 became the "Hallelujah Year" of which the chronicler Salimbene writes: "Such was the name subsequently given to this epoch of tranquillity and peace when all laid down their arms, this epoch of cheerfulness and joy, of ecstasy and enthusiasm, of praising the Lord and of jubilation. Warriors on horseback and on foot, townsmen and peasants, youths, maidens, and the old, joined without exception in singing God's praises."

The preacher having become dictator, Brother John ruled the Kingdom of the Holy Spirit as viceregent. The March of Treviso proclaimed him its duke, count, and podestà; and, firmly holding the reins of his millenarian realm of peace, he recked naught of emperor or pope.

On one occasion, when the preacher was absent, the old feuds broke out afresh in Vicenza, and the city was filled with the clash of weapons. Thereupon Brother John returned and made his way among his renegade subjects, at the head of no more than a handful of men-at-arms. At the news of his arrival, the garrisons of the towers and barricades desisted from strife. The frate went unhindered to the town hall, arrested the rebellious councillors, burned the statutes and lists of outlawry they had just drawn up, and passed sentence of execution on the evil-doers who had dared to disturb the peace of the new regime.

A hundred years later, the terror of the plague, which decimated many towns, in conjunction with the intolerable sufferings caused by the unceasing wars that ravaged the Italian peninsula, were regarded by the masses as certain signs that the end of the world was at hand, and would be followed by its renovation. Thus everywhere the populace was in a condition of alarm mingled with eager anticipation. In the year 1335, as if at the word of command, throughout Italy the troops of the "palombelle" (wood-pigeons), the "Warriors of the Holy Ghost," set themselves in march, led by the mendicant monk Fra Vetturino. Ranged in companies of thirty, each man holding in his right hand a pilgrim's staff and in his left a rosary, they moved southward from Lombardy. As uniform they wore long white robes and blue cloaks. The heraldic device on their coat-of-arms was a white dove, symbolic of the Comforter.

Crossing the Apennines, they advanced steadily upon Rome, joined by fresh adherents along the route. So great was the impression made by the singing cohorts of Fra Vetturino when, with banners waving, they entered the Holy City, that the dumbfounded papal authorities reported to their master in Avignon that the legendary "papa angelico," the pope redeemer, the pauper pope of prophecy, was invading Rome at the head of an army.

In the days of the Reformation, when Europe was riven in sunder and profoundly agitated by religious controversy, strange prophets appeared from among the people in widely separated regions. Sustained by passionate enthusiasm, they declared that the horrors of the peasants' wars were but the heralds of the massacre

which was to precede the redemption of mankind; and they appealed to the pious to prepare for the glorious day, that it might find them among the elect and not among the reprobate.

In Bohemia, the Hussite teacher Wanieck, moved by the conviction that the end of the world was at hand, led a huge crowd to Mount Tabor to found there a "City of the Lord" which was to be the capital of the "Third Realm of Salvation." In Saxony, Niklas Storch, a weaver, announced a revelation to the effect that the "New Apostolic Church" would be established in Zwickau.

In the year 1533, Michael Stiefel, parish priest of Lochau and a friend of Martin Luther, declared that the destruction and redemption of the world would occur on October 19th next ensuing, punctually at eight o'clock in the morning. His words aroused great excitement throughout Thuringia and Saxony. Believing them himself, he gave away his theological books, for which he would have no further use. The peasants who hearkened to his message ceased their labours on the land, and prayerfully waited for the appointed day.

Melchior Hoffmann, an itinerant furrier from Swabia, wandered over Germany stating that the millennium was fixed for the ensuing year. He himself was Elias, the forerunner, and his mission had been announced by the prophet Malachi: "Behold I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord: and he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse."

That all the biblical prophecies of the realm of salvation might be fulfilled, a "King David" must not be lacking. He was incarnated among the Anabaptists of Münster in the person of the journeyman tailor Johann Bockelsson, better known as John of Leyden, who, soon after announcing himself, was crowned by the people as "King of Zion" amid frantic acclamations.

The churches and monasteries of the town and neighbourhood were sacked. Whatever had been found in the way of gold and ornaments and costly vestments was brought to the palace of the new king, to enrich the dazzle of his court and accentuate the charms of his seventeen wives. To surround himself with the requisite dignitaries, John of Leyden gave his intimates and chief

helpers such high-sounding titles as "Grand Chancellor of Israel," "Grand Treasurer," and "Marshal"; and he had a train of numerous councillors, pages, body-guards, and lackeys. To conclude, he appointed eight-and-forty "announcers," who were sent forth to carry to the ends of the earth the glad tidings of the new realm.

Like David before the Ark of the Covenant, he danced in the market-place in full view of the people. As was proper to this era of redemption, he solemnly proclaimed the abolition of poverty. Thus in besieged Münster did John of Leyden conjure up the white pinnacles of the New Jerusalem amid the high-gabled roofs of the old episcopal town; and for the space of a few months the Second Adventism of the Anabaptists did actually win from a hostile world an abiding-place for Kingdom Come.

On English soil, too, the prophecies of the Book of Daniel were once more in high repute. The vision of the Five Kingdoms (which had aroused unceasing excitement among the early Christians) became, when the country was in the throes of the revolutionary struggle between king and parliament, the foundation of a numerous and politically powerful sect. These "Fifth Monarch Men" believed that the Fifth Realm, in succession to Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome, was about to be established; nay, that it behoved them to establish it by force. The conviction, which prevailed widely among the lower classes—agricultural workers and small farmers, handicraftsmen and petty traders—did much to fan reforming zeal to a glow. Very general was the belief that there was now to begin a divine age of liberty and happiness, in which earthly authority and the use of force (once the Fifth Monarchy was in being) would become superfluous.

The dream of dispelling earthly dread—a dream which glowed in the imagination of the classical world, to be revived in medieval thought and again amid the storms of the Reformation—has persisted into our own times, continuing to produce extensive and peculiar mass movements which derive their impetus from hopes of an Earthly Paradise. Towards the middle of the nineteenth century, sixteen thousand persons left their homes in the eastern and middle States of the American union, and set out for the Far West. They called themselves Mormons and were enthusiastic disciples

of a prophet of salvation named Joseph Smith, who had been killed by a mob at Carthage, Illinois, and had been succeeded in the chieftainship of the new faith by Brigham Young. This man, "the Lion of the Lord," designed to lead the Mormon community to a place where the City of Latter-Day Saints could be safely established.

The Mormon migration can scarcely be paralleled in history. The emigrants suffered unspeakable hardships as they traversed the prairies and deserts of a whole continent, in "prairie schooners" (wagons with a tilt), on horseback, and on foot, during a march in which they were alternately exposed to the fierce heat of summer and the biting cold of winter.

Nothing could shake their confidence. The women spun in their wagons. At every stop, the men set to work tanning the hides of the buffalo they had slain; and on many an evening during this laborious march, they kept up their courage by singing hymns composed for the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints. Though progress might be delayed at mid-winter, it was resumed in the spring; and, as they went, they planted grain along the track that late-comers might follow this living pathway with renewed vigour.

In the desert surrounding Great Salt Lake, they found a landscape which, from its resemblance to pictures they had seen of the Promised Land, made a strong appeal to them, and they decided that this should be the site of Zion City. With so much zeal did the first-comers set to work, that those who followed them across the Rocky Mountains into a wild region wherein hitherto none but redskins had roamed found a well-organized settlement awaiting them. Within a few years, the desert had been irrigated, and where before there had been no permanent dwellers, there now arose the stately habitations, granaries, and temples of the Mormon capital, Salt Lake City.

The Latter-Day Saints who had settled here to prepare for the end of the world and the coming redemption could not be induced by any of the allurements of the old sinful life to relax from their determination. Even when a detached body of Mormons who had lost their way discovered some of the goldfields of California, and at length reached Salt Lake City to report what

they had seen, there were few defections. The vast majority of the Mormons remained faithful, and heeded Brigham Young's warning: "The only use we could make of gold would be to pave the streets of our holy city. The treasure pleasing to God, that which alone you must seek, is golden grain! Till your land, and Heaven will reward you!"

Nor was this Mormon migration the last romantic outburst of millenarianism. There has been a much more recent one, in the America that would seem wholly immersed in business and the dollar-hunt. In 1900, on the shores of Lake Michigan, forty miles from Chicago, another City of Salvation was founded by the Scottish preacher, John Alexander Dowie, and his disciples. Here the announcement of the approaching millennium was associated at the start with the formation of a "Zion Land and Loan Company." An area of 1230 acres was leased for a thousand years, and on it were established tileworks, lace factories, and banks. As if by rule and compasses, Dowie marked off his Zion City from the rest of America, declaring, so to say, that everything within the selected region belonged to Kingdom Come. The tiles baked here are holy tiles; the lace is holy lace; the bank dividends are holy dividends. But what lies to right and to left in Chicago and Milwaukee, what is there baked, bobbined, and earned, is and will remain subject to the doom of Babylon, and will perish utterly when the end of the world comes.

Dowie, who, like the Anabaptist furrier Melchior Hoffmann, styled himself the "third Elijah of the new realm," was marvellously shrewd in his words and actions at combining millenarian fantasies with the spirit of modern commercial enterprise. "I stand here for twenty-five million dollars!" he exclaimed in one of his sermons. In another ecstatic utterance he promised his disciples: "The first year I earn seven millions, I shall divide a million among you. For," he went on, "I myself am the corporation."

Year after year, the Elijah-entrepreneur held a Feast of Tabernacles with his followers. Clad in flowing high-priestly garments, accompanied by his six Chief Overseers, his three hundred ministers, and his uniformed body-guard, he would withdraw to the Siloah Tabernacle, whence he would issue new and more magniloquent commercial proclamations.

In Asiatic Russia, faith in the realm of salvation has sought a similar realization to those of Salt Lake City and Zion City. A number of millenarian enthusiasts have migrated from Tylis through the rocky gorges of the Caucasus, in order to found a new Zion upon the lofty tableland of the Mokrikh Gorakh (the Wet Mountains). Their settlement is named Dukhoboria, and a "Book of Life" develops their doctrine of the speedy inauguration of the realm of God.

Thus every one of these millenarian communities, from ancient times until today, has been firmly convinced that the new realm, Kingdom Come, would be established in their little town, upon their own hills and mountains—in the Pepuza of the Montanists, in the Münster of the Anabaptists, beside Great Salt Lake, in Zion City, in Dukhoboria.

2

THE COMING DELIVERER

"By his own strength," writes Philo Judæus, "man is unable to free himself from the distresses of earthly existence." This same consciousness of impotence in overcoming the dread of life had from the first dominated the multitude, leading them again and again to dream that there would be a helpful intervention on the part of a higher, a divine power. A heavenly saviour, a deliverer, would come. His coming and, above all, his self-immolation, would free poor, weak mortals from fears and sorrows, bringing redemption to the world.

Once more in these dreams of a coming saviour of mankind, hopes of redemption are intermingled with dread of the destruction of the universe. Disastrous visitations will afflict the earth when time is ripening for the appearance of the redeemer; and this conviction has in all ages led people to regard an overplus of sufferings as an indication that his coming must be at hand. Thanks to a belief in the inevitability of "messiah-pangs," in the

lamentations for unwonted distresses there is often a strange undertone of jubilation.

Buddhist faith that Buddha will return in a tenth and last avatar is linked with the expectation of the time of the great terror of the "Kalyuga," during which earthly wretchedness will reach a climax, until, with the destruction of the world, evil, too, will be for ever destroyed. In Hindu mythology, the return of Krishna to the world will be marked by the annihilation of all that exists in it.

European civilization has from the outset been gravid with messianic hopes. Virgil was but voicing the ancient traditions of his race when, in his Fourth Eclogue, he sang a hymn to the redeemer whose coming he himself hoped to see: "In a special degree, O chaste Lucina, be propitious to the infant boy, under whom first the Iron Age shall cease, and the Golden Age arise throughout the world. . . . He shall partake of the life of the gods, and he shall see heroes associating with the gods, and shall himself be seen by them, and with all the virtues of his father he shall rule a world at peace."

Though modern research has shown that among the Jews messianism was a comparatively late development, and even that the word "mashiah" was not of Hebrew but of Assyrian origin, still the dream of the coming deliverer finds ardent expression in the writings of the prophets, both major and minor. When the time is fulfilled, declare Isaiah and Ezekiel, when, after the terrors of the "messiah-pangs," the Anointed of the Lord appears upon earth in the likeness of the Son of man, he will establish his kingdom, and "with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth."

According to the nature of the afflictions which arouse the longing for him, the redeemer varies in aspect from place to place. The Omaha Indians think of him as a four-footed beast which descends from heaven to instruct human beings in the arts of preparing and preserving meat and to teach them the secret of immortality. For to primitives, the creatures we call the "lower" animals seem much nearer perfection than man, much mightier and more divine; and it is from these creatures, therefore, that deliverance will come to the human race. Paradise, according to

the Omahas, lies far away in the forest, "beyond the great lakes, and where the animals meet in council."

Whether beast or man, the expected messiah is always one who will be empowered to dispel dread; he is to be great, victorious, able to slay or master evil spirits. In Teutonic mythology, Vidar, son of Wotan, will slay the wolf Fenris, son of Loki. In ancient Babylon the coming deliverer was to be, now Marduk, the sun-god, who would fight and overthrow darkness to install a new era of light; now Tammuz, god of spring, able to put an end to the cruel scarcity of winter.

By the Egyptians and for the Children of Israel, the coming deliverer was expected in the form of a great warrior and king who would drive out foreign oppressors. According to Egyptian tradition he would come from the south, and scatter his enemies like chaff before the wind; the Hebrew prophets foretold a Prince of the House of David who would restore the independence and revive the glories of the Jews.

Always the redeemer has the unmistakable zeal of his divine mission. Free from weakness or any taint of corruption, he is in mysterious communion with the essential forces of the universe. That is why he will be able to exorcize the powers of dread, to modify the course of nature, to renovate a disordered world, to lift curses, to eradicate decay—that is why he is mighty enough to make a new heaven and a new earth.

Amid the countless sects, each believing in a different redeemer, that arose when the classical world had passed its prime, it was, to begin with, no more than a handful of simple folk—slaves, fishermen, peasants, and manual workers—who, in a distant province of the Roman empire, declared that the expected deliverer of mankind had come (and gone), that the redeemer who was to abolish evil for all eternity had been the son of a carpenter in Galilee during the reign of Herod Antipas.

The conviction thus animating this small group of persons of no obvious importance brought about such extensive changes in the world that we have good reason for dating a new era from the birth of Christ. Ere long the faith of a persecuted, despised, and rejected few was to gain a dominant position, not only under

the Roman eagles, but throughout Europe and the world; was during two millenniums to be one of the main determinants of all that happened under the ægis of western civilization, of all that was made or modified, of all that was destroyed and renewed.

The teaching of Jesus achieved this unique transformative and creative power largely because it abstained from any promise of material advantages, setting up thereagainst the ideal of a purely spiritual, metaphysical redemption. Assurance that the mind was capable, nay was called upon, to overcome and dispel primal dread by its own intrinsic powers—an assurance hitherto peculiar to certain philosophical systems and mystical cults available only to the few—found first in Christianity adequate form, magnitude, and scope.

When, in the account of the temptation in the wilderness, we are told that Jesus rejected Satan's offer of "all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them"; and, again, that, in reply to Pilate's question: "Art thou the King of the Jews?" he answered: "My kingdom is not of this world"—the Christian notion of redemption was sharply distinguished from those millenarian expectations which were based upon a desire for good things here below. Jesus's outlook in these matters was transcendental and spiritual. It was for that very reason that the Jews, whose hopes were still almost exclusively directed towards an Earthly Paradise characterized by social justice and teeming plenty, would not recognize the messiahship of the self-sacrificing Jesus of Nazareth. Doubtless the prophet Isaiah had spoken of the redeemer as "a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief," and, in the same chapter, as God's righteous "servant" who would justify many; but the masses in Israel continued to expect a hero, a warrior-king. David was for them the ideal incorporation of God's anointed; and their notions of the coming deliverer were always moulded after the image of this great and brilliant conqueror of the enemies of the Chosen People. They who had acclaimed both Cyrus, the Persian conqueror of Babylon, and Zerubbabel, the leader of the first contingent of the Jews who returned from the captivity, as the messiah, clamoured for the crucifixion of the Nazarene; and a century later they enthusiastically supported Bar-Cocheba in his revolt against the emperor Hadrian. Even the Christian com-

munities of the early centuries of our era, though grounded in the belief that Jesus was the messiah, continued to cherish the dream of earthly glories, and would not tolerate the idea that their Master, though he had been put to death by the temporal authorities, could really be dead. He would return in splendour to purge the world from sin and suffering, and thus relieve mankind from fear.

The ineradicable conviction that the coming of a saviour must produce an obvious change in the world, and not only a change in the hearts of men, led among the early Christians to the expectation that Jesus would come again amid the horrors of the destruction of the world, and that after "that day of wrath, that dreadful day," he would re-establish the faithful to dwell in a New Jerusalem until the Last Judgment and the inauguration of the Millennium, during which he would reign for a thousand years amid all the pomp of earthly happiness. In the penultimate verse of the Book of Revelation, we are told: "He . . . saith, Surely I come quickly. Amen. Even so, come, Lord Jesus"; and in the Gospel according to St. Matthew, Christ is made to refer to the troubles that will herald his Second Advent: "For nation shall rise up against nation, and kingdom against kingdom: and there shall be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes, in divers places. . . . For there shall be great tribulations, such as were not since the beginning of the world to this time, no, nor ever shall be."

The belief, based on such texts, that the Second Advent was imminent, aroused persistent agitation among the Thessalonians. Excited crowds thronged the streets, proclaiming that the day had arrived when evil would be destroyed and Our Lord would reappear on earth in all his glory. The Second Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Thessalonians expressly warned them against such fallacious expectations. The promised signs had not yet been manifested, and the much-hoped-for return of the saviour might be long delayed.

The Catholic Church showed remarkable psychological skill in allaying the masses' dread of the animistic powers with which their imaginations had peopled the outside world. It exhibited no less mastery in confining hopes of the second coming of the

redeemer within the limits of its hierarchical system, and in transfiguring what had been crudely material notions into spiritual and symbolical ones. The Church itself became the "corpus Christi mysticum," and it replaced the bodily return of Our Lord by his unceasing presence in the sacrifice of the Mass. It declared that, in the Eucharist, Christ entered substantially into the bodies of the faithful, permeating them with his energy and vitality. Thus day by day did he renew his communion with every member of the Christian congregation.

But the Reformation, reviving primordial dread, revived also the passionate longing for a corporeal redeemer. At the same time, with the rediscovery of the Bible and its vivid imagery, redoubled force was given to those passages which seemed to promise a Second Advent, so that they exerted a remarkable influence upon the fantasies of the time.

Millenarian expectations became especially active in the sects which had broken away from the gloom and hopelessness of Calvinism. Enough that, no matter where, by a word, a biblical text, an ecstatic gesture, a fascinating glance, anyone should arouse enthusiasm; enough that some chance misunderstanding should lead the masses astray. Thereupon an individual previously indistinguishable from the crowd, a poor, sinful, questing mortal hitherto no different from his fellows, would be transmuted into the chosen of their tormented spirits, their fear-stricken hearts, and would become for them the Son of God, the reincarnated Christ.

When the civil war between king and parliament came to an end, James Naylor, a farmer's son who had served eight years in the parliamentary army, was, like thousands of others, discharged and returned home to work on the land. In the spring of the year 1652, while walking at the plough-tail, he heard an inner voice instructing him "to announce the true doctrine." Forthwith he joined the nearest body of Quakers; and whenever, among them, he rose to deliver his message, he powerfully impressed them by the sparkle in his eyes (in which there shone a light like that in the eyes of the Son of Mary) and by the impulsive vigour of his utterances.

"You are the handsomest man among ten thousand! You are

Christ Our Lord!" exclaimed the enthralled women, prostrating themselves before him to kiss his feet.

Tidings of the glories of the saviour as come to earth again in James Naylor spread through the neighbourhood like wildfire. Larger and ever larger crowds assembled to listen to his inspired utterances, until the "messiah" ultimately determined to make a formal entry into the city of Bristol, declared by him to be the "New Jerusalem."

He went on horseback, two prophetesses leading his mount by the bridle. People followed him in multitudes; and as he passed through the villages, many women brought forth their best dresses and finest shawls to carpet the roadway for the "redeemer." Enthusiasm was not even damped by a terrible cloudburst. Wading through the mire, drenched to the skin, the Christ-procession reached Bristol, and, under pelting rain, the town re-echoed to shouts of "Hosanna! Hosanna! The saviour has come!"

Next day, Naylor was arrested by the "ungodly" municipal authorities as a disturber of the public peace. He was tied face to tail on a horse and flogged through the streets of Bristol, but the humility and stoicism with which he endured his martyrdom served only to increase the fanaticism of his supporters.

While he was being flogged, some of his disciples rode in front, singing hymns in his honour. His prison became a place of pilgrimage, every visitor deeming himself fortunate when allowed to kiss the hem of the "saviour's" garment. When, at length, Naylor was pilloried and the executioner pierced his tongue with a red-hot iron, a man jumped forth from the crowd, scaled the platform, stood beside the martyr, and, amid the acclamations of the crowd, unfurled a scroll on which was inscribed in huge letters: "This is the Messiah!"

There were similar happenings in Italy as late as the middle of the nineteenth century. In the taverns of his native town at the foot of Monte Amiata, David Lazaretti, a cabdriver, was regarded as a boozer and a foul-mouthed brawler. Yet it was enough for him to dwell awhile with a hermit in the Sabine Mountains, and thenceforward, instead of cursing, to deliver his mind in biblical texts and rhetorical parables—and lo! the whole neighbourhood acclaimed him as the returned saviour.

A field-marshal's baton in his hand, and wearing a plumed head-dress, he set forth one day from the hermitage at the head of a train of gaily clad followers carrying banners with strange devices, and no one seemed to doubt that a wave of his staff would suffice to annihilate the evil powers of the world.

The subsequent doings of Lazaretti confirmed him in his messianic mission. After an apostolic supper with his most fervent disciples, he climbed a high mountain, whence he dispatched epistles and where he preached and prophesied, had visions and revelations. He was arrested, tried, and imprisoned. The countryfolk, however, in their enthusiasm, built him a temple; men, women, and children, firmly convinced of his messiahship and of the near coming of a new world, bringing stones from great distances with their bare hands.

On Russian soil, Christ has returned in many impersonations. In the province of Vladimir he chose to be reincarnated in the body of a sinful muzhik named Ivan Timofeievich Suslov. The credulous "People of God" still relate how, despite the mockery of the peasants, a woman a hundred years old was, in the village of Maksakov, impregnated by a man of the same age, the offspring of the union being the new saviour.

This wonder of a child grew up like other village children, drinking among the lads and playing fast and loose with the lasses, until the appointed time had come. Then Ivan Suslov chose twelve peasants to be his apostles and with them wandered along the shores of the Oka until, by order of the tsar, the band was arrested and brought to Moscow. There Suslov is said to have been crucified on the wall of the Kremlin near the Redeemer's Gate —to be resurrected on the third day, in accordance with Holy Writ, and to appear once more to his apostles.

A few decades later, the saviour was again reincarnated, this time in a soldier named Prokopi Lupkin, one of the streltsy (archers) who had mutinied against Peter the Great and had therefore been banished to Novgorod.

When the earthly envelope Prokopi Lupkin had passed away, the redeemer took on flesh once more in the person of a deaf and dumb peasant, Andrei Petrov, till then regarded as an imbecile. Summer and winter alike, clad only in a shirt, he made his way

from village to village, acknowledged everywhere as the messiah—for was it not common knowledge that God was fond of hiding behind the mask of idiocy or lunacy? The countryfolk therefore fell on their knees before Petrov, crying: "Christus Andryushka, bless us and save our souls!"

In the year 1862, among the Maoris, a lunatic named Horopapera declared himself to be the redeemer, and preached perpetual peace to the incessantly battling native tribes. Soon afterwards he had the Bibles burned and the Christian missionaries driven away. The only whites he would tolerate among the tribesmen were Jews, for the Archangel Gabriel (with whom he was in constant communication) had revealed to him that the Maoris, who were destined to save the world, were the descendants of the Lost Ten Tribes.

An amazing thing happened in the United States during the early years of the twentieth century. A Negro cook employed in a dining-car on the Santa Fe Railroad (William Crowdy was his name) emerged one day from his kitchen, clapped a helmet on his head, donned white gloves, and announced to the other black train-hands that he was Christ returned to earth. An angel had revealed this to him, and had also informed him that Abraham, King Solomon, King David, and Jesus had been Negroes.

The congregation that assembled round this black messiah styled itself the New Church of Christ. On ceremonial occasions, the men wore nut-brown clothing and hats shaped like mortars. The women had their heads uncovered and put on dresses of "the blue colour of truth." At the head of their processions marched twelve apostles with a huge basin for the washing of feet. They sang in chorus: "Hosanna! Hosanna! The saviour has come back to earth as a coloured man!"

So intense and so impatient is the yearning of distressed mortals for one who will deliver them from spiritual and bodily apprehension, that desire will create a saviour out of a discharged soldier, a drunken cabman, a peasant, a village idiot, or a Negro cook. It is of no moment that the aspect, the disposition, or the teachings of these men should be utterly inharmonious with the prophecies, with the actual words of Holy Writ. People's wishes

are accommodating, and make them accept as confirmatory evidence the most arbitrary discordance from, the most fantastical interpretation of, God's Word.

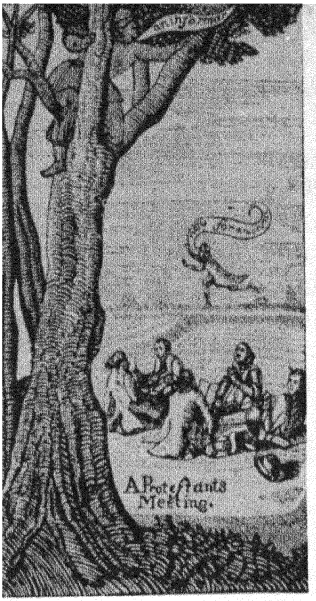
Thus it came to pass in the south of England that the daughter of a Devonshire tenant-farmer, a domestic servant, an unmarried woman named Joanna Southcott, found credence when, in 1792, being then more than fifty years of age, she declared herself to be the woman mentioned in the twelfth chapter of the Book of Revelation, "clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars . . . and she brought forth a man child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron." In a word, this old maid was with child by the Holy Ghost, and would give birth to the messiah.

Instantly two apostles, a cobbler and a copperplate engraver, took to the road. Wherever they went, they held divine service in the name of the "Mother-to-be of the Christ," winning crowds of disciples, who returned with them to Joanna Southcott.

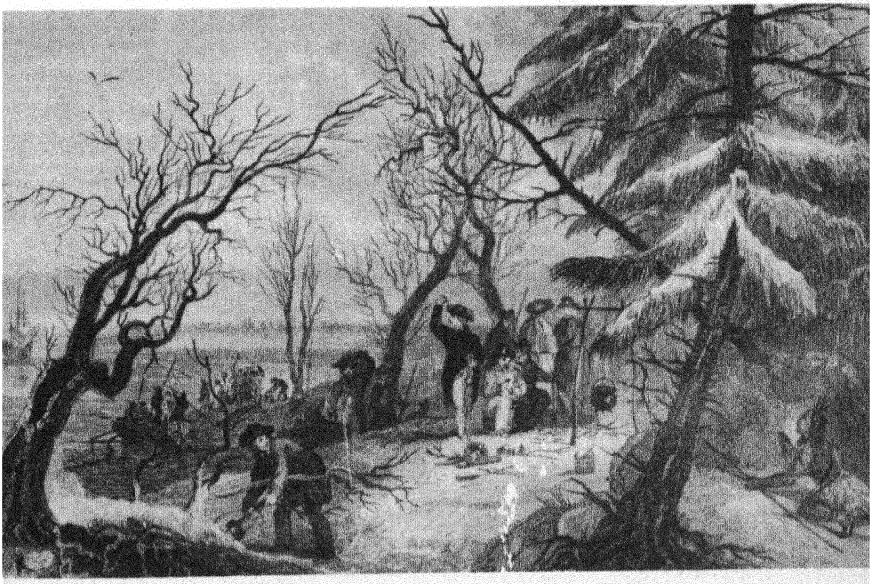
Rich and poor joyfully awaited the glorious moment when the saviour would come forth from this virgin's womb. They gave her valuable presents, that when the messiah arrived he should be received with appropriate splendour; and, at a cost of £200, they provided her with a magnificent gilt crib hung with satin. For days and weeks (this was in 1814, when Joanna was sixty-four, and hope deferred had persisted for twelve years), the house in which the prophetess lay a-dying was surrounded by crowds who ate and slept in the streets, eager to be among those who would be close at hand when the greatest event in human history occurred.

Half a century before, in 1760, the credulity which was to say "aye" to this farmer's daughter who proclaimed herself the predestined mother of Christ had been extended to Ann Lee, a blacksmith's daughter and ironer, twenty-two years old, who, in mystically obscure language, had announced that she herself was Jesus reborn on earth.

Just as little as William Crowdy's disciples were troubled about their messiah's black skin, just so little were the devotees of Ann Lee concerned about her sex; in each case, the suitable interpretation of biblical texts smoothed difficulties out of the path. In the



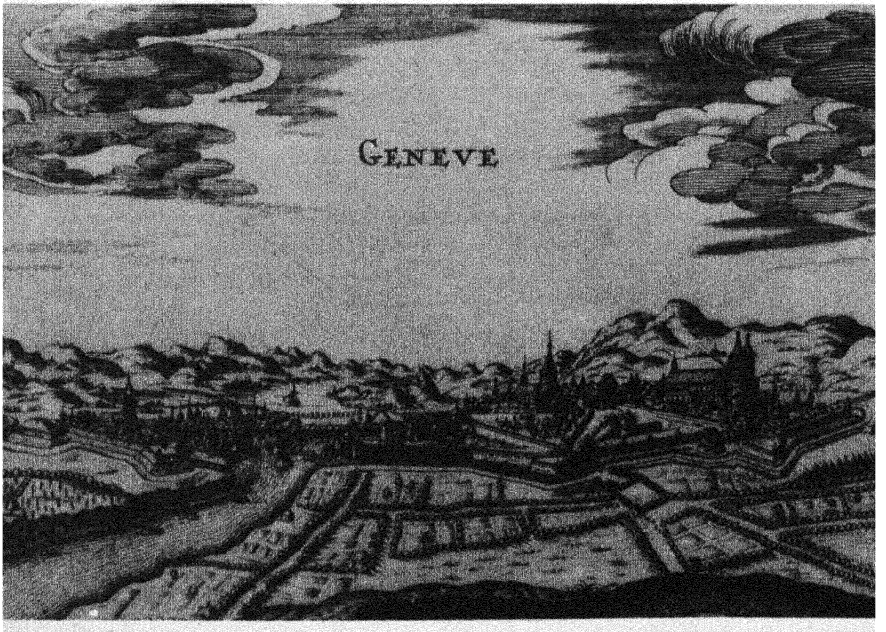
PRAYER-MEETING OF ENGLISH PURITANS



THE LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS



"BUNDSCHUH" PEASANTS IN REVOLT CAPTURING A KNIGHT



GENEVA IN CALVIN'S DAY

Book of Genesis (so Ann Lee explained the matter to the Quakers of Manchester), it was written: "God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them." This implied that God was bisexual. If God were to manifest himself in the totality of his nature, his first, male, incarnation as Jesus Christ must now be succeeded by a female incarnation. The second Church of the Lord must be the Church of Woman; not till it had been established would the realm of deliverance on this earth come into being in full perfection.

But God reincarnated in feminine form was not to escape the persecution of the temporal authorities. Crowds of pilgrims flocked to visit Ann Lee, eager to be led by her into the realm of deliverance and perpetual happiness; but one day the hard-hearted authorities sent their catchpoles to arrest her on a charge of blasphemy, and she had to submit to examination before a commission of four distinguished Anglican divines. According to the reports of her disciples, in virtue of the powers granted her by the Holy Ghost, she was able to confound the examiners by preaching to them in twenty-two tongues, so that even the fiercest of her adversaries recognized she was what she claimed to be, and desisted from their persecution.

Set at liberty, the "female Christ" was eager to found the promised Kingdom of God on earth. According to her revelations, America was the continent where the new heaven spread its arch. With a chosen group of Shakers (as the new sect was called), she crossed the Atlantic and settled down at what is now Watervliet on the upper Hudson.

There the domestic virtues, equipped with a seraphic and cosmical splendour, acquired a millenary sheen. Under Ann Lee's direction, there began a never-ending process of washing and ironing; the kitchen utensils glistened spotlessly; order and cleanliness prevailed everywhere, even in the dormitories of the brethren, as if in a soul purged from earthly dross; there was a place for everything and everything was in its place.

Singing the most innocent of songs, angelic maidens and chaste sisters wearing huge straw hats sat at their work—spinning, weaving, plaiting, and making besoms. The besoms, above all, were

remarkably good ones, and soon became a regular export across the Hudson into the sinful world, where their durability and efficacy enabled them to defy the competition of the ordinary products of American industry.

After Ann Lee's death in 1784, it became the pious custom of the Shaker communities of New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Ohio, and Kentucky to repair twice a year to the Holy Mount at New Lebanon. There, in honour of the female Christ, had been erected a temple decked with gold, marble, and precious stones. It is, indeed, not visible to the eyes of the profane, but before the gaze of every devout Shaker, even to this day, its incomparable glories continue to unfold themselves.

3

REDEEMERS OF THE EAST

More plainly than in Christendom, with its cult of other-worldliness, its insistence upon salvation in the Kingdom of Heaven, do the messiah-figures of oriental religions and civilizations show how deeply is faith in a coming deliverer rooted in the thought of mankind, and what powerful forces it can exert in the making of history.

In the year 1666 there was wild excitement on the Amsterdam bourse; the Jewish middlemen and speculators were crazy with delight; the bulls and the bears forgot their financial operations and danced ecstatically. News had come to hand from commercial correspondents in the Levant that the messiah had appeared to the Jews of Smyrna.

The merchants of the Dutch capital, however, being canny folk, thought it well to write and ask whether there was no possible mistake, whether the Smyrna messiah was in very truth the redeemer whom the Children of Israel had been awaiting for thousands of years. The answer came: "There can be no doubt. He is the deliverer."

With lightning speed, the joyful news spread across seas and

lands to all places where the Torah was held in honour. In Paris, in Leghorn, in Vienna—everywhere the same scenes were witnessed. Men neglected their business, wives their children and their homes, to dance in frenzied enthusiasm. In the Jewish quarter of every European city, crowds were singing and capering; in every place inhabited by Israelites, reports from Smyrna were read out loud; shops were closed; the wealthy gave away their worldly goods. Numberless penitents (little children among them) bathed in the ice-cold rivers, to wash away their sins and prepare themselves for the realm of grace. The Hebrew printing-presses found it difficult to cope with the demand for manuals to teach the practice of contrition.

In Hungary the Jews unroofed their houses and made ready to set out for the Promised Land. In Scotland a ship with silken sails and ropes was launched, was manned by Jewish sailors, and started on the voyage to the Mediterranean.

From Leghorn the harlot Sarah set forth with great pomp and circumstance to join the messiah. When she was a little girl, some pious Jews had found her in the cemetery of a Polish village, clad only in a shift, hair flowing down her back; and she had even then stubbornly maintained that she was predestined to be the bride of the redeemer. Now the day of fulfilment had arrived, the dream of her life was to be realized. Escorted by a number of devout Hebrews, she departed for Smyrna, where (so she fancied) she was to rule over the Chosen People as queen of the Jews, enthroned beside the deliverer whom the Almighty had sent to Smyrna.

The man who had caused this turmoil in Jewry, Sabbatai Zevi (or Sebi) by name and twenty-four years of age, was the son of a Smyrnese poulterer. Like many another Jewish youth, he had toyed with cabbalism, and could mouth mystical obscurities drawn from this source; but nothing in his words and actions ever showed any signs of exceptional, and still less of superhuman, ability.

The enthusiastic faith with which Sabbatai Zevi's messianic claims were accepted was exclusively the outcome of a passionate will-to-believe, of the extravagant racial longing for a redeemer. Since the early days of the Diaspora, the Jews have always had an ardent hope that some day the deliverer foretold by the proph-

ets will actually come, and will lead his people forth from the ghettos and misery to a life of overwhelming splendour. The greatest rabbis of the Middle Ages, men of the calibre of a Maimonides, had no doubt of it. With unshaken confidence, every synagogue and every cabbalist circle had, century after century, continued to offer up prayers for the coming of the messiah.

The poverty of the Smyrnese Jews having become unbearable, the ghetto being a place where cutthroat competition prevailed among the shops, pundits were ready to regard these distresses as "messiah-pangs." Enough for the poultryman's son, in a few impressive sermons, to announce himself as the messiah, and his claims were accepted without demur.

It was the women, to begin with, who believed themselves able to perceive a supernatural radiance on the countenance of Sabbatai Zevi. None but the messiah could have so piercing, so unearthly a gleam in his dark eyes, none but the long-expected redeemer could have so moving a voice. Furthermore, he led a most ascetic life. This was held to enhance his beauty and to substantiate his claim to a messianic mission.

Behold, too, as soon as Sabbatai Zevi had proclaimed himself messiah, material prosperity returned to Smyrna. The current of Levantine trade was diverted thither from Constantinople and Salonika. Foreign merchants opened new branches in the chief seaport of Asia Minor; from all directions gold flowed into the languishing ghetto.

A more prosaic cause for this revival may be found in the war between Turkey and the Venetian Republic; but most of the Smyrnese Jews were content to ascribe it to the appearance of the messiah. With divine omnipotence, Sabbatai Zevi had steered the merchant-vessels towards Smyrna, had induced the foreign traders to establish their factories in the town, thus enriching those who had shown faith in him.

The initials of Sabbatai Zevi were displayed on the walls of the synagogues; his portrait appeared in the prayer-books beside that of King David; and soon the pious Israelites of Smyrna had the poulterer's son solemnly crowned as king of the Jews. Wearing a white mantle, carrying the sacred silver fan, clad in ceremonial robes, he marched to the temple. In front of him, men carried

huge dishes filled with sweetmeats and flowers; beside him, with a proud and queenly gait, walked Sarah the harlot. While thousands upon thousands were praying the mi-shaberak, with a transfigured countenance he struck the tabernacle seven times with his staff, thus effecting the mystical "wedding with the Torah."

From far and wide, huge crowds had assembled, and reverently they watched the coronation procession, which traversed the streets singing and dancing. Thenceforward the new messiah signed his decrees, sent by special messengers to all Jewish communities, with the imposing words: "I, the Lord, your God, Sabbatai Zevi."

To his seat of government there came a continual influx of costly presents, accompanied by protestations of reverence and loyalty, and acclaiming him as the messiah. All Jewry had its eyes fixed upon the Levantine port where Sabbatai Zevi, the redeemer, lived in splendour.

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century, Mirza Ali Mohammed, a retiring youth who had hitherto attracted little or no attention, but had been immersed in speculations on the Koran, announced himself to the population of his native city of Shiraz in southern Persia as the promised "tenth imam," the reincarnation of the divine spirit.

Thenceforward he called himself El Bab (the gate), the only portal through which human beings could find the way to God and attain salvation. He spoke of the new realm he was destined to found, a realm in which "the least among the poor will in every respect be equal to the emirs, since all men will share out their possessions, and there will be neither rich nor poor."

In the world of Islam the fervent hope of the return of the "tenth imam" has remained active ever since (in the ninth century) the last direct male descendant of the Prophet died. At that time, immediately after the funeral of the "tenth imam," crowds of the faithful had assembled in the veiled mortuary mosque and, to the sound of kettledrums and trumpets, had prayed for his resurrection. Day and night a saddled horse was kept waiting before the mosque, that upon his return he might instantly ride forth to battle.

Now it was swiftly bruited abroad in Shiraz, Mazandaran, Ardistan, and Sendshan—indeed, throughout northern Persia—that the general decay of the prevailing governmental system heralded the end of the world, and that Mirza Ali Mohammed was the redeemer. The serious-minded and dignified sages, the sayids, espoused the Bab's cause as readily as did the masses and the poor; women (once more) extolled the beauty of his countenance, which "shone betwixt heaven and earth like a most precious pearl."

Scarcely had the shah taken the first steps towards forcibly repressing the Babist movement when it flamed up into a mighty revolution that agitated the whole realm.

While the rebel fanatics joined battle again and again with the royal troops, the Bab made no move, but kept apart from these demonstrations of brute force. No more than a "passive" resister, he did not attempt to evade arrest, and was put on trial at Tabriz.

When the high council of mullahs asked him whether he actually believed himself to be the expected "tenth imam," to be the "gate" through which alone men could attain salvation, he replied simply: "Yes." Thereupon he was pitilessly sentenced to be shot.

Two of his disciples had to face the firing-squad with him. At the last minute, one of them walked up to the Bab, kissed him upon both cheeks, and, before those assembled to witness the execution, declared Mirza to be the redeemer. Then, when he lay on the ground in the death-agony, his body riddled with bullets, he turned glazing eyes to the Bab and said: "Are you content with me, Master?"

In Kazvin, Guret ul Ain, the daughter of a highly respected jurist, a very beautiful girl, placed herself at the head of the Babist movement. She had never seen the Bab, having heard of his teachings only at second hand, from his disciples; but she became his most zealous apostle.

To the scandal of pious Mohammedans, stalwart supporters of ancient custom, she appeared in public with her face unveiled, wishing thereby to signalize the end of the old order; and with indefatigable fervour she preached the new light, the new law, which had come into the world with the Bab, speaking of the message of redemption that would soon be made known to the world.

When, seated cross-legged in blue silk Turkish trousers, she told those who crowded round her about the Bab as a redeemer, her face, lit up by her large almond-shaped eyes, had an extraordinary charm. Everyone who listened to her words was filled with admiration and was profoundly moved. Like a female St. Paul, she passed from village to village proclaiming the doctrine of the Master. The preaching of this handsome woman had a great effect upon the masses, so that she was able to rally army after army to fight the forces of the shah on behalf of the Bab and his realm of deliverance.

At length she fell into the hands of the police minister Mahmud Khan, who was so much impressed by the prisoner's beauty that he would gladly, if he could, have saved her from death. She need merely abjure her faith in the Bab's redemptionist teaching, and she could go free. Guret ul Ain, however, clung firmly to her convictions, so that the minister of the shah had no option but to let "justice" take its course. In the citadel of Teheran, Guret ul Ain was burned alive, accepting martyrdom for her belief in Mirza Ali Mohammed, the only gateway leading to God.

Like her, thousands of men, women, and children gladly gave up their lives on behalf of the Bab's words. (The number of martyrs to the creed is estimated at more than twenty thousand.) Day after day, many of the Babists, with wicks flaring in their wounds, went singing to their deaths, enduring torments and facing the end with a victorious smile.

"We came from God, and return to him through the Gate." Strong to the last, they died with this cry of rejoicing on their lips, their faith in Mirza Ali Mohammed unshaken.

The Dongolese dervish Mohammed Ahmed stood year after year in the streets of Nubian villages, holding a begging-bowl in his extended hand. As custom prescribed, the pious among the passers-by would drop into the bowl some rice, millet, or a few small coins.

One day, however, this dervish, standing beneath a fig tree, uplifted his voice to declare himself "al mahdi," the tenth imam, the promised redeemer of true-believing Moslems from oppression and every other kind of distress.

The Sudan was groaning beneath the extortions of the Egyptian tax-gatherers, who pressed harder and harder on the unhappy fellahin, robbing them of their last piastres and even of their donkeys. A bare subsistence could no longer be gained, for the possessions of the unlucky Sudanese must go to pay the debts of the khedive in Cairo.

But amid these distresses, which pointed so plainly to the return of the "tenth imam," there had appeared the man under the fig tree, declaring that the realm of deliverance was about to be established—the realm in which there would be no tax-gatherers, no rich or powerful men, in which no one would rob the fellah of his donkey; for the realm of deliverance would be under the sway of the poor and the ragged.

What matter that he who announced the glad tidings was no more than a begging dervish? He was promising the fulfilment of that which hundreds of thousands had for ages been dimly expecting.

Anyhow, Mohammed Ahmed had the look of a redeemer, being a man of tall stature, with black and glinting eyes, and a fascinating gap between his upper central incisor teeth. "Abu Felega" —"the son of the tooth-gap"—was what the women delighted to call him, for in the Sudan such a cleft is considered one of the tokens of virile beauty. Soon, too, the faithful noticed that he had an aroma of sandalwood oil, musk, and attar of roses, which marked him off as God's anointed. Had not Mohammed, the Prophet, exhaled similar agreeable odours?

From afar, therefore, pilgrims came to the fig tree in the province of Kordofan, to delight themselves with the sight of the Mahdi and glean a word or two from his lips. At sight of him, they forgot their troubles. Joyfully they listened to what he had to say about the coming dominion of the poor fellahin.

The jibbah, a rough, patched beggar's robe, as worn by the Mahdi, now became the uniform of those who were fighting for the promised realm of deliverance. What no rising in the Sudan had hitherto achieved was speedily effected by the Mahdist rebellion. A previously unknown wandering dervish, at the head of a troop of hungry and almost unarmed improvised levies, declared war against the Turkish-Egyptian rule, and his forces drove the



THOMAS MÜNZER,
"REBELL IN CHRISTO



JOHN BOCKELSSOHN
OF LEYDEN



THE CORONATION OF SABBATAI ZEVI

khedive's troops before them. Who could doubt that such a man must be an emissary of the Almighty?

The government in Cairo offered a liberal reward and immediate promotion to the rank of bimbashi to any soldier who should capture the Mahdi, dead or alive. In rejoinder, Mohammed Ahmed promised that all who fought on his behalf should be styled "emirs of the holy." The Sudan followed the Mahdi like one man.

The spread of the revolt was threatening British power on the Nile. The English government sent its ablest generals and veteran soldiers to the help of the khedive. But the Mahdi, as king of the fellahin, was already supreme in the Sudan, from the Red Sea to the borders of Wadai in the French sphere of influence.

Beneath the shade of his fig tree he delivered judgment, received the sheikhs and envoys who came to swear fealty, and dictated to scribes his proclamations to the faithful in all parts of the country.

When, served by the ladies of his harem, he made his morning ablutions, every drop of the water he had used was carefully saved, for the true believers ascribed to it healing virtues. It was sold at a high price to the sick, who drank it in the hope of cure. The eunuchs of the harem also marketed little bags of the earth on which the Mahdi had set his foot.

The redeemer who, in 1848, the year of the great European revolutions, proclaimed in China the end of poverty and oppression, the beginning of a new dominion of the poor and despised, initiated a profound upheaval in the vast Chinese empire.

Hung-Hsin-ch'üan, an epileptic, an impoverished student from the province of Kwangtung in South China, had failed in his examination at Canton. Thereupon he fell sick, and, while laid up in bed, had a vision which revealed to him that he was destined for higher things than success in a State examination for the mandarin caste. It was his mission to proclaim a new faith, and to free the Middle Kingdom once for all from the afflictions of Manchu or Tatar rule.

With his mind's eye he saw the multitudes of the poor, who raised imploring hands to him as the coming deliverer; then he

felt himself lifted from earth to heaven, where the Almighty commanded him to draw the sword on behalf of the despised and rejected, and to promulgate the true faith.

This "true faith," which Hung-Hsin-ch'üan formulated in a Book of Laws, had in it many echoes of Christianity, and for good reason. Some years before, an extremely bad translation of the Catechism, made by a Chinese Christian, had fallen into his hands; and this botch, with its many blunders, was the foundation of the new religion.

Thenceforward, Hung was firmly convinced that he was God's chosen instrument, the predestined redeemer of China. Since the queue had been imposed on the Chinese by the Manchu emperors about two centuries before, as a badge of subjection, Hung discarded his, and let his natural hair grow freely down to the shoulders. His followers did the same, and were therefore styled by the other Chinese "the long-haired rebels." More often, however, this movement is known as the Tai-ping rebellion, Hung's aim being to establish a "t'ai p'ing" or Great Peace Dynasty when the Manchus should have been overthrown.

The cutting of the queue, which had been worn by all subjects of the Manchus since the overthrow of the Ming dynasty, with the symbolical defiance of the Tatars which it implied, had a powerful effect on the Chinese imagination. It helped recruits and disciples to believe that their leader was what he claimed to be, God's emissary, who would free them from tyranny and oppression.

By thousands, people flocked to the standard of the new prophet, all the men cutting off their queues; and when Hung proceeded to hack to pieces with his sword an ancient and venerated idol, there was a general outburst of iconoclasm, the images in the temples being broken into fragments wherever the Tai-pings gained the upper hand.

The mandarins scornfully called Hung "the coolie king"; but the shafts of their mockery could not diminish the faith of the coolie class in their leader's mission as redeemer. Praying and singing, the regiments and divisions of the Tai-pings marched to fight to the death against the imperial troops; even women and children took part in the fray. Like Chen-shen, the peasant leader

who, long before, had overthrown the tyrannical Ch'in dynasty, the "coolie king" marched without check to Nanking, the ancient capital of China in the days before the Tatars had established their rule in Peking.

To the sound of drums and trumpets, the Tien-wang, the King of Heaven, as Hung now styled himself, made his entry into Nanking, and there (as everywhere when the Tai-ping leader arrived) a symbolic cutting of queues began in the streets and squares.

The Tien-wang commanded that a new reckoning of time should date from the conquest of Nanking, since this conquest signified the opening of a new era in history. Following the example of the Ming sovereigns, he had the principles of his rule inscribed upon red paper and disseminated among the populace. The pronunciamento declared the establishment of the Great Peace Dynasty. Hung called himself not only King of Heaven, but Son of God, and Younger Brother of Christ (Jesus was his Heavenly Elder Brother).

Nine provinces, with a population of two hundred millions, nearly half the Chinese empire, submitted to the rule of the Tai-pings, and sent their taxes to Nanking instead of to Peking. They were governed by four viceroys appointed by Hung, the rulers of the North, the South, the East, and the West. Six months later the psalm-singing Tai-ping rebels were at the gates of Tientsin, and the Manchu capital, eighty miles to the north-west, was in imminent danger. In his palace at Peking, the Son of Heaven trembled before the once-despised "coolie king." Nothing but the intervention of the European powers, and (above all) the thirty-three hard-fought engagements of "Chinese Gordon's" Ever-Victorious Army, saved the Manchu dynasty from overthrow. The Tai-ping realm had maintained itself for more than a decade.

Sabbatai Zevi interpreted cabbalistic teachings; the Bab delivered thoughtful discourses based upon passages in the Koran; the Mahdi announced that there would be freedom from the exactions of the tax-gatherers; the coolie king promised to put an end to Tatar despotism: from the first, such declarations surrounded these men with a redeemer's aura.

At all times, millenarian enthusiasm has had a tendency to per-

meate political life, and those who have voiced it have been invested by the populace with messianic attributes—or such attributes have been claimed for themselves by would-be deliverers.

In succession, great monarchs of pre-Babylonian days, Hebrew generals, Greek conquerors, and Roman emperors have been draped in the mantle of divine emissaries; always the supers have crowded round the central figure, shouting "Hosanna!" singing in chorus about the supernatural birth of the prince-redeemer, about his unparalleled excellencies, and about his forthcoming ascent to take his place among the stars.

Rulers have been quick to recognize how large a part such messianic stagecraft plays in arousing the impression of historic greatness, and what help it can give them in gaining control over the masses. It was through shrewd calculation that Alexander the Great, during his campaigns of conquest, announced himself to be the offspring of Zeus, and in Egypt demanded for himself the honours appropriate to the son of Ammon Ra.

Whenever history is rising to supreme heights, she provides her heroes with the costumes, the limelight, and the scenery of a great redemptionist drama. Often, however, the dread-inspired messianic yearning of mortal men clings to the most insignificant, most casual occurrences, so that devotees ask for no grand-scale staging from one whom their fancy presents to them as a deliverer.

For the Delaware Indians it was enough that one day a "brightly coloured house" should approach the coast, and that from it a man clad in a red frock-coat trimmed with gold lace should be rowed to shore. Promptly they greeted Hudson the navigator as Mitche-Manitou the Mighty, the Supreme Being descended to earth in order to destroy evil spirits. Holding a great powwow, the chiefs decided to welcome the redeemer with a festal dance; the squaws were ordered to polish up the idols, and to put the best sacrificial meats in the cooking-pots.

The Aztecs, in whose traditions their god Quetzalcoatl had a white skin and a flowing beard, were full of joyful excitement when they first caught sight of Cortés, who was to be their conqueror. From the watchmen on the coast to Montezuma the emperor, everyone believed that the newcomer must be the saviour, who had long ago set sail from the west coast for the mysterious

land of Tlapallan, and had now returned to them from the east to inaugurate the Golden Age.

When in the Nubian desert a tribe of Judaized Negroes was in the throes of one of its periodic paroxysms of messianic expectation, it was enough, on a hot July evening, for the English explorer Barrison to appear among them wearing a white raincoat and carrying a Hebrew dictionary in his hand—and all welcomed him as God's messenger.

4

WITCHERY OF THE NON-EXISTENT

In all ages, those who have listened most trustfully to the announcers of the coming of a better world have been the poor and the downtrodden; in all ages, faith in a realm of salvation and in those who professed themselves able to point out the way thither has been the fruit of an intense dread of life. No earthly disillusionment can shake a faith that is so intimately associated with the strongest needs and hopes of mankind.

One promise after another may have proved illusory; century after century, the prophecies of the end of the old world and the coming of the new at some specified date have remained unfulfilled: but still people have not grown weary of their hopes and their cheerful expectations.

Just as little do the masses repudiate their saviours because their promises have failed of fulfilment, because assurances have proved fallacious. Again and again it has happened that the words and deeds of men and women who have put forward claims to messianic sanctity have shown themselves to be unwarranted, that events have proved the "divine" bodies of alleged redeemers to be but human, after all; their minds to be as heavily charged with human frailty as anyone else's: but even though these saviours publicly divest themselves of their haloes and besoil themselves in the most unseemly places, their followers remain loyal, in spite of glaring betrayal, deception, baseness, even death and corruption.

When the Bab was shot in Tabriz, the first volley of the firing-squad made no hits. After the smoke had cleared away, it was seen that the victim had completely disappeared. Thousands of the onlookers shouted ecstatically: "A miracle! Allah has taken him to himself!"

The soldiers speedily discovered that the Bab had only crept out of sight into a latrine. They seized him just as he was about to escape through the farther end, and stood him once more against the wall. Another volley, and the officer in command pointed contemptuously to the corpse of the "redeemer," saying to the crowd: "Behold the carrion which you said Allah had taken to himself!"

But the Babists knew better. It had only been a semblance, a spurious body, which had been executed after being dragged forth from the latrine, left there by the redeemer to fool his persecutors. The real Bab had ascended into heaven, and would return to earth when the time was ripe.

The Israelites of Smyrna had invested their messiah Sabbatai Zevi with royal honours, had made such a to-do about him that the sultan began to fear a Jewish rising. The grand vizier, therefore, had the redeemer arrested, and confronted him with the choice between a martyr's death on the one hand, and public conversion to Mohammedanism and acceptance of a janitor's post in the Seraglio on the other.

The seventeenth-century messiah did not take long to decide against martyrdom and for the well-paid job as door-keeper. In full view of the padishah, he stripped off his royal insignia, acknowledged that all religious truth was to be found within the pages of the Koran, put on a turban in place of his Jewish cap; and a quick-change act behind a screen transformed the sometime "King of Israel" into a servant wearing a Turkish livery of gorgeous silk.

But the grand vizier's expectation, that after so public an abnegation, and after so open a humiliation, the Jewish masses would fall away from Sabbatai Zevi, was foredoomed to disappointment. The faith which had consecrated the poulterer's son as messiah persisted even when he himself had repudiated it.

What did it matter to those who hoped for the fulfilment of the national dream that their new King David had gone over to Islam

and become porter at the Seraglio? Was there not a biblical parallel? Had not Moses, the founder of Israel's greatness, lived for a time at Pharaoh's court, and worn Egyptian raiment? If everything in Holy Writ should be fulfilled, it was essential, and part of the divine plan, that once more he who was to free the Jews from a foreign yoke should live at the tyrant's court and wear that tyrant's livery. Thus the very backsliding of Sabbatai Zevi was taken as proof of his divine mission. "There can be no doubt. He is the deliverer."

The Mahdi, at the opening of his career, had been a lean penitent with a begging-bowl, nourished upon a few grains of rice and millet. He seemed to have no inclination for the pleasures of the senses, and never vouchsafed so much as a glance at the loveliest of women. His claims to messiahship were based mainly upon his asceticism. He had made the jibbah, the patched vesture of the poor and lowly, the garment of honour in his realm of beggars. Upon these facts mainly depended his magical hold upon the masses, and the faith of the Sudanese in his divinity.

Yet as soon as Mohammed Ahmed had risen to power, he showed himself to be a sensualist. All the pretty girls he could get hold of were penned within his harem; he wore robes of the finest silk, spent his days lolling on soft couches, and luxuriated in the pleasures of the table.

The best servants from the houses of the well-to-do Egyptians, who had fled southward, were set to work in his kitchen. Day by day he put on flesh, until he could hardly rise from his cushions. When, from time to time, he left his palace to bless the troops on the way to the front, the faithful saw, instead of a lean begging dervish, a shapeless and quaking sack of fat.

But the fanaticism the scrawny dervish had awakened remained true to the obese libertine; and the poor starveling Sudanese acclaimed their gluttonous, overfed debauchee of a leader with undiminished fervour.

After his death, his mausoleum, which could be seen from afar, became an emblem of the war of liberation, at sight of which the Sudanese warriors were ever inspired with fresh courage. Lord Kitchener, therefore, commander-in-chief of the British expedi-

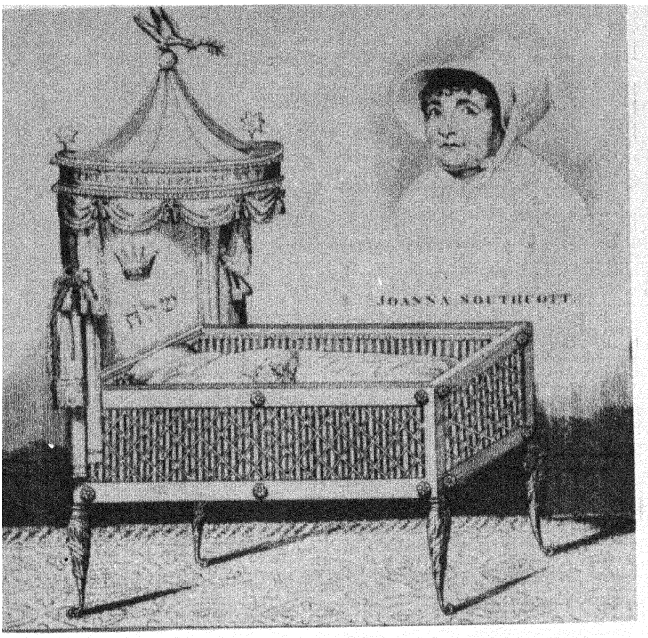
tion of 1896–1898, by which the Mahdi's successor was overthrown, shelled the tomb with long-range guns and, after the taking of Khartoum, had Mohammed Ahmed's corpse exhumed. The head was preserved in alcohol; the body (which had been embalmed) was publicly burned, and the ashes were scattered to the winds. In this way the Sudanese devotees were to be convinced that their divine imam had really been a mortal man like any other.

Nevertheless, year after year, Sudanese and Nubians make pilgrimage to the ruined and empty mausoleum, awaiting in inviolable confidence the day when the Mahdi will arise from the dead and lead them to the last, decisive struggle against the detested foreigners.

Just like the Mahdi, the Tai-ping ruler, the Chinese "coolie king," who had begun his mission as a warrior on behalf of the poor and hungry, soon showed himself to be anything but an ascetic. After the taking of Nanking, Hung retired within the walls of his splendid palace, and, while his soldiers marched to battle and death singing psalms, he abandoned himself to debauchery. He paid no heed to what was going on in his kingdom. Not wishing to be disturbed, he sometimes had his viceroys and generals put to death because they ventured to interrupt him in his orgies.

Once only did his faithful subjects catch sight of him from an immense distance. When, in the spring of 1864, a huge Tatar army was besieging Nanking, and famine threatened the beleaguered city, the chief dignitaries of the Tai-ping realm managed to induce the coolie king to climb to the topmost tower of his palace, to hoist there with his own hands a huge silken banner, and to uplift his arms in blessing. At once the multitude outside began to sing a hymn. They threw themselves on their knees, and the whole city resounded with a chorus of jubilation. Scarcely capable, now, of understanding what was at stake, he returned to the apartments of his women, from which he never emerged until he was put to death. His devout adherents, however, spread the news that the Supreme Being had thought fit to withdraw his "younger son" from the profane eyes of men.

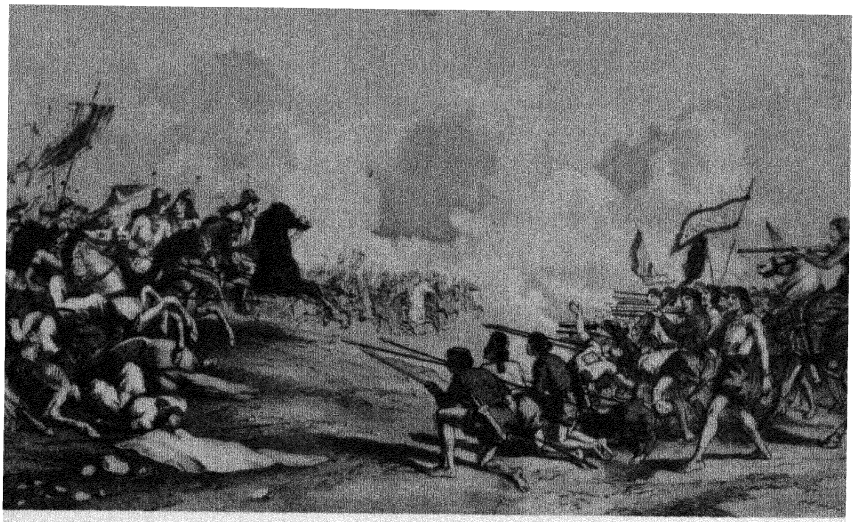
While the Mahdi and the Tai-ping leader were unfaithful to the ascetic principles to which they owed their first successes, in



JOANNA SOUTHCOTT AND HER GOLDEN CRIB



CARICATURE OF
CROMWELL AT PRAYER



THE TAI-PING REVOLT: FIGHTING THE CHINESE EMPEROR'S TROOPS



THE MAHDI'S ARMY OF DERVISHES ATTACKING

the Zion City of the entrepreneur-Elijah, Alexander Dowie, the promise of material welfare proved fallacious. In his sermons Dowie had talked much of dollars, profits, and dividends, and the elect of Zion City would, he said, show their worth by their economic success. But Zion City, which to begin with seemed a thriving enough place, marched with giant strides towards bankruptcy, and Dowie himself was in the end prosecuted for defalcations.

But neither bankruptcy nor prosecution could seriously disturb the faith of the disciples. More than twenty years after Dowie's death in 1907, Zion City was still convinced that the "third Elijah" was a messenger of God, and that here, forty miles from Chicago, the millennium will be established.

Especially painful was the disillusionment that awaited the disciples of Joanna Southcott. The virgin mother-to-be of the messiah died without giving birth to the ardently expected saviour.

For a long time, the faithful would not believe their senses. Although Joanna's cheeks already had the waxen tint of death, they treated her corpse with the care needed by a parturient woman, continuing to apply fomentations to the supposedly pregnant belly even after the odour of putrefaction was perceptible to those waiting in the street.

When at length they were forced to admit that the prophetess had passed away, they still hoped to save the unborn messiah. Doctors were sent for. The dead woman's womb was cut open—and was found empty. Not even the most credulous anatomist could discover the slightest trace of pregnancy.

In spite of this disappointment, the adherents of Joanna Southcott continued, with glowing fanaticism, to voice their conviction that she had been about to give birth to the Christ. Nothing but the wicked world's unreadiness for salvation could account for the fact that God, at the last moment, had changed his purpose, and had withdrawn his son from the elderly virgin's sacred womb.

At the beginning of the last decade of the seventeenth century there was a fierce dispute in German-speaking lands between Fräulein von Asseburg, Superintendent Petersen, and Frau Schluchert. They were agreed that the end of the world would come in the year 1692, but whereas Fräulein von Asseburg declared that

the realm of salvation would be established in Magdeburg, Superintendent Petersen claimed this honour for Lüneburg, and Frau Schluchert had had a revelation to the effect that Erfurt would be the New Zion.

About the year 1831, William Miller, a Massachusetts farmer, announced that through dreams and a careful study of the Bible he had become convinced that the realm of deliverance would begin between March 21, 1843, and March 21, 1844. The fourteenth verse of the eighth chapter of the Book of Daniel made this clear: "And he said unto me, Unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed." This signified that 2300 years after the rebuilding of King Solomon's temple the purification of the world from evil would ensue. Now, the temple had been finished in the year 457 B.C., and A.D. 1843 was 2300 years after that date.

Miller found many "Millerites" or "Adventists" to listen to his words, and shortly before the stated time had expired, the whole congregation of them, clad in white raiment appropriate to the occasion, climbed a hill to await the Second Coming of Our Lord.

Scarcely had Miller's prophecy shown itself to be erroneous, when it was rectified by a man named Snow. This worthy explained that Miller ought to have taken the parable of the five wise and the five foolish virgins into account. The bridegroom did not come till midnight. Since a "day" was a "year," there would be a postponement of six months. Christ would return to earth without fail on October 22, 1844.

Once more the faithful donned white nightgowns and raised their voices in song; and though nothing unusual happened, the faith of the Adventists was imperturbable. Indeed, there are six Adventist sects in the United States, all offshoots of the Millerites. In 1845 they determined to look for the Second Coming at a near but not specified date, and the most active blossoming of these millenarian hopes did not begin until after the disappointments of 1843 and 1844.

Firm believers, likewise, were the Mormons, who, on horseback, on foot, and in wagons, crossed the wide continent of America to found the City of the Latter-Day Saints beside the Great Salt Lake. They swore by their prophet Joseph Smith, and by the

strange doctrines he had promulgated in the twenties of the nineteenth century.

Smith was unsurpassed as a master of the witchery of the non-existent. The marvellous influence which his fantastic revelations exercised upon myriads (and continue to exercise after more than a century) affords irrefutable proof how little such hopes of deliverance can be shaken by the criticism of reason.

According to his own story, on a hill at Palmyra in New York State he was guided by an angel to the discovery of a new Bible. In this "Book of Mormon" it was written that most of the Children of Israel had emigrated and had settled down in America as long ago as the building of the Tower of Babel. In the interval between his resurrection and his ascension, Jesus had visited the American Jews, and had made to them his own true revelation. The Jewish patriarch Mormon had inscribed this revelation in the "reformed" Egyptian tongue upon golden plates, and had buried them in a box on the hill at Palmyra.

Joseph Smith, having dug up the box, immediately took possession of this precious revelation of divine truth, and it became his task to disseminate it among poor, erring mortals.

There were actually forthcoming a few persons ready to finance the publication of the Book of Mormon and propaganda on behalf of the new faith. Not one of them had yet seen the golden plates, which were so holy that they must be sheltered from profane eyes. Day after day, Joseph Smith sat behind a green curtain, studying the hieroglyphs with the aid of the ancient stones of divination, the Urim and Thummim, which had also been given him. He dictated an English translation from the "reformed Egyptian" to scribes seated on the other side of the curtain.

Ultimately, however, the curiosity of the three most intimate of the disciples could no longer be bridled. Yielding to their urgent prayers, Smith opened the box for them to see the contents. To their stupefaction, there was nothing inside!

"Brother Joseph, where are the golden plates? We cannot see them!" said the three timidly, after staring in vain for a long time.

The great wizard of the non-existent angrily replied: "O ye of little faith! Kneel and pray. Then you will see them."

The disciples knelt in front of the chest and prayed fervently

that God would quicken their faith. When, some hours later, they were vouchsafed another glimpse, they could actually see the inscribed holy plates. Going forth, they proclaimed this to the world.

A few years later, having had a dispute with Joseph Smith, the three were expelled from the Mormon Church. Adversaries of the new sect did all that was possible to induce them to deny their ever having seen the originals of the Book of Mormon. But in vain, for to the day of their death they continued to declare they had seen the golden plates covered with hieroglyphic characters.

One after another, all the masters of promise have failed when performance was demanded. There is a margin of error in every calculation. The "Fullness of Time" foretold by Joachim da Celico has not come to pass any more than the Fifth Monarchy of some of Cromwell's Ironsides. In the Sudan, the realm of deliverance promised by Mohammed Ahmed was a failure; so was that founded by the "coolie king" in China. The expectations of the Adventists are still unrealized.

The corpse of the Bab lies in a latrine; the Mahdi's head is pickled; the seventeenth-century Jewish messiah turns Mohammedan; Joseph Smith's box is as empty as Joanna Southcott's womb. How cruelly does harsh reality rob unhappy mortals of the fulfilment of their ardent longings for deliverance. With what cold cynicism does experience ever and again dissipate their dreams of redemption.

Stronger, nevertheless, than the brutality of fate, is the weapon of the weak—cunning. Hunted for centuries and for thousands of years through the abysses of dread, the human mind has learned to elude its mighty slave-driver, reality, by entering the secret paths (paths known only to itself) of falsehood, self-deception, mystification, and dreams.

In the autonomous freedom of fiction, the inextinguishable and magical desires of the human spirit break through the barriers set up by the-thing-that-is, and contrapose to the realities of nature new realities of their own fashioning. Reality, in victorious scorn, may draw its proofs and confirmations from the records, and may dangle them under the nose of faith—still, the internal

evidence of illusion holds its ground against the teachings of experience, and will not allow itself to be bullied or scared by the external demonstrations of "fact." If one or the other has to give way, experience always bows down before faith, which boldly refuses to pay reverence to the arrogant dogmatism of direct evidence, and, without turning a hair, replies to every "enlightenment" with bolder and bolder evasions, interpretations, and inventions.

These, indeed, are never demonstrable—but at the same time they are irrefutable. Illusion, which has no roots in outward experience, can never be dispelled by such experiences. Self-deception is endowed with an inner, a metaphysical truth.

Whenever cold, hard facts vanish into the kindly fog of illusion, the dread-sired wish-dream of mankind has gained another victory over hostile reality; imagination has once more been able to hold its own against the tyranny of fate and to overcome the ghastly heritage of fear. Rooted in the inviolable domain of the emotions, the might of fiction remains undiminished so long as the yearning for safety, happiness, and deliverance persists. Thus we have ever-renewed confirmation of the "omnipotence of thought" with which even primitive man was able to arm himself against the terrors of existence.

Odysseus is one of the first heroes of literature to be depicted as a cunning liar and falsifier. Homer, who tells us of the birth of lying, that second birth of the human spirit, implies that therewith upon Odysseus was bestowed a precious gift of the gods. Did not Pallas, protectress of the mind and born out of the head of All-Father Zeus, take a keen delight in the inexhaustible wiles of her favourite?

Goethe, referring to the legends of the heroes that were a part of Roman tradition, wrote that if the Romans were great enough, as fabulists, to invent them, "we should, at least, be great enough to believe in them"; and he bitterly censured the pedantic criticism which, "by a pitiful truth, deprives us of something great which would be better for us."

The self-deception of the masses is instinct with a mysterious creative force; in the end, it forms and fashions new realities. The need to be humbugged is a biological function of mankind, and

is, therefore, an important element in the upbuilding of our world. For this world is by no means exclusively the product of material data; it is not only a Gradgrind world, but is certainly also, in great measure, the creation of our fears and of the wishes, hopes, and illusions to which these give birth.

III

Seeds of the Rights of Man

CLAMOUR OF THE DERANGED

IF WE all came of the same father and mother, of Adam and Eve, how can these lords say or prove that they are better than we, if it be not that they make us gain for them by our toil what they spend in their pride? They are clothed in velvet, and warm in their furs and their ermines, while we are covered with rags. They have wine and spices and fair bread; and we, oat-cake and straw and water to drink. They have leisure and fine houses; we have pain and labour, the rain and the wind in the fields. And yet it is of us and our toil that these men hold their state!"

It was John Ball, the Mad Priest of Kent, as he was contemptuously called, who in the year 1381, at the opening of the reign of King Richard II, preached such words in the village churchyards to yeomen, journeymen, and vagabonds. Always, when the sermon came to an end, the congregation raised voices in the rhyme:

> When Adam delved and Eve span,
> Who was then the gentleman?

From the Kentish churchyards this threatening couplet made its way through the southern counties, until at length, uttered by a hundred thousand voices, it was heard in the streets of London when the Tower was being stormed, and the lords in velvet and ermine were being slain during the jacquerie.

John Ball's indignant outcry marked a new epoch in the history of western Christendom. For the first time had anyone ventured to challenge the existing social order and its inequalities as divinely ordained. The peasants who, influenced by Ball's teaching, and under Wat Tyler's leadership, had marched on London, to ravage the palaces and cut down their lords, were the first who had, with arms, made an attempt to establish a new order of equal-

ity and justice which should replace the one hitherto regarded as inviolable, sacred, and destined to endure for ever and ever—with its distinction between rich and poor, between the mighty and the oppressed.

For the great risings of earlier days had been blind outbursts of distressful and despairing creatures whose only aim had been to escape from an intolerable position, to rid themselves of their sufferings, and to take vengeance on their oppressors. Those who took part in such revolts did not voice general principles of justice and equality in defiance of the established order.

When, in classical times, the woes of the slaves in the silver mines, in the ergastula, or in the gladiatorial training-schools led to a successful revolt, this signified for the victorious slaves nothing more than a change of roles. Now they dwelt in the palaces of those who had been their masters, carousing at the tables of the great, sleeping in their beds, and cohabiting with their wives.

Most of the victorious leaders of slave revolts—the crafty Drimmacus, the flute-player Salvius, the soothsayer Athenæon, the gladiator Spartacus—when they rose to power, proclaimed themselves kings, and surrounded themselves with courtiers, officers, pages, and servants. Thus the inequality and cruelty which had hitherto prevailed remained as heretofore, with the difference that it was the turn of the sometime masters to be mocked at, punished, crucified.

Eunus, the Syrian, who in the second century B.C., as leader of a slave rebellion in Sicily, seriously endangered the stability of the Roman realm, had for years been a jester to amuse his master's guests at mealtimes. It had seemed an especially good joke to the wealthy Sicilians when Eunus began to talk of a coming kingdom of the slaves, of which he would be the ruler, to reward those who now threw him broken victuals and to pay out in their own coin those who had treated him harshly.

One day this much-applauded fool placed himself at the head of a troop of mutinous slaves, led them from victory to victory, seized the town of Enna, and there established his reign. For nine years he withstood the onslaughts of the Roman legions. Wearing a kingly crown, surrounded by courtiers, with a Syrian slave-girl as his queen, Eunus successfully played the despot throughout this

period, passing judgment on the former masters, and allotting them the rewards and punishments he had spoken of when only a jester and a slave.

This regal splendour had become so much second nature to the ex-slave that after his fall, when he was fleeing from the victorious Romans, he could not part from his cook, his baker, his bath-attendant, and his court-jester. With his train reduced to four, he crept at last into a cave and had himself served by them until the end came.

No less impressively transmogrified by a change in the relationships of power was the mentality of the escaped gladiator Spartacus, as shown by his determination to demonstrate the new position of masters and slaves. At the funeral ceremony of some of his fallen generals, four hundred Roman prisoners were made to slaughter one another in gladiatorial combats, while the army of rebel slaves looked on at the cruel sport with roars of acclamation. Thenceforward, until the close of the Middle Ages was at hand, whenever risings of the oppressed classes threatened the established order, the chief aim of the rebels, which they realized after every victory, was the same exchange of positions as between the under dogs and the upper.

Even at the opening of the great movement of the peasantry in Europe, this idea of human equality was still in abeyance. Thus the jacquerie which, not many years before the preaching of John Ball and the revolt of Wat Tyler, devastated the countryside between Amiens and Paris, had no definite programme. It was but an elemental outbreak on the part of the exploited and maltreated "Jacques Bonhomme," the good-natured lout who since the memory of man had tilled his lord's acres, and now rose in mass against his oppressors.

It was in the utterances of the Mad Priest of Kent that revolt first achieved an ideal, through the expression of doubt whether God could approve inequality, and whether the sufferings that resulted from inequality must be accepted in abject humility as the outcome of divine ordinance. By maintaining that God wished only what was good and reasonable, John Ball, as spokesman of the English peasantry, introduced something new and extraordinarily important into the history of the human mind; for what

he said implied the denial of the working of hostile animistic powers in a large and significant domain—that of social life. The fear-creating caprice of a God who, for inscrutable reasons, blessed some with wealth and power and cursed others with poverty and a denial of rights was replaced by the notion of a reasonable will which aimed at an all-embracing order.

This belief in the attainability of a different and juster distribution of power and possessions was destined to become a leading idea in the era now opening. The masses following John Ball on the road to London were marching onward into the centuries. Their couplet, with a threat in its mockery, was to echo down the ages. As it then alarmed Richard II, his lords, and his prelates, so in later days was it to alarm Louis XVI and many other sovereigns, lords, and prelates, on into our own day. Again and again, to the accompaniment of this song of revolution, palaces and castles were to be razed, the heads of slaughtered magnates were to fall, that a new order of equality might arise, in which the palaces of the rich would no longer tower over the huts of the poor, and in which the heads of the lords would not overshadow the heads of the commons.

The authorities, when the rebellion had been put down, punished the Priest of Kent with a cruel death; but before this the Church had turned against him, excommunicating him, and stigmatizing him as a lunatic—although Ball, in his rejection of earthly inequalities, had expressly appealed to Christian teaching, to the history of the creation, and to the words of the Gospels.

From its earliest days the Christian Church had, indeed, implied equality by its teaching that all were God's children. We may read even in Gregory of Nyssa that the first man had been created in God's image, bore the Almighty's seal on his brow, and that this seal had been handed down to the whole human race. "Everyone comes from the Divine Being, everyone has the same origin, and to that Highest Power who recognizes no multiplicity, all have ever had the same essence."

But when the Church spoke of equality, it was only in respect of the metaphysical relationships of souls to their creator. The attempt, on the ground of this metaphysical equality, to justify a revolutionary demand for the abolition of prevailing and tradi-

tional distinctions of caste, birth, and ownership was regarded as an impious and crazy rebellion against a divinely established order.

Although isolated enthusiasts, like Carpocras and Epiphanes at the beginning of the second century, or groups of the same kidney, such as the Circumcellions of North Africa in the days of St. Augustine, had tried, from the fatherhood of God and the consequent brotherhood of man, to deduce the need for community of goods, these endeavours were frowned upon by the Church, were denounced as heretical, and those who made them were persecuted.

Such, too, was the fate of John Ball. The man who, appealing to Holy Writ as his authority, declared Christianity to be a religion for the establishment of mundane equality and, on the same warrant, fomented the class struggle and wanted the good things of this world to be shared equally endured many terms of incarceration in the Primate's prison, was excommunicated by Archbishop Islip, and was in the end put to death at St. Albans as a traitor. In official history he is stigmatized by the name contumeliously given him by churchmen, and is known as the Mad Priest of Kent.

The belief that earthly inequalities are established by God's will was not confined to the Catholic Church. It is, indeed, conformable to the earliest convictions of mankind. The principle of hierarchical gradation finds clear expression in the majority of primitive cultures. To primitives, nature itself, the cosmos at large, seems hierarchical, so that human society, with its orders of rank and privilege, is for them no more than the reflexion of relationships that obtain in a higher world. Since clan organization is based upon distinctions of rank, those at this early stage of social development have what seems to them a "natural" veneration for the differences of wellbeing that result from birth, age, and station. Such differences are the expression of the will of the demons and, like other manifestations of transcendental power, are invested with a network of taboos and prohibitions, of rites and ceremonies.

Thus among the Trobriand islanders of the South Seas there

prevails a remarkable custom. Every indigene of low estate, when approaching a group of seated chiefs and dignitaries, shouts as soon as he is within range: "Tokay!" (Stand up!). Thereupon the worthies jump to their feet, and remain standing on tiptoe till the underling has passed by. The person of importance must always have his head higher than the common man, gradation in rank being thus physically symbolized. (The same symbolism persists, or persisted until recently, even among so highly civilized a people as the Japanese. When the emperor or the shogun went in procession through the streets, upper-story shutters must be closed, lest a subject could "look down" upon his sovereign. If a master chanced to enter the kitchen while the cook was standing at work, the cook would instantly squat on the floor—instead of, as in the west, politely handing his superior a chair.)

Never would a Trobriander of low degree fail, in the circumstances described, to shout "Tokay!" and never would he fail to bow his head reverentially in passing. Omission to do either might provoke the wrath of unseen powers and entail serious consequences upon the tribe. Children would be stillborn, or the fish would desert the coast. At clan meetings, the necessary gradations are scrupulously observed among the Trobrianders. The lowly in station are lowly in physical fact, their heads being only just above the ground; the chiefs sit upon wooden seats of heights appropriate to their respective ranks; the "middle classes" come betwixt and between, so that the heads of those assembled form a pyramidal hierarchy.

So strongly do primitives feel inequality to be a basic principle of existence, that in the opinion of certain tribes even death respects differences of station. The souls of the well-born quit the body by a different portal from common folk's, and, indeed, it is only the souls of the former that will survive. Nothing can be more alien to the psychology of "savages" than the idea that by nature all men are equal; such equality seems to them inconceivable.

"The more deeply the investigator probes the mentality of primitives or the semi-civilized," writes Lévy-Bruhl, the famous ethnopsychologist, "the more strongly is he impressed with the part which hierarchy plays in their lives."

This sanctioning of inequality persisted in the religions of the civilized peoples of the ancient world. Hierarchical gradations prevailed, not only among mortals, but among the gods as well. Sacrosanct was the dignity of the Egyptian sovereign, who was regarded as the offspring of the sun-god Ammon Ra, and was himself prayed to as a god. Never, in the whole history of Egypt, did there arise the shadow of a doubt as to the right of the pharaoh and his ministers to rule, or as to the lawfulness of wealth. The lay-out of Egyptian temples embodied a recognition of the hierarchical structure of society. Common people were not admitted beyond the sacred groves outside; persons of fair standing might enter the portico; nobles, the pillared hall; while access to the holy of holies in the interior was reserved for priests and monarchs.

Heimdall, god of light in Scandinavian mythology, who guarded heaven against the giants, had from the first divided men into the estates—bondslaves and freemen, churls and earls. Thus for the Teutons, too, inequality was of divine origin, and the creator himself was protector of the established system.

The Holy Books of Hindustan speak with contempt of King Vena, who tried to abolish caste. "When he undertook this," we read, "his mind was disordered. No one but a lunatic could revolt against the eternal laws of the sacred order."

Christendom, therefore, when regarding differences in station and in wellbeing on earth as divinely ordained, has merely remained true to the mental attitude which was characteristic of primitive thought. But it has given meaning and consecration to the humility which among primitives and in the members of other religious cults had been mere submission to the commandments of demoniacal powers. For in proportion as Christian doctrine humanized the all-powerful demon into an all-wise and all-good God, the realm ruled over by crowned caprice was imaginatively transformed into a planned and orderly creation having reference to a region beyond the boundaries of this sublunary world.

In relation to such a world-plan, wise purposiveness could be

discerned in what, considered by itself alone, must seem purposeless, harsh, and unjust; what had been chance became necessity; what had been temporal acquired eternal significance.

Whereas in pre-Christian days whole classes were despised as valueless, degraded to the status of mere means to the ends of their lord, under Christian auspices every human soul was deemed essential to the world-plan, and was thus invested with new dignity.

The Trobrianders, dumbly submissive, range their heads in a pyramid without there being any significant mutual relationship between the higher and the lower. But for Catholic philosophy all created things and beings, from insentient stone to archangel, are parts of a stupendous hierarchy embracing the cosmos, which rises tier upon tier from the lowest depths of the earthly to the loftiest pinnacles of the divine. Here we have the picture of the choirs, the angels, the "principalities," the "dominions," the "thrones," and the "powers, moving ever nearer to the 'lumen gloriæ,' " and described so beautifully by Dionysius the Areopagite. In this celestial hierarchy, every sphere of life has its assigned rank and dignity; every individual, however impoverished and however seemingly insignificant, has an important function to fulfil, is stationed at the appropriate and "natural place"; and the very persons who may appear to us the weakest and most unimportant are often, in reality, "the most necessary to the welfare of the whole."

In such a hierarchical structure, man is enabled to perceive more clearly than ever before his interconnexion with other created things, and the soul "is withdrawn from the particularism of ordinary states of consciousness to merge into the universal." This great world-order of which he now sees himself to be a part lifts him above the vicissitudes of his isolated destiny, out of the narrows of his each-for-himself human existence, and brings him into a higher connexion with divine relationships and values.

These other-worldly outlooks, directed towards the cosmos in its entirety, determine the Christian attitude towards the inequalities that result from differences in wealth and station.

No doubt St. Ambrose, like many revolutionists of later times, argues that, when (as described in the Book of Genesis) God made

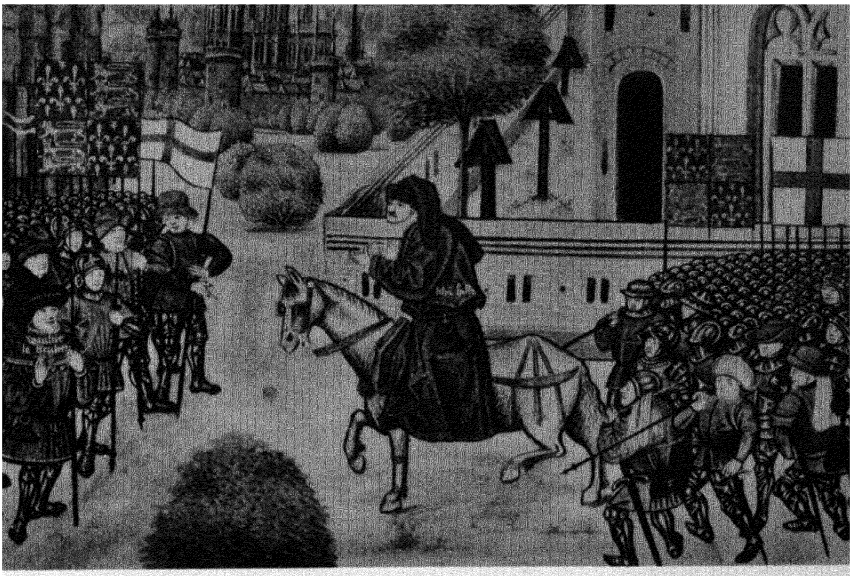
the fruits of the earth, he did so "that everyone should equally enjoy them in due season." But he does not mean to imply that by the decrees of nature rich men have no more right to the produce of the land than have the poor. Far from advocating a restitution of this original equality, Ambrose considers that the distinction between rich and poor—as it has gradually been established during the development of social life—corresponds to a divinely foreordained differentiation of duties, and he goes no further than to admonish those blessed with an abundance of this world's goods that they should regard property as a duty rather than a right.

He expressly recognizes that riches come from God, are bestowed by the divine goodness, and therefore entail obligations; and he declares that the warning, "Woe unto you that are rich!" in St. Luke's Gospel, applies to those who misuse wealth, not simply to those who own it.

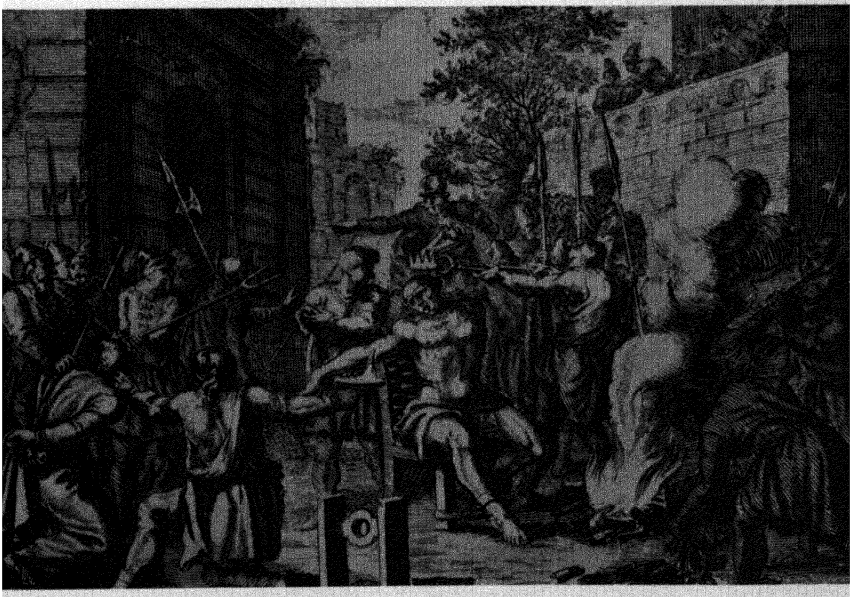
According to Catholic doctrine, the rich man's great possessions do him no disservice in God's eyes if he knows how to turn them to good account in accordance with the scheme of creation. On the other hand, the poor man who "amid uncleanness and poverty fails to avoid sinning" will not, according to the words of St. Jerome, "be deemed excusable merely because of his distressful situation."

By "works of charity" the Church tries to render tolerable the distresses that result from the social inequalities that are sanctioned in this world. St. Augustine declared that the giving of alms to the needy was the most outstanding duty of the rich; and throughout the Middle Ages, bishops, the members of the various religious orders, and secular dignitaries joined forces with the municipal authorities in the endeavour to mitigate the sufferings of the poor by founding hospitals, almshouses, orphanages, and by the free distribution of food and clothing.

Such charitable activities inaugurated by the Church were for many centuries regarded as sufficient discharge of Christian obligation. But during the thirteenth century, when western civilization in general was verging on chaos, the social-welfare institutions of Catholic Christendom also began to fall into decay. Just as people's minds could no longer be appeased by those elements in Christian ritual which had been designed to exorcize the spec-



THE PEASANT REVOLT OF JOHN BALL *(From a Flemish Miniature)*



FIERY CORONATION OF GEORGE DÓZSA, HUNGARIAN PEASANT LEADER



THE DANCE AROUND THE TREE OF LIBERTY
(From an Anonymous Mezzotint in the Bibliothèque National)

tre of primordial dread, so now was it widely felt that, so far as charity was concerned, something more was needed than mere almsgiving out of superfluous wealth.

During this period of transition from the patriarchy of the feudal system to the era of large-scale landed proprietorship and the commencing growth of the great towns, economic contrasts between the more and more impoverished masses, on the one hand, and the rich whose wealth and power were steadily increasing, on the other, were becoming intensified to an unbearable degree. But even more influential than this change in material conditions was the working of the sense of guilt simultaneously aroused by the activities of the preaching friars and the campaigns of the flagellants.

"Whoever is rich should give alms, build hospitals, feed the hungry, provide drink for those that are athirst, clothe the naked, shelter strangers, and do all possible works of charity." Such were the words of Berthold of Ratisbon; and, like him, other preachers who urged self-knowledge and repentance demanded also an enlarged benevolence and benefaction.

Meanwhile doubt was steadily growing as to whether an order in which there was so glaring a contrast between the flaunting luxury of the rich and the grievous sufferings of the poor could be in conformity with God's will—a doubt which gave birth to an impulse, in many of the well-to-do, to rid themselves of their possessions, and thus escape the dimly suspected peril of sinfully thwarting God's purposes. More and more frequently did it happen that a wealthy penitent could not satisfy his conscience by particular and restricted charities, but felt impelled to hand over everything to his "creditors," the poor and needy.

Side by side with such attempts (within the Catholic fold, and proceeding from above down) to smooth away social contrasts, towards the close of the Middle Ages there was a marked intensification in millenarian movements from below; and the wish-dreams that animated these movements showed plainly that the lower classes would no longer allow themselves to be fobbed off with promises of equality in another world and with the assurance that they were all God's children. They wanted better conditions

here and now. It was an elemental yearning for the immediate relief of sufferings that had grown intolerable, which found expression in fantasies concerning a realm of salvation in which there would be a positive surfeit of equality and justice.

But not even the millenarians ventured, as yet, to suppose that man's own strength would enable him to establish the Earthly Paradise; their hopes were exclusively directed towards a magical transformation and purification of the world, which would occur spontaneously in virtue of a cyclical law, or would be effected by a God-sent redeemer and saviour endowed with unexampled powers. Always it was thought of as a cosmic metamorphosis, occurring independently of human effort, by which the sufferings of the world would be assuaged. In like manner, the time of tribulation that would usher in the day of deliverance, the time during which the last outburst of activity on the part of evil spirits would occur, had been decreed by the inscrutable will of God. The Almighty himself had decided upon this season of affliction to herald the destruction of the world, for the messiah could only be permitted to descend to earth amid the "pangs of the æons."

Man could neither hinder nor further any of these things. He could only prepare, both for the day of tribulation and for the day of redemption, by the magical arts of penance, prayer, and sacrifice, by a pure life of the kind that pleases God, and by sedulous observance of multifarious taboos and commandments.

Not until John Ball and his successors of the same way of thinking, "rebels in Christ," expressly declared that God did not, could not, wish man to suffer, and that men had themselves to thank for the injustices of the prevailing social system, had a war-cry been uttered against that system. No longer was man to be regarded as the sport of animistic powers. If he suffered, it was because his fellows maltreated him, and the remedy lay in his own hands. Indeed, it was man's mission to modify a corrupt world in the direction of fostering the equality proper to all the descendants of Adam, and thus to restore a primitive condition that would once more be in accordance with God's will.

The lords spiritual and the lords temporal, the State and the Church, might outlaw, imprison, excommunicate, and slay John Ball, and contemptuously style him the Mad Priest of Kent; but

the "clamour of the deranged" could no longer be silenced. What in the fourteenth century was regarded as lunacy was the first manifestation of a new epoch in which faith in the power of conjurations would gradually be replaced by faith in the power of human insight, human will, and human activity. Thenceforward, man was not to be a mere passive tool in the hands of the creative principle; he was to confront this principle with a will of his own, determined to remould the world in accordance with the dictates of his own fancy.

But before the claim to equal rights for all could develop from the first indignant outcry of maltreated peasants into a State-constructive thought, there must intervene a long and confused period of religious struggles, social upheavals, and economic revolutions; there was need for many more of the "deranged," many more dreamers and heroes. The idea must be clarified in numberless theological disputations, legal treatises, and philosophical systems, must be steeled in revolts and revolutions; ever and again it would lose its way in trackless wildernesses, would become entangled in an inextricable web of fallacies, and would degenerate into inhuman barbarities.

2

RULE BY THE COMMON FOLK

More and more frequently, what had happened in Kent was to recur; preachers in holy orders were to place themselves at the head of the malcontents, declaring that men were born equal, and that the relationship of master and serf which entailed so much suffering upon the masses had been brought into being in defiance of the will of God by the determination of unworthy men to play the part of oppressors.

"What is held in common is pure, what is thine or mine is impure." This formula found voice at the opening of the Peasants' War in Germany. In countless villages it was taught that from the

beginning God had "in accordance with his own nature made all things in common, pure and free," and that "equality shall be established, and property held in common on equal terms."

In the name of the true Word of God, the insurgent peasants took as their emblem, hoisted as the banner of their revolution, the commonest possession of the common man—the roughly made, besoiled countryman's boot, which, worn by those in lifelong servitude, trod the toilsome furrow. The "Bundschuh," with the long strap to attach round the ankle, waved on the silken standards from the heights of the lonely Hungerberg, was displayed in the passes of the Black Forest and along the Rhine, and fluttered throughout Thuringia, Franconia, and Alsace.

To this emblem, in motley crowds, flocked serfs and vagabonds, a ragged mob, armed with scythes, flails, and pikes; and thus the Bundschuh, the emblem of the peasants' rising, became the rallying-centre for those whose animus against the well-to-do had been aroused by humiliations and sufferings. They formulated Twelve Articles, embodying fierce demands, which they justified by claiming that they were equal as the children of God; and they declared that the freedom and justice bought by the blood of Jesus should be re-established on earth. Slaying and burning, they tried to enforce the acceptance of these Twelve Articles.

So powerful was the working of the idea which underlay the Bundschuh, that members of the upper class were moved to support it. Florian Geyer, a knight, and Götz von Berlichingen, a nobleman, placed themselves at the head of the peasants who were fighting for their rights. While the war was in progress, Elector Frederick III of Saxony (known to history as Frederick the Wise) wrote to his brother: "Perhaps these poor wretches have been given good cause to revolt! May God turn away his anger from us. If it be God's will, the upshot must be that the common folk will rule!"

Far away in Hungary, fifteen years before, numbers of the Magyar peasants were likewise under arms. A crusade against the infidel had been preached, and the customary promises of freedom had been made to serfs willing to join the fighting forces. Many of the Hungarian nobles and gentry, however, regretted having

given these pledges, and endeavoured to regain possession of their serfs out of the various troops by force and maltreatment.

Thereupon György Dozsa, captain in the crusading army, turned rebel, and, led by him, the peasant soldiers of the Cross rose against their lords.

Dozsa declared that the landed gentry were sinning against the Saviour's commands more grievously than any pagan or infidel. Not until the homeland had been freed from these magnates, could the true realm of Christ, the realm of equality in which there would be neither barons nor serfs, be established on Hungarian soil.

But the movement led by this early dreamer of equality was a failure, and the equality of which Dozsa had spoken ended in cruel mockery. Just as, in former days, Guillaume Calle, one of the leaders of the jacquerie, had been put to death upon a red-hot tripod, so the captured rebel Dozsa was tortured by the victorious officers of János Zápolya and István Bathory, who, at Temesvár, set him upon a red-hot iron throne, crowned him as "peasant king" with a red-hot crown, and placed a red-hot sceptre in his hand. His charred body was to warn serfs that in Hungary lordship was firmly established for ever and a day.

At the beginning of this new epoch, millenarian enthusiasm and the rebel spirit, dreams of a magical redemption of the world and the thought of changing the world by human power, were still closely intertwined. Fantastic expectations of a realm of salvation mingled with the social demands of the day to produce a confused ferment of unrest. Often the two germinated side by side in the same city; and, indeed, not infrequently the two movements had the same leaders—men who believed in magic, sorcery, and the imminent coming of the realm of the Saviour, but at the same time knew how to handle sword and flail to dash out a baron's brains and themselves contribute to the dawning of the new day.

Thus in Bohemia, Ziska, the blind Hussite general, led his army under the sign of the chalice against the imperial forces and the Roman Church. Like a scourge of God, he ravaged the country, the glare from burning towns and villages marking his progress.

He was extraordinarily cruel. When prisoners were taken, he would have them brought to him that he might feel their heads, and whenever his fingers detected the tonsure of a popish priest, he smashed the man's skull with a hammer. Even as he lay dying he commanded his followers to make a drum out of his skin, that the army of the true faith might scatter God's enemies to its roll.

What he fought for was the heretical "communion in both kinds," and what he wanted to exterminate was the Catholic priesthood. Yet in this bloodthirsty religious warrior, who incarnated the harshness of the Old Testament, the struggle for equality also found an early champion; for in the liturgical controversy concerning the bread and the wine, concerning the twofold symbolism of the sacrifice of the Mass, concerning the written word and tradition, divine service and the language to be used in church, was implicit the great struggle for bridging over the chasm dug by the Church between laymen and clergy. Thus upon the chalice in the hands of the preacher riding at the head of the Hussite armies shone the light of a new era of religious equality.

In the Hussite camp on Mount Tabor, expectation of the millennium brought about the formation of the first communist fellowship. There the layman ranked with the cleric, the knight with the burgher and the peasant, the nobleman with anyone and everyone—all unified and levelled in the name of the coming age of redemption, which would know nothing of rank or station, but only the paradisiacal happiness of fraternity and equality. Indeed, this sense of equality led one group of Taborites to discard their clothing, and become nudists in imitation of Adam and Eve before the Fall.

The stupefaction of the privileged classes at this social revolutionary turn of the Hussite war of religion finds expression in the utterances of many noblemen who had at first been enthusiastic supporters of the Hussite movement.

"Woe unto those," exclaimed Simon von Tisnow, "who try to do things which are beyond their strength! Who gave you the right to deem yourself free, and choose yourself a new lord? Manifestly, they whose every word you have believed have fooled you. The faithless priests who are your new lords have given you the

crazy advice to chase away or to slaughter those among the burghers who were especially distinguished for good behaviour, virtue, understanding, and wealth, putting in their places handicraftsmen, cobblers, tailors, blacksmiths, and all kinds of low fellows and provincials. Never has it happened before, high-born city of Prague, that you have been ruled by common folk!"

Most strangely mingled, however, was revolutionary combativeness with millenarian fantasies in the figure of Thomas Münzer, leader of the German peasants' revolt. He had successively been confessor to a nunnery, schoolmaster, preacher, and in addition a specialist in the treatment of diseases of the throat. Having made the acquaintance of the Anabaptist prophet Niklas Storch, he had become familiar with the latter's frenzied and mystical millenarian interpretations of Protestant teaching, and had at Storch's invitation tried to get into direct touch with the Almighty. In visions and dreams it had been revealed to him as the will of the Lord that the realm of universal equality and happiness was to be established, not in another world, but here below. Becoming an itinerant preacher, and making Thuringia his chief field of operations, he enthralled the peasants, wherever he went, with his eloquence.

"We are brethren," he declared, almost in the very words of the Priest of Kent. "Adam was the father of us all. Whence, then, comes the inequality of the estates and of property, which has established a tyranny over us throughout the world? Why should we languish in poverty and be oppressed by toil while those others wanton in superfluity and luxury? Have we not a right to an equality of goods, which by nature have been created that they may be distributed among all men without distinction? The earth is our common heritage to which every one of us is equally entitled. Ye rich men, greedy robbers that ye are, give back to us the goods you have unjustly withheld!"

At the same time, his discourses and epistles gave glowing descriptions of the coming millennium of equality; for this millenarian rebel, however, Kingdom Come was no longer a mere religious promise, but a practical demand, a programme for immediate realization in God's name.

From all sides, the peasants who were in revolt flocked to join Thomas Münzer. Forty thousand of those who were fighting under the banner of the Bundschuh went over to him in block.

The town of Mülhausen in Thuringia was to be the first stronghold of the new equality. Münzer took over the government, deposed the patriciate, and proclaimed the abolition of every difference in rank and property.

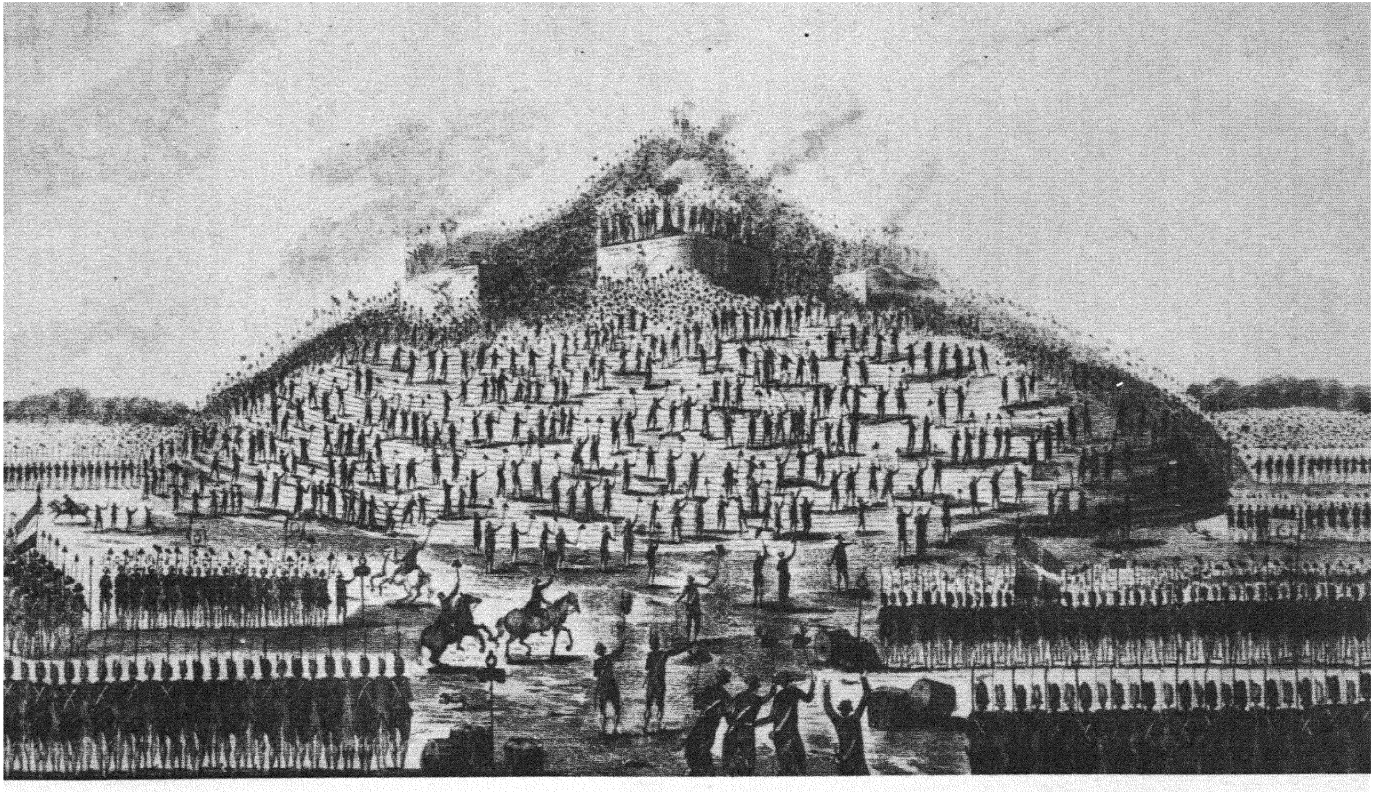
Taking up his residence in the palace of the Hospitallers, he had the portable property of the burgesses brought to him for distribution among the poor. Any who retained or hid part of their possessions were cruelly punished. In decrees, which he signed as "Rebel in Christo," he summoned the neighbouring towns and authorities to join the communist realm of God.

But this same man who set to work with so much purposive zeal to realize his programme of social reform left the protection of his achievements to magical powers, being confident that God would strike a blow on his behalf in the prospective clash of arms with the nobility and gentry.

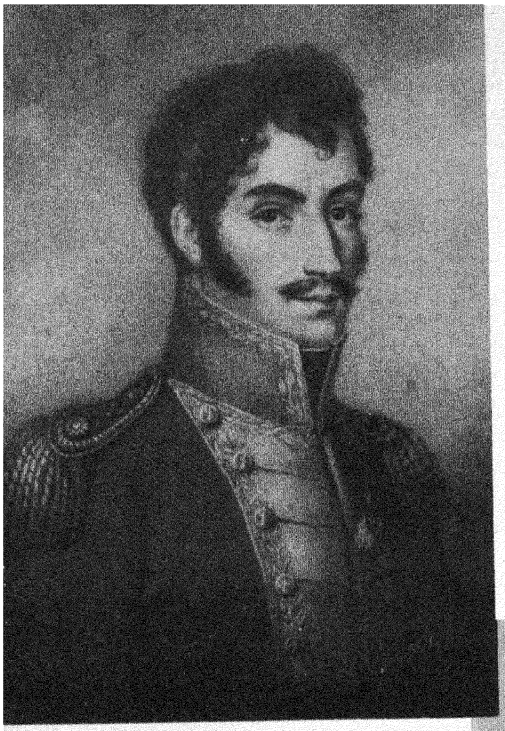
"Vainly will the enemy cannon imitate the lightnings of the Lord," he shouted to his soldiers before the battle was joined. "In the sleeves of my mantle I shall catch their missiles, and shall be a rampart and a protection to you all!" Hardly had the fire of the hostile army begun, when the peasant army, before delivering an opposing volley, broke with one voice into a psalm in praise of the just God of equality. But the awaited miracle was not forthcoming. The peasants sustained an annihilating defeat, and the "Rebel in Christo" died upon the scaffold after gruesome preliminary tortures (inflicted, it was declared, not with a punitive aim, but in the hope of "converting" him).

In the fourteenth century it had been Catholic churchmen who had called the Kentish spokesman of equality a lunatic. Now, in the sixteenth, it was Martin Luther, the reformer, who described Thomas Münzer as "possessed" for having tried to establish equality on earth as a logical consequence of the fatherhood of God.

For, though it was the aim of the Reformation to restore the primitive purity of the Christian faith, and though the reformers proclaimed the liberty and equality of all Christians before God,



FESTIVAL IN THE CHAMP DE MARS, JULY 14, 1790



SIMON BOLIVAR,
LIBERATOR OF VENEZUELA



TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE,
THE "NEGRO NAPOLEON"

they restricted these notions to the metaphysical abstraction of the soul.

In Catholicism, likewise, the original notions of spiritual equality had been fleeting. Gradually the Church had interposed a hierarchy of "ordained persons" between God and the rank and file of the faithful. By the middle of the third century, there had been formulated a doctrine, subsequently fortified by papal bulls and œcumenical councils, to the effect that by the sacrament of the episcopal laying on of hands, by the "impositio manuum," the ordained were endowed with an "augmentum gratiæ," a larger measure of the saving divine grace than that allotted to common mortals. Of course God's grace continued to shine on every Christian, and no one was wholly deprived of it; but a special participation in God's grace was claimed by the Church for the seven "ordines" in the hierarchy of the priesthood, the members of each grade higher on the ladder being granted a more bountiful allowance.

One of the chief purposes of the Protestant Reformation was to abolish this Catholic hierarchy of intermediaries; nevertheless, Luther did not wish profane hands to be laid on the system which maintained inequality in the temporal world. Thus even at the time of the greatest upheaval, Christendom showed itself once more anti-revolutionary and conservative.

The Genevese Reformation was not merely faithful to this attitude, but stressed it. Calvin meticulously avoided drawing from the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of men inferences applicable to the domains of social and economic life; and his characteristic acerbity was most conspicuously displayed in his utterances upon such matters.

"Common folk must always be kept poor, to teach them obedience," he wrote. He never missed a chance of speaking contemptuously about the "intemperance" of the average man; the common people were "at all times foolish, fickle, ungrateful, frivolous, prone to innovation and rebellion." If they were to be kept in the strait path, they must unceasingly be led and guided by the clergy.

Even in those States which the Calvinist spirit had brought into being across the Atlantic, and which were to be the starting-point of modern democracy, this affirmation and religious sanc-

tioning of inequality long persisted. In Massachusetts "gentlemen" and "ladies" were distinguished from the commonalty by their clothing; and the magistrates were actually empowered to degrade people from the upper into the lower class. The puritan pastor John Cotton declared in set terms that by the decrees of nature and Holy Writ there were two sorts of human beings: princes, nobles, and elders, on the one hand; and common people, on the other.

