COMMUNIST AND CO-OPERATIVE COLONIES

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BY

CHARLES GIDE

PROFESSEUR AU COLLÈGE DE FRANCE

TRANSLATED BY

ERNEST F. ROW B.Sc. (Econ.) L.C.P.

AUTHOR OF
"WORK WEALTH AND WAGES" "ELEMENTS OF ECONOMICS" ETC.
TRANSLATOR OF GIDE'S "PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL ECONOMY"
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CHAPTER I

THE CEASELESS LONGING FOR COMMUNITARIAN LIFE

My intention is to give a rapid sketch of the communitarian societies which were founded for the most part during the nineteenth century, and almost all of them in the New World. It may be that some readers, when they see the title, will think it a subject unworthy of study in a university course, and may even consider that co-operation runs the risk of being compromised by the attribution of an unfortunate relationship between it and communism. We may even be taken to task by those—like the great economist J. B. Say, for instance—who think that economic and social teaching should be divested of everything that is interesting only as a curiosity, and whose errors have been already pointed out. "What is to be gained," says J. B. Say, "by collecting absurd views? The task of examining them would be equally useless and tedious. Mistakes are things to be forgotten, not learnt."

We shall be more indulgent, however, if we think of all the errors which time has turned into truths, and of the many truths which have later on been discredited. And it remains to be seen, after all, whether everything *is* mistaken in these experiments, or whether, on the contrary, they satisfy certain aspirations and desires which are found not in learned men, and still less in business men, but in more unsophisticated souls.

For the most part these communistic experiments have been laughed at.

The old Bulgarian Government under Stambolisky, who was assassinated in 1923—a Government of peasants, with a horror of communism—wished to make the same experiment. I do not know whether their plan was actually voted, but they apparently proposed that a community should be formed in every Bulgarian village where there were ten communist electors, by confiscating all the property, fixed and movable, of the adherents of communism, so as to create a common stock. Anyone who wanted to leave the community and live in the ordinary manner was to be shot.[1]

So, too, it has been stated in the Press that a few months ago the Chilean Government, in order to get rid of the communists, who apparently were a source of embarrassment, had some of them arrested and transported to the island of Juan Fernandez—the famous island of Robinson Crusoe. Here they were invited to set up a communist colony.

My attitude to these things is different, however. To me there is something touching and instructive in the spectacle of these colonies, for they embody an indefeasible ideal—a longing that is always being born afresh for a Promised Land, into which, perhaps, like Moses, man will never be permitted to enter, but which gives rise to this heroic and never-ending adventure that is none the less pathetic. As an English writer has said, no map of the world is worth looking at unless it contains an island of Utopia.

We are told that all these societies have perished. Now, to begin with, that is not perfectly true, for we shall see that there are some still alive to-day, while others, though now dead, yet lived for more than a century. But, after all, what does it matter? Everything dies—institutions, cities, and

[1] Here is the text of the scheme, as given by a Reuter message of April 13, 1923: "M. Stambolisky, the Bulgarian Prime Minister, has just announced that the Government is drafting a Bill relating to communist plots in Bulgaria. According to this proposal, in every village in which the number of communists is more than ten their landed property and movables are to be confiscated by the Government and turned into communal property, on which they are to settle and live together."

civilizations. Death is not a denial of life, but a manifestation of life. The real proof of vitality lies not in continuance, but in rebirth, and this characteristic is possessed in the highest degree by the communities of which we are speaking: they are continually being born again from their ruins, and not a year passes but sees the birth of new communistic societies. The thing to be wondered at is that they can be established at all, considering how unfavourable are the circumstances.

Think of all the difficulties that such societies have to face. In the first place, by whom are they founded? Generally by people who are embittered, tired of the world, and sick of the existing state of affairs—in short, by misanthropes who, like Molière's Alceste,

> Search through the world to see if it can give
> Some place where they like gentlemen may live.

Now if you set up a society of Alcestes it will stand little chance of leading a peaceful existence, even if it includes no Célimènes.[1] It is unlikely that these malcontents will find in their little world the peace they have failed to find in the big one, for they will not have brought it with them.

The founders of communist societies imagine that property is the chief cause of dissensions among men in present-day society, as it is between nations, and that when property is abolished harmony will reign undisturbed. But, as we shall see later on, experience shows that if private property gives rise to conflict, so does community of property, and even more frequently. Moreover, it is a commonplace with students of law that joint ownership is the greatest cause of dissension between co-proprietors, and it is therefore limited by law to a short period.

