

UTOPIA REDISCOVERED

BY WILLIAM LOFTUS HARE

I. THE SPIRITUAL UTOPIA

THE Utopias that have found literary expression at all times and in many countries fall generally into three classes:

I. *Utopia Spirituale*, whose chief characteristic is conceived to be a divine outpouring of spiritual energy and a human response thereto. The Golden Age will come—so say its prophets—when Heaven intervenes in the affairs of the world and by wisdom “ordereth all things graciously.”

II. *Utopia Judiciale*, whose chief characteristic is conceived to be the exercise of power in accordance with the most just statute law and the universal obedience to it. The Golden Age will come when men, as the result of the sufferings they have endured, fall back upon the recognition of justice as the principle of order and harmony.

III. *Utopia Oeconomica*, whose chief characteristic is conceived to be the operation of economic forces in the best or inevitable direction. Here the Golden Age will come from the recognition of the extent to which men may react for good or evil, in thought and deed, from their external environment and from the means they adopt for the satisfaction of their needs.

* * * * *

1. *A Word and Its Meaning.* “Utopia” is a mediaeval scholarly word derived from the Greek. *Ou* = no, *topos* = place. The Latin equivalent is *Nusquam* = nowhere. We may here take some comfort from Professor Patrick Geddes’ habit of spelling the word “Eutopia,” deriving it from *Eu* = good, *topos* = place, thus presenting us with the idea of Utopia as a good place. But we are left

with the subtle, if unpleasant thought that the "good place" is "nowhere."

So much for Utopia in relation to the element of Space. As to Time some think of it as a Golden Age that has passed and some as a Millenium to come. The former view is taken by the backward-gazing Asiatics like the Chinese and Indians, while the Semitics and the Europeans may be classed together as forward gazers. As a matter of contemplative edification it makes little difference as to whether the Golden Age has passed or is to come; for in either case it is as part of a criticism upon contemporary conditions that it is depicted. I will quote the Chinese writer Chwang-Tze by way of illustration; he is looking backward to the men of perfect virtue:

"The people had their regular and constant nature; they wove and made themselves clothes; they tilled the ground and got food. This was their common faculty. They were all one in this and did not form themselves into separate classes; so were they constituted and left to their natural tendencies. Therefore, in the age of perfect virtue men walked along with slow and grave step, and with their looks steadily directed forwards. At that time, on the hills there were no footpaths, nor excavated passages; on the lakes there were no boats nor dams; all creatures lived in companies; and the places of their settlement were made close to one another. Birds and beasts multiplied to flocks and herds; the grass and trees grew luxuriant and long. In this condition the birds and beasts might be led about without feeling the constraint; the nest of the magpie might be climbed to, and peeped into. Yes, in the age of perfect virtue, men lived in common with birds and beasts, and were on terms of equality with all creatures, as forming one family. How could they know among themselves the distinctions of "superior man" and "small men"? Equally without knowledge, they did not leave the path of their natural virtue; equally free from desires, they were in the state of pure simplicity. In that state of pure simplicity, the nature of that people was what it ought to be."— (*Chwang-Tze*, IX, II, ii, 2.)

"In the age of perfect virtue they attached no value to wisdom, nor employed men of ability. Superiors were but as the higher branches of a tree; and the people were like the deer of the wild. They were upright and correct, without knowing that to be so was 'Righteousness'; they loved one another, without knowing that to do so was 'Benevolence'; they were honest and leal-hearted, without knowing that it was 'Loyalty'; they fulfilled their engagements, without knowing that to do so was 'Good Faith'; in their simple movements they employed the services of one another, without thinking that they were conferring or receiving any gift. Therefore their actions left no trace, and there was no record of their affairs."— (XII, II, v, 13.)

There is a singular profundity in the closing observation; for history is mainly the record of the aberrations from the normal; when some one does something specially bad and another reacts by doing something specially good—we hear about it. Otherwise the normal course of life goes unrecorded, because it is not remarkable and is soon forgotten. But here we detect the twinkle in old Chwang-Tze's eye.

2. *The Hebrew Prophets.* The Jews were the inventors of the Utopia which lies in the future, for reasons which are as clear as they are interesting. For them, history began with an act of disobedience, was continued with an act of murder and its consequences, and went from bad to worse until, out of great suffering, their prophets cried in songs of lamentation so poignant that, as a mode of relief, they soared in spirit above the world as it was to the world as they felt it ought to be. There was no room in their vision of the past for a Golden Age and the germinal idea of Eden was not sufficient to look back to. The Utopia of the Jews was to come about through religious conversion; it was a restoration of Israel to more than all they had lost in the years of their affliction; and as prophet succeeds prophet the details of the new social order that is to come vary, but the general characteristic is the same. I will quote a few of the illustrative passages which, from their sheer familiarity, have hardly been recognized as the formulation of the Utopian idea.