Thanks to the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, it came to pass that more especially in puritan lands wealth was regarded as a sign of "election," whereas poverty and affliction were marks of "reprobation." Though Calvin had himself declared it to be an insoluble enigma, which persons God had predestined for damnation and which were to be numbered among the elect, true believers in the Gospel according to Geneva soon began to feel an irresistible desire for "certitudo salutis." Now, what other mark of God's grace could be plainer than the blessings showered on the elect here below?

In the end, there developed among the Calvinists that "doctrine of corroboration," according to which mundane good fortune and misfortune were identical with election and reprobation. Whereas according to the actual words of Jesus, heaven would be open to the poor, but "again I say unto you, It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God"—it was now held that their wealth gave the rich a prospect of eternal salvation, and their poverty gave the poor a prospect of eternal damnation. By such views, as Werner Sombart puts it, "were engendered those self-assured saints who were hard-fisted puritanic merchants in the heyday of capitalism, and of whom specimens can still be found."

As among Lutherans, so among Calvinists, there had to be a lapse into sectarianism and mystical enthusiasm before a demand for earthly equality could issue from the Reformation.

Amid the Calvinist-puritan revolutionary disturbances in England, during the early days of the Cromwellian Commonwealth, such mystics and zealots segregated themselves in large numbers from the main stem of Bible-worshippers. Whilst Cromwell constituted himself administrator on behalf of the possessing classes,

and was strongly averse from any form of social revolution, the simultaneously religious and democratic movement of the Independents, then making rapid headway, gave rise to many communistic currents. From the Reformation principle of equality and fraternity before God, these enthusiasts deduced, not only the impropriety of any sort of distinction between priests and laymen, but also warrant for a claim to a community of worldly goods.

One day there appeared on St. George's Hill, near Walton, Surrey, a group of men equipped with spades. Praying and singing hymns, they began to dig on the waste land. When asked what they were up to, they replied: "We are few to open the work, but soon there will be thousands of us. We are the true levellers. Our mission is to set an example of genuine community of goods, and to show that it is an undeniable equity that the common people ought to dig, plough, plant, and dwell upon the commons without possessing them, or paying rent to any."

The authorities chased away these "Diggers," and arrested the ringleader, Gerrard Winstanley. Brought before Fairfax, the commander-in-chief, Winstanley declared he had recently been vouchsafed a vision and had heard a voice saying: "Arise, plough the earth, and gather its fruits." The purpose of the "true levellers" under his leadership was to restore God's created world to its primitive condition, and to re-establish the ancient community in the fruits of the earth.

Again and again was the work of the Diggers destroyed, their huts were pulled down, their tools were broken, and they were sent to prison. But new zealots continually appeared to carry on the scheme.

The millenarian-communist programme of these sectaries finds vivid expression in the "Diggers' Song" of Robert Coster. Its most striking stanzas run as follows:

The time is nigh
that this mystery
Shall be no more obscure,
And then we shall see
Such community
As shall always indure,
The Rich and Poore
shall love each other,

Respecting of Persons shall fall,
The Father alone
That sits on his Throne
Shall honoured be of all.

The glorious State
which I now relate
Unspeakable comfort shall bring,
The Corne will be greene
And the Flowers seene,
Our Storehouses they will be filled,
The Birds will rejoyce
with a merry voice,
All things shall yield sweet increase,
Then let us all sing
And joy in our King
Which causeth all sorrowes to cease.

3

BARON CLOOTS'S SUPERS

Not until the seventeenth century did social rebellion definitively break away from the religious fervour with which it had so long walked hand in hand. Whereas in the West the groups that hoped for a cosmical change or the magical intervention of a redeemer (thinking that this alone could inaugurate the reign of justice and equality) had shrunk to the dimensions of sectarian promoters of Little Bethels and had thus forfeited any claim to historical importance; henceforward—I am still referring mainly to the western world—revolutionists who had faith in the transformative activities of human energy and the human will became the essential factors of social evolution.

True, within the ranks of these champions there had to develop a new spirit before their deeds could become world-shaping. John Ball, Thomas Münzer, the Levellers and the Diggers, had made a mythical tradition the starting-point of their speculations; they based their hopes upon "common descent from Adam, the father

of us all," and upon "an equal right to the fruits of the earth, as ordained by the Creator." Believing as firmly as did the Church in the existence of a divinely established order, and differing from the supporters of the extant system merely in their conviction that prevailing inequalities had come into being through disregard of the divine will, their sole aim was to restore the world to the condition prescribed by God's plan. Those who were now to fight against inequality and injustice would no longer appeal to the will of the Almighty, but would take their stand upon natural law.

The Amsterdam jurist Hugo Grotius was the first (in *De jure belli et pacis,* 1625) who ventured to inquire whether a claim to equal rights could not be sustained even on the hypothesis that there was no God. He answered his own question in the affirmative. The proof of universal equality was, he said, "easy both to find and to understand . . . it derived from nature, the freehanded mother of us all."

With this exit of God from the scene and his replacement by nature, who first makes her entry in the form of a non-committal and tentative hypothesis, in the seventeenth century jurisprudence gradually secured its emancipation from theology. More and more boldly was the conviction voiced that States and social institutions were to be accounted for, not as the outcome of an act of the divine will, but simply as the expression of the natural instincts and needs of human beings. With the same passion as that with which the "rebels in Christo" had repudiated differences in station as departures from the true purposes of the Creator, did the rebels of a new, atheistic age repudiate these same inequalities as corruptions of what was truly natural.

"All extant social conditions owe their origin to force and fraud; government and property are usurpations, are destructive of primordial equality." Uttering this thesis, Jean-Jacques Rousseau declared war on accepted institutions, stigmatizing as "infamous" a tradition which had brought about "an unwarrantable difference between masters and slaves." The foundation of social rights must henceforward be the fact that one man is as good as another.

With its insistence that our common humanity is what matters,

rather than our belonging to any particular class or estate, this epoch formulated a principle which had never before been so comprehensively enunciated.

No doubt the classical democracies had proclaimed the equality of citizens, thus sweeping away a number of oldtime distinctions of rank. Speaking of democratic Athens, Pericles boasted that it was "the sole commonwealth in which all the citizens had an equal right to participate in the administration." The laws of Lycurgus ordained in Lacedæmon the full equality of the Spartans, established a community of goods, and prescribed the eating of a "black broth" which was symbolical in that it was consumed at a common board. At Rome, in the year 494 B.C., the "secessio plebis"—the first general strike in history—secured for the plebeians legal equality with the patricians.

This "equality" in the classical world was, however, always restricted by some boundary of a city or a State, applying, as it did, not to human beings as such, but merely to the "citizen." Citizenship was, generally speaking, reserved for persons born in a particular area, was only for a privileged minority, being refused even to those whose fathers had been born a few miles outside the city walls.

At a time when Rome had already extended its rule over the whole of the Italian peninsula, none but the inhabitants of the "urbs" enjoyed full political rights. Subsequently, when the privilege of citizenship was extended to all Italians, it was still for a long time withheld from the inhabitants of the newly conquered provinces beyond the Alps and the seas.

Even within the townships where the widest civic equality prevailed, there was never abrogated in the ancient world the fundamental distinction between freemen and slaves, so that the bulk of the population had no rights.

In Sparta, the boasted "equality" obtained only among the members of a nobles' club. These "Spartiatæ" were the descendants of the Dorian conquerors of the region; a second grade was formed by the "periveci," or old Achæan inhabitants, who were tributary to the Spartans, and possessed no political rights; as a third and lowest grade came the "helots," also mainly derived from the old Achæan inhabitants, who had been reduced to a state

of slavery. The ranks of the helots were, of course, reinforced from time to time by prisoners of war. So hopeless was their inequality of status, that helots were sometimes used by the Spartan nobles as targets for their arrows or as objects of the chase.

In the much-vaunted age of Pericles, the wealthy city-State of Athens had twenty thousand citizens who owned four hundred thousand slaves; these latter were but chattels, living tools, used by their masters as money-making machines in silver mines or on the land, or as house-slaves who saved their lords the trouble of domestic occupations.

In Rome, the disproportion in numbers between masters and slaves was even more glaring.

With juristic circumstantiality and precision, Roman law defined a slave as one who "nullum caput habet" (has no head), and must, therefore, as far as civil status was concerned, be accounted dead. A slave could neither own, nor inherit, nor bequeath anything; could not marry; and had no paternal right in or over the children he might beget.

This degradation of human beings into chattels—though masters and slaves were, for the most part, of the same race, spoke the same language, had the same tint of skin, and belonged to the same cultural unit—was hallowed throughout classical antiquity by use and wont. Only during the popular jollifications of the Bacchanalia and Saturnalia was a fabled equality re-established as far as material conditions were in question—in respect of these, differences imposed by station, property, dignity, and law passing into abeyance for a time.

Once a year, in the days of the Saturnalia, which began on December 17, the slaves could don toga and pileus, insignia of freedom; masters and slaves sat at a common board and served one another in brotherly equality; freedom of speech was sacred. But this lasted only so long as the image in the temple of Saturn had its feet unbound. When the revels were finished, the priests chained the lower limbs of the tutelary deity of servitors once more; and again the slaves had become chattels, "without heads" and without rights.

So deep-rooted in classical thought was the idea that prisoners of war and defaulting debtors had forfeited human rights, that the

Greek and Roman philosophers—though in their discourses they had already established the foundations for a doctrine of liberty, equality, and fraternity upon the rock bottom of natural law—excluded bondsmen and helots from these privileges by the proviso that a slave was not a person but a thing.

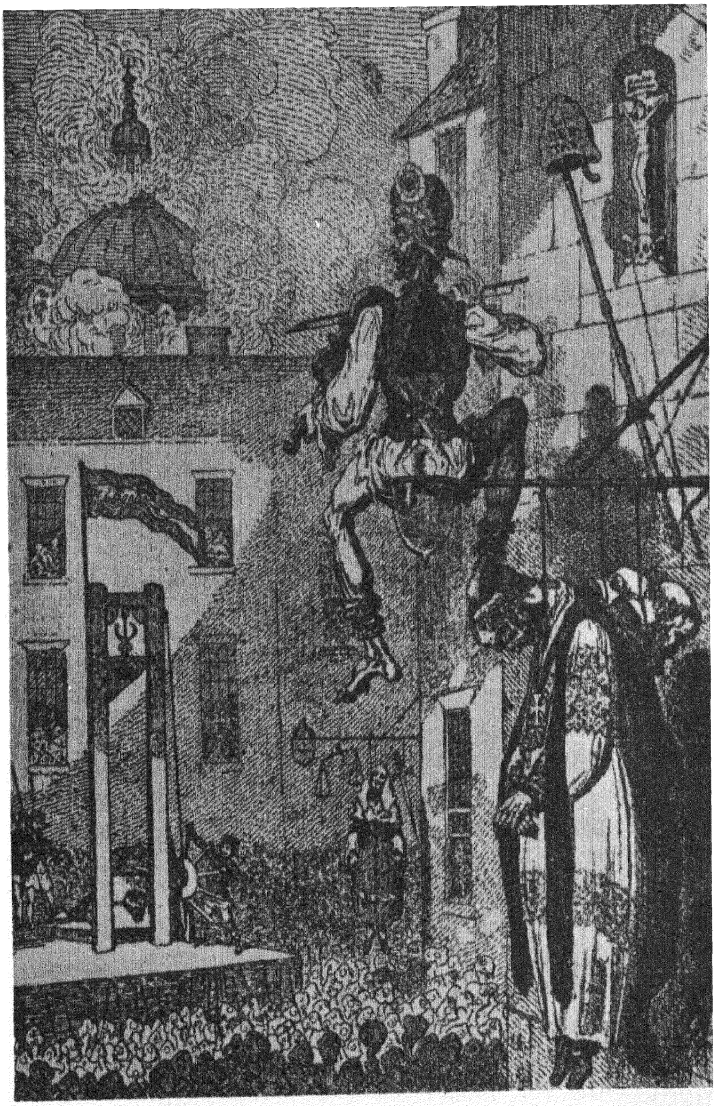
Plato doubtless recognizes that "man finds it hard to endorse the indispensable distinction between freemen and slaves, between masters and servants"; but he does not draw the inference that slavery is unjust, only that the slave is "an awkward piece of property" whose desire for freedom must be countered with the utmost caution and watchfulness.

Aristotle, in turn, is convinced that nature has from the first predetermined a part of mankind to be masters, and another part to be slaves. Every household necessarily comprises three portions: the man, who commands; the wife, who bears children; and the slave, who serves. The slave is, as it were, the third side of a natural triangle, and if he be removed, the triangle is destroyed. For this philosopher, the relationship between masters and slaves is like that between mind and body; just as the mind commands and the body obeys, so is it with master and slave.

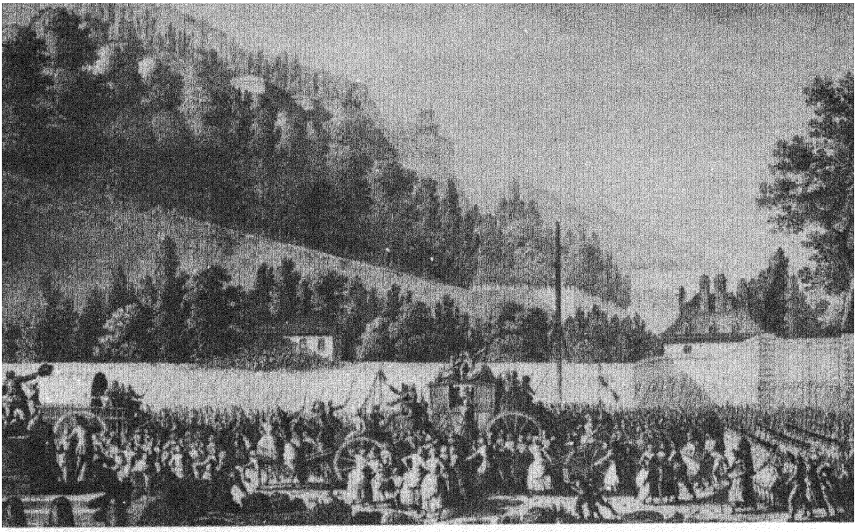
Philemon, the Athenian writer of comedies, who was a contemporary of Alexander the Great, was the first among the Greeks whose names and writings have come down to us to express doubts about the matter. "Is not the slave of the same flesh as ourselves?" he makes one of his characters say. "No one is made a slave by nature, but only by misfortune!"

This idea was subsequently voiced by the Roman Stoics, who (in theory, at least) rose above the fiction that citizens and slave-owners have special rights, and proclaimed a universal human equality independent of political gradations and social status. "All have the same origin," they declared; "no one is nobler than another except through a worthy disposition and good deeds."

The Stoics therefore refused to admit that only persons entitled to wear the toga could be entitled to self-respect. Seneca declared that slaves were human beings, and as such our companions in the journey through life, our brethren in mutual service. "Bear in mind that he whom you call your slave grew out of the same seed as yourself, enjoys sunshine from the same heaven, breathes and



"THE ZENITH OF FRENCH GLORY"
(Cartoon by Gillray on the French Revolution)



PARISIAN MARKETWOMEN BRINGING THE KING FROM VERSAILLES
(Engraving by Berthault after Prieur)



MARIE ANTOINETTE ON THE WAY TO THE GUILLOTINE
(Drawing by L. Corinth)

lives and dies like you. With equal warrant you could regard him as free, and he regard you as a slave."

But the Stoics, whose interest was confined to things of the spirit, had no thought of drawing practical and political consequences from this recognition of equality, which remained purely speculative. The only thing they had to recommend for the consolation of the oppressed was "ataraxia," equanimity amid bodily discomforts and the maintenance of the inward freedom of the mind.

Attempts made in other civilized social systems to mitigate social contrasts and to realize the principle of equality were, for a long, long time, no less half-hearted than those of the Hellenes and the Romans. True, the Hebrew prophets often raised wrathful voices to denounce the rich and the powerful, but they were far from proposing the complete abolition of inequality, merely desiring to modify the relationship between the possessing class and the non-possessing by a "return" to a more or less mythical patriarchal condition, and to mitigate the hardships of prevailing differences of status by clamouring for a vague "justice."

Even in the picture of a coming realm of redemption sketched by Ezekiel, the power of masters over servants is only tempered, not annulled; in that millenarian world there were still to be marked differences of station and competence between priests and laymen, between aristocrats and the people at large.

Neither by the prophets nor by the Levites was slavery frankly condemned. The farthest they went was to demand that among the Children of Israel slaves should be set free after six years of servitude. This demand was the outcome of a widespread condition of poverty and distress, enslavement of defaulting debtors being so common among the Jews in the time of the prophet Amos that he complains: "They sold the righteous for silver, and the poor for a pair of shoes."

The Christian Church, which accepted as part of a divine dispensation the existence on earth of glaring differences between rich and poor, was also careful to abstain from condemning slavery as essentially unjust. There had, indeed, been some advance upon the position of the Roman jurists. Since Christians held that the true worth of personality resided exclusively in the domain of the

spiritual, human beings could not be valued in accordance with their earthly status. Slaves were therefore accepted into the fold on the same terms as freemen. Sometimes a slave might become bishop, or even pope, being thus set in a far higher position than his brethren who belonged to the master class. Among Christians a slave was a "person," not a "thing"; a slave had reason, free will, and human dignity, just like his master. But the actualities of servitude were left completely untouched by this spiritual equalization, and for centuries the Church herded slaves upon its own lands.

John Chrysostom opines that St. Paul had expressly refrained from condemning slavery because the Apostle to the Gentiles wished to disclose the glory of that true freedom which must be wrestled for in the inner life. One who has this inner freedom will cheerfully accept any earthly inconveniences.

Although, in point of principle, slavery was thus a recognized institution among Christians, in practical life the Church did what it could to induce masters to manumit their slaves, and St. Paul set the example of such advocacy. During the first half of the Middle Ages, chattel slavery was gradually transformed into serfdom, the serf becoming "adscriptus glebæ," attached to the soil, and not to the person of the lord. When, therefore, in the twelfth century, Pope Alexander III issued a bull abolishing slavery throughout Christendom, this meant (for Europe) no more than the official sanctioning of conditions that everywhere obtained, since everywhere serfdom and forced labour on the land prevailed, and there was no longer chattel slavery in the classical form.

Like Christianity, Islam conceives universal human equality in a metaphysical sense. Before God there is no difference between bond and free, black and white, poor and rich. "O ye people," declares Mohammed, "we have created you from one man and one woman for that ye may perceive that, without regard to birth, he among you who most fears God will shine most in the light of God's countenance!" But Islam was just as little disposed as the Catholic Church or the Protestant to interfere with differences of worldly station.

Whereas the would-be revolutionists of earlier days had confined themselves to an attempt to shift the boundaries between extant political and social gradations of individuals, to bring about an occasional enlargement of the number of privileged persons, a mitigation of abuses, or a forcible change in the relationships of power—the French revolution, in these matters, broke away unreservedly from the past.

"Les hommes naissent et demeurent égaux en droits." Such were the opening words of the famous Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen issued by the Constituent Assembly in 1789. At Lafayette's instance, they were borrowed from the American Declaration of Independence made thirteen years earlier. The Declaration of the Rights of Man did not balk at any city wall; it ignored traditional limits between the estates of the realm, nay, the frontiers even between realms; it announced that human beings as such had an inalienable natural nobility, which was equally an apanage of the slaves of the modern world, of serfs and of thralls. This was something more than the renewed formulation of what had long been discussed and demanded. Insistence that the unfree had equal rights with freemen had effects ranging beyond the domain of politics, and fundamentally transformed the relationships between one man and another.

The Federal Festival held in the Champ de Mars on July 14, 1790, the first anniversary of the taking of the Bastille, was designed to give a realistic demonstration of the new equality called into being by the Declaration of the Rights of Man. Invitations to participate in the affair were sent, not only to the most outlying parts of France, but to foreign countries as well, and from the provinces hundreds of thousands of people flocked to Paris, on foot, on horseback, and in carriages, wearing red cockades and oak leaves pinned to their hats.

For weeks in advance volunteer workers belonging to every class of the Parisian population, clad in festal attire and singing the "Ça ira," had been busily engaged with pick and shovel in transforming the Champ de Mars into a vast amphitheatre for innumerable spectators. Even King Louis XVI participated in the labour as an equal among equals. When the festival took place, in

front of an altar graced by the presence of two hundred priests, the delegates swore to maintain the new liberties, the constitution, and the Declaration of the Rights of Man.

Led by Baron Anarcharsis Cloots, a Prussian recruit to the revolution, a lot of stage supers, in costume, represented a "Deputation of the Human Race." Fantastically attired, there came an alleged Chinese, a Spaniard, an Austrian, an Englishman, a Negro, and even a Chaldean with flowing beard and pointed cap. All the nations to which these supers "belonged" had (so Cloots informed the Constituent Assembly) heard of the blow struck by France on behalf of liberty, and had sent delegates to witness with their own eyes the triumph of equality. Without boggling at the representative of the long-extinct Chaldeans, the Assembly had formally accorded Baron Cloots's supers the right to share in the great festival of brotherhood.

The joyful salvos fired from the artificial mound in the Champ de Mars on July 14, 1790, repeated by cannon and musketry from place to place, constituted a man-made thunder echoing to the frontiers of France. But the idea of the Rights of Man spread far beyond these frontiers, arousing sympathy throughout the world. Goethe describes the jubilation in Germany "when the first gleams of the new sun became visible, and when people heard of the rights which were common to all mankind." There were disturbances in Hanover, Baden, Hesse, and Upper Bavaria. In Hamburg there was a festival in honour of the liberties conferred by the French revolution, ladies sporting a tricolour ribbon on their straw hats.

Fichte welcomed the Declaration of the Rights of Man as the herald of a new era; Hegel, as the dawn of a glorious epoch; to Kant it seemed a confirmation of his faith that mankind was steadily advancing towards better things. Prince Charles Constantine of Hesse rechristened himself "Citoyen Hesse," and enthusiastically espoused the new doctrine. Johannes von Müller, the Swiss historian, acclaimed the day of the storming of the Bastille as "the finest day since the overthrow of Roman world-dominion."

In England, likewise, the French revolution at first secured enthusiastic supporters, especially among the dissentient whigs. In

London a number of Francophil clubs were formed; one of them, the London Corresponding Society founded by Thomas Hardy, congratulated the Convention upon the liberties that had been won, and dilated on "the blessings which will certainly accrue for the human race." Thomas Paine, now more than fifty years of age, who had in 1776 advocated the right of the American colonies to independence and had for decades been a champion of the idea of equality, hastened back to Europe, was outlawed from England for publishing his *Rights of Man,* took up his residence in Paris, and was elected a member of the Convention, where he hoped to help in the realization of his dreams.

Princess Rosalie Lubomirska, in her fervour for the revolutionary cause, could no longer remain the ruler of her Polish estates. She set out for the land of the new liberties—to find there, before long, death upon the scaffold.

. Translated into manifold tongues and printed upon cotton handkerchiefs, the Declaration of the Rights of Man found its way over the globe, and was perhaps to exert its most enduring influence in the South American pampas.

This document, however, caused stupefaction and anxiety, as well as enthusiasm and a revolutionary mood. The Prussian government prohibited the spread of news about what was happening in Paris; in the Palatinate, the importation of French journals was penalized; in Austria, the authorities forbade people to employ French tutors, governesses, and servants.

Catherine the Great, a woman of sixty at the time of the taking of the Bastille, took exceptionally vigorous measures to hinder any attempt to spread the idea of the Rights of Man in her realm. Indeed, she was the first of the Old Guard of rulers to contemplate an armed onslaught on revolutionary France. More quickly than any of her European colleagues did she, the patroness and protectress of the Enlightenment, recognize how gravely the seats of the mighty were imperilled by the notion that there is a natural claim to liberty and equality.

When her valued friend and teacher Diderot urged upon her the voluntary renunciation of autocracy, saying that despotism was criminal even if benevolent, the tsarina replied, with amiable sarcasm: "These fine-sounding principles of yours may be all very

well in the world of books, but they do not suit the world of affairs. You do your work upon patient paper. I, who am only an empress, have to work upon human skins, and they are ticklish!"

When Baron Anacharsis Cloots, who was not over-burdened with brains, led his strange rabble of "representatives of the human race" into the Constituent Assembly, this body regarded the decked-out supers as harmless allegorical figures which would serve to give a vivid demonstration of liberty, equality, and fraternity to all nations and races.

In reality, Chinese, Spaniards, Englishmen, and Austrians were beyond the range of French revolutionary ideas as well as of French guns. Even if, in German cities, women wore red cockades, if poets, philosophers, and other enthusiasts believed that the Declaration of the Rights of Man would inaugurate a new and better world, the enthusiasm was only platonic. It did not "cut any ice." Against isolated outbreaks of unrest, the police were sufficient protection; and the peoples still subject to autocratic rule had, for the nonce, no chance to make use of the "rights" which the Constituent Assembly in Paris had assigned to them—to think of extant nations only, and to say nothing of the Chaldeans, who had been represented on the Champ de Mars by a super in a pointed cap, but had ceased to exist as a name or a nation thousands of years before.

The Negroes were in a different position. Not only were plenty of them very much alive, but a considerable proportion of them were under French rule. Even though among the artificial mounds on the Champ de Mars, amid the garlands and the fireworks that contributed to the gaiety of this festival of brotherhood, only a "Christy Minstrel" of a super, face smeared with soot, had figured as embodiment of the new liberties for the black races, it would not be long before half a million from whose faces the black could never be rubbed off would, in distant Santo Domingo, claim their share in the Rights of Man and the Citizen.

Sailors from Europe brought the first tidings to Haiti that the French government had declared all men to be equal. Spreading from seaport taverns into the forest, the report was speedily disseminated among the Negroes. It was not easy for the primitives

in the interior to understand. The sailors had used words new to them, words which had no equivalents in their speech: "rights of man," "equality," "liberty," "Constituent Assembly"—how confusing an aggregation of syllables.

Even the elders, the voodoo priests, and the medicine men were, for a time, perplexed by the rumours which came to hand. But the "marrons" (runaway slaves who had taken to the wild, where they lived as bands of marauders, perpetually endeavouring to evade the governmental troops) promptly realized, with the sure intuition of hunted game, that the moment had come to turn at bay against their persecutors, and to put an end to the tyranny of the whites.

In the mansions of the planters and landowners, much excitement had been aroused by the strange intelligence from Paris. Meetings were held to consider what had best be done by way of defence against such crazy innovations.

The colonists, who were far away from the heady fumes of the revolution and had kept their senses—those five senses, and common sense in addition, with which one manages a plantation, makes money, and keeps slaves in subjection—had naturally no intention of allowing these alleged Rights of Man to prevail in their sphere of influence, or of forthwith recognizing their black "cattle" as human beings on the same footing as themselves.

But the attempts of the masters, with the aid of firearms and swords, to check the spread of the revolutionary ferment among the "mad black rebels" proved fruitless. The elemental hatred of men who for generations had been treated worse than dumb beasts was now reinforced by the idea of the Rights of Man, held with the fervour of a religious conviction; and in the struggle which ensued, the bush came to the aid of its dark-skinned children.

Whenever French musketeers tried to advance into the primeval forest, they were welcomed by the plaintive sound of pipes, by the roll of tom-toms, and by shouts and cries from foes who remained unseen. In the dense undergrowth lurked thousands upon thousands of blacks, the lust to kill flashing from their eyes. Two fresh Negroes were ready to step into the place of any whom the musketeers might shoot down, so that it seemed as if, in this

horrid wilderness, there must be more black bodies than French bullets. The ring encircling the invaders grew ever narrower, the drums were more and more menacing, until at last all the white soldiers, pierced by the long curved knives of the Negroes, lay lifeless on the ground. Then the voodoo priestesses emerged from their lairs, brandished consecrated goblets filled with human blood, pouring out libations in honour of the great white gods across the seas who had conferred the Rights of Man upon the Negroes.

One plantation after another was fired. The whole island was drunk with blood. Beyond the town limits, not a white escaped the daggers of the bush-Negroes.

The savage campaign of slaughter went on week after week, month after month, year after year. The history of colonial warfare can tell of hardly any other struggle conducted with such fierceness, tenacity, and cruelty as this between the Santo Domingo planters and their sometime slaves who were fighting for the Rights of Man.

At the time when the slave revolt began, a black named Toussaint was working as postilion on the Breda estate. His master, a man of philanthropic disposition, recognizing in him a Negro of exceptional intelligence, had had him taught to read and write. The youngster thereafter devoted his leisure to books, devouring Epictetus, Tacitus, geographical treatises, manuals on constitutional law and upon the art of war.

This education, which raised him head and shoulders above his fellows, predestined him to become leader of the great rebellion. Being far from ungrateful, however, he discharged his obligations to his master by bringing the latter safely aboard ship, having first, with his own hands, packed a trunk with necessaries for the voyage. When he had thus for the last time fulfilled his duties as slave, he turned to a new task, that of uplifting his black brethren out of the slough of despond, of awakening in them a historical consciousness, of leading them in the struggle for human rights and human dignity.

From this moment the Santo Domingo rising assumed an unprecedented character. In Toussaint l'Ouverture (the Liberator), the rebellious and revengeful slaves acquired a leader of excep-

tional military gifts and organizing capacity, and one who had absorbed the elements of European culture. Under his supervision, the disorderly black levies were speedily transformed into a powerful and disciplined army.

Even when Toussaint had been no more than a slave postilion, his Negro associates had looked upon him as a higher being. Did he not wear livery, and a three-cornered hat with a plume; and did he not understand the mysterious writing of the white lords? When, now, decked out in a smart uniform trimmed with red braid and gold lace, he militarized their savage cries and drum-taps; when, by incomprehensible negotiations with United States merchants, he secured for them regular supplies of firearms and ammunition; when he had them taught to shoot, drilled and exercised them—was it not natural that they should come to look upon him as divine, should regard him as the promised redeemer Macandale?

While Toussaint introduced the European art of war and the discipline of Europe into the slaves' struggle for freedom, it was Dessalines, the second great Negro leader, who gave that struggle its terrific impetus. He was a bandy-legged "marron," with a square head and a much-scarred face; the crossed seams on his back, vestiges of numerous floggings, if they were badges of servitude, were also testimonies to the human rights of the oppressed blacks.

"Africans," he said to his troops, "we are the outposts of Africa against the white bloodhounds, who have chains ready to bind us before selling us again into slavery and lashing us with fire." Stripping off his tunic and red cotton shirt, he turned his back to show them the vestiges of the lashings of which he spoke.

His fury made his followers fighting mad. "Death to the whites!" He carried this principle into effect with pitiless severity, surrounding the slaughter of his victims with a ghastly ceremonial of scorn and blood-lust.

Yet this revolt, if left to its own unaided capacities, would (like so many slave-revolts before and after) have been put down by the superior generalship of the whites, had not the struggle of the blacks for the Rights of Man received powerful support in Paris.

True, the Constituent Assembly, having issued the Declaration of the Rights of Man in the first outburst of revolutionary enthusiasm, had, on further consideration, expressly stated that the colonies were outside the domain of the decree of equality. But when the Constituent Assembly was replaced by the far more revolutionary Convention, Robespierre uttered the decisive words: "Better that the colonies should perish than that we should sacrifice our principles!"

To the deputations of remonstrance sent by the planters, Robespierre made but one answer: "Human beings are human beings, and are all equal. Every French citizen, be his skin white, black, or yellow, enjoys our full respect, and it is incumbent on us to safeguard the rights of them all."

Thus manifesting their determination to pull down the seemingly insurmountable barriers which nature herself had established between white masters and black slaves, the French revolutionists were showing an unprecedented consistency in carrying out their principles.

For whereas, amid all differences of station and wealth, the members of the same race might preserve a sense of solidarity, the mere evidence of our senses perpetually reminds us of a fixed and essential difference between whites and blacks.

"Let us imagine," Aristotle had written long before, "the bodily distinctions between masters and slaves to become as conspicuous as those between the statues of the gods and the human form, would not everyone admit that persons so greatly inferior in type deserve no other fate than to become the slaves of their betters?"

Well, such a conspicuous sign existed in the case of the Negroes. Nature had given a certain category of human beings the same wishes, needs, and pains as the others, had subjected them to the same movements of body and mind, but had covered them from head to foot with an indelible black colour-wash, had given them frizzy hair and blubber-lips, that the distinction between master and slave should be plain to all men's eyes.

So manifest, in this case, was inequality, that not even the youthful American democracy, which had in many respects served as an example for the establishment of French revolutionary institutions, and had in the Declaration of Independence flaunted

the natural claim of all to equal rights, had been prepared to extend this natural equality to Afro-Americans. Men of the calibre of Washington, Franklin, and Jefferson had indeed put in a plea for the abolition of slavery, pointing out that no nation could deserve freedom if it continued to exercise tyranny over a subject race; but in the days of the Declaration of Independence the necessary cohesion of the thirteen coastal States could be secured only by blinking the "peculiar institution" of the South, and in the newly formed Union the blacks remained enslaved, excluded from political and social rights.

Revolutionary Paris, however, not only proclaimed the equality of the Negroes, but did so with frenzied delight. Positively intoxicating was enthusiasm in regard to the blacks when, one day, a number of coloured citizens from Santo Domingo made their entry into the French capital. Hitherto this enthusiasm had been able to vent itself only upon the soot-smeared supers in Baron Cloots's collection of specimens from various climes and races; but at length the Parisians were able to feast their eyes upon flesh-and-blood Negroes whose colour was indubitably fast and whose wool had a permanent wave that never needed renewal. The Convention celebrated the occasion in a way which made all suitably enlightened persons howl with emotion.

On February 3, 1794, a delegate from the liberated black race appeared before the Legislative Committee. The great hall was packed with deputies and spectators. When the president of the Convention gave the Negro a brotherly kiss on both cheeks, the deputies sprang up excitedly and stood on the benches to get a better view of the touching sight. In turn they hastened to embrace the emissary.

Then Robespierre mounted the tribune. "Citizen President," he shouted, "in the spectators' gallery an elderly Negro woman is sitting in the first row. She has just fainted from excess of joy. Citizen President, I ask you to instruct the reporters to record this incident in the minutes, that its memory may be immortalized."

When this had been done, the president said, amid acclamations: "In the name of the French revolution, I hereby declare that slavery has been abolished for all time in every French territory, including the colonies!"

What the millenarians had dreamed of, what rebels had fought for, that for which countless martyrs had sacrificed their lives—a world in which equal rights prevailed—had now become reality. No longer would one build and another inhabit; no longer would the mighty rob the poor of the fruits of their labour. The torment of insecurity, of being delivered over without safeguard to the caprices of an owner—the torment to which, from time immemorial, the larger part of mankind had been subject—was henceforth abolished, at any rate on French soil.

But one fundamental source of inequality persisted, inequality of wealth. Doubtless all French citizens, were they white, black, or yellow, enjoyed full respect, were equally protected by the law, had meted out to them the same measure of justice; no doubt the demand had been voiced that the church towers, whose height was an offence against the law of equality, should be razed; but still some were "clothed in velvet and warm in their furs and ermines" while others had to labour in rain and wind; now, as before, the rich had superfluity of "wine and spices and fair bread," whereas the poor must be satisfied with oat-cakes, straw, and water.

It was the clamour of the hungry for bread that had initiated the great revolution; but now, when the revolution was victorious, though the poor had equal rights before the law, bread was still reserved for those who had money to pay for it.

Hardly, then, had the first enthusiasm over the triumph of the Rights of Man begun to evaporate, when voices were raised here and there drawing attention to the inadequacy of what had been achieved, and recalling, in contrast with existing institutions, the laws of Lycurgus and the Gracchi.

Mably regards property as "the chief cause of inequality of conditions," and as "the source of all our ills." Abbé Fauchet indignantly demands: "Who can be so malignant as to desire the preservation of that devilish form of State in which the poor are counted by millions and the rich by dozens?"

"Equality will remain a phantom," cries Abbé Jacques Roux, "so long as one class is in a position to keep another starving, so long as, by his monopolist power over life and death, the rich man holds sway over the poor." Marat declares war against inequalities of property. Rabaut Saint-Etienne, writing in the revolutionary

Chronique de Paris, demands the State abolition of inequality of goods, for while it lasts, it will nullify political equality. New legislation must "provide for a more equable distribution of property, and must guard against the revival of such inequalities."

"There should be neither poor nor rich," insists Saint-Just. "Poverty must be abolished by distributing the national wealth among the poor." Condorcet, in like manner, holds that inequality of possessions is the main cause of all evils. To do away with such inequality must be "the final aim of the social arts."

Surely nothing could now stand in the way of the realization of these demands, since differences in wealth were no longer sanctioned by faith in animistic powers or a divine dispensation? Man was himself to blame if his minority had lasted too long. Having outgrown it, he had merely to act in accordance with the laws of nature. The philosophers of the revolution were never tired of insisting that nature wanted equality and nothing but equality, that nature had intended the world to be "the common good of all." By nature's decree "every individual has a right to a share in this common good."

But man, thus left to his own devices, encounters, so soon as he attempts to realize equality of property as well as equality of rights, an unexpected and mischievous obstacle. He discovers that material inequalities, which earlier generations had ascribed to divine caprice, and had then come to regard as elements in a divine creative plan, really derive from the peculiarities of man's own mind. In the depths of the human spirit, in conflict with the longing for equality, there is an equally strong desire for possessions. The latter is the eternal progenitor of inequality; and no effort of thought can rid us of the internal cleavage in our sentiments. As Hegel puts it, man can give his will a corresponding reality only through having recourse to nature outside himself, so that he must fulfil his impulse towards self-realization by striving to secure concrete possessions.

The very philosophers to whom nature seems to offer an "easily discoverable and readily comprehensible" demonstration of universal equality recognize in the same breath that nature also legitimizes property. Even Rousseau, whose *Discours sur l'inégalité des conditions* (1754) contains the famous statement that

the fruits of the earth belong to all, but the earth itself to no one, in *Le contrat social* (1762) classes property among the primal and fundamental rights whose enjoyment society must secure to the individual.

In conformity with this outlook, the Declaration of the Rights of Man of the year 1789, after proclaiming universal equality in its first article, goes on immediately, in its second article, to speak of the right to property as among "the natural rights of all men," and insists that every State must guarantee and safeguard this right.

What the French revolution attempted in the way of carrying over equality of rights into the domain of equality of property cannot but remind us of the expedients of the Catholic Church. The revolution, too, was content with the endeavour to mitigate the harshnesses of the extant proprietary system while maintaining intact the principle of property as such.

Hereby what the Church had prescribed as the duties of the wealthy towards God became their duties towards society. The Fathers of the Church had, in the name of God, exhorted the faithful to succour the poor out of their superfluity. Now, in the name of the common weal, a "maximum" of permissible wealth was specified. If this maximum were transcended, "society must intervene, lest any should become too rich or too poor." Graduated taxation was to effect "the natural flow of the surplus" into institutions devoted to the public welfare; agrarian laws were to impose a limit upon the size of individual landholdings, so that ground should be left available for the landless poor.

During the revolution, even the most radical equalitarians were of opinion that property had become "a general social fact" whose existence must be respected. "I will not contend," writes Brissot de Warville in a polemic against material inequalities, "that theft should be authorized or that the laws against bourgeois property should be disregarded. Unquestionably, he that has worked must be able to enjoy the fruits of his labour, for unless labour were rewarded in this way, there would be no commodities, no wealth, and no trade."

The vagueness and half-heartedness characteristic of the economic measures of this revolutionary epoch were but the outward

expression of the bipolarity of the human mind as far as the question of property is concerned.

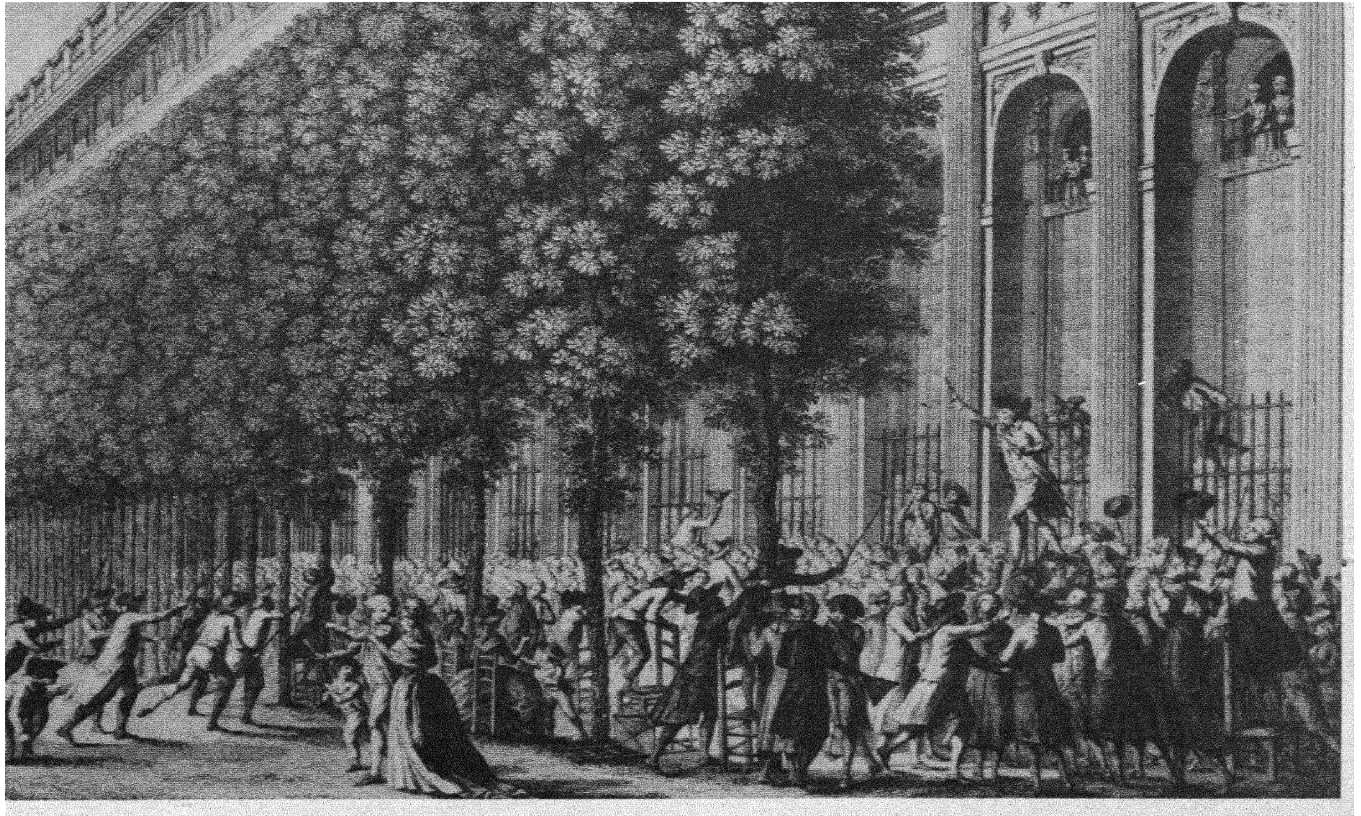
"Mine" and "thine," words whose expulsion from the vocabulary would, according to Jacob van Maerlant, the Flemish thirteenth-century poet, make an end of poverty, remain full of meaning and of fact.

When Gracchus Babeuf, the land registrar, uncompromisingly attempted to realize equality to the uttermost, he set to work too late, for the heyday of the revolution was already over. His "conspiration des égaux" was formed when the forces of the old social system based upon inequality had already begun to revive, and when France was no longer ruled by the Jacobin Convention but by the Directory composed of persons who aimed at the re-establishment of "order" and "tranquillity."

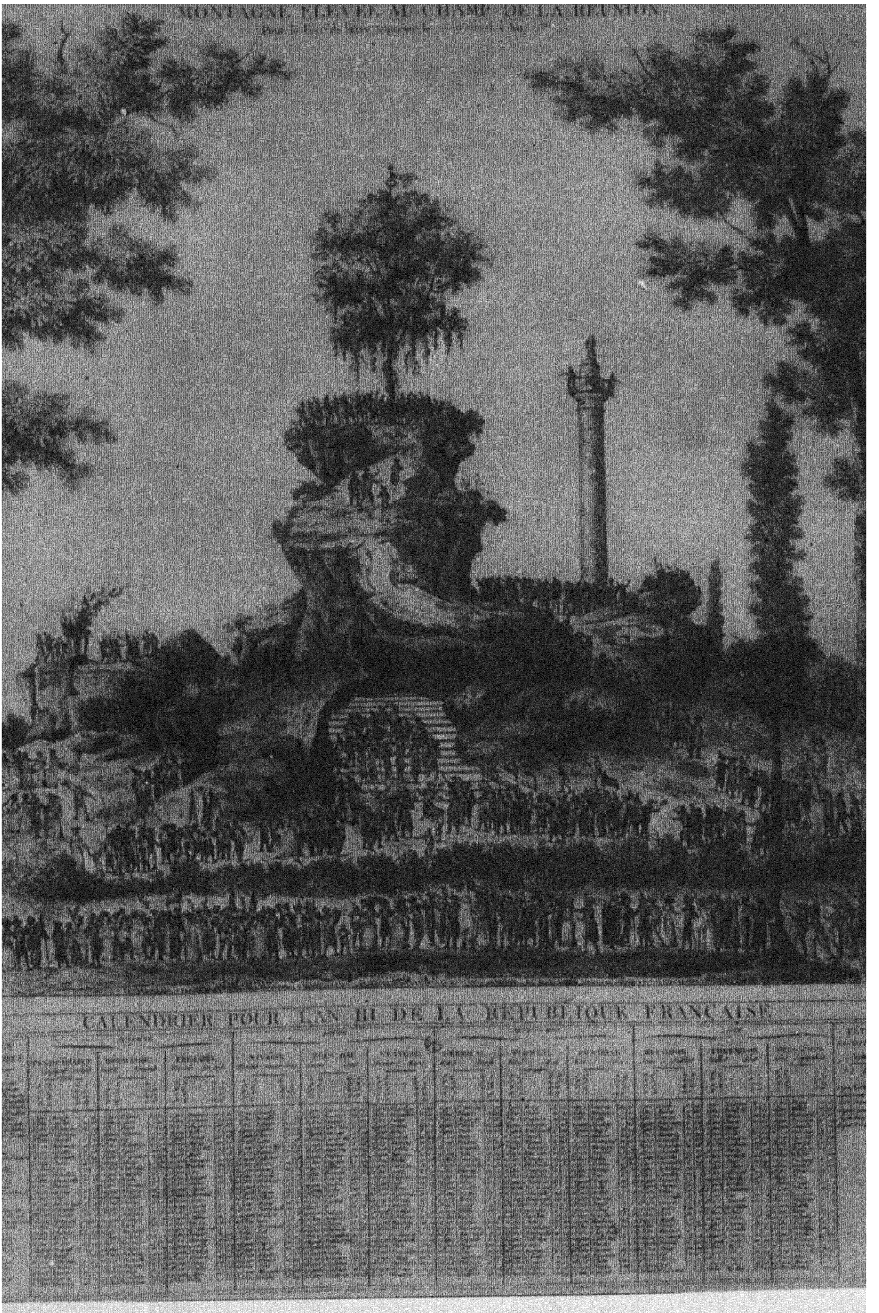
Babeuf had in view the dictatorial and lasting abolition of differences in wealth. State property and the property of individual citizens was to be lumped into a huge co-operative fund. Thenceforward, from the public storehouses everyone was to be assigned his due share of necessaries or luxuries—food, shelter, furniture, and clothing of specified patterns. Communal meals, like those eaten of old in Crete and Lacedæmon, were to provide symbolical as well as practical expression for the new equality. Thus, "the destruction of inequality," which must be the "true aim of the legislator," would be realized.

The network of this conspiracy spread far and wide. Babeuf's agitators were secretly busied among the poor and discontented of Paris. Seven thousand armed and trained men were ready, at the sound of the tocsin, to seize the public buildings and crush possible resistance.

The plan was betrayed to the Directors, and Babeuf and the other ringleaders were arrested before they could raise a finger. Like John Ball and so many of the earlier rebels against social inequality, Babeuf had to pay for his bold enterprise with his life.



DESMOULINS CALLS THE PEOPLE TO ARMS *(Engraving by Berthault after Prieur)*



"THE FESTIVAL OF THE SUPREME BEING"
(Decoration for a "Calendar of the Third Year of the French Republic")

IV

The Burial-Ground of Reason

A DEAD WORLD

THE endeavour of the apostles of the Enlightenment, when considering the differences of station and wealth in human society, to deprive them of that fixity which they must have when regarded as manifestations of God's will, and to replace them by a "natural" equality, constituted no more than a fragment of a bolder and more comprehensive undertaking—of the aim to free their whole picture of the world, once and for all, of any mystic taint, and thus to liberate it and themselves from primordial anxiety.

"Only for this reason do mortals suffer from dread," Lucretius, the disciple of Epicurus, had written long before in his *De rerum naturæ,* "because there is so much on earth and in the heavens whose causes elude them. For that reason they believe such things to be due to the working of divine caprice."

Nearly two thousand years were to elapse before thinkers were to advance far in the attempt "rerum cognoscere causas," and thus to become enabled to abandon their belief in divine caprice. For not only to the imagination of primitives, entangled in the fear of demons, did the happenings of this world seem to be the outcome of the activities of some forcible and menacing animistic power. Even the Christian, convinced that the world was divinely planned and that the Almighty was all-wise, felt that, behind everything that took place to his knowledge, a terrifying number of happenings remained incomprehensible to him.

When St. John Chrysostom contemplates the "unfathomable abyss of divine wisdom" and peeps into it hoping to plumb the All, he is immediately "seized with giddiness and alarmed amazement." It was the same with the medieval mystics. Whenever "the need to contemplate the divine" overwhelmed a mystic's soul, this soul felt "such distress in its weakness that it was as if it had been bereft of power and of breath, as if the man's senses and his mind

were bearing an immeasurably heavy and gloomy burden; and he was overwhelmed by such deadly fear as to feel that nothing but death could allay it."

Even Luther was still very much afraid of probing the depths of creation. "Nevertheless," he complains, "weak and ignorant as we are, we are constrained thereto, by our desire to study and understand the incomprehensible majesty of the incomprehensible light of the wonder of God! Do we not know, then, that he lives in a blaze of light which we dare not enter? . . . We have to teach that God's will is unsearchable and incomprehensible. The attempt to understand it and to grasp nature is extremely dangerous, and takes us far beyond our depths."

The Catholic Church permitted reasonable attempts to elucidate the mysteries of the world only insofar as reason did not bring about a conflict with revelation. According to Catholic conviction, whatever conflicted with dogma was necessarily erroneous. Reason (rightly used) and revelation were harmonious forms of cognition, which would necessarily lead to identical results. According to Thomas Aquinas, faith itself was a mode of cognition directed towards the transcendental, thus enlarging and deepening intellectual cognition. Revelation, however, is always superior to reason, and throughout the Middle Ages, therefore, philosophy was regarded as merely the "handmaid of theology." For centuries, in the western world, rational thought unresistingly accepted this subordinate position. In semblance, at least, reason bowed before faith.

When Descartes declared that whatever happened, from the sparkling of the stars to the beating of an animal's heart, could be mechanically explained, he continued to specify God as the first and most general cause of every occurrence. When enunciating his theory of the origin of the world out of tiny corpuscles, he opened with the remark that unquestionably God had created the world all at once; still, he continued, it was very interesting to consider, on the theoretical plane, how the universe might otherwise have originated.

In his *Essay concerning Human Understanding,* John Locke thought it expedient—purely rationalist though the work was—to justify his use of reason by explaining that reason was only "a

function of revelation"; and he reminded his readers how restricted is the domain, barely a point, almost a nullity, which our thoughts can grasp in comparison with the vast expanse which transcends our thinking faculties.

It was only the remarkable results achieved by experimental science at the end of the seventeenth century and during the eighteenth which gave people courage, regardless of the dogmas of theologians, to penetrate farther and farther into the world of natural causation, and to recognize that, behind what had hitherto been regarded as the arbitrary will of God, there prevailed a rationally comprehensible and calculable necessity. One domain after another was opened to physical methods of examination, became susceptible of scientific explanation, was shown to be subject to the working of a few clearly formulated natural laws.

Hobbes was probably the first thinker of note to revive the idea of Lucretius, venturing to maintain that the dread of unseen powers was aroused either by fables or by traditions. Sometimes these fables and traditions might be styled religion, and sometimes superstition; but they were invariably the expression of a defective insight into the determinisms of nature.

Galileo's recognition that nature "is written in the language of mathematics" became thenceforward the foundation of science. By the right use of numbers, by the "organon of natural knowledge" introduced by Descartes into modern thought, much that had still seemed arbitrary and incomprehensible was reduced to quantities that could be weighed and measured, and to the movements of these. Numbers forced their way into every department of nature; and as soon as any phenomenon could be described in numerically formulable relationships, it instantly, as if through an act of exorcism, lost its sinister and mysterious uniqueness.

The "substantial forms," the qualities, the unknown peculiarities and modifications of things, with which scholastic thought had worked, now yielded place to homogeneous matter, expressible in numerical terms, fundamentally the same, and varying only in the shape, position, and size of its different phenomenal aspects. Whatever happened, happened in accordance with the laws of matter, of repulsion and gravitation. Every natural process consisted of movement and the transference of movement, and

what seemed to be creation or destruction was but the combination or separation of atoms.

Francis Bacon held that to look for purposes in the domain of the natural sciences was a kind of idolatry, seeing that, in the real world, any sort of teleological outlooks are "as sterile and childless as a virgin consecrated to God." The age of the Enlightenment was true to this principle, ignoring "purpose," and confining itself to a study of the causal nexus in which all happenings were involved. But this implied the shelving of the idea of a plan of creation, and also the shelving of God himself as the first cause and the final purpose of all things.

In this cosmos of ours, which works only in accordance with the law of causality, in virtue of a calculable interplay of causes and effects, "there is no trace of the activity of purposive fingers" which might have prescribed the paths of the planets or comets.

"In view of the manifold ideas people have formed of God," wrote Diderot, "from his proneness to wrath, from his vengefulness, from the enormous number of those whom he allows to perish in comparison with the few to whom he holds out a helping hand, the most righteous person must be inclined to hope that he does not exist."

This hope, this desire, of the Encyclopædists, seemed to have been fulfilled. God no longer existed. With the "light of reason," the Enlightenment had dispelled from the last crannies of the universe those images of dread with which, tradition showed, man had been plagued from earliest times. People had now learned to laugh at faith in providence, heaven, hell, and damnation as "cobwebs of superstition," and were setting to work, unhindered by thoughts of God or another world, to mould this world to their liking.

"Nature and reason, those are my gods!" exclaimed Citizen Duport in the Convention. Soon afterwards, a child, carefully drilled for the purpose, appeared before that body to voice the demand of his schoolfellows that henceforward instruction should not be given in the name of a "so-called God," but in accordance with the principles of reason.

To symbolize this deposition of the Almighty, which was thor-

oughly in accordance with the spirit of the day, on November 10, 1793, the Convention paid formal homage to the "Goddess of Reason." Pierre-Gaspard Chaumette, who had at one time been a foremast hand, and was now attorney to the Commune of Paris, attended by the town councillors, marched into the assembly hall, solemnly conducting the "goddess." She was carried in a sedan-chair, wore a sky-blue cloak, and on her head a laurel crown in addition to the red Phrygian cap of the revolution. In ordinary life she was known as the Demoiselle Candeille, was an opera singer, and the wife of a bookseller named Mormoro.

The president and his secretary received the goddess with a brotherly kiss upon her rouged cheeks, and invited her to take her place beside them while the Convention sat. When the day's ordinary agenda was finished, the whole of the august assembly followed Demoiselle Candeille to Notre Dame, where the "Goddess of Reason," to the accompaniment of the strains of wind instruments played by musicians wearing a travesty of classical costume, took her place in front of the high altar and those present sang a hymn in her honour.

Then Chaumette made a spirited speech. "Faith has had to yield place to reason. The people of Paris have assembled in this Gothic fane in which the voice of error has so long resounded, and where today for the first time the trumpets of truth are being blown. No more priests! No more gods than those which nature offers us! We demand of the Convention that the sometime cathedral of Paris shall be consecrated to reason and liberty."

At the ensuing popular festival in honour of reason, contempt was displayed for transcendental powers; and with the ostentatious, challenging impudence of a recently acquired emancipation, it was declared that both fear and reverence had been done away with for ever. The church of Saint-Eustache, where the festival was held, is described by an eye-witness as having that evening had "the aspect of a huge tavern." In the choir, tables had been laid, groaning with their burden of bottles, sausages, and pasties. At the high altar, Demoiselle Candeille once more presided, wearing her sky-blue cloak. Children of eight drank brandy out of the sacramental vessels, and gorged themselves on mackerel. Artillerymen,

smoking pipes, danced riotously with half-grown girls who had donned priestly vestments.

The square outside the church was thronged by a bacchanalian crowd, the women with their dresses torn open in front and their breasts hanging out, and the men with their breeches slipping down. A bonfire was made of seats from the choir and of missals, the flames being continually fed by the "venerators of Reason" with more crosses, monstrances, ciboriums, and chandeliers.

The newly gained insight into the mechanical determinisms supposed to dominate all natural phenomena led the thinkers of this epoch to suppose that social happenings, likewise, ran their course in accordance with similar laws, and could be explained by mathematical formulæ.

Every human being, said Morelly, author of a work much in vogue at that day and entitled *Code de la nature*, is a centre of social processes, just as, by Newton's laws, every material mass is a centre of mechanical processes. Moreover, even as, in the physical world, all paths and revolutions of masses are determined by mechanical forces, so, likewise, do social happenings proceed strictly in accordance with law, and cannot fail to lead to the production of definite social groupings.

Since this was so, it must surely be possible to add to the number of the natural sciences by inaugurating a "social physics" which would be the outcome of the scientific study of social occurrences. The mechanism of society must be analysed, the relationships and functions of its several parts must be ascertained. So soon as, in this way, the forces of repulsion and attraction among the "social atoms" and the laws guiding these had been elucidated, it would be possible, by modifying our knowledge, to modify our lives, and to bring into being "the only natural and reasonable social order," in which suffering, injustice, and dread would no longer exist.

The useful science of statistics now came to be regarded as capable of demonstrating the possibility of such a "social physics." Already, indeed, the science of statistics had been excogitated in order to show forth the glory of God. Johann Peter Süssmilch, the

discoverer of the important statistical "law of great numbers," was a Protestant divine, and his work was entitled: *Observations concerning the Divine Ordering in the Changes of the Human Race, as Displayed in the Birth, Death, and Reproduction of Human Beings.*

Now, however, numerical observations were completely divorced from religious faith, being no longer used to demonstrate the divine ordering of the world. Usurping dictatorial powers, number declared itself the supreme law, the fundamental order, the only significance of the world.

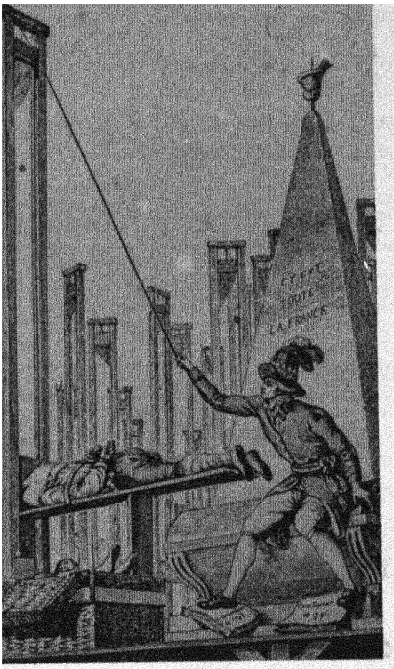
To the apostles of the Enlightenment, the essential importance of statistics was that they could demonstrate the uniform working of laws both in the material and in the moral life of mankind. Was it not a convincing argument for the mechanical character of social happenings that statistical study showed not only such physiological data as the duration of life, the death-rate, or the distribution of disease, but also such seemingly individual affairs and resolves as marriage, change of domicile, and suicide, to be numerically calculable and, in the mass, predictable?

The formulæ of "social physics," however, were not to remain pure theories. It became the task of the revolution to set to work forthwith upon improving the world in accordance with its new insight into the mechanism of social happenings, and to replace institutions recognized as faulty by better ones. "Rational intervention in social life" was everywhere to sweep away the imperfections of the order handed down by the past. Reason had thus determined to make an end of chance, and to inaugurate a world which would run a logical course on the lines of a plan thought out by human beings—which would be trustworthy, calculable in advance, and perfectly mechanical.

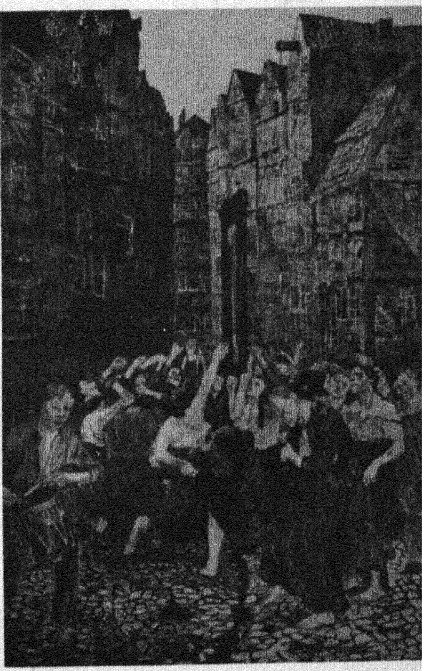
In one of the concluding strophes of *Le mariage de Figaro,* Beaumarchais had already given plain expression to this thought:

> Par le sort de la naissance,
> L'un est roi, l'autre est berger;
> Le hasard fit leur distance:
> L'esprit seul peut tout changer.

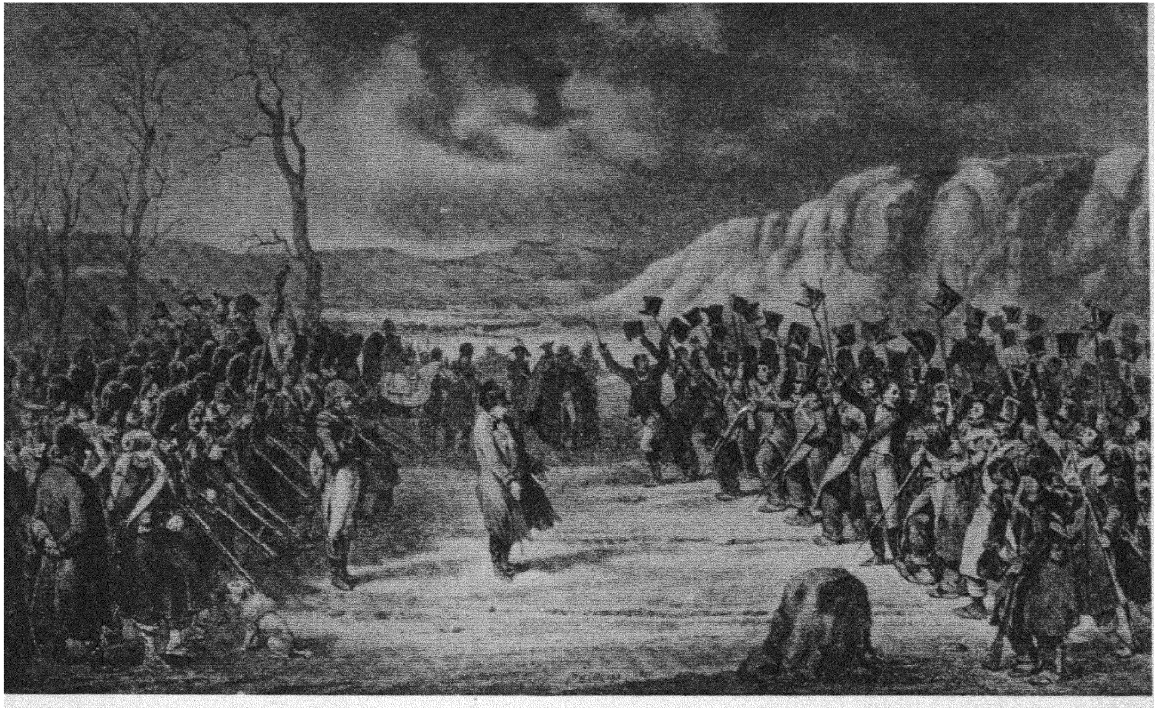
Thus the time seemed to be approaching when free men "would



"ROBESPIERRE
EXECUTES THE EXECUTIONER"
(Contemporary Satirical Handbill)



"THE CARMAGNOLE"
(Etching by Käthe Kollwitz)



NAPOLEON GREETED BY THE KING'S TROOPS ON HIS RETURN FROM ELBA

recognize no other master than reason." "Tyrants, and their slaves the priests," would play no further part in history, for all that would be necessary would be, "with the aid of reason, to recognize and nip in the bud the first signs of the reappearance of superstition and tyranny."

Everywhere and at all times, an impotent dread of the uncertainties of fate would be replaced by the self-confidence of ordered knowledge. By the might of reason, man would free existence from its disasters and disagreeables, to rule thenceforward over a comprehensible world that would be wholly within his scope, and to guide into the right path whatever had been badly arranged by earlier generations.

This was a bold undertaking, but few persons of that day could escape being fascinated by the idea of it. "While the sun has been standing in the firmament and the planets have been circling round it," writes Hegel in his *Philosophy of History*, "never has man been seen to take his stand upon his head, that is to say upon thought, and to mould reality in accordance therewith. Anaxagoras was the first to declare that the nous, spirit, rules the world; but only now is man beginning to make sure that the mind shall rule mental reality. This has been a glorious dawn. All thinking persons made common cause in celebrating the epoch. A sublime emotion was dominant in those days, a spiritual enthusiasm transfused the world."

In that "glorious dawn," however, there was simultaneously revealed the profound tragedy of human thought. It became plain that the liberation of the world from primordial dread, the liberation which had become the last and most heroic aim of the Enlightenment, could be effected only by cutting vital threads. If the mind was to create a cosmos in which apprehension would be unknown, it must begin by slaying those who were then alive.

For the calculations of physics apply without reserve only when the numerous and perplexing peculiarities to which existence incessantly gives rise have been reduced to certain highly simplified schemata. But it is precisely these peculiarities which the mechanical schematization of the world must always leave out of account, that constitute the essential characteristics of life; and consequently

the laws of mechanics can never apply to living nature, but only to a nature that is contemplated as dead.

One who hopes, by mechanical explanations, by establishing an inclosed precinct of rationalism, to exorcize dread from life, is simultaneously denying life, is denying that world of the unique in which everything must remain incalculable and animistic until the inquiring spirit has achieved divine omniscience and, as Leibniz said, "can look the sun in the face." Galileo, the first discoverer of mechanical laws, discovered therewith death in nature itself, and, since then, every newly discovered law has been a step farther on the way towards the destruction of the unique quality of the living thing.

Life is the price which man has to pay to free himself from dread; no other ransom will be accepted, and the epoch of the French revolution was ready to pay it.

Thus, in place of the decaying old world, God-guided and animated by a divine plan, there emerged from empty space a dead globe, on which nothing lived any longer, neither creator nor creature—a globe on which there was nothing but a lifeless interplay of the powers of attraction and repulsion, of centripetal and centrifugal forces.

Nay, man himself, who inhabited this dead globe, was no more than an apparatus subject to the laws of mechanics. "A self-winding piece of clockwork mechanism," Lamettrie calls him—a complicated mechanism, no doubt, but far from being incalculable. According to this way of thinking, man bears the same sort of relationship to the lower animals as an orrery does to an ordinary timepiece, or as an automatic flute-player does to an automatic duck. This repudiation of any sort of vital uniqueness must be the presupposition of that "social physics" which attempts to fathom social structure and to refashion it in accordance with the laws of reason. For the laws of reason can be formulated in respect of the social relationships among human beings only if everything is left out of account that distinguishes one individual from another, and if the observer is concerned only to note the abstract data of statistics. Then living men will be replaced by the concept "mankind," and mankind can be subjected to "reasonable correction."

According to this outlook, the individual "human being" has value only as part of the concept "mankind"; but this concept, like a Moloch, demands that the individual, incomparable in his uniqueness, shall be offered up upon the altar of abstraction.

Just as the new system of weights and measures adopted by the revolution forsook the old anthropomorphic basis, replacing the units of the foot and the ell by the abstract metre calculated (and erroneously calculated!) as the ten-millionth part of the quadrantal arc of a meridian measured between the equator and the pole—so, now, in political conceptions, concrete beings had to fade before abstractions.

An imaginary "primitive society," a fiction reconstructed upon rationalist grounds, must serve as foundation for the new theories about the social structure of mankind. The abstract members of this primitive society, conceived as atoms of the original social matrix, were supposed to have entered purposively into a "social contract," and upon the foundation of this fictitious social contract on the part of a no less fictitious primordial society, a whole system of abstractions was now erected to form the standing-ground of universal equality.

The story of the origin of the Declaration of the Rights of Man discloses this advance from a regard for living reality, on the one hand, to the "fanaticism of abstraction," on the other.

"Wherever nature has established a physical inequality among human beings, so that one may excel another in bodily strength or in mental capacity, they will agree among themselves and introduce equality by legislation," Rousseau had written. In accordance with this dictum, Sieyès's first draft of the Declaration of the Rights of Man expressly alluded to the actual differences in strength and capacity among men. But when the matter came up for discussion by the Constituent Assembly, the supporters of abstraction carried the day, insisting upon the formulation of the first article in the terms previously quoted: "Les hommes naissent et demeurent égaux en droits."

Since the world was now to be reconstructed in accordance with abstractions, these men, who were firmly convinced that their rationalized scheme of the world could alone be purposive and just, proceeded to make short work of everything that deviated from

their constructions and to eradicate everything that did not fit comfortably into their abstract scheme. The conceptual guillotining of living men by abstraction necessarily led in the end to actual slaughter, to the slaughter of tens of thousands in the name of "the concept of humanity."

2

THE FANATICISM OF ABSTRACTION

"We would rather make France into a burial-ground than renounce ruling it in the way we think best!" Such were the words of Carrier, commissary of the Convention; and while, from the tribune, he was expounding the new regime's programme of equality, with the ecstasy of a seer he waved his hands as if decapitating countless imaginary aristocrats.

But that which, when Carrier spoke, was still mere hallucination, soon became bloody fact: the idea of equality materialized in the mechanism of the guillotine, functioning with equalitarian precision.

Everything that happened in France during the palmy days of the great revolution was dominated by this fanaticism of abstraction. As soon as the pinch of hunger made itself felt in the country surrounded by foreign armies and devastated by civil war, the members of the Convention began seriously to consider whether it would not be a good thing to diminish the number of famished mouths by extirpating nobles and superfluous officials.

Although, at the outset of their activities, the revolutionary tribunals had been full of kindly sentiment, and although judges and jurors had shed tears when passing the first death sentences, the living and feeling human being, with his pains and sorrows, soon disappeared behind the systematic classification of all into friends and enemies of the revolution. Mechanically, nobles, priests, royal officers, and servants were butchered seriatim without so much as the trouble of passing a formal sentence of death.

The aforesaid Carrier, whose words as to making France a

burial-ground were quoted above, did not merely organize in Nantes the mass drownings (les noyades) of "traitors to the people," but with his own sword ruthlessly smote off hands that were raised to him imploring grace. At length the revolutionists went so far as to put to death the children of aristocrats, because, if they grew up, they might become "enemies of equality." Day after day, in unwearied monotony, the knife of the guillotine rose and fell; day after day the "rolling coffins" rattled through the streets of French towns; day after day, the corpses of fresh victims manured French soil.

During these days of the Reign of Terror, abstraction entered into a fearsome alliance with the darkest impulsive forces of the human mind, with gloomy, passionate instincts, wishes, and lusts. The slogan of equality had liberated ancient hate-mechanisms in petty traders, handicraftsmen, fishwives, and prostitutes. From the abysses of starvation, poverty, and envy, there emerged a hideous rabble of fellows wearing red caps and grasping cobblers' knives, of women in rags carrying bludgeons, pikes, and torches. Swelling to a mob ten thousand strong, howling and beating drums, they trooped along the rain-drenched roads to Versailles to fetch the king and the queen to Paris.

On the return journey, the mænads of the fish-market took delight in dancing round the queen's carriage, singing obscene songs. A halt was made at Sèvres, where a hairdresser curled and powdered the heads of the slaughtered guardsmen, which were being borne back in triumph on pikes.

A demoniacally cold and cruel humour coined such expressions as "the national razor" and "to sneeze into the sack," and staged festivals like the September massacres, when good seats were provided for the feminine onlookers. This same mordant humour suggested to the executioners the bright thought of sticking candles in the mouths of the victims, to light up the scaffold.

Soon it became the fashion in revolutionary circles to carry in the pocket a couple of ears cut from executed aristocrats, to draw these out unexpectedly to amuse young women, or to stick them on the hat.

Reason sanctified and justified everything. In its name, people were decapitated, trampled to death, strangled, burned. It gave to

the murders a circumstantiality and impersonality which only made the whole business more horrible.

After the storming of the Bastille, an out-of-work cook went up to the corpse of him who had been commandant of the fortress, drew out a small black-handled knife, and cut up the dead body according to all the rules of butchery. After the killing of the defenceless Swiss guards at Versailles, their bodies were divided limb from limb, and the flesh was stripped from the bones until the skeletons were bared.

"In Meudon," writes Montgaillard, "there was a tannery for dealing with the skins of those victims of the guillotine whose bodies seemed worth flaying; from human skins can be prepared excellent wash-leather, which was used to make breeches and for other purposes." Women's skins, says this historian, were found to be too soft and comparatively worthless, but the leather made from men's skins would outlast chamois.

So abstract, so completely dominated by cold and inhuman ideas, were the murderous impulses of the revolutionists, that the parents of one of Marie Antoinette's maids roasted their daughter to death upon a log of wood sprinkled with sulphur, because the young woman was faithful to her mistress. For this they were given an ovation by the mob, as signal examples of true patriotism, and as models for other parents who still hesitated to sacrifice their children to the great idea of equality.

The will of this epoch, which, in the most matter-of-fact way, was trying to establish a reasonable and purposive order of equality in place of the inequalities of the past, pressed into the service of its bold enterprise leaders of any and every kind, able to justify the will to world-revolution in accordance with abstract principles, prepared to live for it, and many of them destined to die for it. Indiscriminately, as it seemed, the less instructed assembled these leaders: from the streets, from the studies of the learned, from the offices of lawyers, from the taverns where students forgathered, and from the rooms where cocottes sold their charms. The rank and file listened to speeches which went far beyond their comprehension, and were guided to deeds which would greatly have overtaxed their own unaided capacities. Promotion

to leadership could make these leaders' lightest word a slogan, his or her most insignificant action an example; gave their passions, caprices, and infirmities fateful importance—so that those whose affairs, sorrows, wishes, and interests had hitherto been petty, were, of a sudden, promoted to a leading place upon the stage of history.

For instance, on July 12, 1789, a young man was walking through the streets of Paris, a wayfarer like countless others. He became involved in one of the improvised meetings of persons who were excitedly discussing the recently announced dismissal of Necker, the popular director-general of the finances. "Amid one such group, I was deploring the general cowardice, when three young fellows came by, holding hands, and shouting the call to arms. I made common cause with them, my zeal attracted attention; people thronged round me, urging me to mount a table; and in a moment I had an audience of over six thousand."

A few minutes before, Camille Desmoulins, a young barrister, had been a person of no note, merely one of those who shouted with the crowd. He was animated by nothing more remarkable than what the rest shared—an undirected surge of indignation, revolt, and enthusiasm. "Stifled by the confusion of ideas which scurried through my mind I spoke inconsecutively. 'To arms! To arms!' I called; and again: 'To arms! Let us all wear green cockades, for green is the colour of hope.' "

An ill-favoured man, with nothing attractive about him, was this fellow who thus harangued the crowd from a table brought out of a coffee-house. His dark, shiny face was of ignoble aspect, and the few words he uttered were spoken hesitatingly. Nevertheless he now laid a spell upon six thousand of his fellow-citizens.

"When I jumped to the ground, they embraced me, caressed me fervently. 'Friend,' they shouted, 'we will not forsake you, but will follow you whithersoever you please!' "

In fact, all France heard and responded to Camille Desmoulins's call to arms. Thus the chance excitement of a youth gave the war-cry to the greatest revolution in history.

The unexpected effect of his words dragged Camille out of his intended humdrum career as barrister to make him advocate of a sublime cause, to inform him of his mission for great deeds. "How

can I go on representing the interests of petty bourgeois in their disputes," he wrote to his father during these days, "when it has become my task to represent the interests of mankind before the world?" But the only service he was destined to perform on behalf of the revolution was to strike a spark at this particular moment, and two days later to lead in the storming of the Bastille. When a rigidly abstract reorganization of the world became the order of the day, his enthusiasm cooled, and Desmoulins himself was swept away by the storm of the revolution.

He, who had dreamed of a "serene religion" of liberty and equality, of happiness and enjoyment, shrank back in alarm when these ideas began to display their true significance and to disclose the harshness of their content. He had no mind for the continuance of the work to which his words had given the first impetus. Soon the moment came when he was tempted "to flee across the frontier or to seek death in order to escape the sight of so many horrors."

An epoch whose will it is to replace the concrete by mental constructions, life by abstractions, needs men of sterner stuff than Desmoulins. "The gods are athirst," he once wrote; and, in very truth, the "Goddess of Reason" demanded the destruction or the death of whatever ran contrary to her plans.

Desmoulins perished on the scaffold and, in the hour of his death, made it plain how little he was fitted to represent superhuman ideas, lacking even the courage to die a great death.

With tears and pleadings he resisted the executioner; and the man who, a few years before, had summoned the people to arms, now, from the tumbril, vainly implored this same people to come to his rescue.

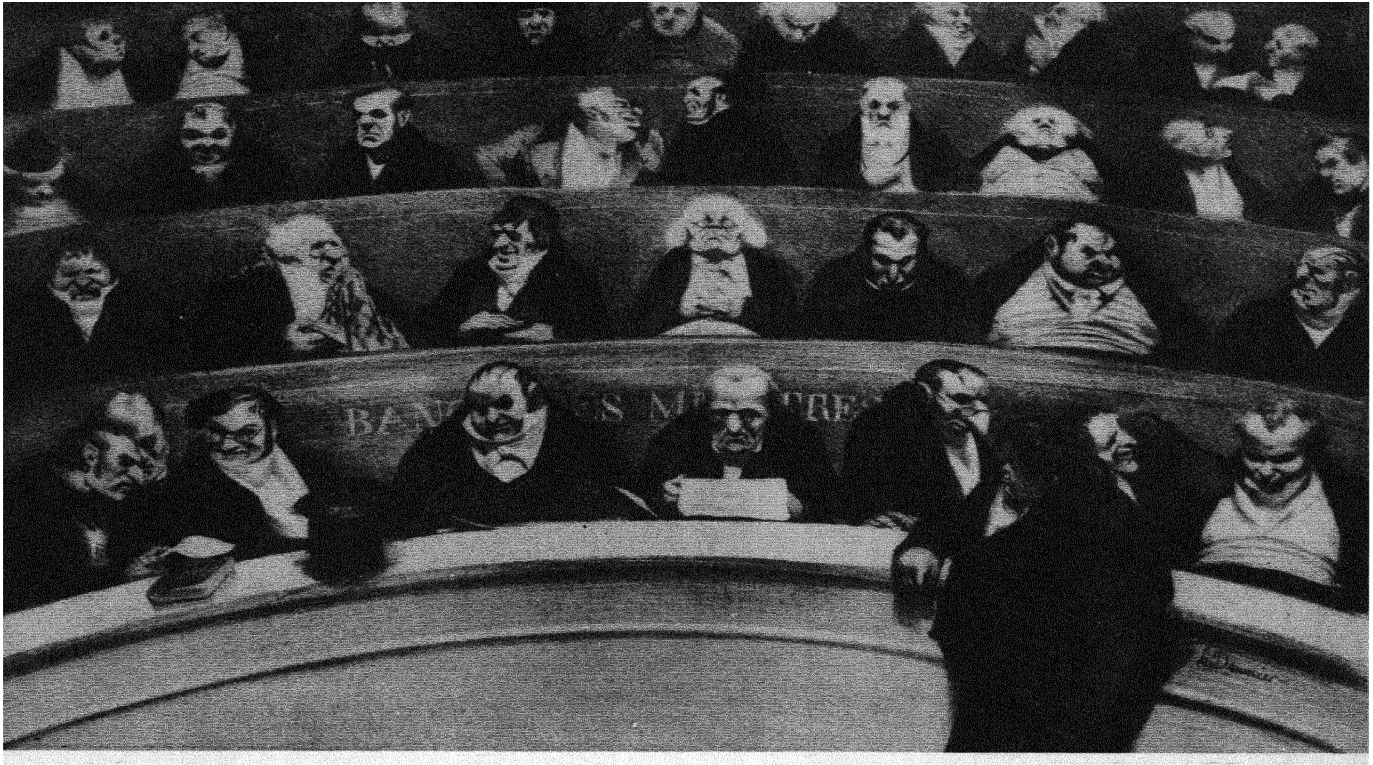
The qualities that were lacking to the lawyer Desmoulins were present in full measure in another lawyer and revolutionary leader who met his fate on the same day. A man of immense energy, overbearing resolution, and powerful will, Danton was eminently adapted to play the part of slaughterer of those who stood in the way of the upbuilding of the new society. Devoid of petty sensibilities, he was not one to shrink from using the cruellest of means. He was an embodiment of the murderous and re-



CARICATURE OF "GENERAL LUDD,"
MACHINE-WRECKERS' MYTHICAL LEADER



"THE MAN AND WOMAN OF THE FUTURE"
(Contemporary Caricature of Fourier's Theories)



COURTESY METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

"THE LEGISLATIVE BELLY".
(Caricature by Daumier of the July-Monarchy Parliamentarism)

vengeful impulses of the rabble; he was a child of nature, and his wrath had the savagery of the elements.

Until the outbreak of the revolution, he had seemed nothing more than a careerist. His marriage to the daughter of a well-to-do coffee-house proprietor had furnished him with means for buying the practice and title of an elderly member of the Conseil du Roi. He hoped, in this way, to secure a good position in life, and perhaps in due course to attain the rank of a noble. But the revolution had need of the energy of this "Cyclops," of the man who was alone competent to defend the new France against the onslaught of her enemies, so Danton had to become a tribune of the people.

His very aspect symbolized his mission to assume power in stormy times. He was tall and of massive build. A terrific head was set upon his mighty shoulders and his muscular neck. His pock-marked countenance, with a flattened nose, bloated cheeks, and eyes that sparkled beneath thick, beetling black brows, would flush deep red when he was angered; his beauty was not improved by a hare-lip; and his mouth, which was subject to a nervous twitch, often assumed an expression of bitter irony, of overweening contempt. When he was speaking from the tribune, his left hand rested on his huge hip, while his right waved threateningly towards his adversaries, seeming ready to clutch them and to pluck them from their seats. Then he would lower his head; and his neck, swelling with wrath, would resemble that of a charging bull.

No less overpowering than his aspect was his voice, of which Desmoulins once said: "Like the Nile, it is continually in a state of inundation." Verily this organ was fitted to summon the masses to a savage onslaught against ancient institutions, to a murderous attack upon the oppressors; there seemed to come to life in it the full measure of the popular hatred of the old order.

Nevertheless, this man's energy did not go beyond an animal lust to kill, the savagery which is content to glut itself upon immediate victims. So long as there were aristocrats to deprive the people of their rights, so long as the nobles had everything and the poor nothing, Danton railed against them thunderously, destroying all who stood in his path. Now, however, when there were no more privileges, when there was no more wealth, when there were

no more palaces, Danton wished to sit down in comfort and enjoy the new dominion in company with the liberated populace. The revolution was over, and the time had come for peace, comfort, and kindliness!

Danton's wrath, rooted in the finite and the concrete, could no longer be kept glowing by abstract schemes, by far-distant aims. Being unable to comprehend an everlasting lust for murder, a lust which could not be quenched, he gave himself up more and more to the ease of a satiated beast of prey.

When his friends warned him that his sloth and his love of pleasure would lead him to his doom, and urged him to strike his enemies before they struck him, to destroy them before it was too late, he refused, saying: "I should have to go on shedding blood, and I have shed enough. I have never shed blood unless I thought it absolutely necessary!"

A man of such a way of thinking was not fitted to carry to a conclusion the great task which this revolution had set itself. He, too, must end upon the guillotine, and he perished on the same day as Desmoulins, April 5, 1794.

But unlike Desmoulins, the poltroon, Danton recovered his full stature on the scaffold. "Show my head to the people," he said commandingly to the executioner; "it is worth looking at; they don't see such a head every day!"

"He went into the unknown," says a contemporary, "like a gigantic mass full of energy, wrath, and virility."

Jean-Paul Marat, born at Boudry in Switzerland, spent the better part of his days as a man of science in an epoch when the chief object of natural science was to explain the working of nature as the outcome of mechanical laws.

During a long stay in the British Isles, Marat was occupied in the study of medicine and natural philosophy, and was granted a doctor's degree by the University of St. Andrews. Year after year, from morning till night, he worked in his laboratory, having, it would seem, no other interests than his apparatus, his retorts, and his calculations. With the fervour of a man possessed, he made observations, recorded results, animated by the sole desire of unriddling the mysteries of nature.

He was dominated by the Faustian zeal which filled his whole era, and in which a specialization of scientific disciplines had not yet begun. Dr. Marat devoted himself in turn to medical, optical, chemical, and electrical problems. An ardent physicist, the outcome of his own electrical experiments led him to denounce the doctrines of Volta. With even more fanaticism, he flung himself into a chemical dispute with Lavoisier. Challenging Newton, he formulated some theses upon the constitution of light, showing a "perspicacity" and a "gift for observation" which Goethe extolled in his *Farbenlehre.*

After his return to France, the same impulse towards scientific investigation made him turn his attention to social and political problems. Herein, just as in his physical studies, he was under the spell of his time, which believed itself to have discovered that human society, too, is a structure ruled by iron mechanical laws.

Thus it came to pass that the learned doctor from St. Andrews University exchanged the quiet of the laboratory for the vicissitudes of poverty. His insatiable desire for knowledge drove him from one slum to another. He tramped from town to town, from village to village, perpetually on the go. He spent the night in roadside taverns, rubbed shoulders with serfs on the way to the corvée, chatted with beggars and criminals at street corners or while sheltering from the rain under bridges. Always he had notebook and pencil ready to record their tales of woe and the miseries he saw with his own eyes. The most trifling details were described with meticulous accuracy: every little change in the life of the poor, in the lot of those who had no rights but abundant miseries —figures about starvation wages, fierce complaints concerning the misdeeds of aristocrats, conversations about taxes, despairing cries for bread. Countless pages of his notebooks are filled with stories of the life of the wretched.

Whenever he was at home, he tried, in accordance with the accepted methods of science, to arrange and classify the data he had collected, to deduce clear and precise formulæ, to depict the colours of society, to measure the burdens and strains of poverty, to grasp the chemistry of the mingling of rich and poor.

Such an application of natural science to real life, in conjunction with the thought-trend of his time, could not fail to lead him

to the belief that the social mechanism, whose laws could be thus elucidated, might also be modified in accordance with the dictates of the human will.

But Marat, who had already grown so heated, when purely physical observations were in question, that in defending what he regarded as the truth he had made fierce attacks on the doctrines of Volta, Lavoisier, and Newton, became frenzied with excitement by his studies in this new field of social life. He was led to conclusions which were incompatible with quiet waiting, with cautious reforms, such as were recommended by the politicians now in the ascendant, like Mirabeau for instance. The new knowledge that Marat had gained seemed to him to demand instant and thoroughgoing action, the complete demolition of the existing order, and the replacement of the badly functioning social mechanism by an entirely different one.

The Constituent Assembly, of which no good was to be expected, must dissolve itself; the town council of Paris, whose members were chatterers and weaklings, must be broken up. Such were Marat's demands, voiced in the political journal he had begun to issue, and in which he daily published to the world further accounts of his investigations into the physics of poverty.

Marat, the man of learning, had become Marat, the fighter. The passion which he had hitherto directed against the most noted scientists of his day was now, intensified a thousandfold, volleyed forth against Mirabeau, the Constituent Assembly, the aristocrats, and the court. The absoluteness, the unconditionedness, of scientific cognition led him, logically, to the demand that everyone whose life and activities were a hindrance to the proper functioning of the social mechanism should immediately and ruthlessly be cleared out of the way.

In the opening numbers of his *Ami du Peuple,* he had still advised the people to be careful, above all things, to avoid unnecessary violence. But it was not long before he became convinced that the world could not be improved until "eight hundred trees in the Tuileries gardens" had "been transformed into gallows." On these improvised gallows, Mirabeau, in company with the other enemies of equality, were to be hanged. Army officers deserved quartering; so did the king and his supporters. Every min-

ister of State became an enemy of the people as soon as he had been twenty-four hours in office.

"Wanted" by the police, this scientist of fifty now lived the life of a hunted man. He fled from cellar to cellar, from attic to attic; and from ever-changing hiding-places he hurled his invectives against the prevailing regime of timid reform, moderate revolution, negotiations, compromises, and parleyings.

At length the thorough-going revolution he had continually demanded actually began. After a temporary arrest, the revolutionary current resumed its flow, sweeping away the hesitators and procrastinators, drawing Marat out of his cellar, to place him beside Danton and Robespierre on the Mountain of the Convention. There he now stood, arms crossed over his chest, leaning to one side, with a sardonic expression in his glinting greyish-green eyes, while his big mouth, foaming with rage, poured forth incitations to murder and arson.

"Citizen Marat," a leader idolized by the populace, made it his only aim in life to translate the outcome of his studies in social physics into the realm of reality. "The revolutionist," he declared, "must renounce all pleasures and relaxations. He must never think of repose. He must have no possessions; or, if he owns anything, he must instantly sacrifice it to the cause." As regards his own practice, he could conscientiously declare that of the twenty-four hours in the day he "devoted only two to sleep, one to meals, the cares of the toilet, and to domestic concerns"; for more than three years he had not given so much as a quarter of an hour to recreation.

The effect of his unwearying activities was unmistakable. The revolution no longer moved at the slow and stately constitutional pace of a Mirabeau. With harsh and pitiless resolution, it now worked for the establishment of equal rights, abolishing privileges of station, and establishing a new society of equals. The heads of the aristocrats borne in triumph on the pikes of the sans-culottes heralded the beginning of a genuinely new epoch in history.

But whereas Danton had soon had enough of the intoxication of victory, and his mood was shared by the great majority of the liberated people; while even Robespierre for a time seemed con-

tent with what had been accomplished—Marat held to his course, fuming with wrath, and perpetually dissatisfied. He shunned the pleasures of the festivals of victory, and with flashing eyes continued to demand more killings.

And still from morn till eve the tumbrils rolled busily across the Pont Neuf, carrying aristocrats to the "Red Mass" of the guillotine; but Marat dreamed of greater things—of the heads of the rich being mowed like ears of grain. The new order, for whose establishment he looked not only in France but the world over, implied something more than the mere abolition of the privileges of nobility and the proclamation of the equal rights of citizens; he envisaged a society in which there would no longer be inequalities of property. Earlier than the other politicians of his day, he looked beyond immediate demands, looked behind the programme of the Rights of Man, to contemplate the second phase of the revolution: the revolt of the dispossessed against the possessors.

"Who can say that he has a right to eat, so long as anyone is without bread?" Such is Marat's formula of revolutionary necessity, and he is never weary of shouting it in fresh variations. It is society's duty to maintain the dispossessed, who have just as good a title to existence as the "most fortunate of the century." Let him who has nothing take what he needs from one who has too much.

What Marat here foreshadows is the profound opposition between capital and the proletariat; and what he demands is nothing other than a communist dictatorship. He stood alone, at that date, in seeing the fourth estate pressing onward among the members of the recently emancipated third estate, recognizing behind the bourgeois revolution of 1789 the social upheaval which a few years later Babeuf would vainly attempt to bring about, and which was not to occur in full violence until one hundred and thirty years later.

Marat remained solitary and misunderstood among his fellow-revolutionists, who were content with chopping off aristocrats' heads. For he, whose revolutionary watchword was uttered more than a century too soon, was driven over the border-line of sanity by his foreknowledge, by the sound of his own prophecies which no one else heeded. Whereas the others, a Danton, a Robespierre, were fulfilling the ideas of their own time, and, in accordance

therewith, were keeping the guillotine busy, Marat was wrestling for the formulation of an idea for which the times were not yet ripe. Necessarily, therefore, even in those days when a liberal use of the guillotine was regarded as a primary demand of reason, Marat's "whole-hog" programme of butchery had an insane ring.

Beyond question, Marat had lost his wits. This soon became plain in his outward appearance and in his whole behaviour. Madame Roland, who had often welcomed the learned scientist as a guest in her salon, and who now visited him when he was at the height of his political power, found him, to her disgust, sitting with naked legs, wearing boots but no stockings, with a greasy shirt open at the neck and disclosing a dark and dirty chest. He had a red rag wound round his head, while his finger-nails were long and black. In this rig-out he was sitting in front of a large table, dirty like himself—a table covered with a raffle of papers and printers' proofs—while he furiously scribbled one incendiary article after another.

Kill! Kill! Kill!—this is the refrain day after day. He extols the gallows, the scaffold, and the guillotine as the necessary and infallible instruments for introducing general equality and happiness. The *Ami du Peuple* becomes an unceasing appeal to stone, stab, decapitate, hang, and burn.

As a man of science, he had always been fond of giving accurate figures. Whereas when he began to demand multiple hangings, eight hundred gallows had seemed to him sufficient, now the figures increased from month to month. "Cut off two hundred thousand heads, then you will have tranquillity, but not otherwise!" he exclaimed; and soon afterwards he clamoured for the slaying of "two hundred and seventy thousand enemies of equality."

A mad monster, who with maniacal insistence shouts: "Kill! Kill!" so sinister becomes his aspect, that now, when he appears in the Convention or among the populace, there is a general feeling of uneasiness, rising to nausea.

"When he was pointed out to me," writes Dr. Levasseur in his memoirs; "when I watched his violent contortions among his fellows of the 'Mountain,' I contemplated him with the uncomfortable curiosity with which we look at certain horrible insects. His dress was disordered, his face was of a pallid grey, and his eyes

were sunken. There was something about him indescribably repulsive and alarming, which made me feel sad. When I spoke of him to those of my medical colleagues who knew him, they all confessed to having the same impression."

At length the onset of an intractable skin-disease made it necessary for him to spend almost all his time in a bath, for only when in very hot water was he free from intolerable itching. He had a bath-tub specially constructed out of wood. It was shaped like a huge slipper. In this he sat writing upon a board supported on the edges of the tub—writing more and more furious invectives.

The steaming bath-tub became a court of assize. There he received the "patriots" who brought him list after list of suspects; and, with the disordered flair of a lunatic who senses double-dealing, crime, and treason on all hands, Marat believed every accusation, however little ground there was for it. In the clouded spirit of this man, the world was full of rogues, traitors, and villains; and every denunciation brought to him became the ground for demanding the use of the guillotine.

Under the pretext that she had important revelations to make about a conspiracy in Caen, Charlotte Corday gained access to Marat. When he was about to inscribe the names of these new "traitors," she stabbed him as he sat in his bath.

"I have killed a wild beast, a monster, to save hundreds of thousands," said Charlotte Corday quietly, as she was being conducted to prison.

3

THE LAWYER FROM ARRAS

NEITHER youthful enthusiasm, nor ponderous wrath, nor extravagant blood-lust could incorporate the whole spirit, the true spirit, of the French revolution; and its real features can be discerned just as little in the intoxicated excitement of a Desmoulins, as in the brutally sensual countenance of a Danton, or in the disordered and insane savagery of a Marat. The French revolu-

tion first found its true visage and its true tongue in Saint-Just and Robespierre, those most fervent apostles of abstraction, who were able to give themselves up wholly to the idea, in a realm divorced from the actualities of life.

The power of these two men depended upon something more than impetuosity, than such frenzy as Marat's; it was the outcome of calculation, resolution, tenacity. For this reason, their will to slay was not likely, as was Desmoulins's and Danton's, to be weakened by compassion after the first outburst, to be annulled by satiety, or to become confused by frenzy. Whatever they did would have the coldness, the thoughtfulness, the rigid certainty and purposefulness of an abstract principle.

As a sinister couple they made their appearance in the arena of the revolution: Saint-Just, a young fellow with a face as gentle as a nun's, who described himself as a student, and was to be described as such in his death-certificate; and his master Robespierre, the "supremely virtuous," the "incorruptible."

An account of the sitting of the Convention at which the king's fate was decided has preserved for us a picture of Saint-Just's influence upon his first auditors in that revolutionary assembly:

"The Convention was gloomily silent when a young man, completely unknown to most of the deputies, for the first time mounted the tribune, with slow steps and a pensive mien. The calm and dispassionate tone of the orator contrasted with the violence of his words no less remarkably than did the girlishness of his youthful and handsome face. His pink and white complexion was framed in long, blond curls. Beneath the low but finely modelled, ivory-tinted forehead were deep blue eyes lit with a serious expression. One might have fancied oneself to be looking at Iphigenia, the virgin priestess of Tauris, had not those eyes had too harsh a glare, and had not the fold between the eyebrows made too formidable an impression. The care with which he was dressed indicated that he must be a man of family, and one sedulous as to his appearance. The only things that gave an impression of eccentricity were the great width of the cravat tied beneath his chin, and the staid carriage of his slender figure. When he turned his head to one side or the other, the whole body turned with it. As imperturbable as the man's aspect was the oration, which was

characterized by a solemn, deliberate coldness; it was as if an icy blast had chilled the Assembly before ever he opened his mouth."

With pitiless logic, this young man urged that a sentence of death should be passed on Louis XVI. But, in the same speech, he sketched the "institutes" of the ideal State which would succeed the Reign of Terror. In accordance with these institutes, he said: "For five years after their birth, children will belong to their mothers, but thenceforward, until the day of their death, they will belong to the Republic. A taste for silence will be inculcated in them, a contempt for the flourishes of rhetoric; they will be the Spartans of the modern world."

Behind this excessively serious youth, who wanted life to be all reason and regulation, stood his master and teacher Robespierre, lean of visage, yellow-complexioned, dry in manner, displaying a fantastic exaggeration of Saint-Just's bleakness and harshness. "His tone was dogmatic and dictatorial," writes Thibaudeau; "his laughter, loud and sardonic." All the descriptions of Robespierre that have come down to us are agreed in emphasizing his impassivity and lifelessness, the persistent tension of his forehead, his mouth, and the muscles of his face. The mask-like rigidity of his motionless features and the hypnotic effect of his aspect were increased by the fact that he continued to powder his hair when powder had gone out of fashion, by the biliousness of his complexion, and by the way in which his small, greenish, sickly eyes gleamed through spectacles. When this man smiled, his smile was a grimace, arousing not cheerfulness, but an inexplicable alarm.

No less sinister than his face was his doll-like figure, short and angular, strange and dandified, in a violet-blue coat with a white frill, light-tinted nankeens, and long white stockings. Standing thus as if his body were strung on wires, moving jerkily, flinging back his head, gesturing with arms and legs, he looked like a marionette. Sometimes his hands, shoulders, and eyelids were affected with convulsive twitchings, so that one might have fancied that the wires with which the puppet was moved were being tweaked. Set apart as he thus was from the world of ordinary human beings, Robespierre's aspect made it seem as if in him the dream of the human automaton had been realized.

When he spoke, it was at great length, but he aroused no vivid

ideas. None of his remarks was original; nothing that he said seemed clear, or the outcome of first-hand observation.

His monotonous voice, which was like that of an old woman, and his strong provincial accent, together with the dry, artificial, stereotyped, and sententious phraseology, made him seem more inhuman.

No doubt he could appeal to the instincts and emotions of the masses, could stir their hatred against their enemies, could induce them to help him in his schemes; but he did these things without the customary artifices of the demagogue. Even the locutions in which he expressed hatred, envy, and vengefulness were cold and over-elaborated. In his mouth, the threat of the guillotine appeared no more than a metaphor; a death-sentence was but an oratorical arabesque; the most passionate outbursts had, one might have fancied, been carefully compounded in accordance with a recipe.

He showed the enthusiasm of a religious zealot in his railings against the atheists and their spokesman Hébert, against the cult of the Goddess of Reason, for he wished to revive faith in God and immortality.

But the "Supreme Being" whose worship he inaugurated, and in front of whose pasteboard image he gravely functioned as high priest, was no less hollow, artificial, abstract, and devoid of real substance than was the Goddess of Reason of the atheists. When he took active measures in support of his faith, and sent the Hébertists to the guillotine, he was moved only by principle. The worship of the Supreme Being was in conformity with the teaching of Rousseau and would (so Robespierre soberly believed) be a valuable instrument in revolutionary tactics.

In Robespierre's personality the inhumanly abstract attained its climax of perfection. Even though Saint-Just could exhibit an arid and soulless countenance, even though in his speeches there was a tone which made his audiences feel as if they were exposed to "an icy blast," still, this apostle of harshness had a delicate, bright-complexioned, boyish countenance and a mellifluous voice. To look at the face and listen to the voice without noting the words made one feel that he must be predestined to please women,

to love and to woo, and that the sinister mask of the terrorist had been laboriously assumed.

Saint-Just the student, before he set himself a superhuman task in the arid world of political figments, had been subject to the poetical enthusiasms of the ordinary youths of his age, had frequented taverns that rang with laughter, had led the life of a young man of taste and fashion. Maximilien Robespierre, on the other hand, whose monotonous voice and expressionless features seemed to have been designed by nature to embody the ultimate of abstraction, was, we learn from the records of his boyhood, a "model lad" who never gave free rein to his passions.

"He spoke little, and always in a decided and self-confident tone," says Abbé Proyart, one of his schoolmasters. "Although eager to attract notice, when notice was vouchsafed him he accepted it with an expression of chill modesty."

Like most of his schoolfellows, Robespierre tried his hand at poetry, but his verses are stiff, dry, unmelodious, and devoid of feeling.

After leaving school he applied himself with great industry to the study of law. His personal conduct remained exemplary and was always mechanically regulated. Day after day he rose early, dressed with care, drank a glass of milk, devoted himself to his studies throughout the day, and in the evening read more law-books or else the writings of Rousseau. He never got drunk, never stayed out late. Excesses, pleasures, women, friends, were of no interest to him and never distracted him for a moment from the course of life he had laid down for himself.

Thus, when the revolution of abstract reason needed a leader in conformity with its own innermost spirit, all that it had to do was to summon this puritanical lawyer from his provincial nook, to make him devote his little life to the service of its great idea, and to equip him with the necessary authority. It was not long before the seemingly insignificant lawyer from Arras, the man who every morning drank his glass of milk, who every evening read his Rousseau, who loved no women and had no friends, was to prove the most perfect incarnation of all that the will of the epoch needed for the fulfilment of its task.

Thus summoned by history to represent the idea of the revolu-

tion, Robespierre could remain exactly what he had been. The fewness of his wants, his indifference to the allurements of life, made of him the great "incorruptible" that was required. "It would be a waste of time," said Mirabeau, "to try to bribe Robespierre. The man has no needs; he is sober to the core and his habits are too simple!"

In Paris, when at the height of his power, he lived as modestly as he had lived in Arras. The room he rented in the Rue Saint-Honoré, in the house of the master-carpenter Duplay, was lighted by only one window, giving upon the roof of his landlord's workshop, and was furnished with a plain deal writing-table, a few cane chairs, a deal bookshelf, and a bed whose blue silk coverlet had been made out of one of Madame Duplay's discarded evening dresses.

During the five years of his life in Paris, Robespierre, dictator of France, had only three new coats made. He hardly ever went into society, and seldom received friends in his own room. He ruled the republic in retirement from his deal writing-table.

While all his comrades-at-arms founded families and had, in addition, many extra-conjugal love affairs, the dictator's association with women was almost exclusively confined to a ceremonial exchange of courtesies with his host's daughter, an elderly, ill-favoured old maid.

One evening, when on the way home from the Convention, Robespierre borrowed six francs from a colleague, remarking that he wanted to visit a brothel. Next day all Paris was talking of this extraordinary incident, and congratulating itself on having for the first and only time detected the "supremely virtuous" man in a human weakness.

Just as at Arras, so now in Paris, he avoided any close ties, "keeping at a distance even those with whom he was most intimate." But what in the provinces had seemed the whim of an eccentric became in the capital the most important prerequisite for the faithful discharge of the commission he had received from history. Only a man who knows nothing of the warmth of life, only one who remains estranged from the feelings, can with impunity commit any and every atrocity for the sake of principle.

Concerning Desmoulins, who had been his schoolfellow, Robes-

pierre remarked in the early days of the revolution: "Worthy Camille! He loves me with the warmth of a schoolmate. If I ever have to put him to the test, I am sure he will not be found wanting!" Yet Robespierre had "worthy Camille" sentenced to the guillotine as soon as his sometime schoolfellow's soft-hearted plaints concerning the Reign of Terror seemed to endanger the carrying out of the revolutionary idea.

Early in 1793, Robespierre wrote to Danton: "Nothing but death can weaken my affection for you!" Yet long ere this he had been taking careful note of every suspicious action, every incautious word of the "Cyclops"; and in April 1794 he ruthlessly sent this friend also to the guillotine.

Robespierre, while still at Arras, resigned the post of criminal judge in the circuit on the ground that his convictions would not allow him to sentence a malefactor to death. As member of the Committee of Public Safety in the early days, he strongly protested against experiments with a recently invented quick-firing gun, declaring that the use of such a weapon conflicted with the principles of humanity.

The same man had no hesitation in sending his best friends day after day to the guillotine, and he established a Reign of Terror under which there were sometimes hundreds of executions in one batch. Yet this did not mean that there was any contradiction, that there had been any change in his character. He was the same from first to last. For his determination in Arras not to sign a death-sentence, his protest against the use of a quick-firing gun, and his subsequent inauguration of the Reign of Terror, had nothing to do with human feelings. It was on "principle" that, earlier, he had protested against capital punishment, and it was on principle, later, that he made a lavish use of it. The revolution had taught him to revise many of his former theories, convincing him that, for the performance of his great task, it was necessary "to make virtue supreme by the instrument of terror."

Virtue and morality were, by Robespierre the dictator, enforced in the name of reason. In this matter, he showed himself no less aggressive, no less savage, no less intolerant, than the puri-

tan dictators. He was haunted by the dread of impulse, even as were Savonarola, Calvin, and Knox.

For into the edifice of the new world-order, the same dread of impulse had found its way which had been driven out when religion was driven out—to return disguised as a utilitarian or rationalist ethic. The children of the Enlightenment showed themselves no less willing to submit to the despotism of virtue than had the religious-minded citizens of Geneva or Edinburgh; and the galleries of the Convention vied with the most pious church congregations in their ecstatic admiration of the leader who could boast his own incorruptibility and his ascetic abstinence from the lusts of the flesh.

How closely Robespierre's nature harmonized with the thoughts and sensibilities of his time is most plainly manifested by the way in which this leader devoid of charm, this orator who lacked oratorical gifts, continued to exercise a powerful influence upon his hearers.

Whenever he gave one of his dry, tedious, commonplace addresses, loud sobs were heard from the public. Women looked at his frigid mask as if he had been as handsome as a Greek god; they wrote him love-letters, offering him hand and worldly possessions. When he appeared among his female disciples, they thronged round him and crowned his brow with oak-leaves. Once a young mother elbowed her way to him through the crowd and placed her baby in his arms, imploring him to bless it. Numbers of Parisian ladies wore, attached to a chain round their necks, instead of an image of one of the saints, a locket containing Robespierre's likeness.

Nor were men exempt from the fascination he exercised. A citizen of Annecy wrote to the dictator: "I want to surfeit my eyes and my heart with the sight of your countenance. Then my spirit, inflamed by your republican virtues, will bring back to my home the fire with which you kindle all true republicans. Your writings are full of a glowing breath which is a cordial to me."

The children of this age of the Enlightenment showed as boundless a confidence in the redeeming power of reason as had the millenarians of an earlier day in the coming of a messiah. Nay,

more, the French revolutionists' faith in reason actually led to the idolization of their political leader.

"His reputation for strictness borders on sanctity. He talks of God and providence, calls himself the friend of the destitute and the weak, accepts the homage of women and the poor in spirit, taking their veneration and their prayers seriously." Such was Condorcet's characterization of the nature and the influence of Robespierre, and he added that the dictator had all the qualities that would fit him to become the founder of a sect.

In very truth, there formed round Robespierre, towards the end, a circle of enthusiasts, who prayed to him, the apostle of reason, as if he were the Saviour come back to earth. An elderly woman named Catherine Théot, who at one time, like the old maid Joanna Southcott, had believed herself pregnant with the messiah, now interpreted her visions in the sense that the expected redeemer had been reincorporated in Robespierre. A number of people accepted her delusion as truth.

Throughout life, Robespierre remained a devotee of abstraction. This worship had guided him in his every deed; it had led him to giddy heights; and it was in the end to bring about his destruction. In the decisive hour of the famous Ninth Thermidor, when triumph or failure depended upon speedy and vigorous decisions, his capacities were paralysed by logical and juristic hair-splittings.

The Convention had risen in revolt against Robespierre, but the Parisian mob was on his side. Robespierre was to issue a proclamation from the Commune of Paris to the masses, and his friends expected that this ukase would have a profoundly revolutionary effect. But, before taking up his pen, Robespierre inquired thoughtfully in the name of what legally established body he was to sign the pronunciamento.

"In the name of the Convention, of which we are members!" exclaimed Saint-Just.

Robespierre pushed away the quill. He could not sign in the name of the Convention. This would be legally incorrect, since the majority of the Convention had voted against him. The appeal must be issued in the name of the French people.

While the debate was going on in the Hôtel de Ville, by torch-



LOUIS-PHILIPPE
(Caricature by Daumier)



VOLTAIRE AND HIS CIRCLE *(From a Contemporary Drawing)*

light the dictator's enemies were gathering an armed force against him. By the time Robespierre had made up his mind to sign "in the name of the French people," soldiers and gendarmes under the orders of the Convention had forced their way into the room. The dictator was wounded by a pistol-shot when he had written no more than "Ro——". A few hours later, his neck was severed on the guillotine.

4

A VOICE FROM A MADWOMAN'S CELL

TWENTY-FIVE years had passed since the death of Robespierre and the fall of his visionary realm of abstract ideas. In the interim, Paris had seen the Directory, the Empire, the Restoration, and the Hundred Days. Now a Bourbon monarch was once more on the throne, and it might almost seem as if all that the repatriated aristocrats had experienced since 1789 had been no more than a nightmare. King, court, and government were busied in expunging the last traces of this abominable quarter of a century.

Liberty and equality no longer prevailed even on the distant island of Santo Domingo, for already, under the Consulate, France had begun to repent of the gift to the blacks by which her richest colony had been handed over to the rule of ex-slaves. The reconquest of Santo Domingo had become the earnest desire of the nation which, a few years earlier, had given the idea of the Rights of Man the preference over its commercial interests and the well-being of the white planters. There had been a general, eager, passionate determination to rob the Negroes of their claims to common humanity and to degrade them once more to the status of chattels, of things.

