Colonel Fraser's letter to the Council of the Federation is not a satisfactory piece; it seems at least possible to read between its lines a threat of letting loose the indifferent rough on the procession. Anyhow, since it is clear that the Federation will do their utmost to make the demonstration of Lord Byron a signal for an orderly and dignified conduct in the police ensuring that result if they are in earnest in wanting to do so.

Meantime, the commercial classes are so nervous about the affair, that one gentleman has written to the Daily News proposing to withdraw the show this year, which a leader-writer in the same paper, with a starling misapprehension of the value of words, calls a bold proposal. The truth is that the action of the Commercial classes is so farce and so many people suffer from it, that the rich and well-to-do must expect to have their fancies and pleasures interfered with by the necessities of those who are very much worse off. It will be of no use to oppose the measure, since it is a good thing to reach their feelings through the tough hide of use and want, by any means that will do so without doing damage to the Cause in other ways.

William Morris.

SOCIALISM FROM THE ROOT UP.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE UTOPISTS: OWEN, SAINT SIMON, AND FOURIER.

It is now necessary for us to turn for a while from the political progress of Socialism, to note the school of thinkers who preceded the birth of modern scientific or revolutionary Socialism. These men thought it possible to regenerate Society by laying before it its short-comings, and by proposing the construction through reasoning of example certain schemes of reconstruction built up from the aspirations and insight of the teachers themselves. They had not learned to recognize the source of events which force social changes on mankind whether they are considered of themselves or not, but believed that such schemes would win their way to general adoption by men's perception of their inherent reasonableness. They hoped to convert people to Socialism, to accept it consciously and voluntarily, by showing them the contrast between the confusion and misery of existing civilization, and the order and happiness of the world which they foresaw.

From the elaborate and detailed schemes of future Society which they advanced, those called the Utopists; the representatives of the different phases of their school are three most remarkable men, born within a few years of each other, whose aspirations and insight have done a very great deal to further the progress of Socialism, in spite of the incompleteness of their views.

Robert Owen was born at Newtown, Montgomeryshire, in 1771, of a labouring labouring family; he became a successful manufacturer through his own industry, and quick-wittedness in the beginning of the rise of the Great Machine Industries, when "manufacturing" was advancing "by leaps and bounds." He was a born philanthropist in the ambition he felt filled all in all the modern unbounded generosity and magnanimity. In the year 1800, when he was not yet thirty, he became the manager of the New Lanark Mills, and set to work on his first great experiment, which was briefly the conviction that a man is not as a machine, social, happy, industrious, and orderly commodity, acting on the theory that man is the creature of his surroundings, and that by diligent attention to the environment he can change himself. After a year and a half of experiment he was entirely successful, but it was not in him to stop there, as the plain words said he of his success showed clearly enough: "Yet these men were my slaves." He took part in all kinds of projects of a philanthropical nature, still founding all his action on his theory of the perfectibility of man by the amelioration of his surroundings, and became the first great champion of co-operation, although he did not suppose, as the co-operators of the present day do, that anything short of universal co-operation would solve the social question. In 1815, he pressed a meeting of Glasgow manufacturers to petition Parliament to shorten the hours of labour in the cotton mills, and the change which resulted from his experiment of approximating the governing classes to their repugnancy, may well date from that pre-ceding of his, as a bourgeois biographer of his hints. But he still kept his position of a popular philanthropist, even after his declaration in favour of co-operation, until he at last cut himself off from respectability by openly attacking Society through its received religious (August 21, 1810), from which date onward he was scourged by all that "Society," of which he was now the declared enemy. But history was in nowise daunted. In 1824, he proposed Communist villages as a remedy for the distress in Ireland; he established, in 1832, an exchange in Glasgow in which cotton manufacturers exchanged their cotton against labour; and in 1835 he bought New Harmony from a community already established there (the Rappites), and made his great experiment in living in common; and late in life he published his "Book of the Prophet," which in a kind of translation is the expression of his idea. It will be tlhen seen that he was unwearying in practical experiments. His shortcoming was the necessity one of the utopist, a total disregard of the inconvenience of failure that his projects, useful as they were from that point of view, could never develop out of the experimental stage as long as the governors of Society forcibly uphold the so-called "rights of property," and he ignored the antagonism of classes necessarily existing under this system, and which in the long run must bring about the Socialism which he, the most generous and best of men, spent his whole life in attempting to establish. His life was at least in the nature of a Socialistic schemes which characterised Robert Owen. His philosophy was mingled with a mysticism which had a tendency to increase, a tendency to confound the new religious with the old, the meaning of life, and which was carried into the absurdities of a kind of wor- ship by his immediate followers, more or less imitated by the Positivists of our own day, whose founder, Auguste Comte, was his most skillful disciple. He foresaw, however, the existence of classes of talent as expressed by the motto of Saint Simonists, "From each according to his capacity, to each according to his needs." In spite, however, of the tendency to mysticism, he escaped singular fashions of insight in matters historical and economic, and intel- lectually was certainly ahead of Robert Owen. He may be said to have set himself the task of learning all life by whatever means and at whatever expense, in order to devote himself to the new religion, "whose great aim is the widest possible amelioration of the moral and physical condition of the poorest and most numerous class." Friedrich Engels has well said of him: "As early as his "Letters from Geneva," Saint Simon laid down that all men ought to work, and that if the Reign of Terror had been the reign of the non-possessing masses. To face the fact in 1802 that the French Revolution was a struggle between the workers and the bourgeoisie, and to argue that it was a discovery of genius. In 1816 he asserted that politics were but the science of production, and predicted their absorption by economy. His knowledge and stature he can be brought to perfection in institutions only shows itself here in the germ; nevertheless, this proposition contains clearly the conversion of the political government of men into an administration of things and a direction of the process of production; that is to say, the abolition of the State, of which such a noise has since been made."