It must not be thought that the winding up of these societies is due to great causes. They die of the petty

[1 Célimène was a witty and beautiful coquette in Molière's play *Le Misanthrope*.]

vexations engendered by daily life and intensified by the strict regulation to which every communistic society must of necessity be subjected, even if it is composed of anarchists.

We shall see later on that most of the communist societies which have lasted for a long time have consisted, with very few exceptions, of members of religious sects. This is due to their habit of discipline and of obedience to St Paul's command, "Bear ye one another's burdens."

Then there are other difficulties also. There is the question of site, for instance. Where are these colonies to be set up? If the members remain in their own country they are in a hostile environment and will be laughed at. It is scarcely likely that they, and especially the women, will be bold enough to defy public opinion and shut themselves up in a tower of ivory, as the saying is, where they can ignore the rest of the world. If, on the other hand, they go overseas, as is generally the case, either to an island or into a desert, or at all events to a new country, there are other disruptive forces awaiting them. Virgin lands are a field for pioneers: they demand individual initiative, they create it, and they stimulate it. In the midst of a land that is awaiting conquest it is difficult to shut oneself within the petty horizon that surrounds the colony. Every one among the settlers who is possessed of a spirit of enterprise will hasten to leave the colony and set up for himself.

Another peril, and perhaps the gravest of all, lies in the fact that these colonies are threatened as much by success as by failure. For if they do not succeed it means misery, ruin, dispersal, and a general rush for safety. If, on the other hand, they attain prosperity they attract a crowd of members who lack the enthusiasm and faith of the earlier ones and are attracted only by self-interest. Then there is a conflict between the older element and the new, and ultimately a demand is made for a sharing out, and each member goes his own way.

We should not be surprised, then, that these societies die

young. Let us rather marvel that of all these seeds sown among the thorns, as in the parable, there are some that have managed to grow.

M. Édouard Leroy, Professor of Philosophy at the Collège de France, said recently at a conference:

> The appearance of life within the womb of matter is something abnormal, exceptional, and almost scandalous. It is an essentially improbable phenomenon—so much so that for its realization we should have to wait for a number of centuries represented by a 1 followed by ten thousand million noughts[1]

—a number, that is to say, which it is impossible to write and still more impossible to conceive. If therefore before the beginning of time some supernatural spirit had been able to foresee what life would be he would surely have called it Utopian, and said that there was not one chance in millions of millions of its being realized. Yet none the less life has been developed, once at least, upon our earth. And, incidentally, if that is the case, there is an end to the theory of many inhabited worlds, so dear to the astronomer Flammarion, for the number of the stars is certainly very much smaller than the fantastic figure arrived at by M. Leroy, and if it is miraculous that a single one of these worlds—our own—should have been able to produce life it is impossible to suppose that this stupendous chance could be repeated a thousand times, or even twice.

In the same way, then, it is miraculous that some of our communitarian societies should have thriven, and that some should have lived for a long time, but there is nothing to prevent our hoping that one of them may one day find the extremely rare conditions of permanent life.

It is true that many people think that we ought not to wish for this chance to be realized, for it would create a very dangerous precedent by showing that communism is not a chimera. But that is a question into which we cannot enter now.

[1] *Le Fait de l'Évolution*, in the review *Foi et Vie*, 1926, pp 148–149.

All these societies naturally resemble each other. What, then, are their general characteristics?

The thing that strikes the public most strongly about these communitarian associations, and the thing that seems to characterize them, is the life in common—the common house and the common table. Yet all do not possess this feature of a common habitation—at any rate, not necessarily. Their essential characteristic is the abolition of individual landed property. This does not necessarily mean that the soil is cultivated in common—the various colonies differ in this respect—but only that the land, as a species of natural wealth, belongs to all the members of the community, and that its produce belongs to the community. This produce is either consumed by the community or divided among the members according to their needs, as the case may be.

The second characteristic that is common to all these societies is the obligation to work that is imposed upon all the members. This rule is the more remarkable in view of the fact that in these societies there is almost always a large proportion of intellectuals. There are some, indeed, which consist almost entirely of intellectuals. Yet there is manual work for every one, though it is manual work which leaves sufficient leisure for intellectual work as well. The produce of this work, like the produce of the soil, from which indeed it can hardly be distinguished, goes into the common stock. Nevertheless the individual ownership of certain movable property is sometimes permitted, though as an exception.