Indeed, the liberated blacks, equipped with the Rights of Man and made the equals of the whites, had found nothing better to do than to re-establish inequalities among themselves. Toussaint's successor, the sometime "marron" Dessalines, had, like the great Napoleon, made himself an emperor—Emperor of Haiti. The

slaves, grown rich, drove about in their own carriages, imitating the manners of their former masters; their wives demanded humble service from women whose skins were of the same colour as their own, treated them with contempt, and often inflicted cruel punishment on them. Everything that had made slavery intolerable before had come back again, with the only difference that the blacks were oppressed by their own people instead of by whites.

When the Empire had been overthrown in Paris by the Bourbon Restoration, in Santo Domingo, Christophe—formerly a slave, then Toussaint's right-hand man—had for some years been reigning as king under the name of Henry I. The black ruler, who wore a red frock-coat richly trimmed with gold braid, had created a black nobility, a "Duke of Marmalade," a "Duke of Lemonade," a "Prince of Asparagus"—and had made these worthies viceroys of his provinces.

King Henry built no fewer than twenty-one palaces; and then, on one of the highest mountains in the island, he wished to commemorate his reign by the erection of a huge fortress, La Ferrière.

Twenty thousand Negroes perished during the completion of this task, for it was killing work, beneath the lash under a tropical sun, to drag hundreds of big guns up the steep crags. When everything was finished, the king had those among the workmen who knew the secrets of the place garrotted; and with his own august hands he pushed over a precipice the mulatto engineer who had drawn up the plans.

In Paris, as in Haiti, the privileges of the nobility and the clergy had been restored; once again there were masters and servants, a privileged and an unprivileged class. Everything was as of yore; the slogans of the revolution had been forgotten.

Only in one of the cells of the Salpêtrière there could still be heard, from time to time, in animal-like howlings or in ghostly, monotonous chatter, confused utterances about equality, liberty, and the Rights of Man. The words gushed forth more and more impetuously as the days went by, until at length they declined into an unmeaning, inarticulate mutter.

Within the narrow, gloomy cell stood a woman, barefooted,

half-naked, her grey ringlets hanging down to her shoulders. It was she who monotonously delivered the stammering revolutionary orations, summoning to a renewed attack against the Bastille, which had long since been razed to the ground, the thousands who appeared as phantoms before her disordered vision.

Next she would spread her legs wide apart, as if riding upon a cannon; would lift her lean arms as though waving encouragement to the unseen sansculottes and fishwives; and then, with fearful shrieks, she would dash herself against the wall of her cell, to sink at last, bruised and exhausted, on the floor.

Day after day, year after year, from morning till night, she continued her passionate appeals. For a quarter of a century, now, Demoiselle Théroigne de Méricourt had been pent in this asylum, lonely and forgotten, the only person who still remained true to the great revolution.

. . As a child she had herded her father's cows in the fields near Liége. At sixteen she had entered the service of a wealthy lady who took her to England. A gentleman had seduced her and then left her in the lurch. Disillusioned and humiliated, she had made her way to Paris, arriving there just at the time when the watchwords of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity were being sounded, and when women no less than men had begun to battle for their rights.

Feeling that her own disappointment in love and her desertion by her lover were but trifles in comparison with the overwhelming distresses from which mankind was now about to be freed once for all, Théroigne promptly made up her mind to disregard thoughts of personal happiness and to devote herself unstintingly to the furtherance of the great ideals voiced by the revolution.

At this time the Constituent Assembly was drafting the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. At first Théroigne found it hard to grasp the meaning of a word in the debate, for the deputies used so many classical quotations; nevertheless, from her place in the gallery, she did her best to follow the speeches. In the evening she diligently studied the writings of Rousseau, Montesquieu, and Helvétius, to guide her in the understanding of what she had been listening to all day.

On one occasion she descended from her perch in the gallery, thrust her way on to the floor of the hall, and, with flaming cheeks, proceeded to tell the deputies her own thoughts and feelings about this matter of the Rights of Man. She was vociferously applauded. Everyone admired the handsome girl who could speak so enthusiastically, and who had "a figure like that of a pagan goddess."

An eye-witness of her outburst in the Assembly writes: "One might have believed her to be a boy of seventeen, dressed up as a young woman. She is beautiful, extremely piquant, with flashing eyes, clear-cut features, a good complexion undisfigured by make-up, and nut-brown hair which she does not powder; excellent teeth; in a word a very attractive young woman."

Wearing a helmet, pike in hand, proud of aspect and laughing merrily, this brown-haired Demoiselle Théroigne was, soon afterwards, seated astride of a cannon drawn by two cart-horses. Some were reminded of the Maid of Orleans; others thought, rather, of the statue of Pallas Athene. She was in command of a detachment of women, leading them to storm the enemy's bastions.

Paris could feast its eyes on her daily; she was always on hand where there was a crowd—in the public squares, behind the barricades, at scenes of slaughter. It was she who, at Versailles, had disarmed the Flanders regiment. Fearlessly she strode down the ranks of the soldiers, bandying words with them, hugging them to her patriotic breast, and softly drawing their muskets out of their hands. Having been promoted to the rank of commissioned officer, she hastened to Liége to rouse the populace there against the invading Austrians. Soon she was back in Paris, to participate in the march on Versailles, returning in front of the triumphant women who were carrying the heads of the palace guardsmen on their pikes.

But the revolution of Reason has laws of its own; these laws demand that such men as Desmoulins and Danton, grown weary of murder, shall be executed as traitors, and a similar fate threatened Théroigne de Méricourt, the Amazon of the Revolution, la belle Liégeoise, the Fury of the Gironde. Her idea of the Rights of Man grew sentimental and romantic; she became soft and feminine; leaning upon the arm of the poet Joseph Chénier, she forgot her-

self so far as to beg for the lives of the unhappy Switzers of Château-Vieux, and to preach love and moderation from the steps of the Tuileries.

The members of the Société Fraternelle, the "gorgons" of the revolutionary women's clubs, who, in their intolerance, so perfectly incorporated the spirit of the revolution, determined to make their former comrade pay for her defection from the great campaign of slaughter. Waylaying her in the street, they railed at her as a harlot and a traitress, tore handfuls of hair from her scalp, stripped her naked, and flogged her in sight of a blatantly rejoicing mob.

From that day onward, Théroigne's spirit was broken. She never recovered her mental balance, and had to be confined in the Salpêtrière. For a quarter of a century she lived there, a piece of human wreckage, mouthing the phrases and dreaming the dreams of the revolution, while in the outer world Robespierre fell, Napoleon reigned, the Allies victoriously invaded France, Louis XVIII ascended the throne, and even the Negroes of Santo Domingo ended their brief experience of liberty by building the gloomy fortress of La Ferrière.

V

Earthly Harmony

THE PURIFIED REVOLUTION

NOTWITHSTANDING all its horrors, the revolution was the true cause of our moral renovation. In like manner, when the soil has been enriched by the most evil-smelling manure, it will bring forth the finest plants. Men can delay the advance of this movement at the start, and can sometimes arrest it, but they cannot destroy its springs."

Napoleon passed more than one such judgment upon the spirit of that French revolution whose political forms he had himself smashed. As First Consul, as Emperor, and later when in exile on St. Helena, he often spoke of the "great and splendid truths," the "sublime principles," of the revolution, which would last "for ever."

"We have transfigured them with glory, surrounded them with miracles, they have already become immortal. They live in Great Britain, illuminate America, are the property of the French people. The light of the world will radiate from this three-armed candelabrum."

To bear this same "light of the world" into all lands, into Italy and Poland, into Germany and Spain, even into Byzantium and Egypt and Hindustan; and also to pass it down to coming generations—that was what, again and again, Napoleon declared to have been his mission.

"These truths must become the religion of every nation. No matter what may be said, this memorable era will remain inseparably associated with my name, for I kindled its light, brightened its beginnings, and now my persecutors have made me for all time its messiah. When I have passed away, I shall still, for the nation, be the star of their rights."

The French people, and no less all the other nations inspired with revolutionary ideas, did actually acclaim as the great hero who would effect the conquest of liberty for the world this man

who described himself as "the first soldier of the revolution," and who declared his aim to be the introduction of a "system of universal equality."

Even his coronation, which many of his supporters regarded as a betrayal, was far from being a complete breach with the revolution. As emperor, Napoleon wished only to be "commissioner of the nation," and not to be ruler by God's grace.

To quote his own words: "I have become emperor, not in virtue of the consecrated oil poured from the sacred ampulla, but through the revolutionary will of the people." In contradistinction to other monarchs, who regarded their territories as private property bestowed upon them by God, and who described themselves as respectively "king of England," "of Prussia," "of Spain," or "emperor of Austria," Napoleon styled himself "emperor of the French."

Just as Louis XIV identified himself with the State, so did Napoleon identify himself with the revolution. "I am the revolution," he said; "my will is the will of the people, my rights are theirs."

Nor did France cease to regard him as the fulfiller of the revolution. "Long live the Emperor! Long live the Revolution!" were the shouts with which peasants armed with hatchets, pitchforks, lances, and torches welcomed him on his return from Elba, to the accompaniment of the singing of the "Marseillaise."

As "Robespierre on horseback" he rode to Paris, overthrew the restored monarchy by God's grace, and immediately abolished feudal titles of nobility. The Hundred Days of Napoleon were the Hundred Days of the "restored revolution."

On the voyage to St. Helena, he bitterly remarked that the European powers had made war, not against him, Napoleon, but against the revolution. One of the aforetime Jacobin comrades of Robespierre declared: "For the sake of the honour and the welfare of France, I cannot doubt that Napoleon's cause, despite everything, was the cause of the revolution."

While making himself the advocate of revolutionary ideas, Napoleon, at the same time, modified these ideas considerably. It was reserved for him to advance from abstract revolutionary slogans to concrete realizations of actual life.

The men of 1789 had doubtless endeavoured to replace "God" by "Reason"; but this "Reason" of theirs had remained an abstraction, no less animistic and impalpable than the ancient idea of God—no less a "dispensation," no less "past finding out."

The revolution was the child of the French Enlightenment, which had had no understanding of or interest in concrete reality. Hippolyte Taine has pointed out that in the works of such writers as Diderot, Montesquieu, Helvétius, and Holbach there is not a word about pecuniary relationships, no trace of applied statistics, there are no data concerning the management of landed property, concerning trials in the law-courts, or concerning marriages. "Everything," writes Taine, "which has to do with the province and the village, the bourgeoisie and commerce, the army and the clergy, justice and police, industry and domestic economy, is either obscure or erroneous; and to find anything valuable about these matters we must turn to that amazing person Voltaire, when he doffs his classical dress in order to let himself go."

Like the "general welfare" proclaimed so enthusiastically by Rousseau and his disciples, so also the "liberty" for whose sake Saint-Just and Robespierre established the Reign of Terror had remained a purely formal acquisition in a void; it brought nothing or very little of tangible value to a suffering citizen, oppressed by anxieties and cares. Those who spoke so solemnly about the Rights of Man were little concerned to bestow them upon actual human beings.

Napoleon, on the other hand, who detested abstractions, and whose contemptuous use of the word "ideology" has stamped it with a derogatory significance, did not wish to use his power (after the Jacobin fashion) in order to make a fictive "mankind" happy with theoretical "Rights of Man." He aimed, in the "burial-ground of reason," to construct a new order that would be actually living, to give individual citizens genuine liberty, freedom of occupation, security of property, and to provide people, common people, with unhindered opportunities for ascent in the social scale.

"Careers open to persons of talent, regardless of birth or wealth!" This was the principle in which Napoleon made concrete the abstract doctrine of equality. In fact, it was the Code

Napoléon, which Bonaparte's conquests carried into Italy, Belgium, Holland, Poland, and the western parts of Germany, that established there, as well as in France, the fundamental legal principles of equality before the law, religious freedom, security of person and of property.

Thus, while the abstract slogans of the revolution were no longer heard anywhere but in the Salpêtrière, in the crazy mutterings of Théroigne de Méricourt, the revolutionary ideas themselves, clarified in the purgatory of reality, and transferred from the domain of abstraction to that of real life, became a formative power, in the decade that followed the revolution, as the ideas of liberalism.

Napoleon, who was the first to make a practical attempt to realize some of the important constituents of liberalism, was able, looking back upon his record, to say truthfully: "I closed the abyss of anarchy; I introduced order into chaos; I purified the revolution."

Whereas in most European countries liberal reforms grew out of the legislation which Napoleon had enforced on them with his armies, Prussian liberalism was the outcome of a protest, of a reaction, against the Napoleonic dominion. This Prussian liberalism was not, like the liberal trend in other continental countries, a mere imitation of the French example; rather did it arise in conflict with the Napoleonic hegemony, arise out of a defensive movement, and it therefore had its own peculiar political and spiritual antecedents. It was this unique causation which gave Prussian liberalism its unique character, and to Prussia herself her unique position in the history of liberalism.

Baron vom Stein, who paved the way for the revolt of Prussia and for the formation of the anti-Napoleonic alliance, and thus became the creator of Prussian liberalism, had, for forty years before being summoned to become chief minister of the Prussian State, been busied in provincial administrations as a mining councillor, as a statistician, and as a financial director. He was granted only one year in which to carry out his scheme of reform, but this year sufficed to change Prussia from a feudal into a modern State.

Admirable was the breadth of vision shown by this man hitherto

accustomed to narrow provincial horizons. It may well be that his keen grasp of the needs of his nation was the outcome of his familiarity with petty, concrete, and near-at-hand details. After all, is not a nation an aggregate of a very large number of minor persons; of peasants, handicraftsmen, gentlemen, and officials, with their petty needs and demands? Was it not natural that one who had made himself so closely acquainted with the needs and demands of the average individual should have a deep insight into the needs and demands of the State as a whole?

In a period when a large part of German territory was completely under the thumb of the revolutionary French neighbour, Baron vom Stein, like every German of his day, had to come to terms with the ideas of the Rights of Man, liberty, and equality. But this Prussian official, a provincial, whose neighbours were peasants and serfs of low degree, was never carried off his feet by the intoxication of the abstractions concerning world redemption. He rubbed shoulders with the concrete human beings whose concrete affairs he had to administer. What he had to think about was concrete rights, concrete troubles; and, thanks to the intimate knowledge he had in these domains, he could not but regard the "grand future of mankind," about which the world was waxing so enthusiastic, as the sort of flapdoodle which Napoleon stigmatized as "ideology." As far as Stein could control things, the State would not be constructed abstractly or rationalistically, but would be established upon the basis of a careful observation of actual political developments.

When the word "liberty" came into his mind, he was soberly thinking about the legally restricted and regulated civic freedom of the Prussian subject, and not of any abstract right of self-determination which is the privilege "of all entitled to call themselves human beings." What he expected from innovations was reform, not revolution, not radical reconstruction such as the French revolutionists and their admirers looked for.

Continuing as minister of State to preserve the provincial outlook directed towards insignificant realities, Stein was able to spare the Prussian monarchy such a revolution as that which in France had to be drenched in blood before it could effect the ad-

vances which Stein effected straight away with his administrative-technical "revolution from above."

This revolution from above was, in fact, so brought about that even those whose privileges it reduced had no sense of injustice. Although Stein recognized the need for adaptation to the social and political changes of the time, he loathed the "vague and cloudy phantasmagoria of ideas" whose devotees wished to put abstract principles in the place of structures that had been the slow outcome of historic growth.

Harmonious co-operation between crown, nobility, and commons, without irreconcilable opposition and struggle for power among the estates—such was the notion that dominated his dealings and measures. General von Marwitz, therefore, gained no echo from his audience when, at a meeting of the Prussian nobility, he declared that Stein was nothing better than a masked revolutionist and Jacobin.

By the time Stein had been in control for a year, Prussia had become a State whose structure had been modified in accordance with the demands of the epoch, and in which the aristocrats, nevertheless, still had their heads on their shoulders, and were in a position (those among them who were efficient) to go on playing a great part in political life.

Determined to link his innovations on to what had been handed down from the past, and only to sweep away the defective and the untenable, Stein held the view that the nobility formed a valuable section of the commonwealth, and would have important tasks in the upbuilding of the new society; they would have this, indeed, insofar as they actively participated in the development of what was to come. They must not be allowed to petrify into a sterile and secluded caste.

The same will to innovation in a man who was never the slave of abstraction but was always thinking about practical Prussian realities guided the reformer in drafting the famous edicts concerning economic freedom of movement, the free use of landed property, and town government. From his experience among petty provincials he had learned that everyone who "earns, produces, and enjoys himself" does these things also "for the advan-

tage of others"; and, therefore, like the French "purifier of the revolution," like the great emperor whom he so cordially detested, he insisted that careers must be open to all persons of talent. That was why he did his utmost to sweep away feudal and traditional obstacles to the acquirement of wealth proportional to individual capacity. He abolished the classification of the bourgeoisie into guilds and classes, granted free choice of occupation, provided for the freedom of internal trade, and made an end of hereditary serfdom among the peasants.

Stein, moreover, was the first to recognize the greatness of an evil which Napoleon had simply ignored, and whose magnitude even the realist English had never fully understood. He was the first to declare war against the bureaucracy of officialdom, whose life-destroying formalism is at least as heavily burdened with "dark forces" as is the feudal State.

During his lengthy experience of provincial administration, he had seen much of the torment which townsmen and peasants had to suffer at the hands of the bureaucracy; and with all the violence of a passionate temperament he raged against "the official class divorced from practical life" which, instead of doing real work, spent its days in mysterious scribblings.

"Salaried, book-learned, uninterested, propertyless—these four words embody the spirit of our own and similar soulless governmental machines: salaried, with the result that the whole endeavour is directed towards keeping and increasing the salary; book-learned, that is to say living in a world of written letters, and not in the real world; uninterested, for they are not in touch with any of the citizen classes which really do the work of the State, but form a caste apart, the caste of pride; propertyless, this meaning that the movements which affect property do not affect them, no matter whether it rains or the sun is shining, whether taxes rise or fall, whether traditional rights are destroyed or left intact. . . . The members of our scribes' caste care for none of these things, for they receive their salaries out of the State treasury, and write, write, write, in their quiet offices, behind well-closed doors, unknown, unnoticed, unfamed, and bring up their children to become writing-machines like themselves!"

Stein tried to replace this book-learned, uninterested officialdom

by a new administration that was to grow spontaneously out of the people and was to be bound to it by living ties—so that the State should not "cease when you get down to the lord-lieutenant," but should enter into organic ties with the lowest of its citizens.

The people must grow accustomed to co-operating in the administration "in the factual sense of the word co-operation"—"the intrusive intervention of the State authorities in private and municipal affairs must come to an end," we read in one of Stein's memorials during the year 1807; "the place of this must be taken by the activity of the citizen, of one who does not live amid forms and on paper, but acts vigorously, because circumstances immerse him in the realities of life, and call him to participate in the whirl of human affairs."

With sure instinct, Napoleon realized that this Prussian minister was a menace to his grip upon Prussia, and therefore he brutally insisted upon Stein's dismissal, after the latter had been only a year in office. Nevertheless, what Stein wanted to achieve had been achieved; the great revolutionary watchwords had been applied to practical human life, and this was too fully in accordance with the whole trend of contemporary development for his work to be frustrated by the withdrawal of his hand from the helm.

Stein was succeeded by Hardenberg, who was by no means well disposed towards his predecessor. All the same, Hardenberg's administration was but the continuance of Stein's. Beyond their personal rivalries and disagreements, the two men joined forces in the common task of the day, and it was inevitable, therefore, that one should complete what the other had begun.

Hardenberg, too, held that what had been theoretically proclaimed by the French revolution and had been practically realized by Napoleon—the liberation of the people from traditional shackles—must be effected in Prussia from above downwards. With no less firmness than Stein, consequently, he inaugurated freedom of occupation, purified the administrative apparatus from bureaucratic formalism, and restricted the privileges of the nobility.

The "new system" was, to quote Hardenberg's own words, to rest on this, "that every inhabitant of the State was to be individually free to develop his powers and to use them without being

hindered therein by the arbitrary act of another; that no one should one-sidedly have to bear the burden, for all must bear burdens in common, and with an equal load; that equality before the law must be secured for every subject, and that justice must be strictly and punctually administered; and that merit, in whatever estate it might show itself, should be able to rise freely."

Under the reforms of Stein and Hardenberg, Prussia experienced a speedy growth of economic and financial prosperity, and the spread of self-government down to the lowest strata of the population aroused the declining sense of the State to new life.

Meanwhile Baron vom Stein had fled to Russia, to become adviser to Tsar Alexander. Largely owing to his activities, the friendship between Alexander and Napoleon turned to mistrust and mutual hatred, and Russia became allied with England, the Corsican's deadly foe. It was therefore a personal triumph for Stein when, in the year 1813, at the head of a troop formed from German refugees, he was able to march into Königsberg, and thus give the signal for the liberation of Prussia from French dominion.

2

GREATEST HAPPINESS OF THE GREATEST NUMBER

NAPOLEON and the most notable among his adversaries were agreed in their fundamental liberalism, and this alone is enough to show the vigour of liberalism as early as the opening of the nineteenth century. It would seem as if the great political revolutions of this epoch had been mainly designed to plough the soil and to clear away the vestiges of the old social order, so that the world might be reconstructed in accordance with liberal principles.

England, however, was the birthplace of liberal ideas; for in England, since the struggle of the puritans and the independents on behalf of their faith, medieval and hierarchical conceptions had had to yield place to a new and freer thought and philosophy.

James II had been the last representative of autocratic rule by divine right. He was overthrown by a popular revolution, and William of Orange was installed in his place, ruling jointly with Mary, the deposed king's daughter. The new monarchs were presented with a Declaration of Rights by which there was realized in practice the idea of popular sovereignty which such English philosophers as Hobbes and Locke had theoretically elaborated in previous decades.

"Herein lies our good fortune," writes a contemporary of this "glorious revolution" of 1688, "that our kings no less than ourselves are subject to the laws, that when they infringe the laws they undermine the foundation of their own power and greatness; with the result that our constitution is not arbitrary but legal, our government is not absolute but constitutional, and we are justified in congratulating ourselves on being better protected against despotism than other nations."

No less than the liberal conception of the State, the liberal idea of the contemplation of all social and economic happenings in the light of their effect upon concrete individual human beings was a product of the English spirit. As far back as the thirteenth century, Roger Bacon had declared that the created world must be studied, not in relation to God or revelation, but "per se ipsum," in its concrete reality. Ever since, the English have been conspicuously realist, have exhibited a great mistrust for abstractions.

Of course I use the word "realist" here in the modern sense, and not in the medieval significance of a belief in the "reality of universals." It was from another Englishman, William of Occam, that, in the fourteenth century, was derived the "nominalist" trend of scholasticism—a denial of the reality of universals, of general ideas. According to Occam and his followers, only concrete individual things have true substantiality. Occam, therefore, regarded both political and economic life as the sum-total of the individual aims of individuals who willed to achieve these aims. He repudiated the conception of a far-reaching teleology to which the individual must be subordinated.

At the opening of the new epoch, when thought was emancipating itself from the trammels of theology, Francis Bacon extolled science as the means by which man could learn to control

natural forces for his own purposes. Even so "spiritualist" a thinker as Berkeley maintained that "all investigations concerning numbers are but tedious trifling, except insofar as they further the practice and the advantage of life."

It has ever been the English way (or perhaps I should say the British way, since the Scots have also contributed notably to this practical realism) to estimate the worth of ideas and institutions according as they affect individuals. It is from the individual's standpoint that every happening is judged, and it is with an eye to individual advantage that the British seek to organize the world. But when we study the development of British thought in these matters, it soon becomes plain that the "concrete human being" who, from the days of Roger Bacon and Occam onward, has been in the centre of the field, is, above all, an "economic man"; and that, among the wants which human beings have to satisfy, economic wants take the first place. That was why the British became the founders of a new and important branch of science, political economy, or, as it is now more generally called, economics.

When medieval thinkers touched upon economic problems, they did so only from their universalist outlook, according to which individual happenings are but fragments in the mosaic of a huge cosmos, of a world-order which culminates in God. Thus Thomas Aquinas, although he was a pioneer in recognizing what we now call economics as a special branch of ethical valuations, could not admit that economic happenings have a real and independent existence of their own; in his view, they were subordinate instruments for the working out of a transcendental purpose.

Consequently the economic doctrine of the schoolmen remained a part of ethics. For them, political economy was a moral and theological affair; the questions with which it was concerned related only to the moral quality of particular economic actions; even the justification for, and the amount of, taxation was studied from religious and ethical viewpoints, and was brought into relationship with the supra-mundane aims of the State.

Whether, and under what provisos, the taking of usury or interest was compatible with Christian doctrine; how much profit could be added to the price of wares without risk of falling into sin; what commercial practices were permitted by the canon law,

and what were forbidden—these were the problems which the theologically thinking economists among the schoolmen attempted to solve.

Then, in the days of absolute monarchy, rulers and statesmen came to believe that the economic situation of their respective countries depended upon the working of definite laws; these laws must be elucidated by a careful study of the processes, which found numerical expression in the balance of trade and in the yield of taxation; guided by such knowledge, those in authority might intervene to modify the course of economic events. But the apostles of the new "mercantile system" were as little interested as the moral theologians had been in the wealth and wellbeing of the economic individual as such. If those whose minds were dominated by the religious spirit had referred everything to other-worldly aims, the mercantilists referred everything to reasons of State; in both cases alike, the interests of the individual were subordinated to relationships regarded as of higher importance.

But to those who adopted the new liberal outlook, the domain of political economy seemed a world by itself, set apart equally from religion and from the State—a region whose determinisms were like those of the starry heavens. These determinisms, these laws, were to be studied in order to promote the advantage of individuals. Thus there came into being an economic science which presented itself as an objective system concerned only with concrete human beings, and which would not admit the relevance of the moral and theological concepts of the divine or of the aims of those who wielded political power.

The first thinker to carry these principles to their logical conclusion was the Scottish professor Adam Smith. His comprehensive *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* ignores divine dispensation and ethical valuation as concerns economic happenings, assuming the production and exchange of goods to occur according to laws which are exclusively their own, depending upon the individual's desire for gain.

No matter whether Adam Smith is investigating the history of money, the relation between wages and the output of labour, that between land-rent and the prices of the necessaries of life, or the

effect of the discovery of new continents upon economic moods—he always looks upon the material prosperity of individuals as giving the ultimate significance, and the pursuit of personal advantage as the only cause, of economic activity.

From England had come the ideas which led in France to the Enlightenment and to the revolution; but whereas English philosophers had promptly endeavoured to apply all their theories in the domain of reality, French minds had stopped short at the cloudy concepts of "humanity," "liberty," "reason," "the common weal," lacking courage to shake off, with one vigorous gesture, the age-long fear of animistic powers.

Like those who had been called "realists" in the Middle Ages, the champions of the French revolution ascribed genuine reality to nothing but universals, to abstract ideas, looking upon manifestations in the domain of concrete reality as mere individual instances of the universal. The abstractions which they had discovered in their search for the "type éternel de l'ordre le plus parfait" were, for them, the masters of concrete human beings, perpetually demanding from every individual the sacrifice of liberty, self-determination, and blood.

Through recoil, however, Britain was influenced by the great events that occurred in Paris during 1789, while maintaining intact, nevertheless, her native and traditional empiricism and utilitarianism in defiance of the cold, exsanguine ideology of the French revolutionists.

The English jurist and utilitarian philosopher Jeremy Bentham was the embodiment of this compromise between the British spirit and the French. Outraged by the widespread injustice he had witnessed during his practice at the bar, Bentham, like most of his contemporaries, was extremely sympathetic towards the French revolution in its early days. Believing that the new order would lead to the establishment in France of concrete liberties like those provided by the British parliamentary constitution, he was proud when the Convention made him an honorary citizen of France.

Still, even in 1789, in his *Introduction to the Principles of*

Morals and Legislation, he combated the "generalities" in which the revolutionists across the Channel luxuriated, these being, in Bentham's view, the source of their many mistakes.

When it became plainer and plainer that the revolution was losing itself in a realm of abstractions out of touch with life, and was deducing from these abstractions its right to establish a murderous dictatorship, Bentham turned with loathing from the men of the Reign of Terror.

Himself dismissing vague generalities, he proclaimed a perfectly practicable and comprehensible goal. He did not desire to found a system constructed in accordance with an abstract ideal; he did not look towards some indefinite, future welfare of the race as the aim of social institutions; but desired the utmost possible wellbeing of a preponderant majority of individuals, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number."

The abstract "common weal," which the French revolutionists proclaimed, becomes definite in this formula of Bentham's, inasmuch as it implies the community to be a sum of individuals, and insists that each of these individuals has a right to a real, a material happiness in life. Therein, moreover, the social consciousness takes the first great step that is requisite to advance from the transcendental concepts of abstract reason to consider the needs of separate human beings with their separate sufferings and dreads.

"God was my first thought, reason my second, man my third and last." These words, penned by Ludwig Feuerbach towards the middle of the nineteenth century to describe the development of his own youth, simultaneously describes the evolution of the views of a whole epoch.

In the demand for the "greatest happiness of the greatest number," the old wish-vision of a redeemed world is revived; but this redemptionist dream is here concerned with actual human beings and their real necessities.

So long as man's life was conceived as being interlocked into a huge divine whole, happiness could not be thought of except in relation to higher, to supreme, values. Thus in *Philebus* and in the *Laws,* Plato teaches that happiness consists in the recognition

of the Beautiful and the Good; and he rejects the notion that the material wellbeing of the individual or of the community in itself contains the elements of happiness.

To the question of one of his pupils, whether it was not the business of the State to ensure the welfare of all the citizens, even of simple folk like night-watchmen, potters, and peasants, he replied: "Don't expect us to invite the night-watchmen to such happiness! No doubt we might also deck the peasants out in fine clothes and bespangle them with gold; or we might allow the potters to lie round the fire drinking and making merry; and we might try to promote everyone's happiness—but don't expect us to do so! For if we followed your counsel, the peasant would no longer be a peasant, nor the potter a potter; there would be only one class, whereas it is the existence of classes which makes up the State."

Thus, in Plato's view, happiness does not need to be provided for individual citizens, but accrues to the State as such. All that the individual need trouble about is "becoming the best man at his job"; and if thereby the State is brought into being, it must be left to nature "what share in happiness is allotted to the several classes."

Plato, like most other thinkers of antiquity, believed happiness to be synonymous with the "realization of the soul through virtuous actions," and to be, therefore, totally disconnected from the material conditions of existence. Property is always regarded as nothing more than a means for the attainment of transcendental ends, and is never looked upon as an end in itself.

"Wealth," we read in one of the Platonic dialogues, "is obviously not the Good of which we are in search, since it serves to promote other ends."

If we were to make it our main object to satisfy the physical needs of human beings, we should have, instead of a State, a purely economic community, which would be so devoid of any exalted ideals that Plato describes it as a "swinish State."

Even Aristotle, who was already trying to reduce the Platonic ideal to the level of "that which is seizable or attainable by man," defined happiness as the Good, as "eudaimonia"; whereas he sharply censured the endeavour to secure material goods as "chrem-

atistics" (substantially = money-grubbing). Only the Cyrenaics, the hedonistic school of philosophers founded by Aristippus of Cyrene, which took its final shape in the system of Epicurus, admitted that the gratification of natural inclinations, pleasure, enjoyment, could rank as happiness. Epicurus himself insisted that pleasure must be sought in the spiritual domain, and that material enjoyment should be regulated and restricted. Besides, when Epicureanism began to flourish, ancient philosophy was already approaching its last days; and the Christian doctrine which replaced that philosophy declared, even more emphatically than the Stoics, that happiness was something quite apart from pleasure or from anything material.

"Poor is he," wrote Basil, bishop of Cæsarea and metropolitan of Cappadocia, "who has many needs. Your insatiability is to blame for your having many needs. Insatiability is regardless of time, knows no restrictions, recks naught of consequences, but partakes of the nature of fire in that it seizes and consumes everything."

Thomas Aquinas regards earthly possessions as nothing more than "bona secundum quid," which are desirable only insofar as their possession may be a stage on the way to virtue, and "adjuvamen ad consecutionem vitæ æternæ."

Christian thought is exclusively devoted to man as related to God and the other world; and for a sincere Christian, therefore, happiness can be only in conformity with the divine will, freedom from sin, and the certainty of salvation.

The Enlightenment put an end to this relationship with the other world by turning man's attention towards himself here below; but herein, as in all other respects, it remained abstract in its outlook, so that during this epoch the concept of happiness was one of a "general happiness," a "common weal," to which the individual had to subordinate his own aims and wishes, as, in the Christian scheme, he had to subordinate them to the will of God.

In contrast with these views, the Glasgow philosopher Hutcheson, the Yorkshireman Priestley, and above all the Londoner Bentham now advocated the happiness of the actual individual with his specific needs. "For everyone, his own pleasure and his own freedom from pain is the sole good, his own pain and his own

unfreedom the sole evil. Man's happiness and welfare consist exclusively of pleasurable feelings of whatever kind, and of freedom from pain."

Setting out from this thesis, Bentham succeeded in making "utility" the sole criterion of the value of institutions and actions. "Utility is a clear expression," he maintained, "because it is measured exclusively and directly in terms of pleasure and of pain."

From every individual's claim to the "maximation of happiness," Bentham deduced the principle which, contemporaneously, Napoleon was advocating, "free scope for persons of talent, regardless of the accident of birth!" Every capacity gave its possessor a right to the opportunity for its exercise. The individual's worth and dignity did not depend upon his inborn standing within an aristocratically graded society, but solely upon his personal achievements.

No doubt Benthamite liberalism, in contradistinction to the abstract equalitarian doctrines of the revolution, recognized differences between one human being and another; but they were merely differences of wealth, not differences of origin. Since, moreover, in the last resort, wealth seemed accessible to everyone who knew how to acquire it, there was a possibility of general equality which would level the fixed barriers imposed by social destiny and would open to all a free path to happiness.

Seeing that, moreover, everyone strove to attain the utmost happiness, and thereby to develop all the faculties bestowed on him by nature, he would, in Bentham's view, at the same time promote the happiness of persons in general, inasmuch as there was a harmony between individual happiness and general happiness, between individual interests and the interests of the community at large.

For, just as thinkers of that day had accepted the astro-physical laws of Newton, in whose light they contemplated a "world devoid of miracle or arbitrariness," wherein "the stars moved self-determining in their orbits," mutually influencing one another to promote the harmony of the system as a whole—so, it seemed, in social relationships there was a similar reign of law, without miracle or arbitrariness. Just as the mechanical forces of attrac-

tion and repulsion, in their mutual antagonism, regulate the course of the heavenly bodies to produce a universal harmony; so, according to the liberal faith, attraction and repulsion of individual interests in human society must similarly bring about a harmonious ordering of the whole.

This conception of a harmony of the universe had remained alive in western minds for two thousand years and more, since it had been first formulated by the Pythagoreans. Aristotle wrote of the "harmony of the spheres," a heptachord produced by the planets revolving round the central sun; Nikolaus Cusanus and Kepler had given utterance to a similar notion; and as late as the beginning of the period of the Enlightenment the thought of the cosmic harmony had been vigorously revived in Leibniz's doctrine of monads.

Now, passing from the heavens to earth, the liberals of the latter part of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth were dreaming of a great, all-embracing harmony here below. But whereas Leibniz conceived of this "unitas in multitudine" as "pre-established" by God, and expressly rejected the idea that the individual monads, "which have no windows," could on their own initiative contribute to the harmonious course of the whole, the harmony envisaged by liberalism was the product of the human understanding and of human endeavour. The cosmic-religious conception of a great, divine harmony in which the spheres sang together was replaced by the belief in a human and mundane "harmony of interests," which would secure the greatest possible happiness in this world to the largest number of individuals.

The personal interests of individuals, and free competition among their endeavours, were the two powers which created and maintained this universal harmony. In Bastiat's *Harmonies économiques* (1849), we read: "Personal interest is the invincible force which incites us to progress, to discovery; which continually spurs us on; but which also leads us to monopolize the progress that has been achieved. Competition is that no less invincible humanitarian power which drags progress out of the hands of the individual as soon as he has achieved it, and makes its advantages

part of the common heritage of the great family of mankind. These two forces, by their interaction, bring about social harmony."

This harmony of interests manifests itself through mutual understanding among the various individuals, professions, and classes. The acquisition of wealth, which in earlier days had mostly been effected by force and injustice, must, in future, arise through the reciprocal advantage of all. Ostensible conflicts of interests were to be harmoniously assuaged by open discussions in the press and in public meetings. Nay, more than this, according to the hopes of the liberals, the new way of thinking, spreading beyond the frontiers of the State, would bring about a universal harmonious co-operation among the different peoples of the world; for as soon as it had been generally realized that every nation must be compared to an individual forming part of a great community of nations, a community wherein the advantage of each was advantageous to all, struggles for power among them and internecine wars would come to an end for ever, and a world-wide federation of States would arise as a harmonious whole.

"In human affairs," declared Adam Smith in a speech, "no more is requisite than to allow nature to do her work unhindered, that all may proceed for the best, and the intentions of nature be fulfilled." It will be seen that the fundamental article of faith of the Enlightenment, that man is by nature good and, if freed from oppression and error, cannot fail to act rightly, had been handed down to the liberals and was held by them no less fervently.

The writings which made their way into the world out of Bentham's study had as powerful an effect as the proclamations and decrees of the emperor of the French. "Plundered by everyone," says Talleyrand of the utilitarian thinker, "he remained wealthy." Indeed, the ideas of the British philosopher had a conquering force greater than that of Napoleon's armies, and the peaceful thinker's conquests were more lasting than those of the bellicose emperor.

Above all it was the young nations of South America, which had just begun to achieve independence of thought, that at-

tempted to "purify" their revolutions in the spirit of Napoleonic action and Bentham's constitutional system, to save the idea of equality from the "abyss of anarchy," and to establish the "greatest happiness of the greatest number."

The cotton pocket-handkerchiefs on which the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen had been printed, dispatched a few decades earlier by order of the Constituent Assembly in Paris to every quarter of the world, had aroused a ferment among oppressed races and nationalities from Athens to Lima. Everywhere the declamations of the men of 1789 had been re-echoed, copied, reprinted in roughly cut wooden type.

On September 16, 1810, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, parish priest of Dolores del Laja, in Guanajuato, Mexico, read aloud from his pulpit the Grito de Dolores (a Cry of Pain as well as the Cry of Dolores), the plaint of the Mexican serfs, and thus gave the first signal of revolt against Spanish rule in Mexico—and throughout Spanish America. In Buenos Aires, as in Quito, the Creoles rose against the Spanish colonial government; from the pampas came the gauchos (mounted herdsmen), from the heights of the Andes the Indians raided the low-lying coastal lands; and all these insurgents were clamouring for the Rights of Man. Since then, the plateaux, the primeval forests, and the cities of Central and South America had been in a state of unceasing excitement.

But, just as had happened on French soil, so here, in the New World, the abstract demands of the revolution could only raise a storm, destroy the old, bring about senseless butcheries, and establish Reigns of Terror. French revolutionary experiences were everywhere repeated. In accordance with the slogans that had come from Europe, Rio de Janeiro set up a Committee of Public Safety; in Buenos Aires there was a Directory; in Paraguay, Consuls were appointed; and, here and there, scaffolds sprouted out of the ground.

Gauchos transformed themselves into Dantons and Robespierres. Hardly had one "liberator" made himself chief of the State, when a "restorer" appeared upon the scene to dispute his dominion. And hard upon the latter's heels followed a "defender of the gains of the revolution." Until at length, in nearly every one of these provinces or new countries devastated by civil war,

there had sprung up some preposterous Napoleon of the steppes as "purifier of the revolution" and "orderer of chaos."

These colonies which had broken away from the mother-country, having made themselves responsible for the self-determination of their own political and social conditions, were eager to act in accordance with genuine liberal principles. For, the hot fit of intoxication produced by the sounding Parisian call of the Rights of Man having evaporated, there had succeeded the cold stage of a demand for constitutional government. In no less quantities than the printed cotton handkerchiefs had been scattered in 1789, there were now circulated in the New World copies of Jeremy Bentham's *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation,* which dated from the same year as the Declaration of the Rights of Man. Forty thousand copies of the French translation of this work were sold in the Americas.

The South American statesmen thought it well to submit to Bentham for his personal consideration the new constitutions and legal codes in which the abstract Rights of Man were to be transmogrified into the specific civil rights of Indians, Creoles, and mestizos.

In his large and sumptuously furnished London house, Jeremy Bentham was leading the comfortable life of a well-to-do citizen. Some of the rooms of this house had been fitted up as offices, where the learned man's collaborators and secretaries were busily employed in answering inquiries from across the seas, and in elaborating their Master's constitutional schemes which were to ensure the "greatest happiness of the greatest number" in the boundless pampas, the dark forests, the ice-bound plateaux and the tropical towns of what had been Spanish America.

Simón Bolivar, the heroic fighter for freedom who, in the years from 1812 to 1824, had driven the Spaniards out of Venezuela, New Granada, and Peru, and who now held sway over a domain larger than Europe, had at one time been a disciple of Bentham, for, sprung from a wealthy family in Venezuela, he had been sent to London to complete his education and to absorb the spirit of European culture. Profoundly influenced by Bentham's writings, Bolivar determined to devote his life to the struggle

for the reconstruction of his homeland in accordance with liberal principles.

After his return to Venezuela, he soon took over the leadership of the dispersed rebellions against Spanish rule. From poor bare-footed mestizos and semi-savage Indians, who were almost unarmed, who wore patched breeches and brimless straw hats, were without pay, tents, hospitals, ammunition, and often without bread, Bolivar managed to levy and drill a formidable army which fearlessly waded through the turbid waters of the alligator-infested streams and rivers of Venezuela, crossed the foggy passes of the Andes, fought in the hot-house atmosphere of the plains, or, on ice-cold mountain-tops, battled victoriously against the Spaniards, and—on the march for years in succession, covering immense distances—proved indefatigable and invincible.

At the end of a war which lasted more than ten years, Simón Bolivar had created five independent States, one of which still bears his name today (Bolivia). All these domains, extending from the Pacific Ocean to the Atlantic, were subject to the rule of Bolivar as dictator, but he wished them to be organized in accordance with Bentham's principles. "The basis of popular sovereignty in my States," said Bolivar, when taking over the reins of government, "will be utility, the welfare of every individual, the happiness of the greatest number."

Bolivar did not stand alone in turning for advice to Bentham. From other South American States than those under the Liberator's rule, the post was continually bringing new inquiries and commissions to the quiet London house. Bonifacio de Andrada, prime minister of Emperor Pedro (who had recently ascended the throne of Brazil), asked Bentham's counsel as to the best way of organizing the new monarchy. From Buenos Aires, Bernardino Rivadavia, the dictator, wrote to London again and again for instructions as to the reform of the politics and finances of the republic of Río de la Plata.

In Europe and Africa, too, it became the habit to turn to the famous English utilitarian when there was a constitutional problem to be solved. The Greeks fighting for deliverance from the Turkish yoke asked his help in the drafting of their civil code;

an envoy from the Bey of Tripoli appeared in London and commissioned Bentham to draft a constitution; Tsar Alexander of Russia did not disdain to order his chancellery to get in touch with the London bureau for world reform. Even a State so experienced in matters of liberty as New York based its revised legal code upon Benthamite principles, and the governor of the Quaker State of Pennsylvania got into communication with Bentham about some new legislation.

Whenever, from one of these liberators or dictators or governors in Buenos Aires, New York, Tripoli, or Athens, inquiries came to hand, Bentham began to walk up and down his study, meditating upon the new task. Being a man of musical tastes, he had a piano in every room of his house and, while thus working, he would pause for a moment or two to strike a few chords; then he would sit down to dictate a lengthy but precise legal document which, somewhere on the banks of the River Plate, the Hudson, or the Neva, was to ensure the greatest happiness of the greatest number.

With fleet pens, the zealous staff of collaborators and secretaries inscribed his notions, together with the covering letters to dictators, congresses, and privy councils, for dispatch to remote parts. Whole continents formed their political and social structures in accordance with the directives received from the London bureau. Jeremy Bentham, the "Napoleon of liberal theory," had become legislator of the world, so that he too, in the end, might have said of his achievements: "I closed the abyss of anarchy; I introduced order into chaos; I purified the revolution!"

These various drafts for a constitution were primarily designed, by means of careful checks and safeguards, to prevent the State from tyrannizing over its citizens. In this matter, they gave expression to one of the fundamental principles of liberalism.

For the citizen, who hitherto had often had to defend himself against a State authority enthroned over him and a thousand times more powerful than himself, was now to receive guarantees that the State would no longer arbitrarily interfere with his possessions, his liberty, or his life. To the liberal mind only such an order seemed tolerable as was based upon a mutual contract between the individual and the State. The citizen by pledging him-

self to pay taxes, the State by guaranteeing public tranquillity and order, entered into a rational and perspicuous mutual relationship in which there lingered no vestige of animistic uncertainty.

Thus did liberalism rescue the State from its dependence upon religious and transcendental notions as well as from its reference to some abstract "human purpose" which had been assigned to it by the French revolution. By Benthamite utilitarianism, the State was degraded into a protective apparatus subject to the wills and purposes of individual human beings, so that the adversaries of liberal thought were not slow to find for it the scornful description of the "night-watchman State."

3

SCEPTRE AND UMBRELLA

On July 7, 1815, three men anointed with "consecrated oil poured from the sacred ampulla"—the tsar of Russia, the emperor of Austria, and the king of Prussia—rode into Paris as victors. The Hundred Days were over; Napoleon had been definitively vanquished; his statue had been removed from the column in the Place Vendôme; the stars which he had been accustomed to distribute among his guardsmen were now, in mockery, tied to the tails of horses. Into the palace cleansed from the last cockades and the last vestiges of the revolutionary creed, there now returned, under the fleur-de-lis, as king by God's grace, the grey-headed, gouty brother of that Louis XVI whom the Convention had, more than twenty years before, sent to the guillotine.

France, from whose "soil turned sour" the "weeds of the revolution" had sprouted, to spread far and wide over the globe, was once more subject to the anointed king of the House of Bourbon, having thus returned to the course marked out for it by divine dispensation. And lo! even arrogant Paris, which had been led astray by Reason and the desire for the Rights of Man, bowed humbly in penitence before the throne of its monarch. Remorsefully it had returned to Christian lowliness, admitting sorrowfully

that all innovating activity on the part of man is vain, that subjects are neither competent nor justified in trying to make any changes in the traditional order. God had created States and had given kings their monarchical authority; this was part of the world-plan, as was the authority of the paterfamilias over his children, or that of the lord of the soil over his serfs. After two and a half decades of revolution and war, the Parisians were actually prepared to accept that doctrine. Their teacher was no longer Rousseau, but Count Joseph de Maistre.

Thus it came to pass that, while the young American nations were fighting on behalf of the "greatest happiness of the greatest number," here, in old Europe, the liberal minification of the idea of the State was being confronted once more by the theocratic glorification of it.

Among the three anointed of the Lord, the might of whose armies had achieved this transformation, was one who seemed fitted to equip with a peculiar strength, and even to eternalize, the triumph of this re-established hierarchical world-order. Alexander of Russia was a pious man with a contrite heart. Even though, influenced by the teachings of his Swiss tutor La Harpe (a child of the Enlightenment), he had at one time seemed a little infected by the dangerous errors of the French revolution, even though, at the outset of his reign, he had made changes that were tainted by the spirit of innovation, the flames of his burning southern capital had helped to convince him of his mistake.

"The conflagration of Moscow has thrown light into my soul," he himself declared; "and the Lord's judgment upon Napoleon in the ice-fields of my homeland aroused in my heart a vigorous faith to which it had hitherto been a stranger. I learned to know God as revealed to us in Holy Writ; I came to understand his sacred laws. I firmly resolved to devote myself and my government to him and to the furtherance of his honour. Since then I have been a changed man."

More and more plainly did the tsar recognize his "mystical mission," which had made of him the chosen instrument of providence to re-establish the divine order upon earth.

To strengthen him in the faith, the heavenly powers sent a special messenger to the tsar, in the form of a fair-haired lady,

Frau von Krüdener, widow of Alexander's sometime ambassador in Copenhagen. Until the age of forty devoted to the vanities of this world, the baroness then received a "great revelation," after which she could speak with tongues: "The rocks cry out and the earth opens, kings fall from their thrones. We are living in a great time!"

After her "conversion," the ambassador's widow had gone to Paris. Dressed in the flowing garments of a priestess, at the little Hôtel Montchenu in the Faubourg Saint-Honoré, every evening after ten, she received Tsar Alexander, who slipped into her darkened apartment by a discreet doorway in the garden-wall. Night after night the pair of them prayed ardently for precise heavenly instructions concerning the great deed which would free the world from revolutionary false doctrine and would for ever reconsolidate the ancient divine order of things.

As soon as pious Baroness von Krüdener had learned the will of providence, communicated to her in a glorious vision, Alexander sketched an outline of what she told him, and hastened with it to his allies.

"The Emperor has commissioned me," said Gentz during these days to a fellow-diplomat, "to hand to Prince Metternich this scrap of paper which he has himself indited in a most Christian spirit. You will see that it will have remarkable consequences in the world of European politics."

The consequences were, indeed, imposing. On September 26, 1815, the three monarchs of Russia, Austria, and Prussia came together and signed this document which had been composed by Alexander in "so Christian a spirit"—the document which established the Holy Alliance.

The rulers declared that "in consequence of the great events of recent years" and of the benefits conferred upon them by divine providence, it was their fixed resolution "to make the doctrines of this holy religion (which, far from being applicable only to private life, must rather exercise a direct influence upon the resolves of princes and guide all their actions) the sole rule of their doings, both in the administration of their States and in their relations with other governments."

In accordance with the terms of the Holy Alliance, the "funda-

mental principle" as between rulers and subjects is "that they must regard themselves as members of one and the same Christian nation, just as the three princes themselves regard themselves as merely the commissioners of providence to rule three branches of one and the same family." With "the most delicate care," the monarchs therefore recommend their people, "as the only way of enjoying true happiness, that happiness which springs from a pure conscience and is alone durable, to strengthen themselves daily in the principles and in the practice of the duties which the divine redeemer has taught to mankind."

Contemporaries were not weary of insisting how notable a milestone in the history of mankind was this Holy Alliance, which represented for society "the first rays of the dawning of a golden age." When twenty-seven additional European States joined the Alliance, enthusiasm knew no bounds. Great was the general admiration when it was announced that, in the pious endeavour to consolidate the old and sacred order of things, the Elector of Hesse had reintroduced powder and pigtails into his territories, had offered a prize for a hair-tonic, and was prepared to grant special pigtail-bonuses to those officers who could grow genuine pigtails instead of wearing spurious ones.

Paris, sinful Paris, supposed to have been lost to the kingdom of heaven; Paris, in which aforetime Reason had erected her bloody scaffold, in which the seed of the Rights of Man had been sown, and in which so many aristocratic heads had been lopped off; Paris, where in the churches market-women and children had drunk brandy out of the sacred chalices—the town in which a little Corsican lieutenant had dared to declare himself emperor by the people's grace and to desecrate the crown of France by wearing it on his plebeian skull—this Paris had now become the focus of the holiest work conceivable, the point of origin of the reconsolidated divine order.

Upon the throne of his fathers, consecrated by heaven, sat Louis XVIII; and as soon as the poor, decrepit old fellow had gone to join these fathers among the shades, he was succeeded by Charles, the youngest brother of Louis the Martyr, who at Rheims bent his anointed head beneath the crown of France. All was going on as God willed in France; everything was back in its "natural

place." Paris gladly respected differences of rank and continued to perform the "duties which the divine redeemer has taught to mankind." The nobles had recovered their estates; the priests did what they could to ensure that the earthly hierarchy should once more grow heavenward; and, in the churches, the bells pealed an accompaniment to the singing of the Te Deum.

Down to the "great July week" of the year 1830, the bells of Paris continued to summon people to Mass; but then it seemed as if the city had once more been seized with frenzy. With yells and threats, the populace sounded the call to arms. The church bells were ringing a tocsin. The Parisians, who, until then, had quietly gone to their devotions, who, day after day, had solemnly walked to church, were now driven in noisy crowds into the streets and towards the Hôtel de Ville by the clangor of these same bells.

There, barricades had sprung up, and behind them Paris entrenched herself. Once more a Paris which, as in the days of the great revolution, had risen in revolt against the king, to establish liberty, equality, and the Rights of Man. A Paris which was determined to fight against nobles and priests, against any sort of hierarchical order that aimed at building up an edifice of inequality from the ground into the skies.

A few miles from the capital, in his country-house, was General Lafayette, retired on pension. He had been tranquilly irrigating his land in the American fashion, and carefully cultivating Syrian roses.

In his person was incorporated, as if in a living museum-specimen, everything which the great revolution had once signified. After all, in the life of this septuagenarian, who had ardently sympathized with and taken active part in so many struggles for liberty during the last fifty years in America and Europe, there was still embodied the wrestling of two continents for equality and independence.

As a young courtier, he had once seen Louis XV seated at dinner between Madame du Barry and an archbishop—obese, gluttonous, cynical, lascivious—and this never-to-be-forgotten picture had given him a fierce hatred for autocratic rulers and for priests. As soon as the struggle for the independence of the North Ameri-

can coastal States began, Lafayette hastened to cross the ocean to offer his sword to the rebels. By the time he was twenty he had, as his contemporaries boasted, become "one of the pillars of the new, free world."

Benjamin Franklin had recommended Congress to bestow the rank of general upon the young officer for his great services to the United States; and Washington was so fond of Lafayette that the latter said: "On a day to come, my descendants will feel proud that one of their ancestors was a close friend of Washington."

Thus the youth of Lafayette had been the youth of freedom itself. The aged Voltaire, the father of the Enlightenment, must have had some such feeling when, during a party at the Duke of Choiseul's, he went up to Lafayette's wife and formally congratulated her upon her husband's glorious deeds.

In 1787 he became a member of the Assembly of Notables in France, and of the States General in 1789. It was at his instigation that that body, after it had changed its name to National Assembly and then to Constituent Assembly, passed the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen; and it was the support of the National Guard, of which Lafayette was commander-in-chief, that enabled the representative body to hold its own. It was at this period that, in the garden of a house in Düsseldorf, Goethe came across a statue of Lafayette which was honoured by its possessors as "divine."

"We held the nail," said Jefferson subsequently, in proposing a toast, "but Lafayette drove it home." Lafayette himself was fond of talking of the events of 1789 as "my revolution"; and the Austrians, who in 1792, when he left France to avoid the consequences of his opposition to the Jacobins, clapped him in jail at Olmütz, considered that by locking him up they had imprisoned the revolution itself.

He returned to France in 1800, but Napoleon always had an uneasy feeling that this champion of liberty was a perpetual emblem of untamable revolution. "Lafayette is ready to begin again at any moment," the emperor would say to his ministers, with obvious discomfort. Even during the years of the Bourbon restoration, when Metternich was guiding the destinies of Europe in accordance with his autocratic will, Lafayette was still ready to begin

again at any moment, being regarded as the spiritual chief of the underground revolutionary movements which were centred in the "huts" of the Carbonari.

Now, once more, before (as far as Lafayette was concerned) the stir about liberty was to be quieted for ever, history fetched him from his country estate of Lagrange as if he had been an invaluable talisman, and set him at the head of the latest movement. The general's blue uniform, with neatly darned bullet-holes, in which Lafayette had commanded the National Guard during 1789, was taken out once more, and clad in it Lafayette stood again on the barricades as commandant of the burgher levies which had now risen against Charles X as, long before, they had risen against his brother Louis XVI.

What availed it to the Bourbon monarch that he ruled France by God's grace, that his sceptre had been consecrated as symbol of a mundane authority supposed to be an earthly replica of heavenly rule?

When Lafayette confronted the anointed king, the voice which demanded that monarch's abdication was the voice of the revolution; from the barricades it proclaimed the end of hierarchical and divinely imposed ties, announcing, as in 1789, an order established by human hands and human brains, an order in which there should be no differences of birth, but only equality, liberty, and fraternity.

The revolution of 1830 was not, indeed, animated by the youthful impetuosity with which, forty years earlier, it had demanded the Rights of Man. In the interim, it had, like Lafayette himself, aged more than a little; like him, it had had sobering experiences; it had lived through the Ninth Thermidor, and the Eighteenth Brumaire; had languished in Austrian prison-houses; had subsequently, in the secret gatherings of the Carbonari, often talked indignantly about reaction, the prevailing contempt for the Rights of Man, and oppression; but in the main both Lafayette and the revolution had been living quietly and peaceably on their estates, irrigating the land after the American model, and cultivating Syrian roses.

With increasing years, Lafayette and his revolution had grown

quieter and more thoughtful; and when, at length, they were summoned from their retirement, though they remembered their debts to their great past, hunted out their old blue uniforms, and shouted on the barricades for liberty and the Rights of Man—the voice of this revolution was the voice of a septuagenarian, of one who had long been on the retired list, and no longer that of the ardent stripling of 1789.

Naturally, therefore, even its slogans lacked the impetus they had had forty years before. Liberty and the Rights of Man meant, before all, opportunities for leading a quiet life, oppressed by no one, while engaged in irrigating the land after the American model; and as far as "fraternity" went, the grey-headed revolution, like the grey-headed general, had in mind a world-league of gardeners cultivating roses.

The peace, the perfect harmony, which the elderly revolution desired, could not be better ensured than by a genuinely liberal constitution, in which liberty, equality, and the greatest happiness of the greatest number would be established as chartered rights. The charter must embody all the demands which belonged to the heroic youth of the revolution, but must at the same time provide safeguards against inconvenient disturbances of bourgeois order and security, against the unconditionality of abstraction, against Robespierres and blood-stained scaffolds.

Experience had taught that youthful impetuosity led, in the long run, to the terrors of Jacobinism and to "equality upon the guillotine." The neighbour land of England, on the other hand, had remained all the while under monarchical government, and yet the people there enjoyed substantial liberties and the Rights of Man. The French revolution of 1830, a revolution that had grown old, was fully prepared to be satisfied with such a measure of good things; it was not inclined to cavil at the idea of a monarchy after the British model—with the proviso that the king must not style and regard himself ruler by God's grace, but must be "constitutional" in the sense of Montesquieu's teaching.

As luck would have it, in the person of Louis-Philippe of Orleans, France had at her disposal a candidate for the throne who was eminently suited to play the part of a constitutional popular king. No doubt this prince was a scion of the Bourbon family,

tainted by the hereditary conviction of its right to rule by the grace of God; but he belonged to a collateral branch, and the hereditary stigma was more than effaced by a remarkable circumstance. Had not Louis-Philippe's father been "Philippe-Egalité," who in 1793, wearing the cockade of the revolution, had made common cause with the most advanced of the Jacobins in voting for the execution of the king, his cousin?

During the Reign of Terror young Louis-Philippe had lived modestly in Switzerland as a teacher of languages. Even when his cousins of the main Bourbon line had been recognized once more as anointed kings of France, he had preferred to keep away from the Tuileries and had become a pensioner of the English.

Surely the continuance of monarchy would be better for France than a revolution like 1789, which had ended in the dictatorship of a provincial lawyer? Well, if there was to be a king in France, there was no one to whom it would be easier for the old revolutionary general to swear fealty to than Louis-Philippe.

The revolution which had been so long on half-pay and had now been recalled to active service had taken up its headquarters in the Hôtel de Ville. Thither must go the ex-schoolmaster from Switzerland, now a candidate for kingship, to present himself for approval.

On July 31, 1830, at two o'clock in the afternoon, while in the Hôtel de Ville, under the chairmanship of the veteran Lafayette, all the "embodiments of the revolutionary popular will" were waiting till the revolution had its king, in front of the Palais Orléans the "people's prince," wearing a tricolour revolutionary cockade, mounted his horse, which was not distinguished by any regal trappings. Preceded by a solitary drummer, and followed by Laffitte, the banker of the revolution, who had sprained his ankle and therefore had to be carried in a sedan-chair, Louis-Philippe set out for the Hôtel de Ville, the rest of his escort consisting of the "people" in the shape of a few quidnuncs.

Philippe-Egalité's son knew very well that France had a dangerous propensity for sending to the guillotine, or, if not that, for driving out, kings who claimed to rule by divine right. He was careful, therefore, while riding through the streets and amid the

remnants of the barricades, to remain bareheaded with his hat in his hand, that everyone might see that his head was not anointed and that he bore no sceptre! All the same, the crowd murmured as he passed. These good folk could not be expected to know that what had happened during the July days of 1830 had been no more than a "purified revolution," one that would neither guillotine a king nor drive him out of the country, but would merely wipe the consecrated oil from his head.

But even the muttering in the revolutionary streets ceased when Louis-Philippe began to rein in his horse before every discontented group, greeted the "citizens" with a friendly smile, shook hands with them cheerfully, amiably inquired their wishes, exchanged memories with them about the fine days of the great revolution of 1789. Those who had so recently been manning the barricades began to see that the revolution could come to terms well enough with a ruler of this sort.

When the aspirant for kingship reached the Hôtel de Ville, Lafayette, who was an admirable master of ceremonies, showed himself determined to make a great occasion of this historic moment when equality was being raised to the throne, and when its first king could not over-emphasize the fact that his head was not anointed, but a plain, ordinary head like everyone else's.

Holding a huge tricolour banner, Louis-Philippe appeared beside Lafayette upon the balcony of the Hôtel de Ville, "stroked the revolutionary emblem as affectionately as if it had been a long-lost mistress," and "with his hand beat time to the 'Marseillaise' which the people in the square were singing."

He was "the son of equality, fils de l'égalité, the tricolour soldier of liberty." Then the revolutionary general and the candidate to the throne embraced one another before all men's eyes.

In theatrical phraseology, this "brought down the house." Hurrahs resounded loudly. The throngs in the square shouted: "Long live Louis-Philippe, long live the Revolution, long live the Constitution!" The National Guard fired volleys into the air. The tricolour had "torn away the veil hiding the past, and, from the twilit obscurity, the magic words liberty, equality, and glory flamed forth in letters of fire."

That there might be no mistake about the situation, the revolutionist Dubourg, who had borrowed from the wardrobe of the Opéra Comique the epaulettes of a republican general, stepped up to Louis-Philippe, pointed to the square now filled with armed men, the old-time Place de Grève in which Louis XVI had been decapitated, and said: "You know our rights; if you should ever forget them, we will remind you of them!"

On the return journey from the Hôtel de Ville, the populace lined up along the roadside and shouted: "Long live Louis-Philippe, long live the Revolution!" There was no further obstacle to the prince's mounting the throne.

It was a strange throne indeed, surrounded with republican insignia and backed by republican institutions. Louis-Philippe, as "king of the French," had to fulfil the destiny of which his life had already been symbolic. Let me quote Heine: "As aforetime in Switzerland, he had once more to appear as schoolmaster before a globe and publicly declare: 'Look at these lovely territories; those who dwell in them are all free, are all equal, and if you little chaps forget it, I have a cane ready for you in the cupboard.' Yes, Louis-Philippe had to head the European movement towards liberty, had to fuse its interests with his own, had to identify himself with liberty; and just as one of his predecessors had boldly declared: 'L'état, c'est moi!' so must he now, with even more self-assertion, exclaim: 'La liberté, c'est moi!' "

It had become perfectly clear (Metternich had foreboded as much in 1815) that the Holy Alliance had been nothing more than a "stage setting."

When in Spain, during the year 1820, a sacrilegious people had attempted to force their rightful king to recognize a liberal constitution, the Holy Alliance was still in effective existence. True, the excited crowds in Madrid had borne their constitutional charter as "Virgin Constitution" in solemn procession through the streets, to the accompaniment of hymns and the pealing of church bells, while the people fell on their knees as the procession passed; but an army of intervention had speedily restored rule by divine right, and had re-established the absolute authority of King Ferdi-

nand. For ten years after that, it was still possible for the anointed ruler to check the progress of liberalism by congresses, resolutions, and interventions.

Nevertheless, the ideas which had been diffused by Napoleon's sword and had been disseminated from Bentham's study by the more peaceful methods of the postal service had struck firm roots here and there, and had determined the form of the State in many distant lands.

When the news of the July revolution in Paris came to hand in Vienna, Metternich, the self-constituted guardian of the hierarchical system of order, fainted at his writing-table, after exclaiming: "My life's work has been destroyed!"

It was true enough, for the laboriously re-established divine right had not merely collapsed in France. The "weeds of the revolution" began to sprout, as after 1789, across her neighbour's frontiers.

In Belgium, which since the fall of Napoleon had been part of the Dutch monarchy, a performance of *The Dumb Girl of Portici* at the Brussels opera-house in August 1830 gave the signal for a revolution which ended in the expulsion of the Dutch and in the enthronement of a "king by the people's grace." In Poland, stimulated by tidings of the July revolution in Paris, a group of cadets plotted to murder Grand Duke Constantine, brother of Tsar Alexander, at his country-house near Warsaw and to put an end to the rule of the Romanovs. In Switzerland, the liberals came into power in twelve cantons during the year 1831, and compelled the introduction of democratic constitutions.

Even England, which had enjoyed "constitutional government" since 1688, and where the liberties of the poorest citizen were respected, was infected by the revolutionary outburst on the other side of the Channel. Liberal sentiment, reinforced by a widespread popular movement, compelled the passing of the Reform Bill, which enlarged the electorate in such a way as to give the lower middle class a greatly extended representation in the House of Commons. Almost simultaneously, Ireland, organized by the Catholic Association under Daniel O'Connell, was in a ferment against the British yoke; the "sore spot" was once again inflamed.

Thus Paris, where street-fighting had been the foundation of

the great revolution by which the Rights of Man had been declared; Paris, where the "purified revolution" of Napoleon had also taken shape, had now given the world another lead in the struggle for liberty, thus effacing the stigma which had rested on her since, within her walls, the anti-libertarian Holy Alliance had been hatched.

Paris could point to her new king as an embodiment of the new liberal spirit. When Louis-Philippe appeared in public among his people, he did not wear a sword as did other crowned rulers at this date, even in England, but carried an umbrella, designed not for use in heroic and chivalrous duels, but for the protection of cautious citizens against the inconveniences of bad weather. This ruler, as caricatured by Daumier, carrying a "gamp," wearing a tall hat upon his pear-shaped head; this monarch who was ready to shake hands with all and sundry as he took his walks abroad, seemed to his contemporaries the ideal of a liberal monarch.

"Careers open to persons of talent that every one of them may attain material welfare!" had been the watchword sounded at the beginning of this new epoch by its creators Napoleon and Bentham. But at that time the demand had had a theoretical ring, had seemed no more than a claim to an ideal right. With the coronation of Louis-Philippe, the realization of the nebulous Rights of Man in the form of the material wellbeing of an average individual seemed to have been achieved. This was made plain enough under the July monarchy when Guizot, the bourgeois monarch's minister for the interior (subsequently prime minister), with an inviting gesture uttered the slogan: "Enrichissez-vous, Messieurs!"

4

MASTER OF NATURE

IN THE pulpit of the Presbyterian church stands the preacher, thundering about the wrath of God, which will visit sinners with famine, pestilence, and the eternal fires of hell. Every word

he says is calculated to make the congregation tremble, to reduce them to despair.

But the congregation no longer trembles. Supporting their heads on their hands, looking reverently downward, the pious Scots sit in their pews, thinking, while the sermon continues, about business which will bring them in plenty of money.

In the year 1698, Fletcher of Saltoun complained that people's thoughts were continually turned towards business, as if directed thither by a higher power; and Burnett remarked, about that same date, that his countrymen, whether high-placed or lowly, were all animated by the same wish, that for business prosperity.

Extreme was the indignation of the strict Presbyterian ministers on account of this unexpected change in the popular mood. When the Day of Judgment came, so they repeatedly declared, God would give his creatures reason to be sorry for having devoted too much attention to economic matters. "I am sure," said one of these ministers, "that the Almighty looks with disfavour upon business, now that it has usurped the place of religion!"

From the beginning of the eighteenth century, the change which was taking place in Scotland was being reproduced all over the world. In England, Daniel Defoe tells us, the art and mystery of "promotion" was making great progress. The streets were humming with people who were trying by ever newer artifices, tricks, and schemes of an unprecedented character to gather together as much money as possible. Speaking in the Upper House, Chatham railed against the "flood of wealth" which was inundating the country, and which could not fail to bring disastrous consequences in its train, since such wealth was not the natural yield of labour and diligence.

Paris, too, and the other continental capitals, were swarming with "projectors" and adventurers, who wormed their way into anterooms and carried on furtive conversations with ladies of high repute and low. These men were generally down at heel and out at elbows, and were full of expectations of enormous wealth on the morrow. Then they would reckon their gains in millions!

The money-craving, to which Guizot's above-quoted utterance gave open encouragement, had long since obsessed the European mind. The shattering of the old political framework, which began

in the eighteenth century, had been accompanied by a general disintegration of the pre-existing economic hierarchy and its established gradations of wealth. People were no longer willing to accept the strict limitations imposed upon them by birth, class, and the existing economic order, previously regarded as unalterable.

At all times, no doubt, there have been people eager to acquire wealth; but, in the economic system handed down from the Middle Ages, possessions were primarily landed property, and, as such, were confined to the higher classes. Only in exceptional instances had a burgher family here and there, through exceptional mercantile or industrial ability, been able, in the course of centuries, to acquire considerable wealth.

Now, however, the new liberties, established in England by the "glorious revolution," on the continent by the Code Napoléon, and in South America in virtue of the Benthamite constitutions, accorded to every human being, no matter what his birth or social status, the opportunity for rising to the highest social position.

Prejudice and privilege had ceased to bar the road. In social life, money swept away in actual fact the class distinctions which had been abolished by legal reforms, so that money-getting and its results were highly respected. Prosperity was no longer reserved for a thin stratum of the elect, but became widely diffused.

The magic words "a career open to talent" and "enrichissez-vous" were thus in conformity with the new economic possibilities. Freed from the ties of guild and craft, a resolute and enterprising person could easily enrich himself to an unprecedented extent.

Nevertheless, the aforesaid transformation would not have sufficed to make "enrichissez-vous" a realizable possibility, had not the growth of machine industry provided the most splendid chances for enrichment.

For now machines established themselves beside trade and financial speculation as instruments with whose aid a larger and larger number of venturesome persons could, within a few years, rise out of indigence to the ownership of huge fortunes.

For thousands of years machines, of a kind, had existed; and

shrewd minds had, in the course of time, designed new and more perfect technical apparatus. Yet it had scarcely occurred to anyone that wealth might be acquired with the aid of machines. Indeed, Europeans, like the Chinese, had usually put away such mechanical models as they had made, storing them in the cabinet for curiosities, or regarding them as little better than toys for the purposes of scientific demonstration. From the days of Hero of Alexandria onwards, scarcely anything of greater note had been invented than automata, chiming clocks, and things of that sort. Francis Bacon, in his utopian study *The New Atlantis,* had certainly given an imaginative sketch of an academy whose business it would be "to study the mysterious movements of things, in order thereby to enlarge the boundaries of human mastery"; but a whole century was still to elapse before human intelligence would have ripened sufficiently to take this in.

Leonardo da Vinci designed steam-engines that might be used to drive ships through the water and to work pumps; but they got no farther than his sketch-books, none of his contemporaries having thought it worth while to make so much as a model of such machines. The elements of the spinning-machine of later days are also to be found, almost in every detail, among Leonardo's sketches; but this invention, likewise, was completely disregarded.

In the year 1707, Denis Papin, the French physicist who invented the safety-valve used on the "digester" which still bears his name, inaugurated on the Fulda the trial run of a steamship he had constructed; and, to the amazement of all beholders, this mechanically propelled vessel actually moved through the water; but the Elector of Bavaria would not permit the repetition of such a "crazy business," and Papin's remarkable find was speedily forgotten.

Even when the France of the days of the Enlightenment began to pay homage to natural science, and declared the world to be a calculable mechanism, this effected little change in the indifference of the European continent to technical advances. The shrewder minds of that day were for the most part content with abstract knowledge, and felt no need to take the further steps that were required for its concrete practical application.

When, in 1740 or thereabouts, Jacques de Vaucanson made a

mechanical loom which was able of itself to weave the most complicated patterns, his uncle regarded him as a lunatic and wanted to have him put under restraint in an asylum. On the other hand, two of the mechanical toys made by the same inventor—an automatic flute-player, and an automatic duck which could swim, quack, and erect its feathers—aroused widespread attention and admiration.

To the French of the days of the revolution, scientific knowledge was still a closed world, which could, at best, produce an abstract "social physics," and could not possibly be of every-day use. Lavoisier, the distinguished experimentalist and the founder of modern chemistry, had been, under the old regime, not only the director of the government powder-mills, but also one of the farmers-general of the revenue. It was on the ground of his activities in the latter capacity that, in May 1794, he was brought before the revolutionary tribunal. Vainly did Lavoisier, in his defence, refer to his scientific researches. "Nous n'avons plus besoin de savants," answered Fouquier-Tinville, and the customary sentence was passed.

Whereas in France, even towards the close of the eighteenth century, hardly anyone seemed to guess that the activity of "savants" was to contribute enormously to the promotion of the "common weal" on which so much stress was laid by the revolutionists, at the same date in England the great move from theoretical study to technical advance had already begun. On the northern side of the Channel, people had long since realized that the newly acquired knowledge of the laws of nature must not remain at the stage of abstract knowledge or of the production of demonstrations in the physical laboratory, but that it must be applied to the production of actual utilities.

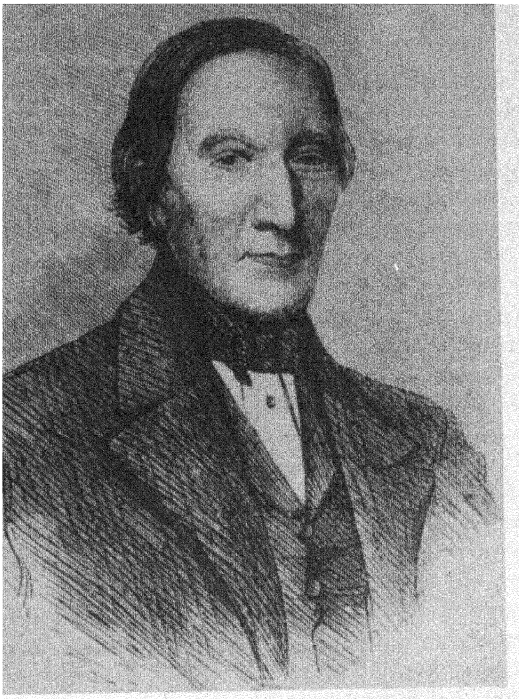
It was in England, likewise, that machinery was first recognized to be a valuable means for the acquisition of wealth. When, in the year 1738, a man named Lewis Paul took out a patent for a method (discovered jointly by himself and Wyatt) for the mechanical spinning of wool, the material importance of the invention was immediately manifest to keen observers. "If Paul makes a start with £10,000," prophesied the learned Dr. James, "he will, with his machine, soon earn as much money as the whole City of

London is worth." The specifications describe the machine as "able to spin without fingers."

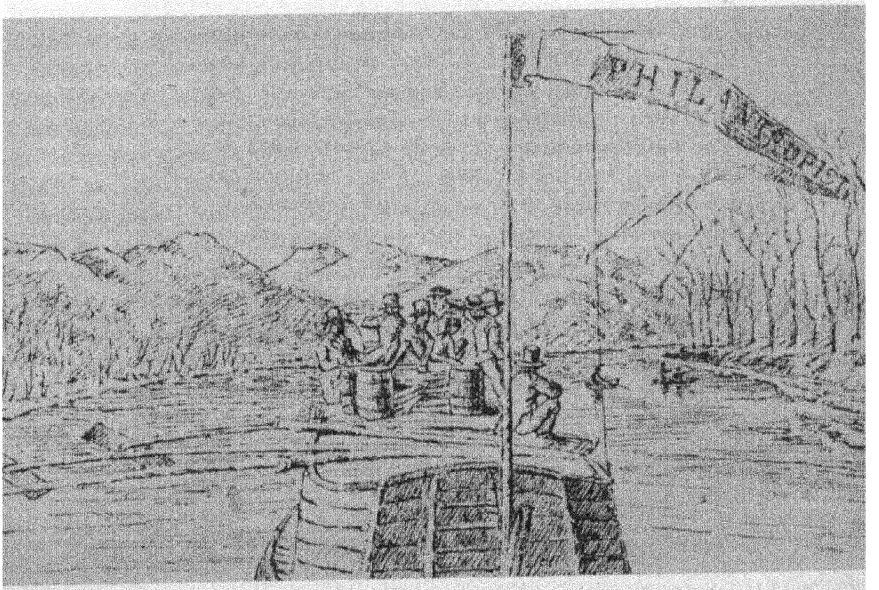
But before this machines had been used to win great fortunes. In 1766, James Hargreaves, a weaver and carpenter, invented the spinning-jenny, which could spin several threads at once. But he did not make as much money out of the apparatus as he would have done had he been a better man of business. Richard Arkwright, originally a barber by trade, got ahead of him in this respect, and showed himself to be not only a skilled inventor, but possessed of the business aptitudes needed in the new times. He was driven forward on his path by unceasing dreams of wealth. At first he devoted his free time to the attempt to solve the problem of "perpetual motion," hoping from this to make a million of money. Then a workman told him about Hargreaves's new spinning-machine, and the barber, already fifty years of age, devoted his savings to buying the secret from the inventor and patenting an improvement in his own name. He invented the spinning-frame, which provided the warp threads which would not be spun by Hargreaves's invention. When Arkwright died fifteen years later, he had amassed what was in those days regarded as the vast fortune of £500,000.

Edmund Cartwright, a clergyman and writer, who until the age of forty had never heard anything about weaving, learned in a casual conversation that the new spinning-machine produced much more yarn than the weavers could utilize in their hand-looms. He at once set to work upon the construction of a mechanical loom in which weaving activities should be multiplied as spinning activities had been multiplied by the spinning-jenny, and, with the aid of a carpenter and a smith, actually succeeded in producing a working model. Within four years he had a mechanical loom at work which was able independently to produce the most beautiful patterns, and which ensured him a large income.

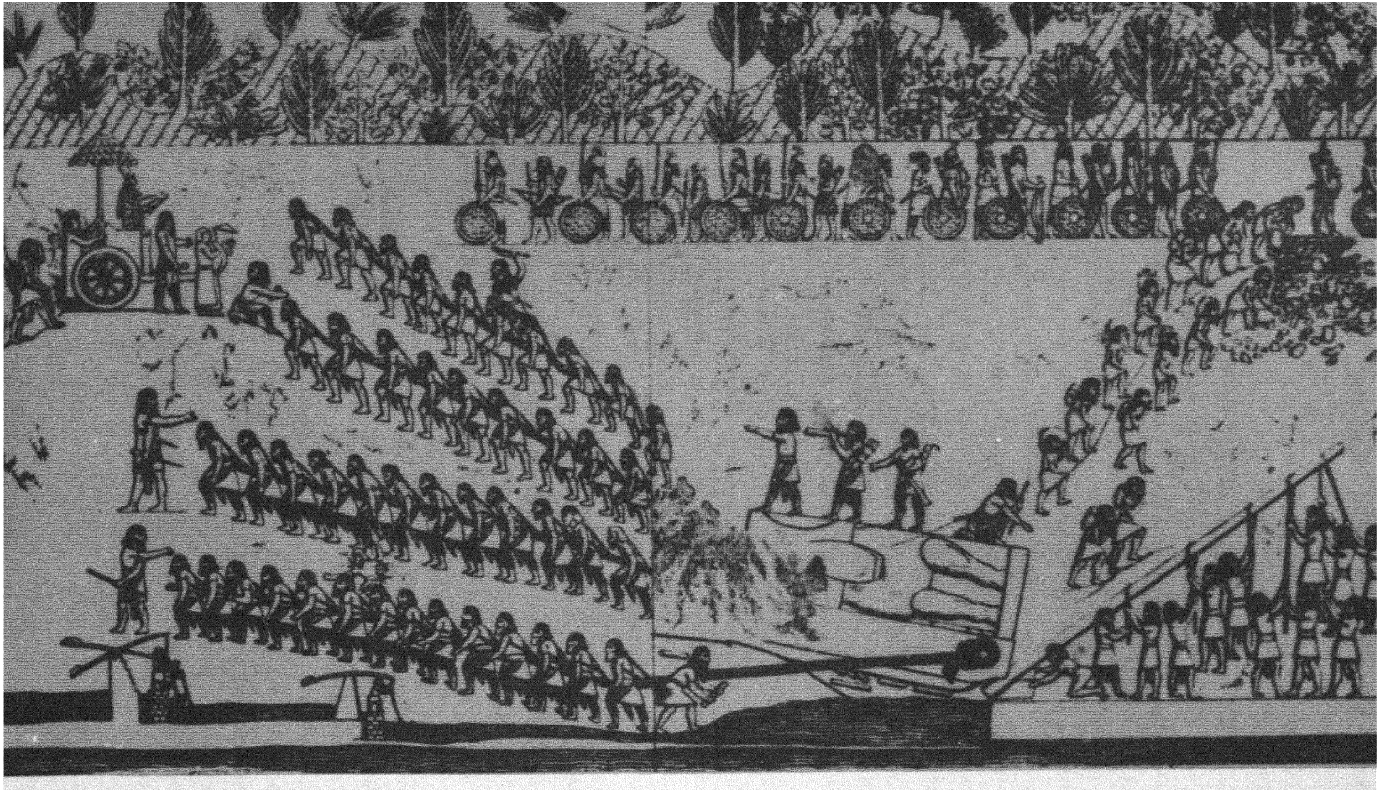
Hargreaves's spinning-jenny and the spinning- and weaving-machines of Arkwright and Cartwright needed only the application of steam-power (water-power, to begin with) to revolutionize the British textile industry and greatly to enrich the owners of spinning- and weaving-mills. The consumption of cotton increased forty-fold in a few years; and whereas hitherto England



ROBERT OWEN



COLONISTS OF "NEW HARMONY"



TRANSPORT OF A WINGED BULL IN NINEVEH

had imported from Hindustan a large part of the textiles she needed, home production now increased so much that these imports ceased, and England began to export cotton goods to India.

The replacement of hand-labour by machine-labour did not merely open new sources of gain, but, in those early days, gave all an equal start. One who knew how to make the right use of such inventions could pocket large sums of money, regardless of his social status, and could soon become a millionaire.

It was possible for a young man like Robert Owen, who had left his father's house when only ten years old, to start a spinning-mill with a capital of £100. He tells us in his autobiography that he knew nothing whatever about this handicraft and had never even seen it carried on. "However, when I engaged workmen, I knew how much I had to pay them, and that we should soon go bankrupt if I did not manage the business properly." Since Owen had a sound business instinct, he did more than make good, and was within a few years one of the richest textile manufacturers in England.

I have already referred to the application of steam-power to the new mechanical spinning- and weaving-instruments. Upon the power-loom and its congeners depended the sudden increase and cheapening of manufacture which opened a road to wealth to so many gifted and enterprising persons at that date. A further revolutionary influence resulted from the application of the Newcomen-Watt steam-engine to transport.

Hitherto the production of commodities had been chiefly confined to the regions of active demand; but now that steamships could cross the ocean and locomotives could draw laden trucks across the land, this subordination of production to consumption came to an end. The centres of industry could be removed to spots where raw materials and labour power were cheapest; and once more these new developments gave great chances of enrichment to those who knew how to avail themselves of them.

The world was seized by an intoxication of happiness and hope, by a belief that machine development would free it from material anxiety. This triumphant mood finds an early expression in a memorial issued by the industrialists of Liverpool in the year 1792: "The free commerce and the industrial activities of Great Britain

have led to such an influx of wealth, to such an accumulation of capital, that no enterprise is too difficult for private men of business or private associations of men of business; the genius, the diligence, and the talent of our countrymen are so great that there is no part of the world in which they cannot make free trade profitable."

In very truth, during the first decades of the nineteenth century, no economic achievement seemed too difficult. A period of expansion unexampled in human history set in. Under a system of free competition, there developed a steadily increasing accumulation of capital, and, to outward seeming, general prosperity alike of individuals and of nations. The earth's habitable area, the abundance of commodities, wealth, safeguards against famine due to failure of the crops, were enormously multiplied; and universal became the conviction that in machinery mankind had at length discovered the means for creating the only natural, reasonable, and harmonious economic system, and for the realization of the "greatest happiness of the greatest number." Thus a faith in advance towards continually better and happier conditions of life became the "doctrine of salvation" of those days.

What Paracelsus, Francis Bacon, and the philosophers of the Enlightenment had proclaimed—that the human race was steadily progressing from lower to higher conditions of existence and would ultimately attain the highest—seemed now to be confirmed in the material realm.

Intoxicated by the great acquirements of technique, the flourishing of commerce, the multiplication of the possibilities of life and the means of enjoyment, man now came to regard himself as being in very truth what Schiller had declared, "the ripest son of the times, free through reason, strong through law, great through gentleness, and wealthy through treasures—master of nature." Under the spell of the same intoxication, midway between Schiller's time and our own, one of the great Victorian poets was to write: "Glory to man in the highest, for man is the master of things."

During this age of expansion, with growing self-confidence, thinkers set themselves to discover the "higher law" which would enable them to represent progress as the outcome of a natural necessity.

5

THE GREAT SYSTEM

In a room with barred windows, confined in a strait-waistcoat, crouches a corpulent little man with rheumy eyes and a bald head, though he has enough hair left for a Napoleonic lock to hang down over his forehead. The keeper watches him closely, and when fresh signs of excitement become visible, when increasing restlessness shows that a new paroxysm is approaching, when the patient's utterances are fuller than usual of complaints and delusions, the man forces a sedative powder into his charge's reluctant mouth and tightens the straps. This is the third year that the philosopher Auguste Comte has spent under restraint as a lunatic, passing his days in an alternation of paroxysms of frenzy and the resulting semi-coma of exhaustion.

From time to time, however, he is free from the illusions and the hallucinations which fill his room with dread spectres. Then there appear before his sobering mental vision the lost faces, the almost forgotten trains of thought. Once more he discerns the reign of law in human history, as he had been able to before his mind was deranged.

Now and again, indeed, in these lucid intervals, he sees this reign of law even more clearly than of old, as if the clarification of his thoughts had been going on beneath the surface during the endless days of confusion, maniacal excitement, and apathy.

In such moments of clarity, Auguste Comte is aware that he must finish his great work, must fulfil his mission, which is to liberate mankind from the fetters of erroneous thinking and to lead his fellows into the paths of true knowledge. Through his instrumentality the world, though he is now a lunatic in a strait-waistcoat, will be made acquainted with the real laws of all happenings and all thoughts; and will thus become enabled to make the future better than the past. He will bestow upon humanity the boon of "positive science," and thus bring deliverance and salvation to coming ages.

Throughout the seven years during which Comte worked as private secretary to an ungrateful master, Claude Henri de Saint-Simon, count and philosopher, Auguste Comte had been well aware that such was his task and his high calling.

Saint-Simon asserted that he himself had been the discoverer of positive science. But what were the ideas which Comte had heard from him more than unsystematic glimpses, launched haphazard; sharp utterances that had never been thought out to their logical conclusion?

Yes, in very truth, Saint-Simon's thought was unsystematic, incomplete, and sketchy—as was the man's adventurous and ill-regulated life, which had never produced anything but beginnings and half-measures. Yet his thoughts and actions had always been tainted by the megalomania of one who believed himself to be the redeemer! How absurd was one of the first recorded actions of Saint-Simon, peer of France and Spanish grandee, who, when only fifteen, instructed his valet to call him every morning with the words: "Get up, Monsieur le Comte, you have great things to do!"

What "great things" had Saint-Simon done? His had been a career of vanities, of futile and unmeaning adventures. He had joined Washington's army as a volunteer; had made useless journeys through Mexico, France, Holland, and Spain—always on the hunt for some vague speculative opportunity. One of his schemes had been to connect Madrid with the sea by a canal; then this aristocrat who had run off the rails had tried to enrich himself by preposterous industrial undertakings; and, at length, when he had accumulated a fortune by speculating in confiscated land, he speedily dissipated this fortune by a crazy display that was out of all proportion to the wealth he had amassed. In truth, Saint-Simon was rightly served when, towards the end, he fell into poverty, being supported for years by the benefactions of his sometime valet, since his scanty earnings as a pawnbroker's clerk did not suffice to keep body and soul together.

Yet Saint-Simon, though in such penury that he attempted suicide as a means of escape, and though he lay awake nights thinking about the reconstruction of the world in accordance with the principles of a "positive philosophy," had been able to find no

better use for his daylit hours than to lounge on a sofa devouring one worthless novel after another.

When Comte reflected upon his former patron's mode of life, he found it impossible to understand why he had once admired and revered the man. Had it been because Saint-Simon had been so silly, regarding himself as a "most exceptional man," as to make a proposal of marriage to that "most exceptional woman" Madame de Staël, that they might join forces in the procreation of a "most exceptional son"? Or was it because the count had seriously maintained that he had received from his ancestor Charlemagne a special commission to refashion the world by propounding a new philosophy?

Collaborating with Saint-Simon, Comte had repeatedly but vainly attempted to introduce some coherency into what the count styled his "philosophy." Beyond question, among the ideas which this well-born man who had sunk to become a pawnbroker's clerk continually spouted forth, there were many of the elements of a valuable system. For instance, the theory of the three stages of knowledge through which mankind had to pass: the religious, the metaphysical, and the positive—this last being only now in its inception. The notion might have been made the theme of a profound and thorough investigation, had Saint-Simon been either thorough or profound. But the count's way was to jump lightly from thought to thought, without ever staying to think things out. He was fond of talking about his "industrial ideas," as destined to prove the only source of the happiness and welfare of mankind. According to its originator, this notion was (of a sudden) to develop into a "physico-political science"; and, upon the basis of the universally valid Newtonian laws of gravitation, to effect the reorganization of European society.

But these had been mere sketches. There had been no elaboration of details, no proofs drawn from history or from the exact sciences. Such "proofs," at least, as Saint-Simon adduced, were incomplete, casual, unsystematized; a chance medley, lacking value, or ability to arouse conviction.

During all Comte's years as Saint-Simon's secretary, there was nothing the younger man had so much detested as the elder's lordly way of disregarding the need for research work, for systema-

tizing toil; the neglectful manner in which the count thrust aside as superfluous any honest attempt to prove his theses or to answer objections. Even the most remarkable flash of insight, Comte held, could not rank as "truth" until it had been sedulously tested, collated with other knowledge, and practically applied. In arithmetic, a sum has to be "proved"; in scientific investigation, there must always be "control experiments." Thus would "positive science" be corroborated; in this respect it would be sharply distinguished from the untenable speculations of theological and ideological epochs.

That, from his own outlook, Comte had been justified in his misgivings became apparent in the sequel. For what had at length grown out of Saint-Simon's muddled fantasies? Neither more nor less than a sort of religion—the very form of thought which, as positivist analysis showed, had been the most primitive phase of mental development. Saint-Simon had written *The New Christianity!*

The more clearly Comte grew aware of his chief's inadequacies, the more convinced did he become that he himself must upbuild the edifice of positive science, and must himself do the hard thinking for which Saint-Simon lacked both energy and patience. After seven years' faithful service, therefore, he broke away from the count to follow his own path, which, through indefatigable labours, was to lead him to the light of a positive knowledge of the actual and the existing, and would thus enable him to inaugurate the third and most stupendous era of human thought.

But hardly had Comte begun to elaborate the foundations of his system, to free the pure milk of positive doctrine from the contaminations instilled into it by Saint-Simon, and (with this end in view) to study the whole field of contemporary knowledge, when it seemed as if the detested spirit of obscurity must be trying to wreak vengeance on the renegade secretary who, to avoid it, had fled from his master's study. A thousand mischievous delusions and hallucinations began to creep into the brain of the student whose first longing was for clarity. Whenever he believed himself about to unravel the last tangled strands and clear the skein, some devilish power would involve everything once more, and confuse his mind with visions of dread and terror.

With heroic firmness, Comte fought the evil demon, tenaciously endeavouring to fix his inner vision upon concrete, positive reality. In vain! If, during long walks in the neighbourhood of Montmorency, he tried to clear his brain of the mists of illusion, the trouble would recur, perhaps when he was in the depths of the forest. Then he could not even find the way out through the encircling trees, and would wander for days until a search-party discovered him with mind utterly darkened.

Another time, when he wished to inscribe and thus preserve the essentials of a brain-wave, and for this purpose tried to snatch up a pen, the malicious sprite thrust into his hand a kitchen-knife, with which he made a ferocious onslaught on his wife. Then came a memorable day on the banks of the Seine, when the solution of the riddle of the universe seemed to be unfolding itself to his eyes; but, so his disordered fancy told him, he would find it only in the river—and he would have perished by drowning had not a passing National Guardsman rescued him from the murky waters.

There can be little doubt that the breach with Saint-Simon was what had unbalanced Comte's mind. The count had unscrupulously claimed the right to publish as his own work, as part of the *Catéchisme des Industriels* (1824), certain essays elaborated quite independently by his secretary. This was the last straw. There had long been friction between the two philosophers; and now Comte was outraged by the contention that anything a secretary wrote became the property of his chief. The upshot of the quarrel was that Comte had a severe attack of persecution mania.

In the famous Dr. Esquirol's asylum, and subsequently behind the barred windows of a room in his own house, transformed into a madman's cell, it was the same story. Illusion followed illusion, hallucination succeeded hallucination; and the mouth, opening to utter words of wisdom, gave vent to nothing but senseless babble.

As though the world was reluctant to part with its mystery and obscurity, for three years in succession all the forces of confusion had conspired against the man in the strait-waistcoat. At length, nevertheless, illusion had shamefacedly to slink away from the room with the barred windows.

The lucid intervals in which the signs of morbid excitement vanished from the philosopher's face grew longer and longer. When he stretched out his hand, it grasped, not a murderous knife, but a pen, and what this pen wrote was the long-sought, difficultly acquired "great system."

Thus out of the perplexed and perplexing "philosophical glimpses" of Saint-Simon, ever straying off into the wilderness of the religio-metaphysical, there ultimately developed, under Comte's clarifying touch, a monumental and enduring philosophy, in which time—past, present, and future—gained significance and secured interpretation. This was in full accordance with the principles of positivism, since positivists hold that, when the two preliminary stages of religious thought and abstract thought have been surpassed, positive knowledge, the offspring of reality, must necessarily come into its own.

For these three phases, of which Saint-Simon had spoken so vaguely, were now lucidly defined by Comte as the "theologico-fictive," the "metaphysico-abstract," and the "scientifico-positive" states of consciousness. Through them the mind of man had had to pass in its advance from the primal origins of thought towards the present day; and if the world was now in the third stage, that of positive, concrete knowledge, that of conscious rational construction, this had not happened by chance, but was the inevitable consequence of a coercive historical law.

One who, like Comte, had at length clearly grasped this stupendous, this intoxicating truth must thenceforward regard it as the task of philosophy to shed all principles that eluded precise investigation, and puritanically to avoid flirting with any surviving vestiges from the theologico-fictive and metaphysico-abstract phases of thought.

But the mere formulation of such a doctrine did not suffice. It might be enough for a scatterbrain like Saint-Simon, but not for a profound thinker like Comte. He felt it incumbent on him to study the whole history of the human race from the positivist outlook, and to prove the validity of the law of the three stages from the data of historical reality.

The upshot was that the extended survey of history undertaken by Comte during the twelve years from 1826 to 1838, and the re-

sults published by him in the six volumes of his *Positive Philosophy*, showed the full applicability of the positivist theses to politics, science, the mental and material processes of the world.

Thus the inviolable will of this thinker, who more and more came to regard himself as an instrument in the hands of history, as a manifestation of the historical law of progress thanks to which thought culminates in positive science, enabled him, defying the forces of illusion that had darkened his mind for a time, to achieve a magnificent piece of work that has enduring value.

For twelve years the will to clarity was stronger than the trends towards confusion, the man was stronger than the disease. But when the aforesaid six fat tomes had been finished, the spectre of lunacy again came to haunt his study table. Once more when Auguste Comte tried to foreshadow and to assist in the rebirth of mankind from the spirit of positive philosophy, the demon stole up behind him, leaned over his shoulder, and breathed nonsensical suggestions into his ear as he wrote. Thanks to this spookish tormenting, his work, like a landscape or a figure seen through a distorting glass, became transformed into the precise opposite of what had been designed. Comte's system, instead of freeing human thought once for all from religious and metaphysical speculation, became itself a religion, thus declining to the level which, according to positivist doctrine, was the lowest, and the farthest removed from all progress.

What a malicious trick fate played upon our unfortunate philosopher! Was not this the very disaster which had befallen the speculations of Saint-Simon?

With what fierce contempt had Comte always regarded the decay of his sometime master, of that philosopher who had begun by deeming himself a second Socrates, a successor of Descartes, and had, in the end, come to style himself "God's vicegerent on earth." What could have been more preposterous than the fantastic imagery in which Saint-Simon had been wont, towards the end, to describe his divine superiority? Not Jesus, but Newton, so the count had declared, would, in the new age of positive illumination, sit at God's right hand; but he himself, Count Claude Henri de Saint-Simon, would then be called upon by the Almighty to assume, as chairman of the Newtonian Council, the direction

"of the intellectual-heavenly central authority of the future."

In those days, Auguste Comte, the distinguished nobleman's secretary, had often found it difficult to refrain from laughter or from an outburst of anger when Saint-Simon solemnly announced that God had personally revealed this to him, the Almighty saying:

"Learn that I have placed Newton at my right hand, and that I have given him control over the work of enlightenment, and power over the inhabitants of all the planets. The assembly consisting of the one-and-twenty delegates of mankind will be called the Newtonian Council, and this body will represent me on earth. It will divide humanity into four sections, namely the English, the French, the German, and the Italian, each of which will have a directing council of its own, composed after the model of the supreme Newtonian Council. Every human being, no matter in what part of the earth he may dwell, will belong to one of these four sections."

"Newtonian Council"—"social Christianity"—"physicist papacy of the future spiritual and religious government of Europe"—it had been in keeping with these crazy oracular utterances that Saint-Simon, the half-starved clerk, should, towards the last, babble of the millions of money he would receive because of his canonization, and of other no less monstrous absurdities.

Comte had wanted to expunge all this from his memory, and had not even been able to bring himself, in his great work on *Positive Philosophy*, to so much as mention the name of Saint-Simon. Yet, thanks to his mental derangement, he was now compelled to pen these despised and detested absurdities, as if his former chief were dictating them to him!

For what Auguste Comte, who was trying to draw the last deductions from his great system, actually wrote down proved to be a sort of religious gospel, no less incomprehensible than Saint-Simon's had been. Not a single phase of relapse into religious mania was spared him by the demon which was perpetually distorting his thoughts into lunacy: not the Church of the Intellectuals, not the Hierarchy of the Learned, not the offering up of prayers to a Deity, nor all the ceremonial of a new cult.

The need to mimic the follies of Saint-Simon compelled him to style himself, as the count had done, "High Priest of Humanity," and, in this capacity, to baptize his disciples male and female, and unite them in marriage according to a grotesque ritual.

Indeed, the confusion which had overwhelmed Comte's mind led him, at last, to outdo the absurdities of Saint-Simon's rationalist religion. Comte drafted a Positivist Calendar, in which every day was named after one of the great intellectual leaders of mankind. Another time, he wrote an idiotic letter to the general of the Jesuits proposing to the latter an alliance between the Society of Jesus and Positive Philosophy for the conquest of the world.

The affection which, at the age of forty-seven, the philosopher conceived for Madame Clotilde de Vaux put the finishing touch to the religious mania of his writings. In Comte's diseased imagination, after her premature death this lady became a divinity. He instituted a Clotilde Cult, analogous to the Roman Catholic Mariolatry; and, having scrapped, in honour of the new goddess, his laboriously elaborated Positivist Calendar, he compiled a new one, replacing the original series of names by Clotilde (many times), Hippocrates, Don Juan, Buddha, Boccaccio, and Thomas Aquinas.

Mankind was to venerate Clotilde as the supreme being, but this goddess-in-chief of positivism was to have two supporters as members of a new trinity: his mother, and his cook Sophie Bliaux, who had taken such admirable care of Clotilde during her last illness, and had been helpful to himself during his frequent attacks of colic.

The trend towards the inflated and the incomprehensible, which is so manifest in the writings of Saint-Simon and Comte, and which, in the end, lured both thinkers from the formulation of a sober realist philosophy into the domain of pseudo-religious fantasies, was in part the outcome of the belief which had generally prevailed since the days of the Enlightenment, that all the ills of the world are the outcome of erroneous thinking, and that, consequently, a right use of the intellect will suffice to bring about deliverance from evil. This conviction aroused in many thinkers

of that day, who believed that they were in possession of "pure truth," a state of mind tantamount to megalomania, for they came to regard themselves as messiahs of the Goddess of Reason.

Even Napoleon was not exempt from this fancy. "My ambition," he once said, "is perhaps the greatest and highest that has ever existed. I aspire to consolidate and to consecrate the realm of reason, the complete revelation, the absolute triumph of human forces."

In positivist philosophy, the continuous and progressive permeation of world happenings with intellectual apprehension was a law of evolution, so that positivism was more self-confident than any earlier doctrine had been. According to the positivists, the epoch when the course of history was determined by human passions, impulses, and volitions—that is to say by irrational, animistic powers—was for ever over and done with; they were convinced that henceforward, now that the day of reason had dawned, all further being and becoming would occur in accordance with clear, incontestable principles derived from a knowledge of reality.

As soon as the general course of evolution had been rightly grasped, this knowledge would spontaneously furnish the means for guiding, furthering, and hastening future progress in accordance with natural law. "Mankind is now aware that it is progressing!" Saint-Simon had declared. "Humanity is already acquainted with the law of social crises, and it will therefore be easy to prepare the way for the transformation to that better era of social equality, peaceful labour, and tranquil general happiness." He concluded his prophecy with the sanguine exclamation: "The poet has fabled the Golden Age of the remote past. But this Golden Age for the human race does not lie behind us. It lies in front, and the perfectionment of our social order will bring it into existence. From our fathers the view of this coming epoch was hidden; for our children it will be a living reality; our business is to build the road leading to it." Perfectionment, "road-building"—this, likewise, was Comte's notion of the proper task of science. "Savoir pour prévoir," to know in order to foresee, seemed to him the ultimate purpose of science.

"In contemplating human activity as a whole," he writes, "one must undoubtedly conceive of the study of nature as designed to

provide the means by which man can influence nature. In a word, science leads to foreknowledge, foreknowledge leads to action; such is the formula which expresses the relationship between science and its practical application."

Not one of the earlier revolutions in the life of mankind, he held, not even the transition from polytheism to monotheism, had so profoundly modified the existence of individuals and of society as, in the near future, would the rise of positive science.

Thus positive science, Comte was convinced, would establish "a spiritual harmony hitherto unattainable," and would lead to a spiritual and moral community "more complete, more extensive, and more durable than had prevailed hitherto in any religious community."

In this great and final harmony, industrialism would play an important part. Industrial dominion would "completely abolish caste dominion," would improve social relationships, and would "bring all the peoples of the earth closer together, despite national enmities." Its function was "to develop the rational influence of man upon the world, under the tutelage of science," to guide the operations of material forces by human intervention, and "even to elevate the character of the lower classes."

6

WORLD OF THE ANTI-LION

When nineteen years of age, Charles Fourier, being then a commercial clerk in Marseilles, had seen a shipload of grain dumped into the sea at the instance of certain speculators who wished the price of this staple to be kept up. Later, when trading independently at Lyons, he had become acquainted with the double-dealing of his competitors, and had been ruined thereby, so that thenceforward he had to make his livelihood as traveller for other firms.

These experiences, in conjunction with the inside knowledge of commercial life he acquired as traveller, convinced Fourier that

the society of his day could not be on the right path towards perfection.

It seemed obvious to him that it was not enough to become acquainted with the determinisms of history, or to hold, as an article of faith, that the world was progressing towards better things. Nor could he believe that, as the liberals held, enlightened self-interest and unorganized competition would suffice to lead to a harmony of interests and to the greatest happiness of the greatest number.

Scottish professors, English men of learning who lived out of the hurly-burly, and ecstatics of one sort or another might continue to believe in the magical efficacy of egoism, competition, and positive knowledge; but a sensible French man of business, engaged in practical affairs, who had at one time traded on his own account, and who, in his life as commercial traveller, was in constant touch with French merchants, would naturally look at things in another light—would, in fact, see them as they really are!

No, this world was not on the high road to perfection; it was a blighted world. How childish, then, to leave its improvement to unassisted "evolution" and to "a knowledge of the determinisms of history."

No doubt, at long last, mankind would attain to harmony. Fourier believed this, as did all the enlightened persons of his day, from the emperor of the French to scientists and commercial travellers. But he had become convinced that human reason must give the existing order a jog here and there if harmony were to be brought into being, for otherwise it might be long in coming. To conclude, even the individual who was shrewd enough to have the requisite "knowledge" must also have the stuff in him that would enable him to apply his reason in order to bring about the speedy inauguration of the right social order.

Since, manifestly, all men were not reasonable enough to understand that their self-interest rightly understood demanded on their part a regard for the general welfare, it was necessary to excogitate an organization which would be in conformity with the true needs and interests of mankind, and would uphold these against individual selfishness.

Fourier's recognition of the necessity for social reconstruction gradually ripened into the elaboration of a systematic scheme for

the improvement of the world. He did not take this task so lightly as had Adam Smith, Jeremy Bentham, Saint-Simon, and Comte, who had been content to sit in their studies pondering over the laws of human happenings, and had thereby achieved nothing more than the formulation of abstract philosophical systems.

The little, lean commercial traveller made his studies from real life, kept his ears open to the murmur of actualities, and endeavoured, from contact with these, during his persistent daily round of chaffering, to search out the hidden foundations of society, that he might use his knowledge to the advantage of mankind.

His occupation led him by turns to the chief towns in France, and also to Germany, Holland, and Belgium. Wherever he went, he was on the alert, carefully studying industrial life, what went on in merchants' counting-houses, the lay-out of towns, the character of their inhabitants, not forgetting architecture, and the soil and climate of the various regions he visited.

Though he had scant leisure in the day-time, he spent many of the night hours in acquiring such knowledge of anatomy, physics, chemistry, astronomy, and natural history as he deemed necessary for his plans. Wishing to have more freedom for the pursuit of his studies, he subsequently made his livelihood as an outside broker, a profession he himself characterized with the words: "A broker is one who hawks others' lies and supplements them with lies of his own."

With the "lies of others" supplemented by his own, in course of time he earned a modest capital, which enabled him to retire into the country and to spend five years exclusively devoted to the elaboration of his system of world-redemption and of the calculations necessary thereto. During this period there disclosed itself to him, as if by revelation, but a revelation that was the outcome of business experience, the true law of human dealings, the "law of association."

Naturally, like almost all the products of the thought of that day, this law was "in perfect conformity with Newtonian concepts"; indeed, he regarded it as the "first real application of these concepts to sociology," inasmuch as the law of association was the expression in the social sphere of the effective forces of "emotional and industrial attraction."

The sometime commercial clerk from Marseilles, of whom his chief had said: "Certainly he is a most worthy young fellow, but of trifling use in practical affairs!" was thus a solitary pioneer in the elucidation of the secrets of the divinely created world, and the original discoverer of a practical doctrine of world redemption. What Columbus, Copernicus, and Newton had done for our knowledge of the physical world, Fourier (at least in his own opinion) did for our knowledge of the laws of movement of the organic and social world. It was only to be expected, therefore, that he should regard his "discovery" as "more important than any scientific labours previously undertaken since the beginning of the human race."

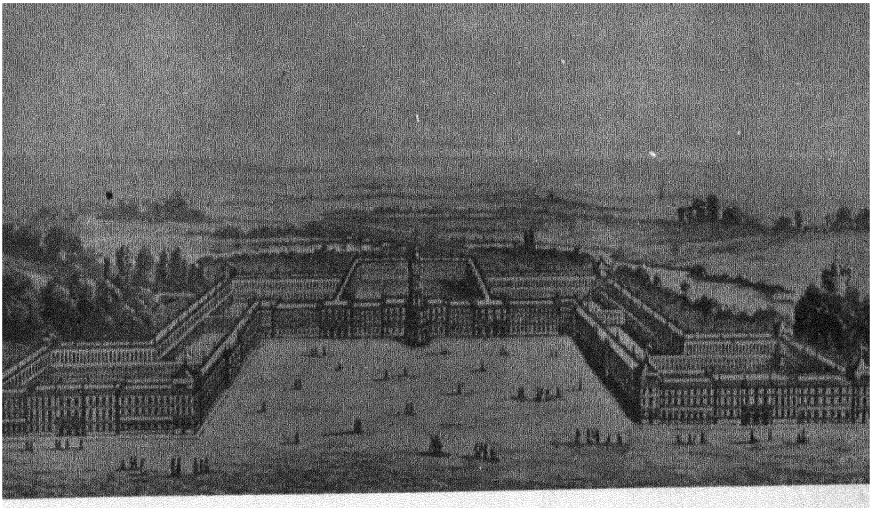
"To me alone," declared Fourier, "will present and future generations be indebted for the initiative leading to their immense happiness. As owner of the book of destiny I was able to disperse the clouds that prevailed in political and ethical thought, and upon the vestiges of uncertain sciences I established the theory of universal harmony."

All that was now needed was to awaken the "forces of association" which lie slumbering in the depths of the human mind, and to arouse them to full activity, so that man may attain harmony with the divine creation, and the great world harmony come into being.

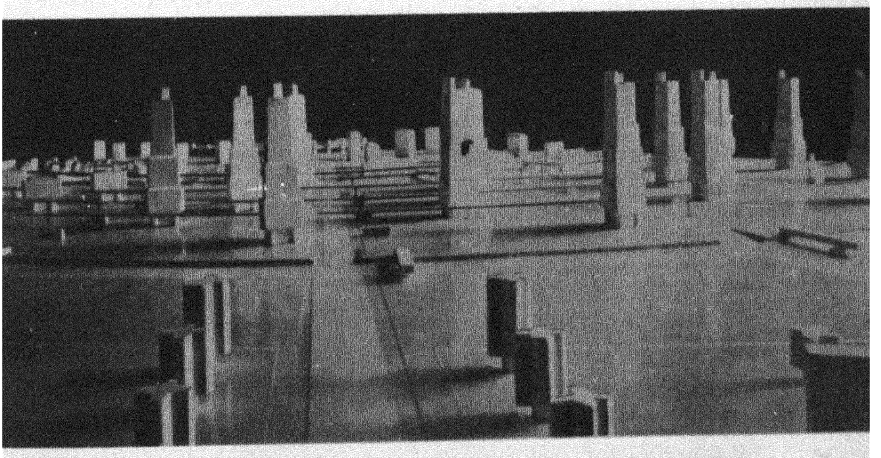
Looking back into the past, Fourier, like the prophet Daniel before him, like Joachim da Celico, and many another would-be messiah, believed that he was able to discern a gradational advance which would lead, in the end, to absolute perfection, if only at the right moment the right measures were always taken to enable mankind to mount the next step of the staircase.