“And I will give them an heart to know me that I am the Lord; and they shall be my people and I will be their God, for they shall return unto me with their whole heart.”—(*Jer.* xxxiv., 7.)

The cycle of events is briefly this: suffering, repentance, forgiveness, restoration, Utopia—the motive power of the change from a divine source. More beautiful and precise is another passage:

“But this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days: I will put my law in their inward parts, and in their heart will I write it; and I will be their God and they shall be my people; . . . for they shall all know Me from the least of them unto the greatest of them. For I will forgive their iniquity and their sin will I remember no more.”—(*Jer.* xxxi., 33-34.)

The prophets were not slow in witnessing to the radiation of the Utopian atmosphere from its central nucleus in a restored Israel to other nations of the world.

“And it shall come to pass in the latter days that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nation shall flow unto it.

And many peoples shall go and say: 'Come ye and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord . . . and He will teach us His ways and we will walk in His paths.' . . . And He shall judge between the nations and reprove many peoples, and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, nor shall they learn war any more.—(*Isaiah* ii., 2-4.)

The psychological change was to be so potent as to affect the behavior of the animal world:

"And the wolf shall dwell with the lamb. . . . They shall not hurt nor destroy in all My holy mountain."—(*Isaiah* xi., 6-9.)

Nor is there any doubt as to the location of the "good place."

"And they shall be a peculiar treasure unto Me . . . in the days that I prepare . . . and all nations shall call you happy; for ye shall dwell in a delightful land."—(*Mal.* iii., 17 and 12.)

The broad universalism of the post-exilic prophets widens the scope and adds beauties to the scene of the Messianic Utopia, but retains the chief characteristic: it is the work of a compassionate God who wishes all former troubles to be forgotten:

"For behold I create new heavens and a new earth, and the former things shall not be remembered nor come into mind."

3. *Utopia Delayed.* The second phase in the evolution of the Jewish Utopia was reached about the beginning of the second century B. C., and was due primarily to the non-realization of the earlier prophetic hopes. The series of apocalypses beginning with one attributed to Enoch, put off to a more distant future the coming of the happy kingdom, and some of them removed it from earth to Heaven. Moreover, a fixed tradition, with occasional modifications, established itself right down to the first Christian century and familiarized the pious with the machinery and the process by which the spiritual Utopia should be ushered in. There was to be a *Parousia* or appearance of the Messiah or the Son of Man; then a great Judgment, followed by a first Resurrection and a general Resurrection. After that was to come a final consummation of the Righteous. I will now quote from the widely circulated and influential *Book of Enoch I*, the Utopian passages in their true chronological order.

"For the elect there will be light and joy and peace, and they will inherit the earth. . . . And they will not be punished all the days of their life, nor will they die of plagues or visitations of wrath, but they will complete the full number of the days of their life;

and their lives will grow old in peace, and the years of their joy will be many, in eternal happiness and peace all the days of their life.”—(x., 7-9.)

“Destroy all oppression from the face of the earth and let every evil work come to an end; and let the plant of righteousness and uprightness appear. Labour will prove a blessing; righteousness and uprightness will be established in joy for evermore. And then will all the righteous escape and will live till they beget a thousand children, and all the days of their youth and their Sabbath will they complete in peace. And in these days all the whole earth will be tilled in righteousness and will be planted with trees and be full of blessing. And all desirable trees will be planted on it, and vines will be planted on it; the vine which is planted on it will yield wine in abundance, and of all the seed which is sown thereon will each measure bear ten thousand, and each measure of olives will yield ten presse of oil. . . . And all the children of men shall become righteous, and all nations shall offer the adoration and praise, and all will worship Me. And the earth will be cleansed from all corruption, and from all sin, and from all punishment and torment, and I will never again send them upon it, from generation to generation for ever.”—(x., 16-22.)

“And in those days I will open the store chambers of blessing which are in heaven, so as to send them down upon the earth over the work and labour of the children of men. Peace and justice will be wedded throughout all the days of the world and throughout all generations of the world.”—(xi., 1-2.)

Thus the human, the animal and vegetable kingdoms are all to be touched by the Divine Hand. The next two passages, however, remove Utopia from Earth, which is to be destroyed, to the Heavenly world.

