

There are fewer rungs in the social ladder in the United States than here. Society is divided much more sharply into the haves and have-nots; and as might readily be conceived, the great development of the present system of profit-mongering and speculation, with its logical result, a knot of money-kings who hold at their disposal every resource, every power in the Union, makes the tyranny of King Capital keenly felt and bitterly resented by the people, who are free politically to an extent that rouses envy in the breast of the British Radical, but are still slaves socially to the same extent that we are.

In Chicago the International Working People's Association is very strong, with its allied societies forming a majority of the working population of the city. Here above all places the irritation reached boiling-point. The rule of the city in the hands of a ring of large monopolists, who, not content with their "legal" supply of force, are the sponsors and protectors of Pinkerton's "Thugs"—a band of desperadoes waged and let out to capitalists in need of the article by a speculator in violence; the smaller sharks only too eager to swim in the train of the big ones; a subservient city militia principally composed of people near enough to the working-classes in position to be anxious to emphasise their separation from them,—all these, confronted by a labouring population driven well-nigh desperate by misery, combined to threaten dire vengeance against the men who would bid the slaves unite. Long since was it well known that the first opportunity would be taken by the authorities for a display (if possible, a *use*) of force against a Socialist meeting. So that when the police advanced, in a formation obviously intended to provoke resistance, upon a demonstration not even purely a Socialistic one, taking as excuse for their wanton outrage a speech no more "violent" than has been a thousand times uttered at the same place, or than is being constantly delivered at London street-corners, it is small wonder that the Socialists, knowing from past experience how little difference in the numbers of them to be murdered it would make whether they stood or ran, held their ground for awhile. As to such incidents, whatever may be said as to the loss of energetic men in them, or the reaction that follows them and the consequent estrangement from the cause of timid though honest men, it is clear that under the present conditions of oppression they will happen, and will increase in number and violence as the people become more conscious of their present oppression.

There can be no lasting alliance between Socialists and those who recognise the "rights of private property." The "moderate" and "law-abiding" among the Knights of Labour are winning now for themselves the praise and thanks of the capitalists and their servile hirelings of the press by the bitter denunciations they pour forth against the "lawless anarchists" who have dared to go further than themselves. It must be fearlessly acknowledged that there is no peace, no truce, no halting-place possible until the full, free, and absolute control of all the material resources of a community are in its own hands. Until this is attained every "reform" is a delusion and a snare, for which no Socialist can leave his own, his only work—that of the agitation, education, organization of the people.

H. HALLIDAY SPARLING.

SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

CHAPTER I.—ANCIENT SOCIETY.

In beginning this series on Socialism, we think it necessary to prelude the matter which may appear to interest more immediately us now living, by a brief allusion to the history of the past.

Our adversaries are sometimes forward to remind us that the present system with which we are so discontented, has been made by the growth of ages, and that our wills are impotent to change it; they do not see that in stating this fact they are condemning their own position. Our business is to recognise the coming change, to clear away obstacles to it, to accept it, and to be ready to organise it in detail. Our opponents, on the contrary, are trying consciously to stay that very evolution at the point which it has reached to-day; they are attempting to turn the transient into the eternal; therefore, for them history has no lessons, while to us it gives both encouragement and warning which we cannot afford to disregard. The hopes for the industrialism of the future are involved in its struggles in the past; which, indeed, since they have built up the present system, and placed us amidst its struggle towards change, have really forced us whether we will it or not, to help forward that change.

The modern civilised State has been developed by the antagonism between individual and social interests, which has transformed primitive Society into Civilisation. The conditions of mere savage life recognised nothing but the satisfaction of the immediate needs of the individual; this condition of complete want of co-operation yielded to primitive Communism as the powers of man grew, and he began to perceive that he could do more than satisfy his daily needs for food and

shelter. By this time he had found that he could aid nature in forcing the earth to produce livelihood for him; the hill and forest became something more to him than the place where berries and roots grew, and wild creatures lived, the land became pasture ground to him, and at last amid some races ground for tillage.