In Fourier's view, there are eight epochs between the primal beginning of things and this ultimate fulfilment. Mankind has already traversed five of these eight epochs, passing from a "state of nature" through "savagery," the "patriarchy," and "barbarism," to "civilization." The three stages which remain to be traversed are those of "guarantism," "community," and "harmony."

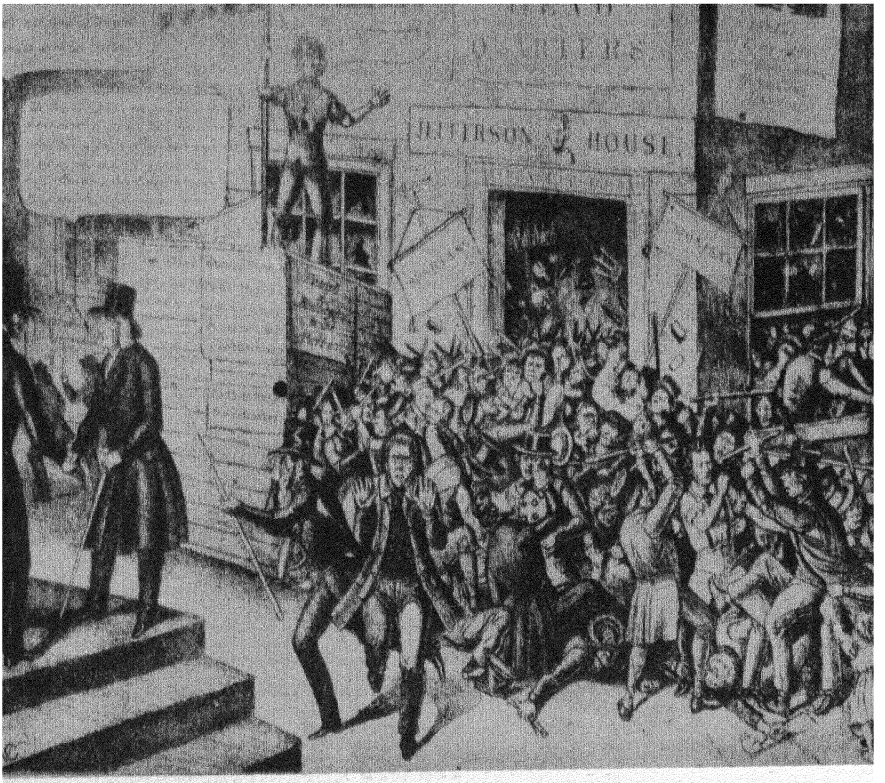
"Association" is the force which, once recognized, will accelerate our progress towards the top of the staircase. Through association, all that does not conform to nature can be made to conform; and



SKETCH OF ONE OF THE FOURIER PHALANSTERIES



RUSSIAN PLAN FOR A COLLECTIVIZED CITY



"HARMONY OF INTERESTS" IN AMERICA
(Contemporary Cartoon of an Election Brawl)

(even in the highest flights of his redemptionist imaginings, the ex-man of business Fourier never forgot this) an end put to the evils of unrestricted competition.

By association, the now chaotic social elements will be assembled out of the condition of unregulated conflict into a harmonious order, and thus for the first time will be realized that social and industrial freedom which will provide for every human being the possibility, through his own exertions, of passing through all social grades to the highest.

Adam Smith, Jeremy Bentham, and the other liberal teachers had sanctified the concrete nature of man, by ascribing to enlightened selfishness and the mutual interplay of interests a natural tendency towards harmony. Fourier went much farther than his predecessors in the justification of the natural man. To him it seemed that all the passions, impulses, and inclinations which religious teachers had hitherto condemned as base and bestial were worthy to be included in the great world harmony. Indeed, this world harmony positively needed the development of the impulses in their full multiplicity, in order that, in the coming harmonious society, "attraction passionnée" should lead to the most perfect association of individuals.

Fourier, having the orderly mind of a man of business, at once proceeded to "take stock" of these impulses, and found that there are, by and large, a dozen of them. Every possible shade of character depends upon varying combinations of these twelve primary impulses, the total number of such combinations being reckoned by Fourier at eight hundred and ten. Eight hundred and ten individuals, each of whom represents a peculiar mixture of impulses, can thus embody, as in a box of samples, a specimen of every conceivable shade of disposition.

In a truly harmonious world order, all these types of character will be provided with opportunities for the fullest realization. To secure this, however, the social system must be so organized that each individual can become a member of a group suitable to his peculiar mingling of impulses. Should the compounding of trends vary, should the "character change," then the person concerned must be enabled, forthwith, to change his group, his activities, his

mode of livelihood; and, indeed, the oftener it took place, the more multifarious and harmonious would be the development of the character. Thus for the citizen of his ideal society, Fourier foreshadows a change of occupation every two hours, a change thanks to which natural and yet more natural "groupings of associative harmony" will come into being.

With his seer's gaze, Fourier contemplates a mighty "orchestra" as the final state, as the "eighth harmonic period of the world"; "an orchestra composed of eighteen hundred million characters" which will sound intoxicatingly tuneful harmonies of the spheres in a sort of colossal duet with the "keyboard of creation," the exalted "clavier majeur."

But if the world were to be left to its natural sluggish tempo of evolution, advance towards this final harmony would be unduly protracted. There is requisite, therefore, a clear, scientifically conceived scheme of reform, adapted to accelerate as much as possible the coming of the great "eighth period," the sixth and seventh periods of "guarantism" and "community" being passed over with a jump.

The idea of excogitating a more perfect social order than that which now obtains, and of contrasting it, as an ideal, with actual conditions, has occurred again and again since Plato's *Republic* was written. The utopias, the "State-romances," of Campanella, Thomas More, and others, were imitated during the nineteenth century in the imaginative constructions of Saint-Simon and Comte. Saint-Simon's pet fancy had been that of an intellectuals' State, in which two Chambers—an "Examining Chamber" consisting of two hundred engineers, fifty poets and romance writers, and twenty-five masters of the plastic arts, together with a hundred physiologists, a hundred physicists, and a hundred mathematicians; and an "Executive Chamber" composed of industrialists—would guide the destinies of mankind with the aid of the profoundest wisdom. In like manner Comte paints the picture of a future State, which would be controlled by the "captains of industry," and which would provide every workman with a habitation containing seven rooms and with a monthly wage of three hundred francs.

Plato's Republic, Campanella's City of the Sun, More's Utopia,

and the model States conceived by Saint-Simon and Comte had remained in the realm of fancy, had never got beyond the stage of pious wishes. Fourier, however, wished to establish here and now, as a historical reality, the better, more rational world order which had disclosed itself to his spiritual vision as a contrast to the inadequate system in which he was living.

This realization was to be begun in a small fenced precinct, carefully detached from the inharmonious, blighted world of our day. Fourier was firmly convinced that the example set by the first colony of the new era would arouse such universal enthusiasm that, ere long, the whole of France, the whole of the world, not excepting the regions inhabited by barbarians and savages, would be covered with such nuclei of harmonious community life, which would ultimately unite into a harmonious world-State.

The organization of these "phalansteries," as Fourier called his nuclei, had been worked out in every detail, from the distribution of their earnings in suitable proportions among "labour," "capital," and "talent," down to the smallest concerns of every-day life.

In a great edifice, harmoniously proportioned, there would live from 1600 to 1800 persons, classified in groups suitable to their "refined passions" and the mingling of these. There would be frequent changes of occupation, and the work would always be cheerfully performed. Everyone would engage in a task that was pleasant to him, guided solely by inclination, talent, and taste. The output would be justly distributed among the members of the phalanstery.

From the first few days after birth, the children of the community would be brought up together—harmoniously, of course—in large and splendidly furnished nurseries. The young folk, according as their natural inclinations varied, would either be employed in doing the dirty work of the community (for which many children have a natural disposition); or they would take care of the pigeons and the rabbits, would decorate the banqueting-halls, etc. The effect of these wisely conceived institutions would be amazing. "We behold a spectacle," wrote Fourier ecstatically, "such as can never again be witnessed on this planet; a sudden transition from unsociability to social combinations. This will be the most striking effect of a movement which will spread all over

the world; the expectation of the coming day must console the present generation for its manifold unhappinesses. Each year of the period during which the metamorphosis is going on will be worth centuries."

The phalansteries disseminated over the globe would be allied in groups of four, eight, twelve, and twenty-four, each group, according to size, under the leadership of a duarch, a triarch, or a tetrarch. The dodecarch would be in charge of a million phalansteries; and the omniarch, who would live in Constantinople, would be the president of the whole world.

The dominion of the "law of free association" would so effectively sublimate the impulses and the passions that even children would manifest refined desires and would participate in refined pleasures of which grown-ups today do not dream. Physically, no less than economically and morally, the human race would be vastly improved by the workings of Fourier's system.

Owing to enormously healthier conditions, the average duration of life would be greatly increased. One hundred and forty years would become the normal span, and since, of this long lifetime, eighty years could be devoted to the pleasures of the senses, it was obvious that monogamy must be replaced by a new system of harmonious polygamy and polyandry.

At length the great harmony of human society would exercise a harmonizing influence upon nature at large. A "north polar crown" would come into existence, radiating light and heat like the sun, with the result that St. Petersburg and Okhotsk would enjoy as balmy a climate as Cadiz and Constantinople, that Siberia would have the flora of Andalusia today, and that the now frozen polar seas would become navigable. Simultaneously with this spread of tropical fertility all over the globe, the melting of the north polar ice-cap and the change of climate would greatly diminish the salinity of the sea, so that sea-water would have a pleasant taste like that of lemonade.

The existing monsters of the deep would perish, to be replaced by new creations, an "anti-shark" and an "anti-whale"—beasts which would be friendly towards man, and would gladly tow his vessels across the ocean. On the other hand, the useful fishes and sea-beasts, such as herring, cod, and oysters, would persist in

greatly multiplied numbers, notwithstanding the change in the composition of sea-water.

Like modifications would occur on dry land. There, too, as the outcome of the establishment of the great harmony, noxious or poisonous beasts would disappear, and useful creatures of entirely new kinds would take their places. For instance, there would be an "anti-lion," perfectly tame, and happy to allow man to ride on his back.

On the other planets no less than on Terra, disharmony would be transformed into harmony, until the greatest happiness of the greatest number of stars had been ensured. Then death would signify nothing more than migration from one planet to another, each remove bringing us to a more perfect habitation than the last.

Man himself would, in course of time, become equipped with two new members of great value: with a handsome prehensile tail having an eye at the end; and with an invisible proboscis, which would enable its owner to perceive etheric undulations and to get into communication with the inhabitants of other stars.

All that was requisite for the realization of these amazing prospects was a capital of eight million francs, the sum which Fourier needed for his first phalanstery. If he could get command of this sum, he opined, he could not possibly fail to bring about the aforesaid cosmic harmony with the anti-lion and the ethereal proboscis all complete.

Inspired with this faith, he constantly applied, sometimes directly and sometimes indirectly, to one person of note after another, trying to interest them in his harmonious system, and to get them to help him in procuring the eight millions. With the glibness in such matters he had acquired through his experience as commercial traveller, he dwelt upon the important material advantages that would accrue to them, to say nothing of the honour and glory they would receive from contemporaries and posterity. Thus, one after another, he sought out Napoleon, the Bourbons, the nobility and the clergy of the Restoration, noted liberals, English manufacturers, wealthy philanthropists, even his most ferocious adversaries, not forgetting Baron Rothschild (to whom he

opened up the prospect of a kingdom of Jerusalem), or Lord Byron, or George Sand, or Walter Scott. After the July revolution, he hoped for help from Laffitte and Thiers; and he even wooed the favour of impoverished Polish refugees living in Paris.

If anyone whom the indefatigable propagandist buttonholed tried to escape under the pretext of having no such sum as eight millions available, Fourier would beg him to invest at least one million francs in half a square mile of a phalanstery. This world reformer knew from his lifelong mercantile experience that a salesman must be prepared to cheapen his wares, and he was willing to apply that principle in order to promote the world harmony he desired.

But his endeavours were futile. The few who were friendly to his ideas and schemes, and who refrained from laughing at Fourier as a dreamer and a fool, were far from possessing even a fraction of the eight millions he wanted. With his own resources, which amounted to no more than a legacy of nine hundred francs a year, the impassioned promoter could do nothing.

Day after day, for twenty years, spurred on by his dream of a better world, he continued to knock at the doors of the wealthy, the powerful, and the famous. At length it was an old, broken, grey-haired little man who ran up the steps to ask for another interview with Rothschild or Thiers, never tiring, never embarrassed, but eager as ever to expound the commercial and social advantages which these distinguished men could not fail to derive from a successful speculation in the coming cosmic harmony.

The old fellow who, after every such visit, shambled disappointedly down the stairs, shaking his head over the stupidity of the great, would at length, when evening came—dead tired, but never utterly despairing—drag his way up to his garret room, there, after a scanty meal, to ponder oft in the stilly night the list of those to whom, next day, perhaps this time with more success, he would expound his grand scheme for the redemption of the world.

7

NEW HARMONY

WHAT the indefatigable Fourier was never vouchsafed, the establishment, in accordance with the principles of harmony, of a model settlement which should serve as an example to the whole of mankind, destiny, in one of her unfathomable caprices, seemed to accord to the young factory owner Robert Owen, without serious trouble on his part, unreservedly, with fabulous ease and simplicity.

Robert Owen, manager and part owner of the cotton mill at New Lanark, was the fortunate young man who, a few years earlier, with a capital of no more than £100, had established a prosperous textile factory, and who, when only twenty years of age, became manager of some big spinning-mills.

Such easy success may (though it does not always do so) make a man kindly and philanthropically inclined. Whereas Fourier, the commercial traveller, had been convinced by his unfortunate experiences of competition that the world must be refashioned as high as the stars and as deep as the bottom of the seas, in Owen's case the discovery that it was easy to become a man of fortune led him to entertain plans for a general improvement of the world. Just as he himself was rich and contented, so should all his fellowmen be given good reasons for taking delight in their lives.

In this case the man who wished to bring redemption to the world was not, like his predecessors, ostensibly a person of little or no account, but a rich factory owner, overflowing with affection, cheerfulness, and benevolence; one who could not enter a drawing-room without fervently embracing those who happened to be present. Invincible philanthropy and inviolable optimism were, throughout life, Robert Owen's most salient characteristics.

Why was it, he asked himself, that all men were not happy? Why should there be poverty, distress, evil, and hideousness in the world? Owen had his own peculiar answer to these questions;

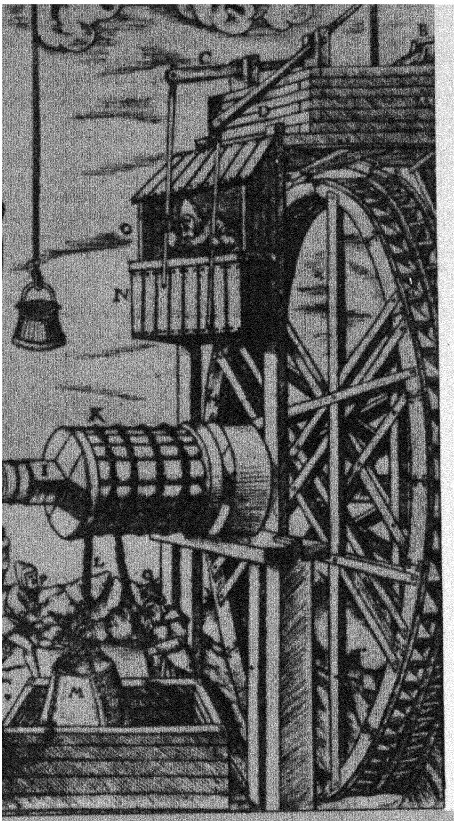
his own theories as to how the state of human affairs might be bettered, and disorder be transformed into harmony.

The answer was extremely simple. The cause of every evil in the world was not to be found in any inborn inadequacy of human beings; their environment was to blame; man was wholly the product of his environment, and when this was good, men would necessarily be good likewise. It was because social institutions had hitherto been imperfect and ill-designed, that so many human beings were unhappy and evilly disposed. But by a suitable improvement of outward conditions, all, even the worst-disposed and the most backward, could easily be transformed into happy, good, and valuable beings.

Like most ostensibly "new" doctrines, this "environmental theory," which expected marvellous progress from an improvement in the conditions of existence and in social institutions, was not really new either in its premises or in its deductions from them. Locke and Hume had taught long before that at birth the human mind is a "tabula rasa," a clean sheet of paper; that the brain is a homogeneous mass with no specific trends, the seat of numberless indefinite possibilities, and can be developed in any direction to an unlimited degree by education.

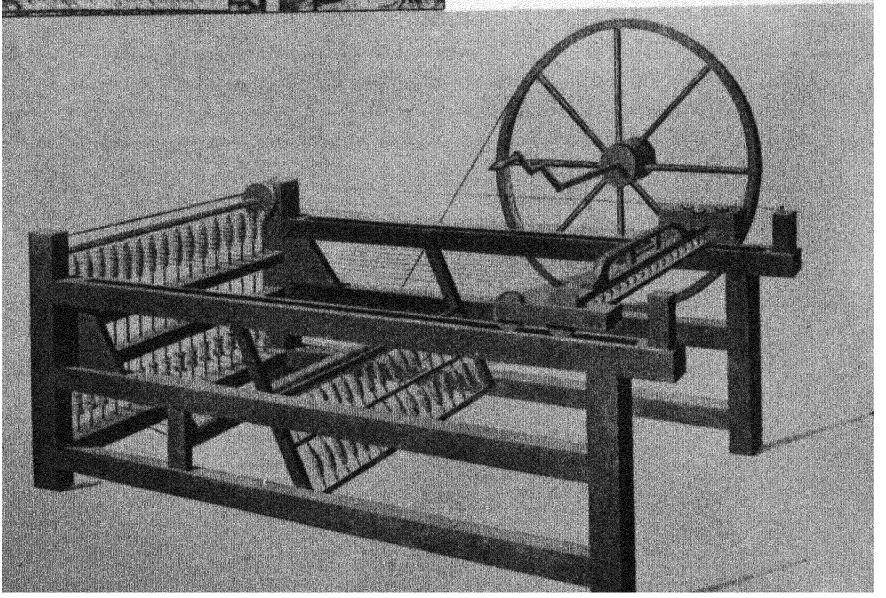
Lamarck, too, the famous naturalist, had formulated the principle of the inheritance of acquired characters, according to which it was not merely the individual that was influenced by environment, but, by hereditary transmission of the variations resulting from environment, the whole species that could be modified. Thus even in the eighteenth century science had been enriched by the optimistic teaching that it would be enough to improve human beings for a single generation through an improvement in their environmental conditions and in their upbringing, and thereby a lasting improvement in the race would be effected.

In those days, many political and social doctrines had been founded upon this general principle of the influence of environment. Montesquieu, following the lead of English philosophers, declared that all being was determined by climatic conditions, religions, laws, interests, and customs; and that the "community spirit," no less than the individual human being, could be transformed by a slow and cautious modification of these factors.



THE MACHINE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

THE SPINNING "JENNY"





POVERTY-STRICKEN ENGLISH WORKERS' CHILDREN
(Drawing by Gavarni)

This environmental doctrine, thus formulated long before his day, was simplified and rendered generally comprehensible by Robert Owen in a way which made it have a notable influence upon the world. For, whereas the English and French philosophers had still kept the basic notions wrapped in a cloud of abstractions, and had thus rendered them incomprehensible to the broad masses of the population, a fluent exposition in the ordinary, every-day speech of a young factory-owner who had quickly fought his way to wealth gave it the requisite clarity.

In Owen's time, machinery had made its appearance as a new acquisition, completely transforming the face of the world; and to him, who had been enriched by machinery, the whole creation presented itself in a mechanical light. He looked upon thought as nothing more than a mechanical process; man was a "thinking machine"; the world was a huge factory, and therefore character was a machine product "of which man himself is but the raw material."

The social system he had excogitated, and which he always spoke of as the "new machinery," must be as applicable "as any invention, as any new machine," which "will facilitate a larger production of happiness." What he understood by education was "the manufacture of character." This manufacturer's conception of world-redemption was, in great measure, the cause of the optimism which led Owen to regard the production of a harmonious mankind as a problem that would be easy to solve.

For this "new fabrication," Owen had already worked out his scheme—one in which, just as in Fourier's plan for phalansteries, practical applications had been arranged for down to the minutest detail.

Like the French mercantile utopist, this British manufacturer of the same kidney proposed the establishment of groups each comprising about fifteen hundred persons. Every such colony would centre round a four-square building. The main block would contain a public kitchen, a dining-room, and "all the dispositions requisite for the economic preparation and comfortable consumption of meals." On the right would be a wing whose ground-floor would serve as a school for the children; above this would be a hall for meditation and a reading-room. In the left wing, the

ground-floor would be a school for more advanced pupils, and would contain a sitting-room as well. Three sides of the square block would be occupied by the four-roomed flats of married workers; on the fourth side would be a dormitory for the children of those families in which there were more than two children, and for the children that were more than three years of age. In the middle of this fourth side were to be the habitations of the supervisors of the dormitories. Behind the building, and all round the square block, were to be gardens; outside these gardens, arable and orchards, also factories and workshops; still farther off were to be a few houses containing the appliances necessary for making beer and bread.

No less carefully thought out than this arrangement of the buildings was the distribution of work in accordance with age. The active producers were to be young men from twenty to twenty-five; the distribution and the safeguarding of the social wealth would be in the hands of men from twenty-five to thirty; maintenance of order would be entrusted to persons of forty and upwards; intercourse with neighbouring communities would be carried on by the elderly.

For the first attempt to realize his schemes, Owen did not require, like Fourier (impoverished, and living in a garret), to run hither and thither in the attempt to inspire faith in and to glean alms from rich patrons. He had a factory of his own at New Lanark, where he could try out his system of world redemption on his own premises, so to say, by providing the environment which was needed to modify the character of his workers and their children in the right direction.

The Scottish village inhabited by the hands at the spinning-mill, the village which he had taken over as an appendage to the factory, was to be transformed into a small realm of harmony, where, by example, supervision, and mild regulations, a drunken and degraded mass of workers were to be remade into an exemplary community. Immediately after his arrival, he summoned bricklayers and carpenters, and had the wretched hovels of the workers torn to the ground. Soon the inhabitants of New Lanark

had clean, tidy houses; and the streets, which had been like dung-heaps, were daily cleansed by men appointed for the purpose.

The result of the experiment seemed to confirm the theory that man is really nothing more than the product of environment, and that, in order to transform neglected, drunken working-folk into models, nothing more is necessary than a suitable change in their conditions of existence. New Lanark became, not merely a model factory, but the model of what a working society should be, an "Arcady of Industry."

The success of this experiment made numerous wealthy, powerful, and distinguished persons, who would never have let poor Fourier cross their threshold, seek out Owen at New Lanark, and offer to provide him with funds for the harmonious reconstruction of the world.

Among the illustrious guests at New Lanark there was once to be found even Grand Duke Nicholas of Russia, afterwards Tsar Nicholas I. He stayed two days with Owen, and, when leaving, made a proposal: "Follow me with two million men to Russia! I will provide you with all you need to found harmony settlements of this sort in my own land!" In addition to the Russian tsarevich, there came to New Lanark the Archdukes John and Maximilian of Austria; and, as well, a number of ambassadors, nobles, and scientists from all countries of the world. Everyone who visited New Lanark was full of admiration for Owen and his work.

This man, having been able to demonstrate his world-redemptionist doctrine in practical operation at his own factory, naturally encountered no difficulties when he wanted to raise funds by inviting public subscriptions for the establishment of a new harmonious colony. Very speedily, £500,000 were got together, and Owen was able to set to work upon reconstructing as the most harmonious of all settlements a manufacturing village not far away from New Lanark and eleven miles south-east of Glasgow—a place which, in the unredeemed old world, had hitherto passed by the name of Motherwell.

Fortune smiles on the fortunate, and money is poured into the pockets of him who already has plenty. Scarcely had Owen begun his arrangements to render the village of Motherwell happy, when

he was besieged by new and alluring proposals, one of which he was not able to withstand. It came from the New World, in the form of a request that Owen should not be content with trying to carry out his schemes in old Europe, but should come to Indiana, to a place where the Rappists, a communist Bavarian sect, had already made a similar experiment with the imperfect instruments at the disposal of religious fanatics.

This promising domain, with the encouraging name of New Harmony, must be directed by a man who did not expect the improvement of humanity to be effected by millenarian enthusiasm, but one who would set to work like a skilled manufacturer, in accordance with the rules of modern technique. Then New Harmony might become the starting-point for the redemption of the world.

In 1825, there appeared before Congress in Washington a gentleman whose bony, angular countenance, with its large and prominent nose, did not in any way convey the impression of an apostle. True, his dark-blue eyes were lighted up with profound conviction when, in moving terms, he expounded to the representatives of the American people his plan for the regeneration of the human race. In New Harmony, declared Owen, an era of peace and happiness would begin for mankind. Thanks to the circumstances which would there determine the bodily and mental development of human beings, they would attain a previously inconceivable degree of strength, virtue, and intelligence. The establishment of one such community would arouse widespread desires to create others; they would multiply rapidly. The character and the mode of life of individuals formed in accordance with the new system would soon give living proof of the superiority of the new condition over the old, and the old society would speedily dwindle and disappear.

Again and again Owen lavished praises upon the model society which was about to be established—one in which poverty and inhumanity would be unknown, and where a superfluity of goods would be produced, a superfluity in which all would share; a world in which there would be no slavery, and no one would serve another as a menial, but where, on the contrary, the utmost liberty would be combined with the most perfect harmony. This har-

mony, this unity, declared the philanthropic textile manufacturer, in the terminology of his profession, would be "woven out of the powerful yarn of interest and the silken threads of love."

The conditions which Owen found awaiting him in Indiana were as favourable as could possibly be desired for the manufacture of a new humanity. The site of New Harmony was the banks of a charming river, and the land had already been carefully tilled by the Rappists. Comfortable houses had been built, and there were well-cultivated fields and vineyards.

About eight hundred persons were already assembled from many lands to be the citizens of this harmoniously ideal settlement. To mention one of the most important, there was the famous geologist William Maclure, a wealthy philanthropist, who had founded the Scientific Academy at Philadelphia, a man whose abundant private means enabled him to give his fancies free rein. Spurred with enthusiasm for Owen's ideas, Maclure had invested one hundred and fifty thousand dollars in the enterprise and had himself come to settle in New Harmony.

A number of scientists and educationists were also on hand: the famous entomologist Thomas Say; Lesueur, a French botanist; Gerhart Troost, the Dutch geologist; and a number of sometime schoolmasters.

There were various other interesting personalities, such as Frances Wright, a champion of the woman's movement; and an architect, who spent his time making plans for the building of a future city. This worthy had devised new names for the important towns in the world—names that were ingenious ciphers from which could be read the latitude and longitude of the place concerned.

Henceforward the community was to constitute a single great family, among whose members there were to be no other differences than those of age and sex. The governing body was to distribute the joint produce of labour equably among the members. Owen was delighted at being able to draft a constitution for New Harmony, guaranteeing this perfect equality for ever and a day. "All have a right to the same food, the same clothing, the same housing accommodation, and the same education."

An environment so admirably organized must unceasingly elaborate its "raw material" in the shape of children into persons who

would have the most delightful character; so that it seemed as if New Harmony was really to be the beginning of universal harmony on earth.

In April 1826, Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar visited Owen's colony. His volume of travels contains his impression of the place. Nowhere else in the world, he said, was pleasure so perfectly organized. Throughout his stay at New Harmony, there was a perpetual round of dances and concerts. The music was excellent, and the cotillions were very amusing; a cotillion figure had been devised, passing by the name of "The New Social System." The recitation of Lord Byron's poems alternated with beautiful songs charmingly sung; and on the evening before Bernard's departure, there was a most agreeable boating excursion upon the moonlit river.

VI

The Dream of the Great Magic

THE HORN OF PLENTY

ON THE threshold of his awakening from a magical dream-life to a consciousness of mundane reality, man immediately finds himself burdened with the hateful experience of toil, with that curse pronounced upon Adam when he was expelled from Paradise.

"Cursed is the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life. . . . In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return."

Expelled from the mythical realm of everlasting plenty to be had without labour, the human race has been condemned since the beginning of history to toil and sweat for the satisfaction of its needs; to wrest food, clothing, and other desiderata arduously from a parsimonious earth. Always and inevitably toil stands between its needs and their gratification; nothing but pain and labour can transform want into possession, desire into fulfilment. "Great travail is created for every man and a heavy yoke is upon the sons of Adam, from the day that they go out of their mother's womb, till the day that they return to the mother of all things," writes Jesus the son of Sirach.

The Catholic Church describes this "hard lot" as a "cogens necessitas," a "coercive necessity." Toil, "like the other troubles of life on earth," will continually remain our portion; no art can free us from such vexations, since God has prescribed them for us as atonement for original sin. "Such are the consequences of sin: labour and suffering, bitter, acrid, and severe; and they will be man's inseparable companions until the end of his life."

In like manner, Homer makes Agamemnon speak of the "burdensome affliction" of toil imposed by Zeus upon mortals; and in our own day the Eskimos believe that only those who have la-

boured and suffered much will, after death, be allowed to enter the realm of the blest.

Whenever some of our race have tried to free themselves from this primal curse of toil, and to grab a larger share of the good things of life, they have been able to do so only by subjugating their fellows. Vast numbers of prisoners of war, enslaved debtors, and serfs have had to be forced to labour as hewers of wood and drawers of water that a few might lead lives of ease and superfluity.

Slave labour created the huge monuments and the works of art of ancient Egypt, filled the granaries of the pharaohs, mined gold and ores. Twelve million slaves had, with the force of their muscles and the skill of their hands, to wring plenty from nature, that the admired civilization of the Hellenes might flourish. Nor was it otherwise among the Romans, and subsequently. Always and always, hundreds of thousands, nay millions, have had to toil, often in chains, and under the lash or spurred by hunger, that a small proportion of the human race might enjoy wealth transcending the stingy allowance of nature. Again and ever again, the curse pronounced in Genesis has fulfilled itself in disastrous reproductions of torment, sorrow, and degradation.

From very early days, therefore, men have ardently desired to be relieved from the curse of toil. It was largely this yearning which created the millenarian visions of a coming tremendous change, of an atonement whereby the world would be purified, and freed thenceforward from the compulsion to labour, when a transfigured nature would cease to threaten man with unceasing dread of hunger and misery. Then Mother Nature, ceasing to drive men to toil, would offer them freehandedly of her foison: trees would bear abundant fruit, corn would flourish, a vine would bear a thousand clusters of grapes, milk would flow in torrents down the hillsides, and each grain of wheat would be as large as the kidneys of an ox.

This dream of the return to a lost paradise in which superfluity was to be had without labour, appears again and again in the wish-fantasies of myth and fable. Inexhaustible was the horn of Amalthea; the widow's barrel of meal wasted not, neither did the cruse of oil fail, when Elijah came to Zarephath; you said "little table,

lay thyself," and the table was laid with a copious meal. "Put me in the market-place," says the magic basket in the Malay fable to the poor woman; and, in a trice, it returns to its owner, filled with dainties. The Estonian peasant who has sown an enchanted bean sees, next spring, a mill grow up out of this seed, and the mill grinds out an unfailing store of flour. When there is a shortage of wood and of meat, you open your charmed saucepan and find a ready-cooked joint which no human hands have put there. Betwixt night and morning, helpful jinn build a palace; at the word of command, the desert blossoms like a garden; obliging brownies do the housework. Always it is the same dream of an increase in life's goods, in power, in wealth, without the need for anyone to do a hand's turn of work.

To bring about in real life what myths tell us of the past, what millenarians hope from a "new world" to come, what has been incorporated in so many folk-tales, can be expected by mortal men only as the outcome of a great magic. None but a "master magician" can annul the primal curse of labour; none but a great enchanter can save man from the arduous toil he must otherwise perform to fulfil any of his wishes.

Through his knowledge of the secret essence of things, the magician has become enabled to use the effective formula by which nature can be compelled to deliver her gifts. With the aid of the "philosopher's stone," he can bring dead matter to life, can transmute base metal into gold. He need but utter his incantation, or wave his magic wand, and the invisible spirit that dwells within seemingly material things will hasten to do his bidding, and will lay at his feet whatever he may desire.

To realize this enduring "dream of the great magic," to conjure out of nature plenty and wealth—this has always been the aim of adepts, necromancers, and alchemists. From earliest times, throughout the Middle Ages, and well into the modern era, people have had a childlike faith in the miracles that can be worked by those "artes sapientiæ" of which Paracelsus boasted that "at Sheba in the Orient and upon the island of Tharsis they have been esteemed as the highest wisdom," so that, as compared with them, "people deemed all other mortal wisdom feeble and trifling,

prizing magic alone as the most useful and invincible wisdom."

Only as working by enchantment, could the men of old conceive of instruments which would work by themselves, producing goods unaided. Aristotle, when he was trying to demonstrate the indispensability of slavery, fancied that he was fabling the impossible when he conceived of such sorceries invading the realm of real life:

"If every tool, when called upon, or even of its own accord, could do the work that befits it, just as the inventions of Dædalus moved of themselves, or the tripods of Hephæstus went on their own initiative to their sacred work—if the weavers' shuttles were to weave of themselves—then there would be no need either of apprentices for the master-craftsmen or of slaves for the lords."

Almost every mention in the ancient world concerning such instruments conceived of as doing the work of human beings is in a tone which shows that the writer, even if he had dallied for a moment to consider the principles of mechanics, was really looking upon these children of fancy as magical "artes sapientiæ." We see this clearly when Claudianus insists that Archimedes' perpetuum mobile must have been moved "by spirits confined in the interior of the machine."

The same "dream of the great magic" underlay subsequent attempts to solve the problem of perpetual motion, to make a machine which should go on working for ever, in virtue of a spirit of everlasting movement prisoned within it. Even when John Wilkins, bishop of Chester, and one of the founders of the Royal Society (a man whose outlook was in many respects that of modern scientists), was trying to solve the mystery of "perpetual motion" by "mathematical magic," or when Paracelsus believed that by "chemical separation and extraction" it would be possible to make, after the model of the great world, a tiny world in which such a perpetual motion would exist—always these seekers after perpetual motion had a gnostic conviction that man's semi-divine ancestor, the "gnostic Adam," had been able to control such magical powers, even as had the Almighty.

In the search for a mechanical "all-mover," no less than in the alchemists' endeavours to discover a universal remedy, a panacea, Adam's disinherited descendant was wrestling with Cadmus for

his heritage, for the force which would enable him to evade the primal curse, to secure superfluity without toil, to make the world of fable a reality.

In one of the cells of a thirteenth-century monastery, a cell which its heretical tenant had secretly transformed into a scientific laboratory, the Franciscan monk Roger Bacon (an early Faust, wearing a cowl) diligently studied, not theology alone, but physics and chemistry as well. While the "doctor mirabilis" was thus trying to discover the hidden world that lies beneath the obvious one, there revealed itself ever more and more clearly to his mind that it lies within the power of human reason to make appliances which could do the work of men.

"Boats could be made to advance along the surface of the water without human arms to pull the oars," we read in his book *On the Secret Works of Art and Nature,* "so that even great vessels might navigate the rivers and the seas with the utmost speed, though only one man should guide them, and they should be full of passengers. In like manner, carriages might be constructed which would not be drawn by any beast, but would move with immense velocity. Flying-machines could be made, so that a man, sitting in the middle of the apparatus, could conduct it by an artificial mechanism, and rival the flight of birds through the air. Furthermore, instruments could be made which, though small, could lift huge burdens and put them down again."

Roger Bacon, in this sense likewise an early Faust, proposed to transcend magic by human activity, insisting that it lay within the power of the skilled investigator to make machines. To his contemporaries, however, he naturally appeared to be a wizard. The brethren of his order came to regard him with increasing distrust, until at length the Minister General Jerome of Ascoli had Roger Bacon kept in close confinement for ten years.

Three centuries after this vision of machinery had appeared to the marvellous Franciscan, a similar vision, still premature, occurred in the clairvoyant utopian fancies of the learned lord chancellor, his namesake, Francis Bacon. Not until the eighteenth century was well advanced did the day come for the realization of these fancies, when machinery was to begin to lift man out of the

condition of want to which the pitiful weakness of his muscles had hitherto restricted him, and to open for him the portals leading into a world of limitless and easily won plenty.

A new type of human being had had to develop for this to become practicable. It was not men like the medieval adepts immersed in cabbalistic meditations, but simpler and soberer thinkers, strenuous workers, or persons moved by the eager pursuit of gain, who were now to discover weavers' shuttles which could weave of themselves, self-rowing galleys, and impetuously moving carriages not requiring to be drawn by horses.

The faculties which enabled this new generation to enforce regular activities upon dead matter and seemingly inert powers had nothing in common with secret spells or mantic practices; it depended, rather, upon the newly discovered talent which enabled them to glimpse behind the created forms of nature the uncreated forms of a phenomenal world that still lay in the realm of the potential, to give shape and actuality to that which was still shapeless and hidden, and thus to superpose a second and purely human creation upon the world as first created by God. This rational clairvoyance, this power of combination, which the creator seemed to have bestowed upon man for his retarded salvation in a far from bountiful universe, began, at this date, unexpectedly, to manifest itself in the heads of a few persons who had hitherto been working inconspicuously at looms, pumping water out of mines, or experimenting in simply furnished laboratories.

I have already mentioned several of them. James Hargreaves, the weaver and carpenter, the inventor of the spinning-jenny used in the manufacture of cotton; Lewis Paul, the promoter; John Wyatt, the carpenter; John Kay, the working engineer, who in 1733 took out a patent for his fly-shuttle, by which arrangement only one hand was needed to throw the shuttle backwards and forwards; Arkwright, the barber, inventor of the spinning-frame; Edmund Cartwright, a clergyman, inventor of the power-loom—one and all of them were driven by the desire for the rapid acquisition of wealth; in one and all of them the unrest aroused by prolonged speculation equipped them with the faculty of looking back to the "mothers," and from them bringing forth a second creation into the world. In due succession there were re-

vealed to them the lineaments and contours of new and quasi-magical constructions, until, out of these inventors' workshops, there proceeded, increasingly perfect in form and in function, independently working machines which could produce goods in unrestricted abundance.

Trifling in comparison with these actual wonders seemed those recorded in myth and fable, and those which many of the great masters of the "artes sapientiæ" claimed to have accomplished. For these modern miracles were really performed, were actualities in the realm of modern technique.

The wizards, the thaumaturges, and the necromancers had never, even on their own showing, produced anything really new. Their art was limited to the transformation of such forms, substances, and functions as already existed in nature. Shapes were changed, inert objects were animated, place and time were modified; but not once, even when they gave their fancy free rein, did they venture to claim that they had conjured up, out of the realm of the uncreated, shapes never before seen on earth.

But the straightforward persons with whose discoveries an unprecedented era of fulfilment began introduced something hitherto unnatural into the phenomenal world—namely, human purpose, constructions for human ends, human teleology. Into the interstices of a creative system which had seemed so majestic and so proud, so sublimely superior to anything that was human, working towards purposes of its own that were past finding out, they had introduced a second world of being and plenty, not contained in God's "first creation"—a world of things designed to gratify human wills and to satisfy human interests. Thus their magic did not merely transform a known existential world into new shapes, was not content with changing places and times as already known to nature; out of nothingness, they called up goods, appliances, spatial configurations, and movements of time which had never before existed.

Paracelsus, muddling away with his primitive retorts, had thought of the possibility of creating a homunculus; and the learned rabbis Bal Shem and Löw, taking a lump of clay, had tried, by the use of appropriate letters of the alphabet and figures,

with the aid of the mysterious Book of Jezirah, and by the utterance of the magic word "Shemhamphoras," to give it life as the "Golem." Many of the earliest machines, too, such as were made in antiquity by Egyptian priests and by the Pythagorean Archytas of Tarentum, were still in the form of quasi-human automata. Of the learned pope Sylvester II (better known under his lay name of Gerbert) the chroniclers report that about the year 1000 he was occupied upon the construction of a mechanical man. Albertus Magnus is said to have had an artificial "metallic servant" of this kind, which did not merely do the housework, but was able to speak. Indeed, the extreme talkativeness of the android, tradition tells, became so intolerable to young Thomas Aquinas, then a pupil of Albertus, that Aquinas at length seized a hammer and smashed the automaton to atoms.

Today, automata in human form are often made as curiosities. At the entrance to shops, such "robots" will rise, make a polite bow, and hold forth about the excellence and variety of the goods on sale, or will direct customers to the floor at which what they need may be found; and distributors or slot-machines, to the amusement of onlookers, will answer to the insertion of false coins with a loud reproach. But the really important machines which have taken on human tasks, which supply man with an abundance of goods, and relieve him of all sorts of onerous duties, are not made in human or animal form, being specifically fitted to their own peculiar purposes.

The resemblances between the parts of many of the early machines and human organs speedily disappeared, and the more perfectly machines are adapted to their purpose, the more completely are their technical forms divorced from their organic prototypes.

At length even the similarity of function between machine and man disappears, and the machine does its duties in ways peculiar to itself. Instead of the to-and-fro movement characteristic of animal limbs, we have rotating movements which are without parallel in our limbs. Wheels, rollers, and spindles, connecting rods, belts, and cranks, take over the work hitherto assigned to anthropomorphic instruments. Indeed, many apparatus—sewing-machines, for instance—become possible only when the inventor gives up the attempt to imitate the "tool of tools," as Aristotle once termed the

human hand, and, instead of this, has recourse to a purely mechanical, non-organic principle.

When the demand for yarn became greatly intensified, vain attempts were made to induce one spinner to work two spinning-wheels at a time, so that in this way the output of the workers might be doubled. "Expert spinners who could spin two threads simultaneously were almost as rare as two-headed men." Until machines were invented to come to the rescue, by no effort could the limits nature imposed be transgressed, and an increase of production could be effected only by employing a larger number of human beings.

Machinery, however, solved the riddle of mechanical multiplication, so that, without any increase in labour power, production could be many times multiplied. The inventions of Hargreaves, Wyatt, Paul, and Arkwright rendered "spinning without fingers" possible; John Kay's "fly-shuttle," which returned the shuttle through the warp without the use of the second hand; Jedediah Strutt's automatic "mule-jenny," which only needed children to tie on the thread—all these machines increased the output of goods to a previously inconceivable degree.

Yet more insistently did this inventive generation thrust forward into the realm of potential functions, until at length there was discovered that mysterious source of energy whose control was to liberate man once for all from the limitations imposed on him by the feebleness of his muscles. At the opening of the eighteenth century, two lads who made a hobby of mechanical construction, Denis Papin and Thomas Savery, in later years to become famous as physicist and as officer in the engineers respectively, became aware of amazing possibilities for constraining fire to do mechanical work. Then Newcomen, a simple farrier, constructed, after Savery's model, the first practical working "atmospheric machine." A further half-century was to elapse before James Watt, a young mechanic, being called in to repair one of Newcomen's machines, was seized by the desire to remedy its manifest imperfections, and "devoted his whole attention to this machine."

For four years Watt, with the aid of an elderly tinker, made model after model, until at length the primitive "fire machine,"

which worked only as a hot-air engine, was transformed into a steam-engine, which immediately proved four times as effective as its predecessor.

Now man had discovered a new source of energy, which could be multiplied at will, which was independent of place and time, was wholly subject to human desires, and was always ready to work and to produce goods with the strength of a thousand men.

At length George Stephenson, minder of a Newcomen engine at Chesterfield, invented the locomotive, thus fulfilling Roger Bacon's dream of a self-propelled carriage moving with immeasurable velocity. Henceforward man could transport goods with incredible speed to or from any part of the world. Like the flying sandals and the seven-league boots of fable, the railway train would carry him with the swiftness of a bird to the most distant spot.

Now that thought had begun to plumb the creative depths out of which hitherto uncreated technical forms could be called into being, there was no end to discoveries and inventions. Newer and newer possibilities were conceived by the mind, to be speedily realized in steel and iron; and every one of the machines which, in quick succession, were superadded to the first multiplying mechanisms and locomotives increased the abundance of wealth.

Though barely two centuries have elapsed since the epoch-making inventions of John Kay, Lewis Paul, and John Wyatt, the mechanical advances of the intervening period have led to the growth of a "steel population" effectively outnumbering by many times the human population of the world. Thus everything in the way of machine development which Aristotle sportively mooted as impossibility; which in the vaticinations of Roger Bacon brought that Franciscan monk near to being burned for sorcery; and which in Francis Bacon's *New Atlantis* was still no more than utopian fantasy, has now been realized.

"Magic can also effect this," wrote Theophrastus Bombastus Paracelsus with the presumptuousness of a sorcerer, "that a voice can be heard across the seas; that one who lives in the West can converse with one who lives in the East. For what nature can hear at a hundred paces can, through magic, be heard at a distance of five hundred miles. Furthermore, what, under natural conditions,

can be traversed by a swift runner or by a man on horseback in a month, is a distance that, through this sort of magic, can be covered in a single day."

Technical inventions have fulfilled, and more than fulfilled, the claim of magic to transcend the limits of space and time. They have made it possible, nay easy, "to hear a voice from across the seas." But it is not a winged "magic messenger" to whom technicians entrust such a sending of news. Invisible, imponderable waves in the ether do what is requisite, with speed and accuracy far beyond that of which the human senses are capable; and similar etheric undulations, conveyed throughout the country by a network of wires, drive our machines, forward our goods, build our houses, and lighten our darkness.

Strange creatures of steel and iron have been born—forms and functions never known before our day. New and tremendous powers have replaced the power of muscle, whether human or that of the lower beasts, producing goods far beyond human expectation and even beyond human requirement.

For two centuries, now, machines have been at work upon this planet of ours. One improvement has followed another; their construction has grown more and more purposeful; every working process has been rationalized, until, in the mechanized automata, it has actually been possible to fulfil the dreams of the human race, to liberate mankind from corporeal limitations, and to do by machinery the work hitherto done by slaves, beasts of draught and burden, wind, and water.

Over long distances, from one great hall of machines to another, trains without a driver run to and fro, laden with raw materials and finished goods. Without the intervention of human hands, huge electric cranes lift blocks of stone, logs of wood, bales of yarn or silk, carcasses or sacks of fruit, out of railway trucks, and automatically transfer them to the waiting maws of the machines.

In enormous halls where no man or woman is at work, mechanical instruments rise and fall, glide and turn, hammer, press, smooth, sort, and pack "on their own" what other machines bring to them, until the raw material has been transformed and elabo-

rated a thousand times. Conveyors carry a continuous stream of finished goods from the place of manufacture, and hand them over to the electric railway for transport to the forwarding station.

Somewhere, at a distance from the machine-rooms, are sitting a few engineers, in front of switch-boards or measuring and controlling instruments, with nothing more to do than turn a lever or press a button from time to time, that, in the place where the work is being done, there may be some modification in the movement of this or that machine, in the temper or the shape of the metal that is being turned out, in the width or colour of the textile, in the taste of some article of diet, in the quantity of the product. By day and by night the factory automatically constructs mile after mile of steel rails, piles up mountains of bales of silk, fills and seals myriads of tins containing preserved food, that man may never again lack steel, silk, or nutriment.

From a tower high above the points of the railway-yards, another man, seated at an electric switch-board, guides the shunting of the trucks, assembling them into trains as he pleases, and sending them off upon their journey, without any brakesman having to strain his muscles or risk his life at the job.

On enormous farms, squadrons of tractors roll across the land, dragging ploughs, or machines which drop seed in the furrows; motorized cutters and binders do quickly what a few decades ago would have required the labour of a hundred or a thousand human beings. Electric power thrashes, hulls, cleanses, and sorts the grain; and then huge elevators load it into the trucks. The farmer has little more to do than to look on, watching that there may be no hitch in the working of his machines, starting and stopping them at the suitable moment. The land, which, since man began to till it, would until recently yield its fruits only when fertilized by human sweat, now, thanks to the "great magic" of machinery, complies with the wishes of a cultivator freed from the primal curse of toil.

In the farm-house, the womenfolk may look on while electric milking-machines draw white streams from the udders of the cows, while electric separators indefatigably "skim" this milk, and while butter and cheese produce themselves spontaneously. Thus

the farmer's wife, too, is freed from the primal curse: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread."

Nowhere, these days, is man inevitably subjected to the curse of toil. Nature may still rudely block our streets with snow. When this happens, the municipal administration has merely to send out the appropriate snow-ploughs and sweepers, and, in a short time, the ways are cleared.

When anyone wishes to build a house much higher than the tallest pyramid of the pharaohs, he need no longer set thousands of slaves to work. Machines dig the foundations; "instruments small in themselves," like those foreseen by the thirteenth-century Franciscan monk, excavate and shovel; other machines lift the heaviest blocks of stone; and, in six months, there has been erected a hundred-story edifice for whose sake hardly a man has had to strain his muscles, little more having been required than work of calculation, supervision, and the light work of the machine-minders.

Nay, more, machines are constructed to "mind," to supervise, other machines, to do the necessary calculations, and to guide the subordinate machines at their tasks. Iron "robots" supervise the reservoirs by which Washington is supplied with water, and, when rung up on the phone, inform headquarters concerning the level of the water in each tank. Calculating machines, cash registers, and book-keeping apparatus work more accurately than human brain or human hand; machines perform arithmetical operations which would occupy a human arithmetician for months in succession; the instruments of the Weather Bureau count the particles of dust in a cubic metre of air; hydrographic calculators ascertain for a year in advance the time and the amount of ebb and flow in all the harbours of the world.

The advances in these respects that have been made in recent years enable us to look forward to a day not so distant when man will be freed, not only from the burden of toil, but even from the trouble of supervision and guidance of the machines; to a day when machinery will be wholly self-regulating.

For the thinkers of the deist Enlightenment, God had been reduced to the level of a "motor primus." He was no more than the Great First Cause, who had given the original impulse to the huge dead mechanism of the universe, which thenceforward had con-

tinued to work in accordance with unalterable laws. Now man himself has become such a "first mover" of the huge machine; he has set it in motion, and he no longer troubles himself about its operation.

Niggard and stingy had been the material world, so long as man's body had been the measure of all things, so long as he was compelled with his own weak hands to drag from the womb of nature everything he needed. Under such conditions, he could command no more goods than those which his quickly tiring muscles could produce. In these circumstances, scarcity had ever been his portion. But with the invention of multiplying instruments, and the application, first of water-power, then of steam, then of electricity and internal-combustion engines, to the driving of the machines, there was suddenly a magical increase of produce, so that, the world over, there was an almost preposterous abundance of the most unexpected variety of goods.

Whereas Homer, describing the household of Penelope, tells us that twelve slaves were occupied in preparing bread for some thirty persons—today, the labour of seventeen men, using the most modern milling machinery, can supply all America with flour; and in an electric baking-plant, thirty-three bakers can turn out five thousand loaves every hour of the day.

In fifteenth-century Europe, there was so little linen that Mary of Anjou, wife of Charles VII, was the only Frenchwoman who had more than two linen shifts. In our days, however, when one spinning-machine does thirteen hundred times as much work as the human hand, hundreds upon hundreds of kilometres of linen are produced every day.

In ancient Rome, a shoemaker took five days to make a pair of shoes, and all the shoemakers of the city, numbering 7200, could not turn out in a year more than half a million pairs; but nowadays the annual output of the shoe factories of the United States is nine hundred millions.

On the cotton plantations, the new cotton-picking apparatus can in three hours do as much work as was formerly done by seventy-seven hours of human labour. One brick-making machine can make 400,000 bricks in a day; one lamp-making machine can

turn out 650,000 incandescent lamps in the same period. In the United States, during eight years, two million new dwellings have been built. Eighteen million telephones do the magic work foretold by Paracelsus; twenty-three million automobiles with a hundred thousand railway locomotives and airplanes fulfil the prophecies of Roger Bacon.

One hundred coalminers can today produce the coal needed to heat ten thousand dwellings. From the smelting-furnaces there continually pour out molten streams of the precious iron which, in former times, had laboriously to be smelted in tiny furnaces with wood for fuel. During the first decades of the twentieth century, more metal has been dug, smelted, and used than in the whole previous history of the human race.

To quote Werner Sombart: "The man of the machine era resembles one who has hitherto been compelled to lead a penurious existence, slowly improving his condition by diligence and staying-power, until, through an unexpected windfall in the shape of a legacy or through winning the big prize in a lottery, he has suddenly become rich beyond the dreams of avarice. For, metaphor apart, that is what has happened to our race. Down to the end of the early capitalist era man lived on his income, received in the form of solar energy, transmogrified into the vegetables and trees growing from year to year—the plants by which solar energy is, when the sun is shining, and only then, changed into living substances and forces. But now, the treasures heaped up beneath the surface of the earth by this same solar energy, formed, indeed, at the surface during millions of years of sunshine, and then buried away safely underground, do actually represent a vast property as compared with the yearly income—a vast property which man is able to consume as fast as he pleases, thanks to the discoveries of modern technique." That is why there can be no valid comparison between our present civilization and earlier ones. "We live in an age in which man has money to burn, is rapidly consuming the accumulated hoards, and thus is able to make an unparalleled display of wealth."

To put the matter numerically, one may suppose that a well-to-do Chinese in the days of Confucius must have had at most about a thousand different articles at his disposal; but the modern

American who flutters the pages of the catalogue of a great department store willing to sell its wares through the post can choose from among one hundred thousand articles.

Four water-driven turbines, each of 300,000 horse-power, develop an energy equal to the muscular power of all adult American workmen. To produce by manual labour the whole amount of commodities which the machinery of the world can produce within a brief space of time, two thousand millions of human beings would have to devote the whole of their lives to the ceaseless turning of cranks, the pulling of levers, the activation of hand spinning-wheels and hand-looms.

The most extravagant dream of the "great magic," bolder than any dreamed of yore by sorcerers and mythopœic geniuses, has thus been actually realized by the Promethean inventive generation of spinners, blacksmiths, scientists, barbers, mechanics, investigators, and engineers, so that it almost seems as if, henceforward, mankind must be for ever freed from the curse of abiding toil pronounced upon Adam and Eve and their progeny when the legendary father and mother of our race were driven out of paradise.

2

"MACHINERY HAS DONE IT"

Out of an inferno of suffocating smoke, steam, and stenches, out of dark and narrow alleys, out of courts reeking with filth, there crawled, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a new generation to make its way into history—the race of superfluous men, women, and children; the men devitalized, and clad in rags, the women pining and wasted, the children pallid, rachitic, and tearful. They were superfluous, or becoming so, because the skilful mechanical appliances which so greatly transcended human power and capacity were soon to make men practically superfluous for the production of goods.

Every newly installed spinning-jenny, minded by one "hand,"

produced as much yarn as eight of the old spinning-wheels, and therefore made seven spinners superfluous. Arkwright's spinning-frame, driven by water-power, multiplied this achievement, and thus made more human labour power superfluous. The steam-engine, which with its transmissions could drive dozens, nay hundreds, of machines, put a corresponding amount of human muscle out of use; and this was reiterated and intensified in the sequel, whenever an increase in the number of coupled machines occurred and output was speeded up.

"Under the earlier system," declared an English manufacturer at the opening of the machine era, "I used to employ sixty-three hands; since the introduction of machinery I have reduced my staff to thirty-three. Today, owing to yet further improvements, I am about to cut down from thirty-three to thirteen."

Apparatus made out of iron, the inorganic and lifeless forces of machinery, were now able to do the work and produce the goods which before had needed the hands of living men, guided by the purposive intelligence of their minds. Therewith, what had hitherto been the sole or the principal sources of energy (human hands and muscles, these "knowing tools" and "divine producers of energy," of which, during the entire history of civilization, there had never been enough to wring from nature more than the scantiest subsistence) had at one blow become useless.

Nor was it merely that machinery, with a few mechanical movements, replaced the hands of the multitude; machinery, which had arrogated to itself all the powers, aptitudes, and capacities of human beings, left, even for those workers it continued to employ, nothing more to do than the performance of a few simple and easily learned manipulations. Work which had of old needed the skill of a master-craftsman, trained by long experience, one with vigorous muscles and highly trained fingers, could, through the instrumentality of machinery, be performed by unskilled labourers, and even by women and children. Now that craftsmanship had lost its value, and the work of the craftsman could be done by a machine-minder, the workers' reward inevitably fell to a derisory figure.

The crowd of the "superfluous" housed in the slums was swelled from the ranks of those who were not, indeed, out of

work, but whose wages had been enormously reduced. The poverty of the employed who must work longer and could not earn enough for a decent subsistence was hardly less grinding than of those who had been thrown out of work. Women and children were involved in the horrible slough of misery.

Thus the dream of the great magic speedily proved a nightmare, as soon as machinery began to do its wonderful work. That which was producing an unparalleled quantity of goods caused also an unparalleled quantity of poverty, which spread in widening circles.

"I have seen them; famine had thinned them to skeletons, and they were dumb with despair"—such is Lord Byron's description of the first victims of the new disaster. (The words were uttered in the poet's only speech in the House of Lords.) A few decades later, Thomas Carlyle, a man of very different type from Byron, declared that in no previous historical epoch had the lot of the dumb millions been so wholly intolerable. It was not death, he said, not even death from hunger, which made these unfortunates so wretched; for many men had died in the past, and all men must die. Every one of us must depart from this world in the fiery chariot of pain. What was intolerable was to live in misery without knowing why; to work hard and yet to earn a mere pittance; to be sick at heart and exhausted, while at the same time lonely and uncared for.

Feargus O'Connor, the famous Chartist leader, found a pithy formula for the new poverty when he said that England's machines were spinning and weaving for the whole world while England's own children went naked and hungry.

England led the dance; but the same pictures of misery were repeated all over the world, wherever machinery was introduced. In hopeless perplexity, Jeremias Gotthelf writes of the poverty resulting from industrialization in Switzerland: "We have had no war, we have no debts, no court, and the foolery of armies does not come into question where we are concerned; yet poverty is continually increasing. Poverty has taken on a new visage. Of old, poverty existed in every nation, like an altar, on which the people offered up sacrifices, to show its devoutness; a poverty which increased or diminished according as the Lord closed or opened his

hand. Now poverty has acquired a life of its own, has become a rank weed which spreads and spreads like docks in clover; it never lets up, but perpetually increases; it has become hereditary and is contagious, like a cancerous wound in the national life, the veritable plague of our epoch."

Scarcely had the first machines begun to work in India, when the British viceroy reported to his government: "The bleached bones of the cotton weavers are whitening the plains of Hindustan." Similarly in China, millions of handicraftsmen, peasants, and tenant farmers, who previously had lived by the work of their hands, were starved by the introduction of machinery.

During the century and a half which have elapsed since the opening of the machine era, technique has been steadily perfected. The most hidden energies of nature have been pressed into the service of man, and the most ingenious mechanical appliances have been invented. Thoroughly automatized factories produce faster and faster with the aid of conveyors—and more and more mill workers, farmers, peasants, office workers, are thrown out of work.

At the outset of the industrial era, the Genevese political economist Sismondi prophesied that the day would come when the king of England, by merely manipulating a lever, would produce all the wealth of his realm, but at the same time his subjects, deprived of every possibility of earning, would perish from hunger.

This gloomy prophecy is being more and more literally fulfilled. No doubt from time to time new needs create new industries, in which the disused labour-power can find employment: and, during such periods, the number of hands condemned to inactivity is reduced for a while; but the general movement of industry shows a larger proportion of workers who become superfluous, of hands for whom no occupation can be found. Nay, as often as technique, through some unexpected achievement on the part of inventors, experiences a signal advance, the factories spit forth larger and larger numbers of superfluous persons from the working community into the abysses of anxiety, insecurity, and despair.

In the United States, during the twenties of the present century, the perfectionment of mechanical technique led to the production of a glut of wares exceeding the wildest dreams of the past.

While upon the huge joint-stock farms, extending to an area of

many hundred thousand acres, tractors, sowing-machines, cutters, binders, and thrashers were producing an unheard-of quantity of wheat; while in the electric bakeries of the great towns loaves were being turned out by the million; while the cotton-picking machines were gathering mountains of cotton—the roads were crowded with out-of-work cultivators or tramps; "bread-lines" were formed by the industrial workers of the great cities, waiting for a dole of food; and millions went short of proper clothing.

At the very moment when prosperity and efficiency have become an eighth wonder of the world, the poorhouses are full of men who have long and vainly sought a job, said an editorial in *The New York Times*. Similar complaints filled the columns of the other newspapers, were bawled by the loud-speakers, and made the substance of the speeches delivered at public meetings held by the despairing masses. Gradually the idea began to spread: "Perhaps we are suffering want because we have too much; perhaps we are out of work because we have learned to work too well."

In the year 1932, Frank J. Taylor, commissioner of the Department of Public Welfare in New York City, declared that never in the history of the city had there been so much poverty and distress. Never before had so many families come to the end of their resources. Never before had so many been evicted from their dwellings; never had there been so much illness due to malnutrition; never such a widespread want of food.

At the same time, President Franklin D. Roosevelt alluded to the "tragic irony" of a situation in which the most efficient industrial system of all ages had brought the world to the edge of an abyss. America's condition, he said, was not due to a natural catastrophe, to drought, flood, or earthquake. She had an excess of raw materials, an excess of machines to manufacture the goods she needed, an excess of the means of transport requisite to make them accessible to all who needed them. Yet millions of hard-working and intelligent persons were suffering from the extreme of poverty through lack of work. Millions upon millions of her citizens had lost that sense of security to which they believed themselves to have a just claim—and this in a country which was abundantly supplied with natural resources and with the means of production

needed to transform these natural resources into commodities sufficient for the use of the entire population. Even more disastrous was it that with the disappearance of hopes for an assured future there had also vanished the certainty of finding sufficient food, clothing, and shelter for the next twenty-four hours.

Thus, from the days of the "industrial revolution" to our own, there has been a steadily increasing number of superfluous persons. The human beings who, upon this stingy earth, could secure a right to laden tables, ringing coins, and clean beds in no other way than by the strength of their muscles, the skill of their hands, and the cunning of their brains had been deprived of strength and cunning and bread by the machinery which, in their place, sows and garners, weaves and spins, cuts and tailors and hammers.

Shut away from the goods of the world, disinherited and damned, stands the "superfluous man," as if, for a second time, he had been driven out of paradise.

At the opening of the new epoch, it occurred to many that the only way of saving themselves from conquest and replacement by machines was to destroy the latter while they were still few in number and imperfectly developed. "Is it not safer to nip the mischief in the bud and to forbid them further progress?"

When, in the year 1706, the first steamship, gazed at by hundreds of stupefied onlookers who regarded it as if it had been a fabulous monster, moved proudly up the Fulda to anchor at its port of destination, a riotous mob of oarsmen and ferrymen assembled in a fury and set it afire.

But this was not the first incident of the kind. An Italian abbé named Lancellotti, in a work published at Venice in the year 1636, but written in 1579, says: "About six years ago, Anton Müller, of Danzig, saw in that town a very ingenious machine which weaves four to six lengths of ribbon at once. But the town council, being afraid that the invention would throw a large number of workmen on the street, had the machine destroyed, and the inventor secretly strangled or drowned." In 1758, Everet constructed the first wool-shearing machine to be driven by water-power. It was burned by a hundred thousand workpeople who had been displaced from work. Hargreaves's spinning-machine

could spin with eight, sixteen, or forty spindles at once; John Kay's fly-shuttle doubled the output of a loom; Parson William Lee's knitting-machine could make stockings; Vaucanson, inventor of the automatic flute-player and of the automatic duck, also made a loom which could independently weave the most complicated patterns—but all of them, Hargreaves, Kay, Lee, and Vaucanson, went in peril of their lives from out-of-work spinners, weavers, and knitters, and had to flee from their homes.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the manufacturers of Nottingham, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire had everywhere introduced mechanical spindles, mechanical looms, mechanical knitting-frames, and the like, the "hands" who had been deprived of work by these innovations, creeping forth from their miserable lairs, assembled in excited crowds. Soon they besieged the factories, overpowered the doorkeepers, and forced an entrance. Then began a work of destruction no less elemental and devastating than that wrought in the churches centuries before by the iconoclasts. With sledge-hammers the rioters broke up spindles, frames, and wheels, until nothing but fragments were left in the machine-rooms—the automatic weavers and spinners, which had robbed men of their wealth, being totally destroyed.

This vengeful storm raged throughout the Midlands and the north of England. Vainly did the authorities send soldiers to the rescue. No doubt, here and there, ten or a hundred rioters were handcuffed; no doubt, here and there, bullets made breaches in their ranks; but new malcontents appeared, as if by magic, to take the places of the fallen, and for a time the army of the machine-breakers was irresistible in its march.

The leader, styled "General Ludd," for whom rewards were offered dead or alive, and who led the out-of-work weavers and spinners to the storm, now in Nottingham, now in Yorkshire, now in Devonshire, was no more than a phantom—but he gave his name to this "Luddite movement."

There had really, more than thirty years before (so investigation showed), been a machine-breaker named Ned Ludd, an idiot boy in Leicestershire who, teased and tormented past endurance by the other boys of the village, had, in a fit of temper, destroyed some stocking-frames. But the General Ludd who was supposed

to have led the machine-breaking riots from 1811 to 1818, the heroic figure whom the police vainly sought to arrest, had been created by the fancy of the frenzied masses, and was as faceless and impersonal as these masses themselves.

The fierce struggle begun by the spinners and the weavers was continued by the millers. Amid shouts of acclamation, they tore the steam-engines out of the mills and smashed them.

Gloomier and ever more threatening grew the chorus of the superfluous weavers, spinners, millers, and file-cutters, as they voiced their hatred of "King Steam":

He has an arm, an iron arm,
And though he has but one—
There's a magic in that single arm
That crushes millions down.

Destroy King Steam, the Moloch wild,
You toiling thousands all!
Bind him his hand, or else our land
Will over night down fall.

This panicky hatred of machinery, this riotous uprising of living hands against the "iron arm," was not confined to England, but was witnessed everywhere when machinery was introduced. Just as in Nottingham, in Suffolk, and in Norwich, so, likewise, "superfluous workers" assembled in Eupen and Aix-la-Chapelle to destroy the Cockerill Works; and the spinners of Schmölln and Crimmitschau fired the spinning-mills of those towns.

In China the Boxer rebellion of 1900 was to a great extent a rising against European machinery and the import of European machine-made goods, which had thrown out of work a multitude of cart-pushers, porters, and boatmen, stopping the hammers of the coppersmiths, the whir of the domestic spinning-wheels, and the sounds of many other manual crafts.

In the squares of Indian towns, Gandhi's disciples make huge bonfires for the destruction of machine-woven textiles; and a crusade of millions of Hindus, symbolically dressed in hand-spun and hand-woven garments and carrying the traditional distaff as an emblem, is directed against the demoniacal machinery of the West.

It was an elemental impulse of self-defence, overriding reasonable thought, observation, or economic theory, which led to these outbursts of wrath on the part of the oarsmen of the Fulda, the ribbon-weavers of Danzig, the machine-stormers of Nottingham, the Chinese Boxers, the Indian revolutionists—an instinctive conviction that the foundations of their existence were being undermined by machinery.

"We seldom find anyone who will venture to discuss the problem of machinery," wrote the central press-organ of the British Chartists in the thirties of the nineteenth century; "the topic seems to inspire alarm. Everyone can see, however, that machinery is bringing about the greatest of all revolutions, inasmuch as it completely transforms the mutual relationships of human beings. Yet no one dares to say a word about the matter."

This dread is disclosed in the flight from machinery which has been going on ever since machinery came into use. In *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahren,* Goethe makes Susanne, who owns a spinning-mill, declare that the increasing development of machinery torments and alarms her. "It moves on its way like a thunderstorm, slowly, slowly; but it has a fixed direction, which it will inevitably pursue. We think of it; we talk about it; but neither thought nor words can help. There are only two possible expedients, and each is as tragic as the other. Either we must ourselves adopt the new method, and thus accelerate the mischief; or else we must break away, take the best and the worthiest as companions, and seek a happier fate across the seas."

In actual fact, there were many who fled from the machines into the villages, or across the seas, in search of "a better fortune," where these sinister creatures of steel had not yet established a footing.

Samuel Butler devoted three chapters of his brilliant utopian romance *Erewhon* (1872) to describing the dread produced in mankind by these "demons of steel." A bold traveller, after many hardships and dangers, succeeds in getting "over the range" in New Zealand, to enter a charming and fertile land, whose inhabitants at first welcome him kindly. But when he draws out his watch to look at the time, they seize him and propose to execute him as a criminal, for they have caught him red-handed carrying

a machine. Centuries before the explorer's arrival, the inhabitants of "Nowhere" had recognized that machines would only masquerade for a while as the servants of man, but would soon take on an independent life of their own, and from slaves would become tyrannical masters. After a lengthy and savage civil war, which nearly ruined the country, the destruction of machinery was enforced; and thereafter it was a capital offence in Erewhon to possess or to invent a machine.

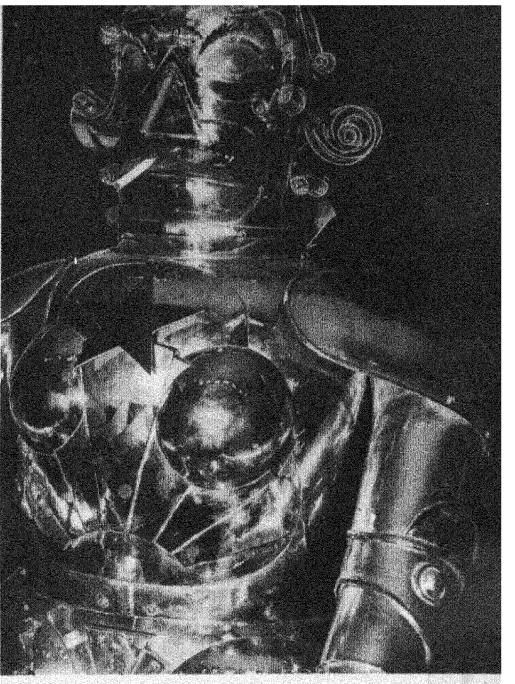
To the workers during the industrial revolution, the arrival of these "damnable creatures of steel" seemed an "invasion of demons without heart or nerves, without pain or fear, indefatigable and imperturbable, equipped with seemingly immortal powers." The demons had forced their way among living men, and would cause men's destruction. "Machinery has done it," we read in an editorial of the *Potters Examiner* published in the year 1844; "machinery has reduced men to rags and beggary. Machinery has forced them to live in cellars, or has driven them away from their homeland to seek in distant countries the bread denied them here."

3

THE LASH

A SLAVE-OWNER from the West Indies and a pious Jesuit father visited the great textile factories of England at about the same date, and each, after his own fashion, recorded his impressions. "I have always had pricks of conscience because I own slaves," says the West Indian, who is disgusted by the debasement and maltreatment he sees in the British factories; "but never in the colonies should we have believed it possible for men to treat their fellows so cruelly!"

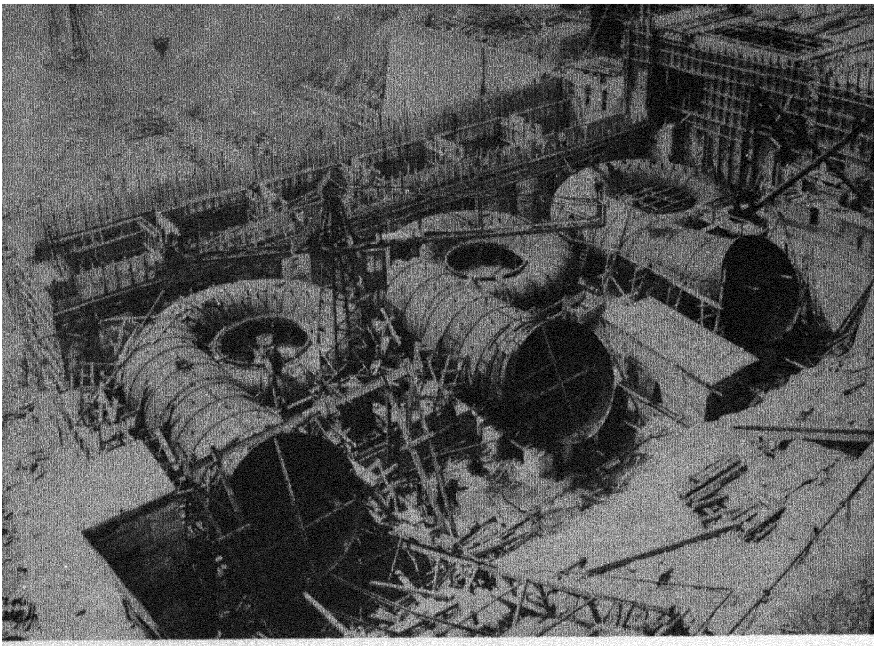
Carlo Maria Curci, S.J., said he had been "positively dumbfounded" by the sight of such inhumanities. After he had pulled himself together a little, he asked the factory-owner whether it would not be better to have the "bestial labours" that were here



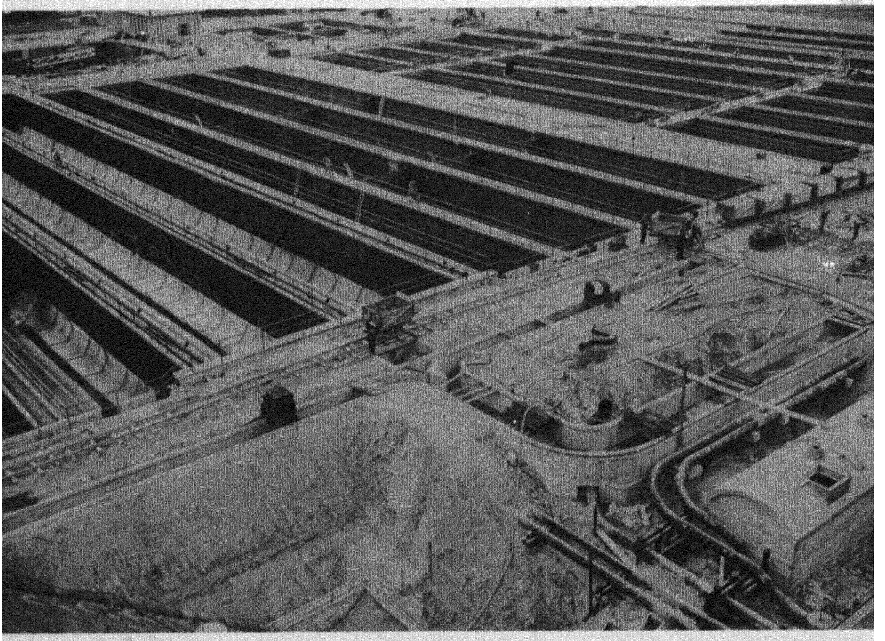
THE "ALPHA ROBOT"

PHOTO BY WIDE WORLD

MODERN RAILWAY SWITCH- AND SIGNAL-CONTROL APPARATUS



TURBINE INSTALLATION IN A MODERN HYDRO-ELECTRIC POWER STATION



MODERN SEWAGE FILTERING PLANT

performed by three thousand men, women, and children, done by animals. To his disgust, the reply was that the lower animals were too costly for such service. In reply to the further remark that human beings treated so shamefully could not live very long, the entrepreneur rejoined that this mattered little, since the supply of available workers in England greatly exceeded the demand.

Twenty years later this worthy priest was still haunted by the vision of the sufferers, the product of the industrial revolution, and the factory-owner's answers would recur to him in his dreams.

At a later date the cheerful Parisian artist Paul Gavarni, on a journey through England, visited one of these factory hells. He came out of it a man transformed. The horrors he had seen there made him so melancholy that "during the rest of his life he was never able to regain the healthy, care-free humour of his earlier caricatures."

The experienced eyes of the slave-owner, the compassion of the Jesuit, the discerning gaze of the artist, enabled all of them to recognize that the sufferings they saw were imposed on human beings by other human beings—and this experience was so shattering that for the rest of their lives they were pursued by images of horror.

Listen to the words of John Fielden (himself a factory-owner): "In many of the manufacturing districts, but particularly, I am afraid, in the guilty county to which I belong [Lancashire], cruelties the most heart-rending were practised upon the unoffending and friendless creatures who were confined [by the parish authorities] to the charge of master manufacturers; they were harassed to the brink of death by excessive labour . . . were flogged, fettered, and tortured in the most exquisite refinement of cruelty . . . they were in many cases starved to the bone while flogged to their work and . . . even, in some instances . . . were driven to commit suicide."

So dreadful were the torments to which the workers were exposed in the opening years of the nineteenth century, that those men who were sent to the New World with the first machines ran away into the woods promptly, and could not be lured back into the factories by the offer of high wages. As late as the year 1846, the factory-owners of Massachusetts could secure labour power

only by sending "slave carts" through the countryside. The driver had a premium of one dollar per head for every girl he could kidnap, and an extra bonus for those whose homes were so far away that there was no likelihood of their being able to escape.

Wherever new factories were established, it was the same story. The reports concerning the first days of the industrial revolution in America are exactly like those from England; and like those that we get in our own times from India or from China. A "horde of poverty-stricken wretches," moaning beneath the factory-owner's whip, came into existence in America. According to Gandhi: "The workers in the spinning-mills of Bombay are treated like slaves, and the labour power of India is exploited in the most shameless fashion." A report from contemporary Shanghai tells us that the factory-owners are crueller than wild beasts.

The manufacturers and their overseers, in Yorkshire at the beginning of the nineteenth century, employing child labour, would "have poor little creatures of nine and ten years old dragged out of their beds at two or four in the morning." These victims were compelled "to slave for bare existence until ten o'clock in the evening or midnight, while their legs wasted, their faces became emaciated, and they passed into a condition of torpor which was horrible to contemplate."

A hundred years later, the factory-owners in Egypt instructed their foremen to strike children on the head whenever the little ones flagged at their toil, which lasted from five o'clock in the morning until nine o'clock in the evening.

In the silk spinning-mills of present-day Shanghai, "children scald their fingers in picking cocoons out of pots of boiling water, and many of them die, consequently, of blood-poisoning." The stink there "is worse than in the filthiest cotton-mill that ever existed in Lancashire, because to the ordinary stinks of the trade are superadded those of the filthy children tied beneath the frames and the putrefying insects in the cocoons."

When the Luddite struggle was in full swing, and when the workers, who ascribed their distresses to the demons of steel, were wreaking their fury on these, William Cobbett tried to direct their energies towards another quarter, by exclaiming: "Not the ma-

chines against which you are venting your wrath, but the rich who own these machines, are the cause of your poverty and your suffering."

Hegel insisted that "no one can maintain a right as against nature"; but that in human society want "immediately assumes the form of an injustice done to one class by another." Thus it came to pass that in the "superfluous workers" there arose a sense of injustice. Very soon after their first wild outburst against the "steel demons," they began to feel that not the machines were to blame, but the machine-owners, who wanted to "save the cost of labour," who deprived willing workers of bread, who lowered wages and increased the daily hours of toil.

What, five hundred years before, the serfs under John Ball's leadership had come to perceive, the modern slaves of the factory in their turn came to perceive. The contrast between rich and poor, between those who wore furs and those who went in rags, was not the outcome of an unalterable destiny, against which "no one could maintain a right." Nay, it was human greed and human ill-will which deprived hundreds of thousands of food. Revolt was possible against what was the work, not of fate, but of man. Here was an injustice against which the sufferers could assert their rights, could establish their claims to justice.

Always there had been injustice, inflicted by the rich upon the poor, by barons on their serfs. Continually the prophets of old had clamoured for justice, had demanded the establishment of a world-order thanks to which "the voice of weeping should be no more heard in Jerusalem, nor the voice of crying"; an order in which it could be said: "They shall not build and another inhabit; they shall not plant, and another eat." Little more than a century after the Homeric age, Hesiod uplifted his voice, lamented the sufferings of the unprotected poor, and exclaimed: "Would that I did not live in this iron time!" Early in the Christian era, Mara the Stoic said to Serapion: "As goods become more abundant, necessity increases; where there is much wellbeing, pains are multiplied; and where there is abundance of wealth, we find intense suffering."

With the introduction of machinery, however, this "lack" which is felt as "injustice" became more general and more impersonal

than ever before. So long as all work was done on a particular piece of land, in a definite workshop, in a specified place, so long as it was linked with the immediate and the personal, injustice, if any sense of injustice was felt, was likewise immediate and personal; it was the injustice done by this or that baron to serfs, by this or that master-craftsman to his apprentices.

But the injustices now committed by machinery were as much divorced from the land and from the workshop as were the machines themselves; it was universalized, was encountered everywhere, that industrialization produced unemployment or lowered wages. Freed from any tie to a specific place, to a particular human being, poverty sprang out of bounds to cover the surface of the globe; and with poverty came the sense of an injustice that was suffered.

Whereas, of old, apprentices and journeymen had rebelled against their masters, serfs against the lords of the soil, now rebellion took the form of an antagonism that was no longer personal, becoming a revolt of all the unemployed, of all who worked for too long hours and for too little pay, against all the wealthy, against the possessing class of the whole earth.

No longer was this indignation directed merely against specific factory-owners in Nottingham, Bombay, Port Said, or Shanghai; no, it was directed against the "exploiters" as such, whether a hundred years ago or today, whether in the tropics or in the temperate zone, whether in Europe or across the seas.

Machinery had driven a wedge into the human race, severing it into two antagonistic parts. Henceforward there was irreconcilable antagonism between employers and employed; between those who owned machinery and those who had nothing to offer but the labour of their hands. Fundamentally irreconcilable were the interests of the two parties: the scale of wages, the length of the working day, the organization of society. The rationale of their respective existences was different; different were their aims, their dreams and wishes; different, too, were their fortunes and their misfortunes.

With touching persistency and hopefulness, men had, from the first, endeavoured, by means of religion and philosophical

theories, to allay their own and their fellows' primal dread of the animistic powers.

To dispel this dread, the Christians had persuaded themselves that man had originally been created good, that evil had been instilled into him by the Devil, and that by God's grace evil could be rooted out of him once more.

Rousseau, in turn, had ascribed the blame for the ills of this world to faulty social institutions. By nature, he insisted, man was perfectly moral. Everyone was born good and pure, and so would have remained, had not civilization exerted its corrupting influence, and robbed us of our idealism.

The champions of the French revolution had endeavoured to dispel primal dread and people's suspicions of their neighbours by proclaiming fraternity as well as equality and liberty—a fraternity which would unite all citizens as soon as the guilty aristocrats had been made an end of by the guillotine.

Even more diligently did the liberals devote themselves to the task of dispelling once and for all any fears that one man could attack, injure, or destroy another. Whereas the French revolutionists looked to the future for the establishment of that condition of general security which would result from fraternity, the liberals looked backward as well as forward. In their view, since the beginning of things, there had been valid in mankind and throughout nature a law, thanks to which what was advantageous to the individual was necessarily advantageous to all, so that each one could follow the dictates of enlightened self-interest without doing any harm to others. Man as he is, with his selfishness, his self-assertive impulse, and his desire to pursue his own advantage, is by no means a danger to his fellows. Indeed, the pursuit of enlightened self-interest is the best regulator of human relations, inasmuch as, out of the "free interplay of forces," there cannot fail to result a harmonious state of society, in which "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" will unfailingly prevail.

Thus did the liberals try to relieve people of their dread of others' egoism, and to convince them that the individual pursuit of wealth cannot be a menace to the welfare of others.

The liberal harmony was to fulfil the dream of a world freed from dread, and, along the lines of this dream, at the opening of

the nineteenth century, the attempt was made to break the chains which had hitherto prevented the individual from freely pursuing his own interest. To the liberals of that day, the evil of machinery was invisible; they could only regard machines as a new and splendid means for the realization of the great harmony. Thanks to machinery, self-interest, which had hitherto been unduly restricted, would be given full scope; and, inasmuch as self-interest necessarily promoted the requisite harmony, machines, which relieved men of the need for toil, and provided humanity with a previously inconceivable amount of wealth, could not fail to lead still more quickly to "the greatest happiness of the greatest number."

Just as little as the faith of the Mormons and of the Babists was undermined, in the one case by the emptiness of Joseph Smith's box, and in the other by the death of the Master in a latrine, could the wailing of child-workers in the factories of Lancashire disturb the liberal faith in the harmonizing effect of individual self-interest.

Thus at the very time when crowds of impoverished workers were storming the factories and destroying machines, when the workshops of industrialized villages were hells, when the sufferings of hundreds of thousands were increasing to an unprecedented degree, Jeremy Bentham, in his finely furnished London house, which had a piano in every room, was busily engaged in making the final arrangements for the establishment of the world-wide rule of universal freedom and harmony of interests.

"Bentham had neither internal experience nor external," writes John Stuart Mill of his former teacher. "The quiet, even tenor of his life, and his healthiness of mind, conspired to exclude him from both. He never knew prosperity and adversity, passion nor satiety. He never had even the experiences which sickness gives; he lived from childhood to the age of eighty-five in boyish health. He knew no dejection, no heaviness of heart. He never felt life a sore and a weary burden. He was a boy to the last."

Mill concludes his remarks on Bentham with the words: "No one, probably, who, in a highly instructed age, ever attempted to give a rule to all human conduct, set out with a more limited

conception either of the agencies by which human conduct is, or those by which it should be, influenced."

Not all the disciples of Bentham, however, could maintain this cheerful aloofness of a big boy. Enough for some of them to cease burying their noses in their master's books and to travel and see the world for themselves, and they recognized what the aforesaid Jesuit, slave-owner, and French artist had recognized, so that their faith in liberal wisdom was shaken.

That is what happened in the year 1815 to the French economist, Jean-Baptiste Say, when he made a pilgrimage to Scotland to visit the tomb of Adam Smith, a man whose memory he greatly revered. On the way thither, passing through some of the industrial towns of northern England, he happened upon one of those working-class quarters where the factory "hands," half-starving, clad in rags, wasted away to living skeletons, lived huddled in foul, dark, damp, and stuffy slums. Say was an eye-witness of the maltreatment to which both grown-ups and children were exposed in the factories; he listened to their plaints; he learned that everywhere—in Yorkshire, in Birmingham, in Manchester, and in Glasgow—there were similar slums and similar famished and degraded human beings, to make the seamy side of the plenty and the wealth poured out by the factories; he learned that everywhere the weeping of maltreated children was to be heard.

It became apparent to this French economist, brought up to admire Adam Smith as the creator of the doctrine of the harmony of interests, that the doctrine must be fallacious. Manifestly, human society was not so harmonious a natural product, man was not so good, that the individual factory-owner could indulge his "enlightened self-interest" without doing other men harm. If society were to leave the pursuit of gain untrammelled, some would no doubt grow wealthier and wealthier; but, on the other hand, there would be multitudes of starvelings in rags, and the cry of child labourers would rise to heaven. Profoundly disillusioned, Say turned back before reaching Adam Smith's grave.

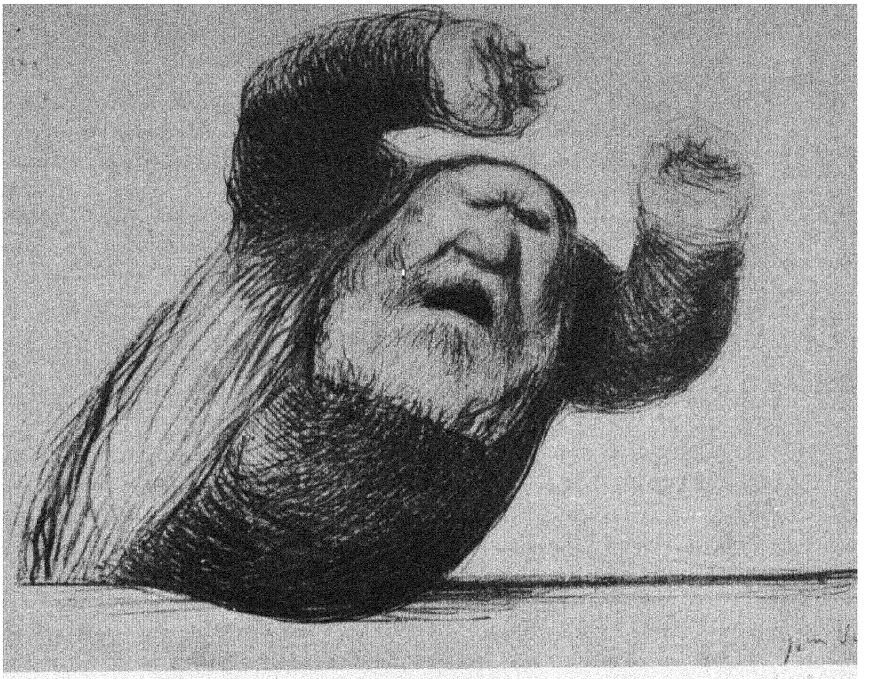
Similar was the experience of the Genevese economist Jean-Charles Sismondi, who, filled with enthusiasm for the writings of Adam Smith, had dedicated to the author of *The Wealth of Na-*

tions his own treatise *De la richesse commerciale.* Like Say, Sismondi crossed the Channel, expecting to view and to describe the wonders of progress which must have been realized on British soil under the liberal industrial system. What he actually found was that the Promised Land of industrial blossoming, of the harmony of interests, of the greatest happiness of the greatest number, exhibited an accumulation of poverty such as the world had never before known. Returning from his journey, Sismondi set to work upon the composition of a devastating criticism of his own previous treatise, producing, instead of a glorification of the harmony of interests, a savage indictment of liberalism.

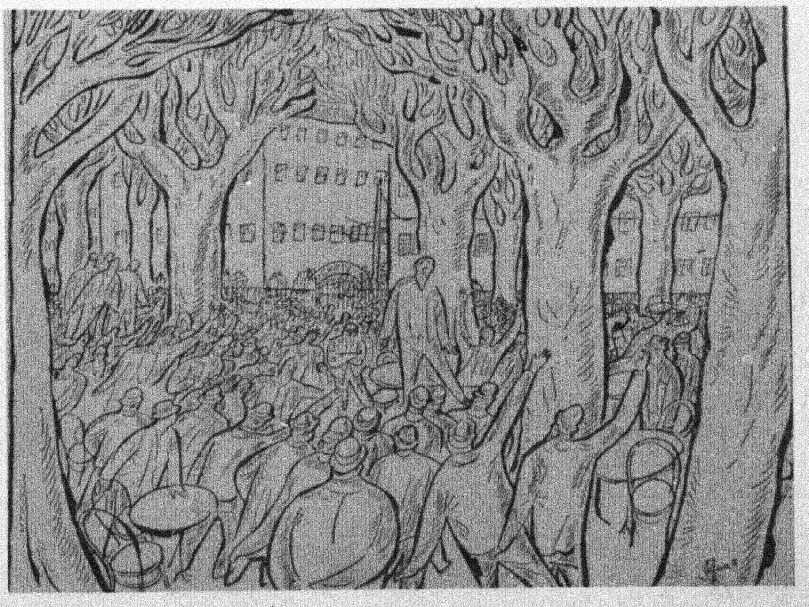
Such men as Owen, Fourier, and Saint-Simon, by the very fact that they became "utopists," showed plainly enough that they were well aware of the imperfections of their own time; they held that, in view of the prevailing conflicts, disharmonies, and sufferings, it was urgently necessary to replace the established order by another, a better, a more purposeful one.

Still, not one of them was able to recognize the full extent of the evil, how profound and tragical a rift had been made in the human race by the "industrial revolution." Not that they denied the distresses and evils of their day, but they still had so sublime a confidence in progress that they found it impossible to doubt that mankind would steadily advance towards better things. Looking upon the horrors of that epoch as due to mistakes, as the consequences of badly planned institutions, as the lamentable result of an order that was still imperfect, they took heart of grace, and insisted that, by a sensible reorganization, by a little assistance here and there, by a few corrections, society could be guided back into the path of progress.

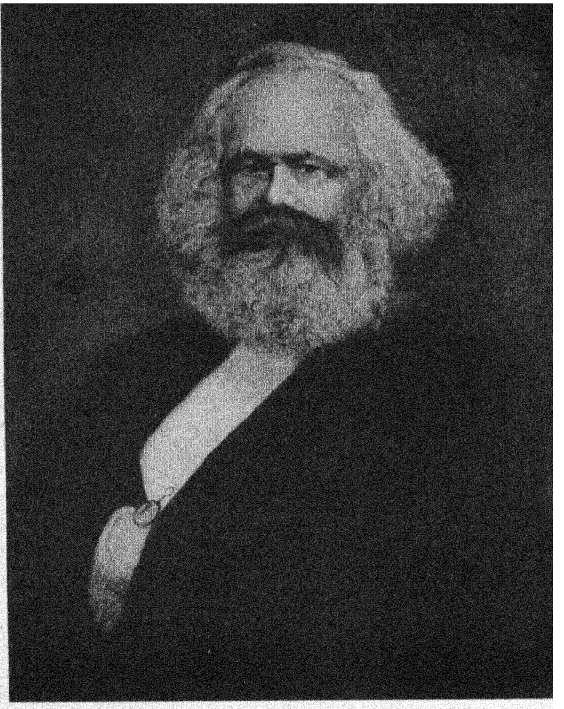
Owen was so firmly convinced that better days and better men were coming, as to be able to keep his faith alive when, in barely more than a year, his colony had become a place of perpetual quarrels, where poverty was rife and the greatest material inequalities prevailed. Returning to New Harmony in the year 1828, Owen found a settlement in which the land declared to be common property had been made the object of the most sordid speculation, in which one drinking-place after another had been



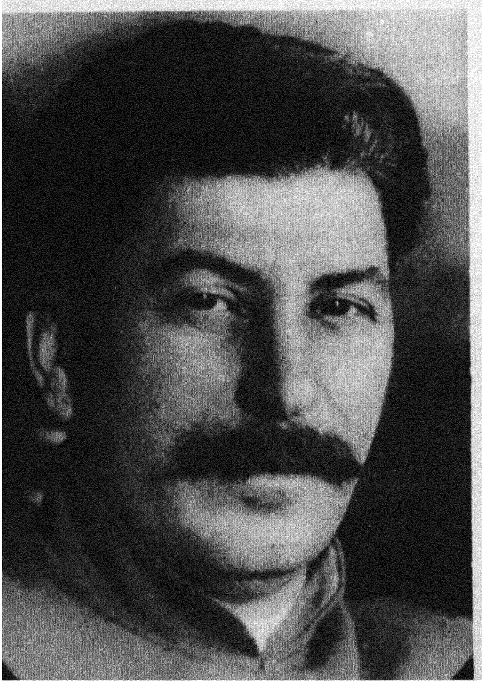
CARICATURE OF JEAN JAURÈS



"THE AGITATOR" *(Lithograph by H. Schnarrenberger)*



KARL MARX



STALIN

opened, and where, instead of harmony, friction and mutual distrust were the rule.

Owen, nevertheless, continued to believe in the essential goodness of mankind, ascribing the failure of his experiment to "subsidiary causes." In the summer of 1828 he proposed to make a new attempt at installing his system in Texas (then part of the State of Mexico), and he journeyed to Mexico City to ask the government for a site on which he could found a new New Harmony.

No matter how strenuously facts refuted his optimism, he continued, imperturbably, to proclaim the approach of a new age for regenerated mankind, the coming of a world freed from the evil impulses of selfishness, where machinery would produce an abundance of goods for the general welfare.

With the harshness and the carping spirit of a rival reformer, Fourier said of Owen: "It is a truly naïve and unoriginal fallacy, to expect to liberate the world from poverty and distress in so idiotic a fashion."

Fourier never doubted for a moment that mankind would continue to develop towards universal harmony; but to him it was obvious that this end could be achieved only by "phalansteries," and that, in days to come, it would be the mission of the rich to bring salvation to the poor.

Saint-Simon, on the other hand, expected redemption from a purposive "organization of industry." The consolidation of the technicians, the factory-owners, and the workers into a unit would overcome existing defects. "The most marvellous feature of industrial activity" was that nearly all the collaborators were "true comrades, from the simplest workman to the wealthiest factory-owner and the ablest engineer."

According to Saint-Simon, the workers should address their employers as follows: "You are rich and we are poor; you work with your heads and we with our hands; from these fundamental differences it follows that we must be subordinate to you."

The mighty and the rich were chosen to be the political leaders of the future, having the divine mission "of safeguarding the interests of the enormous majority of the population." Their business was to form an organic whole with the workers, to lead them instead of, as heretofore, ordering them about, and unceasingly

to promote their welfare. Thus united into a harmonious working commonwealth, the two social groups would, thenceforward, continue to multiply the gifts of civilization.

The necessary outcome of the "harmonious organization of industry" he had planned would, said Saint-Simon, be the "increase of wellbeing, the decline of unemployment, the advance of education, with the final disappearance of the three main causes of social confusion: poverty, idleness, and ignorance."

Persuasion of the wealthy by the "power of example," the smoothing away of opposition by new social institutions, were thus the means by which all the "utopists" of that period endeavoured to abolish its evils, and to bridge over the chasm between owners and workers, between wealth and poverty.

Always a man of incalculable impulses, however, Saint-Simon, on his death-bed, was to astonish his friends by a new idea, which was in crass conflict with his earlier teachings. For many hours the count, mortally ill, had been lying with closed eyes. His disciples, profoundly moved, watched him, hoping that before his departure the Master would utter a last word that would strengthen their faith in the harmonious development of industrial society, and encourage them to go on with the good work.

At length the dying man moved, opened his eyes, and began to speak. "For three hours," he said, "pain notwithstanding, I have been trying to give you the results of my final thought. You are going onwards into an epoch in which well-combined exertion will lead to immeasurably important results. The fruit is ripe; you will pluck it." He ceased. After several minutes' silence, another thought seemed to flicker up in his brain. "Forty-eight hours after our last publication, the Workers' Party will be formed: the future is ours." With these enigmatic words, he raised his hand to his forehead, and gave up the ghost.

Of the many ideas which, in the course of his adventurous life, Saint-Simon had impetuously and disconnectedly emitted, there had been enough to drive his secretary Auguste Comte crazy in the attempt to think them out to their logical conclusion; others lived upon them, compiled thick volumes out of them, or used them for the foundation of new religions. Thus Saint-Simon's

brain-spasms became an inexhaustible mine and spiritual treasure-house over a long period.

But that last brain-spasm, the one which, to the consternation of his disciples, came to him a minute before his death, has been a thorny matter for the world ever since. Although, later, one was to come who, out of this single utterance of the dying Saint-Simon, was to make a mightier system than Auguste Comte had made out of his master's many flashes of insight, mankind has not yet heard the last of the matter. For the dying man's final utterance provided the slogan for a new era. "The Workers' Party" —this concept opened a new chapter in the history of mankind.

In Paris, the dream of a liberal constitution came to an end in the year 1848. By then, the whole French nation had come to regard the unanointed head of the bourgeois monarch as that ridiculous "pear" with which the malicious pencil of Daumier had caricatured it; and one after another the remaining guardians of the "harmony of interests," of a "free economy," and of "the liberal night-watchman State," had disclosed themselves as the sinister "ugly mugs" which Daumier had pictured them to be as the ministers of State, the bankers, and the deputies of the July monarchy.

For the third time, therefore, embittered and disillusioned Paris erected and manned barricades and flocked to the great square in front of the Hôtel de Ville. Once again, in accordance with ancient custom, the bells of Notre Dame sounded the tocsin, and only by the skin of his teeth did Louis-Philippe escape, creeping out of his palace by a back door, and getting into a barouche which drove him to the coast that he might take refuge in England.

Among the dense throng which, by torchlight, on this memorable evening of February 24, 1848, filled the Place de l'Hôtel de Ville, was a vigorously gesticulating little man seated upon the shoulders of a powerful workman, and endeavouring to make himself heard above the din of the excited crowd.

While in the great hall of the Hôtel de Ville the new revolutionary government was assembling, to have its authority confirmed by the acclamations of the populace outside, musket-butts hammered threateningly at the doors of the room. When they

were opened, the little man who had been making so much pother outside strode in, and, regardless of the challenging glances of the members of the self-appointed provisional government, seated himself confidently among them.

This was the socialist leader Louis Blanc, who thus became the first working-class representative in a European government. Eight years before he had advocated the right of all men to work or maintenance, at a time when Thomas Carlyle, in his essay on *Chartism,* had just declared the attempts of the workers to free themselves from their desperate situation by their own exertions to have no hope of success. This great, dumb, deeply buried class, interred, said Carlyle, like Enceladus beneath Mount Etna, who made earthquakes by writhing in his agony, had now become the Workers' Party foretold by Saint-Simon, and was claiming its share in the management of State affairs.

Side by side with Albert, the instigator of the Lyons silk-weavers, who with the cry "Live working or die fighting!" had risen against their exploiters, Louis Blanc now sat in the panelled hall of the Luxembourg Palace, upon one of those damask-covered chairs which had hitherto been reserved for representatives of the nobility and of wealth. In the Place de l'Hôtel de Ville there fluttered, in place of the tricolour, the victorious red flag of the proletariat.

Instantly Louis Blanc and his labour colleagues set to work, by institutes, decrees, and laws, to put an end to the injustice which a small minority of the wealthy had hitherto inflicted on the poor. "The government of the French Republic pledges itself"—so ran the first proclamation of the provisional government—"to safeguard the existence of the workers by labour. It guarantees employment to every citizen." Thus was the Right to Work for the first time legally established.

While Paris set itself to realize this pledge by the establishment of National Workshops, it seemed as if Europe was once more going to follow the French example. In England, in Germany, everywhere, associations of workers, socialist leagues, and trade unions were struggling to put an end to unemployment, to secure reasonable working hours and a living wage, and thus to avert the catastrophe rendered imminent by the continued develop-

ment of machinery, so that the world should no longer remain out of gear, and so that harmony should be restored to a humanity that had been rent in sunder.

4

"NEW GODS"

WHILE an alarmed world, perplexed and hopeless, was contemplating poverty which seemed to grow more and more threatening, paralysing, and sinister, as if produced in accordance with some mysterious law by the steady improvement in technique and the growing abundance of goods; while economists were projecting system after system to avert approaching catastrophe, utopists were founding their harmonious settlements, philanthropists were doing what they could to mitigate the woes of the impoverished, trade unions were fighting for the right to work, for a subsistence wage or something better, while mankind, straitened and tormented, was trying to stop the miseries brought about by the introduction of machinery and to save the earth from the menace of utter want—Karl Marx was unrestingly on the move from one great city to another, appearing in Paris, in London, in Brussels, in Cologne, or in Vienna, wherever afflicted workers were gathered together. A homeless wanderer, he rubbed shoulders with them, and, with a fire which was strangely cold, with a delight which was kindled by horror, in a language wherein shuddering alternated with triumph and metaphors and visions of disaster were mingled with redemptionist messages, he conveyed the glad tidings that this very poverty into which industrialization had precipitated mankind was a sign of the near coming of salvation. Machinery, which had thrust a sword deep into the living flesh of humanity, which had torn gaping wounds, had divided and impoverished the world, was the very thing which would deliver man; the miseries it had entailed were necessary, for only through them could the human race, as the outcome of a tremendous revolution, enter into the Promised Land.

To the man who thus, amid a world of intolerable penury, among men, women, and children starving to death, joyfully proclaimed the approach of yet greater calamities, this revelation had disclosed itself in an ecstasy when he was but a student eighteen years of age, burning the midnight oil over books and manuscripts, or wandering through the streets in a torment of renunciation.

At the university of Berlin he had already made acquaintance with the teachings of Hegel, and the "grotesque craggy melody" which sounded to him from the latter's philosophy had disturbed the quiet of his study. "Contradiction is the root of all movement and all life," Hegel had declared; "and only insofar as a thing incorporates a contradiction, is it mobile, does it possess impulse and activity." Just as logical thought proceeds from thesis and antithesis to synthesis, so does every historical situation find its motive force in the contradictory factors it contains. Only when these two opposites cancel one another out is there possible a further evolutionary process that can propel the world to a higher level.

Profoundly disturbed, Marx tried to escape this "grotesque craggy melody" which, "unpleasing" though he found it, exercised a powerful attraction upon him from the first. Since his nature was rooted in the practical, he could not endure the vacuous notion of an absolute "world spirit which thinks itself into being," out of whose theses and antitheses other beings proceed, and which "develops in such a way that mankind is nothing more than a mass which consciously or unconsciously carries it along." A profound feeling within him revolted against this philosophy which "within empirical, exoteric history" postulates a "speculative esoteric history," and thus transforms the history of mankind "into the history of the abstract spirit of man which, because abstract, is out of touch with real, concrete man."

On November 10, 1837, when Marx had been a year at the university, he wrote a long letter to his father, reporting upon the profound mental disturbance which had been caused in him by his struggle with the Hegelian dialectic: "A curtain had fallen, my holy of holies had been shattered, and new gods had to be found for the vacant shrine." He goes on to say: "Overwhelmed

with vexation, I was for several days quite unable to think. Like a lunatic I tore up and down the garden beside the Spree's dirty water.... Then I returned hot-foot to Berlin in the mind to embrace every loafer at the street-corners.... I became more and more closely involved in the study of contemporary philosophy, from which I had thought to escape.... I wished to dive into the ocean [of Hegelian philosophy] once again, but this time with the definite intention of discovering our mental nature to be just as determined, concrete, and firmly established as our bodily—no longer to practice the art of fencing, but to bring pure pearls into the sunlight."

Where this practical reality must be sought, the practical reality that has to underlie knowledge before it can become a cognition of truth, young Marx first learned from Ludwig Feuerbach, who had fallen away from the Hegelian philosophy. It was Feuerbach who taught Marx, in the *Kritik der Hegelschen Philosophie* (1839), how to strip Hegel's "absolute spirit" bare of its trappings, showing it to be the "departed spirit of theology," a metaphysical spook, a "theology made over into logic," a "rational mysticism." Feuerbach taught Marx how to annihilate the "dialectic of ideas," the war of the gods known to philosophers alone, and simply to discover man "in place of the old lumber."

It was to Feuerbach's writings, likewise, that Marx owed his recognition that history, abstractly personified, "does" nothing, can "fight no battles"; but that all that happens is the work of actual living human beings. "It is not history which uses men as means for her ends, as if history were a person apart, for history is nothing but the activity of human beings pursuing their own ends." Thus for Feuerbach man was "the basis of all activity and of all conditions," the "root of everything," and even the creator of the gods, for gods are merely creatures of the human imagination, idealist personifications of human qualities and feelings, projected into a heaven. Religion is the relation of feeling, the relation of heart, between man and man; and the foundation of ethics is the relation between the ego and the tu. Marx, who, like a lunatic, had torn up and down the garden beside the Spree's dirty water, who had spent night after night with a burning forehead immersed in books and manuscripts, now felt at ease, having

realized that "in Hegel's writings dialectic stands on its head," and "you must turn it right way up again if you want to discover the rational kernel that is hidden away within the wrappings of mystification"—for the world spirit was no longer enthroned on high. As to the prophets of the Old Testament, so now did this spirit appear to him in human form, and he could re-phrase the "craggy melody" in words which would be comprehensible to ordinary human beings, and would give them pointers for their activities.

Throughout life, Marx was "bogged to the crown of his head in petty-bourgeois mire." Perpetually homeless, ever in flight, now driven by the daimon within him, and now plagued by warrants for arrest, he suffered from hunger, illness, misfortune, and contempt. Wherever he went, in his dingy lodgings he was "besieged by creditors, pursued by usurers, tormented by blood-suckers."

"I went to Frankfort to pawn my silver-plate, the last thing we had," writes Frau Marx to their friend Weydemeyer; "in Cologne I sold my furniture. . . . Our poor resources were exhausted. . . . My husband tried to find a lodging, but as soon as he said we had four children no one would take us in. . . . I quickly sold all my beds and bedding, in order to settle accounts with the chemist, the baker, the butcher, and the milkman, who had heard that the pawnbrokers had been put in, and had hastened to send in their bills."

"I cannot send for the doctor, having no money," writes Marx himself to Engels. "For the last eight or ten days I have fed the family upon bread and potatoes, but I doubt if I can raise any for today." Certainly bread was often hard to come by. On one occasion Marx's little boy "with three loaves under his arm" bolted from the baker's shop when being dunned for payment.

Nevertheless, amid the pangs of this sordid and distressful existence of grinding poverty and homelessness, Karl Marx, undismayed, continued to preach his gospel. In his study, in the editorial offices of the *Rheinische Zeitung,* in the debating clubs, and at meetings called by his disciples or their opponents, every word he spoke or wrote was pregnant with the seer's vision of a prophet

who, upon the summit of a mountain of books, had seen God face to face, and had from him received the new Tables of the Law.

The words uttered by his harsh voice or penned by his powerful hand were drawn from the vocabularies of philosophy and political economy; but beneath the crust of scientific terminology was a welter of ancient cosmic faces, often surging up like geysers from the depths of his mind. Then he would use vigorous poetic metaphors, speaking of the "Juggernaut wheels of capitalism," beneath which the wives and children of the workers were being crushed; of how "the worker is chained to capital even more effectually than Prometheus was fastened to the rock by the fetters forged by Hephæstus," of the "forest of arms stretched upwards demanding work," a forest that grows ever thicker while the arms themselves grow leaner.

But even when he writes more soberly about the "last antagonistic forms of social production," about "constant and variable capital," about "surplus value," "the accumulation of capital," and "pauperism," his phrases still have the Old Testament ring of the prophets who were announcing the imminent destruction of the world, amid plagues and terrors, bursting mountains, seas rising from their beds, burning winds, and torrents of fire.

As one might tear a curtain, this prophet of dialectic rends asunder dreams of a harmonious world, to write the history of mankind in letters of fire.

"The history of all human society, past and present, has been the history of class struggles. . . . At the moment when civilization begins, production bases itself upon the opposition between occupations, estates, and classes; in a word, upon the opposition between accumulated and direct labour. . . .

"Modern bourgeois society, arising out of the ruins of feudal society, did not make an end of class antagonisms. It merely set up new classes in place of the old; new conditions of oppression, new embodiments of struggle. Our own age, the bourgeois age, is distinguished by this—that it has simplified class antagonisms. More and more, society is splitting into two great hostile camps, into two great and directly opposed classes: bourgeoisie and proletariat."

Marx hails with delight the increasing misery of the world, the more frequent recurrence of crises, the embitterment of enmity; for his god does not desire harmony, compromise, reconciliation, but a perpetual intensification of conflict. "Without opposition, no progress; this has hitherto been the law of civilization." Rich and poor, capital and the proletariat, are "mutually determining dialectic contrasts"; and the fanning of the flames is "the most effective means for the unfolding of life, for the elaboration of the abundance of social forces."

The worse, the better! A hearty welcome, therefore, to machinery, which delivers over the masses to exploitation; a hearty welcome to pauperism, hunger, despair! A hearty welcome also to capitalism, which is the "mother" of the coming change, like "the great whore" in the Book of Revelation, "the great whore that sitteth upon many waters: with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication." She was the "mother of all damnation." She was gravid with that to which she was to give birth, that which would tear and destroy her. This hidden foe and predestined destroyer of capitalism, with which capitalism is gravid, and which capitalism will, dialectically, bring forth, is, in Marx's view, the proletariat.