“And the righteous one will arise from sleep, will arise and walk in the path of righteousness, and all his path and conversation will be in eternal goodness and grace. He will be gracious to the righteous, and will give him eternal uprightness, and will give him power, and he will live in goodness and righteousness, and will walk in eternal light. And sin will perish in darkness for ever, and will no more be seen from day for evermore.”—(xciii., 4-5.)

The next group of writings indicate a return to earth from which the wicked will have been removed and the righteous planted in security. I quote one specimen:

“And on that day will I cause Mine Elect One to dwell among them, and I will transform the heaven and make it an eternal blessing and light. And I will transform the earth and make it a blessing and cause Mine elect ones to dwell upon it; but sinners and evil-doers will not set foot thereon.”—(xlv., 4-5.)

Parallel to *Enoch* are the *Sibylline Oracles*, in which are found many Utopian passages. As these are unfamiliar to modern readers and very beautiful, I will quote a few words. They belong to the Jewish Dispersion in Egypt and Rome, rather than to Palestine, where the *Enoch* literature was produced, and the hope they express in their solemn prophecies are characteristic of a later period and a people more widely informed in world politics.

"But all the sons of the High God shall dwell peacefully round the temple, rejoicing in that which the Creator, the righteous Sovereign and Judge, shall give them. For He shall stand by them as a shelter in His greatness, as though He walled them in with a wall of flaming fire; they shall be at peace in their cities and lands. No hand of evil war shall stir against them. . . . Then shall all the isles and cities say 'How greatly the immortal God loves those men!'" (*Sibylline Oracles*, III, 703.)

The passage ends by a description of a great burning of warlike arms for seven years, "for wood shall not be cut from the thicket for burning in the fire." That bonfire is not yet!

"But when this destined day is fully come a great rule and judgment shall come upon men. For the fertile earth shall yield her best fruit and corn and wine and oil . . . it shall gush out in fountains of white milk; the cities shall be full of good things, and the fields with fatness; no sword shall come against the land, nor shout of war; nor shall the earth again be shaken, deeply groaning; no war nor drought shall afflict the land, no dearth nor hail to spoil the crops, but deep peace over all the earth; king shall live as friend to king to the bound of the age, and the Immortal shall establish in the starry heaven one law for men over all the face of the earth for all the doings of hapless mortals." (743-759.)

"All the paths of the plain, and the rough places of the hills, and the lofty mountains, and the wild waves of the sea shall be made easy for traveller and sailor in those days; for perfect peace and plenty cometh on the earth; and the prophets of the high God shall take away the sword; and well-gotten wealth shall abound among men; for this is the judgment of the great God and his rule." (777-784.)

The Utopia placed on Earth and the Utopia placed in Heaven are followed in the first Christian Apocalypse (or the *Revelations of St. John*) by a third and very significant variety—the Utopia which *comes down* from Heaven to Earth. Of this the seer gives a picture. The scene is the new world—the new heaven and the new earth in the midst of which is the new Jerusalem. The ideal Kingdom of God becomes actual. The city needs no light and no temple:

its citizens dwell in perfect fellowship with God and consequently with each other. Jew and Gentile, bond and free, are all among the redeemed. The life of the world is a perpetual Sabbath. There shall be no more tears, nor death; no mourning, nor pain—"the first things are passed away."

Unhappily, this spiritual Utopia, which held the fascinated gaze of Jews and Christians for hundreds of years, seemed to recede across the horizon rather than to advance; nevertheless it still constitutes the ideal of the faithful who, even in modern days construct their longed-for social order upon its attractive principles. They are glad thus to believe themselves chosen instruments for the fulfilments of ancient prophecies, the non-realization of which has thrown discredit upon their God and their faith in Him.

II. THE LEGAL UTOPIA

The aim of the Greek political philosophers was to conceive, and of philosophic statesmen to create and maintain, a constitution founded on laws and the respect for them. The history of the many Greek states from the earliest times shows a series of changes, sometimes alternating from monarchy, aristocracy, oligarchy, dictatorship, democracy and tyranny; none of them were satisfying for long; each represented in fact, though not always in theory, the government of all by one class or section, in its own interests. Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, each in his own peculiar way, sought to found a *politeia*, a polity or constitution, which should exhibit the rule of the State by itself; yet although there were many excellencies in the actual constitutions of Athens and the other Greek states their weaknesses and imperfections were so marked that the ideal *politeia* was never realized. It is this fact which, apart from its many beauties, gives to Plato's *Republic* a special interest, for therein is found his Utopia.