It should be added that in some communities money is abolished. It is, however, useless in a society where every one lives more or less in common.

There is another serious question that arises in these communities, at all events in those which last a long time—that is, the question of the birth-rate. It would be difficult for the community not to exercise some control over births, unless it is prepared to resort to the swarming method practised in animal communities and in the cities of ancient

Greece—that is to say, the method of sending a swarm out of the city every generation to set up a new colony elsewhere. They are generally spared this problem, however, because they are more liable to suffer from continuous depopulation, so that the question of recruitment is their chief anxiety.

The vitality of the communist ideal is perhaps more apparent in literature than in actual practice.

> I am going to reveal to you one of my weaknesses. I never read a description in a travel book of a desert island where the sky is blue and the water pure without longing to go there and set up a republic in which all are equal, all are rich, all are poor, all are free, and our first law is that nothing is to be privately owned. We should bring to the public storehouses the fruit of our labours: that would be the Treasury of the State and the inheritance of every citizen. Every year the fathers of families would elect the stewards, whose duty it would be to distribute the goods according to the needs of each individual, and to instruct them as to the work required of them by the community.

Who do you imagine is the writer of that paragraph? No dreamer, but an eighteenth-century jurist who specialized in the study of ancient constitutions—the Abbé de Mably, in his treatise on the rights and duties of citizens (Chapter IV).

This obsession, so unexpected in a lawyer, is to be found in many others. A considerable library could be made out of Utopias—romances which take their name from the title cleverly invented by Thomas More to denote "the land of nowhere." More himself was no dreamer, nor even a man of letters, but a Chancellor of England who perished on the scaffold for refusing to obey the commands of his unworthy master, King Henry VIII.

More's *Utopia*, written in 1516, was not the first, however, for the oldest and most celebrated, at all events of those known to history, was the *Republic* of Plato, though that was not a romance, but a scheme for an ideal constitution.

Utopia was the starting-point of a flood of literature that shows no sign of slackening.[1] Thus in England we have *Christianopolis*, by Johann Andreæ (1619); *New Atlantis*, by Francis Bacon (1629); *The Coming Race*, by Bulwer Lytton (1871); *News from Nowhere*, by William Morris (1890); and *A Modern Utopia*, by H. G. Wells (1905). In France there is first, in the sixteenth century, the chapter on the Abbey of Thelema in Rabelais's *Gargantua*; in the seventeenth century we have the account of the republic of Salente in Fénelon's *Télémaque*; and in the last century Fourier's *Nouveau Monde Industriel* (1829) and Cabet's *Voyage en Icarie* (1840). Still nearer to our own time we have Gabriel Tarde's *L'Homme Souterrain* (1905), a vision of the future when the earth has died of cold and man seeks for a remnant of warmth within its bosom.

In the United States there is Bellamy's *Looking Backward* (1889), whose somewhat unintelligible title has been changed in the French version into *En l'An 2000*, while from Austria comes Hertzka's *Freeland* (1891), which was a kind of preface to the Zionist movement.

In our study of the co-operative communities ought we to confine ourselves to those which have been put into practice, or should we also describe those which have remained in the form of romances? The latter have as much right to inclusion as the former, for they have lived, and are still living to-day. Some of them, indeed, like the republic of Icaria, have even been embodied in actual communities. In this case there is no distinction between the romance as lived and the romance that remains in book form. All the founders of the colonies of which we are going to speak have themselves acted in the drama or the comedy that the others have merely written. Moreover, there is even more instruction to be drawn from reading these books than from the journey we

[1] A much more detailed bibliography, with short accounts of these and other books, will be found in an American work by Lewis Mumford, called *The Stories of Utopias* (1922).

are going to undertake, if we regard the matter from the economic and social standpoint as a criticism of the existing order of things and a forecast of the future.

I shall not include them, however, not only for want of time, but also, I am sorry to say, because this literature is extremely dull and monotonous, right down from More's book, which has set the standard for the rest, and not excepting even those, like Bellamy's, which have had enormous popular success. It is strange that the imagination should prove so feeble in calling up the vision of a new economy, and that even Mr Wells's fancy, that soars so boldly in its journey to the moon and its flight into past ages, should become so poor and trivial in its descriptions of the New Utopia.