"While there is thus a progressive diminution in the number of capitalist magnates (who usurp and monopolize all the advantages of this transformative process), there occurs a corresponding increase in the mass of poverty, oppression, enslavement, degeneration, and exploitation; but at the same time there is a steady intensification of the wrath of the working-class—a class which grows ever more numerous, and is disciplined, unified, and organized by the very mechanism of the capitalist method of production. Capitalist monopoly becomes a fetter upon the method of production which has flourished with and under it. The centralization of the means of production and the socialization of labour reach a point where they prove incompatible with their capitalist husk. This bursts asunder."

The energy of the metaphors in which the prophets of Israel described the last struggle between Evil and Good resound, likewise, in Marx's economic description of the coming Terror and

of the imminent overthrow of capitalism. The heaping up of wealth in the hands of an ever smaller number of capitalists leads to a fiercer competition among these, to more and more serious commercial crises, and to a steady increase in the "industrial reserve army," whose numbers swell as wealth grows; through the pressure of this increasing reserve army of unemployed, wages will be forced lower and lower, and working conditions will become crueller and more exiguous; thus the "mechanism of the capitalist process of production" must perpetually intensify the contrast and the conflict between exploiters and exploited. For less and less wages, the worker must toil harder and harder, until, "at the close of the unequal struggle between demand and supply, which ends with the defeat of the latter," he will for a longer or shorter time be absolutely without food. At length, however, when the hour strikes, the enormous majority of workers, grown aware of their solidarity, and, thanks to their misery and despair, rendered homogeneous by machine labour, will stand face to face with a steadily diminishing minority of bloated capitalists. Then the sinful world of the capitalist order will perish in the fires of the great revolution.

According to this outlook, wherein all being and becoming are contemplated as a play of thesis and antithesis, mankind is necessarily divided into two irreconcilably conflicting parts: on the one hand, the working class, "whose main means of livelihood is wages"; and, on the other, the capitalist class, "who live upon rent, profit, and interest." From this Marxian standpoint, the two classes just named are more widely severed than the most dissimilar races of man. Indeed, the bourgeoisie in any country has much closer ties with the bourgeoisie of other countries than with the workers who live close at hand; it speaks a different tongue, thinks different thoughts, has other customs and moral principles than the working class, worships at other shrines and pursues an opposite policy.

Marx held that no truth, no compromise, was possible between these two fundamentally different human groups. The abyss that separated them could not be bridged over. The quarrel between them must be fought out to the bitter end, until the antithesis

had overpowered and destroyed the thesis. Struggle is the only possible relationship between exploiters and exploited; worldwide warfare, until the final and complete victory of the working class and the utter destruction of the possessing class. Only through such a destruction of the "mother" can a world of peace and harmony come into being.

Intoxicated by his vision of mankind severed into two hostile camps, and firmly convinced that only an accentuation of the struggle between capitalists and proletariat could lead to redemption, Marx poured forth the vials of his scorn upon any who continued to believe in the possibility of class collaboration, of a reconciliation between employers and employed, of peaceful compromise.

The doctrine of the utopists, who look for a harmonious reorganization of society, is the outcome of a "fanciful elevation above the class struggle"; it is vain to hope for a "panacea" which will simultaneously improve the conditions of life for all the members of existing society, without distinction of class. What a preposterous fallacy to expect that the world can be reformed by building such "castles in Spain"! Marx contemptuously declares that the utopists have "no knowledge whatever of the laws of history"; for only through ignorance could they entertain the illusion that the dialectical process of history could be suddenly interrupted by the introduction of an artificial system, whereby the world would, without a struggle, pass from a condition of class opposition to one of harmony.

No less absurd, to this prophet of the class struggle, seemed those trade-union and socialist leaders who expected that they would be able to abolish poverty within the existing order, by intermediating between the contending parties, by making friendly arrangements with capital, and by an expansion of the rights of labour. They, also, believed themselves to be upon a higher plane than that of struggle; they also wished to circumvent the destruction of the world; but their petty strikes and similar efforts were nothing more than pitiable attempts to blunt the edge of the actual conflict or to give it the aspect of mere "parade-ground manœuvres."

Marx was never weary of railing at Proudhon, who had boldly

declared property to be theft, and had then busied himself in attempts to bring about a compromise between the "robbers" and the "robbed," being prepared at most, by the development of a system of co-operative production, "to burn property in a little fire." "A composite error," Marx called Proudhon; a petty bourgeois "who continually oscillates between capital and labour, between political economy and communism"; and whose ideas are nothing better than a ridiculous attempt to solve the labour problem "with magical formulæ."

Nor could Marx find terms harsh enough to describe the German socialist leader Wilhelm Weitling, who expected the redemption of the world to be effected by a "new messiah" fulfilling the teachings of Jesus, "guiding the stream of tears into a sea of oblivion," and changing the earth into a paradise. "Let us make ready," Weitling enthusiastically wrote, "to give this messiah a worthy reception. He will come down from the heights of wealth into the abysses of poverty, where the despised and rejected shelter, and will mingle his tears with theirs."

This phrase-making, and Weitling's endeavour to formulate "guarantees of harmony," are regarded by Marx as nothing more than "sentimental humanitarianism," and he describes (in *The Communist Manifesto*) "German or 'True' Socialism," to propagate which various labour organizations had been formed in his native land, as a "robe woven out of speculative cobwebs, broidered with flowers of rhetoric, steeped in a dew of sickly sentiment" —a "transcendental vesture in which the German socialists drape their meagre skeleton of 'eternal verity.' "

This cold mockery, this mood of arrogant contempt, could not be transformed by the enthusiasm of a successful revolution.

When, in February 1848, Paris, intoxicated with victory, was planting trees of liberty in the streets and was setting off fireworks galore, when a number of German revolutionists were making ready to raise the banner of revolt on the other bank of the Rhine, the provisional government, in which Louis Blanc, Albert, and Flocon were the representatives of socialism, invited Marx (then a refugee in Brussels) to come to Paris and to join in celebrating the triumph of the Workers' Party, the proclamation of the rights of labour, and the establishment of National Workshops.

Deported from the Belgian capital, Marx may have found the invitation convenient, but it was as an uncongenial, critical, and proud guest that he made his appearance in Paris.

He was now thirty years of age, a man with a massive, stocky frame, a high, broad forehead, ringed by a wealth of coal-black hair, and a huge black beard. His eyes flashed gloomily from beneath overhanging brows. He did not fit kindly into the ranks of the enthusiastic Parisian revolutionists, and his expression was out of tune with their countenances aglow after a signal victory. Even the harsh and metallic tone in which he spoke jarred amid the enthusiastic and joyful voices of his hosts.

The day before leaving for Paris, Marx had reserved the right of remaining critical concerning "the traditional revolutionary phrases and illusions" of the Parisian socialists; and he now made abundant use of this right. Whenever, in his presence, they plumed themselves on their victory, and foretold the coming of a new era of social happiness and peace, he would acridly intervene, and with a few biting observations would prick the bubble of their enthusiasm.

Doubtless the "ouvriers," who, before the February revolution, had been regarded as good enough only to lead the claque at the reform banquets of the bourgeoisie, had fought upon the barricades, had secured ministerial posts in the provisional government, had inaugurated National Workshops, and had struggled for the rights of labour. But were they, for this reason, genuine champions of the great struggle to the death which continually disclosed itself to Marx's inward vision? Could such men as Louis Blanc, Albert, Flocon, who were now ruling France on peaceful terms with bourgeois ministers of State, be those who were called to carry on an irreconcilable class-war until the adversaries of the workers were utterly destroyed?

With biting sarcasm, Heinrich Heine, a friend of Marx's and now residing in Paris, had just remarked of the labour ministers of the provisional government that, "down to the colour of their beards, they closely resemble the heroes of the play within a play whom Shakespeare so gloriously ridiculed in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. What those ludicrous fellows were most afraid of was that they would be taken too seriously, so that Snug, the

joiner, is careful to explain that he is not a real lion but only a provisional lion, only Snug the joiner; that the audience need not be alarmed when he roars, for it is only a provisional roaring."

To Marx, as to Heine, these labour members of the provisional government of 1848 were no more than "mediocre and grotesque personages" to whom nothing but "circumstances and casual relationships had allotted heroic roles." As long as the power of capital stood intact beside labour, the boasted Right to Work, the National Workshops, and all the other gains of the February revolution had no more than an "airy existence," an "existence of empty words."

Thus from the first moment of his arrival, and throughout the time Marx spent in the Paris of the February revolution, his personality and his language were sharply contrasted with the prevailing fervour of those who were celebrating their easily won gains. Nothing could shake his conviction that an "amiable evolutionary trend" could never bring about real progress; that there was no other way of liberating the poor from their poverty than a fierce struggle continued relentlessly after every seeming victory; that the proletariat could not establish itself in power until it had completely and for ever destroyed "the whole superstructure of existing official society." Scarcely concealed triumph breathed from the sentences in which, a few months later, Marx recorded the collapse of those reformist illusions which prevailed during the bloody June Days of the year 1848. It was the triumph of the man who had foreseen from the first what was coming, and who had never succumbed to those peaceful illusions by which the minds of others had been clouded. He is writing on June 28th, an article which appeared in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of the following day: "Lamartine's fire-balls have transformed themselves into Cavaignac's war-rockets. The fraternity of the two opposing classes (one of which exploits the other), this fraternity which in February was inscribed in huge letters upon all the façades of Paris, upon all the prisons and all the barracks—its true and unsophisticated and prosaic expression is civil war civil war in its most terrible form, the war between capital and labour. On the evening of June 25th, this fraternity was flaming from every window in Paris when the Paris of the bourgeoisie was illuminated

while the Paris of the proletariat was burning and bleeding and lamenting. Fraternity lasted just so long as the interests of the bourgeoisie could fraternize with the interests of the proletariat."

In this terrible end of the dream of reconciliation that had been dreamed in February 1848, Marx recognized a further step towards the "continually intensifying union of the workers." He writes: "The clashes that spontaneously arise out of the conditions of bourgeois society must be fought to the bitter end; they cannot be conjured out of existence. The best form of State is the one in which social oppositions are not slurred over; the one in which they are not forcibly, that is to say, artificially and no more than seemingly, fettered. The best form of State is one in which these conflicts secure free expression, and are thus resolved." This will lead to the great settling of accounts between capital and the proletariat, will lead to the destruction of the "mothers" by the fruit of their own wombs.

Over-production, gluts, unemployment, falling wages—these successive shocks to the economic order, recurring again and again ever since the opening of the industrial epoch, and plunging hundreds of thousands into penury, had transferred from the domain of the suprasensual into the domain of economics the conviction that man is continually threatened by animistic forces. The same incomprehensible arbitrariness to which human beings of earlier ages had felt themselves exposed whenever divine powers intervened in their destinies—striking their houses with thunderbolts, or destroying their crops with hail—would now seem, in a materialistic century, when God had been dethroned, and when people's thoughts were rooted in the practical, to attack men no less remorselessly and no less incomprehensibly with thunderbolts from the economic sphere, despite its alleged "harmony of interests"; still laying the innocent low, and handing them over pitilessly to hunger and despair.

Enigmatic and irresistible as the devils to which the dread of earlier generations had ascribed their misfortunes were now deemed to be the economic forces which threatened mankind, coming from unexplored regions, and reducing their victims to blind and impotent terror. Mysterious ties connected the poor

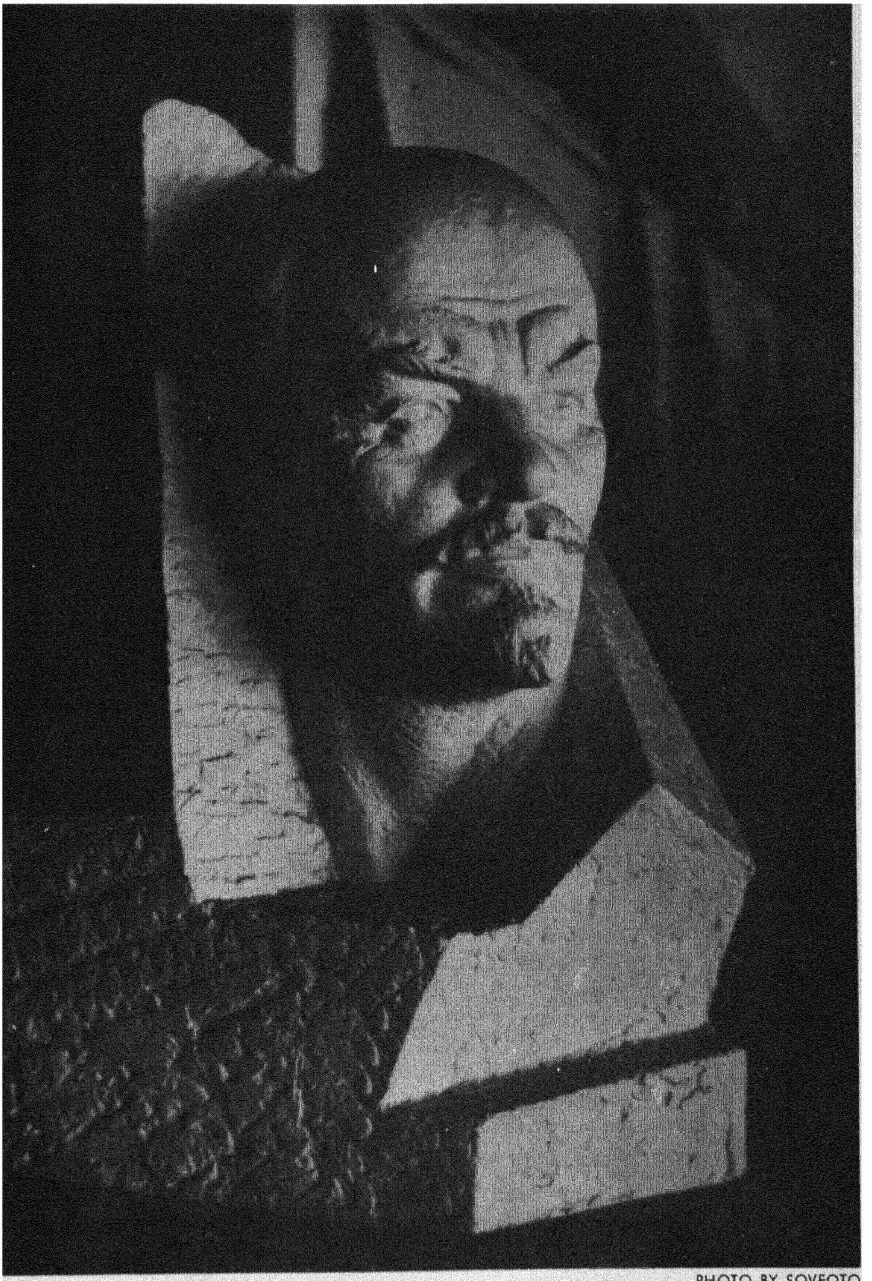


PHOTO BY SOVFOTO

LENIN



YOUNG RUSSIAN PEASANT LEARNING TO OPERATE A TRACTOR PHOTO BY SOVFOTO



TECHNIFICATION OF MEXICAN AGRICULTURE: "INDIAN LEADER"
(Fresco by Diego Rivera)

with the rich, the workers with the shirkers, and vain was any attempt on the individual's part to rebel against the lot fate had assigned to him in a life whose springs were inscrutable.

David Ricardo, an English economist—like Marx, of Jewish descent—had been the first to see that the enrichment of the wealthy by machinery did not merely fail to improve the lot of the poor, but actually impoverished them further. He believed himself able, in this matter, to detect the workings of a natural law, as all-pervading in human society as the law of gravitation in the physical world—a law in accordance with which the lower classes of society were inevitably forced down into poverty of that extreme degree at which no more than a bare subsistence was vouchsafed to them. Like Ricardo, Charles Hall came to the conclusion that machinery, while enriching the few, simultaneously pushed the many deeper and deeper into poverty; and, as far as Germany was concerned, Ludwig Gall soon afterwards made the same observation.

Nevertheless, that which to previous observers had seemed no more than the senseless cruelty of a blindly working natural law, disclosed itself to Marx, the pupil of Hegel, as a purposive evolutionary process proceeding towards a definite goal, as the antithetic play of a dialectical movement, wherein thesis and antithesis would ultimately, after their extremest accentuation, be resolved into a synthesis.

Poverty, exploitation, oppression, all these occurred that they might give birth to their opposites, be conquered thereby, and then, in a joint fulfilment, resolve into harmony. The very same historical forces which persistently increased oppression, exploitation, and poverty evoked at the same time a more and more powerful reaction, thus driving the world to revolution and salvation. Impoverishment, therefore, is not the outcome of a rigid or static natural law, but is, to repeat, the expression of an antithetic process, at the end of which a great synthesis ensues.

A higher significance underlies the increasing enrichment of the rich and the simultaneously increasing impoverishment of the poor, which at first sight seem blindly fated and arbitrary—namely the evolutionary law of capitalist accumulation. Exploitation, which the workers resist, is necessary; in it there is dis-

closed the law of the production of surplus value. Riches and poverty—even the most preposterous wealth and the most grinding poverty—no longer signify a torment arbitrarily imposed by one or borne by another, but are manifestations of a sublime historical dialectic.

At long last, the dialectical process will lead to the redemption of all, to the abolition of poverty throughout the world. With the recognition of this evolutionary law, the dread of the quasi-animistic maleficent power of capital amid increasing poverty is unexpectedly transformed into a joyful, confident hope of a transformation that is about to occur, so that even poverty begins to reflect the glow of happier days to come.

This "knowledge of the law," this certainty that as the outcome of the great struggle there will ultimately occur a dialectical transformation into a higher phase of social existence, was what gave to Karl Marx his strong sense of infallibility. Always his prophetic gestures were sustained by the conviction that they were in conformity with the intrinsic laws of history, and that his sermonizing was helping the fulfilment of a historical necessity.

At times, however, there flared up from the depths of his mind the hatred and suspicion which, through the centuries since the rising of the peasants under the leadership of John Ball, had again and again, in many lands, induced the poor to rebel against the rich "clad in warm furs," and which in Paris during the great revolution had led to the lopping-off of so many aristocratic heads. Marx's sense of infallibility embraced the whole world, both of space and of time. Although earlier rebels had risen against definite acts of oppression, against unjust barons, extortionate rich, tyrannical rulers—with the teachings of Karl Marx there began a struggle based upon principle, a struggle which was carried on no less actively against "good" capitalists than against "bad" ones; in which it was no less incumbent for the satisfied proletarians to engage than for the dissatisfied ones; and which derived its sanction, not from individual, concrete instances of oppression, but from a universally valid law of historical evolution.

The new epoch of rebellion, in which, under the war-cry "Proletarians of all lands, unite!" the workers were to attempt to overthrow the established social order throughout the world, gained,

precisely by this conviction of the rebels that the will of history was on their side, a breadth and impetus such as no previous mass movement had had.

If Marx devoted his whole life to an endeavour to stir his contemporaries out of their lazy peace, and if he was perpetually disturbing the harmony of which the liberals prated by his discordant calls to arms and his prophecies of imminent catastrophe, we cannot but see that, in the last analysis, his own doctrine was an expression of the crude optimism of the nineteenth century.

What distinguishes this homeless, bitter champion belonging to the race of the prophets from the idyllic enthusiasts of the calibre of an Owen or a Fourier is Marx's fanatical conviction that salvation can follow only upon destruction of the existing order, that peace can follow only upon war to the death, that blessedness must be purchased at the price of intolerable torment. Yet in his metaphors of a "synthesis" which was to follow upon the extreme accentuation of opposites, there are also disclosed in this successor of Isaiah the lineaments of one who himself has an intense yearning for harmony.

For this "classless society," which a group of latter-day saints are to establish in the last fight of the pure against the impure, is a realm of harmony in which, on a planet purged from social injustice and suffering, swords will be beaten into ploughshares.

Assuredly, even the dialectical-economic law propounded by Marx, according to which over-production, speculation, a falling rate of profit, and crisis must proceed out of one another until the day of wrath and the coming of salvation, has, despite its scientific formulation, the ring of the old mythically conceived law of the prophet Daniel concerning the cyclical succession of the "ages" of the world, the law which, in continually renewed interpretations, has held mankind in thrall to generation after generation of millenarians and adventists.

It is fully accordant, moreover, with the eschatological faith in a plan of redemption laid down since the beginning of time, when Marx, examining the phases through which history has already run, believes himself able to deduce with certainty the phases that will follow, and to foretell the coming of the day of

redemption. Moreover, like all the millenarians who endeavoured to help people to bear their sorrows more stoically by assuring them that these sorrows were but the birth-pangs of the approaching day of deliverance, we find in Marxian doctrine the same hope that the sufferings are but part of the labour-pains of the great revolution that is at hand.

Marx himself certainly was strong enough both emotionally and intellectually to curb his imagination, for he never allowed the images of future salvation to lure him away from the study of the real and exacerbated social struggle. Thus, even though he did postulate the synthesis which, in virtue of the dialectical law, would come about at the end of this struggle, he was extremely parsimonious in his descriptions of the future social state. He, to whom the vision of the great contradiction had come as early as his student days, could wallow in images of actual horrors without being compelled to seek compensation in wanton enjoyment of redemptionist fantasies.

Friedrich Engels, however, to whom the spectacle of this drama of world redemption had not been directly and daimonically revealed, but to whom it had come through the instrumentality of his close friendship with Marx, and through the strange fascination which the elder man exerted on the younger, could endure the actual horrors of life, as he saw it through Marxian spectacles, only by seeking the aid of abundant hedonistic compensations.

Engels, therefore, gave a detailed picture of the redemptionist era which would follow the destruction of the present social order, although Marx, the prophet and seer, had been content with hazy outlines. Writing with as much impetus as his dry style permits, Engels says: "When society takes possession of the means of production, the production of *commodities* will come to an end, and therewith will be abolished the dominion of the product over the producer. The anarchy now prevailing within social production will be replaced by purposive and deliberate organization. The struggle for individual existence will cease. Therewith, for the first time, in a sense, man definitively emerges from the animal kingdom, removes from animal conditions of existence to genuinely human ones. Environing conditions, which have hitherto

controlled men, now pass under the dominion and control of men, who for the first time become the conscious, the actual, masters of nature, because and inasmuch as they have become masters of their own social environment. The laws of their own social activity, which have hitherto confronted them as alien natural laws under whose rule they were, will then be applied by human beings with a full knowledge of what they are doing, and these laws will thus be controlled by men instead of controlling men. The socialization of mankind, which has hitherto confronted it as a process imposed upon it by nature and by history, will now become its own free choice. The objectively alien powers which have hitherto ruled history pass under the control of human beings. Thenceforward, human beings will make their own history with full awareness of what they are doing; thenceforward, for the first time, the social causes they set in operation will predominantly, and to an ever-increasing degree, have the effect they desire. This is the leap of mankind from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom."

It was Engels, mainly, who expected the coming of the synthesis in a near future, so that it even seemed to him possible that those who had foretold its advent would themselves live to see that day, would become witnesses and citizens of the new world. His impatience led to those errors of calculation as regards the dates of the coming redemption which remind us so strongly of the prophecies of the Thessalonians, of the Montanists, of Joachim da Celico, and the millenarians, and of which Franz Mehring found it necessary to complain:

"In many respects," writes this enthusiastic Marxian disciple, "historical evolution has occurred along different lines from those expected by the authors of *The Communist Manifesto,* and has proceeded more slowly than they anticipated. The farther forward they looked, the nearer seemed to them the great day. One may say that there could have been no light but for this shadow. They were subject to a psychological manifestation which Lessing referred to concerning men who 'had very sound views of the future': 'Matters which nature will take thousands of years to fulfil, are for them instantaneously ripening here and now.' Well, although Marx and Engels did not err in their calculations by

thousands of years, they did so by a good many decades. When they compiled *The Communist Manifesto,* they saw the development of capitalist production at a level which it has hardly yet attained. This anticipation is more sharply manifest in Engels's independent draft of *The Communist Manifesto* than in that document itself as jointly edited by Marx and Engels. In Engels's draft we read: 'Gradually the small masters were squeezed out. This is the process by which in all civilized lands almost every branch of industry has fallen under the sway of the factory system, the process which has ousted handicraft and manufacture in favour of large-scale production. The middle class, and especially the smaller master handicraftsmen, have been slowly driven to ruin; the workers have had their existence completely transformed: and two new classes have come into being, two classes which are absorbing all other classes of society.' "

If even Engels, Marx's loyal and most intimate friend, could not endure Marx's vision of irreconcilable terror with the same firmness as Marx, we need not be surprised that in the minds of other pupils, apostles, and interpreters of Marxism, redemptionist images came more and more to play a leading part in the great drama. Thus it ensued that, while in Marx's own days a powerful labour movement was coming into existence, Marx himself, with spiritual contacts almost limited to his friendship with Engels, found himself and his Old Testament rigidity misunderstood by the movement he had been at such pains to foster.

How the masses of the eighteen-eighties contemplated Marxism has been reported by a German socialist as follows: "Many turned away from Christianity and its promise of redemption after death, flinging themselves upon the hope that redemption in this vale of tears would be effected for them by socialism during their own lifetime."

Meanwhile the prophet grew more and more lonely, and his mighty work, which was to prove the indispensability of carrying on the struggle until the existing order was completely destroyed, remained almost unnoticed. His declining years were largely occupied in attacks against new tendencies towards compromise which displayed themselves within the socialist movement. When the British trade unions demanded the legal establishment of a

ten-hour day, Marx thundered against them, declaring that such a needless "fetter riveted upon large-scale industry" would tend only to mitigate the class struggle instead of intensifying it; and, with the same decisiveness, he opposed the efforts of the German Social Democrats to secure the legislative prohibition of child labour, considering such a demand flatly "reactionary."

Even in his own sons-in-law Marx detected plain indications of a tendency to break away from the strenuous line he advocated: "Longuet as the last Proudhonist, and Lafargue as the last Bakuninist!" he wrote savagely to Engels not long before his death. "The devil take them both!"

When he had passed away and, by a small number of the faithful, had been borne to his last resting-place in Highgate cemetery, the labour movement drew a breath of relief, much as England had drawn a breath of relief when Cromwell died. These men of the nineteenth century were few of them susceptible to that intoxication of horror which had long ago sustained the masses of the Jewish people during the captivity in Babylon or, at the turn of the first Christian millennium, had subjected crowds to the spell of Fra Venturino and driven them forward as flagellants on the path towards salvation.

Freed from the presence of their inflexible master, this dwarf-brood of hangers-on and echoes, none of whom were of the calibre to imitate him in his boundless irreconcilability, devoted decades to the endeavour, with the aid of a vast number of organizations, publications, party conferences, and debates, to exorcize from his personality and his doctrine Marx's daimonic spirit, or at least to water them down to an extent which would make them acceptable to ordinary mortals. They could not endure the spirit which had prophesied a universal catastrophe in a riven world, to befall a mankind divided into two perpetually contending factions.

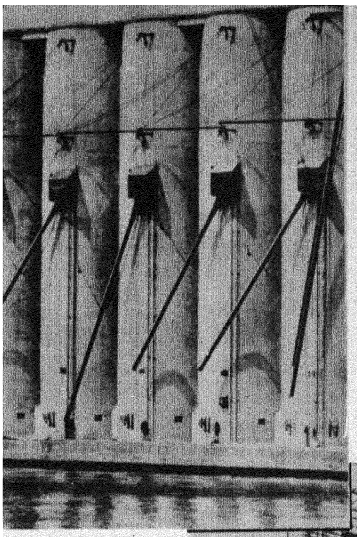
5

IN THE PARADISE OF THE MACHINES

In the year 1889 there was a famine throughout large areas of the Russian empire, so that hundreds of thousands of men, women and children were in imminent danger of death from starvation. In Samara, as in the other affected provinces, a committee was formed to help the victims of the catastrophe, and there were lengthy discussions concerning the best ways of relieving the widespread distress. In the course of one of these debates, a young student, Vladimir Ilich Ulyanov by name, who had recently been "sent down," took the floor and, to the general consternation, declared that the endeavour to help the famine-stricken was criminal. Anything done in Russia to alleviate the prevailing misery was a form of support to the existing order of society, and would therefore favour the most undesirable postponement of the great crash which could alone bring about the coming of a better world. On the other hand, the larger the number of the famine-stricken, and the more disastrous their situation, the nearer would be the hour of the catastrophe that would bring deliverance.

The student who thus raised his voice on the frontiers of Asia, the youth who, in his unconditional faith in the teaching of Karl Marx and in his hatred of the ruling classes, was stout-hearted enough to remain cruelly consistent even on a relief committee set up to deal with a famine, was able, about thirty years later, when from the student Ulyanov he had developed into Lenin the revolutionist, to lead the van in an attack on the capitalist order.

"From the outset," Zinoviev tells us, "there was discernible in Lenin a profound and inextinguishable hatred, like a clenched fist threatening the bourgeoisie. As he grew older, this fierce wrath seemed to stamp its mark upon his countenance." His sole device as far as opponents were concerned was, "Crush them!" Indeed, he did not feel really at ease unless he was encountered by hostility as active as his own. In the most arduous moments of the struggle

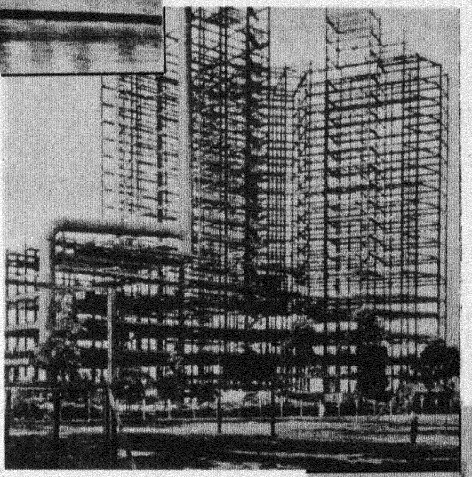


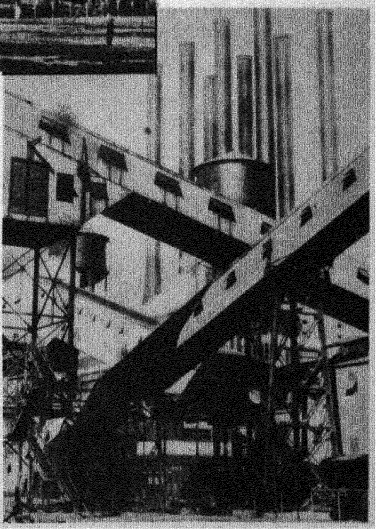
THE NEW FORMS OF MASS ARCHITECTURE:

GRAIN ELEVATOR

FANTASY OF COLLECTIVIZATION:

STEEL-WORK OF AN AMERICAN SKYSCRAPER

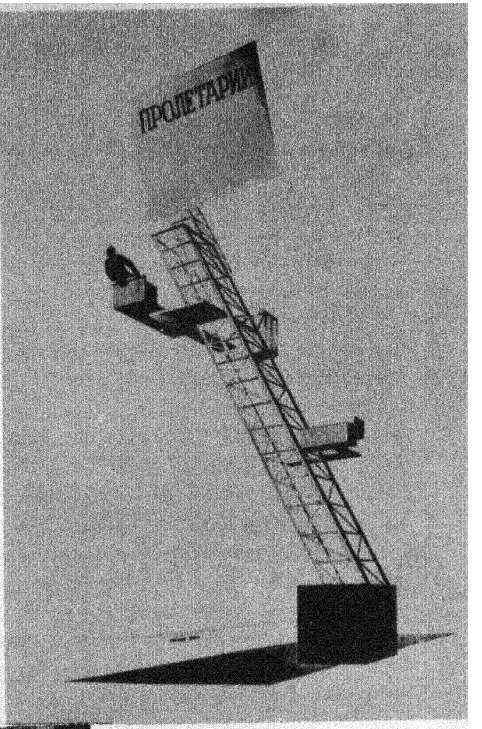


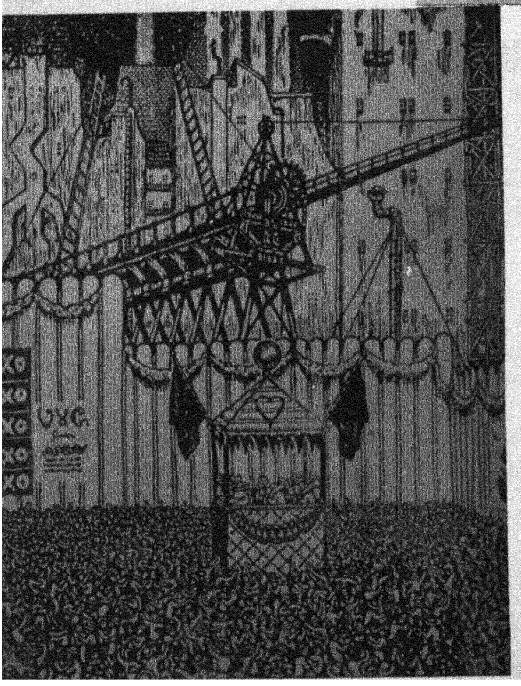


THE NEW FORMS OF MASS CULTURE:

RIVER ROUGE FORD PLANT

RUSSIAN DESIGN
FOR A SPEAKER'S ROSTRUM





RUSSIAN DESIGN FOR
A FESTIVAL OF THE MACHINE

for power, he was wont to quote the lines which (again I follow Zinoviev) "expressed his whole nature":

> You think we're flattered by a kindly word?
> Nay, we rejoice when faced with yells of hate!

As early as 1905, at the time of the first Russian revolution, Lenin declared: "The Bolsheviks, the Jacobins of contemporary Social Democracy, want the workers and the peasants to deal with the monarchy and the aristocracy in plebeian fashion, pitilessly destroying the enemies of liberty."

Fifteen years later, when he had become dictator of Russia, he said to Maxim Gorky, who was sitting beside him during a performance of Beethoven's *Appassionata:* "I do not like often to listen to music, for it might make me chatter amiable stupidities, and stroke these people's heads. Today is not the time for stroking people's heads; today we must use our hands to split skulls, to split them remorselessly—this is a damnably hard task."

When some of his associates were complaining about the terrible sacrifice of blood resulting from the civil war, he rejoined, with fanatical conviction: "It doesn't matter a jot if three-fourths of mankind perish! The only thing that matters is that, in the end, the remaining fourth should become communist!"

This absolute faith in the redemptionist power of his ideal made him ruthless in the enforcement of the reign of terror, logically consistent to the *n*th degree, imperturbable amid the sufferings that were the fruit of his policy, so that, even in the blessed relaxation of listening to music, he never forgot his "damnably hard task." This champion who had come from the Asiatic frontier of Russia grew up to lead class against class in a campaign of annihilation, instigated thereto, not merely by his fidelity to Marx's teaching, but also because of the millenarian absolutism of the Russian spirit, which has for centuries manifested itself again and again in the sectarians and the revolutionists of this nation. In *The Possessed,* Dostoievsky has given a vivid description of this frame of mind as exemplified in the conspirator Verkhovensky: "He looked as if he expected the destruction of the world, not at some vague and distant date, as foreshadowed by prophecies which might or might not come true, but inevitably

and soon—let us say, the day after tomorrow, in the morning, precisely at twenty-five minutes past ten."

Of course this fanatical millenarianism is not peculiar to the Russians, but has frequently disclosed itself in western Europe. During the days of the Enlightenment, so lucid and rational a thinker as Lessing, in his *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts,* declared himself to be assured that a New Evangel, as described in the books of the New Testament and hoped for by medieval heretics, would certainly come. "Maybe certain visionaries of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had caught wind of this new eternal Evangel, their only mistake being that they expected its coming very soon. Maybe their 'threefold ages of the world' were not altogether idle fancies. Their chief mistake was that, though their contemporaries lacked enlightenment and the other necessary preparation, they hoped at one blow to make people who were still little more than children into grown men worthy of the third realm. That was what made them visionaries. The visionary, the enthusiast, has often very sharp insight into the future; but he cannot patiently await the coming of this future."

Even Heine, in other respects so mocking and so cynical, is almost serious in his belief in a coming realm of salvation wherein all our expectations will be fulfilled:

> Upon a rock we are building
> The Church we shall finish tomorrow,
> The Church of the third New Testament;
> Then shall be surcease of sorrow.

The Sicilian agricultural workers who, during the eighties of the nineteenth century, formed the socialist leagues known as "fasci," were firmly convinced that the realization of the millennium was close at hand. As insignia of this certainty of salvation, they carried in solemn procession red flags and banners inscribed with texts from *The Communist Manifesto.* They offered up prayers to their leaders De Felice and Bosco, whom they regarded as the heralds of the coming redemption. In blind veneration they shouted to these leaders: "We were wandering in the darkness, but you have come down from paradise to lead us into the new realm!"

In the minds of the Russians, whose thoughts have never been disciplined by the Enlightenment, and who have never felt the need for that logical sobriety which has long been dominant in the West, millenarianism has been a persistent ingredient, to erupt with irresponsible exuberance on the slightest encouragement, and without any due regard to actual possibilities.

Whenever Russians have begun to ponder about the fate of the world, there has always been a revival of their hope in the millennium. This is no less manifest in the sermons of rigidly orthodox "popes" than in the fantasies of the sectarians, in the romanticist credulity of the tsars, in the revolutionary dreams of the workers, in the utterances of great poets, and in those of simple-minded muzhiks.

This millenarianism, surging up from the depths of the Russian spirit, gave Lenin's convictions their extraordinary vitality, transformed his words into actions, and made his dreams secure realization as history, whereas Marx, when he wrote that hitherto philosophers had done nothing more than interpret the world in various ways, but that our business was to change it, was voicing little more than a theoretical demand. Lenin took a practical view of the matter. The Russian blood in him urged him, by his own revolutionary actions, "to change the world," to increase the enmity between classes to the utmost extreme, and thus to conjure up the prophesied catastrophe.

Even during his lifetime (he died in 1883), Marx had a good many Russian disciples, who either had made acquaintance with his doctrines in personal association with him during his last years in London, or had learned them from the study of his writings, the most important of which were early translated into Russian. For these enthusiasts, the theory of the class struggle was, at the outset, a rather embarrassing doctrine. Notwithstanding the fact that the millenarian temperament of the Russians predisposed them, more than western Europeans at the close of the nineteenth century, to the acceptance of Marxian catastrophism and redemptionism, the whole economico-dialectical theory of the Master was in obvious conflict with the economic situation actually prevailing in Russia.

Marx predicted that the socialist revolution would be the outcome of the progressive development of capitalism pushed to its ultimate extreme, leading to "a relatively redundant population of workers; that is to say, a population larger than suffices for the average needs of the self-expansion of capital—in short, a surplus population." The final effect of this would be the "expropriation of the expropriators." But in Russia at that date, since the industrial development of the country was only just beginning, there was neither a marked concentration of capital nor yet a surplus population of class-conscious proletarians, so that in Muscovy there was still a complete lack of that "intensification of contrasts" which was the necessary preliminary of the revolution. Nay, to Russia, rather, was applicable that other Marxian principle, according to which a social order never perishes "until there has been completed the development of all the productive energies for which it is ripe."

Consequently it was plain that the dialectical sociological concepts which were so congenial to the Russian millenarians were inapplicable to Russia herself at that day; and Marx, who was in active correspondence with his Russian disciples, expressed doubts on several occasions whether the catastrophic scheme, which was certainly applicable to most of the countries of western Europe, was applicable without reserve to the peculiar conditions of Russia.

Difficulties did not come to a head, however, until after the Master's death, when the young Marxian adepts could put any gloss they pleased upon his Orphic utterances. Numerous "schools" arose, each of them with its own pet application to Russia of this or that Marxian text, and each of them strenuously insisted that its own "theses" were the only accurate ones.

Inasmuch as Marx's vaticinations were not exempt from the obscurity and the mixture of metaphors which are customary in millenarian prophecies, and since, furthermore, his writings are full of insoluble contradictions, there was, for decades to come, ample scope for those discussions in which the Russians take such a delight—for the accumulation of huge pyramids of interpretations, refutations, and refutations of the refutations.

These Russians who were obsessed by an expectation of the

millennium, who had so ardent a longing for catastrophes and redemptionist heavens, and who, in addition, had so long been under the illusion that, of all the peoples of the earth, the Russians have been singled out to deliver us from evil, were naturally unable to put up with the notion that Russia was not to play a leading part in the coming deliverance. It was essential to their self-esteem that they should regard themselves as predestined to be the star performers in the great world-drama that was about to be played.

Persons of little faith, the over-cautious and the over-patient, might rest content with a postponement of the calamity, and might console themselves with the conviction that Russia, being economically backward, would have to traverse a capitalist epoch before, as chief among the "mothers," she would give birth to the enemy offspring, to the Russian proletariat predestined to redeem the world; but, as far as most of the Russian Marxists were concerned, it would have been idle to expect them to possess their souls in patience. "Catastrophism" is too deep-rooted an ingredient of the Slav temperament!

In Lenin's case, the yearning for a day of doom welled up with elemental force. He roughly thrust aside the servants of the letter, the cautious interpreters and commentators, confronting their "evolutionary socialism" with his own doctrine of the imminence of forcible revolution, glorifying revolutionary actions as against faith in the written word. And lo! with a sweep of the arm, reality brushed aside the alleged contradictions between the dialectical doctrine and the backward economic condition of Russia, the contradictions which the ponderings, the interpretations, and the discussions of sixty years had been unable to resolve to harmony; accomplished facts demonstrated to the contemporary world that it had been needless for the Russians to possess their souls in patience while awaiting the slow accentuation of the thesis, the birth of the antithesis, and the ultimate formation of the synthesis—since Russia, first among the nations, could achieve redemption at one stride and without postponement.

Earlier, when Lenin had been hard at work paving the way for the Bolshevik revolution, only a few intimates had regarded his ideas as the correct interpretation of Marxism, had had faith in him as leader, had supported him in word and deed. Now, after

the victory of the November revolution, supporters came in crowds, demonstrating, in a spate of orations, pamphlets, and treatises, that Lenin, and only Lenin, had acted in accordance with the true milk of the word.

Of a sudden there were discovered many utterances of the Master in which the course followed by Lenin was clearly foreshadowed. For instance, Marx had once written: "Forcible outbreaks are, of course, far more likely to occur in the extremities of the bourgeois body than in its heart, since there are far greater possibilities for compromise in the heart than in the extremities."

Did not this obviously apply to Russia, which is so far from the capitalist "heart" of the western world? Had not Lenin, therefore, been doctrinally sound when evoking the forcible revolution in the "extremities of the bourgeois body"?

In Bolshevik Russia, now, no one ventured to doubt that "Leninism" was the only effective form of Marxism, was the form in which the prophecies and promises of the great prophet would be fulfilled!

For more than two thousand years, since the days of Daniel, his successors among the prophets had repeatedly announced that a law was at work in human history in accordance with which mankind must pass through certain prescribed stages, so that plenty and everlasting blessedness could be achieved only through a final phase of intensified poverty and distress. Such had been the content of Marxian millenarianism, for, in accordance with Marx's dialectical law, just as in accordance with Daniel's cyclical law, the destruction of the world would simultaneously mark the birth of a new and purified realm. Now, as at all times, seers and illuminati declared themselves able to predict the very year, day, and hour of redemption. We learn from Trotsky that Lenin, immediately after seizing power, announced in so many words that six months from then a "classless society" would be definitively established.

Thus the faithful Bolsheviks, like their forerunners of Pepuza, Mount Tabor, Münster, Magdeburg, and Erfurt, assembled to make ready for the millennium. The country was draped with red bunting; the house-fronts were covered with huge placards and

coloured posters, proclaiming the end of exploitation and poverty. Wireless hosannas, transmitted from the Kremlin, announced to the disinherited, to the despised and rejected, in every corner of the vast realm, the glad tidings that thenceforward the earth and the fruits thereof would be equally shared among all, that the granaries would be open to the most impoverished, that everyone would have an equal right to his portion of bread, clothing, warmth, shelter, and amusement, that there would be free railway-travel, well-spread tables, and blazing stoves—for differences of privilege and possessions, with whose aid the nobles and the wealthy had hitherto curbed and oppressed the populace and deprived them of the fruits of their labours, had been abolished once and for ever.

Jubilantly the new bard Demyan Bedny extolled the Ruling People, to which the good things of this world would now belong:

> He spake, saying:
> All this is mine!
> Streets, carriages, canals, the stock-exchange, the banks,
> Arcades, granaries, gold, textiles, food, drink,
> Libraries, theatres, museums,
> Parks, boulevards, gardens, and alley-ways,
> The splendour of marble and bronze statues,
> The poets' poems and the singers' songs,
> Towers, ships, cathedrals, throughout the country—
> All this is mine! ! !

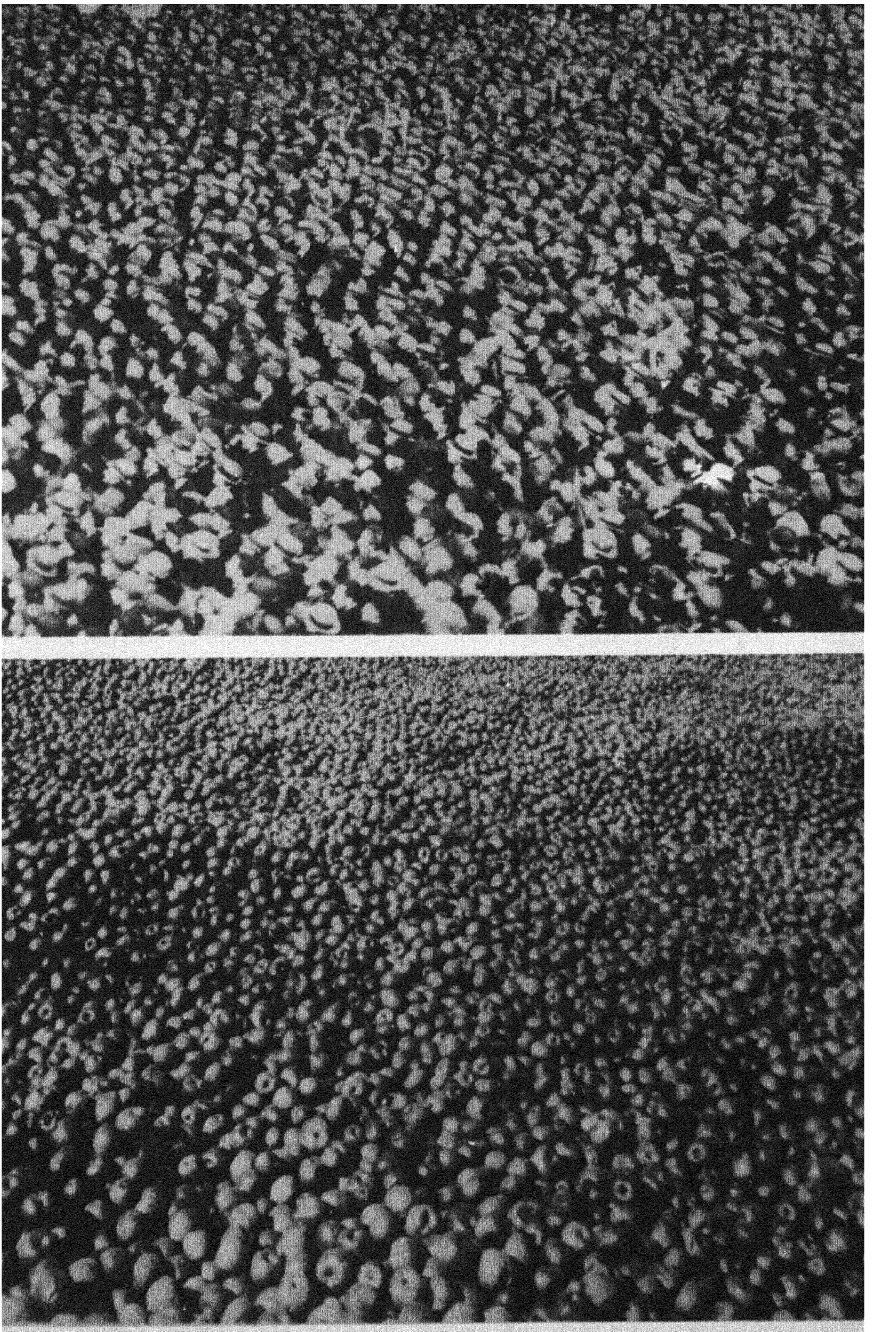
During the first month after the November revolution, Russia was in a frenzy of redemptionist expectation. Just as Engels, long before, had gone Marx one better, so now Leon Trotsky trumped Lenin's ace in the wild extravagance of his pronouncements, shaking off the customary economic terminology of the Bolshevik revolution to speak of the coming Golden Age in naked and unashamed millenarian phraseology: "The priests of all religions may tell us what they please about paradise in a world to come. We declare that we are going to bring the human race a paradise here below. Not for a moment must we lose sight of this great ideal. It is the highest aim mankind has ever pursued, and in it that which is finest and noblest in the old creeds will be assembled and embodied."

The magical transformation of the natural world (human nature not excepted), which the ancients and medievals had expected in the redemptionist heaven, was now to be fulfilled. Trotsky did not hesitate to declare that man would speedily become "enormously stronger, shrewder, and more sensitive"; that the human body would be more harmoniously developed, and the human voice more agreeable. "The average man will rise to the level of an Aristotle, a Goethe, or a Marx; and, behind this chain of mountains, new and loftier peaks will disclose themselves."

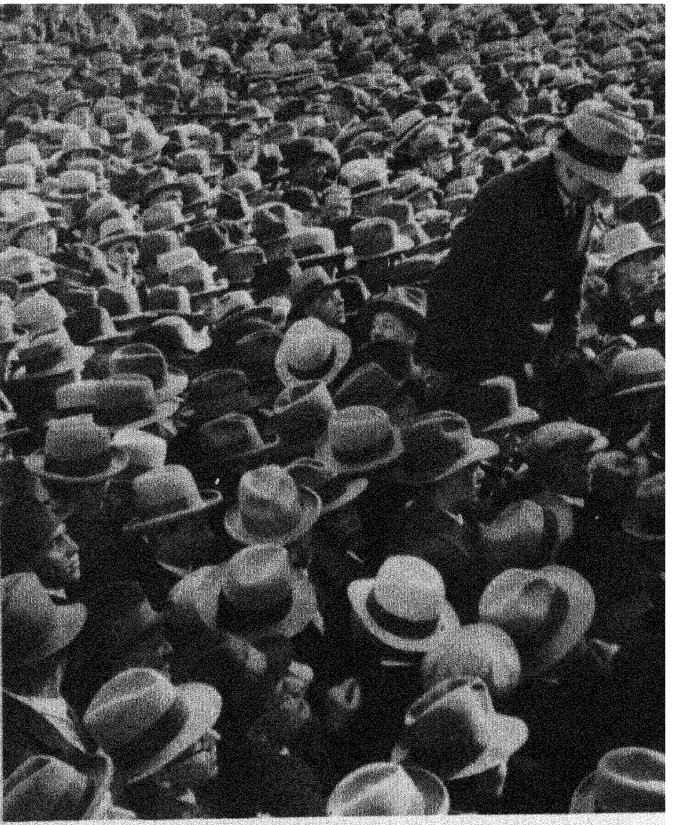
But what happened this time was what had happened again and again during the two thousand years and more since the prophecies of Daniel. The last phase of the great "rebirth" failed to materialize, a halt being called at the "birth-pangs." Nothing could induce the world to conform to the "law" discovered by man and to undergo a fundamental change. What had failed to take place when Daniel, the abbot of Fioris, the Anabaptists, the millenarians, and the Latter-Day Saints had proclaimed the new realm remained an unaccomplished miracle despite the conjurations of dialectical materialism. Vainly did Lenin, like his numerous millenarian predecessors, continually revise his calculations, and postpone the "Great Day" for a few more months, years, or lustra. The millennium still lingered on the farther shore; poverty continued to increase, even beyond the limit at which the "ultimate woes" ought to have been replaced by deliverance.

What the millenarians had repeatedly failed to perform with regard to their congregations—"the delivery of the goods," the transformation of scarcity into abundance, of want into superfluity —had been reserved for the generation of money-grubbing promoters, barbers, speculators, and engineers, whose inventive spirit had created machinery. This alone had made man a magician, conferring on him the power of compelling earth to be fruitful and of multiplying available goods a thousandfold.

The entrepreneurs, the factory-owners, in a word the "capitalists" whom the Marxists had sentenced to destruction, had been the very persons who, in their perpetual search for profit, had made practically effective inventions, developing them into a pro-



TEN THOUSAND HUMAN BEINGS LOOK LIKE TEN THOUSAND APPLES



THE STANDARDIZATION OF THE MATERIAL WORLD: EVERYBODY WEARS THE SAME FELT HAT



RUSSIAN MASSES: A WORKERS' MEETING IN LENINGRAD

ductive apparatus competent to satisfy the needs of the masses; and throughout all the many departments of the labour process there was perpetually going on a more and more purposeful application of machinery, implements, and accessory apparatus, with an increasingly apt apportionment of the various functions.

"Foresight, that fruit of experience and reason," and "united foresight or association," of which the liberal writer Bastiat had once said that they were the weapons for the safeguarding of mankind in the struggle against the inevitable distresses of existence, had both been perfected by capitalism. During the period of its dominion, which had lasted barely two hundred years, it had gained technical control over, had effectively rationalized, had scientifically and purposively organized, wide domains of life. Its factory arrangements, its international trusts, syndicates, and marketing organizations, had made thousands upon thousands of happenings predictable and open to correction, this implying a triumph of "foresight" over the incalculabilities of chance.

Thus in the capitalist world there had begun to display themselves the contours of a utopian realm of the future, such as Francis Bacon, in his old age, had dreamed of as "regnum hominis," in which "the causes and the secret movements of things" could be investigated in every detail by physical, chemical, biological, and agricultural methods and appliances, so that the boundaries of human dominion over the earth should be enlarged, the technical control of space, time, and matter perfected, and the whole world transformed into one great factory for the utilization of all existing materials and energies.

When, in Russia, faith in a magical redemption was dashed by the recognition that neither the wonder-working spells of the communist programme nor yet the mantic practices of Soviet legislation could suffice to do anything effective in the way of relieving the universal poverty, the thoughts of the new rulers of the country began to turn ever more eagerly towards machinery and technical organization in the hope of over-trumping the wizardry of capitalism.

Whereas previously Marx's writings had been studied in search of texts to show that Russia did not need to traverse the phase of

capitalist industrialization, now there was a preference for quotations that extolled the blessings of machinery in a socialized society.

Industry, Marx had written, had first developed out of the old order of society under a capitalist form; but, as soon as the times were ripe, it would smash this form, and would thenceforward become the guarantee of everlasting peace and happiness. "The contradictions and oppositions inseparable from the capitalist utilization of machinery will then cease to exist, inasmuch as they are not the products of machinery as such, but only of its capitalist utilization."

Regarded per se, machinery shortens the working day, and only lengthens it when applied in capitalist fashion; per se, it mitigates toil, and only increases the intensity of toil when capitalistically applied; per se it denotes a victory of man over the forces of nature, and only subjugates man when capitalistically applied.

Now, after the first great disappointment of Bolshevik expectations, this doctrine was to become the catchword of countless new tirades concerning the speedy inauguration of the millennium by the technification of Russia. Lenin, always in advance in matters of faith, discovered a new and effective slogan: "Communism is Soviet power plus electrification!"

With this utterance, the magical capitalist instrument of machinery now became a cult among the Bolsheviks; but, at the same time, "organization" and "planning," also magical formulæ of the capitalist enemy, must be adopted into the ritual of communist doctrine.

"If anyone tells us," explained Lenin, "that socialism can be achieved without learning from the bourgeoisie, I know that the speaker has the psychology of a Central African native. We cannot conceive of a socialism other than that founded upon all the teachings we can take over from the great capitalist cultures." Categorically he added: "Socialism is not a new invention, but the appropriation and application of what has been created by the trusts."

As ever, his millenarian impatience knew no bounds. "We must immediately introduce piece-work, and test its value. We must try out all the scientific stimuli and advances of the Taylor system.

The Soviet Republic will turn to practical account any advances that it finds useful. The socialist idea will be realized when we are able to unite the rule of the Soviets and their organizations with the latest achievements of capitalism!"

A brilliant picture of the future now loomed before the eyes of the faithful in Russia. Whereas capitalism, by its machinery and its methods of organization, had, indeed, increased the production of goods to an incredible extent, had rationalized the whole of life, and had made it calculable in advance, while preserving the benefits of these changes for a thin stratum of exploiters—in the new redemptionist realm of communist Russia, wealth and security, the outcome of machinery that poured forth an increasing abundance of goods and of organizing "foresight," would profit the poor and the needy. For in Soviet Russia, the machines would belong to the working class, and not to the enemy capitalists; and the State would distribute both labour and its produce in such a way that no one would ever be in want, and increasing quantities of better and better commodities would be at everyone's disposal.

In his sketch of the socialist future, the redemptionist realm that would follow the revolution, Friedrich Engels had assigned an important role to "planned production," declaring that a socialized society, controlling the existing means of production, would always have to decide in advance what quantities of particular goods were to be produced within a given period. But whereas, in capitalist society, entrepreneurs' profit was determinative in such matters, in communist society, utility for the human race as a whole would decide, so that, by a rational planning of industrial production, it would be possible to ensure for the people a lasting and trustworthy supply of the necessaries of life which earlier generations had vainly though devoutly begged from divine providence. "Poverty" was nothing other than inadequate organization, or organization guided by erroneous and selfish principles.

With the intensified redemptionist passion of those who were disappointed by the failure of the expected world revolution to occur, the Russians promptly devoted themselves to spreading and realizing the gospel of technique and of technical planning. To their naïve imaginations, machinery soon came to present itself as having a higher being of its own, equipped with superhuman

powers which would enable it, in accordance with man's will, to wrest plenty from the ground and, with its thousand hands, produce a superfluity of the wares they so urgently needed.

As far as machines were concerned, in this country where industry was still so undeveloped, and where war had wrought such havoc, there were not, indeed, at this juncture, very many specimens of these many-wheeled wonders of shining steel; but for the orthodox Bolsheviks, every telephone, every typewriter, every sort of technical construction, became an object of ecstatic admiration, and even of a sort of idolatry.

In exhibition rooms, dozens of models of machines were displayed; on the walls hung sections and elevations of turbine generators, blast-furnaces, or heavy-oil motors; and for hours people stood gaping at these "images of the god of machinery," as their fathers had stood (or they themselves not so very long ago) before the wonder-working statues and icons of the saints.

A sect of "engineerists" carried the glorification of the machine so far as to inaugurate an orgiastic cult of "machine mysteries." An oratorio composed of the noises made by machinery aroused the requisite devotional mood in those assembled. From somewhere came the mighty hum of a dynamo; then there supervened a chorus of turning wheels, clanging levers, creaking winches, murmuring belts, and grating cogs; until, at length, a whole cosmos of noise proclaimed the gospel of the machine. Just as in earlier cults of the mysteries, so now, symbolical dances were instituted in honour of the new divinity. In a jerky "machine-rhythm," there twitched, circled, and swung the bodies of the "priests" and "priestesses," until the lookers-on, in ecstasy, were also moved to join in this wild machine-dance.

But the cult of the machine in the U.S.S.R. was by no means restricted to the exhibition halls and temples of a fanatical community of sectaries, for it soon came to modify nearly all the activities of Russian life. In the theatres, the old-time wings were replaced by machines of wood and iron, and even the actors had to do their best to suggest the movements of machinery in their performance; for, according to the programmes of the new artistic dictators, the stage must serve for the "social demonstration of the human mechanism."

For years, the imagination of Soviet poets, painters, and sculptors was wholly subordinated to these watchwords. Lyricists sang of the "beauty of wheels," of "how delightful it was to listen to their hum and to become involved in their unresting mystery," of the factories, mines, canals, and railways of "Chicago, the electro-dynamic-mechanical city, spirally erected upon a screw." Painters depicted railway stations, giant cranes, and still-lifes made up of screws, fly-rods, and lubricating boxes; sculptors constructed plaster "monuments of machines"; architects were enthusiasts for "living machines," and for new cities which were to be laid out in accordance with the fundamental principles of modern factory design.

What under capitalism had been nothing more than a practical co-ordinating principle of economic life was in Russia exaggerated in every direction and became a religious demand. In a world possessed by the notion of praying to the machine, man, everyday man, must no longer retain his far too unmechanical, unorganized, unsystematic characteristics. If humanity—so it was now declared—was to attain the desired bliss, it must remodel its life and activity according to the laws of technique, and must rid itself of its anarchically organic elements, so that, in the future, all the manifestations of its existence should be mechanically organized. Down to the roots of his personal life, every individual must be rationalized and must be made over according to the psycho-technical principles of a bodily and mental Taylor system.

Preparations for this fundamental change were inaugurated in Moscow by the Central Institute for the Scientific Study of Human Labour, under the presidency of Gastiev. Here the most vigorous attempts were made, by precise measurements and accurate calculations, to discover the mechanical laws of the human organism, and thus to pave the way for the formal worship of the machine-god in man. At length Gastiev really believed he had discovered the basic law of the human machine, being able to reduce all the movements of the body to the two primary mechanical types of "push" and "pull." Now the way of salvation had been disclosed. Everyone who was careful to follow Gastiev's prescriptions could be sure, freed from the evil of being a live human being, to enter, as one of the blest, the paradise of "l'homme machine."

This ardent faith in the saving power of the machine necessarily led to an attempt to give it form, not only in models, dances, and laboratory experiments, but in the creation of gigantic technical plants. Consequently a huge plan was drafted for the equipment of this country, where industry was so poorly developed, with thousands of the most modern factories and workshops, with countless dynamos, locomotives, automobiles, and tractors, so that the whole of Russia should become one vast factory.

"One must be able to dream," Lenin had written, at the outset of his revolutionary career; and now he was to show that he himself knew how to dream. He drafted the first plan, in accordance with which, upon the remotest peasant farms, within ten years electric thrashing-machines were to be at work; and the man whom the famous utopian writer H. G. Wells had called "the dreamer of the Kremlin" and "the dreamer of electrification" was competent to transfer to the whole Russian people the dream with which he himself was animated.

When Lenin died, the power he had wielded fell into the hands of Stalin, secretary of the Russian Communist Party, by origin a Georgian peasant and a man of arid intelligence with no knowledge of the niceties of modern technique. Nevertheless, this successor to Elijah's mantle also proclaimed the rule of the machine. Though in other respects cold and sparing of gesture, Stalin ecstatically described a technified Russia, which he promised to build up with the aid of the First Five-Year Plan and then a Second. Thereupon a population of one hundred and fifty millions, more subservient to the will of the new dictator than ever Egyptian slaves had been to a pharaoh, set to work in Karelia, the Ukraine, Turkestan, the Urals, and Caucasia to construct high-tension power houses, to cover the land with a network of copper wire, to bore deep in search of ores, to drain marshes, and to irrigate deserts.

Dams, smelting-furnaces, silos, and petroleum towers sprang up everywhere; in newly established factory towns, turbines, steam-engines, Diesel motors, generators, Bessemer converters, rolling-mills, gasolene pumps, and textile factories arose; "dwelling-machines" of reinforced concrete were erected upon the ruins of habitations dating from the old regime; and the steppes were

transformed into mechanized wheat and cotton plantations, across which the muzhiks, metamorphosed into tractor-drivers, dragged their new motor-ploughs, sowers, harvester combines, and what not.

In the Kremlin at Moscow was now enthroned the omnipotent Planning Commission, the Supreme Economic Council, in accordance with whose dictates this transformation of one-sixth of the land in the world into a machine paradise was to be effected. With the armamentarium of industrial and economic statistics, the contours and horizons of the steppes that were to be covered with tractors, generators, and oil-wells, and the continents which were to be permeated with electric current, must be planned out; and there the astronomically huge "control figures" of the harvest, of iron production, of cotton growing, of electrification, and of collectivization, are being determined.

From cinema screens the populace is perpetually being informed how many fresh kilowatt-hours have been provided; upon how many thousand hectares of machine-tilled land flax is being sown; what is the percentage increase in the production of copper; and to which district shock-troops of "machinists" have been dispatched in order to stimulate the activities of backward groups of producers. Meanwhile the newspapers are publishing the new and much higher figures which the Economic Council is proposing to achieve by its efforts during the next phase of the great campaign of industrialization.

"Whereas religious faith promised to move mountains," said Trotsky a few years ago, "technique will, in actual fact, remove and level mountains. Man will re-arrange mountains and rivers, and will go on correcting nature until he has remoulded it according to his design, or at least according to his taste."

What Trotsky had still contemplated as something to be done in a remote future seems actually near at hand under the rule of his victorious rival Stalin. The Soviet government is already at work modifying the economic geography of Russia by altering the crops which have been traditional for centuries in various regions. Where wheat has hitherto been grown, more valuable plants will be raised; and wheat, on the other hand, will be transferred to the less fertile domains on the other side of the Volga, to

Kazak and south-eastern Siberia. Even more ambitious is the scheme to block the flow of the Volga into the Caspian, to divert the waters of the great river into barren steppes, and, in the course of three decades, to dry the whole of the huge Caspian area.

6

THE THREE EPOCHS OF KILOGRAMME-CALORIES

"We are a century behind the most progressive countries! We must catch up with them in ten years. Unless we can do this, we shall be crushed!" In these words of Lenin, courageously as they seem to face economic realities, there still glows the ineradicable optimism of an impatient redemptionist faith. It is an understatement to say that Russia is—or was when he spoke—a hundred years behind the most progressive countries; he should have said a hundred and fifty years, at least.

The technical problems of production which the U.S.S.R. had to solve were problems that had faced western Europe far back in the eighteenth century. Famine, scarcity of goods, difficulties of transport—these troubles of contemporary Russia existed in western Europe and in America only so long as, in those regions, during the age that preceded modern technical development, the soil was cultivated by primitive implements; only so long as all commodities had to be produced by manual labour without the aid of machinery, and had to be carried to their destination without the assistance of railway-trains and steamships.

Consequently the results of the Five-Year Plan, which are continually being extolled upon cinema screens, in newspapers, and by wireless as marvellous signs of the coming of the redemptionist realm, are, for all their greatness, nothing more than what was done in the West day by day and hour by hour a hundred and fifty years back.

Long ago, in Europe and America, ploughs were drawn by tractors, seed was sown by machines, crops were harvested by cutters

and binders; there were gigantic silos, oil-wells, factory-towns, and habitations of reinforced concrete; in Canada, long ago, the wheat-belt was moved; and—for a civilization which connects the sea-traffic of two continents by the Suez Canal, which has been able to cut a passage for ocean-going steamships through the Isthmus of Panama, which has reclaimed the greater part of the two thousand square miles of the Zuyder Zee—the removal of mountains and the diversion of the course of rivers do not present themselves as tasks which cannot be performed until after the catastrophe envisaged by Marxian philosophy and the complete destruction of the existing social order.

Agreed, in the West a period of one hundred and fifty years has intervened between the primitive age of scarcity and the present phase of industrially created plenty, whereas Russia is boldly attempting to make this long march far more speedily, with the aid of a couple of Five-Year Plans. But the U.S.S.R. merely needs to borrow the mental achievements of capitalist countries, to take over their methods and their machines ready-made, and to borrow the engineers who know how to apply them, without the heavy burden of creative achievement, without the racking of brains which was necessary in the West before what had been fancies could be realized, with multifarious improvements during the process.

From the calculating-machine to the power house, from the smelting-works to the conveyor, all the essential constituents of Russian industrial development have been invented by Western brains, applied, organized, and systematized by capitalist entrepreneurs; and, up till now, not a single matter can be mentioned in which Russia has, on her own initiative, advanced a step beyond the technical possibilities provided by Europe and America.

Moreover, during this very period when in Russia every tractor has been hailed with ecstasy as a fresh proof of the attainment of the redemptionist heaven, and while wireless hosannas have been proclaiming to the world every increase in the area under cultivation, wonders no less remarkable have taken place under the corrupt and sinful regime of capitalism. It is not only the communist economists in the Kremlin who know how to make plans of production and to carry them out. In the board-rooms of capitalist

concerns and trusts, likewise, schemes are discussed and programmes adopted thanks to which steppes, deserts, and jungles are being transformed into "wheat factories," "dwelling-machines," and centres of production.

Technique in the service of profit has metamorphosed the primeval forests of South America and Canada, the towns of India, Japan, and China; has forced its way into the deserts of Africa and Mesopotamia. In Egypt and in Brazil, the dams needed for great power houses have been conjured up by the engineers of huge joint-stock companies; machine industry has developed with almost incredible speed in Tokyo, Shanghai, Hongkong, Bombay, Calcutta, Ahmedabad, Sydney, and Brisbane. Betwixt night and morning, most of the territories and colonies of the tropics, which yesterday were no more than regions for the supply of raw materials, have become great industrial areas, where, no less than in Stalinist Russia, work is organized upon the lines of planned production, with the aid of the Taylor system and psychotechnics.

In the domain of capitalism, however, this titanic development has taken place without an emotional beating of the tomtoms, without clamour, without convulsive propaganda—as straightforward progress along lines which in the course of many, many years have become familiar and natural to western civilization.

The difficulties with which the world outside the Russian frontier has now to cope are the very opposite of those which the U.S.S.R. wishes to make an end of with the aid of its Five-Year Plans. What the non-Bolshevik world suffers from is not a lack of goods, but an almost incredible glut, which makes it more and more difficult for producers to market their wares, and to keep the wheels turning in their gigantic factories.

America's task, says President Franklin D. Roosevelt, is not to discover and to exploit new natural resources or to produce new goods. What is incumbent upon her is something much more sober, much less theatrical, namely the right use of the resources already at her disposal. America has enough factories to satisfy all her own needs and to produce for the foreign market as well. With these factories she can now produce more boots and shoes, more steel, more wireless apparatus, more automobiles, more goods of

almost every kind, than she is able to consume; her land produces more food than can be marketed, more than she can possibly consume.

Although, a few decades back, the over-seas countries, with inhabitants longing for more food and more manufactured goods, represented empty reservoirs into which American and European products could be abundantly poured, the establishment of factory towns on the steppes and in the primeval forests of Asia, Australia, and South America has enormously reduced the demand from these parts of the world, while simultaneously manufacture has continually been rendered more automatic as human workers have to an increasing degree been extruded from the process of production.

What is going on in Russia may be extremely apposite for the economic development of this country which is one hundred and fifty years behind the rest of the world, but it has little or no bearing upon the destinies of the remainder of mankind. Even if all the fine promises are fulfilled, the redemptionist heaven of the Bolsheviks will be restricted to an area which, however large, is limited both geographically and culturally—will be restricted to this fixed portion of dry land which has too long been shut away from the evolution of capitalist technique.

Of late years in America there has been propounded a new redemptionist doctrine, essentially opposed to Bolshevism, and the offspring of that surplus of technical perfectionment whose evils have been specially marked in the New World.

Like Count Saint-Simon, like Fourier, Marx, and many other persons who have dreamed of a new method of economic redemption, Howard Scott, the prophet of "technocracy," was himself in extremely straitened circumstances at the time when he excogitated a system which would, so he believed, make everyone rich and happy. For years this unemployed engineer lived in Greenwich Village, getting his meals at cheap restaurants, where, to his tablemates, he continually unfolded the virtues of the scheme he had devised. At length, having more luck than poor Fourier, he discovered patrons prepared to finance his schemes. During the

lean years, there had been revealed to him a "law of energy determinants," which, so he believed, control human destiny, and will, in due course, bring about the salvation of the world.

The prophet Daniel (who, looking backward, saw Paradise, and, looking forward, contemplated the Golden Age) had clad in mythical symbolism the great law of the stages leading to perfection. The medieval monk, Joachim da Celico, whose gaze was turned inward, had found a spiritualistic and gnostic way of expressing his thoughts, for he proclaimed the coming of the worldwide rule of the Holy Ghost. At length, in the fantasies of the dreamers who grew to manhood during the early years of the nineteenth century, and whom Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham had taught to revere the actual human beings who were producers and consumers, conveyed their redemptionist notions to the world in a strange jargon wherein their mythical trends, their fondness for biblical metaphors or philosophical and dialectical speculations, were interwoven, on the one hand, with concepts of the Holy Ghost, of the anti-lion, and of the world spirit, and on the other with such notions as industrialism, guarantism, or surplus value.

Howard Scott—being a twentieth-century New York engineer, belonging to a generation in which and a region where everything is regarded in quanta capable of being weighed and measured and recorded in figures, diagrams, graphs, and tables—formulates the law of historical evolution as a gradational increase in the number of world-kilogramme-calories.

The first age—which for Daniel was the period of Babylonian captivity, for the abbot of Floris the realm of the Father, for Saint-Simon and Comte a state of nature, for Fourier the phase of "savagery," and for Marx the economic era of barter—becomes for Howard Scott the period during which, per capita, no more energy was being applied than two thousand kilogramme-calories per day. This "first era" of technocracy lasted from the beginning of human life until five thousand years B.C.

In the second phase defined by the technocrats, the per capita quantum of energy had been increased, by the aid of animal labour, by the discovery of fire, and by a few primitive water-wheels and windmills, to four thousand kilogramme-calories per day. In the eighteenth century begins the "third epoch," corresponding

to what Joachim da Celico foresaw as the "economy of the Holy Ghost," during which the newly discovered steam-engines were beginning to pour large quantities of energy into the world, so that the amount utilized per day must be expressed in figures of astronomical proportions. Since then, the quota of energy has been growing from year to year, until, in our own day, it has come to exceed one hundred and fifty thousand kilogramme-calories per capita per day.

With the recognition of this law of the three stages, mankind has now, according to Howard Scott, learned the true significance of the historical process, and, furthermore, the only way to salvation. The evils from which we suffer are due solely to the fact that human beings, in a hundred-and-fifty-thousand-kilogramme-calorie period, cling obstinately to the views, prejudices, institutions, and customs developed in and appropriate to a four-thousand-kilogramme-calorie period, and consequently out of relation to technical reality. It is incumbent on us, therefore, to replace an obsolete system by a new one in accordance with the laws of physics and able to work with magnitudes of one hundred and fifty thousand and more kilogramme-calories per capita per day.

Not one of the earlier prophets, who lived in days when technical ignorance was still profound, ever discovered this ultimate truth, that all happenings ought to be appraised and classified in accordance with erg-quanta. That explains the non-fulfilment of their multifarious prophecies. Every one of them—Daniel, Joachim da Celico, Saint-Simon, Fourier—was befogged by metaphysical and ethical speculations, fancying that the world could be advanced, could achieve salvation, through religious, spiritual, or moral values.

Even Marx, who plumed himself on having got rid of "the lumber of soul and spirit," and declared he had freed himself from the trammels of metaphysics; Marx, concerning whom Engels boasted at the graveside in Highgate cemetery on March 17, 1883, "he discovered the simple fact (heretofore hidden beneath ideological excrescences) that human beings must have food and drink, clothing and shelter, before they can interest themselves in politics, science, art, religion, and the like"—even Marx, when con-

templating man as a being who had to eat, perceived also a creature endowed with sensation, recognized the ideas of justice and injustice, condemned "exploiters" by an ethical standard, and, when consoling proletarians with the promise of a world redeemed, did so on the grounds of a foreordained universal justice. Behind his dialectically classified phases of the class struggle there was hidden, materialist terminology notwithstanding, a moral and political valuation dominated by the feelings.

But for Howard Scott, the political illusions to which Marxism has been subject, even in its latest manifestations, belong to an outworn and lower form of knowledge. They have become inapplicable in this technical epoch, when truth can be expressed only in precise weights and measures, in accurate figures; when all that happens, lives, and dies signifies nothing more than an increase or diminution in kilogramme-calories.

"Quantitative analysis, and the determination of the characteristics of the next most probable state of a social system"—these are the aims of technocracy, and it declares this expected progression to be "absolutely indifferent to human valuations." Nothing more is demanded from man than that he shall measure his life in energy units, and shall renounce all interests which cannot be expressed in power-units per second. Not so vague a concept as "justice," which can neither be weighed nor measured, but the purposeful organization and distribution of energy, is the goal of technocracy. It therefore scorns politics as affect-bound and inadequate. Differing in this respect from previous redemptionist systems, it does not pursue the aim of producing a better, a morally perfected human race; for "good" and "evil" are ideas with which the calculating engineer cannot make anything.

What Howard Scott is concerned about is to liberate the world from its involvements in that which cannot be weighed and measured, so that being and becoming can, in the end, be wholly reduced to the trustworthy, objective, and practical terms of kilogramme-calories. In no other way can man be rescued from the troubles that beset him, and be assured against the chaotic influences of destiny.

Like the redemptionists of all ages, and like Karl Marx, Howard Scott believes that deliverance must be preceded by a catastrophe.

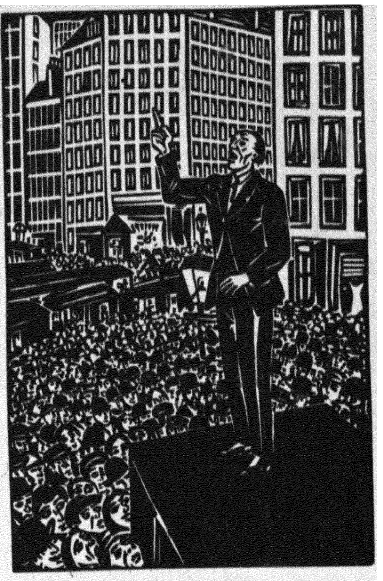
According to his teaching, the present world-order, in which grain is left to rot and millions of sacks of coffee are sunk in the sea while the masses go hungry, this order in which warehouses are packed with goods while the unemployed lack the necessaries of life, will collapse in, at most, ten years. But we do not find in him the note of rejoicing with which earlier prophets have proclaimed the imminent destruction of the world, and with which Marx, while complaining of exploitation and injustice, longed for the end of capitalism. For technocracy, even the coming catastrophe is merely a problem of calories, which has to be considered with neither dread nor joy, but must be faced only with calculations, columns of figures, and erg-diagrams.

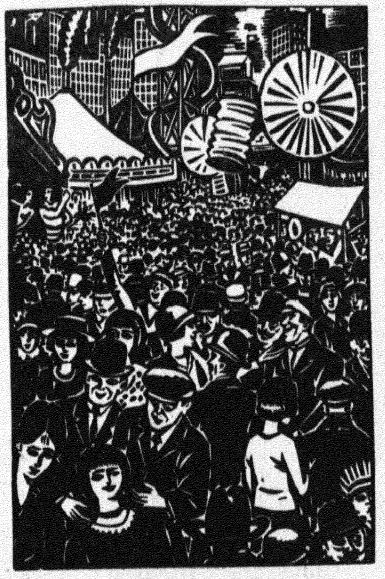
Saint-Simon had had Comte as disciple, Marx had had Engels as friend and collaborator, when they were working out their systems of redemption. Howard Scott, in the era of collective factory enterprise, surrounded himself with a staff of fifty unemployed engineers to draft his tables and diagrams, and to reduce to erg-quanta everything which, since the beginning of days, has been allowed to drift upon the earth unmeasured and unweighed.

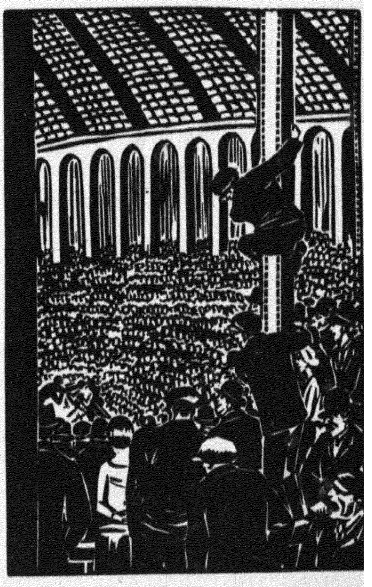
Not all these diagrams are completed as yet. When the work is finished, however, so the technocrats declare, "man in his age-long struggle for leisure and the elimination of toil" will ultimately have reached the stage in which for the first time the realization of his endeavours will be, not merely possible, but certain.

For then the previously dominant concepts "price" and "value," which the modern technologist regards as "belonging to the order of nonsense in the physical world of today," will have been done away with once for all. So will money, which depends upon them, and is equally futile for the technocratic reconstruction of the world. "Energy certificates" will take the place of money. Their foundation will be the quota of kilogramme-calories per capita per day; and they will be assigned to each citizen by a commission of engineers, year by year, in a pro rata division that will maintain the highest standard of life. The labour which each citizen will have to perform in exchange for his energy certificate will be no more than four hours a day on four days a week; and, as evolution proceeds, the hours of labour will be still further reduced.









THE MASSES IN MODERN ART
(Woodcuts by F. Masereel)



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE HOLLYWOOD BOWL

VII

Propitiated Fate

REVOLT AGAINST REASON

ON THE night of February 11–12 of the year 1791, Edmund Burke, then in his sixty-fourth year, rose to take part in the budget debate in the House of Commons. Just before, Charles James Fox had introduced a reference to French conditions into the debate, speaking with marked admiration of the revolution and of the grand idea of the Rights of Man. Burke, likewise, spoke no more than briefly upon the official topic of the evening, and then, with a "Catonic turn," went on to the greater question of the French revolution.

"In a torrent of eloquence with which no pen could keep pace," writes Adam Müller, who was present in the visitors' gallery on this memorable occasion, Burke inveighed against the ideas of the revolution. "The reporters had to leave many of his sentences unfinished, and made repeated references to the dead silence in which his remarks were listened to. Suddenly, at midnight, the orator paused, having completed his picture of the revolution with a quotation from *Macbeth*. No one rose to intervene, and, with tears in his voice, speaking with unaccustomed softness, glancing at Fox, Burke resumed: 'But the poison of the revolution is not content with common victims; it attacks the great ones of the earth, the proud, the beautiful, the tried and trusted, the holiest ties of life. It spares nothing. I myself, nearing my latter end, wearied by thirty years of arduous toil on behalf of England and liberty, have been looking round for one to whom I could bequeath my sorrows, my hopes, my secret thoughts concerning this century and my country; one to whom I could confidently say: "Happy man, complete my work, fulfil my wishes"—I believed I had found such a man. For eighteen years he had carried my will and my own image, as if it had been his father's picture, in his heart. The revolution has broken out, and I have lost him. I am alone. I have no one to succeed me in this House.

I die without an heir.'—After these words, Fox, who remained seated, without raising his head, could be plainly heard to say: 'There is no loss of friendship.' Now, instead of five hundred persons in the hall, I seemed to see only two, nay, only one. All England was hanging on the lips of this one man, who icily went on: 'There is! I know the price of my conduct. Our friendship is at an end.' Suddenly, as if the fires of his youth had been renewed, forgetting Fox, his troubles, and his age, Burke went on to deliver a fierce attack upon the French revolution. When he had finished, it was a quarter to two in the morning. For a little while, no one rose to reply. Then Fox stood up, and again there was a deathlike silence; but Fox, bursting into tears again, sat down without speaking. Parliament waited for a few minutes; all eyes were turned on the two friends, who sat dumbly regarding one another. It seemed impossible to resume the debate after so poignant an incident, and the House was adjourned."

Something mightier and more significant was being staged that night than the breach between two men who for decades, in good days and in bad, had joined hands and hearts in advocating the same idea. The breaking-up of a friendship and a fighting partnership which all England had held to be indestructible was, at the same time, an emblem of the severance of the spiritual world of Europe into two permanently irreconcilable camps.

The revolt against a belief in the omnipotence of reason, which in Edmund Burke's above-quoted speech assumed the form of a political struggle in the mother of parliaments, goes as deep in its foundations as rationalist doctrine itself. Scarcely had René Descartes, in his famous thesis "cogito, ergo sum," proclaimed the primacy of thought over being, when this outlook was decisively rejected in the writings of the Neapolitan philosopher Gianbattista Vico. Vico contraposed to the Cartesian system a philosophy in which being was everywhere given precedence over thought, and in which all knowledge was regarded as derived, not from reason, but from the contemplation of historical reality.

History, the province of knowledge which Descartes persistently shunned, was for Vico the starting-point of investigations concerning the nature of man and his institutions. Whereas the doctrine of the supremacy of reason went so far as to claim for it the ability

to formulate rules of behaviour that would be valid for all peoples and all times, the Italian philosopher was, as the outcome of his study of primitive history, the first to recognize that every nation and every epoch has developed out of presuppositions peculiar to itself, and that, for this reason, in the future, likewise, every activity must be subject to the determinisms of the past.

But the eighteenth century was so much under the spell of the rationalist Enlightenment that Vico was derided as a visionary, and the Cartesian faith in the predominance of reason over being led ultimately, in the French revolution, to a practical endeavour to refashion the world in accordance with the sovereign will of the human understanding.

While Descartes's teachings may be said, in some sense, to have taken political shape in the French revolution, the intellectual outlook of Vico, after various philosophical elaborations in the "empiricism" of such writers as Locke and Hume, found its first political expression in Burke's great speech in the British House of Commons.

The attempt of the revolutionists light-heartedly to sweep away established institutions, and to replace them by a new world-order wholly based upon reason, was described by Burke as "an amateurish improvisation." "I simply cannot understand," he exclaimed, "how people can be so presumptuous as to regard their country as nothing more than a carte blanche on which they can scribble whatever they please!"

Reason, which thus arrogates the right of replacing "the genuine product of nature" by a poor botch, is, for Burke, nothing more than "one of the human functions, and by no means the most important of these." At best, it can but take note of the outward relationships of life, but can never grasp their inner significance and purpose; for that which, in the real world, has come into being by the interplay of a thousand natural forces "cannot be measured by the yard-stick of this poor little reason."

"Never yet has man shown himself shrewder than things"—such was the principle with which Burke confronted those of his contemporaries who were trying to build upon the foundations of an assumedly infallible rationalist thought. The right course was, in all humility, to pay heed to the actual working of "things," if

man wished to find his way safely into the future. Wisdom was not to be discovered in arbitrary constructions, in "untried theories," formulated by arrogant reason regardless of the lessons of history; it was to be discovered, rather, in the "methodology of nature," which could be learned only from a study of the actual course of reality.

Instead of following the "questionable inspiration" of his finite understanding, therefore, the statesman must pay careful heed to the "wisdom of things," and must attempt nothing without the guidance of tradition.

A statesman's calibre, said Burke, was shown by his "inclination to preserve the extant," and by his "capacity to improve it"; any attempt to do more than this "is the fruit of a poor intelligence, and cannot but work mischief." The supreme function of the State is to cherish what has been handed down from the past, in order "to transmit it to the next generation, intact as regards essentials, though amplified and improved in matters of detail."

Experience, said Burke, had shown the alleged "acquirements" of the revolution to be nothing more than "chimerical rights." "There are some," he wrote on one occasion, "who engage in unverified speculations concerning the Rights of Man as forming the basis of a constitution. I disapprove of these ideas, for they are not sanctioned by experience." On another occasion he declared that the great legislators of the past were well aware "that those who have to do with human beings must study human nature; that those who are establishing civic order must form clear ideas concerning the manifold effects which the various and changing conditions of civic life—birth, education, profession, age, habitat in town or country, differences of property and the way it has been acquired—necessarily exert upon the nature of man." Such legislators of earlier times would, therefore, have been "ashamed, under the guidance of a vaporous idea, to sweep away or to ignore these natural and profound distinctions. Even the simplest countryman has enough common sense to keep his horses, sheep, and cattle apart, pasturing them, herding them, and using them all after their own kind, instead of doing them and himself harm by obeying the dictates of an abstract theory of equality."

The "chimeras" of abstract rationalist thought, which Edmund Burke attacked with so much vehemence, began, at the opening of the nineteenth century and its liberal "purification of the revolution," to make their way unnoticed into practical life, securing realization in customs treaties, commercial ordinances, and social views. Liberalism, having set out to find a way back to reality from the fog of "abstract generalities," showed, in all its outlooks, as plainly as possible, that it sprang from the very spirit which it professed to be combating.

Doubtless the liberals had a great deal to say about "real human beings"; but the individual who was thus set against the abstract human beings of the revolution—far from being a person who was the outcome of historical growth, having a specific series of ancestors, belonging to a particular estate of society, shaped by national influences, rooted in the past, interwoven into an actual community—was an isolated, disconnected, unrelated creature, artificially divorced from the multiplicity of his kind.

"Careers freely open to persons of talent!" Even this basic requirement of liberalism was grounded in the faith that every individual could make a fresh start, on his own account, unburdened by inherited or extra-personal determinisms. The realization of such a slogan presupposed, just as much as did the realization of the French revolutionists' notion of equality, the re-establishment of a primitive society in which no historically created differences existed—for nothing else could provide equal rights and an "equal start" for all.

To the liberals, moreover, social forms that had originated out of the co-operative activity of human beings seemed no less abstract and unhistorical than man himself. If social life was to be reduced to nothing more than the interplay of material "interests," they must be the interests of beings activated by no irrational forces whatever; nothing but a multiplicity of such abstractions could eventuate in a "round sum" of interchangeable, perfectly inter-co-ordinated individuals whose relationships would be like those of a physical equilibrium.

In the liberal view, the State—originating in a voluntary social contract, all the parties to which had perfectly clear ideas as to what they were doing—had, as its sole concern, to equalize the

various endeavours to earn a livelihood within the economic community of interests, and to bring the activities of each such social group into harmony with the wishes of other, similar groups, and thus ensure "the greatest happiness of the greatest number."

It was a man intimately engaged in political life who was the first, in the name of the conservative ideal, to combat the rationalist doctrines of the French revolution. Like Burke, an experienced continental statesman, Baron vom Stein, was, ere long, to raise his voice against the rationalism of the liberal era. Yet, and this is extremely interesting, Stein himself had, in his own country, realized many of the fundamental ideas of liberalism, and is commonly regarded as the creator of Prussian liberalism.

But even in the boldest reforms of his year as chancellor, Stein remained faithful to that "experience," respect for which Burke had declared to be the main principle of statecraft. Altogether in the spirit of the British conservatives, whose writings were not unknown to him, Stein, in his innovations, paid due respect to the "wisdom of things," and tried to follow the "methodology of nature," being full of reverence for historical sanctions. "If a constitution has to be formed," he wrote, "it must be historically designed; we must not discover it anew, but must renovate the extant, seeking its elements from the early days of the origination of our people, and developing it out of these."

Stein, the Prussian nobleman, was strongly opposed to the liberals' idea that the nation and the State could be expressed in purely rationalistic terms, that the community of people was no more than a community of interests, that the idea of the State should be degraded to the "night-watchman" idea. For him the State was something much more than "a union for the winning and elaboration of raw materials"; it was something much more than "a combination of agricultural and manufacturing energies": the purpose of the State was something beyond what mere reason could grasp; it was the moral, spiritual, and physical development of the people.

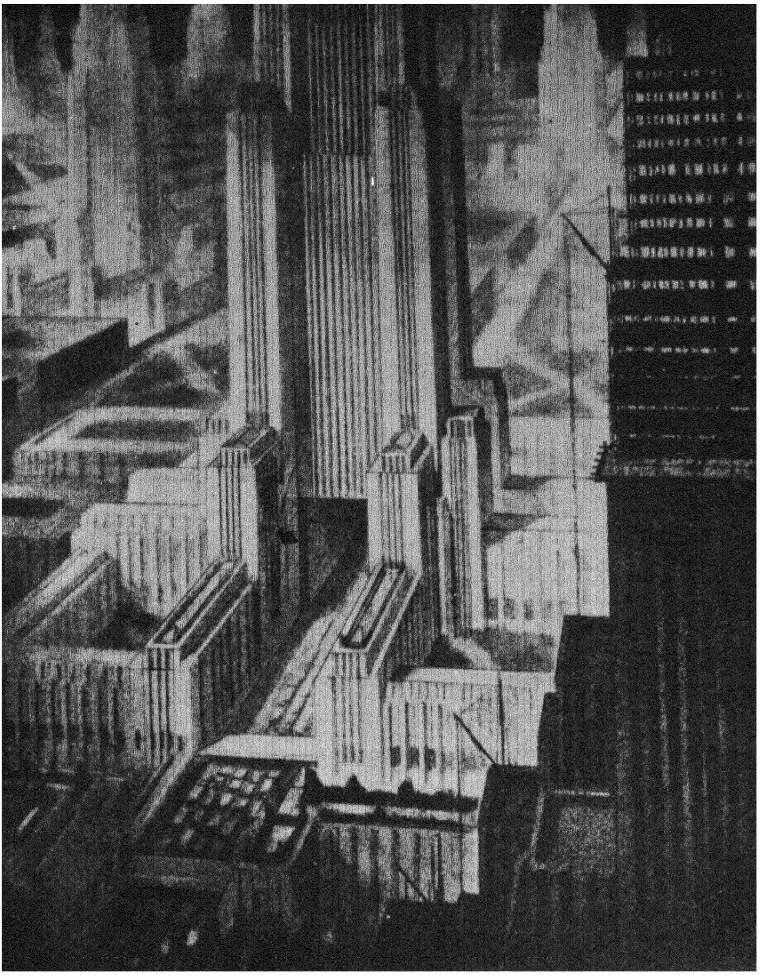
"I know perfectly well," he writes to a friend, "that these opinions conflict with the views of those who hold that the provision of the means of subsistence is the main purpose of the State. In my view, however, we are concerned with a religious

and ethical, an intellectual and political integer; and this fundamental integrality is lost if the population is divided into wage-earners, smallholders, factory workers, and a number of Christianized Jewish usurers, factory-owners, and officials, who are whipped on through life by the longing for pleasure and the desire for gain!"

Stein lived to watch the development of liberalism until after the July revolution. From year to year he grew more and more displeased with the new world-order, of whose development he was a silent spectator. A detestable industrial and monetary economy, animated only by greed for gain and desire for innovation, threatened to make an end of the historical values which seemed sacred to him. "Reason the whore," which, as liberal thought spread wider, gained control over one form of life after another, left scarcely any room for tradition and the "wisdom of things." "An industrial, commercial, talkative age" had begun—one which a man of Stein's intellectual calibre could only curse from the bottom of his heart. He wrote splenetically about this "economico-technological popularity-hunting system," which was devouring itself as Cronus had devoured his own children. "We are over-populated, have over-factorized, over-produced, are overfed; with letters of the alphabet and with ink we have dehumanized our officials, despiritualized the administration, transformed everything into dead mechanism."

Momentous as was the struggle of Burke, the elderly whig M.P. and man of letters, and of Stein, the Prussian ex-chancellor retired on pension, against the claims to omniscience arrogantly put forward by the rationalist champions of the Enlightenment and of liberalism, the revolt of these two statesmen was not the expression of new ideas or the manifestation of a forwardly directed gaze, but simply of the mental attitude of those who are so much in love with the past as to have lost the power of understanding what is in process of becoming.

Veneration for the past, stagnation in an inherited phase of civilization—this is the force that speaks in the persons of Burke and Stein. In these two old men, the evening of whose days coincided with the dawn of a new era, the established and the secure



COLLECTIVIZED CITY OF THE FUTURE: "NEW YORK IN FIFTY YEARS"

A GLIMPSE OF THE BANKING CENTRE OF NEW YORK

reacted defensively against innovation which irreverently repudiated the teachings of experience and the authority of tradition, while trying to create on its own initiative a world-order that would have no roots in the past.

Thus the gestures of the two champions of conservatism had the defiant dignity of defenders of the archaic, their voices the tone of a reluctant appeal to reason. Their arguments rested upon the "wisdom of that which has been," and contested the "presumptuousness" of the belief that it was possible with impunity, ignoring the tried and trusted "methodology of nature," to act in accordance with "untested speculations." Through them, experience uttered warnings against fantasy; tradition, against a leap into the unknown.

But to the "wisdom of experience," the creative mystery out of which alone new spiritual worlds can proceed remains for ever a sealed book, and, like the grey and reverend orator in the British House of Commons, experience herself, at great turning-points in the history of thought, must always say resignedly: "I have no one to succeed me in this House; I die without an heir!"

The warnings of conservatism, therefore, can, in the end, have nothing more than a regulative value; for the "historical reality" which these champions of the "traditional" so greatly prized was something more than a mere continuation of the old, inasmuch as it was then, and always is, simultaneously a new beginning—is not experience alone, but inspiration as well—is something more than "humility in face of the historical," being "boldness" also.

The Enlightenment, with all its faults, was a courageous exercise of the imagination, giving that epoch, as it did, courage enough to believe in the omnipotence of reason, in the power of the human mind to dominate the physical, organic, and social cosmos. The wisdom of experience, being purely didactic, could never hold its own against this magnificent conception.

One who wishes to free mankind from thraldom to rationalism must be able to offer it another equally inspiring picture of the world; and the first who showed themselves able to do so were the romanticists. The lively imagination of this pleiad of poets and novelists and playwrights was the first force that proved able to

cope with the artificial constructions of a purely logical and scientific thought.

In their ecstatic minds a new vision formed itself, that of those who refused to regard the world as a dead machine, but looked upon it as a plenitude of living forms, as a divine and wondrous garden of the most polychrome and multifarious shapes, in which everything was turgid with the internal forces of growth, and where everything, after its kind, grew and sprouted wildly, luxuriantly, for the greater glory of God.

In many respects the romanticists took up and carried a stage farther the work of the German idealist philosophers, who had already been trying to make reason admit its own limitations. Two decades before the outbreak of the French revolution, Herder had come to the same conclusion as, before him, Vico and Montesquieu, that nations and historical epochs cannot be made comprehensible in the terms of a uniform law of reason, and cannot be weighed on "nursery scales"; but that every one of the nations has its characteristics and its fate determined by the peculiar genius of the people who comprise it, who have "their own centre" as "a globe has its centre of gravity"; so that historical knowledge cannot deal with anything but the contemplation of perpetually changing forms. In his semi-poetical, semi-philosophical *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* ("Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind," 1784–1791), Herder tried to legitimize once more such outlooks on life as had been rejected by the Enlightenment on the ground that they were "irrational." In like manner, subsequently, most of the idealist philosophers of Germany protested against the attempts of the champions of the Enlightenment to limit their recognition of phenomena to matters which could be logically grasped—proclaiming the validity of a "great reason" endowed with cognitive possibilities higher than those of logical thought.

Fichte, who had, to begin with, enthusiastically accepted the doctrines of the French Enlightenment, had gradually moved on towards a philosophy of history in which fervent belief in such irrational ideas as "nationality" and "fatherland" replaced the figments of abstract rationalism. He had now come to regard every nation as "an integer of human beings that procreate themselves

naturally and spiritually, and which has its own peculiar way of developing the divine element within it." Thenceforward he devoted his best energies to maintaining and perfecting the "divine idea" of the nation and the units of nationality in a diversified world.

No less vehemently than Fichte did Hegel protest against a "rationalist view" of the State, as if this were nothing more than an enclosure "whose fencing was paid for by narrow-minded owners," and designed solely to guard the safety of a citizen's property. For although Hegel, like the majority of his contemporaries, had been an ardent admirer of the beginnings of the revolution, and of the attempt "to stand man upon his head, that is to say upon thought"; he later fathered the myth of the "Volksgeist" (the national spirit). Now the nations seemed to him the ultimate elements of history, as indivisible by reason as the atoms of the physics and chemistry of his day; and he regarded the State as the only idea that could endow human beings with value and "spiritual reality."

Then came Schelling, with his postulate of a world-spirit permeating the whole of nature. Inspired with this notion, he rejected the conception of isolated human beings, and regarded all things that existed, from the tree and the bush to man, as members of a divine world-organism, of a creation whose entirety could never be grasped by "petty reason."

Nevertheless, despite the marked difference thus established between German idealistic philosophy and the rationalism of the Anglo-French Enlightenment, the former, notwithstanding its cult of "ideas," was far from being entangled in the speculative conceptual meshes of an unhistorical mode of thought. The task of romanticism, therefore, as compared with that of idealism, was like the task liberalism had set itself as against abstract reason. In each case, "generalities" were to be brought into touch with practical life.

From the directly intuitive view of real life taken by Herder and Goethe, from the study of dialects, folk-customs, traditions, legal systems, and handicrafts, the inspired circles of the Schlegels, the Arnims, and the Grimms, of a Görres, a Baader, and an Adam Müller, derived a full knowledge of the natural peculiarities of

each distinct nationality, and gained an insight into the significance of particular habitats, localizations, languages, and literatures in the past and the present.

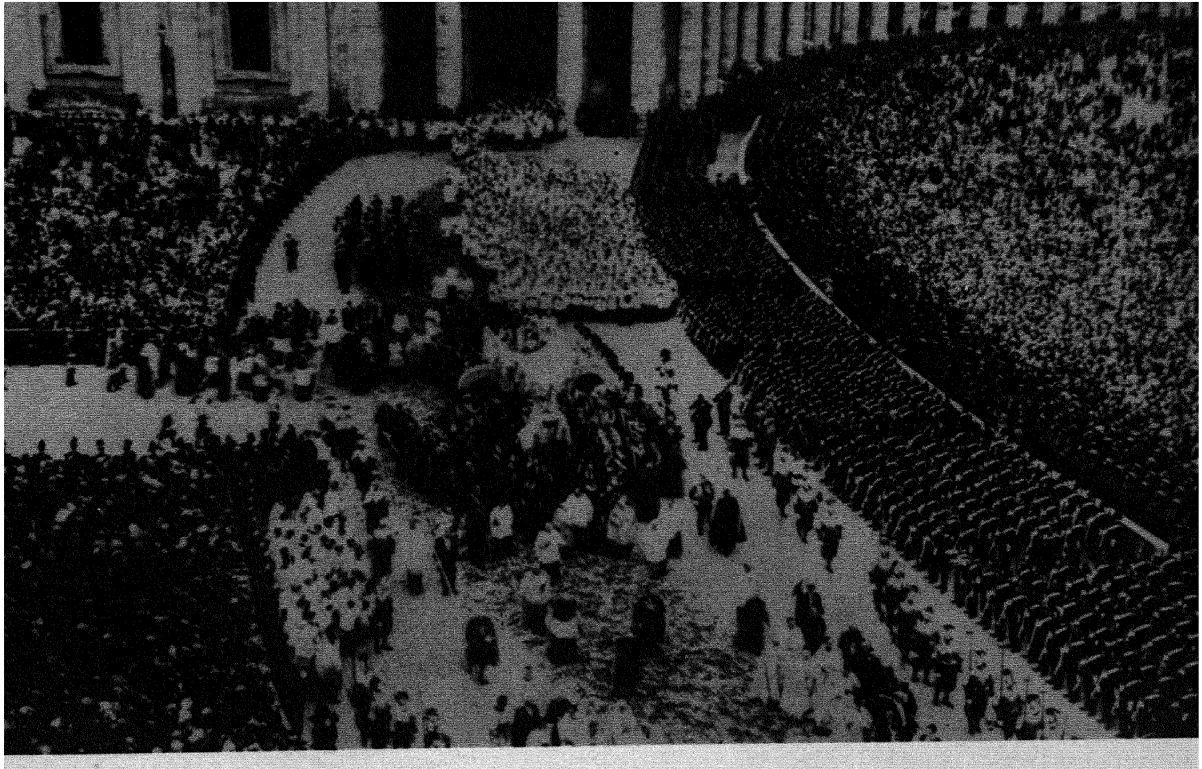
What presented itself to eyes thus opened to the realities of folk-life was no longer "ideas" which could only represent reality in parables. No, for them each people, each civilization, was unique, constituting an integral organic reality, biological because permeated with a life of its own.

What for philosophers had remained an ideal concept of folk-hood or nationality became, for the romanticists, living folk peculiarities and national qualities; and at the same time they fancied they were able to discern the principle of unity which holds a nation together within a particular sphere of feeling and of life, so that its historical unity has been transformed into a mystical community.

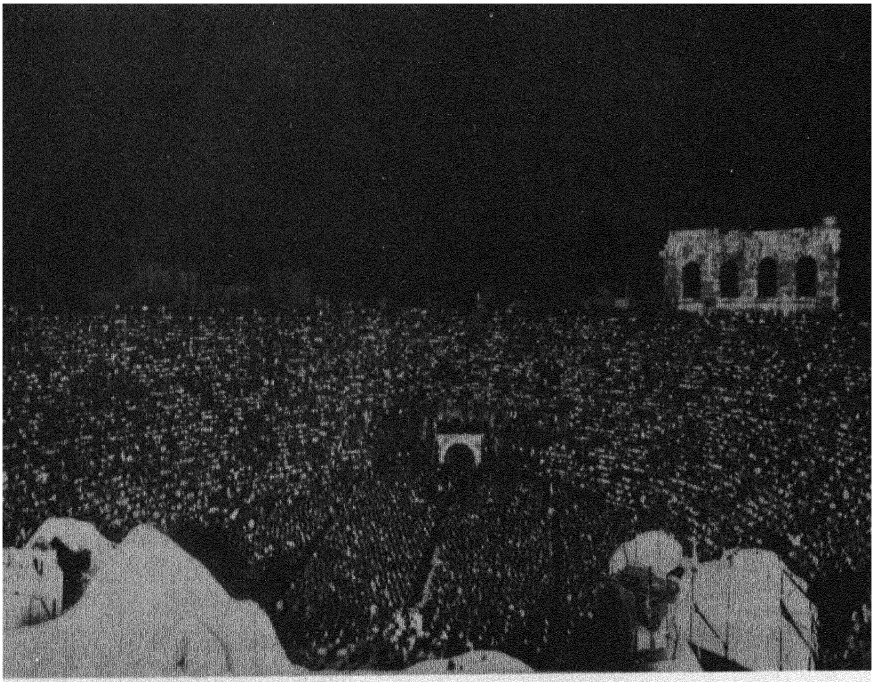
It was in the spirit that resulted from such an organic outlook upon the world that Adam Müller protested against the rationalist delusion that "old customs and laws are things which can be simply brushed aside as if our ancestors have completely mouldered into dust, and as if our heritage from them betokens nothing more than what can be bought and sold and chaffered for in the market."

Archimedes declared that, given a fulcrum outside the world for his lever, he could move the world. Reason opined that it had solved the "sublime paradox" of this utterance, and, with the aid of logic, had found the requisite fulcrum outside the cosmos. Adam Müller, however, asks whether the errors of reason do not culminate in the illusion that "the individual can really escape social ties; and, from without, subvert and destroy whatever is not to his liking? The individual may protest against the work done during thousands of past years; he can refuse to recognize the validity of existing institutions; in a word, he may delude himself with the fancy that there really is a fulcrum outside the State, on which he can place his lever, and thus turn the huge body of the State into new paths."

Adam Müller styles "a fallacious Copernican standpoint" this attempt of reason to get outside the world. Such a Copernican standpoint deprives evolution, interrelationships, the inwardness



CROWDS WATCHING THE POPE COMING FROM ST. PETER'S



CROWDS IN THE ANCIENT AMPHITHEATRE AT VERONA

of history, of their significance. Müller prefers the Ptolemaic-Christian outlook, according to which he who thinks remains a living man. "Just as everything created by nature believes itself to stand in the centre of nature; just as every creature, if it will admit the truth, fancies that the whole universe circles round it—so does every human being place himself in the centre of civic life."

Man cannot get out of the State any more than he can get out of himself, for everyone is "immersed in the lifetime of the State," has "behind himself a past, before himself a future," and is unthinkable without both of these.

The romanticists, therefore, were not satisfied with confronting the "monstrous and barbaric violence done to nature"—by a rationalist way of thinking which "with conceptual shears cuts living or organic life in twain"—with a hymn of praise to "tradition" and "experience." They tried to revive the universalist contemplation of the world as an integer (a mode of thought which had been out of fashion since the days of scholasticism); a method of contemplation in which the "originality, independence, uniqueness of phenomena," and the organic interconnexion of all that had grown into life, would come once more into their own.

Leibniz was the last of that great race of thinkers to which, of yore, Thomas Aquinas belonged; of those whose richly endowed natures gave them the capacity of apprehending the creative world rationally while at the same time comprehending with the eye of faith the effective existences underlying phenomena. Leibniz was the last to contemplate number and aspect, scientific laws and divine providence, in one comprehensive scheme that was free from contradictions; he was still able to combine mathematics (to which he made important original contributions), and the organic mysteries of biology (whose true founder he was), with theological thought. The result was that his spiritual heritage was equally important to the mechanistic Enlightenment and to the biologico-religious outlook of the romanticists.

The power of cognizing simultaneously in two different spheres, a power which, at the close of the seventeenth century, had been brilliantly incorporated in this one personality, was revived at the opening of the nineteenth century, although only in fugitive

flashes. During such flashes, there was a strange interweaving of contrasted modes: of cognition with intuition, of reason with metaphor, of number with aspect, of thought in mathematico-mechanical functions with feeling for biologico-organic growth. That is what gives the decades in question their spiritual greatness, and likewise endows them with a peculiar magical sheen.

For side by side with the romanticists, and with no less passionate ardour, liberal thinkers were struggling to attain to what they regarded as knowledge. While in Berlin the "Christo-Germanic Circle" of the romanticists was admiring the world as a garden of divine wonders, a whole literature was being born out of the teachings of Adam Smith; in London, Jeremy Bentham was engaged in the drafting of the constitutions which his disciples in Europe and on the pampas were to bestow on their peoples; and the protagonists of liberalism were endeavouring to define as rationalistically and atomistically as possible the terms "man," "nation," "State," and "political economy."

Everywhere, in every phrase, romanticism and rationalism, metaphor and concept, were intertwined. When reason drew Euclidean straight lines, squares, and triangles, romanticism conjured up a thousand forms copied from living nature—forms in which there was no trace of geometrical abstraction. If reason spoke of "knowledge" and "understanding," romanticism referred to the same mental processes as "intuition" and "inkling." The "incomprehensible," which the Enlightenment was perpetually striving to dispel, was a delight to the romanticists. "How splendid," they said, "that the wonders of life cannot be grasped by the intelligence!" Although the enlightened tried to measure and weigh everything, the romanticists contemplated thought itself as a mystical process of growth.

"How can a man understand the significance of anything, unless he already has the germ of it in himself?" asks Novalis. "What I am to understand must develop organically within me; and what I seem to be learning is but mental pabulum, is but a stimulus to the organism."

Liberal rationalists proudly declared that the essential motive of human activity was "enlightened self-interest"; but the romanticists, in answer, conjured up the unconscious obscurities pre-

existing in the depths of the mind, so that man was supposed to be a creature in whose thoughts and actions all heaven and all hell were displayed.

The multifariousness of the human race, regarded by rationalists as a "round sum," an aggregate, of individuals, was looked upon by romanticists as the mystical essence of the people; as "the sublime commonwealth of a long series of generations past, present, and to come; of destinies interlaced in a close union for life and for death, each individual safeguarding and being safeguarded by the others, and, in like manner, all the successive generations existing in virtue of a system of mutual guarantees."

With "romanticist sarcasm," the imaginative writers of the Christo-Germanic Circle made fun of the "enlightened" thinkers who "thought" instead of "contemplating"; to whom, therefore, the State was nothing more than "manufacture, a dairy-farm, an insurance company, or a pettifogging institution for safeguarding the body against mishaps, scarcity of food, and penury"; and who could not recognize the organically vital characteristics of the State. This last, for the romanticists, was nothing less than a "corpus politicum mysticum," the "intimate union of the entirety of mental and bodily needs, of the whole inner and outer life of a nation," to constitute a huge, eternally mobile and living integer. Of this totality, science gives no representation, for its movement must cease before science can get to work with instruments of precision; death cannot picture life, nor immobility, motion.