1. *Plato's Republic*. Yet we must be careful to avoid thinking of the *Republic* as simply a *proposal* for the order of society; it was at the same time less than that, and more. It was a deeply critical and historical analysis of private and public life. The object of the work is to exhibit the misery of Man let loose from Law; it draws

in the eighth and ninth books a picture of the changes of society, and paints in minutest detail a picture of a licentious democracy which, as everyone knew, was true of the lawless and violent state of Athens of his day; he passes on to the frightful prophecy of the tyranny that would inevitably follow. He then throws out a general plan for making Man subject again to Law and follows the wind of his poetic freedom whithersoever it will blow, disregarding the difficulties and "impossibilities," as Aristotle truly said. Plato endeavors "thoroughly to investigate the real nature of Justice and Injustice, first in their character in cities and afterwards applying the same inquiry to the individual, looking for the counterpart in the greater as it existed in the form of the less."

The two leading principles on which Plato's moral system reposes are: (a) that no one is willingly evil; and (b) that everyone is endowed with the power of producing moral changes in his own character. Consequently, *dikaiosune*, "justice"—or more properly "righteousness"—becomes the chief object of search in this great work. It is found in man himself as a psychological element, and by constructive artifices Plato enlarges and extends it until his new State has become a *Politeia*, a *Respublica*, a Commonwealth rooted in righteousness.

Utopian ideals had been sketched before his time and laughed at by the comic poets. The Spartan system of personal bodily culture and obedience to the State was well known. Compulsory marriage and State ownership of children were features of the system. Athens recalled the legislation of Draco and Solon regarding property. The attempts of Pythagoras to found religio-political communities in Italy were not forgotten—and upon all these materials Plato drew freely. The *Republic* is not a *corpus juris* for a given state, but a vision of how men have lived and still live when they practise injustice and how they might live if they would not practise justice *as they can do*. Incidentally, it is worth noticing how few are the proposed Utopian elements in the *Republic* compared with the discussion of past and present conditions. Yet such as they are, they deserve mention.

Plato begins modestly by saying—through Socrates—that he will tell a fable "of what has often taken place heretofore, but which has not happened in our times nor do I know whether it is likely to happen—to persuade one of which requires great suasive power." It is the myth of the Earthborn Men: which tells how, out of the womb of the earth, came men of gold, silver, and brass and iron—

in a word, that men are by Nature unequal. The golden men, who may appear in all classes of the state, should hold its guardianship—that is how the Utopia of Plato begins, quite casually and apparently without intention. But men of gold must possess no gold!

“They should have a good education. . . . In addition to this training, their houses and all other effects ought to be so contrived as neither to impede the guardians in bearing the very best possible, nor to excite them to the injury of other citizens. . . . First let none possess any private property unless it be absolutely necessary: next, let none have any dwelling, or store house, into which any one that pleases may not enter: then, as for necessaries, let them be such as both temperate and brave champions in war may require; making for themselves this law, not to receive such a reward of their guardianship from the other citizens as to have either surplus or deficiency at the year’s end. Let them also frequent public meals, as in camps, and live in common; and since they have that which is gold and silver in their souls they have no need of that which is human—no need of private lands and houses and money.” (Bk. III, ch. xxii.)

“We are not establishing our state with an eye to making any one tribe or class in it remarkably happy, but that the whole State might be so to the fullest extent.” (Bk. IV, ch. i.)

The problem which faces the modern town-planner arose in Plato’s mind: the size of the city. It was solved by a useful formula:

“So long as the city, as it increases, continues to be one, but no more . . . to take care by all means that the city shall be neither small nor great but of moderate extent, and one only.”

It is agreed that men and women are to enjoy a civic equality, but since their nature differs they cannot perform identical functions. The great difficulty of the status of women and children had at length to be faced, and was settled by enacting their community.

“That these women be all common to these men, and that no one woman dwell with any man privately, and that their children be likewise in common.” (Bk. V., ch. vii.)

The arguments supporting this law are very long and profound and embrace questions which have since been brought together as the science of eugenics or “good birth.” It is to be noticed, however, that the ultimate reason justifying the enactment is to establish the unity of the State, to avoid factions, to abolish the distinction betwixt *mine and thine*, in regard to person, property, pleasure or pain. All are to enjoy and suffer in common: that is the test.