But the wealth of man still grew, and change came again with its growth; the land was common in the sense that it was not the property of individuals, but it was not common to all comers; primitive society was formed, and man was no longer a mass of individuals, but the groups of this primitive society were narrow and exclusive; the unit of Society was the *Gens*, a group of blood-relations at peace among themselves, but which group was hostile to all other groups; within the *Gens* wealth was common to all its members, without it wealth was prize of war.

This condition of war necessarily developed leadership amongst men; successful warriors gained predominance over the other members of the *Gens*, and since the increasing powers of production afforded more wealth to be disposed of above the mere necessities of each man, these warrior leaders began to get to themselves larger shares of the wealth than others, and so the primitive communism of wealth began to be transformed into individual ownership.

The Tribe now took the place of the *Gens*; this was a larger and more artificial group, in which blood relationship was conventionally assumed. In it, however, there was by no means mere individual ownership, although, as said above, Communism had been broken into; the tribe at large disposed of the use of the land according to certain arbitrary arrangements, but did not admit ownership in it to individuals. Under the tribal system also slavery was developed, so that class Society had fairly begun.

The Tribe in its turn melted into a larger and still more artificial body, the People—a congeries of many tribes, the ancient Gothic-Teutonic name for which—*theoth*—is still preserved in such names as *Theobald*. This was the last development of Barbarism; nor was there much change in the conditions of wealth under it from those obtaining among the Tribe, although it held in it something more than the mere *germs* of feudalism.

Finally, ancient Barbarism was transformed into ancient Civilisation, which, as the name implies, took the form of the life of the city. With these cities political life began, together with the systematization of the old beliefs into a regular worship. The religion of Barbarism was the worship of the ancestors of the tribe, mingled with fetichism, which was the first universal religion, and may best be described as a state of mind in which the universe was conceived of as a system of animated beings to be feared and propitiated by man. This was transformed into what may be called city patriotism, which summed up the whole religion of the city, and which was the real religion of the Greeks and Romans in their progressive period, and of all the then progressive races of mankind, including the Hebrew. In these cities slavery speedily developed until it embraced nearly the whole of industrialism, the main business of the free citizens being the aggrandizement of their city by war.¹ For the cities were as hostile to each other as the tribes had been.

The course of events towards further transformation was that in the East the cities formed federations which gradually fell under the domination of bureaucratic and absolute monarchies, of which China still remains as an example. The Greek and Latin cities carried on the progress of human intelligence, but did not escape corruption and transformation.

Amongst the Greeks the individual struggle for pre-eminence gradually broke down the city patriotism, and led the way towards the domination of mere military and political intrigue and confusion, till the independence of Greece was finally trampled out by the power of Rome, now corrupted also. For during this time in Rome the struggle of the plebeian order—or inferior tribes of which the city was composed—with the conservative oligarchy—that is, the three most ancient and consequently leading tribes—had developed a middle-class living on the profits derived from slave labour, which broke up the old city republic and led to the formation of a commercial and tax-gathering empire, founded on slavery, whose subjects were devoid of all political rights, and in which the triumph of individualism was complete. Indeed, this same struggle had taken place in one way or another in the Greek cities also. Thus was all public spirit extinguished. The natural greed of commercialism gradually ate up the wealth of the empire: even slave labour became unprofitable. The landlords were ruined; the taxes could not be paid; and meanwhile the Roman soldier, once a citizen religiously devoted to his city, became a bribed hireling, till at last no bribe was high enough to induce a civilised man to fight, and the Roman legions were manned by the very barbarians whose kinsmen were attacking the empire from without.

Thus was ancient civilization delivered over to the Barbarians, fresh from their tribal communism, and once more the antagonism of individual and common rights was exemplified in the two streams of Barbarian and Roman ideas, from the union of which was formed the society of the next great epoch—the Middle Ages.

E. BELFORT BAX AND WILLIAM MORRIS.

A man in debt is not free, for his creditors can squeeze him. A country in debt is in the same position, and its creditors squeeze the government to force certain laws to be passed.—*Labor Leaf*.

¹ The Greeks added to this the practice of the higher arts and literature, neither of which the Romans possessed in their progressive period.