How arid, of necessity, the romanticists, who always contemplated the whole, found the rationalists' "physics of economic life," their picture of an economy knowing no laws but those of economics and wrenched away from actual existence! For them, who "contemplated" instead of merely "knowing," political economy was closely interconnected with human nature; it circled round, not material objects mechanically pushed and pulled hither and thither, but human beings who felt and willed; and it could not be detached from, or understood apart from, these human beings, with their traditions and their ancestry, their feelings and their imaginings.

Political economy, insisted Adam Müller, is not merely a doctrine of production; it is also "the science of the maintenance and

enlivenment of the relationships between persons and things to constitute the State." Moreover, value, which underlies the exchange of goods, must be freed from individualistic and temporal restrictions, inasmuch as "elements in the appropriate taxation of a piece of land are no more and no less than the details of the many-centuries-old history of this area of land and of the State with whose fortunes it had throughout that period been so intimately interwoven."

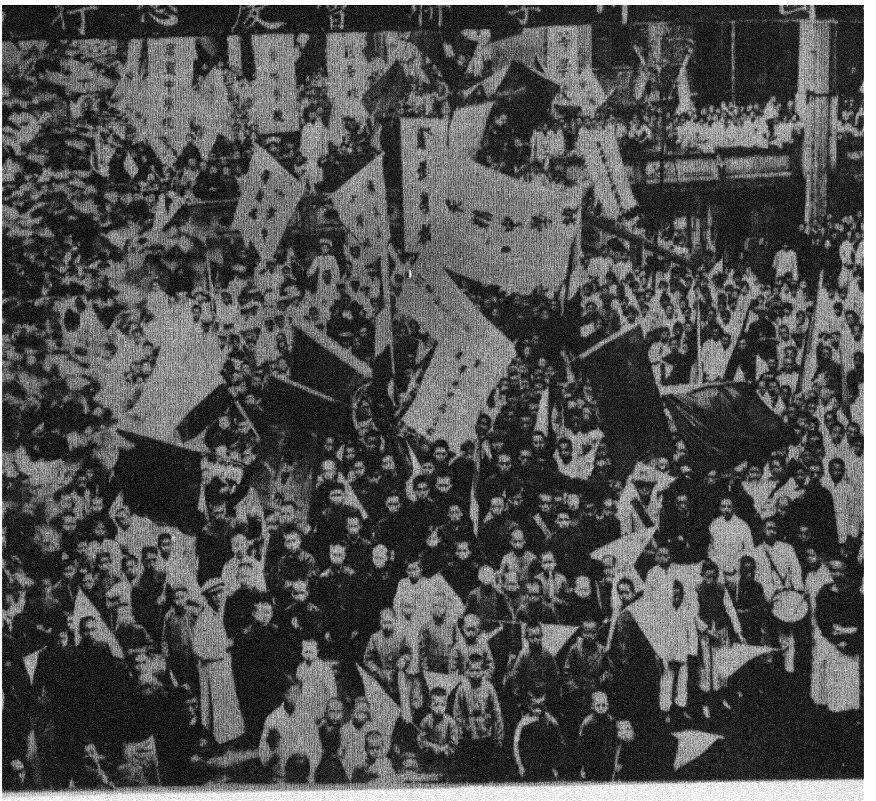
In the outlook of romanticist thinkers, their organic conception of the State, of society, and of economics made them try to reconstitute that gradation of the populace into a State which, in all earlier epochs, and especially throughout the Middle Ages, had been the foundation of social structure. Such a gradation into a State, so that "the community should be permeated and built upon living personal relationships," was to replace the "abstract, mechanical, impersonal relationships of the individual to the whole" which were the basis of the rationalists' outlook.

In the days when the romanticists were thus at grips with the Enlightenment and with liberalism, Adam Müller sent a copy of his *Elemente der Staatskunst* to Arnold Hermann Heeren, under whom he had studied history at Göttingen. In a letter of thanks, the professor expressed the belief that the day would come when people would regard the opinions and theories of Adam Müller as epoch-making, "just as they now regard the opinions and theories of Adam Smith."

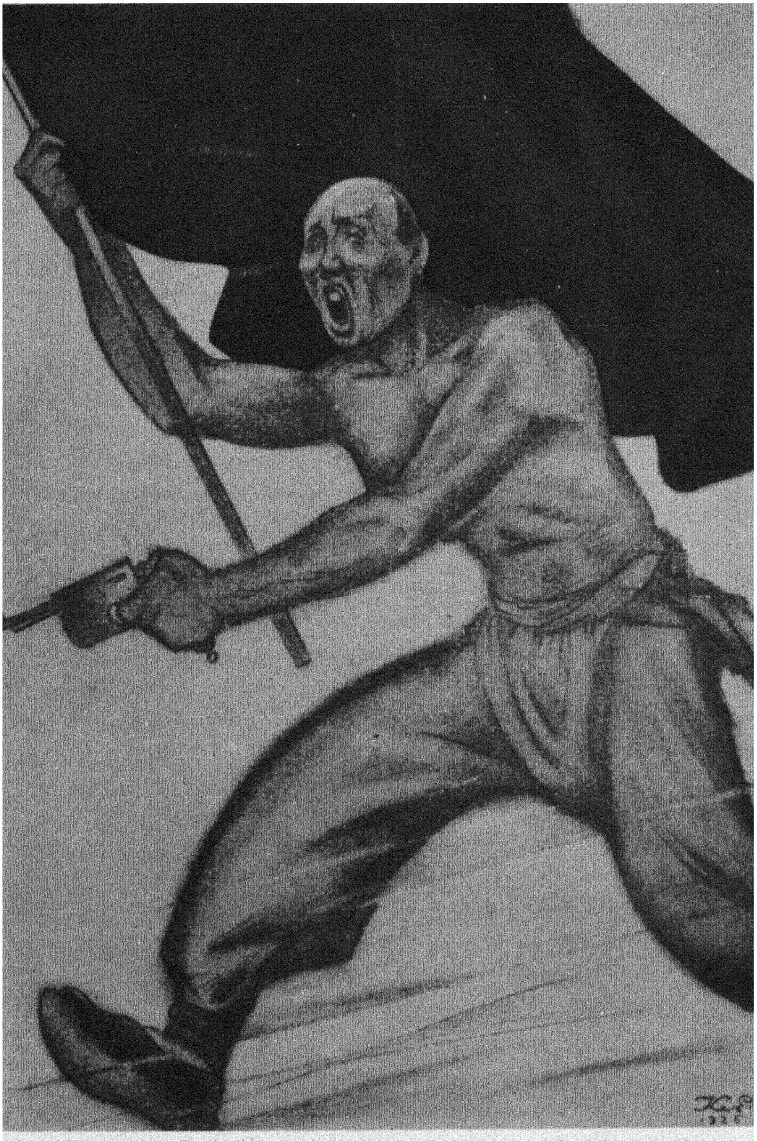
2

BIRTH OF THE MASSES

Had the work of the rationalist Enlightenment been nothing more than a tissue of fallacies, nothing more than an erroneous application of the mechanical outlook of natural science to groups of phenomena in which the incalculable complexities of life are plainly manifest; had the only gift of this era to mankind



REVOLUTIONARY MASS MEETING IN CANTON



REVOLUTIONARY POSTER: "CHINA, AWAKE!"

been its "social physics," its "Newtonian law" of society and economics; had the reign of reason led only to the presumptuous notion that the ultimate riddle of human life had been solved, and that, disregarding all established gradations, mental constructions could wholly replace traditional forms—then Brentano, Müller, Görres, and the other romanticists of the Christo-Germanic Circle, would have found it easy enough, with their spirited discussions, their lively, learned, and incisive pens, to lay the spectre of reason, as easily as, a century before, the intimates of a Voltaire, a Diderot, and a Holbach had charmed it into existence with their perspicacious discussions, their flashes of insight, and their trenchant pamphleteering. The "esprit" of the ablest French thinkers of the eighteenth century would have had to bow before the intellectual outlooks of the ablest German thinkers of the nineteenth; all the more because, during the intervening hundred years and as a sequel of the French revolution, reason had lost a good deal of ground.

But no widely accepted doctrine has ever been wholly erroneous. Never has any powerful construction of the human imagination served only to spread confusion, to befog brains, and to arrest the mental evolution of mankind—though its adversaries have always been ready to declare as much. Even the most absurd notions embodied through the ages in millenarian and utopian doctrines have been necessary parts of the totality of human happenings and, for this reason, cannot be simply expunged from the great historical process, whether in respect of their ideal conceptions or in respect of their material results.

Over and above this justification on general principles, the rationalist Enlightenment was an extraordinarily important intellectual phase, and greatly enriched human life: inasmuch as by its very errors it not only scared thought out of inertia and, by presenting a new picture of the world, roused imagination to unanticipated achievements; but it also created something which stirred human life to the depths—namely the machine.

Machinery, the most characteristic product of rationalist thought, forced men to do something more than modify their philosophical outlooks. It confronted the human race with completely new tasks in the concrete world, while simultaneously ful-

filling the ancient dream of the great magic, the vision of inexhaustible abundance that could be secured with a minimum of exertion.

When the rationalist principle became justified by results, it was inevitable that the arguments of the various constellations of poets and other imaginative writers, their invectives against the philosophers of the Enlightenment, must appear to many to be the diatribes of those who lived remote from the world—to be, in short, the idle fancies of "romanticists." The epoch in which reason was working miracles transcending the most fantastic dreams of earlier generations was, in its amazement, almost too ready to accept with reverence whatever gifts reason bestowed. Since reason had called machinery into the realm of actual life, people were ready to believe without hesitation that reason could solve every problem. Few ventured to doubt that it could modify nature as much as it pleased and make innovations without limit.

Thus there came a time when, in view of the triumphs of machinery, faith in the omnipotence of reason was even more fervent than it had been at its height in the eighteenth century, when reason had been able to take its stand only upon the redemptionist prophecies and the pæans of its high priests, but had not, so far, given palpable proof of its capacities.

Sustained by faith in machinery, during the nineteenth century there occurred something like a "second Enlightenment," whose intellectual edifice was further buttressed by a number of important chemical and physical discoveries. In 1828, Wöhler succeeded in producing synthetically the first "organic compound," by transforming ammonium cyanate into urea, thus knocking the bottom out of the prevailing assumption that the operations of a supposed "vital force" established an insuperable barrier between "organic" products and those of the "non-living" world. Not long afterwards, Robert Mayer formulated the law of the conservation of energy, and calculated the mechanical equivalent of heat. Applied to the explanation of organic processes, this new knowledge led investigators to believe that physical and chemical laws accounted for all that went on in "living matter," so that movements of and changes in the organic world must be no less calculable than are those of the inorganic.

Machinery was pouring the contents of its inexhaustible horn of plenty into the hands of human beings; the law of the conservation of energy had been discovered; and the chemist in his laboratory could make urea—in view of such miracles, how could the scientists of the first half of the nineteenth century doubt any longer the redemptive virtue of reason?

The positivism of Comte, the materialism of Feuerbach, Büchner, and Vogt; in succession to these, the historical materialism of Marx and Engels, the theory of evolution propounded by Darwin and Haeckel—such were the systems of thought that grew out of the circumstances of the time. It was natural, as things were, that people should accept these mechanistic views as unreservedly as if Leibniz, Goethe, and the romanticists had never existed; as if no one had ever stressed the importance of "contemplation" and "vision" side by side with "thought."

For the better part of a century this faith in the exclusive saving power of reason was dominant. The few who, during this period, insisted upon the primary vital wisdom of contemplation, that precious heirloom of mankind, to hand it down to later days, remained lonely and misunderstood.

Technocracy, one of the latest redemptionist doctrines, declares in set and sober terms that machinery will not be able to fulfil the ancient wish-dream of a superfluity of goods until man regulates his existence unreservedly by the calculation of kilogramme-calories. Herein we have a perfectly logical deduction from an evolutionary process which has proceeded on its inevitable course ever since machinery began to rule men's lives. For the machine, created by the calculating reason, depends first and foremost upon the numbering, the interchangeability, and the repetition of all that is in any way related with it, so that it inevitably demands the systematic exclusion of the incommensurable and the unique.

Not until the perplexed living totality of mankind has been reduced to the working of definite forces, has been freed from that uniqueness whose mould has been broken, not until the characteristics proper to the individual have been expunged so that he remains nothing more than a machine carrying a pair of "hands" upon a pair of "legs"—both undifferentiated—can one person be

treated as exactly like another, can people be counted as "hands," measured as "forces," indifferently multiplied, left out of account, exchanged, and replaced.

This outlook was indeed appropriate to the British factory-owners of the eighteenth century, who noted how many "hands" they had been saved by the introduction of new machinery; and the same outlook recurs in the writings of Marx, the prophet of disaster, who sees the totality of living workers as a mere "forest of arms," which grow ever more numerous while the arms grow continually thinner.

Later, however, the urge to abstraction proceeding from the machine made an end even of these anthropomorphic ideas of "hands" and "arms"; and human beings were denaturalized to become "labour hours." As Marx formulated the matter, the pendulum of the clock became the measure of achievement. One worker produced in an hour the same amount of value as any other worker. "Time is everything, and man no longer counts; he is, at most, the embodiment of time. Quality no longer matters, and quantity is all-determinative: hour for hour, day for day."

More and more, from the language used in this mechanized century, words which could arouse an image of the organically complete human being tended to go out of use. No matter whether the economists of this period had espoused the cause of the wealthy or that of the poor, no matter whether they were investigating the effects of machinery, were studying the laws of enrichment or the laws of pauperization—they were sedulous, one and all, to reduce what was living and human, and therefore incommensurable, into unqualified, numerable quantities and mechanical, measurable "forces," that thus they might obtain data that were both trustworthy and calculable for use in their formulæ.

Thinkers of the classical world had degraded slaves to become "things," and had looked upon them as "men without heads"; the thinkers of the nineteenth century extended this contempt for personal dignity to the "masters" no less than to the "slaves" among their contemporaries, so that all mankind might become subjects for calculation, and the goods-producing wonder-wheels of the machine might go on turning throughout eternity without any of

the disturbances inevitably introduced by the activities of unique living beings.

This mechanical view of human life, which had already become dominant in the writings of Malthus and Ricardo, developed in Marx's thought in such a way as to systematize every field of social activity. Life thus becomes the "process of production"; labour, "exchange value"; rank, a class; family, an "economic unit"; poverty, "exploitation"; history, a succession of "relationships of production"; culture and art, a "superstructure."

Only the eyes of such a systematizer, eyes reduced to the level of "organs of thought," eyes which came in the end to regard all social processes as reducible to quantitative and numerical relationships and as subject to mechanical laws, could discern that strange numerical phenomenon "mass" or "masses," with which Marxism really came into its own. So long as some vestiges of the spirit of liberalism persisted, so long as individuals were still perceived among mankind (however abstractly and however inseparable from the mass), it remained impossible to consider the individual as nothing more than a mere unit figure in a calculation; but, regarded as "masses," mankind became a sum-total of absolutely similar units, which could be added, subtracted, divided, and pigeon-holed at will.

It was upon calculations of this kind that Marx's evangel of salvation was based. The victory of the proletariat, the "expropriation of the expropriators," would come about through a progressive diminution in the number of the exploiters and a progressive increase in the number of the exploited. Certainty as to the ultimate triumph of the workers depended upon these antagonistic numerical progressions.

More and more the concept of the "masses," as developed in Marxian philosophy, has tended to become assimilated to the physical concept of "mass." In both cases, the term was reduced, in the end, to a mere subject for calculation, and is now devoid of circumstantial validity; it is a product of mathematical thought, abstracted from material realities. To the technocrats was left the honour of offering up the last symbolical sign which still bore witness to the unity of the living human being—discrete number.

Technocracy effected this by the reduction of mankind to kilogramme-calories; and therewith life was definitively removed to spheres in which no further vestiges of its earth-bound character could disturb the sublime purity of scientific calculation.

The machine, which with iron consistency transformed the producing human being into a "hand," a constituent of the masses, and ultimately to an "erg-quantum," and persistently rejected the conception of his organic unity and uniqueness, played the same game with that portion of the population of the world which was to consume the products of machine industry. Like the "hand," the "consumer" became an impersonal factor in calculations.

To the economists of the industrial era, "consumers" (likewise) took on more and more the aspect of a "mass," or "masses," abstractly considered, divorced from individual life and destiny. Such qualities as they had were no longer of the nature of personal peculiarities and inclinations, but were typical averages, accordant with the statistical "law of great numbers."

For whereas in nature everything is unique, the capacity of the machine to produce goods in far greater plenty than human beings can, unaided, depends upon the wizardry of multiplication; and the cunning which enables those who use the machines to out-trump nature is the cunning of repetition. Only what can be repeated without limit can be calculated in advance, whereas the unique perpetually eludes the grasp of the understanding.

Since, however, the machines, in which this cunning of repetition was incorporated in steel, could turn out only a plurality of identical objects, there must be discoverable in the persons who had to use these objects something repetitive, constant, and calculable.

Machinofacture refused to countenance the multiplicity and uniqueness of a man's needs and tastes; that which works by endless repetition was outraged by the perpetual variation in size and shape of feet and heads; machine production must disregard the infinite variety of individual differences, and must classify human beings after its own fashion in accordance with needs and qualities common to them all or to large numbers of them.

Well, statistics could get to work here. The larger the number

of individuals brought under observation, the more obvious became the resemblances which machinofacture needed for the successful exercise of its only talent—the endless repetition of the similar.

Thus mass-production necessitated a forcible normalization of needs, classifying human beings in accordance with its own standard, introducing fictive qualities into life, and creating the illusion of uniformity where nature had created multiplicity.

The romanticists flourished just at the time when machinery was getting into its stride; and, with the sensitiveness of eyes trained to the contemplation of the organic, they complained of the disintegration of human wholeness that was proceeding apace, and declared it to be "an act of sacrilege committed against the creative world."

Adam Müller described the division of labour—a fundamental principle of industrialism—as a "dead, inhuman mechanism which transforms the living body into an automatic organ doing only one kind of operation, and treating man as nothing better than a fragment of his own body." He continued: "Only part of a man, only particular energies, are of use in the great manufactory; not the whole human being, who may be left to perish if that which is regarded as essential in him, monetary value, wage-earning value, through any of the countless changes in European needs and fashions, becomes unutilizable in the huge monetary machine."

But what the human soul needs, said the romanticists, is a many-sided, a "well-rounded," field of activity. If the division of labour "goes on dissecting the integral free man into wheels, cogs, rollers, spokes, and waves, forcing him into a narrow area in the already limited sphere of the gratification of some isolated need, how can it be expected that this fragment remain in harmony with the law? How can the rhombs, triangles, and various other figures cut out of the sphere, agree, in their isolation, with the great globe of political life and its laws?"

But the days for a "well-rounded" sphere of occupation were done with. Machine development marched inexorably over romanticism towards new and more ambitious schematizations of

existence—until in the sixties (in England, this time) the voice of a belated romanticist was once more raised against the era of mechanical technique.

In his polemics, John Ruskin wrote wrathfully of the godless fragmentation of human beings, lamenting almost in the words of Adam Müller that machine civilization made men no more than scattered fragments of life.

Supported by the members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood —by such poets and artists as Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Edward Burne-Jones, and Walter Crane—Ruskin's disciple William Morris, "in the idyllic seclusion of Merton Abbey, amid lush meadows and shady trees," established workshops for manufacture in its old sense of craftsmanship, for the weaving of silk and cotton stuffs and for the making of gobelins, without the accursed division of labour.

This movement came in days when the general faith in the redemptionist power of machinery was so firmly established that Ruskin's writings encountered fierce hostility. There was such a "storm of indignation" that Ruskin's publisher, in fear of a cudgelling, would not continue publication of books described by contemporaries as "garbage," and Ruskin was compelled to start a printing establishment of his own.

For at the time when the belated romanticist voiced such wrath against the mechanization of the world, man had entered upon a new phase of destiny, which had dragged him out of his organic growth, had forced him into uncongenial paths, had compelled him to subordinate his natural impulses to rationalist aims, and to devote his energies to the production of measurable utilities, instead of giving these energies free rein.

The process of dehumanization and denaturalization pursued its way with cosmic irresistibility. More and more the primitive forms of association and interdependence, which were the outcome of birth, race, and ties of blood, of neighbourhood, national traditions, and the historical situation, were passing into abeyance. Rationalized, inorganic, purposive unions, formed in accordance with regulations and resolutions, took the place of the old. Where, previously, people had grown spontaneously in accordance with their "genius," where States had originated as earthly copies of

Platonic ideas, the human atoms now compacted themselves into smaller and larger social molecules, into "groups" and "masses," whose shape was determined by number, and whose uniting idea was nothing more than the reasonable self-interest of persons pursuing the same aims, belonging to the same class, comprising the same "round sum."

To this destiny of "great numbers," each element going to make up that "round sum" had to bow. The life of the individual in all its manifestations was subordinated to this new lot of inexorably proceeding dissolution into purpose and number.

Whereas of yore the manual worker had devoted the strength of his hands to his work, and the peasant had concentrated his energies upon tilling the soil, this had been nothing more than compliance with the primal necessities and supreme decrees of nature. Now, however, the worker laboured under the compulsion of alien purposes; torn from his ancient and special moorings, he must spend his life in the monotonous toil of turning, burnishing, filing, boring, or riveting. Moreover, whereas nature had employed the whole man, these new and alien purposes employed only fragments of his potential activities—fragments which were assembled into a finished whole at some remote and inaccessible place.

"Formerly personality came first; but, in the future, organizations and systems will come first." Such was the dictum pronounced at the opening of the twentieth century by Mr. Frederick Winslow Taylor, as the gospel of the new age. He was followed up in practical life by Henry Ford, who made this gospel of fragmented, depersonalized labour, in which system and organization reigned supreme, the Magna Charta of his factory kingdom.

At Ford's works in Detroit, the conveyor for the assembling of the chassis runs at a speed of six feet per minute. At the first of the forty-five stations, the wings are affixed to the frame; at station ten, the engine is installed; at station forty-three, the gasolene-tank is filled; at station forty-four, the radiator is supplied with water; at station forty-five, the finished car is set in motion and driven out of the workshop. The man who inserts a bolt does not fit the nut to it, and the man who fits the nut does not screw that nut home. With such extreme division of labour, the apotheosis of standardization, rationalization, and speeding-up, the age of mechanization

registered its supreme triumph. Enthusiastically the rulers of this new world could exclaim: "Ours is the victory, for we have the parts in our hands!"

Amid the systems and organizations, you could find no trace of a human being who was more than fraction and number. Everywhere was obvious the dominion of capital, consisting entirely of abstractions, of account-keepings, balances, shares, and obligations; of capital which had no natural ties with the countryside or with the nation, but was wholly constituted out of mysteriously rising and falling figures upon the stock exchanges of the world.

At this time there were very few trees, but more service-stations than were needed; and the last human beings who were still endeavouring to maintain their wholeness were in process of extinction. The remainder, in the West as in the East, in the South as in the North, across lands and seas, were living in the same sort of gigantic honeycombs with interchangeable walls, and the inhabitants had interchangeable mentalities.

All over the world, whithersoever the motor lorries and the railway-trains of this new generation made their way, wheresoever their airplanes landed, the very crust of the earth was changing. Instead of the old shapes of meadows, forests, settlements, and houses, which had been familiar for centuries and had taken centuries to produce, new lines cut athwart the landscape, new shapes appeared, new buildings of stone and steel rose from the ground; and all these lines, surfaces, and bodies were the product of calculating reason and served the spirit of purposefulness.

Whereas earlier dwelling-houses had grown out of the rhythm of the soil, whereas the public parks and public buildings of earlier civilization had incorporated symbolical forms, whereas the old race-courses had copied the shape of the egg, whereas Christian churches had been built in the form of the cross and cathedrals owed their mystical type of construction to the masons' guild, and the sacredness of the East had determined the position of the altar and the way the congregation faced when at its devotions—the curves and the angles, the aspiring lines, of the new architecture disclosed and symbolized nothing but the reign of reason, the victory of calculation over all the vaguenesses of nature and materials. Solidity, cheapness, the power to make their buildings pay, and to

ensure the best possible use of materials and of space, were the craft secrets of these "masons of reason" who were now erecting their monuments to the greater glory of the spirit of calculation.

Indeed, the power of the machine and its purposive organization, which determined the modes of work, the construction of the houses, and the transformation of the landscape according to laws of their own making, gradually achieved the conquest of man's innermost recesses, controlling people's mode of life, their manners and customs, their tastes, the course of their thoughts, the formation and the sound of their words. More and more they came to dress alike, living and loving within stereotyped walls, amid electric cooking utensils and standardized beds; they thought in types and in norms, and used identical words to express their identical thoughts. The great department stores, with huge catalogues exhibiting wares numbered by the hundred thousand, were prepared to deliver, to anyone who could write a valid cheque, "ready-made existences," completely installed farms with agricultural machinery, dairies, cows, and chicken-runs; or to supply mental pabulum of any desired kind.

Even the painters of this epoch succumbed to the same spell of mass-production and rationalization; for what else was the significance of cubism, which Roger Allard has defined as the "conscious determination to reintroduce into painting a knowledge of mass, volume, and weight"? When, for instance, Picasso set to work to "dehumanize" the human body. and to represent it in geometrical forms, in "social and cosmic collectivities," he announced a programme which, in the literary formulation of his school, declared that space must be represented "as a composite of lines, spatial units, quadratic and cubistic equalization and balancing." The task of the artist was to restore order to this "mathematical chaos."

Again and again, it is true, a romanticist would take up his parable to protest against the secularization of man, against the mechanization of life, against the standardization of the individual; but to the generality such protests made no appeal, such language was unintelligible, for "wholeness," the "uniqueness of human beings," "organic growth," were obsolete concepts which dated from the beginning of the previous century!

Certainly one went on working day after day, turning the same screw, making no more than parts of objects, living in identical houses and thinking identical thoughts; but this identity, this equality, was the guarantee of safety! The similar was calculable, and free from peril; one had made one's nest among things that functioned in a predictable fashion; and nature, for all its powers, could do no serious harm to a world which had the parts in its possession.

The great system of reason was, indeed, the foundation of the huge mechanism into which the world had now been transformed; and this mechanism, which was its own most characteristic product, Reason held always in the hollow of her hand.

Just as the thinkers of the Middle Ages had contemplated all being, from that of the inanimate stone to that of an archangel, as co-ordinated parts of one sublime plan of creation, of a plan which received its significance from the divine spirit—so, now, had there been constituted a circumscribed picture of a world of the calculating reason, one in which, from the inanimate stone to the polished phrase, everything was ranged in a measurable, divisible, and repetitive order, and received its significance from the supreme authority of the man-god and from its practical purposiveness. He who humbly accepted his place in this eternal wheelwork as a part of it, as one of its screws or bolts, was in safety, and—screw among screws, thing among things—could make himself extremely comfortable.

In the parables of Chuang-Tse, the Taoist philosopher, we read of a man named Tse-Kung who was on the return journey from Chu to Tsin when, at a place near the north bank of the Han River, he saw a peasant who had dug a trench to connect his vegetable garden with a spring. The old fellow was baling water out of the spring with a pail and emptying it into the trench—much labour for very poor results.

"If you installed a suitable implement here," exclaimed Tse-Kung, "you could, in a day, irrigate your land with a hundred times as much water and with very little trouble. Would not you like to have such an implement?"

"What sort of implement?" inquired the gardener.

"An arrangement of wooden levers with a small water-wheel turned by the spring. There is a pail at one end of the big lever and a counterpoise at the other. The implement would lift water out of the spring just as you do with the pail in your hand, it would go on doing it all day, and emptying water into your trench, whether you were here or not."

The gardener looked at him angrily and said:

"In youth I learned from my teacher that persons who use cunning implements are crafty in their affairs, and that those who are crafty in their affairs have evil in their hearts, and that those who have evil in their hearts cannot remain pure and uncorrupted, and that those who cannot remain pure and uncorrupted are restless in spirit. It is not that I do not know about the implement of which you speak, but that I should be ashamed to use it."

Karl Marx, who had early recognized what would be the revolutionizing influence of machinery, wrote, prophetically: "By rapidly improving the means of production and by enormously facilitating communications, the bourgeoisie dragged all the nations, even the most barbarian, into the orbit of civilization. Cheap wares form the heavy artillery with which it batters down Chinese walls and compels the most obstinate of barbarians to overcome their hatred of the foreigner. It forces all the nations, under pain of extinction, to adopt the capitalist method of production; it constrains them to accept what is called civilization, to become bourgeois themselves. In short, it creates a world after its own image."

In actual fact, the "cunning" of reason, of which the gardener in Chuang-Tse's parable had spoken with such contempt more than two thousand years before, did succeed, in the course of the nineteenth century, in battering down the wall with which China had surrounded herself to exclude foreign corruption. It was the heavy guns and the muskets of the Europeans which first opened a way into the Middle Kingdom; and as soon as the Chinese became aware how much more effective were the armaments of the "hairy barbarians" or "foreign white devils," they were themselves ready to breach their walls here and there, for the entry of the machines which could make such wonderful weapons.

Nor was it long before millions of yellow men who from time

immemorial had lived in traditional groups, had acted and thought in accordance with ancient rites and conventions—peasants, officials, and handicraftsmen whose whole activity had been regulated for thousands upon thousands of years by ancestor worship, family ties, and guilds—were transformed into such "hands" and undifferentiated masses as machinery needs for the production and consumption of the commodities it pours into the world.

But Japan, although China had a start of her in this matter, soon took the lead; the country in which a most highly perfected type of feudalist and family organization had existed for many, many centuries, and in whose dictionaries and conceptual world the word "revolution" found no place—when she, too, had been forced to open her doors to the foreigners—speedily forged ahead, and outstripped all the other peoples of the Far East in the willing acceptance of the great industrial revolution. Daimyos and samurai became captains of industry; and in Tokyo and Osaka, three millions of the Japanese common people became massed factory workers.

The same process is going on today in the towns of India, Syria, Egypt, and Turkey, where caste-conscious Hindus, nomadic Bedouins, and Arab peasants are being quickly metamorphosed into a uniform mass. In Mexico, no less, in the primeval forests of Brazil, and upon the pampas of Argentina, machinery is restratifying nations and races in accordance with its own laws, and is subjecting them to the organizational forms of calculating reason.

But whereas the before-mentioned countries were no more than spellbound and credulous in their adoption of the European and American systems of mechanization, Russia proudly lifted her head and, inspired by her old delusion that she was chosen to be the redeemer of mankind, proclaimed upon Russian soil the evangel of the mass-man. "We were the first to rend effectively the garment of history!" triumphantly declared a Bolshevik man of letters.

Nor is this an idle boast. It is true that in Russia, which had lagged a century and a half behind the economic evolution of the western world, the enterprise of reason, the rationalist attempt to free man's whole existence from irrational ties, has assumed its ultimate, most self-conscious, and most logical stamp.

In the U.S.S.R., the dictatorial power of a gigantic realm has come to the aid of the rational in its struggle against its old adversaries within the human heart, in order to reshape one hundred and sixty million human beings born into the historical community of a nation—persons with diversified tastes, and united by family and affective ties of the old kind—into a "collectivity" of equals all having like destinies.

When, in the Paris of the year 1848, the working masses produced by the influence of machinery became visible for the first time, and the demand for equality and collective impersonality was voiced, the poet Lamartine wrote, in his anxiety, that these fanatics, who wanted to sweep away the holiest ties of family, were venturing so far in pursuit of chimeras that the social world could no longer sustain man's footsteps. "They have gone astray into the chaos of system, and the nomadic population of the workshop, estranged from its natural life, cannot see the abyss of destruction into which it is plunging."

To the Russians, on the other hand, what Lamartine contemplated with terror as the "suicide of the human race" seems the indispensable prerequisite for an "ascent into the realm of reason." With the fanaticism characteristic of their redemptionist hopes, they have set to work, by the rationalized union of all in a joint labour and productive system, to devote the lives of one hundred and sixty million persons exclusively to reason, calculation, and purpose, and to divest them of all individual peculiarities, which must be merged in an impersonal mass.

To begin the process from birth, institutions which have been adopted here and there in the West for hygienic reasons have become, in the U.S.S.R., parts of a philosophical programme. In the new Russian children's clinics, mother's milk centres have been established, as important nuclei for the collectivization of mankind. In these institutions, the mothers do not put their own infants to the breast, but milk themselves into bottles, from which this depersonalized milk is fed to the children. This arrangement is designed to break the natural tie between the nurseling and the maternal breast, so that the first vitally instinctive action of the new-born shall be performed in the spirit of collectivism.

Children's homes, which in other parts of the world are in-

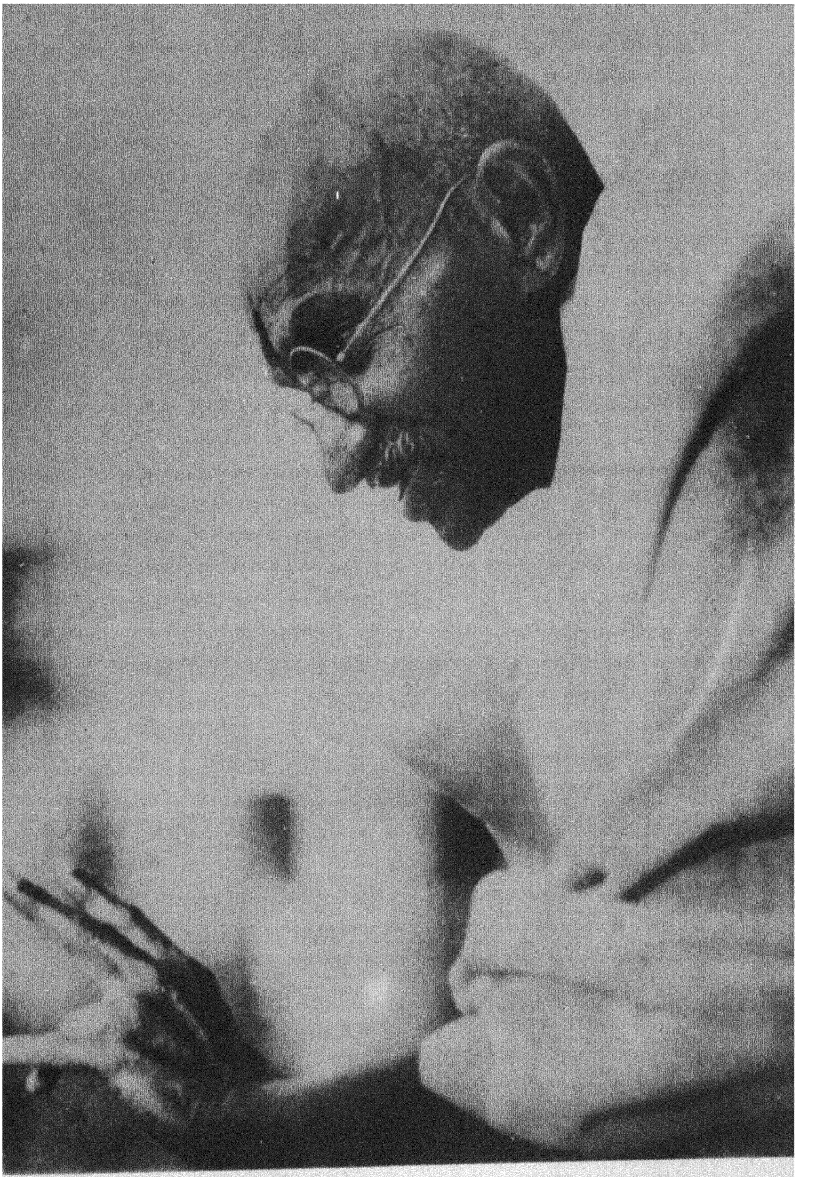
tended to provide some sort of maternal care for the offspring of the poor and the homeless, are regarded in Russia as ideal places of upbringing for youthful Soviet citizens. Just as the first sucking movement of the infant's mouth must not be applied to the living, individual breast, but to one of a series of identical bottles, products of a "milk factory"; so the first smiles, the first stirrings of the limbs, must take place in an impersonal collective organization.

"As the first result of the socialization of our educational system," declares a Bolshevik pamphlet, "we must see to it that children do not consort with their parents. To remove children as much as possible from the influence of parents and family life, it is extremely desirable that special children's towns shall be established."

Marriage, likewise, is, it need hardly be said, incompatible with the aim of complete absorption in the mass—insofar as marriage is regarded as a sacred tie between two persons for the foundation of a separate home and of a family rooted in individual lives. Thus the Bolshevik ideologist Radek once jokingly remarked that the first conjugal system was the matriarchate, then the patriarchate took its place, and now the patriarchate has been replaced by the secretariat—a brilliant summary of the whole significance of Russian marriage reform. In the U.S.S.R., marriage and divorce have become purposively sober secretarial affairs, devoid of any trace of mystic consecration.

But if all the positions are to be destroyed in which, from birth till death, the old irrationality of the unique can shelter; if any "regression" of mechanized collective mankind towards the ties of blood and individuality is to be prevented; if what has hitherto been the individual is to become a thoroughly trustworthy numerical unit within the mass, a unit which can always replace or be replaced by another unit in accordance with the demands of positive reason—more is requisite than the collectivization of maternal milk and the "secretarization" of marriage.

Habitations must cease to be homes; individual families must no longer live in separate dwellings, but must be communally housed in blocks, must eat in public dining-halls and sleep in public dormitories. The new workers' cities, scattered over the



GANDHI SPEAKS



MUSTAPHA KEMAL PASHA



Russian landscape and built according to strictly geometrical plans, such places as Saporog, Stalingrad, or Magnitogorsk, are, therefore, appropriately designed, consisting, not of detached houses, but only of collectivized blocks and quarters.

Like the townsman, the peasant must have his roots in the "individual" severed, so that he may be wholly absorbed in the mass; that is why Bolshevik agricultural reform has systematically set to work upon abolishing individual ownership of land or farms, replacing the latter by co-operative "agricultural factories," and converting the peasants into propertyless workers in the service of a collectivized economy.

A philosophy which aims at so fanatical a subordination of the traditional and the unique to a fictive collectivity, and which aims at making the individual nothing more than a spare part, an interchangeable screw, in the "social machine," cannot, of course, be expected to bow in reverence before the great figures of history.

At length an end must be made to the "mystical illusion" of leading personalities, which has "befogged brains" since Aristotle wrote of the "mission of the man of genius."

Whereas that philosopher maintained that true greatness was not subject to ordinary laws, and could not be extinguished either by death or exile, the Bolshevik ideologists have earnestly endeavoured to explain even the lives and works of the creators of the intellectual system and the political reality of Soviet Russia as no more than a "coagulum of collective relationships."

When Pokrovsky, the official Party historian, had to explain to the masses the part Lenin had played in the creation of the Soviet State, he wrote: "We do not regard personality as the creator of history, since for us personality is only the apparatus through which history works. Perhaps a day will come, in due time, when this apparatus will be artificially formed, much as today we construct our electric accumulators. As yet, however, we have not got so far; and, meanwhile, the apparatus through which history comes into being, these accumulators of the social process, are still procreated and born in an elementary fashion."

But the depersonalized explanation of Lenin was not an easy job for the collectivist theoretician. In the legends which already

began to form about him during his lifetime, and which crowded still more thickly round his memory after his death, we seem to hear the voice of the "advocatus diaboli" protesting against the deposition of this man who, out of the strength of his hate-inspired nature, had created the new Russian State, so that the only rank to be allotted him was among the saints of an impersonal collectivism.

If it was hard to deal with the legends that gathered round the name of the man whose embalmed corpse was shrined in the tomb beneath the Kremlin wall, it was comparatively easy to "liquidate" the still living second leader of Bolshevism; for as soon as Trotsky manifested a determination to set up his individuality against the mechanized Soviet apparatus, he was expelled from the country to wander hither and thither in a "world without a visa."

After the liquidation of Trotsky, the unchallenged leader of Russia was a man whose nature was wholly accordant with the impersonal ideal of Bolshevism. Stalin, Secretary General of the Russian Communist Party, is the embodiment of a bureaucratic mechanism which has usurped the place hitherto taken by a self-determining personality as leader—for Stalin is nothing more than Party secretary, and his only function is to hand on the decisions of the nine-limbed "Politburo" to the appropriate nuclei and offices. There is really no vestige of personality left in this dictatorship of a Politburo and its secretary.

Collectivism, which thus, in the life and politics of the U.S.S.R., has replaced the "antediluvian" individual human being, must, in conformity with Marxian doctrine (according to which the intellectual or spiritual is nothing but a "superstructure" on material conditions), necessarily establish itself in the culture and the art of New Russia as well. In the early days of Stalin's regime, therefore, and even before Lenin's death, the U.S.S.R. set to work to make the mental manifestations of human life as much the product of the "mass-man," as numerical and calculable, as had already been done in the material sphere.

The new "artists" and "theoreticians of art" in the Bolshevik realm therefore began, even in the days of "war communism," to repudiate such individual endowments as talent, inspiration, and genius. For them, imaginative writing was nothing more than "verbal chemistry," which could be turned out in laboratories

under the guidance of experienced "word chemists," in accordance with suitable formulæ and recipes. To make an end, once for all, of the "superstition" that artistic creation is a non-rational and individual deed, there now appeared upon the stage "collective writers," who composed their novels, their plays, and their poems in conference, and published their joint productions as the work of the "Group of Twenty-Three," or that of the "Ryazan Co-operative."

The theatre, likewise, banned individualist problems and conflicts from the stage, replacing them by such manifestations of feeling as could be mechanically represented. Thus the drama became a sort of gymnastic display by a group of actors; and in the "collective elaboration" of famous plays staged at Bolshevik theatres, such a masterpiece as *Hamlet* was transformed into a lengthy succession of gymnastic exercises, wherein the scene of Ophelia's madness was interpreted by a performance on the horizontal bar. Finally, to vivify music in the collective sense, during the years 1921 and 1922 "factory-siren symphonies" were performed on several occasions, the sirens of considerable industrial areas "contributing," and the "concert" being audible at a distance of dozens of miles.

More and more, however, these manifestations gave place to an endeavour to give adequate expression to the mass-culture of numbers, diagrams, and graphs. Thus the Russian State Publishing Concern has decided henceforward to devote only ten percent of its production to pure literature, all the rest of its output being technical, economical, and statistical work. "From now on," we read in its programme, "economic entertainment in figures will take the place of the novel."

Sometimes, indeed, when the eyes of the strict disciplinarians are withdrawn for a moment, even in Russia the imagination frees itself from the trammels of figures, and manages to regard at least the masses æsthetically, representing them as a living, thousand-headed monster, waltzing through the streets, holding high festival, roaring, and amusing itself. But delight in such methods of representation can never last very long. Soon the teacher has his attention drawn, taps with his cane on the desk, and energetically censors such unbecoming frivolity. The mass is a numerical con-

cept, a sum, an economical statistical factor, and nothing more! None but hopelessly reactionary petty bourgeois can be subject to the illusion that it is an organic form, animated by a soul!

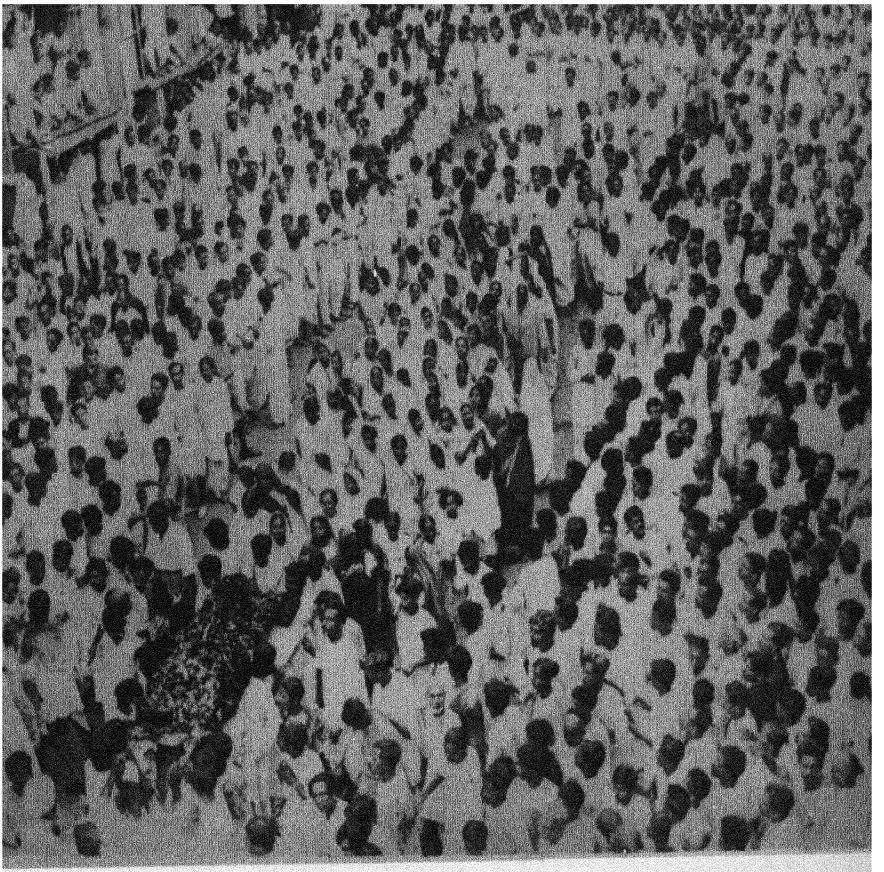
In former days, it was the aim of the French revolution to liberate man from natural bonds; liberalism and socialism both fought for the same cause; in Russia, its realization seems near at hand, and we glimpse the fulfilment of a saying of Gottfried Keller: "The final victory of liberty will be a dry affair."

The Russian State poet, Vladimir Mayakovsky, who, after an unusually successful career, committed suicide in a paroxysm of melancholia, composed, shortly before his death, an extremely heretical comedy entitled *The Bed Bug*. The scene is laid in the year 1980, when the world is supposed to be fully collectivized and mechanized.

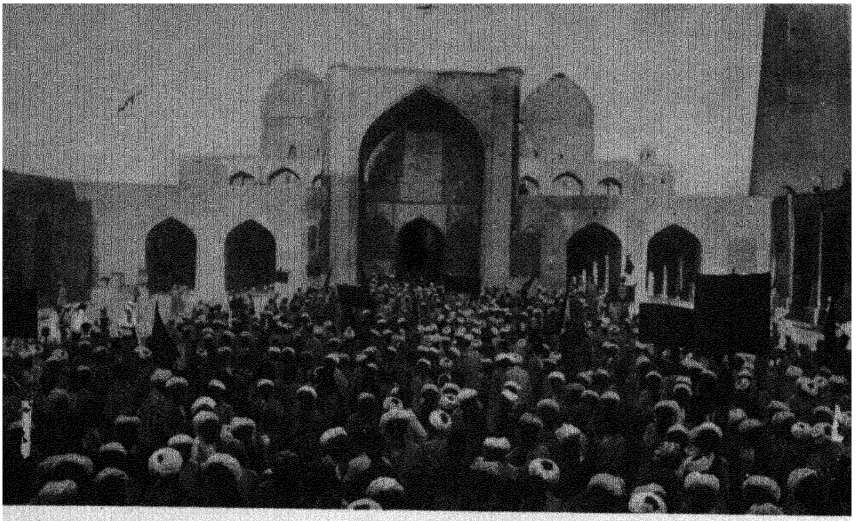
Thanks to a new discovery, the doctors of this advanced epoch are able to recall to life a simple peasant from the last days of the pre-collectivist era, and with him there is revived his faithful companion, a bed bug which burrows in his lambskin coat.

The authorities of this State of the future decide to exhibit the resurrected man, for the instruction of the public, in a museum, under glass. Those attending educational institutions are brought to the museum in crowds, and the "discovery" is demonstrated to them as an antediluvian monster.

But the worthy peasant from the unmechanized era, thus resurrected in a progressive world of impersonal masses and all-conquering machines, grows unhappier and lonelier day by day, until he at length comes to recognize that, of all the creatures in his environment, the only one akin to him is the resurrected bug. To none but this creature is he attracted; he sings to it passionate love-songs, and directs towards it all the outbursts of his incurably unmechanical, sentimental temperament.



MASS DEMONSTRATION: FUNERAL IN BOMBAY



COMMUNIST DEMONSTRATION, BOKHARA



DEMONSTRATION OF LOYALTY TO THE TSAR

3

AT THE END OF WISDOM

FRIEDRICH WILHELM BESSEL, director of Königsberg Observatory, was a man who liked, from time to time, to divert his gaze from the infinitudes of the starry heavens to glance at the earth on which his feet were set. Thus it came to pass in the year 1837 that he, whose favourite field of research was in the skies round about Star No. 61 in the constellation of the Swan, was occupied in taking terrestrial measurements along a longitudinal meridian in the neighbourhood of Memel. To his astonishment he found that the unit of the metric system was inaccurate, for the result of his observations disclosed that the quadrant of a longitudinal meridian of the globe measures 10,000,856 metres, instead of the round figure of "ten millions"!

This was a grievous find, since the metric unit introduced by the Convention had proudly symbolized the dominion of reason inaugurated by the French revolution. It had betokened the victory of rationalist foresight and of abstract principle over untamed and arbitrary nature. But the Convention had mismeasured or miscalculated!

Until the beginning of the reign of reason, weights and measures had been based upon the variable magnitude or strength of the human or animal body. One measured length by the "span," the "foot," the "stone's throw"; areas by the "yoke"; one spoke of a "day's work" or a "camel's load"; but reason had scrapped the unsuitable weights and measures, to replace them by the absolute metre and its derivatives, the metre being an appropriate fraction of the circumference of the earth measured through the poles, and therefore unalterable. Since this great achievement, the "normal metre" had been preserved like a sacred relic in the archives of the Parisian Academy.

Once before, the presumptuous reasoning of a Königsberg philosopher had had to stand the fire of many criticisms and to submit

to numerous restrictions. Now here came another Königsberger who, as a sort of by-play amid his labours upon the parallaxes of the fixed stars, had proved the distressing fact that in the archives of the Parisian Academy a fallacious unit of measurement was being venerated as a sacred symbol of almighty and absolute reason. Nevertheless, people went on using the "normal metre," as if nothing had happened to discredit it; and at length, in the year 1875, this metre, "le mètre vrai et définitif," was legally adopted as the basic unit of their system of weights and measures by the leading States of the Continent.

This behaviour of the disciples of the Goddess of Reason reminds us more than a little of the imperturbable confidence with which the disciples of Joanna Southcott continued to wait day and night outside the house in which the expectant mother of the messiah had died, although the doctors had long since discovered by post-mortem examination that the woman had never been pregnant, and although the odour of carrion was plainly perceptible in the street. In like manner, nineteenth-century Europeans clung to their faith in reason as firmly as millenarians had clung to their hope in the coming of the redemptionist realm, the fellahin to their reverence for the Mahdi who had grown from a lean and ascetic dervish into a corpulent libertine; the Babists to their reverence for their leader shot in a latrine; the Mormons to their faith in the non-existent gold plates on which had been inscribed the Book of Mormon.

In each instance alike, an inner need was at work, a need which defied disclosures and refutations—the need for faith, the "will to believe" in some unconditioned and almighty power, be it called "messiah," "world-embracing law," or "absolute reason." The womb from which the redeemer was to be born, the chest containing the sacred Books of Mormon, might be empty; the calculation as to the date of the Second Advent might be erroneous, as proved by the fact that the Advent did not occur when expected; even the metre, the proud unit of the infallibly rationalist metric system, might be erroneous—however distressing and however well-substantiated such disclosures, they could not, in the long run, maintain themselves against the will to believe. Hence the

disciples of reason stuck to their standard of measurement, despite the pedantry of the astronomer of Königsberg.

True, they thought it expedient, in due time, and as inconspicuously as possible, to correct the erroneous "normal metre," replacing this by a new and costly rod of platinum and iridium, entrusted to the guardianship of an international committee of fourteen scientists, and kept permanently at the temperature of melting ice. But these fourteen scientists know perfectly well that even the new standard of measurement is not absolutely precise, since there is always a "margin of error" because the length of the standard varies a little from time to time under the influence of ether waves.

The rod kept in the archives of the Parisian Academy, designed as a symbol of that reason which was deemed able to calculate, weigh, and measure all things, has thus become a symbol of our gradual loss of faith in the omniscience of reason. For, wherever we turn, the claims of calculating reason have remained unfulfilled. Again and again it happens that some unusually learned professor, perhaps more indiscreet than his fellows, lets the world know that another of the foundations upon which the claims of reason to be omniscient are based has proved untrustworthy. But the millenarians of reason will never listen to these recurrent warnings, preferring the comfortable certitude that reason can know everything, calculate everything, weigh and measure everything; that within a nature and a life where all is in a perpetual flux, all is incalculable and incommensurable, reason alone is absolute, constant, and unalterable.

Since the days of Euclid, it has generally been believed that, whatever else may be doubtful, at least geometry is trustworthy. In the year 1799, however, C. F. Gauss, the famous mathematician, wrote to Bolyai, the Klausenburg scientist: "The path I have entered has not led me to the desired goal, but, rather, to entertain a doubt concerning the truths of geometry."

For a time this remained a secret known only to a few adepts, but at length the idea became generalized that, side by side with Euclidean geometry, other geometries were conceivable, and that

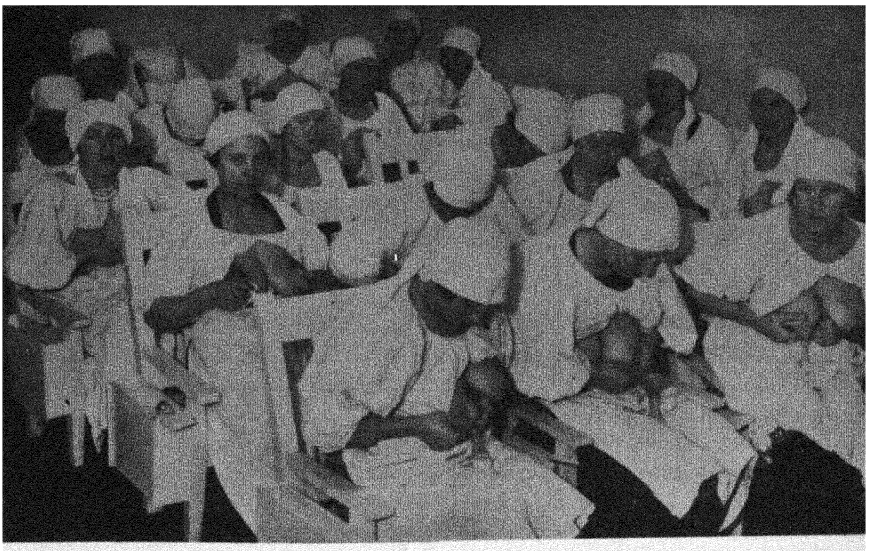
in these realms even the simplest postulates and axioms of earlier geometrical thought were no longer valid.

Nor is Euclidean geometry alone, upon which the whole mechanical picture of the world depended, shown to be one of many possible "fictions" or constructions or suppositions. At the same time, the absolute validity of all the other presuppositions of natural science have become more and more open to question. It was, at first, to some extent practicable to ignore the confusion which new researches into the nature of electricity and magnetism had introduced into "classical mechanics"; but when, step by step, it proved necessary to abandon belief in inert matter, when the fact became plain that matter, seemingly so stable, is but a "dance of the atoms," and that the atoms, far from being fixed and indivisible, are themselves composed of electrons and protons, the former moving with a speed which approaches that of light—confidence in the old mechanical picture of the world was rudely shaken.

The whole inorganic universe was now seen to be in a perpetual flux, subject to unceasing oscillations, to rhythmical movements. "Matter" itself was only energy; there were no "things," but only movements or effects; neither atoms nor electrons could henceforward be regarded as "rigid little lumps of reality."

While people still had to deal with crude "substance," with "matter" in the old sense of the term, the "laws of nature" had still been trustworthy. Now the inquiring reason was confronted with a fantastic new world of the infinitely small, a world whose formative elements were immeasurably tiny. At the same time it became plain that the "laws" which, ever since the seventeenth century, had been regarded as so firmly established, are, in reality, nothing more than statistical "probabilities" within the domain of "great numbers," and can therefore never have a more than relative validity. By and large, they may be trustworthy enough; but when we come to minutiæ, where the "law of great numbers," which is the foundation of the calculus of probabilities, no longer applies, chance dominates—a microcosmic destiny of mutations, collapses, and catastrophes, which mock every attempt at calculation or prediction.

Thus to modern science the world presents itself as a "tissue

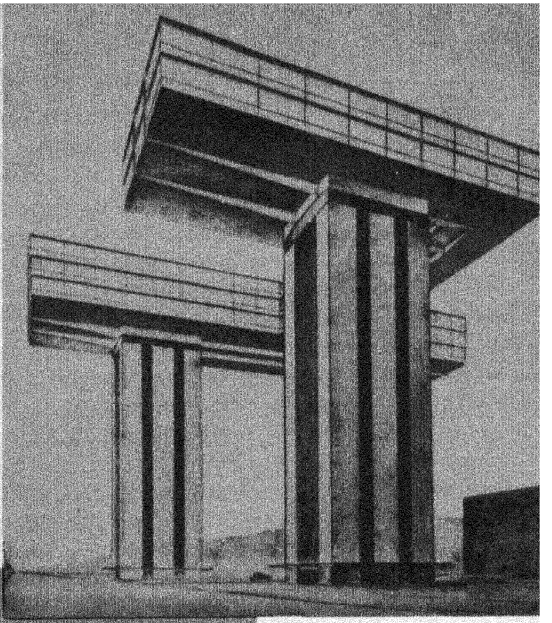


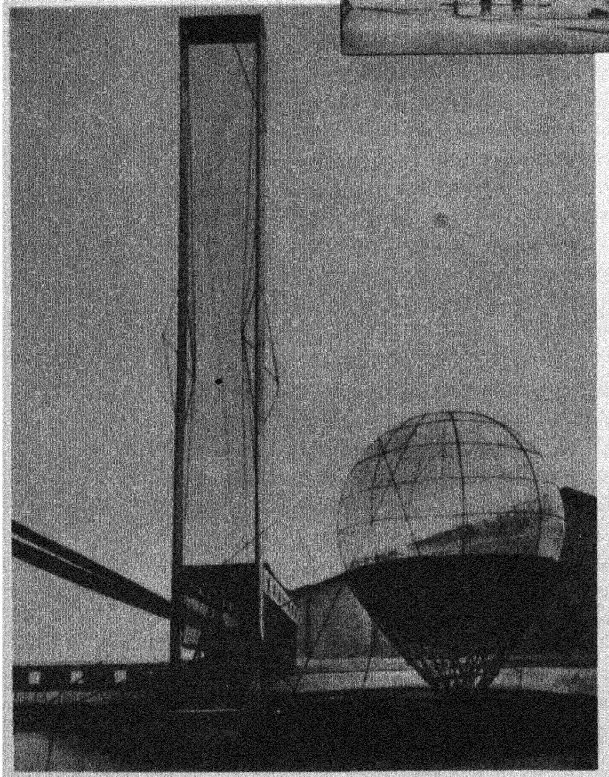
COLLECTIVIZATION OF BREASTS IN A MOSCOW NURSERY



MACHINE CONCERT: AN "ORCHESTRA" OF RUSSIAN FACTORY WHISTLES

RUSSIAN DESIGN
FOR COLLECTIVE DWELLINGS
ON MOVABLE TOWERS





MODEL OF THE PROJECTED LENIN INSTITUTE IN MOSCOW

woven out of necessity and chance," wherein necessity is no more than the obvious aspect of things, as they present themselves at the outset to our crude senses. Inwardly conceived, the world "is something very different from a great machine"; each of its effective "quanta" exists independently, "not one of them having its existence in any way determined by the others."

When the instability of the foundations of science had become plainly manifest, Wilhelm Ostwald still believed himself entitled to regard the law of the conservation of energy as the "rock-bottom on which we stand in the general formulation of the laws of nature." But within two decades after this dictum, Ostwald's "rock-bottom" had likewise proved unstable, inasmuch as, according to Niels Bohr's investigations of atomic structure, even the principle of the conservation of energy can no longer be regarded as absolute and universally valid. As F. Schrödinger puts the matter, "the view that separate molecular processes are not perhaps unambiguously subordinate to the law of cause and effect has now assumed palpable form."

Until well on into the twentieth century, the differential and the integral calculus had again and again confirmed belief in the continuity of all happenings, thus making the calculation of the subsequent course of events from our partial knowledge of the data of previous happenings (carefully observed, weighed, and measured) seem fundamentally possible. But now this ostensible assurance of prediction in the exact sciences has been shattered by the theory of quanta. "Whereas the ancients," writes Planck, "declared it to be a principle that 'natura non facit saltus,' we are compelled today to ask ourselves whether she ever moves in any other way than by leaps."

Since the days of Roger Bacon, experiment has been the groundwork of scientific research, of the study of nature. From experiment were deduced the laws of nature, and by experiment the accuracy of every theory was tested. By experiment the understanding could subject nature to cross-examination, and compel it to reveal "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth."

Now, however, belief in this most trustworthy of ways to knowledge has been plunged into an abyss of doubt. The greatest among contemporary investigators teach us that experiments can only too

often be utilized to strengthen an opposing theory. The result of Michelson's famous experiment can be equally well explained upon the assumption of the existence of an ether or upon the denial of that existence, through a modification of our concept of space or through a modification of our concept of time.

Once the possibility is conceded that the divergence of Michelson's results from those expected as the outcome of calculation can be explained by modifications in our conception of time and space, their use as experimental controls ceases, because the experimental conditions themselves have become questionable.

A profound insight into the inadequacy of the criteria of knowledge, which had already been summed up by Goethe in the remark that one who has dealings with nature is trying to square the circle, led in Ernst Mach to the admission that "to understand" means nothing more than to bring unfamiliar incomprehensibilities into relation with familiar incomprehensibilities; and that, "now that we have grown more reflective," the philosophy of the Enlightenment presents itself to us as a "mechanical mythology which differs only in respect of content from the animistic mythology of the older religions."

"Nothing that is anywise certain," declares Hugo Dingler in his *Zusammenbruch der Wissenschaft* ("The Collapse of Science"), "remains. One 'law of nature' after another which, at the time of its discovery, was hailed as vouchsafing a new insight into the core of nature has had to pay its tribute to doubt. What was formulated as one of nature's 'eternal' laws has had to learn that we can get along just as well without it as with it."

Although at first it seemed incredibly presumptuous to entertain a thought of attacking the foundations of all extant rationalist science, such "presumption followed from one quarter after another," and today, "this presumption has become a method, which is applied in every treatise when some new phenomenon has to be explained. In such circumstances, the author asks himself whether an explanation can be better effected by the abandonment or by the suitable modification of one (or several) of the fundamental laws of classical science."

From all these essentially modified elements of knowledge there has been formed a picture of the world which has little or noth-

ing in common with the mechanistic and rigidly causal views of "classical" physics. "The universe begins to look more like a great thought than a great machine," writes Sir James Jeans, the famous physicist and astronomer. "Mind no longer appears as an accidental intruder into the realm of matter; we are beginning to suspect that we ought rather to hail it as the creator and governor of the realm of matter—not of course our individual minds, but the mind in which the atoms out of which our individual minds have grown exist as thought . . . we discover that the universe shows evidence of a designing or controlling power that has something in common with our own individual minds . . . the tendency to think in the way which, for want of a better word, we describe as mathematical."

The French botanist Candolle's remark, that exact ignorance first arises out of exact knowledge, has been amazingly justified during very recent days. More and more plainly do the data of scientific investigation disclose the unfathomability of nature, an unfathomability which has already led us to take an even narrower view of the boundaries to knowledge than the schoolmen did.

If the classical "laws of nature" can no longer claim unconditional validity even in the inorganic world, it is obvious that attempts to apply mechanical principles to the organic world as well must be fallacious.

The faith of materialistic biology that all vital phenomena, all vital actions, will ultimately be explicable in terms of a fully comprehensible, calculable, and strictly causal development, as effects of environment and the struggle for existence, has ceased to tally with the acquirements of modern knowledge. In palæontology, too, it has become manifest that nature, far from exhibiting a continuity in the chain of causes and effects, has continually made "leaps"; that without discernible cause certain species become extinct, whereas others, equally without discernible cause, undergo a sudden and inexplicable "boom."

"If we allow nature to talk to us, and do not force our mechanical schemata upon her," writes Edgar Daqué, "we learn that all biologically useful advance (which unquestionably occurs, and which, in the doctrine of heredity, is threatening to give rise to fundamental misunderstandings of the real inner connexions)—

that all such externally determined adaptations and mechanizations of form lead into a blind alley of development, and end in death and extinction, or, at best, in the continuance of life in a form that has no history, this meaning that it brings forth nothing new, nothing higher, and therefore is in this sense insignificant. The new, the higher type, something which gives a new stamp of the elemental to the whole organic picture, so that thenceforward new living forms find a place in the outer world, and the old ones do not end in extinction or a dull fixity of type—this does not result from the working of a law of biological utilitarianism or from similarly induced modifications of extant types, but is an inexplicable outburst from the hidden depths of the creative spirit in nature; is a manifestation of a new 'will to live.' "

The attempts which have, since the days of Lamarck, again and again been made to explain the evolution of living types as due to the material conditions of existence, as due to the working of environment, have always proved fruitless, with the result that biologists have at length found it necessary to formulate a "law of diminishing environmental influences," in accordance with which the adaptation of the organism to its environment diminishes from generation to generation, whereas inheritable characters tend with increasing energy to break through the crust of traditional assimilation. Innumerable series of experiments and the work of numberless breeders have shown that, although individual living organisms can be modified by a change in environmental conditions, such "acquired characters" are never transmitted by inheritance, so that there is no possibility of rationally and purposefully modifying biological details by action from without.

More and more, during recent decades, has the conviction gained ground that organic form is not simply explicable as dependent on the working of the laws that apply to dead matter, and that nothing justifies the human reason in even attempting to refer vital phenomena to the exclusive effects of physical and chemical mechanisms. Nay more, biology, just like the mental and moral sciences, is increasingly tending to assume the aspect of a whole which defies rationalistic analysis, a whole that must be "contemplated" rather than "thought" about—as Leibniz, Goethe, Blumenbach, and Carus showed a good many years ago.

When Hans Driesch, a pupil of Ernst Haeckel, working in the laboratory, quadrisected the ova of sea-urchins, he found that from each of these quadrants there developed a complete sea-urchin of correspondingly smaller size, so that the "Gestalt" (form) manifested a constancy which defied mechanical violence. The organism is subject to a mysterious coercion, which impresses on it, even after being cut into fragments, the form it has inherited from countless generations. Like a perfectly imprinted seal, the "Gestalt" safeguards from the understanding of the investigator this last mystery of nature.

The upshot has been that, in contradistinction with the hitherto practised methods of cognition, today a "Gestalt theory" is in process of formation—a theory no longer based upon the belief that the first step of scientific investigation must be an analytical return to piecemeal individual relations, and the subsequent synthesis of these fragments into larger complexes. According to the Gestalt theory, there are "interconnexions," thanks to which that which happens in a part of the whole is determined by the inner structural laws of this same whole.

Christian von Ehrenfels, the founder of the Gestalt philosophy, began with the musical phrase as a Gestalt maintaining itself through all transpositions. Very recently, Wolfgang Koehler has pointed to such "laws of the whole" in natural science as well, "thanks to which what happens in a part is determined by the internal structure of the totality, by the internal tendencies of the whole, and not conversely."

Along a similar line of thought moves Bergson's doctrine of intuition, which opposes to the systematized picturing of reality that is attempted by exact science, on the ground of partial elements of knowledge, an intuitive grasp of the whole. One who does not know Paris, for instance, would never be able to get an imaginative view of the city as a whole by looking at a number of detached photographs of its parts; such a vision would come only to one who, thanks to intuition, has acquired an inward grasp of "Paris" as a totality.

In proportion as the circle of scientifically intelligible laws, and of phenomena that can be numbered, measured, and weighed, grows narrower, and instead of this a world presents itself to the

mind's eye as multiform, as full of shapes and Gestalten, as it appeared to the inspired eyes of the romanticists—in the contemplating individual himself reason more and more forfeits its certainty and omnipotence; its kingdom here, likewise, dwindling perceptibly

Schopenhauer, who regarded will as the primary element of mental life, thereby denied to reason that dominant role which the Enlightenment had attributed to it; in the sequel, psychology has by degrees been led to the opinion that mental cognition depends far less upon logical thought than upon feeling and will; that reason (the intellect) is a comparatively subordinate and restricted function of the psyche, a servant of that will which is rooted in man's impulsive life.

Unanimously the various modern schools of psychology reject a faith in the dominance of reason in mental life, proclaiming that man has at his disposal other, far more deeply anchored, and far older sources of knowledge, which must pre-exist to give logical thought a content and a trend. One group of psychologists speaks of intuition; another, of moral and æsthetic sentiments; while the psycho-analytical systems of Freud and Jung derive all genuinely important and formative mental energies from the depths of the unconscious.

No matter how diversified the outlooks from which a rejection of rationalism may proceed, voluntarism and pragmatism, depth-psychology, intuitionism, and phenomenology, have a common origin—the universal, the cosmic, shattering of faith in reason.

All the systems and doctrines which, since the eighteenth century, have been excogitated for the reorganization of society and redemption of mankind, all reforms, revolutions, and utopian movements, have been based on the conviction that every happening in the world is the outcome of the working of mechanical laws, that reason is competent to discover these laws and to inaugurate a more suitable, a "purposive," social order.

The children of the Enlightenment, the liberals, the positivists, the materialists, severally believed themselves better equipped with knowledge than the rest of mankind, and therefore able to amend the faults of social structure, which, in their view, were

referable to "errors." This delusion was equally dominant in the minds of those who were enthusiasts for a "social physics" or for a "Newtonian law of economics," and in the minds of those who regarded what goes on in human society as closely paralleled by what goes on in a State of ants, bees, or termites.

From early days, the application of the concepts of natural science to human society was regarded as inadmissible, and, in a sense, "improper." But to an era which believed itself to possess a flawless mechanical picture of the world, the reference of historical processes to physical laws seemed perfectly legitimate. If nature was nothing else than a calculable mechanism, it was reasonable to suppose that society, likewise, being itself a part of nature, must be equally calculable in all its elements.

With the modern recognition, however, that the only "laws" we know in nature are the expression of a calculus of probability, faith in the application of physical knowledge to social life has necessarily collapsed. We perceive today that, as Bavink formulates the matter, "the world is only so far calculable, and no farther, than the calculus of probability is, that is to say statistics are, applicable to it. Now, obviously, such an applicability exists only where repetition occurs or can occur. Whatever is unique necessarily eludes statistical treatment."

Is not all historical happening essentially characterized by this, that in its presuppositions, phenomena, and consequences, it is absolutely unique, and incapable of repetition? In a complicated and insoluble way there is mingled, in every historical moment, necessity with chance, idea with material coercion, fiction with reality, causal consequence with mutation by a jump; consequently history, more than any other element of our existence, stands altogether outside the calculus of probabilities, and therefore eludes any rationalist attempt to reduce its workings to law.

Only in the domain of experience are the contradictions between "systems" and "laws" resolved; only there does idea link itself up with reality; only there do we find a reconciliation between spirit and matter, necessity and chance, causality and mutation by leaps. One who, however, in this domain of experience, ventures to apply his petty, calculating reason, believing himself to have solved the mystery of the development of the future out of the

present, must be prepared to find that reality will put him to shame, and will demonstrate his presumption. History, moreover, which is always ready to magnify success into a heroic legend, is inexorable in its judgment of failure, writing invariably as the epitaph of a false prophet that he was a "fool," a "blind leader of the blind," or what not.

"In nineteenth-century Germany," wrote Karl Marx in the year 1847, "the bourgeois revolution can only be the immediate precursor of a proletarian revolution." Next year, when the March revolution occurred in Prussia, this prophecy proved false. There was a bourgeois revolution, but the proletarian revolution which was to follow hard upon its heels failed to occur. In like manner Marx made a mistake when he tried to prove to Lassalle that the proletarian revolution must at latest occur in 1850; and when, twelve years later, he once more foretold the coming of this revolution in the very near future.

Indeed, even the more generalized anticipations regarding social evolution deduced by Marx from his theories have almost without exception been given the lie by history.

Nowhere, not for a moment, has the sense of international solidarity of the working class overpowered the feeling of national union that prevails within the various States, although Marx constantly expected such a development. Even socialism itself has failed to maintain the international principle. Almost every party programme disclosed the varying nationalist trends of the several groups of working-class representatives even in the First "International," and still more plainly in the Second. Just, as, in former days, a national Jacobinism had developed out of the universal humanist ideas of the French revolution, so, now, the "Gestalt" principle of nationality remained stronger than every attempt of reason to replace the vertical severances of mankind by a horizontal stratification.

One of the first among Marx's disciples to recognize this clearly was Jean Jaurès, and he therefore expressly repudiated the assertion in *The Communist Manifesto* that "the workers have no country." Nations, he insisted, were living organisms, which could not be simply shuffled out of the world by decree. The union of the human race could, he held, be brought about only "through a





GERMAN MASSES: NAZI DEMONSTRATION IN BERLIN

free league of free peoples." This signified that "the nations must be educated into the idea of a universal humanity, without forfeiting their independence, their peculiarities, their liberty, and their original genius."

If the prophecy that the separateness of the nations would be replaced by a worldwide and all-embracing opposition between exploiters and exploited has thus proved fallacious, it is no less clear that economic happenings have followed a "Gestalt" idea of their own utterly different from Marxian expectations. Hardly had Marx foretold the inevitable impoverishment of the world, when the economic life of the nations took on an unprecedented impetus. The unforeseen chance that, in distant California, a pioneer had stubbed his toes upon a nugget of gold, and had thus disclosed the existence of vast goldfields, sufficed to invalidate all shrewd speculations concerning the "mechanism of pauperization," and to replace a phase of increasing economic need by a succession of boom years, during which the position of the working class improved in a most unseemly manner.

Instead of following the prescriptions of *Capital,* and carrying on war to the knife against one another, the captains of industry during the closing decades of the nineteenth century began peacefully forming cartels, and dividing up the markets of the world; and, instead of imposing a harsher and harsher corvée upon the workers, they recognized that higher wages and shorter hours transformed the proletariat into effective consumers, with the result that a broadminded policy in these matters extended the markets and increased the gains of the capitalists.

The prophecies of leading disciples stood the test of actual experience just as little as had those of the Master. The world revolution, which Lenin had first announced for the sixth month, and then for the second year, after the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks, is still in the offing seventeen years later; and Stalin's Five-Year Plan, no less than the redemptionist prophecies of the farmer, William Miller, have continually to be excused on the ground of "errors of calculation" for their failure to fulfil important items on the programme.

No less pretentious in the matter of definiteness, the prophecies of the liberals have shared the fate of those of the Marxians. How

full of surprises and disillusionments has been the economic structure which was expected to be the exclusive outcome of "enlightened self-interest." Not one of the calculations based upon the fundamental assumptions of liberal economy has proved correct: neither the belief that free trade would be universally adopted, nor that economy is subject to laws peculiar to itself, nor the theory of money, nor yet the theory of prices! It is, perhaps, a fortunate thing that the bourgeois prophets of salvation and disaster were men of lesser stature and attended by a smaller following than their Marxian colleagues, with the result that the consequences of their errors have not, like those of Lenin and Company, shaken the world to its core.

Having reached the end of its calculating, rationalist wisdom, mankind, chastised ever anew by experience, has today no resource but, as far as philosophical outlooks are concerned, to turn back once more to reverence that very power which, since the days of the Enlightenment, people have devoted their best energies to dethroning—the incalculable, the unique, the irrevocable—in a word, Destiny.

4

AMOR FATI

WHEN a French official has finished his term of service, and wishes to enjoy what he has put by during many years of toil, he retires to a little house in the country, where, surrounded by wife and children, he can give himself up to the gratification of his petty-bourgeois passions. Now he can fulfil the dreams which have occupied so much of his time amid the routine of office work —can become the proud possessor of a kitchen-garden, have a small chicken-run, spend his days angling, collect butterflies, become a proficient skittle-player, or keep bees. This is the reward for which, year after year, he has denied himself so many pleasures, and carefully put sou after sou away in a stocking.

Thus Georges Sorel, a meritorious bridge and road engineer,

retiring with the rosette of the Legion of Honour at the age of forty-five, settled at Boulogne-sur-Seine in a house belonging to a relative of his wife, and led there, to the end of his days, in most respects the life of any other retired official. When his friends sometimes asked him why he had exiled himself, and whether he would not prefer to live within the fortifications, he replied, as a rule, by quoting Lucien Jean: "One should have only one house in one's life, just as one has only one mother."

This retired official's hobby, however, was a strange one. Even while he was still in harness, Sorel, in the secrecy of his own thoughts, had continually dreamed of systematically "purging his memory of all the commonplaces" with which, in course of time, it had been stuffed through education, the reading of books and newspapers, conversations and discussions. He had come to feel ever more strongly that these commonplaces obfuscated the brain more and more, stiffening it prematurely, until at length the day came when a man lay on his death-bed without having learned what was the fundamental truth underlying the appearances of life.

With the fixed determination of a rentier who has performed his professional duties well and knows that his income allows him to give free rein to his ruling passion, he now actually set himself to ridding his mind of the thoughts and feelings which had become stereotyped. In this process, he showed the fervour and ruthlessness of a medieval flagellant.

Year by year, his trained senses made him increasingly aware of the futility of many phrases and judgments which people uncritically accept, and he would rail against them whenever he encountered them. In the books and newspapers he read, he would make angry marginal notes, drawing attention to every commonplace, disclosing the true significance of what was written, and discovering relationships which had hitherto been hidden from everyone. At length, in the study of the little house at Boulogne-sur-Seine, there sat a man able to hold assize over the works of political writers, journalistic articles, the programmes of the parliamentarians, the philosophical views of acquaintances and others—as if he had been appointed by God to put an end to phrase-making. Out of these marginal notes, and out of rejoinders to the speeches,

pamphlets, and books of others, there gradually developed a doctrine predestined to bring about profound modifications, not only in the thought, but also in the historical reality, of a later time.

France of the eighteen-eighties, with which Sorel thus settled accounts, was (with that passionate loyalty which Frenchmen display no less towards the commonplaces than towards the great ideas of their country's history) still in love with the catchwords of the Enlightenment and the revolution of 1789. Indeed, with the passing of the years, these had become part of the domestic treasures of the petty bourgeois. No doubt one or other of them had, now and again, protested against the traditional phrases, and tried to replace them by new programmes or a new artistic form; but the whole attack had remained superficial, being limited to pin-pricks. Georges Sorel was the first to strike at the heart of these uncritically accepted platitudes, since his "passion for truth" rendered him competent "to pierce to the core of things and to grasp reality."

Whereas a Bourget or a Daniel Halévy blamed the revolution for its "deeds of terror," Sorel declared that the curse of the revolution was that it had brought into being a "world of the motionless, of permanent abstraction." The spirit of the Enlightenment seemed to him responsible for the "paralysis of culture"; for the dominion of fiction out of touch with reality; for the reign of the "obscure, the indefinite, the confused, the fugitive, the arbitrary"; for the "tyranny of sentiments and instincts"—a tyranny which can exist only where the mentality proceeds out of "a common, an individual human nature devoid of historical peculiarity and historical greatness."

But the passion for truth which held this petty bourgeois in thrall was not restricted to a campaign against the phraseology of the Enlightenment, that of the revolution, and that of the positivism of Auguste Comte; it made him try to dig deeper and to cut the trouble at the root. Thus Sorel was led to attack Descartes, whom he reproached for having, by a logical systematization, smuggled into the modern age a scholasticism which had become petrified even in the philosopher's own day, thus helping to sever mankind from the living spirit; Descartes had deliberately "thrust all the concrete and all the real into the vacuum of abstraction."

At length, tracing to its source an intellectual current he so heartily detested, Sorel came to the teachings of Socrates. This founder of the "arbitrary" and "father of intellectualism" was subjected to a new trial by the engineer at Boulogne and, after more than two thousand years, was again sentenced to the draught of hemlock. Socrates' fault had been, declared Sorel, to construct over against the natural family a new community of reason, and thus to bring about the cleavage that had persisted throughout the ages between the natural ordering of life and the spirit which tries to evade that ordering. Socrates, therefore, had been "the most brilliant and the boldest theoretician" of the new "social organization based upon a fictive family."

With Socrates, according to Sorel, began the decay, not only of Hellenic culture, but of the whole culture of the West—a decay which thenceforward proceeded uninterruptedly, till, in eighteenth-century France, "the immoral court jesters of a degenerate aristocracy" completed the degradation of literature to journalism, and of science to the chatter of drawing-rooms and political meetings.

Sorel was fifty-eight years old when he wrote his passionate book *Réflexions sur la violence*. The members of the circle of young imaginative writers and syndicalist workmen who surrounded him spoke of him affectionately as "le père Sorel" whenever he came to Paris. They listened attentively to the speeches of the "elderly original," in which encyclopædic knowledge was conjoined with characteristically individual views and valuations.

Every Thursday, at the editorial offices of the *Cahiers de la Quinzaine* in the rue de la Sorbonne, the friends of Charles Péguy forgathered. "We were not always the same company," writes Michel Arnauld, "but always among us—youngsters for the most part—the white beard of Monsieur Georges Sorel was conspicuous. He did not take the chair, but he discoursed plentifully; his abrupt and simply worded judgments, supported by complicated arguments, were invariably entertaining."

Hardly had this original begun to free his brain and his heart from the stalactites and stalagmites of dead commonplaces, instincts, and sentiments, when there surged up from within him

the primal images out of which the world is continually renovated, and his ears were attuned to the growth and activity of nature and history. Having himself achieved harmony with the process of the ages and its "Gestalten," Sorel began to proclaim its will. In his fierce outbreaks, the circulation of fresh sap was influential; in the mobility of his mind, in the transformations of his being, the new era itself was struggling for expression.

The mental and political life of his contemporaries was under the spell of the conception that all happenings in the world were the movements of a titanic mechanism, and were regulated by progressive rational knowledge; that democracy, as the most reasonable form of government, would ensure universal safety and perpetual peace; and that consequently the last perils that might threaten mankind had been averted once for all. Freedom from the dread that had troubled existence, safety from the menaces of destiny—this perpetual wish-dream of religious-minded millenarians has become one of the commonplaces of life since modern printing-presses have been spouting it forth daily into the world in leading articles, speeches, and programmes of ministers of State and politicians.

"Le père Sorel," however, could read between the lines of books and newspapers things which had long remained unprinted; and his ears, when he listened to the opinions of orators, journalists, workmen, and the common folk in general, could hear, as a faint accompaniment to the verbiage, the sound of distant contradictions—could hear words which no one had hitherto spoken, and which, for a long time, would not even be thought. Quick of hearing, he could detect during the stillness of these years a dull murmur in the depths, and this murmur announced to him the coming struggle of the nations, which were now peacefully sleeping like the larva of a silkworm in its cocoon, but which one day would burst the wrappings. Then the whole admirably functioning "world-machine," this proud invention of rationalist science, would be so hopelessly disrupted that scarcely anything would remain to bear witness to the fact that it had ever existed, inasmuch as the very substance out of which science had constructed the machine would be dispersed into milliards of invisibly circling electrons of unrecognizable origin. Then those who still believed in

progress would be outside the pale, and their most rational of all forms of State would become a derision. Force would rule. Force would establish a new world and set up a new order, teaching man that existence has no meaning unless it ripens to a mythic destiny, that true happiness is to be found, not in security, but in living dangerously.

To the acute senses of this old man who, instead of accepting the rationalist constructions which had degenerated into mere phrases, communed with the great happenings of real life, history disclosed itself, not as consistent linear progress, not as dialectical action and reaction, not as economic determinism dependent upon the play of causes and effects, but as an eternal happening which, regardless of the weal or woe of mankind, suddenly and causelessly proceeds out of secret depths for ever hidden from reason, is continually making new beginnings, questions everything hitherto accepted as valid, and is perpetually setting man to solve unforeseen problems and to perform unforeseen tasks.

What the theory of quanta, and palæontology, were subsequently to discover in the domain of physics and biology—namely the discontinuity, the sudden, catastrophic, dynamic elements, of phenomenal happenings—were earlier recognized by Sorel through his study of his history.

Inasmuch as, in this way, there vanished from the historical process everything which might denote security, calculability, relief from torment, expulsion of the dark forces, the taming and control of destiny; inasmuch as, in this light, life and the cosmos were once more seen to be in thrall to unceasing peril—how could man continue to pray to the idols of reason, peace, and democracy? How could he any longer suppose that the arch-creator could take delight in absolute and constant "ideas," in "security," in "ease and comfort"?

No, that arch-creator was the first cause perpetually procreating himself anew and anew; and what he created and wanted was the unique, breaking the mould after each act of creation so that there should be no repetition. Not the power of order issuing from the little brains of human beings could be conformable to this will, but only force, incessantly disclosing life anew—a force which really welled up from the depths, from the womb of indeter-

minate nature. Order, which rounded things off and put the finale to them, was in reality an apostate from the creator!

Force, therefore, was what Georges Sorel proclaimed as the new evangel. That is what man must accept as his fate if he wishes to become one of the determining causes of history and to take part in the shaping of the future. He must, therefore, cease wishing to "safeguard" himself everywhere and always against the unknown powers of life; for such a safeguarding is treason to that which is "becoming," is desertion from service to creative life. One who wishes to remain in harmony with the great powers of life must not flee from them into any "order" whatsoever; he must love these powers. His destiny must form itself under stress of a perpetual menace.

Great ideas arise out of "l'exaltation généreuse de la vie." In the passion of the "historical moment," in the ardour of the struggle, the spirit is fused into new forms. Struggle, therefore, is divine, "as everything is divine which arises in nature out of the creative faculty, in man out of the spontaneity of spirit or of consciousness, and is unique instead of being a member of a series."

Only when man is faced by a life-or-death struggle does he become wholly possessed by the idea which is born out of this "lutte transformatrice," and is thereby firmly implanted in the human heart.

Sorel declares that the dignity of the new type of man is to be found in the heroic, in struggle, in unceasing danger. He must live unsafeguarded, with all his doors and windows open to outward influences, so that the creative will of the world may stream into him and secure expression through him. He must even accept pain gladly, since pain is one of the primal manifestations of life. "Pain is characterized by the unity of existence, whereas joy has a thousand forms. Pain brings us into touch with the real world. Pleasure makes man flee from the necessities of earthly life, and thus emphasizes the conflict between body and soul. Pleasure, therefore, contains the germs of death, because in him who is enjoying himself the guardians of his existence slumber. Pleasure uproots man from mother earth. Through the loud-sounding music of joy, the melody of death can be heard as an under-tone."

We must espouse the creative depths out of which all that is

truly valuable comes. Destiny, with its bitterness and harshness, must be inwardly affirmed and accepted, and never resisted; only he who is at one with his destiny achieves the matchlessness of its existence, the culmination and perfection of its form.

Only in myth are the forcible manifestations of destiny effectively symbolized. Myth gives shape to that which is inexpressibly and inexhaustibly at work in the living present. Consequently, whatever is and becomes—fate, society, law, and the idea—is sanctioned primarily by myth. To myth, therefore, belongs the position which for centuries reason has usurped; for the ultimate aim of earthly happenings is to produce "the genuine human being in his perfected form," and not the human being as one of the manufactured products of his own machine-made order.

In Sorel's orientation towards myth, we are given a genuinely new outlook on history. Whereas, since the days of Rousseau, the new institutions of the State and of society, as contrasted with natural being, have been constructed in accordance with the absolute idea of a possible "better" and "more reasonable" scheme of things, in Sorel's foundation of activity upon myth an attempt is made to harmonize the idea once more with the world of living phenomena.

Nevertheless, this myth, which over against the idea of reason sets up the idea of destiny, is by no means identical with the empirical doctrine which Burke and subsequent conservatives built upon. The new conception does not derive its laws from the "wisdom of things," from the pre-existing stable world, as if all that is needed is to listen to the wishes of whatever is, to gather experiences, and from them to construct an ideal; myth, rather, affirms the forces of will and feeling that surge up from the primal depths, struggling for new forms; affirms "revolutionary leaps" and creative inconstancies.

But this new mythical thought is also utterly different from the organic world-picture of the romanticists. Like the conservatives, the romanticists cherished dreams of the past, trying to revive the forms of life which 1789 had irrevocably destroyed. What filled them with enthusiasm was organic form, that which was fully grown. The world which Sorel contemplated was still inchoate, and its boundaries were not yet established. Its shape was to be

determined by the inner force of growth, the inborn formative impulse, which, dynamically and spontaneously, was working towards unforeseen ends and, therefore, is always cognized in process of becoming, and never consolidates into a static rigidity.

The marginal notes hastily scribbled by Sorel upon newspapers and books during the middle years of the long peace, when positivism, exact science, and democracy were dominant, were the precursors and heralds of a coming mythical epoch. They flash out again in his pamphlets and even more brightly in his word-pictures (penned with creative mastery) of a future founded upon force and upon myth.

Today, when this future of Sorel's has become our present, and when, amid the ruins of our time, the new aims, tasks, and solutions are beginning to emerge, one who glances back at that little suburban house in Boulogne-sur-Seine and contemplates the white-bearded "elderly original" seated at his writing-table, eagerly seeking for new truths to be picked out from the medley of petrified catchwords, may fancy himself to be looking at Father Noah, clad as a French citizen—one to whom an invisible power has revealed the coming of the deluge, and who is, as quickly as possible, arranging for the rescue and for transference into a new world of all those creations which are worthy to survive the impending catastrophe.

Even though the commonplaces and the phrases of the Enlightenment have, during these intervening decades, been reiterated and widely diffused in millions of copies, they have served merely as stimuli to parroting and imitation, but have never shown signs of new life, nor have they transformed the world, which, since it first came into existence, has been kept going and shaken out of its old rut solely and exclusively by mythical "primitive utterances."

Now that one was delivering himself of such utterances, was, in his writings and speeches, conjuring up the omens and heralds of a world-to-be, each of his thoughts promptly showed itself to be a fragment of new thought and new life. Sorel's doctrine of force provided the foundation for French syndicalism; from his ideas sprang, at this juncture, the worldwide campaign against democ-

racy; and from them, likewise, originated the programme of the royalist "Action Française" and the concept of fascism.

If Sorel, with his positive ideas, was able to become one of the forces shaping the development of history, his repudiations, likewise, were able to sweep what seemed to be vigorous realities off the board into the lumber-room of the past. Like one who has the terrible gift of "second sight," of foreseeing the death of those who are still strong and vigorous, he had a vision of the death of socialism in the days of its most effective blossoming, and he turned away from it as one turns away from a corpse. "Socialism is dead," wrote, at this juncture, Benedetto Croce, who was able to understand the fateful significance of all this Frenchman wrote.

Sorel's contemporaries, who were "permanently entangled in abstractions," regarded this man—who gave a new impetus to revolutionary socialism and then sent it to its death; who inspired the "Action Française" and the movement of Catholic revival; then espoused the cause of Lenin, and afterwards became the father of fascism—as nothing more than a vacillating enthusiast whose convictions veered with every change of mood. Such critics, measuring with their tiny yardstick, could not discern in this mind and in its contradictions a new, complex being, very much alive, revelling in opposition and contradiction, struggling for expression and strategic positions.

Georges Sorel was still a road-engineer, and was still saving sou after sou, or Georges Sorel had only just retired and was beginning to purge his mind of commonplaces, when Friedrich Nietzsche, that "venturesome and inquiring spirit," restlessly wandering to and fro from the Engadine to Messina, from Messina to Nice, and from Nice to the Thuringian Forest, was laying the foundations of a new philosophy.

Already he was prophesying the "nihilistic consequences of the natural sciences," was foretelling the "self-decomposition" which would inevitably ensue; for never could logic and mechanics touch the ultimate "causality of life," whereas it was necessary to plumb the depths of this causality, to go down into the maternal womb of things, if man were once again to become vital and fertile.

This same Nietzsche simultaneously perceived the "nihilistic

outcome" of the dominant political and economic ways of thinking, the rise of the "democratic man," and the consequent stupefying of Europe: "I show you the last man. What is love? What is creation? What is longing? What is a star? Thus inquires the last man, and blinks. The world has grown small, and upon it frisks the last man, who makes everything small. . . . Everyone wants the same thing, all are alike; one who feels differently from the rest becomes voluntarily an inmate of an asylum."

After "thousands of years of confusion heaped upon confusion," Nietzsche plumed himself upon having rediscovered the path "which leads to a yes and a no." He negated everything which produced weakness; affirmed everything which strengthened, which promoted the storing-up of energy, which justified a feeling of strength. He consequently regarded as dangerous to civilization and culture our bourgeois society which "is based upon instinctive cowardice," and therefore feels an increasing need for security and peace. Against the bourgeois ideal he set up the ideal of "living dangerously," of struggle, of heroism; foreshadowing the appearance of "a new kind of philosopher and commander," at sight of whom "everything on earth which has been the product of furtive, timid, and benevolent spirits will pale and shrink and dwindle."

His "evangel of the future" aims at a bold "revaluation of all values." It describes the coming of nihilism, but also foretells a movement "which, at some future day, will liquidate absolute nihilism; but which, nevertheless, presupposes it, which, in short, can be built only on it and proceed from it. Why is the rise of nihilism henceforward essential? Because it is the ultimate consequence of our antecedent valuations; because nihilism is the consistent and logical outcome of our great values and ideals—because we have to pass through the phase of nihilism before we can realize the genuine worth of these 'values.' "

"There are already a hundred omens" of this future; this destiny "heralds itself everywhere"; our whole European civilization "has for a long time, in a torment of tension increasing from decade to decade, been moving towards catastrophe—restless, violent, precipitate—like a current hurrying towards an end which it no longer contemplates and which it is afraid to contemplate."

The man who here takes up his parable has, as he himself de-

clares, "hitherto done nothing more than reflect; has been instinctively a philosopher and a recluse, preferring to live apart, possessing his soul in patience, procrastinating, retired from the world; one who balances and experiments, after wandering as a pioneer in every labyrinth of the future; a ghost from the future who is looking back into our epoch when he describes what is to come; the first thorough-going nihilist in Europe, but one who has himself already passed through nihilism and come out on the other side—one who has nihilism behind him, beneath him, outside him."

Six years before the French ex-engineer published his book *Réflexions sur la violence,* Nietzsche, who "preferred to live apart, possessing his soul in patience, procrastinating, retired from the world," wrote to his friends the confused pages which he signed as "Dionysos" or as "The Crucified." In the first days of January 1899, he collapsed in the streets of Turin; and he died on August 25, 1900.

Nietzsche had said it all before: had prophesied the collapse of science, the twilight of democracy, the need for "living dangerously"; had spoken of struggle, of the new forces, of the coming philosophers and leaders; and these utterances had not been merely the foundations of a political system, but parts of a far more comprehensive poetical and philosophical and general outlook upon the universe.

Sorel had been enabled to achieve his flashes of insight by first freeing his mind and his vision from clichés. But Friedrich Nietzsche was a born seer whose vision ranged forward for thousands of years, so that he could recognize the ties that connected his own century with the future. That was why, whereas Sorel, with his "purified gaze," could see nothing more than the limited phase of historical development from the mechanico-materialistic socialism of his day to the force-myth of fascism, Nietzsche was right in adopting as the motto of his *Will to Power* the sentence: "What I tell you is the history of the next two hundred years."

Moreover, whereas Sorel's clairvoyance was limited to the field of politics, to social man, his needs and his possibilities, the vision of the "unresting anchorite" embraced all the problems of the Christian epoch and of Christian civilization, enabling him to dis-

cern beneath the tragical problem of political man the tragedy of mankind at large, and to affirm this tragedy with his own destiny.

In the French revolution, a change in philosophical outlooks which had been going on for two centuries secured material expression. From the first essays of Francis Bacon, by way of the theories of Galileo and Newton, from the first doubts of Descartes, by way of the scepticism of the salons of the Enlightenment, scientific and philosophical thought had to advance to the complete overthrow of the edifice of scholastic thought. Not until then had the "catholicity" of thought been so effectively shattered that, in place of the worldwide Church of religious belief, a worldwide Church of reason could be established.

Now, one hundred and thirty years after Duport, a member of the Convention, had solemnly exclaimed: "Nature and reason, these are my gods!" there began a new revolution, equipped with the weapons of a new natural science and a new philosophy—a revolution made by persons who were no less resolutely determined to crush the lay Church of reason, which had been dominant during these thirteen decades, than the apostles of the Enlightenment had been determined to crush the religious faith of the Middle Ages.

This new revolution quoted Nietzsche, Bergson, and Sorel, as the earlier one had quoted Descartes, Voltaire, and Rousseau; the articles of its faith were no longer "reason" and "nature," but "will" and "force."

Only at the beginning had the data of science and the thoughts of philosophers been esoteric, been the mysteries of a small coterie of adepts. As soon as the Enlightenment, with its mechanical laws and logical deductions, had aroused doubt as to the teaching of the Church, this doubt spread so quickly and so widely that all the drawing-rooms of the capitals and all the circles of the provinces became infected, until, at length, even market-women, even children, were bold enough to rail at priests and to drink brandy out of the sacred chalices. Even less, in our own days, when rotary presses bring the mysteries of science and philosophy daily as commonplaces into every household, can the new knowledge of

the opening twentieth century be kept secret. Soon, not merely in editorial offices and among the cultured, but in every tavern, people were saying that rationalist system-making was in a bad way.

This was certainly distressing, for, although the Enlightenment had deprived man of his faith in a secure and divinely ordered world, and had deprived him of heaven, it had at least given him the consolation of an unqualified belief in reason. Now, however, it was disclosed that reason was in no better case than faith, and that he who relied on reason was relying on a phantom.

When Hegel had been a young philosopher, his contemporaries could rejoice with him that man had "placed himself upon his head, that is to say upon thought"; but to twentieth-century readers the notion had become distressing. Man standing on his head had unexpectedly become an object of general mockery in newspaper offices, cultured circles, and taverns.

This nihilism of reason, this "self-decomposition" and "transvaluation of all values" which Nietzsche had foreseen, becoming dominant in futurism and dadaism with the unrestrained clatter of a fool's bauble, paved the way for the hegemony of another force—nationalism—which was to give reason its last, its mortal wound.

Throughout the Middle Ages, the concept of nationality was in thrall to faith, and reason was relegated to the position of handmaid to Mother Church; indeed, both reason and nationality were regarded as valid only insofar as they contributed to the splendour of the divine "lumen gloriæ." When reason dethroned Mother Church, it in its turn claimed absolute dominion. Agreed, it proclaimed freedom and equal rights for all and, therefore, did not forcibly stifle nationality; but it nevertheless succeeded, with a stern glare in its absolutist eyes and with the magical words of its logical deductions, in rendering anything that cumbered its path simultaneously sapless and impotent.

Baron Cloots, indeed, was allowed to marshal his supers and to parade them in various national costumes; but the Convention regarded itself as the representative of a united humanity, and, at a later date, it was never weary of pointing out (in a con-

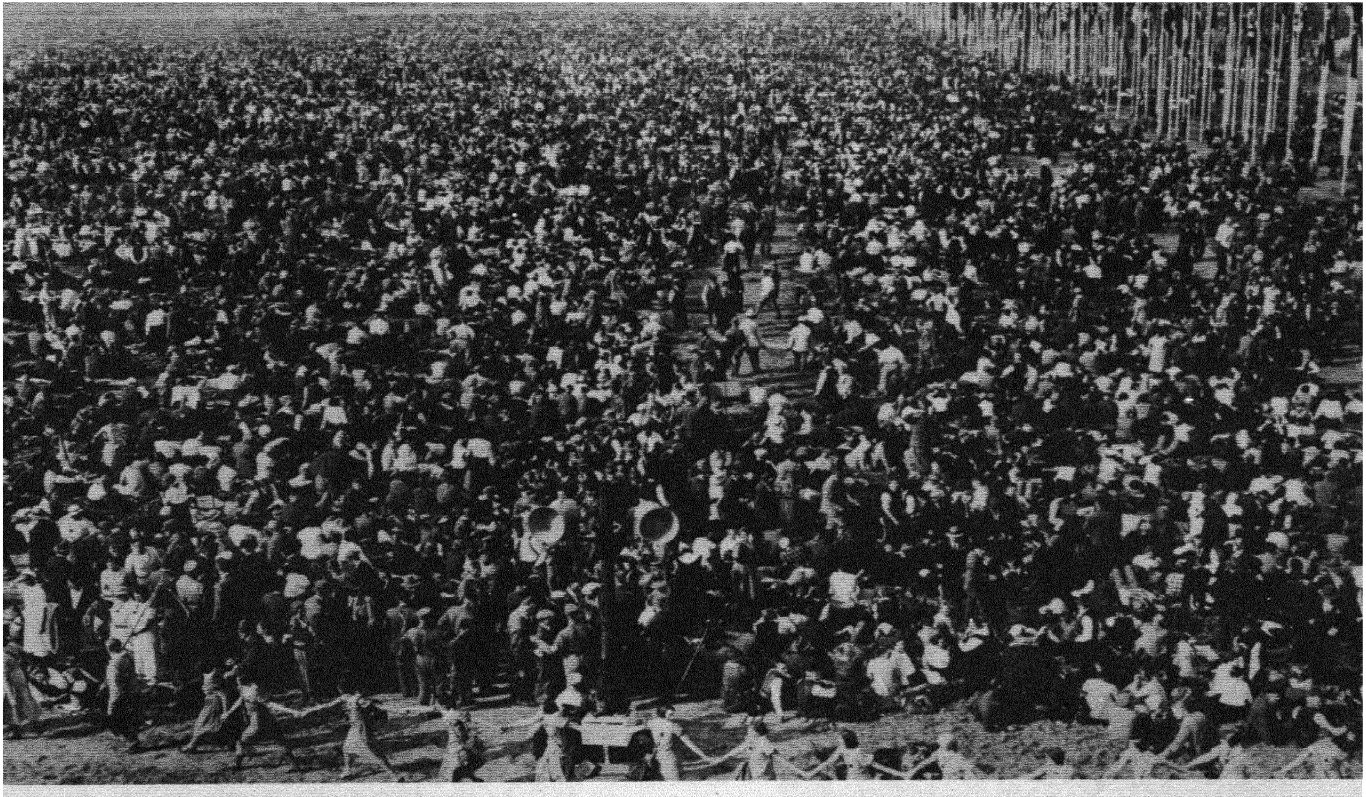
ciliatory spirit) that all men are equal and that the obvious differences between them are due solely to dissimilarities of environment.

Since each of us is born in the same way from the maternal womb, they argued, we should in the subsequent duration of our lives be looked upon as equals, without regard to class, race, or nation. Convinced that by accepting this theory it had once and for ever swept the problem away, in 1789 the Constituent Assembly had its theses printed upon cotton pocket-handkerchiefs, and dispatched these little squares into the farthest wildernesses and the virgin forests of the globe.

Napoleon, likewise, who aimed at cleansing the revolution of its dangerous abstractions, nevertheless remained faithful to the notion that national differences were of no account, and that it would therefore be feasible to inaugurate a social order based upon reason; an order which would be a definitive one and adaptable, without exception, to all communities of the earth. To convert the "truths" of 1789 into a "religion of the peoples" seemed to him one of his most important tasks; and just as his predecessors had sent the glad tidings forth into the world printed upon handkerchiefs, so did he take with him, whithersoever his victorious campaigns might lead his steps, the Code Napoléon, which was to ensure that throughout the continents there would be established one universal realm founded upon identical rationalist concepts.

If, furthermore, the advocates of liberalism included in their programme the "liberation of the nations," this was done with a view to freeing every human community from the traditional and irrational shackles imposed by religious and dynastic despots. Once a "nation" had been thus "liberated," it would immediately be locked up in a mechanical scheme of equalitarian and rationalist legislation founded upon the idea that a system which had been proved to work rationally and well in one quarter of the globe would necessarily be suitable for and beneficial to all mankind.

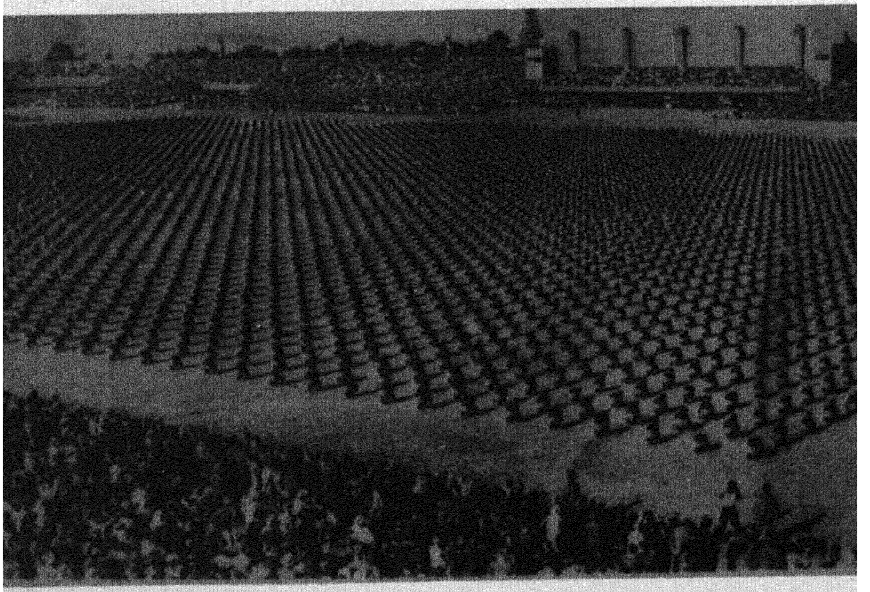
Strong in this conviction, Bentham marched untiringly to and fro in the rooms of his London mansion, dictating model constitutions for lands and peoples in America, Europe, and Africa, for countries he had never so much as visited, firmly and honestly



NATIONAL SOCIALIST PEASANTS' FESTIVAL



THE MASSES MAKE MERRY: ENGLISH FOLK-FESTIVAL
(After a Drawing by Hogarth)



MODERN SPORT FESTIVAL: SOKOL CONGRESS AT PRAGUE

persuaded that a healthy human understanding would alone suffice to supply the gauchos of the pampas, the Greeks, or the Tripolitans with the best conceivable systems of government.

Comte's great work seemed to furnish historical proof of the superiority of these universally valid rational concepts over the superstitious beliefs of individual folk-communities; and, furthermore, it showed that the inner significance of civilization had been the gradual ascent of mankind from the stage of superstitious delusion to a "scientifically positivist state of consciousness," which would be instrumental in establishing "a mental harmony hitherto undreamed of" and setting up an international church of lay intellectuals.

No less than Comte did Karl Marx, that inveterate opponent of a world State established upon liberal notions, ever doubt the possibility of inaugurating a social order that would be suitable for all time and for all the peoples of the earth. The materialist conception of history would so clear men's minds as to give them a profound insight into the mechanism which guided historical events, with the result that, after the catastrophic collapse of capitalism, they would know how to rebuild the world—a world in which there would no longer exist "nations," but only a united mankind, wherein property differentiations would give place to communism, and wherein incalculable happenings dependent upon crude instincts and self-interest would be replaced by a millenary realm of peace, reason, prosperity, of a just and systematic distribution of goods, and of a classless society spreading far and wide.

From the outset there was, of course, no lack of heretical pessimists who denied the possibility of ever realizing in actual fact such a rational ordering of humanity. At the very time when Paris was rapturously proclaiming the equality of all men and was enjoying Baron Cloots's stage-managership, when in England a would-be improver of the world was excogitating the constitutions which were to procure the greatest happiness of the greatest number, Joseph de Maistre wrote derisively that he had nowhere on this earth seen the "humanity" for which these "rights" and "constitutions" were devised; quite the contrary, indeed, for the only people he could see distinctly were Frenchmen, Italians, Russians, and other members of clearly marked nationalities.

"A constitution," he declared, "that is designed to suit every nation fails inevitably to suit any nation in particular: it is nothing but an abstraction, a labour of schoolmen who are wont to deal with hypotheses that ignore the concrete, and who address an imaginary human race living in imaginary space. What is a constitution? Surely it is something which aims at the solution of the following problem: Having checked up the numerical strength of the population of a certain nation, having learned which religious cult it practices, having found out its geographical position, its political relationships, its wealth, its good and its bad qualities—then to set about discovering the laws most likely to suit its special characteristics."

Maistre could, of course, easily be disposed of as a backward-looking "reactionary," devoid of any comprehension of the spirit of the age; for even the idealist philosophers and the romanticists of a later date found it hard to hold out perdurably against the seductive teachings of the Enlightenment. Even a profoundly national thinker such as Dostoievsky, a man intimately folk-conscious, was so strongly influenced by "the idea of the abolition of nationality in the name of a universal brotherhood of mankind, the idea that one should scorn the fatherland as constituting a brake upon human progress," that, as he himself acknowledges, he was for long unable to withstand them. "They captured our minds and hearts because they possessed a certain sublimity, and the theme appeared to us majestic, and soaring far above the level of the ruling ideas of the epoch. Herein lay the temptation. . . ."

During barely four years, this "sublime temptation" seemed to have been dispelled by force of arms; yet even before the world war came to an end, it reappeared, having gathered unprecedented strength. From the Russian steppes, the armies of the militant rationalists set themselves in motion to conquer the world for the red banner. Across the Carpathians, the Alps, and even the Apennines, pressed their columns, singing the abolition of nationality, announcing the victory of equality, and proclaiming universal brotherhood.

Thereupon, betwixt night and morning, arose that mighty force which for centuries had been held in check, first by the Catholic Church, and then by the Goddess of Reason. It shattered the cathe-

dral of universality which the human imagination had built to enclose all the peoples of the earth. The time had come when nationalism was to claim supreme dominion, and to establish a Third Church which was to succeed the Universal Churches of Faith and of Reason. Thus, at the opening of contemporary history, there is developing the myth of the nation, the great conqueror, that shall slay the evil monster procreated by reason—shall make an end of the "mass-man," the "collective man."

It was in perfect conformity with the style that history is wont to assume in periods of great change that destiny, when in search of the man who was to be the founder of the new Church, should discover him, not this time in a lawyer's office, but under a bridge. Who could have been better suited for the leadership of the rationalist revolution of nearly one hundred and fifty years ago than the pedantic barrister, Robespierre from Arras? But the revolution which, in the name of nationalism, was to shatter the dominion of reason, needed a man of the people, alive with the impulses and instincts of his nation—it needed that unemployed workman Benito Mussolini, whom in the year 1902, beneath the great bridge at Lausanne, a policeman arrested as a vagrant.

When the young Italian was searched, the only object of value found upon him was a medallion bearing the likeness of Karl Marx. Mussolini always had this "emblem of the idea of humanity" with him, as a talisman. It was as much a matter of course that he should be a Marxian, a faithful son and catechumen of the Rationalist Church of a socialist party, as it had been for the men of the rationalist revolution of 1789 to have been, in early youth, devout sons of the Catholic Church trained in monastery schools.

Mussolini, however, in his socialist pupillage, had already learned to reject the notion of an internationalized mankind, to which he preferred that of separate, well-defined nations. "Every race, every nation," he wrote in a pamphlet composed long before the war, "imprints its own stamp upon the labour movement. Even if, by a quasi-military discipline, the attempt is made to realize an ephemeral internationalism among workers who do not really feel themselves to be brethren, it is found impossible to render those persons identical who are fundamentally distinct."