Plato's *Republic* involved a League of Hellenic Nations and a Washington Conference, naturally. He then seems to grow weary of enacting details and comes to what he realizes as the crux of his polity. It has a ring of truth sounding through its deep pessimism:

"Unless either philosophers govern in state or those who are at present called kings and governors philosophise genuinely and sufficiently and both political power and philosophy unite in one, there will be no end to the miseries of states, nor yet, methinks, to those of the human race; nor till then will that government which we have described in our reasonings ever spring up to a positive existence, and behold the light of the sun." (Bk. V., ch. xviii.)

Thereafter the great dialogue turns on an exposition of the system of education from the "three R's" to the highest metaphysic, upon which Plato rested his only hope, to which he devoted the labor of his life. If there be those who cavil and carp at the "impossibilities" of Plato's great construction they must be told in the first place that they probably lack the fine sense of serious humor by which alone the *Republic* can be appreciated; and, secondly, that if they want "proposals" for the concrete problems that troubled the Greek States in Plato's time they had better read his closing work, *The Laws*.

2. *More's Utopia*. Aristotle's practical mind was quick to perceive the weakness and incompleteness of the *Republic* which Plato had begun to found, half in ironic jest and half in earnest. He took Plato's "proposals" one by one and criticized them severely in his *Politics*, and began a new cycle of scientific thought as opposed to Utopian idealism in relation to political life. It is probably due to his criticisms that Plato's notions were, some centuries after his time, represented more as profound allegories than as serious proposals, and no one ever seriously suggested that a city should be established on Platonic lines until the time of Plotinus (205 A. D.-271) when the reigning Emperor of Rome offered that philosopher a site upon which to build "Platonopolis." Happily, the venture was never undertaken. Nevertheless the fundamental ideals—of Plato that a state might be rooted in *righteousness*, and of Christ that human society might be founded on *love*—caught the imagination of European peoples for centuries, and many communities were established temporarily in the bosom of the Christian world. Dante, by his splendid poem and his less known political writings, gave fresh impetus to the hope of an ideal Commonwealth, but no literary Utopia was produced until Sir Thomas More issued his in 1516

A. D. He referred to it in correspondence as "my Nusquama"—my Nowhere—which settles the meaning of its title. It appeared in 1551 in English.

The book professes to be the report of the travels of one Raphael Hythlaeus (Gr.: *Huthlos*=Nonsense) who had seen the lands of the Archorii (Wretched) and the Macarensii (Happy), had visited the city of Amaurotus (Unknown) and who when returned to Europe, imparts his traveller's tale to his friends.

More was a practical statesman who lived in times less violent than Plato's but perhaps more dangerous for a zealous reformer. While the Greek criticizes the democracy from the viewpoint of philosophic detachment, the Englishman attacks the rich on behalf of the poor. He sees "a certain conspiracy of rich men procuring their own commodities under the title of the Commonwealth" and he seeks to devise "a system in which the poor shall not perish for lack, nor the rich be idle through excuse of their riches: in which everyone is equally of the Commonwealth, and in which the Commonwealth possesses only a common wealth."

3. *Criticism.*—The book falls into two parts, the first of which is devoted to criticism of the conditions prevailing in England, presumably, in his time.

The country, says More, suffers from partial judgments and the laws are not made according to equity. Idleness is the mother of thieves, landlords are rent-racking and poor ex-service men are unemployed. Idle servants of the rich develop into thieves and too many soldiers are hardly distinguishable from thieves. There is a danger of keeping continual garrisons. The rich make an excessive display of apparel; they act as profiteers and forestallers; there are too many taverns and alehouses and the education of the youth is corrupt. He goes into economic questions thoroughly, attacking the wool growers who sacrifice husbandry and throw thousands of laborers out of work—"sheep are the devourers of men." The consequences are beggary, or shortness of foodstuffs, a concentration and actual dearth of wool and cattle. Housekeeping is decaying, food is adulterated, currency is enhanced and debased. Poverty is the mother of strife and the decay of the realm.

4. *The Island.*—Then follows a description of the unknown land discovered by Signor Nonsense. Here, of course, we discern the author's proposals to make England a Eutopia by imitating the manners and customs of Utopia.

"War or battle as a thing very beastly they do detest and abhor and they count nothing so inglorious as the glory gotten in war." This is a good beginning, but has to be qualified by saying that the Utopians were not mild non-resistants by any means, nor anti-Versaillian defeatists either; as witness the following:

"But when the battle is finished and ended they put their friends to never a penny cost of all the charges that they were at, but lay it upon their necks that be conquered. Then they burden with the whole charge of their expenses which they demand of them partly in money and partly in lands of great revenues to be paid unto them yearly for ever."