However, the imagination of the actual performers has been no more fertile than that of the novelists, and even in regard to actual communities I should not like to convey any illusions. The reader must not expect to make a marvellous journey through the Fortunate Isles, like the voyage of Alain Gerbault across the Pacific in the *Firecrest*. Alas, no! The lands we shall explore are melancholy lands, peopled by phantoms. Our journey will be more like a voyage to that limbo created by the Catholic Church as a refuge for unbaptized children—the region where they wander while awaiting the time of their recall to the world in a garment of flesh—the land of which the poet has written:

> They talk together, but their voice is low;
> They walk, but their step is measured and slow;
> They fly, but their wings beat to and fro
> With never a sound at all.[1]

[1] Casimir Delavigne, *Derniers Chants*

CHAPTER II

ANIMAL COMMUNITIES

WE will begin with animal communities, not only because they are by far the oldest, nor because they are the most numerous, nor because they, it must be confessed, have been the most successful, having, indeed, reached perfection in their own kind, but particularly because those who have studied them, whether sociologists or philosophers (such as Maeterlinck, for instance, in his latest book on white ants), have no hesitation in saying that these communities, which were in existence several million years before the birth of the human race, must be regarded as "the precursors and prototypes of our own life,"[1] just as the astronomers show us in the moon a picture of what our planet will one day become. If this theory is well founded, if these animal communities reveal to us what human communities will one day become, it is clear that in studying them we are not merely satisfying our scientific curiosity, but dealing with the most distressing of problems.

Among these animal societies there are two which are almost the only ones known to everybody and famous in every age: the bees and the ants. We all know what part these creatures play in every book of moral precepts and in every fable.

Both bees and ants arouse our sympathy, but in very unequal degrees. The hive of bees appeals to us much more than the swarm of ants, for the following reasons. Bees may almost be regarded as domestic animals. They are not afraid to live in glass houses, where they can be watched. They are fair to look upon—"the golden bees"—at least when they

[1] Maeterlinck, *La Vie des Termites*.

are swarming. They have played a part in poetry and literature. They have been sung by Vergil. They seem possessed of virtues and even talents that are truly marvellous. They appear to be acquainted with geometry, the foundation of all sciences, for they can build cells that are geometrically faultless. Lastly, and most important of all, they graciously permit us to exploit them and rob them of their honey.

If, then, as Maeterlinck says, these animal communities are prototypes of human ones, we ought to pray that our future may be the hive rather than the anthill. For with ants it is a very different matter. The ant has no wings, except for a few hours; it is not beautiful, it is black, and it lives underground. Yet those who have studied ants at close quarters believe that in this respect, as in so many other things, we are misled by appearances, and that ants are really far more interesting and far more advanced than bees. Darwin made the almost incredible assertion that the brain of the ant is the most wonderful particle of matter in the world, more wonderful, perhaps, than the brain of man.[1]

The ants are a race that is proud and free, giving nothing to man, and not allowing itself to be exploited by him. On the contrary, ants rob him with impunity and devour his provisions. Their numbers are so vast that the human race is as nothing in comparison. Think of this: there are 7500 species of ants, each species possessing millions of anthills, and each anthill containing tens of thousands of citizens —from 10,000 to 100,000! Their origin in the biological scale appears to be far more ancient than that of bees, for whereas the existence of the latter is reckoned at some millions of years, the appearance of ants goes back for hundreds of millions of years, to the remotest palæontological ages.

Ants have also this point of superiority to bees, that they live much longer. While the bee lives no longer than a

[1] Forel, in *L'Homme et la Fourmi*, says: "I am thoroughly convinced that the social instinct of an ant, stored up little by little in its hereditary memory and co-ordinated by that memory, is far wiser than that of *Homo sapiens*."

month or two—from forty-five to sixty days, according to Gaston Bonnier—the ant lives for twelve or fifteen years. This length of life, in proportion to their tiny stature, is equivalent to the life of a Methuselah among men. Since, then, this species has so long a past behind it, and since its individual members live longer than any other insects, ants must have had time to learn a great many things and to reach a degree of perfection of which we have at present no idea.

It seems, moreover, that individuality among ants is not so completely swallowed up in collectivity as it is among bees. And what makes the life of these two races still more amazing is that, so far as we know, ants are blind and bees are deaf! Evidently they have senses which we have not.