Internationalism also was clearly enunciated by Saint Simon. We quote Engels: "With an equal superiority to his contemporaries, he declared in 1814, immediately after the entry of the allies into Paris, and again in 1815 during the war of the hundred days, that the sole guarantee of the peace and prosperous development of humanity, which is an alliance between France and two countries with Germany. Certainly it needed a courage by no means common to preach to the French of 1815 alliance with the victors at Waterloo."

It is worth noting that one of the schemes of the Saint Simonians, which was most ridiculed at the time, was the cutting of the Isthmuses of Suez and Panama, and that M. de Lesseps was a Saint Simonian. Saint Simon died in great poverty in 1825, with words of hope for the future of the party on his lips.

Charles Fourier was born in 1772 at Lyons; his father was a draper. He set his hand to the study of the Roman Republic as a business as a broker. Amidst his dealings with Society, he was early struck by the shortcomings and injustices of individualism and com- petition. In his first book, 'The Theory of the Four Movements,' he enunciates the position that human society will be free play of the appetites and passions, and asserts that misery and vice spring from the restraints imposed by Society. His criticism of Society was the most passionate of all the great moderns, and his most valuable contribution to Socialism; unlike his contemporaries he has an insight into the historical growth of Society: "He divides it into four periods of development, Savagery, Barbarism, Patriarchalism, and Civilisation, meaning by the latter the Bourgeois Civilisation." His saying, "In civilisation, poverty is born even of superabundance," may well be noted in these days, and compared with Robert Owen's in 1816, "Our best customer, that man, is a pauper."

As a basis of the reconstruction of Society, Fourier advocated In- dustrial Co-operation; but here his Utopianism led him to the trap of formulating dogmatically an electoriate scheme of life in all its details, and the result was a scheme which would never be carried out on which it was based nowhere. His scheme arranges for phalan- steries as the unit of co-operation, in which all life and all industry, agricultural and other, should be carried on by a large body of men, minutely, the members of each phalanstery being settled at 1000 souls. His most valuable input was the possibility and necessity of appropriating due labour to each capacity, and thereby an inference that there should be always an equal division of the things that are children, who generally like making dirt-pies and getting into a mess, should do the dirty work of the community, may at least be looked on as an illustration of this idea, though laid down as a formal law. His idea was that of a sort of pure equality of men; of the rich (and comparatively poor); and advocated a fantastic division of wealth between labour, capital, and talent. The abolition of marriage was his next doctrine. In 1812, Fourier's mother died and left him some property, and he retired into the country to write his 'Treatise on the Association of Domesticity and Agriculture.' Afterwards he came to Paris again, became a clerk in an American firm, and wrote in 1830 his 'New In-

1 Yet in 1806, when owing to the rise in cotton he could not continue manufact- turing, he stopped the mills and paid his people their full wages till he could go on again in four months; time, a proceeding which cost him £7000.

2 Frederick Engels in 'Socialisme Utopique,' and 'Socialisme Scientifique,' as also the quotations above.
MACHINERY AND MOONSHINE.

Ore of the platitudeist-in-ordinary of the Daily News has, in the issue of that paper for 19th inst., solved finally, to his own satisfaction, the world but one chapter in which he had either been. He died in 1837, but not till he had founded a school, of which Victor Con- siderer, author of the 'Destinée Sociale,' was the most distinguished member. The Fourierists, writers on a paper in 1892, which expired in the year of 1892, and revived in 1896, and finally suppressed by Govern- ment in 1890. A scheme for realising the Phalanxian experimentally was set on foot in 1892 by a deputy of France, but it failed for lack of funds, so out of the heroic Utopian. Owen was the only one who had the fortune, good or bad as it may be considered, of seeing his schemes tried by experience. Cabet, indeed, a revolutionist of '48, founded a community in America under the name of Icaria, which was (and is) a failure, and, though the Icarians were agriculturists, they were no more commu- nitarian than any of the other communities which have owed their origin to Utopian Socialism. Of these communities there remains a word to be said of their manufactures. The American, the Owenite, the Fourierist, the Brookhlite, has never been one of the communistic the organisation, that we may not confuse them. They are nearly all the same as to their qualities; and yet they are so different in their conditions of life. Any of them we have to do in order to the title of Communism, which is the most unlucky has often been applied to them. Communism cannot ever be realised till the present system of Society has been destroyed by the workers taking hold of the political power. When that happens it will mean that Communism is on the point of absorbing and transmitting Civilisation. E. Belpont Bax and William Morris.