In the summer of the year 1914, socialists had to choose between the idea of international solidarity, espoused in the name of humanity at large and permanently over-riding any conflict between States, on the one hand, and nationalism, on the other. Jean Jaurès decided in favour of humanity, and was slain by the first bullet fired in the world war. Mussolini decided in favour of the nation, quitted the Socialist Party, and, in his newly founded periodical *Popolo d'Italia,* urged the participation of Italy in the great struggle. "The revolution came out of the points of bayonets!" This was the motto of his newspaper; while his first leading article began with the word "audacia," and ended with the word "guerra."

When, after the war, the new troops of internationalism descended from the passes of the Alps to march through the streets of Milan, Mussolini discerned in their ten thousand visages the faceless mass-countenance of the "last man" foretold by Nietzsche, "who frisks upon a world grown small and makes everything small. . . . Everyone wants the same thing, all are alike; one who feels differently from the rest becomes voluntarily an inmate of an asylum." Lest this countenance of the "last man" should become that of Italy, in March 1919 Mussolini addressed a number of demobilized soldiers who had assembled on the outskirts of Milan in a hall in the Piazza del Santo Sepolcro. With impassioned words, he conjured up in their imaginations the picture which had lurked below the threshold of Italian thought since the early Middle Ages—that of a new and glorious Italy in which the splendour and the greatness of the Roman empire would be revived.

Once before, six hundred years ago, another Italian, Cola di Rienzi, the innkeeper's son, had talked in like manner to his fellow-citizens, reviving memories of Rome's famous past. Fired by his enthusiasm, the populace had raised him to power greater than anyone had wielded in the Eternal City since the days of the Cæsars. Although at the 1919 gathering in Milan there were but a few dozens listening to Mussolini's message, this day was a turning-point in the history of Italy.

"La patria non si nega, la patria si conquista!" Thenceforward Mussolini reiterated this war-cry of the new nationalism so ur-

gently and so persistently, that at length the faceless visages of the tens of thousands who had marched under the red banner regained Italian traits, and their eyes glistened at the sound of the word "Italia."

"What France did in the year 1789, Italy is doing today: proclaiming a new message to the world." With this proud assertion, Fascism entered European history. Rome, where was now centred faith in the myth of the nation, wanted to abolish everything which Paris had long before created as centre of the faith in reason: to abolish enlightened thought, liberal activity, and democratic rule.

The man who had slept under bridges when a homeless vagrant, and was now dictator of Italy, became the first statesman who was bold enough to repudiate "the sublime ideas" of the Enlightenment and to disregard the "majesty" of the notion of mankind at large, which had seduced even a Dostoievsky.

The sound instinct of a self-taught man had early led him to browse upon the writings of those thinkers who had foretold the collapse of the religion of reason and had proclaimed a fresh configuration of the world; in early youth he studied the works of Nietzsche, Sorel, Bergson, the pragmatists, and the voluntarists; and the train of thought originated in him by this spiritual world was already taking effect when, in the socialist journal *Avanti,* he was still publishing articles on party questions.

"At the extreme left wing of socialism," said Benedetto Croce, "there appeared a man with an unsullied revolutionary temperament such as did not exist in any other Italian socialist, and a man endowed with appropriate perspicacity. Mussolini did not engage in a vain attempt to lead socialism back to its primitive form. On the contrary, keeping his mind open to contemporary trends, he tried to give socialism a new soul, accepting as he did Sorel's theory of force, Bergson's intuitionism, pragmatism, the mysticism of action, and unqualified voluntarism—doctrines and trends which had been part of the spiritual atmosphere for some years." As early as 1912, the veteran Sorel had written clairvoyantly about the man who was then editor of *Avanti:* "Our Mussolini is no ordinary socialist! Take my word for it, you will one day

see him, sword in hand, leading a holy battalion to salute the national flag of Italy. He is a fifteenth-century Italian, a condottiere."

Whereas his socialist comrades, forgetting their teacher Marx's faith in catastrophe, were content with the endeavour, by means of tedious "reforms," to lead the world into a realm of universal security, Mussolini was perpetually trying to shake them out of their slumbers with appeals to "live heroically." He demanded the bringing about of an armed rising "to awaken the sense of tragedy in the toiling masses." "Socialism," he announced, was "something terrible, portentous, and sublime," a "harsh and bitter truth" born in the travail of battle and of force.

This pupil of Nietzsche and Sorel, who remained a socialist, wanting "to dramatize life" and to bring about "the kindred birth of tragedy," was able, when he became leader of the modern Fascist movement, "to stride heedlessly over the deformed body of the goddess of liberty."

To a world which was still conducting its political affairs under the sign of a supposedly omnipotent reason, he defiantly affirmed his devotion to the "anima appassionata" of the force of will; and, in lieu of a triple-starred constellation of "liberty, equality, and fraternity" towards which western populations had directed their eyes for the last hundred and thirty years, he delivered the message of "a new trinity which was to be the guiding stars of the epoch: discipline, hierarchy, and authority."

From Robespierre by way of Comte to Trotsky, the Church of Reason had promised its disciples a millennium of liberty and universal happiness. Mussolini's Fascism, however, does not teach the possibility of happiness on earth; Fascists do not believe that "in a particular phase of history a definitive order will be achieved," for this would imply "a transcending of life, which is unceasing flow and perpetual becoming."

In general, Mussolini despises that "happiness of mankind" towards whose attainment the rationalist systems have constantly striven. He tries to wean the Italians once for all from the longing for such "a happiness of innocent lambs," wishing to inspire them with a love for a tragical and "heroically agitated life." "Fascism needs fighting men whose whole energy is concentrated upon ac-

tion. These men must be virile of spirit, must be aware of all difficulties, and must be ready to face them!" Whereas Bolshevism proclaims the mass-man in the name of machinery, Fascism insists that the age of the machine demands, before everything else, "the dominion of the elect" instead of "the dominion of the masses."

Certain unalterable directives were prescribed for statesmen of the theocratic epoch by their belief in a divine ordering of the world; while, after the French revolution, those whose faith was pinned to a belief in the dominance of reason were convinced that, out of a few fundamental fictions and by means of a chain of logical deductions prolonged at will, the "best State" could be fashioned. These deductions were felt to be so secure and trustworthy as to lead the Bolsheviks to maintain that, as far as government was concerned, personality was superfluous and might very well be replaced by an automatically functioning bureaucratic apparatus.

If, however, a State is to be created wherein truth and the modern spirit of pragmatism and voluntarism shall be secularized into political and governmental institutions, it does not suffice to be conversant with these outlooks, to believe in them, and to act according to their implications; nay, rather is it essential to overcome certain psychological resistances of an entirely new kind.

For this third trend of the human mind, a trend with which humanity is today at grips, has overthrown the belief in a world-order based upon reason, without setting up again the tradition that there is a divine hand guiding man's destinies. It is leading us into a life which, though filled with primitive outlooks and the elemental forces of growth, knows naught of system, order, and plan, these abstractions being wholly alien to its nature.

Mussolini must have felt this even as a young man, when, fired by the first impressions created in his mind by a study of Nietzsche, he wrote his essay on "The Philosophy of Force." "This philosophy cannot be defined," he declared, "since the author of *Zarathustra* has left us no system to get to work upon." Nietzsche's solutions, the young man maintained, had furnished "the poet with worthy material for his poems," but had provided nothing that could usefully be applied to real life.

Just as lacking in this respect was Sorel, who likewise had fashioned no "system" which could be utilized in the upbuilding of a State. His theory of force was unquestionably imbued with a marvellous insight into the genesis of history, and it opened up a universe of explosive advances wherein the fire of enthusiasm took the place of intellectual conviction, wherein intuitive penetration took the place of laborious and rationalistic investigation, and wherein creative force took the place of peaceable evolution. But, just as in Nietzsche's inspired aphorisms, so here in Sorel's notes, speeches, and articles (which had been unsystematically elaborated), everything remained up in the air as part of a myth-invested vision.

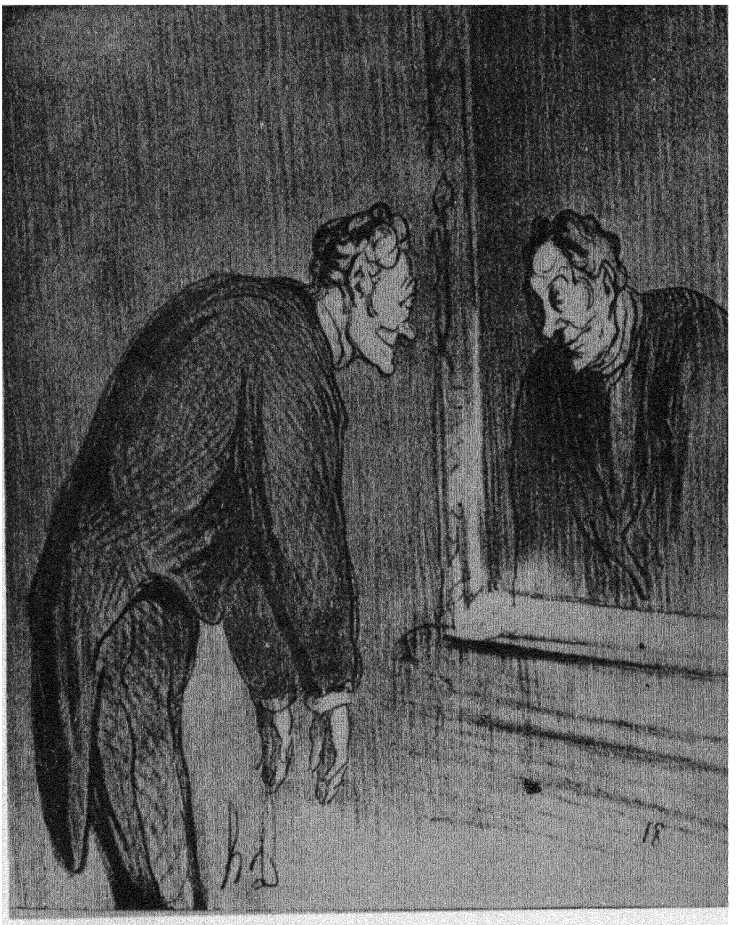
The poetical truths announced by Nietzsche and Sorel could not be welded into a programme of political action, since their contradictions, which in their august outlook on the world might very well coalesce to form a sublimer unity, could not fail, in the realm of every day and within the narrow confines of politics, to disclose themselves as irreconcilable opposites.

What about the intuitionist philosophers, who proclaimed that the world could be felt, not thought, in a new way? To them existence presented itself as the perpetual unfolding of a universal "élan vital" which manifested itself in ever-new and unpredictable forms. Here there was nothing in the way of solid standing ground, neither tranquillity nor safety. Nothing was the consequence of antecedents, nothing was determined by anything else, there were no landmarks, no established territories. There remained nothing but a dance of vortices, a murmurous circling in a perpetual flux, rhythmical movement. No longer were there "things," only "effects"; the All was in course of development, and this development occurred, not gradually, but by "leaps." Again and again, life appeared to create new beginnings and unforeseeable outcrops, calling into question what had previously been regarded as valid.

Whereas reason had hitherto encompassed men on all sides with logical propositions and certainties, invariably able to re-establish order swiftly amid chaos, the new doctrine subjected man to the overwhelming and elemental might of inchoate and lawless primal



NATIONAL SOCIALIST LABOUR VOLUNTEERS GOING TO WORK



"THE DEMAGOGUE PRACTISES A BOW FOR THE MASSES"
(Lithograph by Daumier)

forces, leaving him to his own devices, and to struggle unaided in the endeavour to control and shape these forces.

But this philosophy, which offered neither systems nor directives, furnished ample justification for the "will to power" as the only formative principle in the world able, out of the eternal flux, to produce historical shape and fixed order. Thus Nietzsche himself had contemplated the imminent collapse as an orgy of palingenesis, in which the "One" would ultimately dare to be again "the unique, against everything and against all." "Commanders" would be the "new legislators" of the world that would arise out of the collapse of the reign of reason, and would give that world new watchwords. Those who can say: "So shall it be," decide the "whither" and the "why"; decide what is useful to man.

In the expectation of such a "coming man," Nietzsche holds there is no ground for discouragement. One who has maintained and disciplined a "strong will," and has, at the same time, "cultivated broad outlooks," has more favourable chances than ever. "For, in this democratic Europe of ours, the plasticity of man has become extreme; men who learn easily, who comply readily, are the rule; the herd-beast, extremely intelligent after his kind, has come into being. He who wishes to command finds those that cannot but obey."

Thus, according to the words of young Mussolini, Nietzsche teaches "a new ideal, essentially different from that of earlier generations." To grasp this new ideal there must arise "a new kind of free spirits, strengthened in war, and steeled in solitude and in great peril; spirits able to become acquainted with the winds, the ice-caps, and the glaciers of the high mountains, and able, undismayed, to look into the deepest abysses."

The same idea sounds through the writings of all the other thinkers from whom Mussolini derives his philosophy. Sorel and William James, Pareto and Gentile, the voluntarists and the pragmatists, were agreed in recognizing the supreme importance of creative will and of action. "One must be able to do what one thinks." "The only truth is in action." "In no other way can the times be changed than by the force of will." Such were the teachings of them all.

Benito Mussolini, therefore, had good philosophical supporters when he exclaimed: "Indeed, I am monopolized by this quest. It burns me, overwhelms me, and consumes my vitals like an inward agony. I wish to engrave a sign in the times, as a lion tears deeply with its claws. Thus!"

The organic growth of other States has proceeded from below upwards; they have developed out of theocratic institutions, have been founded upon abstract ideas, have been deliberately established; but the Italian Fascist State has been evolved from above, has come into being through the fiat of a leader who dared "to be alone in venturing an attack upon everything and everybody."

"I myself, who acknowledge the paternity of this my so living creation"—such is the formula with which Mussolini prefaces his speeches concerning the Fascist State; and he is never weary of reiterating that his "creation" has no "fixed programme which one may expect to be realized towards the year two thousand."

Fascism is the expression of one single person's will, it is suited to a specific epoch and to special circumstances; Mussolini, therefore, rejects the notion that his work is valid unconditionally and objectively for all time. Since this system of government is neither the outcome of a process of organic growth nor the abstract realization of rationalist considerations, it bears the arbitrary stamp of its creator's will.

The whole brilliant and abounding personality of its originator, all that he has thought and read, what he has derived from doctrine and experience, from reason and unreason, all that is ripe in him and all that is crude, amalgamated into the unity of an individuality of which there can be no replica—has here been consolidated into the structure of a State.

Mussolini is right in declaring that this State is "an ethical reality which exists and thrives insofar as it continues to develop" and to express the nature of human will, "which knows no limits to its growth, and recognizes its individual everlastingness in the fact of its own realization." But the idea which metamorphoses the many into a unity that can reproduce itself consists in "a will to existence and to power, consciousness of self, personality."

Mussolini himself and the Fascist State he has brought into be-

ing are thrall to an archaic dream of the ancient glories of classical Rome mingled with a modern dream wherein "the laboratory generation" plays a part, the latter's vocation being to raise industrial life as the new destiny of the world into a situation of the utmost splendour: to the practical experiences of the socialist stripling there has been added a belief in a new kind of hierarchy, such as Nietzsche's writings had suggested; and, conjoined with William James's heroic concept of labour, there are now to be found the social demands required to satisfy the present-day needs of Italy.

But all these classical forms of Roman greetings and bundles of sticks, all this corporative organization of society and of industrial activity, all this palaver about hierarchy and electrification, become a unity only in the mind of the man who can truthfully say: "I have Italy in my head just as if it were a map, I have it there with all its intersections, and all its vital problems."

Such an organization, set up by the authoritarian will of one man, is in crass contrast with the rationalist State conceived of by the Enlightenment, and of those States which the liberals and the socialists dreamed of inaugurating; no less antagonistic is it to those State forms which were the consequence of a religious outlook on the universe, held by the men of earlier epochs. For the social grades of the medieval realm were founded upon a hierarchy which in its turn was conceptually rooted in a divine ordering of the world, and he who stood at the pinnacle of power held his position through God's grace and functioned as the earthly agent of the "divine author of our being"; what the mandatory ordered was ordered in the name of the arch-commander, and the entire hierarchy was from its base upwards so arranged that it ascended from circle to circle until at length its apex reached the heavens.

Now the Fascist hierarchy has been fashioned by the will of one single individual, and proceeds from this individual downwards ever lower into the depths. Its sacredness depends upon vital energies of life which enable this unique person so to act in virtue of the palingenesis which procreated him.

"He who speaks of hierarchy," writes Mussolini, "means that gradation of human values which implies increasing responsibilities and duties; he who speaks of hierarchy means discipline." Again, "Fascist hierarchy must start from the point of a needle"

at the highest rung of the ladder, where one, and one alone, "namely myself," stands, "I alone, so long as I embody the State. . . ."

"It is not the function of the nation," says Mussolini, "to create the State. I should rather say that the nation is created by the State; for not until the State exists does the people acquire a [collective] will, and therewith a real existence. Consequently a nation is a nation only insofar as it is a State." Thus Fascism, inasmuch as it represented a spiritual principle based upon a "sistema di pensiero" had first of all to master the State system; and then, acting from above downwards, it had to permeate the Italian people with the "Fascist idea."

Adolf Hitler, on the other hand, whose object is to deliver the German people from the spell of the "fiction of humanity," looks upon the State as "merely a form." "The State is no more than a means to an end. This end is to maintain and to cultivate a community of living creatures that are physically and mentally homogeneous. Thus the highest aim of a folk-State is the preservation of those primitive racial elements which, radiating culture, promote the beauty and the dignity of a loftier humanity."

Whereas Mussolini regards the Will as the creative force whose mission it is to produce the new form or "Gestalt" of the nation, Hitler looks upon Race as the creative principle which will restore a living form ("Gestalt") to the German nation, now disintegrated by the pursuit of amorphous abstractions. According to the doctrine of National Socialism, nature hoards her ultimate creative mystery behind the inviolable seal of race, a seal which those under the ban of enfeebling reason can never break. In the blood alone, he considers, is to be found the inexplicable power which impels to the creation of form. Thus the racial heritage hands on a principle transcending the individual, a force of higher and mystical origin. It is the entelechy (perfect form or "Gestalt") of living substance which is competent to release the multitudinous forces of national growth, to awaken them from the charmed slumber so long imposed on them by reason.

To unriddle this riddle of form propounded by nature herself, and thus to become enabled to refashion the nation and the State,

is what those men crave to do who, in Germany, have revolted against the notion of the unity of mankind as proclaimed by reason, and have set up against the ideal of a "world-embracing humanity," the new ideal of "gloria sanguinis."

Would it not seem as though the Führer were reverting to the concept contained in that ancient myth, according to which man is released, for a while only, from the realm of "racial-stock ideas," in order to live his short span here below and to embody the "primal image," thereafter to die and to be reabsorbed into the "race"—to flow back into the blood of his ancestors, into the blood of that vast and unending stream of the "species" which alone is endowed with true being?

Fascism is based upon the primacy of Will; National Socialism, on the other hand, is founded upon the primacy of Blood; again, the Fascist form of State is determined, down to the minutest details of structure and organization, by the will of a dictator who is sole architect in its building and design; the National Socialist State, however, must grow into maturity according to the laws of development governing racial species.

If this half-conscious, instinctive knowledge is to be intensified to become a fanatical faith sufficient to inspire a great movement; if this hidden and obscure urge is to grow into a vigorous desire determining the behaviour of millions; if the vacillating hopes of these millions are to be transformed into political power and into new State institutions—one man's will must make itself felt throughout Germany: and this one man, precisely because he is animated by the suitable kind of Will, has been accepted as the Leader of the recent German revolution. As Hegel says: "He who expresses the will of his epoch, who enunciates that will and fulfils it, is recognized as the great man of his day; he accomplishes the hidden desires of the time, he embodies its essence, he realizes it."

The part to be played by the Leader of the National Socialist movement is described by Hitler in the following words: "Out of an army often numbering millions, an army whose individual members more or less definitely sense these truths and partially (maybe) understand them, there must issue one who by his apodictic strength is able to consolidate, as upon granitic foundations,

the vacillating conceptual universe of the broad masses, carrying on the struggle for the unique accuracy of these truths until such time as it is possible to raise an iron rock of alliance between faith and will born of the wave-play of an enfranchised thought-world."

This "apodictic strength," which is to shape "upon granitic foundations" the vacillations of the masses, was possessed by Hitler at the very outset of his political career when, in 1919, he first made his appearance in a beggarly little inn at Munich, taking his place at a table dimly lighted by a defective gas-lamp, a table round which sat six nameless young men who, in confused phraseology, discussed the possibility of building up a new movement.

Though the company may have appeared ludicrous and paltry in the extreme, Hitler did not allow himself to be discouraged by the contrast between the deplorably inadequate means and the magnitude of the undertaking the six young men proposed to launch. "The longer I reflected upon the matter, the more strongly did I become convinced that precisely such an insignificant start might some day give rise to a great upheaval of the nation."

Mussolini is a dictator in his own right. His strong, sovereign, and constructive will releases him from the need for delegating his office to any other power, or for excusing his actions by an appeal to the notion of a special vocation or a mandate from God or people. Hitler owes his position to his talent for giving shape to the dispersed and inchoate conceptions of his people, and thus imparting a clearly defined form to the muzzy desires of a Germany devoted to National Socialist ideals.

During the decade when political forms in Europe have undergone so drastic a change, there has become manifest in the East likewise a distinct set towards the recognition of the nation, the race—a subordination to a leading Individual's self-assertion.

In the course of nearly fifteen hundred years, the mighty visions of the Prophet had spread far and wide throughout the East, uniting into a single brotherhood under the sign of Mohammedanism peoples of the most diversified stocks. Turks, Arabs, Persians, Hindus, and Sudanese were all equal in Allah's eyes; they had all received the same precepts from Mohammed, so that identical

thoughts and customs prevailed wherever men believed in Allah, lived they in the palaces on the Bosporus or in Baghad, in Cairo or in Afghanistan; at the selfsame hour the selfsame prayers rose to Allah's throne; the same dishes were eaten or rejected; everywhere the minarets pointed heavenward; the women went about veiled; life was regulated to its tiniest details by the laws of the sherif, laws which formed as it were a mighty ring encircling two hundred millions of the faithful scattered throughout Africa and Asia, laws over-riding every difference of nature, of blood, of environment, of economic condition.

Nevertheless, in 1921, a young Turkish general declared: "The nation comes first—then Allah!" He proceeded with a ruthless hand to wrench the Turkish people out of the "universality of Islam," determined to transform Turkey into a national State that should take a new and specific shape.

Mustapha Kemal with his bands of ragged veterans and half-grown boys inflicted a defeat upon the Greeks, forcing the enemy army to retreat. This victory gave him the authority and the power he needed for his undertaking. He alone, young though he was, succeeded in doing what no others among the vanquished were able to do after the conclusion of the world war: he compelled the great powers of the West to revise the peace-treaties.

The battle of Sakaria was, in very truth, a "lutte créatrice," a baptism of blood for Mustapha Kemal's nation, for up to this date there had been no Turkish name for the country. The speech of the nomadic ancestors was spoken by none but the lowest strata of the population; and when a sultan with a poetical vein wanted to introduce into one of his works a dialogue between two dogs, he made them talk the vernacular to one another in order to differentiate them from Arabic-speaking men.

Allah the All-Powerful on his throne in heaven could understand nothing but the Arabic tongue; and, whether on the Bosporus or among the steppes of Angora, he who should wish to address a petition, a complaint, or a thanksgiving to the All-Highest must be able to do so in Arabic or he could not be heard. Allah had revealed his law in the language of foreigners to the inspired prophet of old, and there did not exist a translation in Turkish even of the Koran.

Kemal now undertook to contrapose to this Islamic and Arabic universal culture the Turkish national idea; in this instance, too, it was blood and race upon which the renovator intended to upbuild his new State. "The impressions circulating in my blood are the echo of my story," said the Turkish poet Sia Gok Alp Bey. "I do not read about the glorious deeds of my ancestors from the dead and faded and dusty pages of history books, but in my own blood-stream and in my own heart."

The race-awareness of the Turkish people has been called into such activity as even to include some of the totems adopted by primitive ancestors. Thus the vision of the "grey wolf"—the sacred beast of the Asiatic-Turanian inhabitants of the steppe—has become a symbol of race-unity, being used in reliefs upon public monuments, and figuring in certain series of postage stamps issued by New Turkey.

Thanks to his autocratic will, Kemal is quietly effacing from the minds of the Turks every trace of the age-long Ottoman rule. He is releasing the bonds which shackled the Turks to other peoples of different races and stocks; and, furthermore, is ruthlessly pruning the manners and customs imposed on his people by alien nations.

Police are stationed at the carfaxes in the towns, along highways and byways, on the quays of seaports and rivers, with instructions to confiscate every fez at sight; quickly there has been imported from Europe a sufficiency of toppers and straw-hats to satisfy the needs of the population in regard to headgear and to help them forget the old-time cap of the Moslem believer. Western engineers and architects have been commissioned to design modern towns which shall have nothing in common with those erected in the Turkish empire during the Mohammedan period, when so widespread a cultural uniformity prevailed. Abolished, likewise, have been the ancient and sacred laws which prescribed the exact hours of getting up and going to bed, which decreed the manner of eating, of drinking, of praying, and of marrying.

A staff of experts has been set to work upon a thorough study of dust-laden documents and folk-songs, with a view to unearthing the words and expressions that can be vouched for as authentically Turkish in origin. With the aid of these scholars, a new Turkish

language has been concocted. When Ismet Pasha, Kemal's most trusted follower, delivered his first speech in the novel idiom from his place in the National Assembly, hardly a soul could understand a word of what he said. (One thinks of the artificial revival of a halting Erse in the Dail Eireann.)

Whereas under Islam the setting up of effigies in man's image and likeness was rigorously forbidden, Mustapha Kemal had statues of himself erected in every suitable place as a sign that the laws governing the Mohammedan world were no longer valid for Turkey, and that, moreover, in the East the will of one unique personality now prevailed over the idea of universalism.

Dread, the creative source of so many of man's fictions, dread of a solitude which would doom man to live alone in a limitless universe, early brought humanity to dream of a united race, of a world wherein everything that tended to disunite had been swept away for an eternity, of a world whence fate, arbitrariness, uncertainty, and peril had disappeared.

"The need for unity," says Dostoievsky's Grand Inquisitor, "is the fundamental torment of mankind. Humanity as a whole is ceaselessly endeavouring to achieve an alliance which shall embrace all the stocks that people the earth. There have been many great nations, but the greater they were the unhappier did they feel, since they desired more acutely than did their neighbours to achieve the unification of mankind."

Religions, dreams of world-dominion, campaigns of conquest, millenarianism, utopian systems, philosophical theories, and economic organizations have invariably been based upon this yearning for unity; and in the name of its realization they promised man that he should then be freed from anxiety and evil. The struggle for power which animated the Roman imperium was borne forward upon the same dream as was the Stoic idea of "world citizenship"; and the early Christian communities hoped for the realization of the promised salvation by means of the unification of all peoples and all races into a single brotherhood formed by the children of God. The miracle of Pentecost, whereby, through the Paraclete, all the tongues of the world joined together to praise the Lord, was to symbolize the everlasting removal of

differences as between one man and another; and St. Paul declared that God had wrought this miracle in order that the peoples who had hitherto been allowed to go their several ways might henceforward come together in unity: "And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth."

What St. Augustine visioned as the "Civitas Dei," the one and indivisible and divine State, is developed by Thomas Aquinas to become "catholicity wherein human life and knowledge are welded together to form one all-embracing system." In order that this "catholicity" might cover the entire globe, Christian missionaries were sent forth to bring the most distant and most scattered peoples into the vast fold of the Lord God.

The Enlightenment cast discredit upon the dogmas of Christianity, replacing them, in pride and arrogance, by logical doubt and the "truths of natural science"; nevertheless, insofar as the men of the Enlightenment proclaimed the "universal realm of reason," they remained faithful, in this point at least, to the thoughts which underlay Christian teaching. Robespierre declared to the planters of Santo Domingo who protested against the liberation of their slaves: "They are men, nothing but men, and all men are equal. Whether they be white, black, or yellow, they are worthy of our esteem and respect, and it is our duty to help them win their rights."

Napoleon, that mighty "cleanser of the revolution," was perhaps even more fervent in his pursuit of this same goal—the unification of mankind—and he came nearer the realization of his objective than any of his predecessors. "One of my greatest thoughts," he himself tells us, "was the assembling and unification of the peoples who, though they form a geographical unit, have been disintegrated and dispersed by revolutions and political machinations." The vision that hovered before his eyes was "a splendid dream of civilization." "The whole of Europe must form but one family, so that any European travelling the continent shall everywhere feel himself at home."

This "splendid dream of civilization" is still the dream of days now in the making; and the "world-machine" is serving to make the dream a reality by converting all the tribes and all the races

which people the globe into one million-legged and monstrous "mass-man," or "collective man."

And just as everything which comes to divide race from race and language from language must be done away with in order to bring into being a higher and more perfected association of mankind, so, since the dawn of civilization, man has constantly been endeavouring, within the orbit of each nation, to render null every form of inequality as concerns social rank and property. Before the Christian God, all humanity is equal; and, according to Gregory of Nyssa, each man comes "from the same origin, and all men at all times are but one being in the eyes of that Highest Power who recognizes no multiplicity." Mohammed preached the same doctrine. Allah created mortals "from one man and one woman" so that they might be able to realize that, "without reference to whence they came," only those who fear God are looked upon with favour by their creator.

To re-establish this original equality before the Lord, peasants had to march to London in the wake of the Mad Priest of Kent; others assembled round the banner of the Bundschuh; men and women went singing to the stake; the "Warriors of the Holy Ghost," headed by the "pauper pope," tramped over the high passes of the Apennines on their way to Rome; begging dervishes fought in the armies of the Mahdi; the prairie-schooners, filled with Mormons, and led by the "Lion of the Lord," crossed the North American continent. Reformers, sectaries, heretics, and rebels of all epochs and in all lands; those who were children of the Catholic Church and those from the farthest East; in the West the preachers calling men to repentance, and the Anabaptists; in China, the Tai-pings; in the Sudan, the followers of the Mahdi, and in Persia those of the Bab—each and every one of them carried in his heart the dream-picture of a realm where equality would prevail, and for this their dream they were willing to fight and to die.

In place of equality before God, the men of the Enlightenment set up equality in the name of reason. They proclaimed "the rights of man," thereby fulfilling Rousseau's demand that people must be rendered "equal by mutual agreement and through legal

enactments" wherever nature had decreed bodily or mental inequality.

The rationalist sciences were never weary of endeavouring to release sufferers from "arbitrariness" and "lack of understanding"; and the governmental and legal institutions of the revolutionary liberal, and democratic epochs (including the dream of Bolshevism concerning a "classless society") have, without exception, aimed at the realization of equality among mankind.

True, reason reduced the world to a dead globe, degraded man to become a mere item in calculations, made him an undifferentiated part of a "mass," and mechanized him; but, no matter the wrongs committed in reason's name, no matter the crazy exaggerations to which the worship of reason led, the purity of intention remained, and the ultimate goal was never lost sight of, the goal that would deliver man from the wretchedness with which inequality burdened his days.

A new spirit is making itself felt in our time; no longer is it animated by the yearning to bring about the unification of mankind, no longer does it seek to abolish our dismal inequalities by shifting values into a heavenly sphere or by rationalistic abstractions; quite otherwise, it goes out of its way to emphasize the differences which separate one human being from his fellows, it commends all that implies arbitrariness, destiny, incertitude, and peril.

Mankind is now at work dethroning rationalistic thought and rending the picture of human unity. Where hitherto agreement was to hold sway, the power of will is to rule supreme; inequality appears to possess a sublime greatness, and only that which is separate and peculiar seems worth fighting for.

With no less zeal than the divines of old and the men of the Enlightenment who had sought, in the universes of animate and inanimate nature—in God or in dead matter—for proofs of the unity of created beings, the scholars of our own epoch are endeavouring (in physics as in the human mind, in mathematics as in the thought-processes of primitive tribes, in the mineral kingdom as in the germ-plasm of living organisms) to discover the laws of differentiation and non-recurrence, of a fixed diversity of spe-

cies, of form or of "Gestalt"—hoping by these researches to arrive at the basic principle that underlies inequality.

And just as the religious dogmatists saw in the history of creation a proof that humanity had an equal share in the sacred paternity of God, so that all men were his children; just as the philosophers of the Enlightenment grounded their belief in equality and sought for progress along mechanistic and materialistic lines—so now are palæontology, the theory of quanta, and the "Gestalt" doctrine utilized as bases for demonstrating the truths of the singular, the arbitrary, mutationism, and the everlastingly unchangeable diversities existing between one species and another, and between man and man.

Of a sudden the idea of universal human progress, of the greatest happiness of the greatest number, of a communistic alliance of the entire world, which had urged men on to deeds of the utmost valour, has lost its refulgence.

Mussolini, the disciple of Nietzsche, teaches us today that our concern is not about progress, not about a future realm of beatitude; nor need we bother our heads about the happiness of mankind: what we must concentrate our energies upon is the act which shall create a form wherein the meaning and the tasks of this era shall find fulfilment. Each generation is pregnant with its own objective, receiving significance and acquiring desert from its own vital forces, its own creative values, and its own spiritual upheavals. That which happens but once, that which never recurs, be it never so tragical, is the only essential on this earth; for greatness resides in the tragical, and the sole thing which counts is Greatness. An echo comes back to us from the East, proclaiming that Allah's promised everlasting bliss is not worth a snap of the fingers, nor is the soul's salvation; what really is of importance is the quality peculiar to the Turkish nation, and the will of the unique and mighty dictator.

Nowhere, however, has the denial of this magnificent ideal of ancient days found more drastic expression than in contemporary Germany. Long ago doubts were already being expressed as to the validity of humanistic ideals. When Goethe was reviewing Herder's *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*

("Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind"), he declared that he feared lest a victory of humanistic notions might lead to "the world becoming one vast hospital in which men would live by sick-nursing one another." About the same time, Jean Paul prophesied that the realization of universalism would indicate the advent of "the world's senility" when "impotence would preen itself upon possessing the virtues of peaceableness and humaneness."

These early expressions of a doubt as to the benefits of universalism were subsequently enlarged upon by Nietzsche to such an extent as to become denunciation, and this served as the point of departure for contemporary outlooks on the matter. With unabated severity Nietzsche sought to demolish Christian humanism, which the Enlightenment, democracy, and socialism had never ventured to attack; having shattered the Tables of the Law revered by a humanitarian, Christian-democratic world, Tables on which the word "compassion" flamed, Nietzsche wanted to write new Tables, headed by the phrase, "Harden your hearts!"

Paul de Lagarde, with sure insight, had recognized that "the notion of humanity has nothing to do with the German nation." "A faith in which all men can share, a demand which must be fulfilled wherever the sun shines, is unsuited to become the national ideal of the Germans."

The racial doctrine of National Socialism gives positive expression to Lagarde's negation, which voiced a German's doubts as to the validity of humanitarianism, and a German's repudiation of the possibility of universal happiness. With the same harshness and absoluteness with which, of old, Calvin had divided mankind into the "elect" and the "reprobate" on the strength of an inscrutable decision of the Almighty which the individual could do nothing to modify, the Nazis hold that there is a cleavage among the peoples of the world, since nature allows blood of one kind to flow in the veins of some of them and excludes this blood from the veins of others—so that one set of people has been created "racially pure," and another set of people "racially impure."

Inasmuch as the National Socialist movement opposes the old humanitarian notion of the possibility of the perfection of all races of whatever kind, it profoundly modifies the aims of com-

munity life. Whereas, since the days of the Enlightenment—and, farther back, since the days of Christianity and Stoicism—it has been the highest aim of all peoples to vie with one another only within the field of a unified humanity, Hitler expressly renounces participation in any such aims.

"The good of a State," he declares, "cannot be valued in terms of its level of civilization or its power as graded in the framework of the rest of the world; but solely according to the degree of goodness of its institutions as concerns its own particular nationality." The State is "powerful and perfect, only insofar as it can assemble, perpetuate, and uplift to a dominant position its own valuable and primitive racial elements."

Whereas the humanitarian notion of progress is symbolized by "Euclidean parallels" extending into infinity, the symbol of National Socialism is the swastika, whose limbs circle round its centre, seeking "the centre of happiness within itself."

Just as Mussolini's voluntarism has turned away from objective and natural aims and, by a revaluation of all values, has succeeded in propounding a new ethic deduced from the myth of creative force; so, now, in Nazi Germany, there have been prescribed "new tables of values" such as neither the Church of Christ nor yet the Church of Reason has ever before known. What is valuable and what is worthless is here determined by race, through which alone the thing or person becomes elect or reprobate; through which alone can thoughts, feelings, and actions acquire value and consecration.

Here, likewise, Goethe's spiritual heritage has come into its own, for Goethe, when he said "only that which is fruitful is true," gave the creative energy of growth precedence over logical thought. "The mind does not derive any abstract rule from without," writes Alfred Rosenberg in his *Mythus des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts,* "nor does it move towards any external aim; nowise does it proceed 'out of itself,' but 'comes to itself.' This implies an entirely different conception of 'truth.' For us true and false are not a matter of logic. We demand an organic reply to the question: 'Fruitful or unfruitful, dictating its own laws or unfree?' "

Objectivity, justice, willingness to make concessions—all these attitudes of mind, which seem ethically valuable to rationalist

thinkers, pale before the particularist ideal which is the sun of racism. Thus, in the end, Rosenberg reaches the conclusion that everything which wants to become a pattern, a "Gestalt," must renounce "the objective," which is always subject "to other laws than its own"; it must "bow to no outward understanding, must have no regard for externals," for if it does so it will lose its "own Gestalt."

Hitler goes so far as to claim for National Socialism "the complete unconditionality" which, for him, is characteristic of every true philosophy. He writes: "Political parties are prone to compromise, but philosophies never. Political parties will even come to terms with adversaries, but philosophies proclaim their infallibility."

Thus the National Socialist idea is essentially intolerant, and imperiously demands "its own, exclusive, and unstinted recognition; as well as the complete transformation of public life in accordance with its own views."

This same epoch which has broken away from the dream of the unity of the human race has simultaneously crushed the ideal of social equality which the disciples of Christ and the disciples of Reason had alike striven to realize.

"The re-establishment of sacred inequality" is what Mussolini proclaims as the mission of Italy; and he terms this inequality of human beings "creative" and "salutary." National Socialism, furthermore, declares that the inequality of human beings is a necessary inference from the racial principle. "Just as, in general, we must value the various peoples in gradation according to their blood or stock," writes Hitler, "so also are the individual members of a folk-community to be graded. The recognition that one nation is not equal to another is applied likewise to the individuals within a folk-community, in this sense, that no intelligence can be equal to another intelligence, because, even though, on broad lines, the racial constituents of the individual members composing a people may be similar, there are manifold minute differences between one person and another."

Strenuously "rejecting the mass-idea," the new Germany "must therefore be based, not upon the idea of a majority, but upon the idea of personality or individuality." Whereas the liberal rational-

ist State had proclaimed "the equality of all citizens in respect of rights and duties," the Nazis proclaim inequality both of rights and duties. This principle of differentiation must prevail throughout, from the smallest cell up to the supreme leadership of the realm. A new élite must hierarchically establish itself round the "Leader," who is the supreme incorporation of the idea of inequality. The "aristocratic principle of nature," the "eternal privilege of energy and strength," far from being minimized, must be cordially and persistently affirmed.

But it is not only in the West that the idea of equality has thus been repudiated. The Middle Kingdom, likewise, into which European democratic thought has long been making its way as a companion of European machinery and European goods, has, during the twentieth century, thought better of its acceptance of equality. "China must learn the technique and science of foreigners," declared Sun Yat Sen, who was leader of the Chinese revolution of 1911; but it must not blindly adopt the political institutions of the West. For in political theory the Europeans have made no advance since the days of the Greeks. Rousseau wanted to found democracy upon the basis of the equality of all men; "but this doctrine is fundamentally erroneous."

Nature has established an "invincible inequality" among human beings; and, for this reason, the traditional severance into "the ordinary, the talented, the sages, and the prophets" must not be interpreted away; on the contrary, the State must be built up on this differentiation among its citizens.

The new Chinese realm must be graded in "three orders": that of "the sages, who discover the truth; the announcers, who diffuse the truth; and the executants, who do not know the truth, but each of whom works in his appropriate place, so that the work shall be satisfactorily performed." To the watchwords "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," which have made their way into China from the West, Sun Yat Sen contraposed the three main propositions, "Min-Chu, Min-Chuan, and Min-Cheng"—the people's nationalism, the people's sovereignty, and the people's welfare.

In Hindustan, likewise, the consciousness of inequality holds

its own with rejuvenated force against the humanitarianism that has been imported from the West. Even Gandhi, who has been so profoundly influenced by Christianity and by the teachings of Tolstoy, opposes the notion of completely abolishing caste and of introducing the European system of equality. He has declared that the law of heredity is an unassailable natural truth, whose neglect cannot fail to lead to the utmost confusion. Sri Aurobindo Ghose, the sage of Pondicherry, regarded as the Nietzsche of the East, advocates a new classification of right, based upon the spirit of the times. The old yoga discipline of the ancestry of the Hindus must be reawakened as a nationalist force, that a New India may come into being, where, regardless of considerations as to the happiness of the masses, an "Elite of Race can impose itself as a ruling caste."

"I shall never believe that there is any biological evidence for the existence of races that are more or less pure," declares Mussolini. "Race is a feeling, not a reality."

Alfred Rosenberg, likewise, considers that the racial idea has a true significance only in the realm of metaphysics. For him, race "is not so much a cognition as an avowal, an avowal of character-values." The life of a race, he says, "has no logically evolving philosophy, nor yet is it a naturally developing process; it is the evolution of a mystical synthesis."

In the year 1625, when widespread endeavours were being made to infer the equality of human beings on the ground that, without exception, they were children of God, Hugo Grotius mooted the question whether the equal rights of all could not be sustained just as well upon the supposition that there was no God whatsoever; and he affirmed this to be the case. In the year 1928, when an extensive literature was coming into existence to prove that various races have different hereditary values, the German ethnologist L. Schemann pointed out that there was considerable doubt among experts whether any scientific foundations had been elaborated for establishing a hierarchy of races. Nevertheless, he opined that race "as a sort of religion is an idea which will continue to hold its own, even though it should be unscientific." In this connexion, he compares the idea of race with a saga, finding in both race and saga a historical nucleus "which is not a matter

of belief upon evidence, but belongs rather to the realm of feeling, and, at an appropriate moment, may have a more powerful influence than historical reality."

What is decisive, in these instances, therefore, is not scientific facts, not scientific data; but rather an affective avowal, which is independent of observation, proof, or deduction, is dependent upon "internal evidence," and is susceptible of neither proof nor disproof by reason.

Unquestionably the racial idea also has its Lamettries, its Büchners, and its Moleschotts; but its "materialistic proofs" are of trifling importance when compared with the powers by which the racial creed is really supported. Even the Enlightenment did no more than endeavour, with its scientific arguments, to support a picture of the world which existed pre-formed in the minds of the enlightened, who held, in their day, that the world could only be so and not otherwise. Actually, in objective nature, the unity and equality of man have no more existence than Euclidean parallels. Being a pure creation of reason, a supra-real fiction of the mind, the doctrine has transformed reality to suit its own ideal image.

From the same fictive world, the recent conceptions of force, will, and blood are likewise derived. The Fascist notion of will and also the "racism" of the Nazis are, above all, criteria of classification; the latter, in especial, is a "myth" to which the New Germany is seeking to adapt its mentality. Thus nature, a concrete biological reality, does not merely conflict with the racial principle, but also with that other, imaginary, picture of human equality which has been dominant from the Enlightenment down to our own day.

The "truth" or "untruth" of any mental trend, that which those who are activated by it hold it to "prove" or to "disprove," that which it hallows or condemns, that which it believes and that which it discredits, is always, in the last analysis, an expression of human beings' fundamental attitude towards destiny.

For thousands of years, the generations of man have striven against a fate which they regarded as imposed upon them by the disfavour of the gods, or as unjust, or as unreasonable; they have endeavoured to ward off its blows; always with the secret hope

that, in the end, they could completely avert it, and introduce a "Euclidean" order of equality, comparability, and calculability into this unequal, incommensurable, and incalculable life of an arbitrary natural world.

From this unceasing endeavour have arisen all the great political and economic creations which, down to contemporary times, have determined the countenance of western Europe and America—parliamentary democracy, the social order with its widely ramified means for providing security and comfort, the complicated apparatus of economic life, the manufacture and distribution of commodities. Of the same nature also is the new system with the aid of which one hundred and sixty million Russians have now for nearly two decades been trying to regulate their lives, for it is a product of the old wish-dream to rationalize life throughout.

But in our own days, on all hands there have sprung up from unfathomable depths new forces, sweeping away the old safeguards, trying to restore the primitive powers of destiny, to affirm and glorify fate. That is why, of a sudden, the mechanical picture of the world has been rejected, and the biologico-organic picture has been extolled; that is why metaphysics and "internal evidence" have risen in revolt against reason and "abstract certainty." Everywhere millions upon millions are under the spell of this new outlook on the universe (or this old outlook which has been revived).

The Trobriander, who is careful to keep his head at precisely the proper level among the pyramid of the heads of his fellows, likewise affirms fate, by obediently accepting his place in the hierarchy into which he was born, and whose validity he never dreams of doubting. In like manner the Calvinist humbly accepts as unalterable the divine predestination which has decided whether he is to be one of the elect or one of the reprobate. Finally, the conservatives of our civilization bow before the "wisdom of things," gladly accepting the traditional stratification into rulers and ruled, into nobles and commoners.

But the new generation, which is today trying to change the visage of the world, actually regards inequality as endowed with creative value. Refusing to accept the hierarchies into which it has

been born, sweeping them out of the way, it establishes a new hierarchy, or tries to do so—tries once more to shatter the world to bits and to remould it in accordance with the heart's desire. An Italian bricklayer's apprentice, a private in the German army, a Chinese student, a young Turkish general—these are the men who detach themselves from the grey masses, rise to topmost positions, and use the power they have grasped to establish new dignities and new ranks.

Whereas Marx once declared that mankind never set itself problems which it was not able to solve, to the disciples of this new faith in destiny nothing but the unattainable seems worth striving for. "No, mankind has always been setting itself tasks which it is unable to perform!" rejoins Moeller van den Bruck, the spiritual father of National Socialism, in answer to the author of *Capital*. "Herein lies man's greatness! Here is the genius that spurs him on! Here is the daimon which drives him!"

Thus, what attracted Sorel to socialism was its "drama," its tragedy, its unattainability; and he became estranged from socialism when the socialists began to strive for the attainable, and to seek for peaceful reforms and for safety instead of continuing their heroic struggle.

But long before the opening of the twentieth century, Nietzsche coined an impressive phrase with which to denote the new mental attitude out of which the anti-rationalist, anti-humanitarian State and social systems of our days have proceeded. With a flash of poetic illumination he declared: "My formula for the greatness of man is 'amor fati'; that one wants to have nothing different from what it is; to move neither forward nor backward; not in all eternity. The necessary must not only be endured; still less is it to be concealed. The essential thing is to love it!"

Appendix

LITERATURE FOR FURTHER STUDY

I. MASTERS OF DREAD

FEAR

ANWANDER, A.: Die Religonen der Menschheit. — ERMAN, A.: Die Religion Ägyptens. — GIESSLER: Analyse des Schreckphanomens (*Zeitschrift fur Psychologie,* Vol. 74). — GÖRRES, J. VON: Mystik, Magie, und Damonie. — HEHN, J.: Die biblische und babylonische Gottesidee. — HEHN, J.: Sunde und Erlosung nach biblischer und babylonischer Anschauung. — HEILER, F.: Der Katholizismus. — JASTROW, M., JR.: The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria. — JONES, E.: On the Nightmare (American ed.: Nightmare, Witches, and Devils). — JUNG, C. G.: Psychology of the Unconscious; a Study of the Transformations and Symbolisms of the Libido. — KIERKEGAARD, S.: Der Begriff der Angst. — KRAEPELIN, E. and LANGE, J.: Psychiatrie. — KRETSCHMER, E.: Medizinische Psychologie. — LAFORGUE, R.: Libido, Angst und Zivilisation. — LIEBECK, O.: Das Unbekannte und die Angst. — MOSSO, A.: Fear. — MÜLLER-WALBAUM: Die Welt als Schuld und Gleichnis. — NOLTENIUS, F.: Die Gefuhlswerte. — RANK, O.: The Myth of the Birth of the Hero. — RANK, O.: Psychoanalytische Beitrage zur Mythenforschung. — RANK, O.: Das Trauma der Geburt. — SPENGLER, O.: The Decline of the West. — STRICH, W.: Der irrationale Mensch.

FLAGELLANTS, PENITENTS, AND PREACHERS

BALTZER, E.: Pythagoras, der Weise von Samos. — BAUER, W.: Der ältere Pythagorismus. — BAYLE, M. A.: Vie de St. Vincent Ferrer. — BERNARDINO DA SIENA: Works. — BLENNERHASSETT: Die Jungfrau von Orleans. — BONAVENTURA: The Life of St. Francis of Assisi. — BURCKHARDT, J.: The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy. — BURLAMACCHI: Vita del Fra G. Savonarola. — CAPPELLI: Fra G. Savonarola e notizie intorno il suo tempo. — CASPARI, W.: Die Religion der assyrisch-babylonischen Busspsalmen. — CHALIPPE, F. C.: Vie de St. François d'Assise. — CHAMPION: Procès de condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc. — CHAVIN DE MALAN: Histoire de François d'Assise. — COOPER: Flagellation and the Flagellants. — CORVIN: Die Geissler. — COSCI: G. Savonarola e i nuovi documenti intorno al medesimo (Arch. storia italiana, Ser. IV, 1879). — CREIGHTON: History of the Papacy. — CRISTOFANI, A.: Delle storie d'Assisi, libri sei. — DESJARDINS, A.: Vie de Jeanne d'Arc. — DIELS, H.: Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker. — DROSTE, M. VON: Die kirchliche Tatigkeit des hl. Vincente de Ferrer. — DU FRESNE DE BEAUCOURT: Histoire de Charles VII. — DUHR, B.: Jeanne d'Arc in Urteil der neuern Geschichtsschreibung. — EBERHARTER, A.: Sunde und Busse in Alten Testament. — EYSELL, G. F.: Johanna d'Arc, genannt die Jungfrau von Orleans. — FAGES, P.: Histoire de Vincent Ferrer, apôtre de l'Europe. — FELDER, H.: Die Ideale des hl. Franziskus von Assisi. — FERRETTI: Per la causa di Fra Girolamo Savonarola: fatti e testimonianze. — FISCHER, E.: Die Geissler. — FRANCE, A.: Vie de Jeanne d'Arc. — FRANK, E.: Plato und die sogenannte Pythagoreer. — FRUSTA, G.: Die Flagellanten. — GAZEAU, P.: La mission de Jeanne d'Arc. — GHERARDI: Nuovi documenti e studi intorno a Girolamo Savonarola. — GÖBEL, F.: Predigten Bertholds von Regensburg. — GÖRRES, G.: Die Jungfrau von Orleans, nach den gleichzeitigen Chroniken. — GREGOROVIUS: Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter. — GUICCIARDINI: Storia Fiorentina. — HANOTAUX: Jeanne d'Arc. — HARFORD: Life of Michelangelo. — HARFORD: Memoirs of Savonarola. — HASE, K. VON: Die Jungfrau von Orleans. — HASE, K. VON: Franz von Assisi, ein Heiligenbild. — HEFELE, K.:

Der heilige Bernhardin von Siena und die franziskanische Wanderpredigt in Italien wahrend des 15. Jahrhundert. — HEILER, F.: Der Katholizismus. — HELLER, L.: V. Ferrer und sein Leben und Wirken. — HEYCK: Florenz und die Mediceer. — HORNEFFER, A.: Symbolik der Mysterienbunde. — INFESSURA, ST.: Diarium urbis Romæ ab anno 1294–1494 (ed. by Muratori). — JANITSCHEK: Die Gesellschaft der Renaissance. — JOHANNES VON WINTERTHUR. Chronicon 1340. — KÖNIGSHOVEN, J. VON: Elsassiche und Strassburgische Chronik "Von der grossen Geisselfahrt." — MACCHIAVELLI, N.: Florentine History. — MAGLIANO, P.: Storia compendiosa di S. Francesco e de' Francescani. — MAHRENHOLTZ, R.: Jeanne d'Arc in Geschichte, Legende und Dichtung. — MEYER: Savonarola. — MICHELET, J.: Jeanne d'Arc. — MULLER, K.: Die Anfange des Minoritenordens und der Bussbruderschaften. — OLSCHKI: Bibliotheca Savonaroliana. — PALOMES, P. L.: Storia di S. Francesco. — PASTOR, L. VON: Geschichte der Papste. — PAULLINI, K. F.: Flagellum salutis. — PERRENS: Jérôme Savonarole. — PFEIFFER: Deutsche Mystiker des 14, Jahrhundert. — PHILIPPI: Florence. — PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA, J. F.: Vita Savonarolæ. — PISANUS, B.: Liber conformitatum vitæ Patris Francisci ad vitam Jesu Christi. — PROCTER: Il domenicano Savonarola e la riforma. — PRUTZ, H.: Die Friedensidee. — QUICHERAT: Aperçus nouveaux sur l'histoire de Jeanne d'Arc. — QUICHERAT: Procès de condamnation et réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc. — RANKE, L. VON: Historisch-biographische Studien. — RAUMER, F. VON: Geschichte der Hohenstaufen und ihrer Zeit. — RAZZANO, P.: Vincentius Ferrer. — RIESCH, H.: Savonarola und seine Zeit. — RÖHRICHT: Bibliographische Beitrage zur Geschichte der Geissler (in: Brieger's *Zeitschrift fur Kirchengeschichte,* I). — SABATIER, P.: Vie de S. François d'Assise. — SAITSCHIK, R.: Franziskus von Assisi. — SALIMBENE: Chronica. — SAVONAROLA, G.: Sermoni e Prediche. — SCHMIDT: Über Berthold von Regensburg. — SCHNEEGANS: Die grosse Geisselfahrt nach Strassburg im Jahre 1349. — SCHNITZER, J.: Savonarola. — SCHNURER, G.: Franz von Assisi. — SCHNURER, G.: Kirche und Kultur im Mittelalter. — SCHRANK, W.: Babylonische Suhnriten. — SCHULZE: Philosophie der Renaissance. — SEMMIG, H.: Die Jungfrau von Orleans und ihre Zeitgenossen. — SEPET: Jeanne d'Arc. — SICKEL, T.: Jeanne d'Arc (in: Sybel's *Historische Zeitschrift,* 1860). — SICKINGER, C.: Savonarola. Sein Leben und seine Zeit. — SPARUCCIO. S. Antonio di Padua. — STROBL: Über eine Sammlung lateinischer Predigten Bertholds. — SUTTER, C.: Johann von Vicenza und die italienische Friedensbewegung im Jahre 1233. — UNKEL: Berthold von Regensburg. — VALLET DE VIRIVILLE: Procès de condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc. — VILLARI: Life and Times of Girolamo Savonarola. — VILLIAUMÉ: Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc et réfutation des diverses erreurs. — VOGT, E.: Der heilige Franz von Assisi, ein biographischer Versuch. — WALLON: Jeanne d'Arc. — WILK: Antonius von Padua. — ZOCKLER D. O.: Askese und Monchtum.

CALVIN, CALVINISM, PURITANISM

ALGERMISSEN, K.: Christliche Sekten und Kirche Christi. — AUDIN, M.: Histoire de la vie, des ouvrages et des doctrines de Calvin. — BAIRD, R.: History of the Temperance Societies. — BANCROFT, G.: History of the Colonization of the United States. — BAUKE, H.: Die Probleme der Theologie Calvins. — BAUMGARTEN, O.: Religioses und kirchliches Leben in England. — BEZA: Calvin. — BOLSEC, H.: Histoire de la vie, mœurs, actes et mort de J. Calvin. — BONN, M. J.: The American Experiment: A Study of Bourgeois Civilization. — BOSSERT, A.: J. Calvin. — BRINKMANN, C.: Geschichte der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. — BROWN, S.: English Puritanism. — BRUNNER, P.: Vom Glauben bei Calvin. — BRYCE, J.: The American Commonwealth. — BUCKLE, H. T.: Introduction to the History of Civilization in England. — BUNGENER: Calvin, sa vie, son œuvre et ses écrits. — CALVIN, J.: Works. — CAMPBELL, D.: The Puritans in Holland, England, and America. — CARLYLE, T.: On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History. — CHOISY, E.: L'état chrétien calviniste à Genève. — CHRYSOSTOM: Des Heiligen Vatters Chrysostomi Zeugniss der Wahrheit, wider die Schau-Spiele, oder Comoedien, verdeutschet und in etwas erlautert; von einem sachsischen Theologo. — DEWEY, J.: Human Nature and Conduct. — DOUMERGUE, E.: Jean Calvin. Les hommes et les choses de son temps. — DOWDEN, E.: Puritan and Anglican: Studies in Literature. — DRELINCOURT, C.: La défense de Calvin. — DRESSLER, B.: Geschichte der englischen Erziehung. — DUFOUR, T.: Calviniana. — EHRENBERG, V.: Neugrunder des Staates. — ENGEL, E.:

Geschichte der Literatur Nordamerikas. — FRIEDERICI, G.: Das puritanische Neu-England. — GOEZEN, J. M.: Theologische Untersuchung der Sittlichkeit der heutigen deutschen Schaubuhne. — GRIESINGER, T.: Land und Leute in Amerika. — HAAG: Vie de Calvin. — HELLENBACH, L. B.: Die Vorurteile der Menschheit. — HELLWALD, F. VON: Die menschliche Familie. — HENRY: Vie de Jean Calvin. — HERZOG: Real-Encyklopadie fur protestantische Theologie und Kirche. — HETTNER, H.: Geschichte der englischen Literatur von der Wiederherstellung des Konigtums bis in die zweite Halfte des 18. Jahrhunderts. — HOFFMANN, H.: Johannes Calvin. — HÜLSEMANN, J. G.: Geschichte der Democratie in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika. — JANSSEN, J.: Geschichte des deutschen Volkes. — KAMPSCHULTE: J. Calvin. — KARMIN: Calvin et les Genevois. — KEYSERLING, H.: Amerika. — KRAUS, J. B.: Scholastik, Puritanismus und Kapitalismus. — LANG, A.: Die Bekehrung Calvins. — LANG, A.: Zwingli und Calvin. — LAW, A. M.: Die Amerikaner. — LECKY: History of England in the Eighteenth Century. — LEVY, H.: Die englische Wirtschaft. — LOBSTEIN, P.: Die Ethik Calvins in ihren Grundzugen entworfen. — MACAULAY, T. B.: History of England from the Accession of James II. — MOURA, J. AND LOUVET, P.: Calvin. — MOWRER, E. A.: This American World. — NEAL: The History of the Puritans, 1517–1688. — PIERSON: Studien over Joh. Kalvijn. — RANKE, L. VON: Manner und Zeiten der Weltgeschichte. — RANKE, L. VON: Englische Geschichte vornehmlich in 16. und 17. Jahrhunderten. — REISER VON AUGSPURG, L. A.: Theatromania, oder Die Wercke der Finsterniss in denen öffentlichen Schau-Spielen von den alten Kirchen-Vatern verdammet, welches aus ihren Schrifften zu getreuer Warnung kurzlich entworffen. — RIETSCHL, A.: Die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versohnung. — ROGET, A.: L'église et l'état de Genève du vivant de Calvin. — ROZ, F.: L'énergie américaine. — SAUNDERSON, H. H.: Puritan Principles and American Ideals. — SCHAFF: Creeds of Christendom. — SCHNEIDER, H. W.: The Puritan Mind. — SCHÜCKING, L. L.: Die Familie im Puritanismus. — SCHWARZ, R.: Johannes Calvins Lebenswerk in seinen Briefen. — SEALSFIELD, C.: The United States of North America as They Are. — SIMON, M.: Um Gottes Ehre! Vier kleinere Schriften Calvins. — SKAL, G. VON: Das amerikanische Volk. — SOMBART, W.: Die Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben. — SOMBART, W.: Der Bourgeois. — SPENGLER, O.: The Decline of the West. — STAHELIN, L.: Johannes Calvin. Leben und ausgewahlte Schriften. — STOUGHTON: History of Religion in England. — THOLUCK: Eine Stimme wider die Theaterlust. — VIGNET: Calvin d'après Calvin. — VOLLRATH, W.: Der melancholische Gentleman oder Was ist Englisch? — WAKEMAN: Puritans. — WEINGARTEN, H.: Die Revolutionskirchen Englands. — WEISS, E.: J. Calvin, l'homme et l'œuvre. — WERNLE: Calvin. — WILD, A.: Die Niederlande. Ihre Vergangenheit und Gegenwart.

CROMWELL

ANDREWS: Life of Cromwell to the Death of Charles the First. — AUBIGNÉ, M. D': Le Protecteur ou la république d' Angleterre aux jours de Cromwell. — BAUER, H.: Oliver Cromwell. Ein Kampf um Freiheit und Diktatur. — BERNSTEIN, E.: Cromwell and Communism; Socialism and Democracy in the Great English Revolution. — CARLYLE, T.: Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell. — CROMWELL, O.: Memoirs of the Protector Cromwell and of His Sons Richard and Henry. — DRINKWATER, J.: The Life of Oliver Cromwell. — DUGOUR, A. J.: Histoire d'Oliver Cromwell. — GARDINER, S. R.: History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649–60. — GARDINER, S. R.: History of the Great Civil War, 1642–49. — GODWIN: History of the Commonwealth. — HARRIS: Life of Cromwell. — LETI, G.: Historia e memorie di Oliviero Cromwell, tiranno senza vizi e principe senza virtù. — MICHAEL: Cromwell. — MOMIGLIANO, E.: Cromwell. — MORLEY, J.: Oliver Cromwell. — STRÄTER: O. Cromwell. — VILLEMAIN: Histoire de Cromwell. — VÖLKER, K.: Die religiöse Wurzel des englischen Imperialismus.

WITCHES, WITCHCRAFT

BINZ: Dr. Johann Weyer, ein rheinischer Arzt, der erste Bekämpfer des Hexenwahns. — DIEFENBACH: Hexenwahn. — HAAS, K.: Die Hexenprozesse, ein kulturhistorischer Versuch. — HANSEN, J.: Zauberwahn, Inquisition und Hexenprozess im

Mittelalter. — KÖNIG, B. E.: Ausgeburten des Menschenwahns im Spiegel der Hexenprozesse und der Auto da fé's. — LEHMANN, A.: Aberglaube und Zauberei von den altesten Zeiten bis in die Gegenwart. — MAURY: La magie et l'astrologie dans l'antiquité et au moyen âge. — MEJER, L.: Die Periode der Hexenprozesse. — MEYER, C.: Der Aberglaube des Mittelalters und der nachstfolgenden Jahrhunderte. — NIEHUS: Zur Geschichte des Hexenglaubens und der Hexenprozesse vorzuglich im ehemalige Fürstbistum Munster. — RAPP: Hexenprozesse und ihre Gegner aus Tirol. — RIEZLER, S.: Geschichte der Hexenprozesse in Bayern. — SCHWAGER: Versuch einer Geschichte der Hexenprozesse. — SOLDAN, W. G.: Geschichte der Hexenprozesse. — SPRENGER, J. AND KRAEMER, H.: Malleus Maleficarum (tr. by M. Summers).

HELL, THE DEVIL, PURGATORY

ALGERMISSEN, K.: Konfessionskunde. — BAUTZ: Das Fegefeuer. — CARUS: The History of the Devil. — CHAMBERLAIN, H. S.: The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century. — CONWAY: Demonology and Devil-Lore. — DEKKERS, B.: Bezauberte Welt. — DOLGER: Der Exorzismus im altchristlichen Taufritual. — HAGEN, M.: Die Lehre der heilige Schrift uber den Teufel. — HEILER, F.: Der Katholizismus. — HEINRICH: Dogmatische Theologie. — HORTEN, M.: Die religiose Gedankenwelt der gebildeten Muslime im heutigen Islam. — JONES, E.: On the Nightmare. — LECANU, A.: Histoire de Satan, sa chute, son culte, ses manifestations, ses œuvres, etc. — LOCH, V.: Das Dogma der griechischen Kirche vom Purgatorium. — MICHEL, W.: Das Teuflische und Groteske in der Kunst. — NESTLE, W.: Die Vorsokratiker. — OSWALD: Eschatologie. — REDNER: Das Fegefeuer. — ROSKOFF: Geschichte des Teufels. — SAMBUGA, J. A.: Der Teufel, oder Prufung des Glaubens an hollische Geister. — WELLMANN, E.: Empedokles (in: Pauly-Wissowa's *Realenzyklopadie des klassischen Altertums*). — WESSELY: Die Gestalten des Todes und des Teufels in der darstellenden Kunst. — WÜNSCHE, A.: Der Sagenkreis vom geprellten Teufel.

JUDAISM

BAUDISSIN: Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte. — BEER, M.: General History of Socialism and Social Struggles. — BOUSSET: Die Religion des Judentums. — DERESER: Die Sendungsgeschichte des Propheten Jonas. — DÖLLINGER: Heidentum und Judentum. — EWALD, H.: Propheten des alten Bundes. — EWALD, H.: The History of Israel. — GRATZ: The History of the Jews. — GRIMM: Der Prophet Jonas. — HENGSTENBERG: Die Weissagungen des Propheten Ezechiel. — HERRMANN, R.: Ezechiel. — HITZIG: Geschichte des judischen Volkes. — HOLSCHER, G.: Hesekiel. — INNITZER, T.: Johannes der Taufer. — KEIL: Biblischer Commentar uber den Propheten Ezechiel. — KLIEFOTH: Das Buch Ezechiels. — KLOSTERMANN: Ezechiel-Beitrage zur Wurdigung seiner Person und seiner Schriften (in: *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1877). — KNABENBAUER: Beitrage zur Wurdigung des Propheten Ezechiel (in: *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XVII, XVIII). — KRÜGER: Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Pharisäer und Essener (*Tübingen Theologische Quartalschrift*, 1894). — LUCIUS: Der Essenismus in seinem Verhaltnisse zum Judentum. — LUCIUS: Die Therapeuten und ihre Stellung in der Geschichte der Askese. — MAURENBRECHER, M.: Das Leid. — MEYER, E.: Ursprung und Anfange des Christentums. — MOHLER: Kirchengeschichte. — MUCKLE, F.: Der Geist der judischen Kultur und das Abendland. — NIRSCHL: Die Therapeuten. — REINDL: Die Sendungsgeschichte des Propheten Jonas nach Niniveh. — SCHEGG: Die kleinen Propheten. — SCHÜRER: Geschichte des judischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi. — HERFORD, R. T.: Pharisees. — TROCHON: Les petits prophètes. — TUCH: Commentar zur Genesis. — VERNOULLI: Johannes der Taufer und die Urgemeinde. — WELLHAUSEN: Geschichte Israels. — WELLHAUSEN: Die Pharisaer und Sadducaer. — WENDLAND, P.: Die Therapeuten (in: *Jahrbuch fur klassische Philologie*, XXII, Supplement, 1896).

CATHARS, WALDENSIANS, ALBIGENSIANS

CAUZONS: Les Albigeois et l'inquisition. — CHARVAZ: Recherches historiques sur l'origine des Vaudois. — DIECKHOFF: Die Waldenser im Mittelalter. — DÖLLINGER: Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters. — GILLES: Histoire ecclésiastique des

églises vaudoises de l'an 1160 au 1643. — MELIA: The Origin, Persecutions and Doctrines of the Waldenses. — MÜLLER, K.: Die Waldenser. — PEYRAT: Histoire des Albigeois. — SCHMIDT, C.: Histoire et doctrine de la secte des Cathares.

CHURCH FATHERS

ALFARIC: L'évolution intellectuelle de Saint Augustin. — AUGUSTINE, ST.: Works. — BARDENHEWER: Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur. — BAUMGARTNER, M.: Thomas. — BONWETSCH: Die Theologie des Irenaus. — BRANDT, T.: Tertullians Ethik. — CAVALERA: Saint Jérôme. — CUTTS, E. L.: Saint Jerome. — ESSER, G.: Die Seelenlehre Tertullians. — FAYE, E. DE: Origène, sa vie, son œuvre, sa pensée. — FAYE, E. DE: Clément d'Alexandrie. — GASS, W.: Geschichte der christlichen Ethik. — GRABMANN, M.: Thomas, Einfuhrung in seine Personlichkeit und seine Gedankenwelt. — GRÜTZMACHER, G.: Hieronymus. — HAGEMANN: Die romische Kirche in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten. — HARNACK: Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur. — HERTLING, G. VON: Augustinus. — HESSEN, J.: Die Weltanschauung des Thomas von Aquin. — KÖRBER: S. Irenaus de gratia sanctificante. — MAUSBACH, J.: Die Ethik des hl. Augustinus. — NÖLDECHEN, E.: Tertullian. — ORIGEN: Exhortations to Martyrdom; On Prayer (in *Writings*). — PRAT, J. M.: Geschichte des heiligen Irenäus. — ROBERTS, R.: The Theology of Tertullian. — SCHANTZ, M.: Geschichte der romischen Literatur. — SCHWANE: Dogmengeschichte der vornicanischen Zeit. — TERTULLIAN: Writings. — TOLLINGTON: Clement of Alexandria. — TROELTSCH: Augustin und die Antike. — ÜBERWEG: History of Philosophy. — WERNER, K.: Der heilige Thomas. — ZIEGLER: Irenaus, Bischof von Lyon. — ZÖCKLER, O.: Hieronymus, sein Leben und Wirken aus seinen Schriften dargestellt.

KNOX, SCOTTISH PRESBYTERIANISM

BELLESHEIM: Geschichte der katholischen Kirche in Schottland. — BRANDES, F.: John Knox. — BROWN, P. H.: John Knox. — BUCKLE, H. T.: Introduction to the History of Civilization in England. — CARLYLE, T.: On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History. — DIXON, R. W.: History of the Church of England from the Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction. — GRUB, G.: Ecclesiastical History of Scotland. — HOSACK, J.: Mary Queen of Scotland and Her Accusers. — HUMPHREY, W.: Recollections of Scottish Episcopalianism. — KEITH, R.: History of the Affairs of the Church and State. — LAING, A.: John Knox and the Reformation. — LUCKOCK, H. M.: The Church in Scotland. — MACAULAY, T. B.: The History of England from the Accession of James II. — MACEWEN, A. R.: A History of the Church in Scotland. — MCCRIE, C. G.: Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland. — MULOT: John Knox. — NIEMEYER, C.: Leben Johann Knox's und der beiden Marien, Mutter und Tochter. — RANKE, L. VON: Englische Geschichte vornehmlich in 16. und 17. Jahrhunderten. — Reformatoren, Die (Wycliffe, Huss, Jerome of Prague, Luther, Melanchthon, Ulrich von Hutten, Spalatin, Zwingli, Calvin, Beza, J. Knox, Erasmus, Savonarola, Justus, Bugenhagen, Hans Sachs). — STEPHEN, W.: History of the Scottish Church. — STORY, R. H.: The Church of Scotland Past and Present. — TYTLER, J.: The History of Scotland.

II. MASTERS OF PROMISE

THE BAB

BECKER: Islamische Studien. — BRAUN, J.: Gemälde der mohammedanischen Welt. — DIERCKS, G.: Kreuz und Halbmond. — GOBINEAU, COMTE DE: Les religions et les philosophies dans l'Asie centrale. — GOLDZIEHER: Vorlesungen uber den Islam. — HARTMANN, M.: Vorlesungen über den Islam. — MATHIAS, L.: Griff in den Orient. — POLAK, J. E.: Persien. Das Land und seine Bewohner. — ROEMER, H.: Die Babi-Beha'i. Die jungste mohammedanische Sekte. — SCHWEIGER-LERCHENFELD: Die Frauen des Orients in der Geschichte, in der Dichtung und im Leben.

CHINA, TAI-PING REVOLUTION

BRINE, L.: The Taeping Rebellion in China. — CORDIER: Histoire des relations de

la Chine avec les puissances occidentales, 1860–1900. — LIN-LE: Ti-ping Tien-kwoh; The History of the Ti-ping Revolution. — LOMBROSO, C. AND LASCHI, R.: Il delitto politico e le rivoluzione. — MACGOWAN, J.: A History of China. — MAILLA: Histoire générale de la Chine. — ROSTHORN: Geschichte Chinas. — ROY, M. N.: Revolution and Konterrevolution in China. — SCHÜLER: Abriss der neuern Geschichte Chinas. — SPIELMANN, C.: Die Taiping-Revolution in China 1850–1864.

MILLENNIUM, MILLENARIANISM

BELCK, W.: Geschichte des Montanismus. — BERTHOLET: Daniel. — BONWETSCH, G. N.: Die Geschichte des Montanismus. — CASPARY: Zur Einfuhrung in das Buch Daniel. — CLEMENTI, G.: Un Savonarola del secolo XIV, il b. Venturino da Bergamo. — CORRODI: Kritische Geschichte des Chiliasmus. — DENIFLE: Manuscripts (in: *Archiv fur Literatur und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*). — DOLLINGER: Der Weissagungsglaube und das Prophetentum in der christlichen Zeit (in: *Kleinere Schriften,* 1890). — DUHR, B.: Der Prophet Jesaias. — ENGELHARDT: Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen. — EWALD, H.: Propheten des Alten Bundes. — GEY: Le millénarisme dans ses origines et son developpement. — GRAUERT: Zur deutschen Kaisersage (in: *Historische Jahrbuch,* XIII, 1892). — HAHN: Geschichte der Ketzer im Mittelalter. — HALUSA, T.: Das goldene Zeitalter der Menschheit. — HAVERNICK: Commentar uber den Propheten Ezechiel. — HENGSTENBERG: Die Weissagungen des Propheten Ezechiel. — HERRMANN, R.: Ezechiel. — HILGENFELD, A.: Die Ketzergeschichte des Urchristentums. — HITZIG: Der Prophet Ezechiel. — HÖLSCHER, G.: Hesekiel. — KALB, E.: Kirchen und Sekten der Gegenwart. — KEIL: Biblischer Commentar uber den Propheten Ezechiel. — KLIEFOTH: Das Buch Ezechiels. — KNABENBAUER: Beitrage zur Wurdigung des Propheten Ezechiel (in: *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach,* XVII, XVIII). — KRAUS: Kirchengeschichte. — LABRIOLLE, P. DE: La crise montaniste. — MUCKLE, F.: Der Geist der judischen Kultur und das Abendland. — PREGER: Das Evangelium æternum und Joachim von Floris (in: *Abhandlungen der historischen Klasse der bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaft,* 1874). — PREGER: Geschichte der deutschen Mystik. — Religionen der Erde, Die (Einzeldarstellungen). — RENAN, E.: Joachim de Flore et l'évangile éternel (in: *Revue des deux mondes,* 1866). — REUMONT: Geschichte der Stadt Rom. — ROHLING: Das Buch des Propheten Daniel. — SCHEGG: Geschichten der letzten Propheten. — SCHEGG: Die kleinen Propheten. — SCHNEIDER: Die chiliastische Doctrin. — SCHNEIDER, J. N.: Joachim von Floris und die Apokalyptiker des Mittelalters. — SCHWEGLER, A.: Der Montanismus und die christliche Kirche des 2. Jahrhunderts. — SEIFERT, J. L.: Die Weltrevolutionare. — TOCCO: L'eresia nel medio evo. — WEBER, W.: Der Prophet und sein Gott.

ANN LEE, SHAKERS

ALGERMISSEN: Christliche Sekten und Kirchen Christi. — BLINN, H. C.: The Life and Gospel Experience of Mother Ann Lee. — DOW, E. F.: Portrait of the Millennial Church of Shakers. — EVANS: History of the Shakers. — EVANS, F. W.: Ann Lee, a Biography. — KLEMM, G.: Die Frauen. Kulturgeschichtliche Schilderungen des Zustandes und Einflusses der Frauen in den verschiedenen Zonen und Zeitaltern. — KNORTZ, K.: Religioses Leben in den Vereinigten Staaten. — NORDHOFF: The Communistic Societies of the United States. — NOYES: History of American Socialism. — PFÜLF: Die religios-communistischen Gemeinden in den Vereinigten Staaten (in: *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach,* XLIX, 1895). — PHILLIPPI, J. M.: Shakerism. — SEARS, C. E.: Gleanings from Old Shaker Journals. — Shakers. Compendium, etc. With Bibliography of Ann Lee, etc. — Testimonies of the Life, Character, Revelation, and Doctrine of Mother Ann Lee, etc.

THE MAHDI

ARTHUR, G.: Life of Lord Kitchener. — BUDGE: The Egyptian Sudan, Its History and Monuments. — CHAPMAN, A.: Savage Sudan. — DARLEY, H.: Slaves and Ivory. — DARMESTETER, J.: Le Mahdi depuis les origines de l'Islam. — DIERCKS, G.: Kreuz und Halbmond. — DUGMORE: The Vast Sudan. — DUJARRIC: L'état mahdiste du Soudan. — GAFFAREL: Notre expansion coloniale en Afrique de 1871

à nos jours. — GOLDZIEHER, J.: Vorlesungen über den Islam. — HÖLLRIEGEL, A.: Die Derwischtrommel. Das Leben des erwarteten Mahdi. — MACMICHAEL, H. A.: A History of the Arabs in the Sudan. — MÖLLER, E.: Beitrage zur Mahdilehre. — MONTEIL: Collection de la Revue du Monde Musulman. — OHRWALDER: Aufstand und Reich des Mahdi im Sudân und meine zehnjahrige Gefangenschaft daselbst. — SCHWEIGER-LERCHENFELD, A. VON: Der Orient. — SLATIN PASHA: Feuer und Schwert im Sudan. — TAUXIER: Etudes soudanaises. — WINGATE: Mahdism and the Egyptian Sudan.

MESSIAHS, MESSIANISM

ABEGG: Der Messiasglaube in Indien und Iran. — ANWANDER, A.: Die Religionen der Menschheit. — BALDENSPERGER, W.: Die messianisch-apokalyptischen Hoffnungen des Judentums. — BASTIAN: Die Kulturlander des alten Amerika. — BETH, K.: Religion und Magie. — BONCH-BRUYEVICH, W.: Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire des sectes russes. — BOUSSET: Die Religionen des Judentums im spathellenistischen Zeitalter. — BREYSIG, K.: Die Volker ewiger Urzeit. — CONYBEARE: The Russian Dissenters. — CORTI, E. C.: Maximilian and Charlotte of Mexico. — DANZEL, T. W.: Kultur und Religion des primitiven Menschen. — DINESHANDRA SEN: The Vaishnava Literature of Mediaeval Bengal. — DREWS, A.: The Christ Myth. — DURAN: Historia de las Indias de Nueva España. — EDERSHEIM: The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah. — FEILER, L.: Die Entstehung des Christentums aus dem Geiste des magischen Denkens. — GEHRING, J.: Die Sekten der russischen Kirche. — GERBEL-EMBACH, N. VON: Russiche Sektierer. — GRASS, K.: Die russischen Sekten. — HALUSA, T.: Das goldene Zeitalter der Menschheit. — HARNACK, A.: What Is Christianity? — HELPS: The Life of Hernando Cortez. — HORTEN, M.: Die religiose Gedankenwelt des Volkes im heutigen Islam. — JURGENSMEIER, F.: Der mystische Leib Christi als Grundprinzip der Aszetik. — KOLOGRIVOV, J.: Die Mystik der russischen Gottesleute (in: *Stimmen der Zeit,* VII, 1929). — MEISSNER, B.: Babylonien und Assyrien (in: *Kulturgeschichtliche Bibliographie,* I, 1920). — MENSCHING, G.: Die Idee der Sunde. — MOORE, G. F.: Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era. — NIELSEN, D.: Den historiske Jesus. — PRESCOTT: The Conquest of Mexico. — REIK, T.: Probleme der Religionspsychologie. — REINKE: Die messianischen Weissagungen bei den grossen und kleinen Propheten. — REITZENSTEIN, R.: Das iranische Erlosungsmysterium. — ROHRBACH, P.: Die russische Kirche und ihre Sektierer (in: *Christliche Welt,* IX, 1895). — SCHEURLEN, P.: Die Sekten der Gegenwart. — SCHWEITZER, A.: Die Mystik des Apostels Paulus. — SELLIN, E.: Die israelitisch-judische Heilandserwartung. — SÉVÉRAC, J.: La secte russe des Hommes de Dieu. — SUDRE, A.: Histoire de communisme; ou Réfutation historique des utopies socialistes. — UNGNAD, A.: Die Religion der Babylonier und Assyrer. — WOLFRAM, E.: Das Übersinnliche in Kunst und Mythus.

MORMONS

BUSCH, M.: Geschichte der Mormonen nebst einer Darstellung ihres Glaubens und ihrer gegenwartigen sozialen und politischen Verhaltnisse. — CANNON: Life of J. Smith the Prophet. — DELLEN, J. VAN: Het Mormonisme. — Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. — ERICKSEN, E. E.: The Psychological and Ethical Aspects of Mormon Group Life. — Hymnbook of the Latter-Day Saints. — GLEICHEN-RUSSWURM, A. VON: Kultur- und Sittengeschichte aller Zeiten und Völker. — KALB: Kirchen und Sekten. — KNORTZ, K.: Religioses Leben in den Vereinigten Staaten. — LINN: The Story of the Mormons. — MEYER, E.: Ursprung und Geschichte der Mormonen. — SCHEURLEN: Die Sekten der Gegenwart. — SCHLAGINWEIT, R. VON: Die Mormonen. — SKAL, G. VON: Das amerikanische Volk. — SMITH, J., JR.: The Book of Mormon. — SMITH, L.: Biographical Sketches of Joseph Smith and His Progenitors for Many Generations. — STENHOUSE: The Rocky Mountain Saints. — VALK, H. A. VAN DER: De Profet der Mormonen. Joseph Smith, Jr. — WERNER, M. R.: Brigham Young. — WUNDERLICH, J.: Ein Leitfaden zum Studium des Buches Mormon. — ZIMMER, G. A.: Unter den Mormonen in Utah.

JOANNA SOUTHCOTT

FAIRBURN: Life of Johanna Southcott. — FOX, R. J.: The Mystery of Joanna Southcott. — KALB: Kirchen und Sekten der Gegenwart. — Life of J. Southcott (in: *Edinburgh Review,* Feb. 1815). — REECE, R.: Correct Statement of the Circumstances Attending the Death of Joanna Southcott. — ROBERTS, D.: Observations on the Divine Mission of Joanna Southcott. — SEDDON AND JONES: Joanna Southcott's Memoirs. — SEYMOUR: The Express: Containing the Life and Divine Writings of Joanna Southcott. — SOUTHCOTT, J.: Writings. 65 pamphlet reprints.

END OF THE WORLD, REBIRTH

ALGERMISSEN, K.: Konfessionskunde. — BOUSSET: Der Antichrist in der Überlieferung des Judentums, des Neuen Testaments und der alten Kirche. — BRAUNSBERGER: Der Apostel Barnabas. — BUSCH, J.: Das Sektenwesen unter besonderer Berucksichtigung der Ernsten Bibelforscher. — COHEN, H.: Die Religion der Vernunft aus den Quellen des Judentums. — CUMONT, F.: The Mysteries of Mithra. — DHALLA: Zoroastrian Theology. — GLEICHEN-RUSSWURM, A. VON: Kultur- und Sittengeschichte aller Zeiten und Volker. — HANDTMANN: Die Adventisten vom 7. Tag. — HEFELE: Das Sendschreiben des Apostels Barnabas. — HOLZHAUSER: Erklarung der Offenbarung des hl. Johannes. — JACKSON, A. V. W.: Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran. — JÖRG: Geschichte des Protestantismus. — KAYSER: Über den sogenannten Barnabas-Brief. — LAWRENCE, D. H.: Apocalypse. — LENORMANT: Histoire ancienne de l'Orient. — LOUGHBOROUGH: Rise and Progress of the Seventh-Day Adventists. — LÜCKE: Einleitung in die Offenbarung Johannis. — MULLER, K.: Was haben wir von den Adventisten zu halten? — ORSBACH: Deutung der Apokalypse durch sich selbst. — PREUSS: Die Vorstellungen vom Antichristentum am Ausgang des Mittelalters. — REUSS: Die Geschichte der hl. Schriften des Neuen Testaments. — SCHÜRER: Geschichte des judischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi. — STERN: Commentar uber die Offenbarung Johannis. — Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft der Kirche nach der Offenbarung des hl. Johannes. — WIESELER: Jahrbucher fur deutsche Theologie. — WINDISCHMANN, F.: Mithra (in: *Abhandlungen fur Kunde des Morgenlandes,* I, 1857).

BAPTISTS

BACHMANN, R.: Nicklas Storch, der Anfanger der Zwickauer Wiedertäufer. — BAHLMANN: Die Wiedertaufer zu Munster, eine bibliographische Zusammenstellung (in: *Zeitschrift für vaterlandische Geschichte und Altertumskunde,* 1893). — CORNELIUS, C. A.: Geschichte des Munsterischen Aufruhrs. — DETMER: Ungedruckte Quellen zur Geschichte der Wiedertaufer in Munster (in: *Zeitschrift fur vaterlandische Geschichte und Altertumskunde,* 1893). — ERBKAM: Geschichte der protestantischen Sekten im Zeitalter der Reformation. — Geschichtsquellen des Bistums Munster, II. — HASE, K.: Neue Propheten. — HOFSTEDE DE GROOT: Hundert Jahre aus der Geschichte der Reformation in den Niederlanden (from the Dutch by Greeven). — JANSSEN: Geschichte des deutschen Volkes. — KELLER: Geschichte der Wiedertaufer und ihres Reiches in Munster. — KELLER, L.: Die Reformation und die alteren Reformparteien. — KROHN, B. N.: Melchior Hofmann und die Sekte der Hofmannianer. — LOFFLER, K.: Die Wiedertaufer zu Munster. Berichte, Aussagen und Aktenstucke von Zeitgenossen. — LOSERTH: Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des oberdeutschen Taufertums. — REMBERT: Die Wiedertaufer im Herzogtum Julich. — ROHRICH, W.: Zur Geschichte der Strassburgischen Wiedertaufer in den Jahren 1527–1543 (in: Illgen-Niedner's *Zeitschrift fur historische Theologie,* 1860). — SCHONEBAUM, H.: Kommunismus im Reformationszeitalter, Humanisten — Reformatoren — Wiedertaufer. — SCHUBERT, H. VON: Der Kommunismus der Wiedertaufer in Munster und seine Quellen. — SEIFERT, J. L.: Die Weltrevolutionare. — WELLS: Outline of History. — ZUR LINDEN: Melchior Hofmann.

SABBATAI ZEVI

AMZALAK, MOSES BENSABAT: Shabbetai Sevi. Una carta em portugues do secolo

XVIII em que se testemunham factos relativos a sua vida. — BRAUN: Geschichte der Juden und ihrer Literatur. — COENEN, T.: Ydele verwachtinge der Joden. — DUBNOW, S. M.: Die neueste Geschichte des judischen Volkes 1789–1914. — FREIMANN, A.: Injane Sabbatai Zewi. — Geschichte von dem grossen Betrieger oder Falschen Juden Konige Sabbatai Sevi von Smirna. — GRATZ: History of the Jews. — HORSCHETZKY: Sabbatai Zewi, eine biographische Skizze (in: *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums,* 1838). — KASTEIN, J.: The Messiah of Ismir: Sabbatai Zevi. — RICAUT: Histoire de l'empire Ottoman. — RIE, J. DE: Wonderlyke Leevens-Loop van Sabbatai Zevi, Valsche Messias der Joden. — SELLIN, E.: Die israelitisch-judische Heilserwartung. — ZEVI, MEÛRÂST: Libro di los askontisimentos di Schabtai Zewi.

III. SEEDS OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN

ANTIQUITY, DEMOCRACY, SLAVERY

ALLARD: Les esclaves chrétiens. — BACHOFEN, J. J.: Urreligion und antike Symbole. — BAUER, W.: Die offentliche Meinung in der Weltgeschichte. — Befreiung der Menschheit. Freiheitsideen in Vergangenheit und Geganwart. — BELOCH: Die attische Politik seit Perikles. — BLOCH, L.: Soziale Kampfe im alten Rom. — BOGNER, H.: Die verwirklichte Demokratie. — BOGNER, H.: Die Bildung der politischen Elite. — BRECHT: Kirche und Sklaverei. — BROWN, R.: The Great Dionysian Myth. — BÜCHER, K.: Die Aufstande der unfreien Arbeiter 143–129 v. Chr. — CURTIUS: Stadtgeschichte von Athen. — EBELING: Die Sklaverei von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart. — EHRENBERG, V.: Neugrunder des Staates. — FELICE GIUFFRIDDA: Le guerre servili. — FOURNIER: Les affranchissements du Ve au XIIIe siècle (in: *Revue historique,* 1895). — FRIEDLAENDER, L.: Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von August bis zum Ausgang der Antonine. — GLEICHEN-RUSSWURM, A. VON: Kultur- und Sittengeschichte aller Zeiten und Volker. — GÖLL, H.: Kulturbilder aus Hellas und Rom. — GOMPERZ, T.: Griechische Denker. — HARTWIG: Der Sklavenkrieg des Spartakus. — HEFELE: Beitrage zur Kirchengeschichte. — INGRAM: History of Slavery and Serfdom. — KAHRSTEDT, U.: Griechisches Strafrecht. — KESSLER: Leben des Lykurg. — KOIGEN, D.: Die Kultur der Demokratie. — LIPPERT, J.: Allgemeine Geschichte des Priestertums. — LOMBROSO, C. AND LASCHI, R.: Il delitto politico e le rivoluzione. — MARGRAF: Kirche und Sklaverei. — MÖHLER: Bruchstucke aus der Geschichte der Aufhebung der Sklaverei (in: *Tubingen Theologische Quartalschrift,* 1834). — MOMMSEN, T.: History of Rome. — MÜLLER, K. O.: Die Dorier. — OLLIVIER, M.: Spartacus. — OVERBECK: Über das Verhaltnis der alten Kirche zur Sklaverei im romischen Reiche (in: *Studien zur Geschichte der alten Kirche,* 1875). — RIBBECK: Anfange und Entwicklung des Dionysoskultus in Attika. — ROSCHER: Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie. — SCHMIDT, A.: Das Perikleische Zeitalter. — SUDRE, A.: Histoire de communisme; ou, Réfutation historique des utopies socialistes. — TROPLONG: L'influence du christianisme sur le droit des Romains. — WALLON, H.: Histoire de l'esclavage dans l'antiquité. — WELLS, H. G.· Outline of History. — WIESER, F.: Das Gesetz der Macht. — WUNDT, M.: Geschichte der griechischen Ethik. — ZAHN: Sklaverei und Christentum in der alten Welt.

PEASANT WARS

BACHMANN, R.: Nicklas Storch, der Anfänger der Zwickauer Wiedertäufer. — BACZKO, L. VON: Muntzers Charakter und Schicksale. — BARGE, H.: Florian Geyer. — BARGE, H.: Der deutsche Bauernkrieg in zeitgenossischen Quellenzeugnissen. — BAUMANN: Quellen zur Geschichte des Bauernkriegs in Oberschwaben und aus Rotenburg a. d. Tauber (in: *Bibliographie der literarischen Versammlung in Stuttgart,* CXXIX, 1877; CXXXIX, 1878). — BEER, M.: General History of Socialism and Social Struggles. — Befreiung der Menschheit, Die. Freiheitsideen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. — BOEHMER, H.: Gesammelte Aufsatze. — BONNEMÈRE: Histoire de la Jacquerie. — CORNELIUS: Studien zur Geschichte des Bauernkrieges. DAHLMANN: Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte. — ECCARDUS: Geschichte des Niederen Volkes in Deutschland. — ENGELS, F.: The Peasant War in Germany. — GÖTZ, F. W. T.: Graf von Berlichingen-Rossach: Geschichte des Ritters Gotz von

Berlichingen und seiner Familie. — HARTFELDER: Zur Geschichte des Bauernkriegs in Sudwestdeutschland. — HENNER AND SCHAFFLER: Bauernkriegschronik des Lorenz Fries. — HEROLD, R.: Der Bundschuh im Bistum Speyer, 1502. — JANSSEN, J.: Geschichte des deutschen Volkes. — LUCE: Histoire de la Jacquerie. — MARKI: Georg Dozsa und seine Empörung. — MARX: Thomas Munzer und Heinrich Pfeifer. — PALLMANN: Der historische Götz von Berlichingen. — POHLMEYER, A.: Die Bauernkriege (in: *Die Befreiung der Menschheit*). — SEIDEMANN: Thomas Munzer, eine Biographie. — SEIDEMANN: Ende des Bauernkrieges in Thuringen (in: *Neue Mittheilungen des Thür. sachs. Vereins,* XII). — SEIFERT, J. L.: Die Weltrevolutionäre. — Strasse, Die. Vom Urwald bis zur Eisenbahn. — STROBEL: Leben, Schriften und Lehren Thomä Müntzers. — SUDRE, A.: Histoire de communisme; au Réfutation historiques des utopies socialistes. — VLEUGELS, W.: Die Masse. — ZIMMERMANN, J.: Allgemeine Geschichte des grossen Bauernkriegs. — ZIMMERMANN, J.: Thomas Munzer.

CATHOLIC HIERARCHY

BAUNARD, A.: St. Ambroise. — BERGADES, J. C.: De universo et de anima hominis doctrina Gregori Nysseni. — BÖHRINGER: Die Kirche Christi und ihre Zeugen. — BUONAIUTI: Sant' Ambrogio. — CHRYSOSTOM: Selected Writings. — DREVES: Aurelius Ambrosius. — FÖRSTER, T.: Ambrosius, Bischof von Mailand. — HIPLER: Dionysius der Areopagite. — KLEINHEIDT, L.: S. Gregorii episc. Nysseni doctrina de Angelis. — KOCH: Pseudo-Dionysius, in seinen Beziehungen zum Neuplatonismus und Mysterienwesen. — LABRIOLLE, P. DE: Saint Ambroise. — NEANDER: Johannes Chrysostomos. — RUPP, J.: Gregors, des Bischofs von Nyssa, Leben und Meinungen. — STIGLER, J. N.: Die Psychologie des hl. Gregor von Nyssa. — WEIPPERT, G.: Das Prinzip der Hierarchie. — WEISS, H.: Die grossen Cappadocier Basilius, Gregor von Nazianz und Gregor von Nyssa als Exegeten. — WIRTZ: Der hl. Ambrosius und seine Zeit. — ZIEGLER, L.: Gestaltwandel der Gotter.

HUSSITES, ZISKA

BEZOLD: König Siegmund und die Reichskriege gegen die Hussiten. — COCHLÆUS: Historiæ Hussitarium lib. XII. — GRUNHAGEN: Die Hussitenkriege der Schlesier. — HAUCK, A.: Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands. — JURITSCH, G.: Der dritte (eigentlich vierte) Kreuzzug gegen die Hussiten, 1427. — KRUMMEL: Utraquisten und Taboriten. — LOSERTH, B.: Der Communismus der Mahrischen Wiedertaufer im 16. und 17. Jahrhunderten (in: *Archiv fur osterreichische Geschichte,* LXXXI, 1895). — LOSERTH, B.: B. Hubmaier und die Anfange der Wiedertaufer in Mahren. — MILLAUER: Diplomatisch-historische Aufsatze uber Johann Ziska von Trocnov. — MÜLLER, L.: Der Kommunismus der mahrischen Wiedertaufer. — PALACKY: Urkundliche Beitrage zur Geschichte des Hussitenkrieges. — PREGER: Über das Verhaltnis der Taboriten zu den Waldesiern. — SCHIFFNER, J.: Gallerie der interessantesten und merkwürdigsten Personen Bohmens, nebst der Beschreibung merkwurdiger bohmischer Landesseltenheiten alter und neuer Zeiten. — SEIFERT, J. L.: Die Weltrevolutionare. — URBÁNEK, R.: Sbornik Zižkuv (Memorial for Ziska). — URBÁNEK, R.: Zižka (in Czech).

LEVELLERS

BARCLAY, R.: The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth. — BERNSTEIN, E.: Cromwell and Communism: Socialism and Democracy in the Great English Revolution. — BLUNT, J. H.: Dictionary of Sects, Heresies, etc. — Chambers' Encyclopædia: Article on "Independents." — FLETCHER: History of Independency in England. — KOTTLER, W.: Der Rategedanke als Staatsgedanke (in: *Leipziger rechtswissenschaftliche Studien,* 1925). — MACAULAY, T. B.: History of England from the Accession of James II. — RANKE, L. VON: Englische Geschichte vornehmlich im 16. und 17. Jahrhunderten. — TROELTSCH, E.: Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen. — WEINGARTEN, H.: Die Revolutionskirchen Englands.

RIGHTS OF MAN

AVENEL, G.: Anacharsis Clootz, orateur du genre humain. — BÖHME, E.: Katharina II. in ihren Memoiren. — BRÜCKNER, A.: Katharina II. — CONDORCET: Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain. — CONWAY, M. D.: Thomas Paine. — DENTSCHER VON KOLLESBERG, T.: Die politischen Rechte der Untertanen. — FISCHBACH, O. G.: Allgemeine Staatslehre. — GIESE, F.: Die Grundrechte. — GIERKE: Die Grundbegriffe des Staatsrechtes und die neuesten Staatstheorien. — GUMPLOWICZ, L.: Geschichte der Staatstheorien. — HETTNER, H.: Geschichte der franzosischen Literatur im 18. Jahrhundert. — JELLINEK, G.: Die Erklarung der Menschen- und Burgerrechte. — KELSEN, H.: Vom Wesen und Wert der Demokratie. — LANGE, F. A.: History of Materialism and Criticism of Its Present Importance. — LARIVIÈRE: Cathérine II et la révolution française. — LIMAN, P.: Die Revolution. — MAHRENHOLTZ: J. J. Rousseau. — MENGER, A.: Das burgerliche Recht und die besitzlosen Volksklassen. — MERKEL, A.: Philosophische Einleitung in die Rechtswissenschaft (in: Holtzendorff's *Enzyklopadie der Rechtswissenschaft*). — MERRIAM: History of the Theory of Sovereignty since Rousseau. — MOUNIER: Considérations sur les gouvernements. — MOUNIER: Recherches sur les causes qui ont empêché les Français de devenir libres. — PAINE, T.: Rights of Man. — REDSLOB: Die Staatstheorien der franzosischen Nationalversammlung von 1789. — REHM, H.: Geschichte der Staatswissenschaft. — ROUSSEAU, J. J.: Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité parmi les hommes. — RUGGIERO, G. DE: History of European Liberalism. — SALANDER, G. A.: Vom Werden der Menschenrechte. — SAUER, E.: Die franzosische Revolution von 1789 in zeitgenossischen deutschen Flugschriften und Dichtungen. — SCHICKHARD, D.: Die Erklarung der Menschen- und Burgerrechte 1789-91. — SEDGWICK, E.: Thomas Paine. — SIEYÈS: Essai sur les privilèges. — SIEYÈS: Q'est-ce que le Tiers Etat. — SIEYÈS: Reconnaissance et expositions des droits de l'homme et due citoyen. — SOKOLOWSKI, P. VON: Der Staat. — STAMMLER, R.: Die Lehre von dem richtigen Recht. — STEIN, L.: System der Staatswissenschaft. — STERN, A.: Der Einfluss der franzosischen Revolution auf das deutsche Geistesleben. — TOURNEUX: Diderot et Catherine II.

NATURAL RIGHTS, HUGO GROTIUS

AHRENS, H.: Das Naturrecht. — CATHREIN, V.: Moralphilosophie. — CAUMONT: Etude sur la vie et les travaux de Grotius. — FICHTE: The Science of Rights. — FRUIN, R.: Verhooren en andere bescheiden betreffende het rechtsgeding van H. de Groot. — GYSIN, A.: Die Lehre vom Naturrecht bei Leonard Nelson und das Naturrecht der Aufklarung. — HELM, R.: Hugo Grotius. — HUGO: Lehrbuch des Naturrechts. — THERING, R. VON: Der Kampf ums Recht. — JELLINEK, G.: Die Erklarung der Menschen- und Burgerrechte. — JELLINEK, G.: Allgemeine Rechtslehre. — KOSTERS: Les fondements du droit des gens. — LASSON, A.: Rechtsphilosophie. — LUDEN, H.: Hugo Grotius nach seinen Schriften und Schicksalen dargestellt. — MAUTHNER, F.: Der Atheismus und seine Geschichte im Abendlande. — MEYER: Grundsatze der Sittlichkeit und des Rechts. — MICHEL: De l'idée de l'état. — MONTEMAYOR, G. DE: Storia del diritto naturale. — SCHRÓCKH: Abbildungen und Lebensbeschreibungen beruhmter Gelehrter. — STAHL, F. J.: Die Philosophie des Rechts auf geschichtlicher Grundlage. — STAMMLER, R.: Lehrbuch der Rechtsphilosophie. — TRENDELENBURG: Naturrecht auf dem Grunde der Ethik. — VOLLENHOVEN, VAN: Grotius and the Study of Law. — WALTER: Naturrecht und Politik im Lichte der Gegenwart.

REVOLTS IN SANTO DOMINGO

AUBIN, E.: En Haiti. — BERLIOZ D'AURIAC: La guerre noire. Souvenirs de Saint-Domingue. — DESCHAMPS: La República Dominicana. — FERRET: La république Dominicaine. — GLEICHEN-RUSSWURM, A. VON: Kultur- und Sittengeschichte aller Zeiten und Völker. — HAZARD: Santo Domingo, Past and Present. — LOEDERER, R. A.: Wudu-Feuer auf Haiti. — OTTEN, K.: Der schwarze Napoleon. Toussaint l'Ouverture und der Negeraufstand auf San Domingo. — RAINSFORD, M.: An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti, comprehending a View of the Principal Transactions in the Revolution of Santo-Domingo with Its Ancient and

Modern State. — SAINT-RÉMY: Pétion et Haiti. — ST.-VINCENT: La république d'Haiti. — SCHLOSSER, F. C.: Geschichte des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Sturz des französischen Kaiserreiches. — SCHÖLCHER: Vie de Toussaint l'Ouverture. — STREITBERG: Die Republik Haiti. — SUNDSTRAL, F.: Aus der Schwarzen Republik. — TIPPENHAUER: Die Insel Haiti.

STOICS

ARNIM, J. VON: Stoicorum veterum fragmenta. — BARTH, P.: Die Stoa. — BAUMGARTEN: L. A. Seneca und das Christentum. — BONHÖFFER, A.: Die Ethik Epiktets. — BONHÖFFER, A.: Epiktet und die Stoa. — BONHÖFFER, A.: Epiktet und das Neue Testament. — GASS, W.: Geschichte der christlichen Ethik. — LECKY, W. E. H.: History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne. — MAUSBACH: Christentum und Weltmoral. — SCHMEKEL, A.: Die Philosophie der mittlern Stoa. — STEIN, L.: Die Psychologie der Stoa. — STEIN, L.: Die Erkenntnistheorie der Stoa. — STÖCKL: Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Philosophie. — ÜBERWEG-HEINZE: Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie, I. — WALLON, H.: Histoire de l'esclavage dans l'antiquité. — WUNDT, M.: Geschichte der griechischen Ethik. — ZELLER: A History of Greek Philosophy.

IV. THE BURIAL-GROUND OF REASON

THE ENLIGHTENMENT

BERSOT, E.: Etudes sur Diderot. — BERTIN: Histoire de la vie et des ouvrages de Fr. Bacon. — BOUILLET, M.: Les œuvres philosophiques de Bacon. — BOURNE, H. R.: The Life of John Locke. — BOWLEY: Elements of Statistics. — BRANDES, G.: Voltaire. — BROCKDORFF, C. VON: Englische Aufklarungsphilosophie. — CASPAR: Galileo Galilei. Zusammenstellung der Forschungen und Entdeckungen Galileis. — COLLIGNON, A.: Diderot. — CONDILLAC: Le commerce et le gouvernement considérés relativement l'un à l'autre. — COUSIN: La philosophie de Locke. — CRU, R. L.: Diderot as a Disciple of English Thought. — CURTIS, M. M.: Locke's Ethical Philosophy. — CZUBER: Die statistische Forschungsmethode. — DELUC: Précis de la Philosophie de Bacon. — DUCROS, L.: Diderot, l'homme et l'écrivain. — DUCROS, L.: Les Encyclopédistes. — DUPRAT: Les Encyclopédistes, leurs travaux et leur influence. — EWALD, O.: Franzosische Aufklarungsphilosophie. — FAHIE: Galilei, His Life and Work. — FECHTNER, E.: John Locke, ein Bild aus den geistigen Kampfen Englands im 17. Jahrhundert. — FICKER: Kritische Geschichte des Rationalismus in Deutschland. — FISCHER, K.: Francis Bacon und seine Schule. — FISCHER, K.: Geschichte der neueren Philosophie. — FISCHER, K.: Francis Bacon of Verulam. — FOWLER: Francis Bacon. — FRASER, C.: Locke. — GÉNIN, F.: Œuvres choisies de Diderot. — GIBSON, J.: Locke's Theory of Knowledge and Its Historical Relations. — GRIMM: Correspondance. — GÜNTHER: Kepler. Galilei. — HETTNER, H.: Geschichte der franzosischen Literatur im 18. Jahrhundert. — HEUSSLER, H.: Francis Bacon und seine geschichtliche Stellung. — HOFFMANN, H.: Die Aufklärung. — JOHN, V.: Geschichte der Statistik. — KING: The Life of John Locke. — KANT, I.: Was ist Aufklarung? — KLEINWÄCHTER: Die Staatsromane. — KIRCHBERGER: Die Entwicklung der Atomtheorie. — KLEMPERER, V.: Montesquieu. — LAMETTRIE: L'homme machine. — LASSON: Über Bacons wissenschaftliche Prinzipien. — LEBEDE, H.: Locke und Rousseau als Erzieher. — LECKY: History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe. — LIEBIG: Über Bacon und die Methode der Naturforschung. — LOCKE, J.: An Essay Concerning Human Understanding. — MARION, H.: John Locke, sa vie et son œuvre. — MAYR, G. VON: Die Gesetzmässigkeit im Gesellschaftsleben. — MEITZEN: Geschichte, Theorie und Technik der Statistik. — MONTESQUIEU: Lettres persanes. — MONTESQUIEU: Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur et de la décadence des Romains. — MONTESQUIEU: L'esprit des lois. — MORELLY: Code de la nature. — MORLEY, J.: Diderot and the Encyclopædists. — NATORP, P.: Descartes' Erkenntnistheorie. — NICHOL: Francis Bacon, His Life and Philosophy. — PAOLO: La scuola di Galilei nella storia della filosofia. — PORITZKY, J.: Lamettrie, Leben und Werke. — REINACH, J.: Diderot. — ROSENKRANZ, C.: Diderots Leben und Werke. — SCHARER, E.: John Locke, seine

Verstandestheorie und seine Lehren über Religion, Staat und Erziehung. — SCHMITT, E. H.: Der Idealstaat. — SCHULTZE, E.: Lavoisier, der Begründer der Chemie. — SOREL, A.: Montesquieu. — SPEDDING: An Account of the Life and Times of Francis Bacon. — SÜSSMILCH, J. P.: Die gottliche Ordnung in den Veränderungen des menschlichen Geschlechts aus der Geburt, dem Tode und der Fortpflanzung desselben erwiesen. — TAGART: Locke's Writings and Philosophy. — THOLUCK: Geschichte des Rationalismus. — VAUZELLES, J. B. DE: De la vie et des ouvrages de F. Bacon. — VIAN: Histoire de Montesquieu, sa vie et ses œuvres. — VOLTAIRE: Essai sur l'esprit et les moeurs des nations. — VOLTAIRE: La religion naturelle. — VOLTAIRE: Philosophical Dictionary. — WEBB: The Intellectualism of Locke. — WIESER, F.: Das Gesetz der Macht.

DESMOULINS, DANTON, MARAT

BARTHOU, L.: Danton. — BEESLEY: Life of Danton. — BÜCHNER, G.: Danton's Death. — CABANÈS: Marat inconnu. — CHÈVREMONT: Jean Paul Marat. — ECKARDT, J.: Figuren und Ansichten der Pariser Schreckenszeit 1791–1794. — FLAKE, O.: Die französische Revolution. 1789–1799. — FOCKE: Charlotte Corday. — HENTIG, H. VON: Robespierre. — HILT, K.: Camille Desmoulins, seine politische Gesinnung und Parteistellung. — LIMAN, P.: Die Revolution. — MARAT, J. P.: The Chains of Slavery. — MARAT, J. P.: De l'homme. — MARAT, J. P.: Découvertes sur la lumière. — MARAT, J. P.: Correspondance et Pamphlets. — MARCU, V.: Schatten der Geschichte. — ROBINET: Danton, homme d'état. — ROHDEN, P. R. AND OSTROGORSKY, G.: Menschen, die Geschichte machten. — SYBEL, H. VON: Geschichte der Revolutionszeit. — VELLAY: L'élite de la révolution.

FRENCH REVOLUTION, GENERAL

ADLER, E.: Die berühmten Frauen der französischen Revolution, 1789 bis 1795. — ADLER, P.: Die franzosische Revolution (in: Die Befreiung der Menschheit). — AULARD, F. A.: Histoire politique de la révolution française. — BAUER, W.: Die öffentliche Meinung in der Weltgeschichte. — BEER, M.: General History of Socialism and Social Struggles. — BERVILLE AND BARRIÈRE: Mémoires rélatifs à la révolution française. — BITTERAUF: Geschichte der französischen Revolution. — BUCHEZ AND ROUX: Histoire parlementaire de la révolution française. — CARLYLE, T.: On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History. — CARLYLE, T.: The French Revolution. — CHAMBERLAIN, H. S.: Foundations of the Nineteenth Century. — CHAMPION, E.: La France d'après les cahiers de 1789. — ECKARDT, J.: Figuren und Ansichten der Pariser Schreckenszeit, 1791–1794. — FAGUET: Le dix-huitième siècle. — FLAKE, O.: Die franzosische Revolution, 1789–1799. — FLEURY: Un grand terroriste, Carrier à Nantes. — FRIEDMANN, M.: Über Wahnideen im Volkerleben. — JANET: La philosophie de la révolution française. — KLEMM, G.: Die Frauen. — KROPOTKIN, P.: The Great French Revolution, 1789–1793. — LACOUR, L.: Trois femmes de la révolution. — LA GORCE: Histoire religieuse de la révolution française. — LAVISSE: Histoire de la France contemporaine depuis la révolution jusqu'à la paix de 1919. — LE BON, G.: La révolution française et la psychologie des révolutions. — LE BON, G.: The Crowd; a Study of the Popular Mind. — LENÔTRE, L. L. T.: Les noyades de Nantes. — LIMAN, P.: Die Revolution. — LOMBROSO, C. AND LASCHI, B.: Il delitto politico e le rivoluzioni. — MARTIN, H.: Carrier et sa mission à Nantes. — MICHELET, J.: Les femmes de la révolution. — MUCKLE: Das Kulturproblem der französischen Revolution. — REISET: La vraie Théroigne. — RÉTIF DE LA BRETONNE: Les nuits de Paris. — ROHDEN, P. R. AND OSTROGORSKY, G.: Menschen, die Geschichte machten. — ROQUIN, J.: L'esprit révolutionnaire avant la révolution. — ROSENSTOCK, E.: Die europäischen Revolutionen. — SALVEMINI: La rivoluzione francese. — SEIFERT, J. L.: Die Weltrevolutionàre. — Sittengeschichte der Revolution. — SOREL, A.: L'Europe et la révolution. — SUDRE, A.: Histoire de communisme; ou, Réfutation historique des utopies socialistes. Strasse, Die. — SYBEL, H. VON: Geschichte der Revolutionszeit. — TAINE, H.: The Modern Régime. — THIERS: The History of the French Revolution. — TOCQUEVILLE: L'ancien régime. — WEISS: Geschichte der französischen Revolution. — WELLS, H. G.: Outline of History. — WIESER, F.: Das Gesetz der Macht.