But this was before the discoveries of Mr. Norman Angell and the Union of Democratic Control.

More's Second Book contains all that is essential to the understanding of his Utopian ideas. After describing the "Ilande of Utopia" he passes to the social organization in families with their several officers and representatives. The sound economic principle of sowing more corn than they consume, and breeding more cattle than they require for personal use is described in the first chapter; they do not *import* such food but export it "among the borderers." Exchange of food for manufactured goods or raw material from abroad was the true basis of their commerce. The magistrates are elected, their chief being "Princeps," not exactly a Prince. Their crafts and occupations are based on husbandry, of course, and every one does his part, there being no idlers and no over-burdened slaves—there is a six-hour day in Utopia. The chapter on "their loving and mutual conversation together" describes the equalitarian life desired by More for his contemporaries. The closing section deals with Religion.

Jerome Busleyden's letter to More gives the key to the efforts of the author of "Utopia," if that were needed. He says in conclusion:

"Meanwhile farewell. Go on and prosper, ever devising, carrying out and perfecting something, the bestowal of which on your country may give it long continuance and yourself immortality. Farewell, learned and courteous More, glory of your island, and ornament of this world of ours."

5. *More's Successors.*—Plato in the Classics and More in the Renaissance produced, between them, a fine crop of imaginative Utopians of different sorts. Hobbes exalted the State to the position of an omnipotent Leviathan, subordinating the individual man

to Nature and Authority. Bacon produced his *New Atlantis* and his *Nozzum Organum*. Simultaneously Tommaso Campanella, an Italian of the Dominican Order, published his *Civitas Solis* in 1623, and James Harrington his *Oceana* in 1656. Fénelon followed with *Télémaque* in 1699 and Rousseau enjoyed his career as a moralist and reformer in the eighteenth century. Then followed the French Revolution which, in our way of thinking, may be said to have closed the cycle of the *Utopia Judiciale*, except for two slight efforts by Etienne Cabet (*Voyage en Icarie* 1840) and Theodore Hertzka (born 1845) who placed his Utopia in Central Africa, which in those days was "nowhere." Bulwer Lytton's *The Coming Race* (1871) belongs to the period but hardly to the class.

III. THE ECONOMIC UTOPIA

A close study of all the Utopias of the middle group reveals the fact that their composers believed that man had the power of perceiving in Nature certain general laws and of elaborating upon them certain Social Customs in the form of Statutes; that he had the intelligence and volition to subject himself and his fellows to their natural and artificial ordinances; and by doing so could renovate the state of mankind.

But it is also clear that in the most important of these Utopian constructions there is a condition precedent to this generally desired obedience to the discipline of law. It is the satisfaction of the material needs of life. From Plato to Rousseau, Law reigns supreme, but within Law there is a germinal thought which becomes fundamental and primal for the *Utopia Oeconomica*. It places economic order first and deduces moral order from it. It changes the Aristotelian sequence of Ethics, Economics, Politics, to one of Economics, Politics, Ethics; and breaking with the past, establishes a new political philosophy.

As we are dealing here with Utopias only we place our finger at once on the most notable which sprang into being at the close of the nineteenth century. Butler's *Erchwon* (1872), Bellamy's *Looking Backward* (1888), Morris' *News from Nowhere* (1890), Wells' *Anticipations* (1901), *A Modern Utopia* (1905), *New Worlds for Old* (1908), and all the others he is going to write! It is significant

that both Eulter and Morris repeated More's old joke and founded their states *nowhere*. Of late, we are given to understand, men have ceased to compose Utopian romances and have objectified the thing itself in Russia, where it can be seen in perfect working order.

2. *America First*.—Skipping over Butler's *Erchwon*, which he "discovered" in 1872 and "revisited" in 1901, we discern the principles of *Utopia Oeconomica* clearly set forth in Bellamy's work. Within a hundred years the structure of Society has changed without bloodshed by the simple method of industrial evolution. Production became focussed into the hands of the few that it was easy to pass it on to Society, which then became a Socialist State. Thereafter remained Law, the State and Property, but in very different forms to those of Capitalist Society. Law is the regulation of the individual and economic processes which lie at the basis of State life. The State is the whole body of citizens, equal in rights though not in ability or appreciation. "All men who do their best do the same" is the wisdom distilled from the experiences of Bellamy's Bostonians of 2000 A. D. Property is of two kinds: the tree belongs to the State while its fruit is distributed to and appropriated by the citizens. Labor is fundamentally compulsory but nevertheless light. After conscripted service all work is voluntary; vocations are chosen; money is abolished, wages are paid in kind, drawn from the stores by the power of the citizen's credit card. The arts are universal for the same reasons as formerly, but not exclusive. Music is "broadcasted" from the finest performers. There is absent from this Utopia all the physical and mental suffering which formerly depended upon uncertainty of livelihood, competition and defeat. The "four nations"—rich, poor, educated and ignorant—have become one nation by the simple economic expedient described. This Utopia however is not nowhere, but *everywhere*. America led the way and Europe followed and all the great nations became federated economically, each doing its best and thus "all the same." All the beneficent changes are traceable to the one great change in the status of industry, which is no longer a field to be exploited for personal profit but a necessary duty for social service. There has been no "change in human nature" such as was desiderated by the opponents of Socialism a generation ago. Human Nature is the same but is placed in better circumstances and consequently reacts better.