THE LORD OF BURLIEGH.

(The From the Point of view of his Disappointed rival. (Concluded, p. 235.)

But you want to be told my tale, and to go away and go
On the road that your own fate leads you, and straight to forget my wor,
And the damsel's, and the stag and the young man's, all gone for.
And to leave this chill churchyard, and pass to a pleasant place.
Well, listen again yet awhile; I will tell you, as best I may,
The blooming of the April flowers, and the blossoms of the lake.

It was early as yet in the summer, but spring had been dusty and dry. The earth was parched and arid, and chiselled the hard surface of the fields. Our hay was housed already—what little there was to get— and we had a few tons of fox and a great deal of grain, and weather. As a rule, in our upland meadows; the distance was dim with haze; A spark unspent would have set our whole hill-side in a blaze, and the hay was the foretaste and开始的 time to feed. For all green things were withered, and scarcely a single weed left for the sheep to nibble that was not dry as a stick, and the blade that grew in the nest of the hay, the nest in the rock.

And still the days grew hotter when June had in drought gone by, and had left the crops to cope with the aridness of fierce July. Folk said that in town they suffered a life unsuited heat, and that each rich lord had gone to cool of country seat; While as for the toiling poor, why, the poor must always sweat, and a few drops less or more make no great matter; and yet

Twas pity to think of them then— all night in the poisonous gloun Of the bell they have for home, their single cellar-room, All day in the cruel workshops, catching the sun's heat in air. And never a pause or a pull in the din and the toll and the glare, Till again the gas-relighted sent each like a beast to his den, For surely such a world these labourers who live in shame, And we wished that we two had been rich, for we vainly would have helped them, and fain

By the spell that he, the sorer with gold would have lightened the load of their pain.

And so we spoke with scorn and contempt of the rich and who the great who fly From the wuldigg sight of the toilers who pile the treasure stone, And again we longed to be wealthy, if only that we might save Time of the world, that we might be as these the careless, of the dead. For the death-rate there was doubled, men said, because of the heat, And we knew that a child must be dying in every foetid pestilent street, And who might have saved them, if they had had the means of all, That rich that could do nothing but waster in folly and wine and drink.

Twas thus we talked as we went in the long hot afternoon To the meadows behind the wood-land, and still to the selfsame tune we spoke, and in the whispering of the trees we said in vain, As hand in hand we went through the meadows affluent for rain— For the rain that would not come; and we found that the beasts had strayed In the wood, and the water or shelter of cool green plants, And for water was scarce for the herd, though none from the drought had harm, So careful and kind was my Annie to each live thing on the farm,

And they filled her cup, and her heart was kind to them all. And wondering went in search of the herd, nor at all could we tell How it was they had strayed, nor whither, for Annie had fastened the gate With her own neat hands in the morning; but now was her supper soon To find it wide thrown open, the bolt-bar broken in two, And the cord cut, and the herdsman's sundress left in the track. Too rude to respect the knot that her fingers had carefully tied.

And vainly first for the culprit we looked, till at last we espied, Stretched out full length on the grass and watching the clouds go by, A man who seemed the main thing of this— and who had got, he never does really produce a stagnation in the labour market beyond that which is of temporary character. The balance of trade alone adjuts the relations between the machinery and the workman. At the cost of how much needless suffering inflicted upon the productive classes ! And are machines "temporary" And, in the end, who gains? "Every great factory to-day is a protest against the doctrine that machinery destroys trade, and that improved methods of manufacture imply ruin to those whose labour for a time is supplantted." Machinery has, in itself, no tendency to " destroy trade," but, held and used by individuals for their own benefit, it has a tendency to lessen the number of labourers required, to lower the wages of those that remain, and to degrade them from workmen to machine-tenders. There can no evil come of the use of machinery in a free community labouring for the good of all, and can it be that the "laborious" has not been brought by it which the laborious does not really produce a stagnation in the labour market beyond that which is of temporary character. The balance of trade alone adjusts the relations between the machinery and the workman. At the cost of how much needless suffering inflicted upon the productive classes ! And are machines "temporary" And, in the end, who gains? "Every great factory to-day is a protest against the doctrine that machinery destroys trade, and that improved methods of manufacture imply ruin to those whose labour for a time is supplantted."

H. Halliday Sipring.

Emu Andrews, well known to police-court reporters, was charged at the St. Andrews Police Court on Monday with stealing a pair of gloves from a lady who, looked more pinched and haggard than ever—her clothes in rags—had only come out of prison the day before. She said, I am a thief, and I have been in prison and in the streets. You come to be in prison, and you cannot come out of the prison, and you cannot and see what you'd be like. The good-hearted magistrate gave her another mouth ! She had been convicted thirty-six times before, all for trifling offences, and she.RemoveAt a time punishes them. Emus Andrews has no home but the streets and the pleasure, and still have no other till the parish provides her with a coffin and a grave. —And this is a civilized country— a nation whose middle-class labourers, with Christian kindness and charity, to say with humbug and hypocrisy !

D. N.