ROBESPIERRE, SAINT-JUST

AULARD, F. A.: Les grands orateurs de la révolution. — AULARD, F. A.: Les orateurs de la Législative et de la Convention. — AULARD, F. A.: La Société des Jacobins. — BARTHOU: Le 9 thermidor. — BRACHVOGEL, C.: Robespierre. — DUVAL: Souvenirs de la terreur. — ECKARDT, J.: Figuren und Ansichten der Pariser Schreckenszeit, 1791–1794. — ESTRÉE: Le Père Duchesne d'Hébert. — FLAKE, O.: Die franzosische Revolution, 1789–1799. — FUNCK-BRENTANO: Le règne de Robespierre. — GALLIER: Robespierre, ses principes, son système politique. — HAMEL: Histoire de Robespierre. — HAMEL: Histoire de Saint-Just. — HENTIZ, H. VON: Robespierre. — KRETSCHMER, E.: Geniale Menschen. — KRITSCHEWSKY: J. J. Rousseau und Saint-Just. — LENÔTRE, G.: Robespierre et la "mère de Dieu." — LIMAN, P.: Die Revolution. — MATHIEZ, A.: Etudes robespierristes. — MICHON, G.: Correspondance de Maximilien et Augustin Robespierre. — Paris, Jeunesse de Robespierre. — POL, S.: Autour de Robespierre. Le Conventionel. — Robespierres Erinnerungen. — ROBESPIERRE, CHARLOTTE: Mémoires sur ses deux frères. — SAINT-JUST: Œuvres complètes. — SYBEL, H. VON: Geschichte der Revolutionszeit. — VELLAY: L'élite de la révolution. — VILLIERS: Souvenirs d'un déporté.

V. EARTHLY HARMONY

BENTHAM, HARMONY OF INTERESTS

BASTIAT, F.: Œuvres complètes. — BENTHAM, J.: Introduction to the principles of morals and legislation. — Encyclopædia Britannica: Article on Jeremy Bentham. — HALÉVY, E.: La formation du radicalisme philosophique (Bentham). — KRAUS, O.: Jeremy Benthams Grundsatze fur ein kunftiges Volkerrecht und einen dauernden Frieden. — KRAUS, O.: Zur Theorie des Wertes. Eine Bentham-Studie. — MILL, J. S.: Writings. — STEPHEN, L.: The English Utilitarians.

COMTE, SAINT-SIMON

CHARLÉTY: Histoire du Saint-Simonisme. — COMTE, A.: Discours sur l'ésprit positif. — COMTE, A.: Early Essays on Social Philosophy. — COMTE, A.: Système de politique positive, ou traité de sociologie, instituant la religion de l'humanité. — ENFANTIN: La religion Saint-Simonienne. — HOCHDORF, M.: Ebenbilder Gottes. — HUBBARD: Saint-Simon, sa vie et ses travaux. — HUCH, R.: Alte und neue Gotter. — JANET: Saint-Simon et le Saint-Simonisme. — MAUDUIT, R.: Auguste Comte et la science économique. — MUCKLE: H. de Saint-Simon. — MUCKLE: Saint-Simon und die ökonomische Geschichtstheorie. — OSTWALD, W.: Auguste Comte. Der Mann und sein Werk. — SAINT-SIMON, H. DE: Catéchisme des Industriels. — SAINT-SIMON, H. DE: Du Système Industriel. — SAINT-SIMON, H. DE: Nouveau Christianisme. — SAINT-SIMON, H. DE: Réorganisation de la société européenne. — WARSCHAUER: Geschichte des Sozialismus. — WEILL, G.: L'école Saint-Simonienne. — WEILL, G.: Saint-Simon et son œuvre. — WEISENGRÜN, W.: Die sozialwissenschaftlichen Ideen Saint-Simons. — WITT, E. DE: Saint-Simon et le système industriel.

ACQUISITIVE INSTINCT, PROMOTERS, ECONOMIC PROSPERITY IN THE AGE OF LIBERALISM

BEZOLD, F. VON; GOTHEIN, E.; KOSER, R.: Staat und Gesellschaft der neueren Zeit. — BUCKLE: Introduction to the History of Civilization in England. — GEITEL, M.: Der Siegeslauf der Technik. — KRAEMER, H.: Das neunzehnte Jahrhundert in Wort und Bild. — MATSCHOSS, C.: Manner der Technik. — NICEFORO, A.: Les indices numériques de la civilisation et du progrès. — SOMBART, W.: Der Bourgeois. — SOMBART, W.: Das Wirtschaftsleben im Zeitalter des Hochkapitalismus. — STEFFENS, D.: Kapital und Borse von Babylon bis Wallstreet. — TESCHEMACHER, H.: Die geistesgeschichtlichen Linien in der Entwicklung des finanzwirtschaftlichen Denkens.

FOURIER, OWEN, ENVIRONMENT THEORY

BEBEL, A.: Charles Fourier. Sein Leben und seine Theorien. — BOOTH: R. Owen, the

Founder of Socialism in England. — CLAUS, C.: Lamarck als Begründer der Deszendenzlehre. — DOLLÉANS, E.: Robert Owen. — FOURIER, C.: Nouveau monde industriel. — FOURIER, C.: Œuvres complètes. — FOURIER, C.: Théorie de quatre mouvements. — FOURIER, C.: Traité de l'association domestique agricole. — GERVINUS, G. G.: Geschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts seit den Wiener Vertragen. — HOLYOAKE, G. H.: Life and Last Days of Robert Owen of New Lanark. — HONEGGER, J. J.: Grundsteine einer Allgemeinen Kulturgeschichte der Neuesten Zeit. — JONES, L.: The Life, Times, and Labours of Robert Owen. — KNORTZ, K.: Die christlich-kommunistische Kolonie der Rappisten in Pennsylvanien. — LANG, A.: Zur Charakteristik der Forschungswege von Lamarck und Darwin. — LOCKWOOD: The New Harmony Communities. — MICHELS, R.: Die Verelendungstheorie. — OWEN, R.: The Book of the New Moral World. — OWEN, R.: The Catechism of the New Moral World. — OWEN, R.: Life of Robert Owen, Written by Himself. — OWEN, R.: Memorial to the Mexican Republic and to the Government of Coahuila and Texas. — OWEN, R.: A New View of Society: or, Essays on the Principle of the Formation of the Human Character and the Application of the Principle to Practice. — OWEN, R.: Outline of the Rational System of Society. — OWEN, R.: The Revolution in the Mind and Practice of the Human Race; or, the Coming Change from Irrationality to Rationality. — OWEN, R.: Two Discourses on a New System of Society; as delivered in the Hall of Representatives at Washington. — PACKARD: Lamarck, the Founder of Evolution. — PERRIER: Lamarck et le transformisme actuel. — PODMORE, F.: Robert Owen: a Biography. — SARGANT: Robert Owen and His Social Philosophy. — SIMON, H.: R. Owen. — SOMBART, W.: Sozialismus und soziale Bewegung im 19. Jahrhundert. — WAGNER, Geschichte der Harmoniegesellschaft. — ZIEGLER: Die geistigen und sozialen Stromungen Deutschlands im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert.

JULY REVOLUTION, LOUIS-PHILIPPE, LAFAYETTE

BILLAULT DE GÉRAINVILLE: Histoire de Louis-Philippe. — BIRCH, C.: Ludwig Philipp der Erste, König der Franzosen. — BÜDINGER, M.: Lafayette. Ein Lebensbild. — CHARAVAY: Le général Lafayette. — COCHIN: Louis-Philippe. — Daumier, der Meister der Karikatur (selected and introduced by A. Rumann). — FOURNIÈRE: Le règne de Louis. — FUCHS, E.: Die Karikatur der europaischen Volker. — GERVINUS, G. G.: Geschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts seit den Wiener Vertragen. — GRUYER: La jeunesse du roi Louis. — GUÉNIN AND NOUAILLAC: Le Consulat, l'Empire et la Restauration. — ISAMBERT: Les idées socialistes en France de 1815 à 1848. — KRAEMER, H.: Das neunzehnte Jahrhundert in Wort und Bild. — RUHLE, O.: Die Revolutionen Europas. — SEIGNOBOS: Histoire politique de l'Europe contemporaine depuis 1814. — THUREAU-DANGIN: Histoire de la monarchie de juillet. — TOWER: The Marquis de La Fayette in the American Revolution. — WEILL: La France sous la monarchie constitutionelle 1814–48.

LIBERALISM, GENERAL

BRENTANO, L.: Die Anfänge des modernen Kapitalismus. — BRÜCKMANN, C.: R. Cobden und das Manchestertum. — BÜLOW, F.: Volkswirtschaftslehre. — CARTHILL, A.: The Legacy of Liberalism. — FUETER: Die Schweiz seit 1848. — GERVINUS, G. G.: Geschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts seit den Wiener Vertragen. — GESTRICH: Liberalismus als Wirtschaftsmethode. — HELLER, H.: Die politischen Ideenkreise der Gegenwart. — HOBHOUSE, L. T.: Liberalism. — HOLLANDER, J. H.: Economic Liberalism. — HONEGGER, J. J.: Grundsteine einer allgemeinen Kulturgeschichte der neuesten Zeit. — HUCH, R.: Alte und neue Götter. — JOSTOCK, P.: Der Ausgang des Kapitalismus. — KAUTSKY, K.: Die Volkswirtschaftslehre in Selbstdarstellungen. — KLEIN-HATTINGEN, O.: Geschichte des deutschen Liberalismus. — KRAEMER, H.: Das neunzehnte Jahrhundert in Wort und Bild. — LEVY, H.: Der Wirtschaftsliberalismus in England. — LEXIS, W.: Allgemeine Volkswirtschaftslehre. — LIEFMANN, R.: Grundsätze der Volkswirtschaftslehre. — LOURIÉ, B.: Das Verhältnis der Manchesterrichtung zur klassichen Nationalökonomie. — MISES, L.: Liberalismus. — ROSENSTOCK, E.: Die europaischen Revolutionen. — RUGGIERO, G. DE: History of European Liberalism. — SCHATZ, A.: L'individualisme économique et social. — SIEVEKING, H.: Grundzüge der neueren Wirtschaftsgeschichte vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart (in: *Grundrisse der Geschichte der Wissenschaft*).

— SOMBART, W.: Der Bourgeois. — SULZBACH, W.: Die Grundlagen der politischen Parteibildung. — WAGEMANN, E.: Struktur und Rhythmus der Weltwirtschaft. — WEBER, A.: Weltwirtschaft. — WIESE, L. VON: Der Liberalismus in Vergangenheit und Zukunft. — WITHERS, H.: The Case for Capitalism. — ZIEGLER: Die geistigen und sozialen Stromungen Deutschlands im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert.

NAPOLEON AND LIBERALISM

BOURGIN: Napoleon und seine Zeit. — DRIAULT: Napoléon et l'Europe. — FOURNIER: Napoléon I. — KIRCHEISEN: Napoleon, sein Leben und seine Zeit. — LANFREY: Histoire de Napoléon. — LÉVY: Napoléon intime. — MEREZHKOVSKY, D. S.: Napoleon. — SYBEL, H. VON: Geschichte der Revolutionszeit. — TAINE, H.: The Modern Régime. — THIERS, A.: History of the Consulate and the Empire of France under Napoleon.

RESTORATION, HOLY ALLIANCE

CAPEFIGUE: La baronne de Krudener et l'empereur Alexandre I. — DESCOSTES: Joseph de Maistre inconnu. — EYNARD: Vie de Madame de Krudener. — Frau von Krudener, ein Zeitgemalde. — GLASER, J. C.: Graf J. de Maistre. — GRASSET: Joseph de Maistre. — JACOB, P. L.: Madame de Krudener. — LA GORCE: La Restauration: Louis XVIII. — LATRAILLE: Joseph de Maistre et la papauté. — LUCAS-DUBRETON: Louis XVIII, le prince errant, le roi. — MAISTRE, J. DE: Essai sur le principe générateur des constitutions politiques. — MALET: Louis XVIII et les Cent-Jours à Gand. — MARGERIE: Le comte J. de Maistre. — MUHLENBECK, E.: Etude sur les origines de la Sainte-Alliance. — NAF, W.: Zur Geschichte der Heiligen Allianz. — REDERN, H. VON: Zwei Welten. Das Leben von Juliane von Krudener, 1764–1825. — SCHMIDT-PHISELDEK, E. F. VON: Die Politik nach den Grundsatzen der heiligen Allianz. — STENGER: Le retour des Bourbons. — VIEL-CASTEL: Histoire de la Restauration.

ADAM SMITH

AMONN: Grundzüge der Volkswohlstandslehre. — BUCKLE, H. T.: Introduction to the History of Civilization in England. — CASSEL, G.: Grundgedanken der theoretischen Ökonomie. — COHN, G.: System der Nationalokonomie. — CONRAD, J.: Grundriss zum Studium der politischen Ökonomie. — DELATEUR, A.: Adam Smith. — FISHER, J.: Die Elemente der Ökonomie. — GIDE, C. AND RIST, C.: History of Economic Doctrines from the Time of the Physiocrats to the Present Day. — GOSSEN, H. H.: Entwicklung der Gesetze des menschlichen Verkehrs und der daraus fliessenden Regeln fur menschichles Handeln. — HASBACH: Die allgemeinen philosophischen Grundlagen der von Fr. Quesnay und Adam Smith begrundeten politischen Ökonomie. — JEVONS: Theory of Political Economy. — KLEIN-HATTINGEN, O.: Geschichte des deutschen Liberalismus. — MARSHALL, A.: The Principles of Economics. — MENGER, K.: Grundzuge der Volkswirtschaftslehre. — MOMBERT: Geschichte der Nationalokonomie. — ONCKEN, A.: Adam Smith und Immanuel Kant. — ONCKEN, A.: Geschichte der Nationalokonomie. — PESCH, H.: Lehrbuch der Nationalokonomie. — PHILIPPOVICH: Grundriss der politischen Ökonomie. — RAU, K. D. H.: Grundsatze der Volkswirtschaftslehre. — RÖSLER, H.: Über die Grundlehren der von Adam Smith begrundeten Wirtschaftslehre. — SCHMOLLER, G.: Grundriss der allgemeinen Volkswirtschaftslehre. — SEIDLER-SCHMID: Die Systemgedanken der sogenannten klassischen Volkswirtschaftslehre. — SKARZYNSKI: Adam Smith als Moralphilosoph und Schöpfer der Nationalokonomie. — SMITH, A.: Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations. — SPANN, O.: Fundamente der Volkswirtschaftslehre. — VERRIJN STUART, C. A.: Die Grundlagen der Volkswirtschaft. — WAGNER, A.: Grundlegung der politischen Ökonomie. — WALRAS, L.: Eléments d'économie politique pure.

BARON VOM STEIN, PRUSSIAN REFORM

ARNDT, E. M.: Meine Wanderungen und Wandelungen mit dem Reichsfreiherrn Heinrich Karl Friedrich von Stein. — BOTZENHART, E.: Die Staats- und Reformideen

des Freiherrn vom Stein. — FORD, G. S.: Stein and the Era of Reform in Prussia, 1807–15. — HARDENBERG: Denkwurdigkeiten. — HUCH, R.: Alte und neue Gotter. — HUCH, R.: Stein. — KLEIN-HATTINGEN, O.: Geschichte des deutschen Liberalismus. — LEHMANN, M.: Freiherr vom Stein. — MEIER, E. VON: Die Reform der Verwaltungsorganisation unter Stein und Hardenberg. — MÜSEBECK, E.: Stein. — NELMANN, S.: Die Stufen des preussischen Konservatismus. — PERTZ, G. H.: Das Leben des Ministers Freiherrn vom Stein. — RITTER, G.: Die Staatsanschauung des Freiherrn vom Stein (in: *Einzelschriften zur Politik und Geschichte,* 1927). — RITTER, G.: Stein. Eine politische Biographie. — ROHDEN, P. R. AND OSTROGORSKY, G.: Menschen, die Geschichte machten. — TREITSCHKE: Deutsche Geschichte im 19. Jahrhundert.

SOUTH AMERICA, BOLIVAR

Correspondencia general del Libertador Simón Bolívar, etc. (ed. by Larrazábal). — GARCÍA-CALDERÓN, F.: Latin America: Its Rise and Progress. — GERVINUS, G. G.: Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts seit den Wiener Verträgen. — LARRAZÁBAL: Life of Simon Bolivar. — MANCINI, J.: Bolivar et l'émancipation des colonies espagnoles des origines à 1815. — REICHWEIN: Mexiko erwacht. — ROJAS: Simón Bolivar. — SCHRYVER: Esquisse de la vie de Bolivar. — VAN LOON, H. W.: America.

VI. THE DREAM OF THE GREAT MAGIC

REVOLUTION OF FORTY-EIGHT, LOUIS BLANC, RIGHT TO WORK, PROUDHON, ROMANTIC SOCIALISM

BLANC, L.: Histoire de la révolution de 1848. — BLANC, L.: Organisation du travail. — BLANC, L.: Questions d'aujourd'hui et de demain. — BLANQUI, A.: Les classes ouvrières en France en 1848–49. — CONSIDÉRANT: La révolution ou le gouvernement direct du peuple. — DESJARDINS, A.: Proudhon. — DIEHL, K.: Pierre Joseph Proudhon. — GLEICHEN-RUSSWURM, A. VON AND WENCKER, F.: Kultur- und Sittengeschichte aller Zeiten und Volker. — HÉRITIER, L.: Geschichte der franzosischen Revolution von 1848 und der zweiten Republik in volkstumlicher Darstellung. — MARX, K.: The Civil War in France (with an introduction by F. Engels). — PROUDHON, P. J.: Les confessions d'un révolutionnaire pour servir à l'histoire de la révolution de février. — PROUDHON, P. J.: Le droit au travail et le droit de propriété. — PROUDHON, P. J.: Lettre à M. Blanqui sur la propriété. — PROUDHON, P. J.: System of Economical Contradictions: or, The Philosophy of Misery. — STEIN, L. VON: Geschichte der sozialen Bewegung in Frankreich von 1789 bis auf unsere Tage. — STERN, D.: Histoire de la révolution de 1848. — WARSCHAUER: Geschichte des Sozialismus und Kommunismus im 19. Jahrhundert.

ROGER BACON

BACON, R.: Opus majus (ed. by Bridges). — CHARLES: Roger Bacon, sa vie, ses ouvrages, ses doctrines. — SCHNEIDER: Roger Bacon. — SIEBERT: Roger Bacon, sein Leben und seine Philosophie. — WERNER: Kosmologie und allgemeine Naturlehre des Roger Bacon. — WERNER: Psychologie, Erkenntnis- und Wissenschaftslehre des Roger Bacon.

BOLSHEVISM, LENIN, FIVE-YEAR PLAN

BAUERMEISTER, M.: Die russische kommunistische Theorie und ihre Auswirkung in den Planwirtschaftsversuchen der Sowjetunion (in: *Untersuchungen zur theoretischen National-Ökonomie,* 1930). — BEER, M.: General History of Socialism and Social Struggles. — BUKHARIN, N.: Lenin, Leben und Werke. — DOBB AND STEVENS: Russian Economic Development since the Revolution. — DRAHN, E.: Lenins Bio-Bibliographie. — DREISER, T.: Dreiser Looks at Russia. — DUBREUIL, H.: Robots or Men? A French Workman's Experience in American Industry. — ESSAD-BEY: Stalin. — FARBMANN: Piatiletka. Der Fünfjahresplan. — FEILER, A.: The Experiment of Bolshevism. — FELDHAUS, F. M.: Die Technik der Antike und des Mittelalters. — FUCHS, E.: Die russische Industrieorganisation. — FÜLÖP-MILLER, R.:

Mind and Face of Bolshevism. — FÜLÖP-MILLER, R.: Lenin and Gandhi. — GERLICH, F.: Der Kommunismus als Lehre vom Tausendjahrigen Reich. — GRINKO, G.: The Five-Year Plan of the Soviet Union. — HAENSEL, P.: Die Wirtschaftspolitik Sowietrusslands. — HAYDN, J.: Russland, 1932. — HOOVER, C. B.: The Economic Life of Soviet Russia. — KAMENEV, L.: Lenins literarisches Erbe. — KERSTEN, K.: Lenin, sein Leben und Werk. — KNICKERBOCKER, H. R.: The Red Trade Menace. — KRZHIZHANOVSKY, M.: Die Planwirtschaft in der Sowietunion. — LANDAU-ALDANOV, M. A.: Lenin. — LENIN, V. I.: Collected Works. — MARCU, V.: Schatten der Geschichte. — POKROVSKY, M.: History of Russia. — POLLOCK: Die planwirtschaftlichen Versuche der Sowietunion, 1917–1927. — PROKOPOVICH, S.: Über die Bedingungen der industriellen Entwicklung Russlands (in: *Archiv fur soziale Wissenschaft und soziale Politik,* 1913). — RADEK, K.: The Development of Socialism from Science to Action. — REED, J.: Ten Days That Shook the World. — ROHDEN, P. R. AND OSTROGORSKY, G.: Menschen die Geschichte machten. — SFORZA, C.: Makers of Modern Europe. — SINNER, G.: Gefahrdetes Europa. Schlote rauchen im Urwald. — STALIN, J.: Problems of Leninism. — TROTSKY, L.: History of the Russian Revolution. — TROTSKY, L.: Lenin. — VORLÄNDER, K.: Von Machiavelli bis Lenin. — WELLS, H. G.: Work, Wealth, and Happiness of Mankind. — WIEDENFELD, K.: Lenin und sein Werk. — ZINOVIEV, G.: Geschichte der Kommunistischen Partei Russlands. — ZINOVIEV, G.: Nikolai Lenin.

MAGIC, ALCHEMY, PARACELSUS

BERTHELOT, M.: Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs. — BETH, K.: Religion und Magie. — BLOCH, C.: Der Prager Golem. — DAUL: Das Perpetuum mobile. — DU PREL, C.: Die Magie als Naturwissenschaft. — ENNEMOSER: Geschichte der Magie. — FREUDENBERG, F.: Paracelsus und Fludd. Die beiden grossen Okkultisten und Ärzte des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts. — GRUNN, N.: Rabbi Low und sein Sagenkreis. GUNDOLF: Paracelsus. — HARTMANN, R. J.: Theophrastus von Hohenheim. — HARMANN, S.: Technik und Staat von Babylon bis heute. — HELD, H. L.: Vom Golem und Schem, eine Studie aus der hebraischen Mystik. — KAHLBAUM: Theophrastus Paracelsus. — KOLBENHEYER, M.: Paracelsus. — KOPP, H.: Die Alchemie in älterer und neuerer Zeit. — LIPPMANN, E. O. VON: Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Alchemie. — MÜLLER, K.: Die Golemsage und die Sage von der lebenden Statue. — PAPUS: Clef absolue de la science occulte. — PARACELSUS, T.: The Hermetic and Alchemical Writings. — PEUCKERT, W. E.: Theophrastus Paracelsus. — PEUCKERT, W. E.: Von schwarzer und weisser Magie. — SILBERER, H.: Probleme der Mystik und ihrer Symbolik. — SILBERER, H.: Der Homunkulus (in: *Imago,* III). — SPUNDA, F.: Paracelsus. — STRUNZ: Theophrastus Paracelsus, sein Leben und seine Persönlichkeit.

MARX, MARXISM

ADLER, G.: Geschichte des Sozialismus und Kommunismus von Plato bis zur Gegenwart. — BARNES, H. E.: A History of British Socialism. — BEER, M.: Karl Marx. — BEER, M.: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Sozialismus, Syndikalismus und Anarchismus. — BEER, M.: General History of Socialism and Social Struggles. — BERNSTEIN, E.: Zur Theorie und Geschichte des Sozialismus. — BERNSTEIN, KAUTSKY, ET AL.: Geschichte des Sozialismus in Einzeldarstellungen. — BIE, R.: Revolution um Karl Marx. — DIEHL, K.: Über Sozialismus, Kommunismus, und Anarchismus. — ENGELS, F.: The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844. — ENGELS, F.: Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei. — ENGELS, F.: Ludwig Feuerbach, with an Appendix by Karl Marx on Dialectical Materialism. — FISCHER, K.: History of Modern Philosophy. — FOLDES, B.: Die Hauptstromungen der sozialistischen Gedankenwelt. — HORN, E.: Die ökonomischen Grenzen der Gemeinwirtschaft. — JOSTOCK, P.: Der Ausgang des Kapitalismus. — KOHUT: Ludwig Feuerbach, sein Leben und seine Werke. — KRONER, R.: Von Kant bis Hegel. — LASSON, G.: Hegel als Geschichtsphilosoph. — LAVELEYE, E. DE: Der Socialismus der Gegenwart. — LEESE, K.: Die Geschichtsphilosophie Hegels auf Grund der neuerschlossenen Quellen. — LENSCH, P.: Die Sozialdemokratie, ihr Ende und ihr Gluck. — LIEFMANN, R.: Geschichte und Kritik des Sozialismus. — MAN, H. DE: Der Sozialismus als Kulturbewegung. — MAN, H. DE: The Psychology of Socialism. — MAN, H. DE:

Die sozialistische Idee. — MARX, K.: Capital. — MASARYK, T.: Die philosophischen und soziologischen Grundlagen des Marxismus. — MAYER, G.: Friedrich Engels, eine Biographie. — MEHRING, F.: Karl Marx. Geschichte seines Lebens. — OPPENHEIMER, F.: Die soziale Frage und der Sozialismus. — PLENGE: Marx und Hegel. — POHLE, L.: Kapitalismus und Sozialismus. — PREISER, E.: Das Wesen der Marxschen Krisentheorie. — ROSENKRANZ, K.: Hegels Leben. — ROSENZWEIG, F.: Hegel und der Staat. — RÜHLE, O.: Karl Marx. His Life and Work. — SCHÄFFLE, A.: Die Quintessenz des Sozialismus. — SCHOLZ, H.: Die Bedeutung der Hegelschen Philosophie fur das philosophische Denken der Gegenwart. — SEIFERT, J. L.: Die Weltrevolutionare. — SOMBART, W.: Sozialismus und soziale Bewegung im 19. Jahrhundert. — TÖNNIES: Marx, Leben und Lehre. — TUGAN-BARANOVSKY: Modern Socialism in Its Historical Development. — VORLÄNDER, K.: Geschichte der sozialistischen Ideen. — WILBRANDT: Sozialismus.

MACHINES, TECHNOLOGY, CAPITALIST PLANNING

BIEDENKAMP: Watt und die Erfindung der Dampfmaschine. — BIEDENKAMP: Stephenson und die Vorgeschichte der Eisenbahn. — BONN, M. J.: Geld und Geist. — BOULTON: History of the Steam Engine and Watt. — BÜLOW, F.: Volkswirtschaftslehre. — CARNEGIE: James Watt. — CHAMBERLAIN, H. S.: Foundations of the Nineteenth Century. — COUDENHOVE-KALERGI: Apologie der Technik. — CRAIN: Weltanschauung und Technik (in: *Technik und Wirtschaft,* VII, 1919). — DESSAUER, F.: Im Kampf mit der Wirtschaftskrise. — DESSAUER, F.: Philosophie der Technik. — DESSAUER, F. AND MEISSINGER, K. A.: Befreiung der Technik. — DIESEL, E.: Volkerschicksal und Technik. — DONATH, O.: Vom Ethos rationalisierter Arbeit. — DU BOIS-REYMOND, A.: Erfindung und Erfinder. — DUBREUIL, H.: Robots or Men? A French Workman's Experience in American Industry. — ENGELHARDT, V.: Weltanschauung und Technik. — ERMANSKI, J.: Theorie und Praxis der Rationalisierung. — ESTERER, M.: Chinas naturliche Ordnung und die Maschine. — FELDHAUS, F. M.: Die Technik der Antike und des Mittelalters. — FOERSTER, G.: Machtwille und Maschinenwelt. — FÖTTINGER: Technik und Weltanschauung. — FORD, H.: My Life and Work. — FREYER, H.: Zur Philosophie der Technik (in: *Blatter fur deutsche Philosophie,* III). — GEITEL, M.: Der Siegeslauf der Technik. — GIESE, F.: Bildungsideale im Maschinenzeitalter. — GIESE, F.: Philosophie der Arbeit. — GÖRNER, A.: Die Grundprobleme der europaischen Rationalisierung. — GOLDSTEIN: Die Technik. — GONZENBACH, W. VON: Rationalisierung und Mensch. — GRAMMEL: Technik und Kultur. — GRANT: Watt and the Steam Age. — GRÜNDEL, E. G.: Die Sendung der jungen Generation. — HALDANE, J. B. S.: Daedalus, or Science and the Future. — HANFFSTENGEL: Technisches Denken und Schaffen. — HARTMANN, S.: Technik und Staat von Babylon bis heute. — HELLPACH AND BORST: Das Problem der Industriearbeit. — HERTZ AND SEIDEL: Arbeitszeit, Arbeitslohn und Arbeitsleistung. — ICHAK: Das Perpetuum mobile. — JANSSEN: Die Grundlagen des technischen Denkens und der technischen Wissenschaft. — JOHANN, A. E.: Amerika. Untergang am Überfluss. — KAPP: Grundlinien einer Philosophie der Technik. — KRAEMER, H.: Das neunzehnte Jahrhundert in Wort und Bild. — KRANNHALS, P.: Der Weltsinn der Technik. — KRANOLD: Das Problem des Achtstundentags. — KRUEGER, F.: Die Arbeit des Menschen als philosophisches Problem (in: *Blatter für deutsche Philosophie,* III). — LANDAUER, C.: Planwirtschaft und Verkehrswirtschaft. — LEDERER, E.: Planwirtschaft. — LEINERT: Die Sozialgeschichte der Grossstadt. — LESSER, G.: Die Freisetzung des Arbeiters durch die Maschine. — MACH, E.: The Science of Mechanics. — MÄNCHEN-HELFEN, O.: Drittel der Menschheit. Ein Ostasienbuch. — MARX, K.: Capital. — MATSCHOSS, C.: Manner der Technik. — MAYER, J. P.: Das Problem der Arbeit in der deutschen Philosophie der Gegenwart. — MAYR, F. X.: Rationalisierung der Maschine Mensch. — MENNICKE: Die Kulturbedeutung des Achtstundentages. — MITSCHERLICH: Der wirtschaftliche Fortschritt. — MUIRHEAD: Life of James Watt. — MUIRHEAD: Mechanical Inventions of James Watt. — NICEFORO, A.: Les indices numériques de la civilisation et du progrès. — NOVICOV, Y.: Le problème de la misère. — ORTEGA Y GASSET, J.: Revolt of the Masses. — OSTWALD, W.: Die Pyramide der Wissenschaften. — POPP: Die Technik als Kulturproblem. — POUND, A.: The Iron Man in Industry. — RAEUCKER: Arbeitsteilung und Arbeitskultur (in: *Arbeit,* IV, 1927). — RAEUCKER: Rationalisierung als Kulturfaktor. — RAEUCKER: Rationalisierung

und Arbeiterkultur (in: *Arbeit,* III, 1926). — RIEDEL, J.: Arbeitsrationalisierung. — ROOSEVELT, F. D.: Looking Forward. — SARTORIUS VON WALTERSHAUSEN, A.: Die Entstehung der Weltwirtschaft. — SCHEERBARTH: Das Perpetuum mobile. — SCHMITT, A.: Die Weltwirtschaftskrisis. — SCHNEIDER, M.: Über Technik, technisches Denken und technische Wirkungen. — SCHRODER, S.: Die Überwindung der Wirtschaftskrise durch den Plankapitalismus. — SCHWARZ, R.: Wegweisung der Technik. — SCHWERBER, P.: Moderne Technik und christliche Weltanschauung. — SMILES: Lives of Watt and Boulton. — SMILES: The Life of George Stephenson — SOMBART, W.: Das Wirtschaftsleben im Zeitalter des Hochkapitalismus. — SOMBART, W.: Sozialismus und soziale Bewegung im neunzehnten Jahrhundert. — SPENGLER, O.: Man and Technics. — STEUERMANN, C.: Weltkrise — Weltwende. — UNGERN-STERNBERG, R. VON: Die Planung als Ordnungsprinzip der deutschen Industriewirtschaft. — VOIGT, A.: Technische Ökonomie. — WAFFENSCHMIDT: Technik und Wirtschaft. — WAGEMANN, E.: Struktur und Rhythmus der Weltwirtschaft. — WEBER, A.: Weltwirtschaft. Was jeder davon wissen muss. — WEINREICH, H.: Bildungswerte der Technik. — WELLS, H. G.: Work, Wealth, and Happiness of Mankind. — WENDT: Die Technik als Kulturmacht. — WEYRAUCH, R.: Die Technik. — WIENHENKOL, E.: Das Problem rationaler Kapitalswirtschaft in der Industrie. — WILBRANDT: Die Kulturkrise der Arbeit. — WILBRANDT: Die moderne Industriearbeiterschaft. — WILLIAMS, W.: The Worker's Mind Today (in: *The Personnel Journal,* IX, 1931). — WISSEL, R.: Kritik und Aufbau. — WITTE, I. M.: Taylor, Gilbreth, Ford: Gegenwartsfragen der amerikanischen und europaischen Arbeitswissenschaft. — WITTE, I. M.: F. W. Taylor: Der Vater wirtschaftlicher Betriebsfuhrung. — ZIEGLER, L.: Zwischen Mensch und Wirtschaft. — ZIEGLER: Die geistigen und sozialen Stromungen Deutschlands im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. — ZSCHIMMER, F.: Philosophie der Technik. — ZSCHIMMER, F.: Technik und Idealismus.

MACHINE WRECKERS, LUDDITES, CHARTISTS

BRENTANO, L.: Die englische Chartistenbewegung (in: *Preussisches Jahrbuch,* 1874). — BUTLER, S.: Erewhon. — CARLYLE, T.: Chartism. — CARLYLE, T.: Latter Day Pamphlets. — CARLYLE, T.: Past and Present. — Chartistenbewegung in England, Die. — ENGELS, F.: The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844. — GAMMAGE: History of the Chartist Movement. — GERVINUS, G. G.: Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts seit den Wiener Vertragen. — GOLDSTEIN, J.: Die Technik. — HENSEL: Thomas Carlyle. — HUNT, L.: Lord Byron and Some of His Contemporaries. — LEINERT, M.: Die Sozialgeschichte der Grossstadt. — MAUROIS, A.: Byron. — MICHELS, R.: Die Verelendungstheorie. — NOVICOV, Y.: Le problème de la misère. — SCHLUTER: Der Chartismus. — SCHLÜTER: Die Chartistenbewegung. — SCHULZE-GAVERNITZ: Carlyle. Seine Welt- und Gesellschaftsanschauung. — SOMBART, W.: Sozialismus und soziale Bewegung im 19. Jahrhundert. — TILDSLEY: Die Entstehung und die okonomischen Grundsatze der Chartistenbewegung. — WYLIE: Thomas Carlyle.

RICARDO, SISMONDI, SAY

AFTALION: L'œuvre économique de Sismondi. — RICARDO, D.: Principles of Political Economy and Taxation. — SAY, J. B.: Catechism of Political Economy. — SAY, J. B.: Cours complet d'économie politique pratique. — SAY, J. B.: A Treatise on Political Economy. — SISMONDI, J.: De la richesse commerciale ou principes de l'économie politique. — SISMONDI, J.: Etudes sur les sciences sociales. — SISMONDI, J.: Nouveaux principes d'économie politique.

TECHNOCRACY

ARKWRIGHT, F.: ABC of Technocracy. — BARKER, J. W.: Technocracy (in: *American Bankers' Association Journal,* Feb. 1933). — BONN, M. J.: The Crisis of Capitalism in America. — CHASE, S.: Men and Machines. — CHASE, S.: Technocracy — An Interpretation. — CHASE, S.: The Tragedy of Waste. — COUDENHOVE-KALERGI: Revolution durch Technik. — DEVENTER, VAN J. H.: Plain Talk about Technocracy (in: *Iron Age,* Dec. 1, 1932). — DIEHL AND MOMBERT: Arbeiter

und Maschine. — DRURY: Business Management as a Profession. — JUNG, E.: Von der "Union der Techniker" zur "Technokratischen Union" (in: *Zeitschrift des Reichsbundes deutscher Technik,* V, 1932). — KELEN, N.: Technokratie? Erkenntnisse und neue Untersuchungen (in: *Zeitschrift für Organisation,* VII). — KRAEMER, E.: Technokratie. — LAING, G. A.: Towards Technocracy. — LINHART, J.: Technokratie und Sozialpolitik (in: *Hammer und Schlagel,* Apr. 1, 1933). — LOEB, H.: Life in a Technocracy — What It Might Be Like. — PARRISH, W. W.: Technocracy's Challenge. — PARRISH, W. W.: Technocracy's Question (in: *The New Outlook,* 1932). — PARRISH, W. W.: An Outline of Technocracy. — PHILOTECHNIKUS: Technokratie, Technik Voran (in: *Zeitschrift des Reichsbibliographie deutscher Technik,* 1932). — SCOTT, H.: Introduction to Technocracy. — SCOTT, H.: Technology Smashes the Price System — An Inquiry into the Nature of Our Present Crisis (in: *Harper's Magazine,* Jan. 1933). — SCOTT, H.: Towards Technocracy (in: *The Living Age, Dec.* 1932). — Technocracy (in: *The American Machinist,* Dec. 1932). —Was ist Technokratie? — Eine alte Lehre in neuem Gewande. — Amerika als Laboratorium der Wirtschaft (in: *Tagliche Rundschau,* Feb. 1933). WITTE, I. M. AND LELLEK, R.: Technokratie. Ein Zeitschlagwort oder mehr?

VII. PROPITIATED FATE

CHINA, SUN YAT SEN

AMANN, G.: Sun Yatsens Vermächtnis. — CANTLIE AND JONES: Sun Yat Sen and the Awakening of China. — LINEBARGER, P. M. W.: Sun Yat Sen and the Chinese Republic. — ROY, M. N.: Revolution und Konterrevolution in China. — SFORZA, C.: Makers of Modern Europe. — SPIELMANN, C.: Arier und Mongolen. — SUN YAT SEN: 30 Jahre chinesische Revolution. — SUN YAT SEN: Memoirs of a Chinese Revolutionary. — SUN YAT SEN: The International Development of China. — WITTFOGEL, K. A.: Sun Yat Sen.

FASCISM, MUSSOLINI

BECKERATH: Wesen und Werden des fascistischen Staates. — BERNHARD, L.: Mussolinis Lebensgeschichte. — BURCKHARDT, J.: The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy. — BURDACH, K. AND PIUR, P. (eds.): Briefwechsel des Cola di Rienzo. — CROCE, B.: History of Italy. — FORST DE BATTAGLIA, O.: Dictatorship on Its Trial. — GENTILE, G.: Che cosa è il fascismo. — GIULIANO: La formazione storica del fascismo (in: Mussolini e il suo fascismo). — GÜTERBOCK, F.: Mussolini und der Fascismus. — HELLER, H.: Europa und der Fascismus. — HIRSCHBERG-NEUMEYER: Die italienischen Gewerkschaften. — KEMECHEY, L. VON: Il Duce. Das Leben und das Werk Benito Mussolinis. — KORNICKER, K.: Mussolini aus der Nahe. — LUDWIG, E.: Talks with Mussolini. — MANNHARDT: Der Faschismus. — MEHLIS, G.: Der Staat Mussolinis. — MEHLIS, G.: Die Idee Mussolinis und der Sinn des Faschismus. — MELETTI, V.: Die Revolution des Faschismus. — MICHELS, R.: Italien von heute. Politische und wirtschaftliche Kulturgeschichte von 1860–1930. — MICHELS, R.: Sozialismus und fascismus in Italien. — MUSSOLINI, B.: Political and Social Doctrines of Fascism. — MUSSOLINI, B.: Il nuovo stato unitario italiano. — Mussolini e il suo Fascismo (a symposium). — PARETO, V.: Le péril socialiste. — PARETO, V.: I sistemi socialisti. — PIUR, P.: Cola di Rienzo. Darstellung seines Lebens und seines Geistes. — RENATUS, K.: Das neue Italien. — ROCCO: La dottrina politica del fascismo. — SAAGER, A.: Mussolini ohne Mythus. — SARFATTI, M. G.: The Life of Benito Mussolini. — SCHREWE, E.: Faschismus und Nationalsozialismus. — SFORZA, C.: Makers of Modern Europe. — SILONE, I.: Der Fascismus. — STURZO, L.: Italy and Fascismo. — WILLIS, F. C.: Manner um Mussolini.

CONSERVATISM, BURKE, VICO

BISSET, R.: Life of Edmund Burke. — BURKE, E.: A Letter to a Noble Lord. — BURKE, E.: Reflections on the Revolution in France. — BURKE, E.: The Works of the Right Honourable E. Burke. — BURKE, E.: Thoughts on a Regicide Peace. — CAUER, E.: G. B. Vico und seine Stellung zur modernen Wissenschaft (in: *Deutsches Museum,* I, 1851). — CROCE, B.: The Philosophy of Giambattista Vico. — FLINT,

R.: Vico. — GEMMINGEN, O. VON: Vico, Hamann und Herder. — MORLEY, J.: Edmund Burke, a Historical Study. — NEUMANN, S.: Die Stufen des preussischen Konservatismus. — OPPENHEIMER, F. VON: Montaigne, Edmund Burke und die französische Revolution. — ROHDEN, P. R. AND OSTROGORSKY, G.: Menschen die Geschichte machten. — RUGGIERO, DE: Modern Philosophy. — VICO, G. B.: Autobiografia (ed. by Croce). — VICO, G. B.: Opere (ed. by Ferrari). — VICO, G. B.: Principi di una scienza nuova. — WERNER, K.: G. B. Vico als Philosoph und gelehrter Forscher.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY MATERIALISM

BÖLSCHE, W.: Charles Darwin. — BÖLSCHE, W.: Ernst Haeckel. Ein Lebensbild. — BÖLSCHE, W.: Entwicklungsgeschichte der Natur. — BUCHNER, L.: Force and Matter. — BÜCHNER, L.: Sechs Vorlesungen uber die Darwinsche Theorie. — BÜCHNER, L.: Natur und Geist. — DARWIN, C.: On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection. — DÜHRING, E.: Robert Mayer, der Galilei des 19. Jahrhunderts. — EIMER: Die Entstehung der Arten. — FLEISCHMANN: Die Darwinsche Theorie. — FRIEDLÄNDER, S.: J. R. Mayer. — HAECKEL, E.: Monism as Connecting Religion and Science; the Confession of Faith of a Man of Science. — HAECKEL, E.: The Wonders of Life. — HAECKEL, E.: History of Creation. — HAECKEL, E.: Über die Entstehung und den Stammbaum des Menschengeschlecht. — HERTWIG, O.: Allgemeine Biologie. — LANGE, F. A.: History of Materialism and Criticism of Its Present Importance. — MAUTHNER, F.: Der Atheismus und seine Geschichte im Abendlande. MAY, W.: Ernst Haeckel, Versuch einer Chronik seines Lebens und Wirkens. — MAYER, J. R.: Bemerkungen uber die Kräfte der unbelebten Natur (in: Liebig's *Annalen*, XC, 1842). — MAYER, J. R.: Bemerkungen uber das mechanische Äquivalent der Warme. — MAYER, J. R.: Die organische Bewegung in ihrem Zusammenhang mit dem Stoffwechsel. — PREYER: Darwin. Sein Leben und Wirken. — ROMANES: Darwin and after Darwin. — WALLACE, A. R.: Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection. — WASMANN: Die moderne Biologie und die Entwicklungslehre. — WEYRAUCH: R. Mayer. — WÖHLER: Grundriss der unorganischen Chemie. — WÖHLER: Grundriss der organischen Chemi.

NATIONAL SOCIALISM, HITLER

ANRICH, E.: Drei Stücke über nationalsozialistische Weltanschauung. — BANGERT, O.: Deutsche Revolution. Ein Buch vom Kampfe um das Dritte Reich. — BENN, G.: Der neue Staat und die Intellektuellen. — BENZ, R.: Geist und Reich. Um die Bestimmung des Deutschen. — BERGMANN, E.: Fichte und der Nationalsozialismus. — BERGSTRÄSSER, A.: Nation und Wirtschaft. — BRAEUTIGAM, H.: Das Wirtschaftssystem des Nationalsozialismus. — BUCHNER, H.: Grundriss einer nationalsozialistischen Volkswirtschaftstheorie. — CHAMBERLAIN, H. S.: Rasse und Persönlichkeit. — CLAUSS, L. F.: Die nordische Seele. Eine Einführung in die Rassenseelenkunde. — CLAUSS, L. F.: Von Seele und Antlitz der Rassen und Völker. — CZECH-JOCHBERG, E.: Hitler. Eine deutsche Bewegung. — DARRÉ, R. W.: Neuadel aus Blut und Boden. — *Deutschlands Erneuerung* (Monatsschrift für das deutsche Volk). — DIESEL, E.: Zwiespalt im Bild der Nation (in: *Deutsche Rundschau*, Jan. 1934). — DORNER, J.: Bauernstand und Nationalsozialismus. — ENGELHARDT, V.: An der Wende des Zeitalters. — ESCHERICH, K.: Termitenwahn. Rede gehalten beim Antritt des Rektorates der Ludwig Maximilians-Universitat am 25.11.1933. — EVOLA, J.: Imperialismo pagano. — FEDER, G.: Das Manifest zur Brechung der Zinsknechtschaft. — FEDER, G.: The Programme of the NSDAP. — FEDER, G.: Der deutsche Staat auf nationaler und sozialer Grundlage. — FORSTHOFF, E.: Der totale Staat. — FRAUENDORFER, M.: Der standische Gedanke im Nationalsozialismus. — FREYER, H.: Herrschaft und Planung. — FRIEDLAENDER-PRECHTL, R.: Wirtschaftswende. — GEISOW, H.: Die Seele des Dritten Reiches. — GOBINEAU, J. A.: The Moral and Intellectual Diversity of Races. — GOEBBELS, J.: Der Nazi-Sozi. Fragen und Antworten für den Nationalsozialisten. — GOEBBELS, J.: Die zweite Revolution. Briefe an Zeitgenossen. — GRÜNDEL, E. G.: Die Sendung der jungen Generation. — GRÜNDEL, E. G.: Jahre der Überwindung. — GÜNTHER, F. K.: Kleine Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes. — GÜNTHER, F. K.: Rasse und Stil. — GÜNTHER, F. K.: Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes. — HAUSHOFER, K.: Der nationalsozialistische

Gedanke in der Welt. — HEIDEN, K.: Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus. — HERRFAHRDT, H.: Werden und Gestalt des Dritten Reichen. — HITLER, A.: My Battle. — JUNG, E. J.: Germanische Gotter und Helden in christlicher Zeit. — JUNG, E. J.: Die Herrschaft der Minderwertigen. Ihr Zerfall und ihre Ablösung durch ein Neues Reich. — JUNG, E. J.: Sinndeutung der deutschen Revolution. — JÜNGER, E.: In Stahlgewittern. — KEYSER, E.: Die volkische Geschichtsauffassung (in: *Preussische Jahrbucher,* I, 1933). — KLAGGES, D.: Idee und System. Vortrage. — KOCH, E.: Die NSDAP. Idee, Fuhrer und Partei. — KOLBENHEYER, E. G.: Die volksbiologischen Grundlagen der Freiheitsbewegung. — KONOPACKI-KONOPATH, H.: Ist Rasse Schicksal? — KOSSINNA, G.: Altgermanische Kulturhohe. — KRANNHALS, P.: Das organische Weltbild. — LEERS, J. VON: Adolf Hitler. — LEERS, J. VON: Spenglers weltpolitisches System und der Nationalsozialismus. — LOHMANN, K.: Hitlers Staatsauffassung. — MASSMANN, K.: Wir Jugend. — MEINECKE, F.: Weltburgertum und Nationalstaat. — MOELLER VAN DEN BRUCK: Die neue Front. — MOELLER VAN DEN BRUCK: Germany's Third Empire. — MULLER-ARMACK, A.: Staatsidee- und Wirtschaftsordnung im neuen Reich. — NASSEN, P.: Kapital und Arbeit im Dritten Reich. — *Nationalsozialistisches Jahrbuch,* 1928. — NIKODEMUS: Nationalsozialismus und Luthertum. — RECHE, O.: Volk und Rasse (in: *Illustrierte Vierteljahrsschrift fur deutsches Volkstum*). — REINHARD, A.: Moeller van den Bruck. — REUPKE: Der Nationalsozialismus und die Wirtschaft. — REVENTLOW, E.: Nationaler Sozialismus im neuen Deutschland. — ROSENBERG, A.: Das Wesensgefuge des Nationalsozialismus. — ROSENBERG, A.: Der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts. — ROSENBERG, A.: Wesen, Grundsatze und Ziele der N.D.A. — RUDOLF: Nationalsozialismus und Rasse. — SCHÄFER, W.: Der deutsche Ruckfall ins Mittelalter. — SCHEMANN, L.: Die Rasse in den Geisteswissenschaften. — SCHLEGEL, W.: Nationalsozialismus, Marxismus, Bolschewismus. — SCHMITT, W.: Die Klassenkampftheorie und ihre Widerlegung. — SCHOTT, G.: Das Volksbuch von Hitler. — SCHREWE, E.: Faschismus und Nationalsozialismus. — SCHREYVOGL, F.: Die Entdeckung Europas. — SCHRUMPF, E.: Der nationale Goethe. — SCHWARZ, H.: Nationalsozialistische Weltanschauung. SCHWERBER, P.: Nationalsozialismus und Technik. — SPENGLER, O.: The Hour of Decision. — STARK: Nationale Erziehung. — STELLRECHT, H.: Der deutsche Arbeitsdienst. — STODDARD, L.: The Revolt against Civilization: The Menace of the Under Man. — VOEGELIN, E.: Die Rassenidee in der Geistesgeschichte von Ray bis Carus. — WEIPPERT, G.: Das Prinzip der Hierarchie. — WENDT, H.: Der Tag der nationalen Arbeit. — WENDT, H.: Hitler regiert. — WÜRZBACH, F.: Nietzsche und das deutsche Schicksal. — ZIEGLER, H. S.: Praktische Kulturarbeit im Dritten Reich.

ROMANTICISM, GERMAN IDEALISM, RUSKIN

ARIS, R.: Die Staatslehre Adam Mullers in ihrem Verhaltnis zur deutschen Romantik. — BAADER, F.: Grundzüge der Sozietatsphilosophie. — BAXA, J.: Adam Müllers Philosophie, Ästhetik und Staatswissenschaft. Eine Gedachtnisschrift zu seinem 100. Todestag. — BAXA, J.: Adam Muller. Ein Lebensbild aus den Befreiungskriegen und aus der deutschen Restauration. — BAXA, J.: Einfuhrung in die romantische Staatswissenschaft. — BAXA, J.: Gesellschaft und Staat im Spiegel deutscher Romantik. — BERGMANN, E.: Fichte und der Nationalsozialismus. — BREITLING, R.: Paul de Lagarde und der grossdeutsche Gedanke. — BROICHER, C.: John Ruskin und sein Werk. — BUNSON, M. VON: John Ruskin, sein Leben und sein Wirken. — BUSSE, G. VON: Die Lehre vom Staat als Organismus. Kritische Untersuchungen zur Staatsphilosophie Adam Mullers. — CARUS, K. G.: Natur und Idee oder das Werdende und sein Gesetz. — CLEMEN, P.: John Ruskin. — DOMBROWSKY, A.: Adam Muller, die historische Weltanschauung und die politische Romantik (in: *Zeitschrift für ges. Staatswissenschaft,* 1909). — ELKUS, S.: Zur Beurteilung der Romantik und zur Kritik ihrer Erforschung. — FICHTE, J. G.: Die Bestimmung des Menschen. — FICHTE, J. G.: Die Staatslehre, oder uber das Verhältnis des Urstaates zum Vernunftreiche. — FICHTE, J. G.: Grundlage des Naturrechts nach Prinzipien der Wissenschaftslehre. — FICHTE, J. G.: Addresses to the German Nation. — GÖRRES, J.: Ausgewahlte Werke und Briefe. — GÖRRES, J.: Politische Schriften. — HETTNER, H.: Die romantische Schule in ihrem innern Zusammenhang mit Goethe und Schiller. — HOBSON: John Ruskin, Social Reformer. — HUCH, R.: Ausbreitung und Verfall der Romantik. — HUCH, R.: Blütezeit der Romantik. — JOACHIMI, M.: Die Weltanschauung der deutschen Romantik. —

KIRCHER, E.: Philosophie der Romantik. — KLUCKHOHN, P.: Die deutsche Romantik. — KLUCKHOHN, P.: Personlichkeit und Gemeinschaft. Studien zur Staatsauffassung der deutschen Romantik. — KORFF: Humanismus und Romantik. — KRAMMER, M.: Die Wiedergeburt durch Lagarde. — LAGARDE, P. DE: Bekenntnis zu Deutschland. — LAGARDE, P. DE: Deutsche Schriften. — LAGARDE, P. DE: Gesammelte Abhandlungen. — LA SIZÉRANNE: Ruskin et la religion de la Beauté. — LENZ, F.: Über Adam Mullers Staats- und Gesellschaftslehre (in: *Jahrbuch für Nationalokonomie und Statistik,* 1922). — MATHER: Life and Teaching of John Ruskin. — MEINECKE, F.: Weltburgertum und Nationalstaat. — METZGER, W.: Gesellschaft, Recht und Staat in der Ethik des deutschen Idealismus. — MÜLLER, A.: Ausgewahlte Abhandlungen. — MULLER, A.: Die Elemente der Staatskunst. — MULLER, A.: Gesammelte Schriften. — MÜLLER, A.: Vermischte Schriften uber Staat, Philosophie und Kunst. NOVALIS: Schriften. — PETERSEN, J.: Die Wesensbestimmung der deutschen Romantik. — POETZSCH, A.: Studien zur fruhromantischen Politik und Geschichtsauffassung. — REINKEMEYER, F.: Adam Mullers ethische und philosophische Anschauungen im Lichte der Romantik. — ROHDEN, P. R.: Die Hauptprobleme des politischen Denkens von der Renaissance bis zur Romantik. — ROSCHER, W.: Die romantische Schule der Nationalokonomie in Deutschland (in: *Zeitschrift fur die ges. Staatswissenschaft,* 1870). — RUDIGER, G. VON: Deutsche Romantiker. Charakterbilder. — RUSKIN, J.: Fors Clavigera. — RUSKIN, J.: Modern Painters. — RUSKIN, J.: Lectures on Art. — RUSKIN, J.: Pre-Raphaelism. — RUSKIN, J.: The Stones of Venice. — RUSKIN, J.:Unto This Last. — RUSKIN, J.: On the Old Road. — SCHELLING, F. W. J.: Über die neuere Geschichte. — SCHELLING, F. W. J.: Werke. Auswahl. — SCHEMANN: Paul de Lagarde. Ein Lebens- und Erinnerungsbild. — SCHLEGEL, F.: Fragmente. — SCHLEGEL, F.: Samtliche Werke. — SCHMITT-DOROTIC, C.: Politische Romantik. — SCHULE, W.: Die staatswissenschaftliche Lehre von Adam Muller und die Neoromantik. — SPANN, O.: History of Economics. — SPANN, O.: Tote und lebendige Wissenschaft. — SPANN, O.: Vom Geist der Volkswirtschaftslehre. — STEFANSKY: Das Wesen der deutschen Romantik. — STOCKMANN, A.: Die deutsche Romantik. Ihre Wesenszuge und ihre ersten Vertreter. — STOCKMANN, A.: Die jungere Romantik. — STRICH: Deutsche Klassik und Romantik. — TOKARY-TOKARZEWSKI-KARASZEWICZ, J. VON: Adam Heinrich Müller, Ritter von Nittersdorf, als Ökonom, Literat, Philosophie- und Kunstkritiker (1779–1829). — TRIEBL, J.: Adam Muller, "Standisches Leben" (in: *Blatter fur organische Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftslehre,* 1931). — TUMARKIN: Die romantische Weltanschauung. — WALZEL, O.: Deutsche Romantik.

SOREL, NIETZSCHE, BERGSON

AQUILANTI, F.: Giorgio Sorel. — ASCOLI, M.: Georges Sorel. — BAEUMLER, A.: Nietzsche der Philosoph und Politiker. — BEER, M.: Jean Jaurès, Sozialist und Staatsmann. — BERGSON, H.: Time and Free Will. — BERGSON, H.: Creative Evolution. — BERGSON, H.: Matter and Memory. — BERTRAM, E.: Nietzsche, Versuch einer Mythologie. — CLAUSS, M.: Das politische Frankreich vor dem Kriege. — CURTIUS, E. R.: Die literarischen Wegbereiter des neuen Frankreich. — ECKARTZ, O.: Nietzsche als Kunstler. — ESCHMANN, E. W.: Georges Sorel (in: *Die Tat,* XXI). — FÖRSTER-NIETZSCHE, E.: The Life of Nietzsche. — FORSTER-NIETZSCHE, E. AND LICHTENBERGER, H.: Nietzsche und sein Werk. — FREUND, M.: Georges Sorel. Der revolutionare Konservatisismus. — FREUND, M.: Georges Sorel und die Gegenrevolution. — GORETTI, C.: Sorel. — LE ROY: Une philosophie nouvelle, Henri Bergson. — LÉVY-BRUHL: Jean Jaurès. — LICHTENBERGER, H.: La philosophie de Nietzsche. — MUCKLE, F.: Friedrich Nietzsche und der Zusammenbruch der Kultur. — NIETZSCHE, F.: Complete Works. — PAPENBROCK, H.: Georges Sorel und die Regeneration der Politik (in: *Der Ring,* 1931). — POSSE, E. H.: Bemerkungen zur Einfuhrung zu G. Sorels "Über die Gewalt" (in: *Jahrbuch fur Nationalokonomie und Statistik,* CXLI). — POSSE, E. H.: Georges Sorel (in: *Zeitschrift fur Politik,* XVIII, 1928). — POSSE, E. H.: Sorels "Fascismus" und sein Sozialismus (in: *Archiv fur die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung,* XV, 1930). — RAPPAPORT: Jean Jaurès. — REVENTLOW, E.: Deutscher Sozialismus. — RICHTER, R.: Friedrich Nietzsche, sein Leben und sein Werk. — RIEHL, A.: Friedrich Nietzsche, der Kunstler und der Denker. — ROHDEN, P. R.: Parteiwesen und Führerproblem im modernen Frankreich (in: *Zeitschrift fur der ges. Staatswissen-*

schaft, LXXXIV). — RÖMER, H.: Nietzsche. — SCHEINER, E.: Nietzsches politisches Vermachtnis in Selbstzeugnissen. — SOREL, G.: Reflections on Violence. — SOREL, G.: La décomposition de Marxisme. — SOREL, G.: Les illusions du progrès. — SOREL, G.: L'avenir socialiste des syndicats. — SOREL, G.: La ruine du monde antique. — SOREL, G.: Matériaux d'une théorie du prolétariat. — SOULÉ: La vie de Jean Jaurès, 1859–92. — STEENBERGEN, A.: Bergsons intuitive Philosophie. — VAIHINGER, H.: Nietzsche als Philosoph. — VOLKART: Jean Jaurès. — WEICHELT, H.: Nietzsche, der Philosoph des Heroismus. — WEILL, G.: Histoire du mouvement social en France, 1852–1924. — WÜRZBACH, F.: Nietzsche und das deutsche Schicksal.

TURKEY, MUSTAPHA KEMAL

ABELOUS, F.: L'évolution de la Turquie dans ses rapports avec les étrangers. — ARIF, M.: The Anatolian Revolution. — ARMSTRONG, H.: Grey Wolf, Mustafa Kemal; an Intimate Study of a Dictator. — ARMSTRONG, H.: Turkey in Travail. — ARMSTRONG, H.: Turkey and Syria Reborn. — DENY, J.: Souvenir du Gazi Moustafa Kemal Pacha. — GENTIZON, P.: Mustapha Kemal ou l'Orient en marche. — KEMAL, M.: Le discours du Ghazi Mustafa Kemal. — KNIGHT, E. F.: The Awakening of Turkey. — KOHN, H.: Geschichte der nationalen Bewegung im Orient. — MARZIO, C. DI: La Turchia di Kemal. — MÉLIA, J.: Mustapha-Kémal ou la rénovation de la Turquie. — MIKUSCH, D. VON: Gasi Mustafa Kemal. — PRICE, C.: The Rebirth of Turkey. — ROSSI, E.: Il Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pascia. — SFORZA, C.: Makers of Modern Europe. — SPENDER, A. J.: Turkey Today. — WAUGH, T.: Turkey Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow. — WORTHAM, H. E.: Mustapha Kemal of Turkey.

THE BREAKDOWN OF THE NATURAL SCIENCES

ADLER, F.: Machs Überwindung des mechanischen Materialismus. — BAEGE, M. H.: Die Naturphilosophie Machs. — BAVINK, B.: Die Naturwissenschaft auf dem Wege zur Religion. — BAVINK, B.: Ergebnisse und Probleme der Naturwissenschaft. — BESSEL: Gradmessung in Ostpreussen. — BÜHLER, K.: Die Gestaltwahrnehmungen. — DACQUÉ, E.: Handbuch der Palaogeographie. — DACQUÉ, E.: Urwelt, Sage und Menschheit. — DINGLER, H.: Die Zusammenbruch der Wissenschaft und der Primat der Philosophie. — DRIESCH, H.: Die Biologie als selbstandige Grundwissenschaft. — DRIESCH, H.: Die Lokalisation morphologischer Vorgange, ein Beweis vitalistischen Geschehens. — DRIESCH, H.: The History and Theory of Vitalism. — DRIESCH, H.: Science and Philosophy of the Organism. — DURÈGE: Bessels Leben und Wirken. — EHRENFELS, C. VON: System der Werttheorie. — FLACH, A.: Psychomotorische Gestaltbildung im normalen und pathologischen Seelenleben (in: *Archiv fur die gesellschaftlichen Psychologie,* 1934). — FREUD, S.: Civilization and Its Discontents. — FRANCK AND JORDAN: Anregung von Quantensprungen durch Stosse. — HENNING, H.: Ernst Mach als Philosoph, Physiker und Psychologe. — JUNG, C. G.: Psychology of the Unconscious; a Study of the Transformations and Symbolisms of the Libido. — KIRCHBERGER: Die Entwicklung der Atomtheorie. — KLEIN, F., BRENDEL, M., SCHLESINGER, L.: Materialen fur eine wissenschaftliche Biographie von Gauss. — KÖHLER, W.: Die physischen Gestalten in Ruhe und im stationaren Zustand. — LAMPA: Ernst Mach. — MÜLLER, G. E.: Komplextheorie und Gestalttheorie. — Philosophie der Gegenwart in Selbstdarstellungen, Die. Vol. I. — PLANCK, M.: The Origin and Development of the Quantum Theory. — PLANCK, M.: Introduction to Theoretical Physics. — REICHE, F.: Die Quantentheorie. — SCHRÖDINGER, F.: Collected Papers on Wave Mechanics.

INDEX

Abraham, 75
Academy, in Paris, 369, 370, 371
Action Française, 391
Adam, 100, 110, 114, 252, 255, 267
Adventists, 94, 96
Africa, 54, 104, 201, 326, 396, 411
Agamemnon, 252
Agni, 12
Ahriman, 13, 16, 18
Albert, 288, 297, 298
Albertus Magnus, 259
Albigenses, 21
Alexander, Tsar, 188, 202, 204, 205, 214
Alexander III, Pope, 126
Alexander the Great, 88, 124
Allah, 15, 54, 90, 410, 411, 415, 417
Allard, Roger, 359
Amalthea, 253
Ambrose, St., 107
America. witches, 29; republics founded by theologians, 34; puritanism of the colonists, 39, early taboos, 45, decay of puritanism, 52; Zion City, 66; "greatest happiness of the greatest number," 204, Shakers, 77, Millerites, 94, Mormons, 64ff., 94ff., Paine advocates independence, 129, slavery, 134, inspired by French revolution, 180, Lafayette, 207, 208, Owen's New Harmony, 248ff., seventeen men can mill its flour, 265, production statistics, 266, wealth, 267, industrial revolution, 277, 278, 324, 325, future task, 326, overseas markets, 327, technocracy, 327ff.; system of mechanization, 362; constitutions dictated by Bentham, 396. *See also* New England, South America, *and entries for individual States and countries.*
Ami du Peuple, 160, 163
Ammon Ra, 88, 106
Amos, 125
Anabaptists, 63, 64, 66, 67, 115, 316, 415
Anthony, St., of Padua, 17, 25
Apocalypse, 59. *See also* Revelation, Book of
Apollyon, 19
Appassionata Sonata (Beethoven), 309
Aquinas, Thomas, 17, 30, 44, 143, 190, 195, 231, 259, 345, 414
Arabia, 53, 54, 362, 410, 411, 412
Archimedes, 255
Archytas of Tarentum, 259
Aristippus of Cyrene, 195
Aristotle, 30, 43, 48, 124, 134, 194, 197, 255, 259, 261, 316, 365
Ark of the Covenant, 64
Arkwright, Richard, 220, 257, 260, 268
Arnauld, Michel, 385
Arnims, the, 343
Asbury, Bishop Francis, 52
Asia, 308, 309, 327, 411, 412
Asparagus, Prince of, 174
Asseburg, Fraulein von, 93
Assembly, Constituent, 127ff., 151, 160, 166, 175, 176, 199, 208, 396
Assyria, 12, 64, 68
Athenæon, 101
Athens, 122, 123, 199, 202
Augustine, St., 17, 43, 104, 108, 414
Austria, 26, 129, 176, 181, 203, 205, 208, 209, 247
Avanti, 401
Aztec, 40, 88

Baader, 343
Bab, Babists, the; 81ff., 87, 90, 96, 282, 370, 415
Babel, Tower of, 95
Babeuf, "Gracchus," 139, 162
Babylon, 9, 14, 16, 57, 58, 66, 69, 70, 307, 328
Bacon Francis, 145, 189, 218, 222, 256, 261, 317, 394
Bacon, Roger, 22, 189, 190, 256, 261, 266, 373
Bafulo, Bernardo, 23
Bakunin, 307
Bal Shem, 258
Ball, John, 100ff., 110, 116, 120, 139, 279, 302. *See also* Mad Priest of Kent
Baptists, 53
Bar-Cocheba, 70
Barrison, 89
Barry, Madame du, 207
Baruch-Apocalypse, 57
Basil, 195
Bastiat, 197
Bastille, 127, 128, 129, 154, 156, 175
Bathory, István, 113

Bavaria, 26, 218, 248
Bavink, 379
Beaumarchais, 148
Bed Bug, The, 368
Bedny, Denyan, 315
Bedouins, 362
Beethoven, Ludwig van, 309
Belgium, 183, 214, 235
Benedict, Brother, 23
Bentham, Jeremy, 192, 193, 195, 196, 198ff., 214, 215, 217, 235, 237, 282, 283, 328, 346, 396
Bergson, Henri, 377, 394, 401
Berkeley, 190
Bernard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, 250
Bernardino of Siena, 24
Berthold of Ratisbon, 22, 109
Bessel, Friedrich Wilhelm, 369
Black Death, 26
Black Forest, 112
Blanc, Louis, 288, 297, 298
Bliaux, Sophie, 231
Blumenbach, 376
Boccaccio, 231
Bockelsson, Johann, 63
Bohemia, 63, 113
Bohr, Niels, 373
Bolivar, Simon, 200, 201
Bolshevism, 309, 313ff., 318, 320, 326, 327, 362, 364ff., 381, 403, 416
Bolyai, 371
Bombay, 278, 280, 326
Bonifacio de Andrada, 201
Bosco, 310
Boudry, 158
Bourbon, 173, 174, 203, 208, 209, 210, 211, 241
Bourget, 384
Boxer rebellion, 274, 275
Brahmins, 16
Brazil, 201, 326, 362
Brentano, 349
Bridget, St., 17
Brissot de Warville, 138
Brussels, 214, 289, 297, 298
Büchner, 351, 423
Buddha, Buddhism, 12, 16, 40, 68, 231
Buenos Aires, 199, 201, 202
Bundschuh, 112, 116, 415
Burke, Edmund, 334ff., 389
Burne-Jones, Edward, 356
Burnett, 216
Butler, Samuel, 275
Byron, Lord, 242, 250, 269

"Ça ira," 127
Cæsars, 400
Cahiers de la Quinzaine, 385
Cairo, 84, 85, 411
Calendar, Positivist, 231
California, 65, 381
Calle, Guillaume, 113
Calvin, Calvinism, 30ff., 39, 44, 47, 48, 50, 52ff., 72, 117, 118, 171, 418, 424
Campanella, 238
Canada, 325, 326
Candeille, Demoiselle, 146
Candolle, 375
Capital (Marx), 381, 425
Carbonari, 209
Carlyle, Thomas, 269, 288
Carpocras, 104
Carrier, 152
Cartwright, Edmund, 220, 257
Carus, 376
Catechism, 86
Catéchisme des Industriels, 227
Cathars, 21
Catherine the Great, 129
Catholic Association, 214
Catholic Church offsets dread with comfort, 18ff., 71, 72, primal dread reconquers, 27, 30, 31, 41, 42, 59, 60; iconoclasm of the Reformation, 47, views on social equality, 103, 104, 108ff., 117, 125, 126, 138, 252, 415, Hussite uprising, 113, 114; reason, rationalism, 143, 394, 395, 399; Sorel, 391; nationalism held in check, 395, 398
Cavaignac, 299
Charlemagne, 225
Charles VII, 25, 265
Charles X, 206, 209
Chartism (Carlyle), 288
Chartists, 269, 275
Chatham, 216
Chaumette, Pierre-Gaspard, 146
Chen-shen, 86
Chénier, Joseph, 176
Chester, John Wilkins, bishop of, 255
Chesterfield, 261
Chicago, 66, 93, 321
Chimæra, 9
Ch'in dynasty, 87
China, Chinese, 12, 17, 85ff., 218, 266, 270, 274, 275, 278, 326, 361, 362, 415, 421
Chinese Gordon, 87
Choiseul, Duke of, 208
Christ, 59, 60, 69, 72, 73, 74, 76, 93, 113, 419, 420. *See also* Jesus
Christianity: dread, 17, 41, 70; apocalyptic speculation, 59; Chinese echoes, 86; flagellants, 25, 26, 307; human equality, 103, 104, 106ff, 116, 125, 126, 190, 415, 419; incomprehensibility of events, 142; happiness not material, 195; France returns to it, 203; Holy Alliance, 205; "social Christianity," 230; man created good, 281; Ptolemaic outlook, 345; architecture, 358; Nietzsche, 393, 418; internationalism, 413, 414. *See also* Catholic Church
Christo-Germanic Circle, 346, 347, 349
Christophe, 174

Chronique de Paris, 137
Chrysostom, St. John, 126, 142
Chu, 360
Chuang-Tse, 360, 361
Church, Catholic. *See* Catholic Church
Church of the Intellectuals, 230
Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints, 65
Church of Woman, 77
Cihuacohuatl, 12
Circumcellions, 104
City of the Lord, 63
City of Salvation, 66
City of the Sun, Campanella's, 238
Civitas Dei, 414
Claudianus, 255
Clement of Alexandria, 42
Cloots, Baron Anacharsis, 128ff., 135, 395, 397
Clotilde Cult, 231
Cobbett, William, 278
Cockerill Works, 274
Code de la nature, 147
Code Napoléon, 182, 183, 217, 396
Columbus, 236
Committee of Public Safety, 170, 199
Commons, House of, 48, 214, 334, 335, 336, 341
Commonwealth (England), 44, 51, 118
Communist Manifesto, The (Marx and Engels), 297, 305, 306, 310, 380
Communist Party (Russia), 322, 365, 366
Comte, Auguste, 223ff., 235, 238, 239, 286, 287, 328, 331, 351, 384, 397, 402
Condorcet, 137, 172
Confucius, 266
Congress (U. S.), 248
Connecticut, 40, 78
Consistorium, of Geneva, 44, 45, 47, 48
Constantine, Grand Duke, 214
Constantinople, 80, 240
Constituent Assembly. *See* Assembly, Constituent
Contrat social (Rousseau), 138
Consulate, Consuls, 173, 199
Convention, 129, 134, 135, 139, 145, 146, 152, 161, 165, 169, 171, 172, 173, 192, 203, 369, 394, 395
Cooper, 38
Copernicus, 236, 344
Corday, Charlotte, 164
Cortés, 88
Coster, Robert, 119
Cotton, John, 118
Crane, Walter, 356
Creation, Creator, 59
Creoles, 199, 200
Crimmitschau, 274
Croce, Benedetto, 391, 401
Cromwell, Oliver, 37ff., 51, 96, 118, 307
Cronus, 340
Crowdy, William, 75, 76
Curci, Carlo Maria, S.J., 276, 283
Cusanus, Nikolaus, 197
Cynics, 40
Cyrenaics, 195
Cyrus, 70

Dædalus, 255
Dail Eireann, 413
Daniel, 58, 59, 64, 94, 236, 303, 314, 316, 328, 329
Dante, 18, 20
Danton, 156ff., 161, 162, 164, 165, 170, 176, 199
Danzig, 272, 275
Daqué, Edgar, 375
Darwin, Charles, 351
Daumier, 215, 287
David, 63, 64, 69, 70, 75, 80, 90
Day of Judgment, 216
De jure belli et pacis (Grotius), 121
De la richesse commerciale (Sismondi), 284
De rerum naturæ (Lucretius), 142
Declaration of Independence (U.S.), 127, 134, 135
Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen (France), 127ff., 138, 151, 175, 199, 200, 208. *See also* Rights of Man
Declaration of Rights (England), 189
Defoe, Daniel, 216
Delawares, 88
Demiurge, 21
Denmark, 26, 38
Descartes, René, 143, 144, 229, 335, 384, 394
Desmoulins, Camille, 155ff., 164, 165, 169, 170, 176
Dessalines, 133, 173
Devil, 17ff., 26ff., 38, 42, 45, 50, 51, 54, 281
Diderot, 129, 145, 182, 349
Diggers, 119, 120
Dingler, Hugo, 374
Dionysius the Areopagite, 107
Dionysus, 12
Directory, 139, 173, 199
Discours sur l'inégalité des conditions (Rousseau), 137
Dolores, Grito de, 199
Don Juan, 231
Dostoievsky, 309, 398, 401, 413
Dowie, John Alexander, 66, 93
Dozsa, Gyorgy, 113
Driesch, Hans, 377
Drimmacus, 101
Dryden, John, 48
Du Barry. *See* Barry, Madame du
Dubourg, 213
Dumb Girl of Portici, 214
Duport, Citizen, 145, 394

Dutch, 78, 214. *See also* Holland, Netherlands

Earthly Paradise, 64, 70, 110
Echidna, 9
Edinburgh, 33, 36, 49, 52, 171
Edward VI, 33
Egypt, Egyptian, 13, 40, 54, 69, 88, 91, 95, 106, 180, 253, 259, 278, 322, 326, 362
Ehrenfels, Christian von, 377
Eighteenth Brumaire, 209
Elba, 181
Elemente der Staatskunst (Müller), 348
Elias, 63
Elijah, 63, 66, 93, 253, 322
Emma, Emperor, 16
Empedocles, 16
Empusa, 12
Enceladus, 288
Encyclopædists, 145
Engels, Friedrich, 292, 304ff., 315, 319, 329, 331, 351
England: flagellants, 26; puritanism, 33, 34, 37ff., 44, 46, 51; apocalyptic expectations, 64, 76; the Mahdi, 85, 91; peasant uprisings, 100ff.; religious equalitarianism, 118, 119; relation to the French revolutions and the Enlightenment, 128, 180, 181, 192, 210, 214, 288, 334ff., 343; Paine, 129; evils of bureaucracy, 186; Russian alliance, 188; realism and liberalism, 188ff.; Louis-Philippe a refugee, 211, 287; "promotion," 216; opportunity for social rise, 217; technical advance, 219ff.; growth of wealth, 221; Newtonian Council, 230; belief in positive knowledge, 234; patron sought by Fourier, 241, "environmental theory," 244, 245; industrial revolution, 268ff., 273ff., 283, 352, 356, India, 270; liberal constitutions excogitated, 397
Enlightenment in Russia, 129, 204, 311; scientific and abstract, 145, 148, 182, 197, 218; fundamental religious bias, 171, 310, 374; rationalism, 171, 348ff., 378, 382, relation to English thought and politics, 192, 340ff.; relation to Christianity, 195, 264, 394, 395, 414ff.; belief in original goodness and progress, 198, 222, 231, Voltaire, 208; influence on later times, 311, 384, 390, 398, 401, 407; contradicted by biology, 423
Epictetus, 132
Epicurus, 142, 195
Epiphanes, 104
Erasmus, 46
Erewhon (Butler), 275
Erfurt, 94, 314
Erinyes, 15, 18
Erse, 413
Erziehung des Menschengeschlects (Lessing), 310
Eskimos, 252
Esquirol, Dr., 227
Essay concerning Human Understanding (Locke), 143
Essenes, 40
Ethics (Aristotle), 48
Euclid, 346, 371, 372, 419, 423, 424
Eumenides, 15
Eunus, 101
Euripides, 12
Eve, 100, 114, 267
Everet, 272
Ezekiel, 14, 68, 125

Fairfax, 119
Farbenlehre, Geschichte der (Goethe), 159
Fascism, Fascist, 401ff., 423
Father, the reign (realm) of the, 60, 328
Fathers of the Church, 41, 42, 138. *See also individual entries*
Fauchet, Abbé, 136
Faust, 256
Felice, De, 310
Fenris, 69
Ferdinand, 213
Ferrer, St. Vincent, 26
Ferrière, La, 174, 177
Feuerbach, Ludwig, 193, 291, 351
Fichte, Johann Gottlieb, 128, 342, 343, 344
Fielden, John, 277
Fifth Monarchy (Realm), 64, 96
Fioris, abbot of, 316. *See also* Joachim da Celico
First International, 380
Five Kingdoms, 64
Five-Year Plan, 322, 324, 325, 326, 381
Fletcher of Saltoun, 216
Flocon, 297, 298
Florence, 24, 32
Flavius, Josephus, 59
Ford, Henry, 357
Fouquier-Tinville, 219
Fourier, Charles, 233ff., 243, 245, 246, 285, 303, 327, 328, 329
Fox, Charles James, 334, 335
France witches, 29; iconoclasm, 46; the Mahdi, 85; revolution of 1789, 127ff.; Reign of Terror, 152ff.; the Empire and reaction, 173ff.; Napoleon fulfils the revolution, 180ff.; England the source of revolutionary ideas, 192, liberalism, 203; Bourbon restoration, 203, 206, 209; Tsar Alexander influenced by revolution, 204; Lafayette regarded as the revolution itself, 208; revolution of 1830, 207, 210, 212, 214, 340; continuance of monarchy preferred to revolution, 211; science, 218, 219; Newtonian Council, 230; salvationism of Fourier, 233ff.; "environmental

theory," 244, 245; revolutionists attempted to dispel primal dread, 281; revolution of 1848, 287, 288; Burke's reaction to the revolution, 334ff.; German idealist philosophy in relation to French rationalism, 342, 343; reason loses ground, 349; liberation as aim of revolution, 368; national Jacobinism, 380; Sorel settles accounts with eighteenth-century ideas, 384, 385; revolution materialized philosophy, 394; Fascism emulates 1789, 401; the State and reason, 403
Francis of Assisi, 22
Franklin, Benjamin, 135, 208
Frederick III (the Wise) of Saxony, 112
Freud, Sigmund, 10, 378
Fuhrer, 409. *See also* Hitler, Adolf
Furies, 18

Gabriel, 75
Gæa, 9
Galatians, Epistle to the, 41
Galileo, 144, 150, 394
Gall, Ludwig, 301
Gandhi, 274, 278, 422
Garuda, 13
Gastiev, 321
Gauss, C. F., 371
Gavarni, Paul, 277, 283
Genesis, 59, 77, 107, 253
Geneva, 32ff., 44, 47, 48, 52, 54, 171
Gentile, Giovanni, 405
Gentz, 205
Gerbert, 259
Germany. revivalism in the Middle Ages, 22, witches, 29, Reformation, 63; reaction to French revolution, 128, 180, end of world expected, 93; peasant uprisings, 111ff.; Code Napoléon, 183, Newtonian Council, 230, observed by Fourier, 235, effect of French revolution of 1848, 288, 297; Marx, 297, 306, 307, 380; social effects of machinery, 301; idealist philosophy, 342, 343; romanticism, 342, 346, 347; thinkers of nineteenth century, 349; Hitler to deliver from spell of "fiction of humanity," 408; denial of ancient ideal of equality, 417ff., "mass-idea" rejected, 420, ideal of race, 422, 423
Geryon, 18
Gestalt, 377, 380, 381, 386, 408, 417, 420
Geyer, Florian, 112
Giovanni da Schio, 23
Gironde, 176
Glasgow, 195, 247, 283
God: vengeful, 13ff.; softened, 15; correlated with the Devil, 18; not too hard on the sinner, 19; Calvin's, 31ff.; disapproves of swimming, 49; likes long sermons, 51; pleased by loveless marriages, 52; goodwill brought by redemption, 57; his wrath, 59; his kingdom, 59, 60; human equality under him, 103, 104, 117, 118, 413, 414, 416, 417, 422; all-good, 106; St. Ambrose's view, 107, 108; riches are from him, 108ff., 138; sufferings of the poor, blind enemy of his enemies, 113, 114; immediate programme, 115; communist realm, 116; Diggers would restore equality before him, 119ff.; differences in station his will, 142; Luther's view, 143, 144; Descartes on his will, 144; shelved by the Enlightenment, 145; statistics to show forth his glory, 147; Robespierre on his side, 167, 172; replaced by "Reason," 182; English study world in relation to him, 189; world-order culminated in him, 190, Feuerbach's "first thought," 193; Christian view subordinates man, 195, Leibniz's view, 197, rule by his grace, 181, 203, 209ff., 407; created States, 203; Tsar Alexander learns to know him, 204, his will done in France, 206; Presbyterian consciousness of his wrath, 50, 215, 216; Newton to sit at his right hand, 229, 230; prescribed toil as atonement for sin, 252; control of magical powers, 255; a second creation, 257, 258; Enlightenment demotes him, 264; redemption by his grace, 281; Marx his prophet, 293; dethroned, 300; romanticists' vision, 342, Sorel as if appointed by him, 383; Mussolini does not seek mandate, 410
Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 97, 128, 159, 275, 316, 343, 351, 376, 417, 419
Golden Age, 58, 89, 232, 315, 328
Golem, 259
Gordon. *See* Chinese Gordon
Gorgons, 9
Gorky, Maxim, 309
Gorres, Jakob Joseph von, 343, 349
Gotthelf, Jeremias, 269
Gotz von Berlichingen, 112
Gracchi, 136
Gradgrind, 98
Great Britain. *See* England, Scotland
Great Peace Dynasty, 86, 87
Great Salt Lake, 65, 67, 94
Greece, Greeks, 12, 15, 16, 19, 25, 64, 88, 122ff., 201, 253, 385, 397, 411, 421
Green, J. R., 37
Gregory of Nyssa, 103, 415
Grimms, the, 343
Grito de Dolores, 199
Grotius, Hugo, 121, 422
Guizot, 215, 216
Guret ul Ain, 82, 83

Hadrian, 70
Haeckel, Ernst, 351, 377
Haiti, 130ff., 173, 174. *See also* Santo Domingo

Halévy, Daniel, 384
Hall, Charles, 301
Hallelujah Year, 61
Hamlet (Shakespeare), 367
Hampden, 38
Hardenberg, 187, 188
Harding, William, 49
Hardy, Thomas, 129
Hargreaves, James, 220, 257, 260, 272, 273
Harmonies économiques (Bastiat), 197
Harpies, 12, 18
Hébert, 167
Hebrew, Hebrews, 88, 125. *See also* Jews
Hecate, 12
Heeren, Arnold Hermann, 348
Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, 128, 137, 149, 279, 290ff., 301, 343, 395, 409
Heimdall, 106
Heine, Heinrich, 213, 298, 299, 310
Hellenes. *See* Greeks
Helvétius, 175, 182
Henry I (Haiti), 174
Hephæstus, 255, 293
Herder, Johann Gottfried von, 342, 343, 417
Hero of Alexandria, 218
Herod Antipas, 15, 69
Hesiod, 279
Hesse, 128, 206
Hesse, Prince Charles Constantine of, 128
Hidalgo y Costilla, Miguel, 199
Hindu, Hindus, 12, 68, 274, 362, 410, 422. *See also* India, Hindustan
Hindustan, 106, 180, 221, 270, 421. *See also* India, Hindu
Hippocrates, 231
Hitler, Adolf, 408ff., 419, 420
Hobbes, 144, 189
Hoffmann, Melchior, 63, 66
Holbach, 182, 349
Holland, 183, 224, 235. *See also* Dutch, Netherlands
Holy Alliance, 205, 206, 213, 215
Holy Ghost, 328, 329; Warriors of the, 62, 415
Holy Mount, 78
Holy Spirit, reign of the, 60
Homer, 97, 252, 265, 279
Horopapera, 75
Hospitallers, 116
Household Discipline, Books of, 45
Hudson, Henry, 88
Hume, 244
Hundred Days, 173, 181, 203
Hung-Hsiu-ch'uan, 85ff., 92
Hungary, 26, 79, 112, 113
Hunt, Paterfamilias, 49
Hussite, 63, 113, 114
Hutcheson, 195
Hymn on Christ's Nativity (Milton), 58

Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit (Herder), 342, 417
India, 54, 221, 270, 274, 275, 278, 326, 362, 422. *See also* Hindu, Hindustan
Indiana, 248, 249
Indian, Indians, 17, 40, 199, 200, 201. *See also* Delawares, Omahas
Inferno (Dante), 18, 20
Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations (Adam Smith), 191, 283
Inquisition, 21
International. *See* First International, Second International
Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation (Bentham), 192, 200
Irenæus, 41, 59
Isaiah, 56, 57, 68, 303
Ishtar, 12
Isis, 25
Islam, 54, 126. *See also* Mohammedanism
Islip, Archbishop, 104
Ismet Pasha, 413
Italy, 29, 180, 183, 230, 400ff., 420

Jacobinism, 208, 210, 211, 309, 380
Jacques Bonhomme, 102
Jains, 16
James, Dr., 219
James II, 189
James, William, 405, 407
Japan, 16, 105, 326, 362
Jaurès, Jean, 380, 400
Jean, Lucien, 383
Jean Paul, 5, 418
Jeans, Sir James, 375
Jefferson, Thomas, 135, 208
Jerome, St., 41, 58, 59
Jerome of Ascoli, 256
Jerusalem, 15, 242, 279
Jesuits, 44, 231, 276, 277, 283
Jesus, teachings, 42, 70; messiah, 71; a Negro, 75; female incarnation, 77; Heavenly Elder Brother of Hung, 87; visited American Jews, 95; to open heaven to the poor, 118; Newton to replace him at God's right hand, 229; Weitling expects a "new messiah," 297. *See also* Christ.
Jesus the son of Sirach, 252
Jews, Jewry, apocalyptic expectations, 57; messianism, 68, 69, 70; Maoris the lost tribes, 75; a messiah in Smyrna, 78ff., 90, 91; Judaized Negroes, 89; American Jews and Mormon, 95, Marx and Ricardo, 301; Babylonian captivity, 307; Christianized usurers, 340. *See also* Hebrew
Jezirah, Book of, 259
Joachim da Celico, 60, 96, 236, 305, 328, 329. *See also* Fioris, abbot of
Joan of Arc, 25. *See also* Maid of Orleans
Job, 13
Joel, 57

John, Archduke, 247
John Chrysostom, St., 126, 142
John of Leyden, 63, 64
John of Vicenza, 61, 62
John of Winterthur, 22
John the Baptist, 15, 23
Jonah, 14, 24
Josephus, Flavius, 59
Judgment: Day of, 216; Last, 71
June Days of 1848, 299
Jung, 378
Juno, 15
Justin Martyr, 59

Kali, 12
Kay, John, 257, 260, 261, 273
Keller, Gottfried, 368
Kemal, Mustapha, 411ff.
Kepler, Johann, 29, 197
Kierkegaard, 10
Kingdom Come, 66, 67, 115
Kitchener, Lord, 91
Knox, John, 36, 37, 39, 50, 171
Koehler, Wolfgang, 377
Koran, 81, 87, 90, 411
Kremlin, 74, 315, 322, 323, 325, 366
Krishna, 68
Kritik der Hegelschen Philosophie (Feuerbach), 291
Krudener, Frau von, 205
Kyrie Eleison, 26

La Harpe, 204
Lacedæmon, 122, 139
Lafargue, 307
Lafayette, 127, 207ff., 211, 212
Laffitte, 211, 242
Lagarde, Paul de, 418
Lamarck, 244, 376
Lamartine, 299, 363
Lamettrie, 150, 423
Lancellotti, 272
Lassalle, 380
Last Judgment, 71
Latter-Day Saints, 65, 94, 316. *See also* Mormons
Lavoisier, 159, 160, 219
Laws (Plato), 193
Lazaretti, David, 73, 74
Lee, Ann, 76ff.
Lee, William, 273
Leibniz, 150, 197, 345, 351, 376
Lemonade, Duke of, 174
Lenin, V. I., 308ff., 324, 365, 381, 382, 391
Leonardo da Vinci, 218
Lessing, 310
Lesueur, 249
Levasseur, Dr., 163
Levellers, 120
Levites, 125
Lévy-Bruhl, 105
Laws, Book of, 86
Life, Book of, 67
Locke, John, 143, 189, 244
Loki, 13, 69
London, 100, 103, 129, 200ff., 220, 282, 289, 311, 346, 396, 415
Longuet, 307
Lord's Day, 49
Lords, House of, 216, 269
Lost Ten Tribes, 75
Louis XIV, 181
Louis XV, 208
Louis XVI, 103, 127, 153, 165, 166, 203, 206, 209, 211, 213
Louis XVIII, 177, 203, 206
Louis-Philippe, 210ff., 215, 287
Low, 258
Low Countries, 35
Lubomirska, Princess Rosalie, 129
Lucretius, 142, 144
Ludd, Ned, 273
Luddite movement, 273, 278
Luke, St., 108
Lupkin, Prokopi, 74
Luther, Martin, 30, 31, 63, 116, 117, 118, 143
Lycurgus, 48, 122, 136
Lyons, 233, 288

Mably, 136
Macandale, 133
Macaulay, T. B., 48
Macbeth (Shakespeare), 334
Mach, Ernst, 374
Maclure, William, 249
Mad Priest of Kent, 100ff., 110, 115, 415. *See also* Ball, John
Maerlant, Jacob van, 139
Mahdi (Mohammed Ahmed), 83ff., 87, 91, 92, 96, 370, 415
Mahmud Khan, 83
Maid of Orleans, 176. *See also* Joan of Arc
Maimonides, 80
Maistre, Count Joseph de, 204, 397, 398
Malachi, 63
Malay fable, 254
Malthus, Thomas Robert, 353
Manchus, 85ff.
Manichæans, 21, 43
Maoris, 75
Mara the Stoic, 279
Marat, Jean-Paul, 136, 158
Marduk, 69
Mariage de Figaro (Beaumarchais), 148
Marie Antoinette, 153, 154
Mariolatry, 231
Marmalade, Duke of, 174
"Marseillaise," 181, 212
Marvell, Andrew, 38
Marwitz, General von, 185

Marx, Karl, 289ff.; Lenin's faith in him unconditional, 308, 309; interpreted by the Russians, 311ff., 316ff.; envisioned catastrophe, 325; straitened circumstances, 327; in relation to technocracy, 328ff.; historical materialism, 351, 397; mechanical view of human life, 352, 353; on machinery, 361; collectivism in culture and art, 366; underestimated nationalism, 380ff.; effect on Mussolini, 399, 402; mankind never sets itself problems it cannot solve, 425
Marx, Frau, 292
Mary (Queen of England), 189
Mary of Anjou, 265
Mary Queen of Scots, 36
Massachusetts, 45, 48, 78, 94, 118, 277
Matthew, St., Gospel according to, 71
Maximilian, Archduke, 247
Mayakovsky, Vladimir, 368
Mayer, Robert, 350
Medusa, 12
Mehemet Ali, 54
Mehring, Franz, 305
Methodism, 52, 53
Metternich, Prince, 205, 208, 213, 214
Mexico, 12, 199, 224, 285, 362
Michelson, 374
Middle Kingdom (China), 85, 361, 421
Midsummer Night's Dream (Shakespeare), 298
Mill, John Stuart, 282
Miller, William, 94, 381
Millerites, 94
Milton, John, 46, 58
Ming dynasty, 86, 87
Mirabeau, 160, 161, 169
Mirza Ali Mohammed, 81ff.
Misanthrope (Molière), 51
Mitche-Manitou, 88
Mitra, 12
Mkha-Sgro-Ma, 13
Moeller van den Bruck, 425
Mohammed, 84, 126, 410, 415
Mohammed Ahmed. *See* Mahdi
Mohammed ibn Abdul-Wahab, 53
Mohammedanism, 82, 90, 410ff. *See also* Islam, Moslems
Moleschott, 423
Molière, 51
Montanists, 67, 305
Montanus, 59
Montesquieu, 175, 182, 210, 244, 342
Montezuma, 88
Montgaillard, 154
More, Thomas, 238
Morelly, 147
Mormons, 64ff., 94ff., 282, 370, 415. *See also* Latter-Day Saints
Morris, William, 356
Moscow, 74, 204, 321, 323
Moses, 91
Moslem, Moslems, 53, 54. *See also* Islam, Mohammedanism
Mother-to-be of the Christ, 76
Mount Tabor, 63, 114, 314
Mountain, the, 161, 163
Müller, Adam, 334, 343, 344, 345, 347, 348, 349, 355, 356
Muller, Anton, 272
Müller, Johannes von, 128
Munster, 63, 64, 67, 314
Münzer, Thomas, 115, 116, 120
Mussolini, Benito, 399ff., 408, 410, 417, 419, 420, 422
Mythus des Zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts (Rosenberg), 419

Napoleon, 173, 177; as missionary of the revolution, 180ff., opened careers to persons of talent, 182, 196, ignored evils of bureaucracy, 186; opposed to Stein, 187, fundamental liberalism, 188; his armies less powerful than Bentham's thought, 198, 202, prototype of South American revolutionists, 200, the Lord's judgment in Russia, 204; opposition to Lafayette, 208; ideas diffused by his sword, 214; "purified revolution," 215; aspired to consolidate realm of reason, 232; sought out by Fourier, 241; overlooked forces of nationalism, 396, 414
National Assembly (Turkey), 413
National Guard, 208, 209, 212
National Socialism (Germany), 408ff., 418ff., 425
National Workshops, 288, 297ff.
Naylor, James, 72, 73
Nazis, 418, 419, 421, 423. *See also* National Socialism
Necker, 155
Negroes, 89, 130ff., 135, 173, 174, 177
Netherlands, 46. *See also* Dutch, Holland
Neue Rheinische Zeitung, 299
New Apostolic Church, 63
New Atlantis (Francis Bacon), 218, 261
New Christianity (Saint-Simon), 226
New Church of Christ, 75
New England, 38ff., 44, 48, 49
New Evangel, 310
New Harmony (Indiana), 248ff., 284, 285
New Jerusalem, 64, 71, 73
New Lanark, 243, 246, 247
New Testament, 310
New York, 78, 95, 202, 271
New York Times, 271
New Zealand, 275
New Zion, 94
Newcomen, 221, 260, 261
Newton, Isaac, 147, 159, 160, 196, 225, 229, 230, 235, 236, 349, 379, 394
Newtonian Council, 229ff.

Nicholas I, 247
Nietzsche, Friedrich, 391ff., 400ff., 407, 417, 418, 422, 425
Nineveh, 14, 24
Ninth Thermidor, 172, 209
Notre Dame, 146, 287
Nottingham, 273ff., 280
Novalis, 346
Nubia, 89, 92

Observations concerning the Divine Ordering . . . (Sussmilch), 148
Occam, William of, 189, 190
O'Connell, Daniel, 214
O'Connor, Feargus, 269
Odysseus, 97
Old Testament, 13, 34, 42, 114, 292, 293, 306
Olympus, gods of, 12
Omahas, 68, 69
On the Secret Works of Art and Nature (Roger Bacon), 256
Opéra Comique, 213
Origen, 41
Ormuzd, 16, 18
Ostwald, Wilhelm, 373
Ottoman rule, 412
Owen, Robert, 221, 243ff., 284, 285, 303

Paine, Thomas, 129
Palestine, 15, 40
Pallas (Athene), 97, 176
Pan, 12
Papin, Denis, 218, 260
Paquaria, Perpetual Peace of, 61
Paracelsus, Theophrastus Bombastus, 222, 254, 255, 261, 266
Paraclete, 413
Paradise, 252, 328. *See also* Earthly Paradise
Pareto, 405
Paris, 79, 102, 129, 203; Federal Festival, 127ff.; Babeuf's conspiracy, 139, Commune, 146, 172; Louis XVI fetched by mob, 153; Marat demands town council be abolished, 160; Robespierre's modest life, 169; Robespierre's death, 172; four governments in twenty-five years, 173; Théroigne de Méricourt in the Salpêtrière, 174ff.; Napoleon's return from St. Helena, 181; influence of events of 1789 on England, 192; rule by God's grace, 204, 206, 207; Tsar Alexander and Frau von Krüdener in prayer, 205; revolution of 1830, 207, 214, 215; swarming with promoters, 216; revolution of 1848, 287, 288, 297ff., 363; Marx, 289, 297ff.; show of luxury infuriating, 302; the city as a whole, 377; Sorel and his circle, 385; Baron Cloots's spectacle, 397; centre of the faith in reason, 401
Paul, Lewis, 219, 257, 260, 261
Paul, St., 41, 42, 71, 83, 126, 414
Peace Dynasty, Great, 86, 87
Peasants' War, 111
Pedro, Emperor of Brazil, 201
Péguy, Charles, 385
Penelope, 265
Pentecost, 413
Pepuza, 59, 67, 314
Pericles, 122, 123
Persia, 13, 17, 58, 64, 70, 81, 410, 415
Peter the Great, 74
Petersen, Superintendent, 93, 94
Petrov, Andrei, 74, 75
Pharaoh, 91
Pharisees, 15
Philebus (Plato), 193
Philemon, 124
Philippe-Egalité, 211
Philo Judæus, 67
Philosophy of History (Hegel), 149
Pilate, Pontius, 70
Pirkheimer, 46
Planck, 373
Plato, Platonic, 41, 43, 124, 193, 194, 238, 357
Plutarch, 41
Pokrovsky, 365
Poland, 26, 33, 180, 183, 214, 242
Politburo, 366
Popolo d'Italia, 400
Positive Philosophy (Comte), 229, 230
Positivist Calendar, 231
Possessed (Dostoievsky), 309
Potters Examiner, 276
Prague, 22, 115
Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, 356
Presbyterians, 50, 215, 216
Priest of Kent. *See* Mad Priest of Kent
Priestley, 195
Prometheus, 293
Prophet, 81. *See also* Mohammed
Protestants, 115, 117ff., 126. *See also* Reformation
Proudhon, 296, 297, 307
Proyart, Abbé, 168
Prussia, 129, 181, 183ff., 203, 205, 339, 380
Public Welfare, Department of (New York City), 271
Purgatory, 20
Pythagoras, Pythagoreans, 15, 40, 197, 259

Quakers, 52, 53, 72, 77
Quetzalcoatl, 88

Rabaut Saint-Etienne, 136
Radek, 364
Radziwill, Prince, 33
Rappists, 248, 249
Reason, Goddess of, 146, 147, 156, 167, 232, 370, 398
Rebel in Christo, 116, 121

Réflexions sur la violence (Sorel), 385, 393
Reformation, 30, 46, 47, 62, 72, 116, 117, 119. *See also* Protestants
Reign of the Holy Spirit, 60, 61
Reign of Terror, 153ff., 166, 170, 182, 193, 211
Renaissance, 24
Republic (Plato), 238
Restoration (England), 51, 53; (France), 173, 174, 241
Revelation, Book of, 59, 71, 76, 294
Rheinische Zeitung, 292
Ricardo, David, 301, 353
Richard II, 100, 103
Richter, Jean Paul Friedrich. *See* Jean Paul
Rienzi, Cola di, 400
Right to Work, 288, 299
Rights of Man (Paine), 129
Rights of Man, 127ff., 162, 173ff., 182, 184, 199, 200, 203, 206ff., 215, 334, 337. *See also* Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen
Rigveda, 12
Río de la Plata, 201
Rivadavia, Bernardino, 201
Robespierre, Maximilien, 134, 135, 161, 162, 165ff., 177, 181, 182, 199, 210, 399, 402, 414
Roland, Madame, 163
Romanovs, 214
Rome, 25, 59, 64, 69, 88, 97, 101, 102, 122ff., 253, 265, 400, 401, 407, 413, 415
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 271, 326
Rosenberg, Alfred, 419, 420, 422
Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, 356
Rothschild, Baron, 241, 242
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 121, 137, 151, 167, 168, 175, 182, 204, 281, 389, 394, 415, 421
Roux, Abbé Jacques, 136
Royal Society, 255
Ruskin, John, 356
Russia, 67, 74, 188, 202ff., 247, 308ff., 324ff., 362ff., 398, 424. *See also* Bolshevism, Soviets, U.S.S.R.
Russian State Publishing Concern, 367

Sabbatai Zevi, 79ff., 87, 90, 91
Sadducees, 15
Said Mohammed Ben Senussi, 54
Saint-Eustache, 146
Saint-Just, 137, 165ff., 172, 182
St. Petersburg, 240
Saint-Simon, Comte Claude-Henri de, 224ff., 235, 238, 239, 284ff., 327ff., 331
Saints, Latter-Day, 65. *See also* Mormons, Latter-Day Saints
Salimbene, 61
Salt Lake City, 65, 67
Salvius, 101
Sand, George, 242
Santo Domingo, 130ff., 135, 173, 174, 177, 414. *See also* Haiti
Sarah (bride of Sabbatai Zevi), 79, 81
Satan, 16, 18, 19, 32, 41, 42, 70. *See also* Devil
Saturn, 123
Saud, 54
Saud Ahmed, 54
Savery, Thomas, 260
Savonarola, 24, 25, 32, 171
Saxe-Weimar, Duke Bernard of, 250
Saxony, 63, 112
Say, Jean-Baptiste, 283, 284
Say, Thomas, 249
Schelling, Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von, 343
Schemann, L., 422
Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von, 222
Schlegels, the, 343
Schluchert, Frau, 93, 94
Schopenhauer, Arthur, 378
Schrödinger, F., 373
Scientific Academy, 249
Scotland, 33, 34, 37, 46, 49ff., 190, 216, 234, 246, 283
Scott, Howard, 327ff.
Scott, Walter, 242
Second Advent, 59, 60, 64, 71, 72, 370
Second Coming, 94
Second International, 380
Secret Works of Art and Nature (Roger Bacon), 256
Seiler, Johanna, 28
Seneca, 124
Serapion, 279
Set, 13
Seventh Day, 7
Shakers, 77, 78
Shakespeare, 298. *See also Hamlet, Macbeth, Midsummer Night's Dream*
Shanghai, 278, 280, 326
Sheba, 57, 254
Shemhamphoras, 259
Shiraz, 81, 82
Shiva, 12
Sia Gok Alp Bey, 412
Siberia, 240, 324
Sicily, 15, 101, 310
Sieyès, Abbé, 151
Sismondi, Jean-Charles, 270, 283, 284
Smith, Adam, 191, 198, 235, 237, 283, 328, 346, 348
Smith, Joseph, 65, 94ff., 282
Smyrna, 78ff., 90
Snug the joiner, 298, 299
Social Democracy, 309
Social Democrats (Germany), 307
Socialism, German or "True," 297
Socialist Party (Italy), 400
Société Fraternelle, 177

Society of Jesus, 231. *See also* Jesuits
Socrates, Socratics, 40, 229, 385
Solomon, 75, 94
Sombart, Werner, 118, 266
Somerset, 33
Son, reign of the, 60
Son of God, 87
Sophocles, 12
Sorel, Georges, 382ff., 394, 401, 402, 404, 425
South America, 129, 198ff., 217, 326, 327
Southcott, Joanna, 76, 93, 96, 172, 370
Soviets, 317, 318, 319, 321, 323, 364, 365
Spain, 29, 180, 181, 199ff., 213, 224
Sparta, Spartan, 48, 122, 166
Spartacus, 101, 102
Sphinx, 9, 12, 19
Sri Aurobindo Ghose, 422
Stael, Madame de, 225
Stalin, 322, 323, 326, 366, 381
Stalingrad, 365
State: Louis XIV, 181; Stein, 184ff., 339; liberal, 189ff., 191, 287, 338, 346, Plato, 194; harmony to spread from one to another, 198; Bentham, 202; rescued from dependence on religion, 203; created by God, 204; Holy Alliance, 205, 206; Napoleon and Bentham, 214; utopias, 238; Saint-Simon and Comte, 239; Fourier, 239; Workers' Party, 288, Marx, 300, 397, Soviet Russia, 319, 365, 366, Burke, 337; rationalist view, 343, 347; romanticist view, 345, 347, 348; earthly copy of Platonic idea, 356, Mayakovsky's State of the future, 368; a State of ants, 379; national and international feeling, 380, 400; Sorel, 387, 389, 404; Mussolini, 403ff.; Hitler, 408ff., 419, Turkey, 412; St. Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, 414; new ideal of inequality, 421; anti-rationalist, anti-humanitarian, proceeds out of Nietzsche, 425
States General, 208
Stein, Baron vom, 183ff., 339, 340
Stephenson, George, 261
Stiefel, Michael, 63
Stoics, Stoicism, 18, 40, 48, 124, 125, 195, 279, 413, 419
Storch, Niklas, 63, 115
Strutt, Jedediah, 260
Stuarts, the, 51, 53
Sudan, Sudanese, 84, 85, 92, 96, 410, 415
Suetonius, 59
Sun Yat Sen, 421
Supreme Economic Council (Russia), 323
Suslov, Ivan Timofeievich, 74
Süssmilch, Johann Peter, 147
Swan (constellation), 369
Switzerland, 211, 213, 214, 269
Sybaris, Sybarites, 15
Sylvester II, 259
Syria, 25, 362

Tables of the Law, 293, 418
Tabriz, 82, 90
Tacitus, 59, 132
Tai-ping, 86, 87, 92, 415
Taine, Hippolyte, 182
Talleyrand, 198
Tammuz, 69
Taoism, 16, 360
Tatars, 85ff., 92
Taylor, Frank J., 271
Taylor, Frederick Winslow, 357
Taylor system, 318, 321, 326
Tertullian, 17, 41, 42, 59
Théot, Catherine, 172
Therapeutæ, 40
Théroigne de Méricourt, 175ff., 183
Thessalonians, 71, 305
Thibaudeau, 166
Thiers, 242
Third Realm of Salvation, 63
Thomas of Spoleto, 22
Thuremlin, 9
Thuringia, 63, 112, 115, 116, 391
Tien-wang, 87
Tisnow, Simon von, 114
Ti-yu, 16
Tlapallan, 89
Tokyo, 326, 362
Tolstoy, 422
Torah, 79, 81
Toussaint l'Ouverture, 132, 133, 173, 174
Tripoli, 202, 397
Trobriand islanders, 104, 105, 107, 424
Troost, Gerhart, 249
Trotsky, Leon, 314ff., 323, 366, 402
Tse-Kung, 360
Tuileries, 160, 177, 211
Turkey, 80, 201, 362, 410ff., 412, 417
Twelve Articles, 112
Tyler, Wat, 100, 102

Ukraine, 322
Ulyanov, Vladimir Ilich, 308. *See also* Lenin, V. I.
Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, 320, 324, 325, 326, 363, 364, 366
United States, 270. *See also* America
Utopia, More's, 238

Varuna, 12
Vaucanson, Jacques de, 218, 273
Vaux, Madame Clotilde de, 231
Vena, King, 106
Venetian Republic, 80
Venturino of Bergamo, 23, 307
Verkhovensky, 309
Versailles, 153, 154, 176
Vetturino, Fra, 62

Vico, Giambattista, 335, 342
Vidar, 69
Vienna, 22, 79, 214, 289
Vincent Ferrer, St., 26
Virgil, 59, 68
Virgin Constitution, 213
Vogt, 351
Volga, 323, 324
Volksgeist, 343
Volta, 159, 160
Voltaire, 182, 208, 394

Wahab, 53, 54
Waldenses, 21
Walpurgis Night, 28
Wanieck, 63
Warriors of the Holy Ghost, 62, 415
Warwick, Sir Philip, 37
Washington (D.C.), 248, 264
Washington, George, 135, 208, 224
Watt, James, 221, 260
Wealth of Nations . . . See *Inquiry into . . . the Wealth of Nations*
Weitling, Wilhelm, 297
Wells, H. G., 322
Wesley, John, 52
Weydemeyer, 292
Whitefield, 52
Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahren (Goethe), 275
Wilkins, John, bishop of Chester, 255
Will to Power (Nietzsche), 393
William of Occam. *See* Occam, William of
William of Orange, 189
Winstanley, Gerald, 119
Winthrop, John, 48
Wöhler, 350
Workers' Party, 286ff., 297
Wotan, 69
Wright, Frances, 249
Wyatt, John, 219, 257, 260, 261

Yahveh, 13, 42
Yorkshire, 273, 278, 283
Young, Brigham, 65, 66

Zápolya, János, 113
Zerubbabel, 70
Zeus, 12, 88, 97, 252
Zinoviev, 308, 309
Zion, king of, 63
Zion City, 65, 66, 67, 93
Ziska, 113
Zoroaster, Zoroastrianism, 16, 18, 56
Zusammenbruch der Wissenschaft (Dingler), 374