3. *Morris and Wells*.—William Morris the artist-craftsman and scholar, who had already written *The Earthly Paradise*, moved from that delightfully romantic world of myth to the equally delightful

world of the near future. His *News from Nowhere* is a representation of Bellamy's theme; more subtle and profound, more attractive, and above all, more English. According to Morris, there must be a violent revolution of sorts culminating in a battle in Trafalgar Square. The book, which is charmingly written, is, like More's *Utopia*, a terrible criticism of our modern life in all its aspects—economic, political, moral. It describes the passage through revolution to State Socialism and finally to Anarchist Communism, in the chapters, "How the Change Came" and "The Beginning of the New Life." There is no "government" and no "politics"—but of course matters are arranged in some way. Morris goes back to his beloved Moot Hall where neighbors settle everything nicely. The chief change responsible for all others, is the abolition of commercialism and manufacture for the world market. The moral excellencies of the people of Hammersmith and Runnymede are thus accounted for and thus maintained.

The original meaning of all the attractive pictures painted by Economic Utopians is simple enough. "We cannot," they say, "practice your exalted morality or obey your wise laws—much less your bad ones—while the economic conditions of our existence press so heavily upon our will, which is necessarily and entirely devoted to a struggle for existence."

All other Utopias of modern construction rest on the same basis, with occasional lapses. The prolific Wells invents and describes, describes and invents, adding detail to detail and going far into the future or side-slipping into one of Einstein's adjacent universes. But it is always the same economic basis that supports the Utopia. William Stanley wrote in 1903 *A Political Utopia* to be realized in 1950, which enters into such details as the feeding and cooking of lobsters and oysters by a reformed method visualized under hypnotic trance. The time is at hand!

IV. ANARCHISM

Some of the latest, as distinct from the earlier Utopias, differ from both the *Utopia Judiciale* and the *Utopia Oeconomica* by the fact that they dispense with Law, the State and Property. In doing this they pass out of the conditions which make possible either the

Capitalist State or the Socialist State and enter the realm of Anarchism.

By an accident of our language the word Anarchy has now come to mean extreme disorder appearing in a sphere where formerly a certain order reigned. Scientifically, however, it means what its history shows: *Arche*—the first, *Archon*—the chief magistrate of Athens; *anarchia* signifies the absence of any such rule or government. Anarchism is the philosophy of anarchy, or human society rid entirely of government. Obviously, therefore, it belongs to the general family of the Utopias, whatever the anarchists may say to the contrary: for it looks forward to the realization of its aims by various means to a condition of society which, by anticipation, it values and desires.

In order to understand Anarchism generally or any anarchist philosopher in particular, we have to use three touch stones and observe the resultant behavior of the system in question; they are Law, The State and Property, as recognized in pre-anarchistic society. They may be defined as follows:

(a) Law is the body of legal norms, or ideas of correct procedure, based on the fact that men have the will to see a certain procedure generally observed within a circle which includes themselves.

(b) The State is a legal relation—determined by ideas of correct procedure—of persons to whom procedure is prescribed, with each other, for whose sake it is prescribed, by virtue of which relation a supreme authority exists in a certain territory.

(c) Property is a legal relation, by virtue of which some one has, within a certain group of men, the exclusive right of appropriating and disposing of a certain thing.

Taking the writings of seven typical anarchists, Eltzbacher analyzes them in respect to Law, The State and Property. Godwin, Stirner and Tolstoy rejected all three entirely. Prudhom rejects all present laws, the State and Property. Bakounine and Kropotkin reject enacted law and private property after which the State will disappear. Tucker, the American, approves Law and Property but rejects the State unconditionally.

But while this takes their constructions out of the *Utopia Judiciale*, it does not and cannot abolish economic relations between men. Consequently it is the precise form of that relationship that gives Anarchism its characteristic. The economy of Anarchism used to be called Communism, as distinguished from Socialism, which still adheres to the State; but since, in our own day, the Bolsheviki, wish-

ing to alienate other Socialists, publicly stole the word "Communism" to define their kaleidoscopic system, anarchists will have to find a new term for their economic process.

The realization of the Anarchist Utopia is to follow the establishment of Equality, or Justice, or Self-interest, or Evolution, or Revolution or Universal Love—according to the different exponents. The means of motivation are equally diverse and contradictory. The aim, however, is to achieve a state of Society in which the needs of men are met by their perfectly free co-operation in productive and distributive processes, devoid of the coercive power of Government

V. A SYNTHETIC UTOPIA

The perusal of the four foregoing sections will have prepared the reader to find for himself some kind of conclusion on the whole matter.

(a) Three types of propositions lie before us. That a spiritual change will overtake mankind as the result of which the mistakes and imperfections of human society will be easily removed and we shall realize the Earthly Paradise once more. The Age of Perfect Virtue will return. Even H. G. Wells, the prophet of modernism was once smitten with this idea. *In the Days of the Comet* tells how, as the Earth passed quietly through the Comet's tail, its inhabitants breathed a certain gas—was it *το πνευμα το άγιον*?—and immediately began to behave normally and kindly to each other. The impulse of egoism was inhibited or reduced to reasonable proportions and people did naturally for others what they would wish to be done for themselves, without any sense of virtue or difficulty. Utopia was simply inevitable. In Bucke's *Cosmic Consciousness*, a scientific view is presented of the evolutionary process by which human nature is to change—and is changing—so that the whole scheme of values attains a new equilibrium. This consciousness, denied hitherto to the animal and the self-conscious man, is to appear in children and reappear in adults more strikingly, making the man into a new creature. The modern romantic and scientific prophecies thus take up the old religious theme of Jewish faith, described in my first section, confirmed by the religious and moral fervour of many, though rela-

tively few, saints and sages of all time. Good men will do good deeds: such is the conclusion of the *Utopia Spirituale*.

(b) But the world is not entirely or mainly inhabited by "good men" nor ruled by them. In the absence of the power to behave spontaneously well, some expedient for an imperfect world has to be devised. This is Law, which supplies norms of conduct which even imperfect men have the power to obey. There is nothing unreasonable in this and though it has never worked to the full it has succeeded in bringing a relative order into a general potential chaos. The theory of *Utopia Judiciale* is that obedience to laws becomes habitual, customary and natural. The essential is that the laws be wise and just, that the people consent to their enactment and that the Executive Government maintain them impartially. If such a process of gradual obedience to good laws should blend with the process of gradual illumination of the consciousness, the result would be a richer Utopia than either speculator has imagined.

(c) But thirdly: what, in the main, is the subject-matter of all laws to which obedience is demanded? Apart from the fixed customs of our slowly-changing culture, almost all laws deal with material things and our various rights to appropriate them. Consequently it may be said that the system of Property, its production and distribution, whether written or unwritten, is the fundamental Law that governs all Societies. The system by which we satisfy or fail to satisfy the claims of our need—psychologically, our egoism—must affect our whole conduct. Our reactions are really our actions: such is the theory of the *Utopia Oeconomica*. And here, too, we see that were the present Capitalistic system of production and appropriation replaced by one of Socialist economy it would likewise need a certain body of laws to which our adhesion would be asked. Meanwhile the silent operation of spiritual processes would continue unopposed—the Earth would pass through the tail of the Comet—and the Utopia realized would be a Synthetic Utopia, spiritual, legal and economic.

The French Revolution was accompanied by the well-known triple cry: Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité. Great interest lies in observing that the three Utopias above discussed may be differentiated by the sequence in which they use those words. When placed in the order: Fraternity, Equality and Liberty, they indicate, first, a marked advance in morals, then as a consequence a just arrangement of economics, and finally a free condition of politics—this is the slogan of *Utopia Spirituale*. Alternatively, let us have Liberty first, we will

next establish Equality and lead on to Fraternity: such was the theory of the French Revolution, the lineal descendant of the inventors of *Utopia Judiciale*. But Economic Equality must precede Political Liberty and pass on to Moral Fraternity—so says the late school of *Utopia Oeconomica*.

We may be permitted to believe that the final word is with the Synthetic Utopia, where the three cries are heard resounding simultaneously.