But apart from these two communities, which are almost the only ones the ordinary man thinks of when animal communities are mentioned, there are many others. Alfred Espinas, a professor at the Sorbonne, some years ago wrote a big book, very valuable even to-day, on animal communities. There is a whole world of them, and in order to understand them we must make certain classifications.

These innumerable animal communities can be arranged in the following classes:

(1) To begin with, there are communities at the very bottom of the animal kingdom, which are situated in the depths of the sea, and which may be called 'organic' communities, in the sense that their members are bound together by their very tissues. They are actually and not figuratively 'members of one body.' They form, as it were, a single being, from which the individual is beginning to break away, but still buries its roots in the common stock. Such is the structure of the polyps, or coral-producing organism of the South Sea Islands. They are inseparable organic communities, in which solidarity[1] is carried to the

[1] The conception of solidarity is a favourite one with Professor Gide. He has defined it elsewhere (Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*, vol. iii, p. 444) as "the relations of mutual dependence existing between the individual members of one and the same whole."]

highest degree, since it is the same solidarity, or nearly so, as that which unites the organs of a single body. The individual is beginning with difficulty to break free, but there are already different heads with the power of movement.

It should be remarked, by the way, that the interpenetration of tissues which characterizes this first category of animal communities occurs also to some extent in the highest grades, for no human community can persist without sexual union and lactation, both of which involve a certain amount of interpenetration.

(2) Next above these comes the kind of community which we might call 'functional.' In them the individuals are completely freed from the common stock and move separately, but, although separate, they cannot live in isolation, because there is among them a differentiation of functions and of organs, so that the individuals cannot do without each other. To this category belong the best-known animal communities—those of the bees and ants. In these communities there are three classes of individuals: the males, the females (there is only one female in the case of bees and ants), and the workers, who are neither male nor female. Among the termites, or white ants, there is also a fourth class, the soldiers, who can fight, but not work. Now the males and females cannot feed themselves without the workers, and the latter cannot reproduce, since they have no sex. And even among the workers there are highly specialized classes—almost as many, apparently, as there are trades among men. Thus there have been distinguished as many as six kinds of bees with different functions.[1] First there are those which build the hive and the cells of the honeycomb. Then there are those which seek for the honey and bring it to the hive: these are called 'the pillagers.' Others, which seem to belong to the highest and most

[1] Gaston Bonnier, professor at the Sorbonne, *Le Socialisme chez les Abeilles*, in the *Revue de Sociologie*, 1908.

intelligent class, are the 'beaters' or 'scouts,' which never bring in honey, but discover the flowers and the places from which the other workers can collect it. They make inquiries about places, as it were, pointing out to the workers what is to be done, and seeing that this work is well arranged, so that all the bees do not go to the same spot. There are also brood bees, whose special duty is to look after the eggs and feed the grubs. Then there are 'the warders,' or 'police,' which take sentry duty at the entrance of the hive and defend it. Lastly, there is a most extraordinary class—'the ventilators'—whose business is to maintain an even temperature in the hive by beating with their wings to cool it when it becomes too warm. They can be seen carrying out this task for hours at a time, like mechanical ventilating fans.

The question arises whether these are really different kinds of bees with special functions, like the castes among the Hindus, or whether it is not the same individuals who perform these duties in turn. It seems, according to those who have studied the subject, that the bees can change their *rôle* when necessary. The pillagers, for instance, when they are wearied by their travels, or when they have grown old (at the age of one or two months), retire to a more restful and sedentary life by becoming brood bees.

It is the same with the ants and termites, but as we are not studying zoology I will content myself with pointing out that in these animal communities specialization and solidarity are carried to such a point that the individuals can neither feed themselves nor reproduce in isolation, so that we have here the completest embodiment of communism.

(3) We come now to another category of animal communities—those in which the individual is entirely free and independent. He can fend for himself, and is therefore not bound by any organic solidarity, but none the less he is a member of a community. This community is of the psychological order. It is founded on the fellow-feeling of the individuals, arising from their points of resemblance, thus

verifying the proverb "Birds of a feather flock together." These are the communities that are called 'gregarious.' They are innumerable among animals of all kinds. Think of all the animals, great and small, that live in herds. In the insect world there are the butterflies, the army-worms that strip the trees, and the locusts that cover whole countries with their devouring swarms. Among fishes, there are the shoals of herring, of cod, and of sardines, comprising millions. Of birds there are the flocks of migrants—storks, cranes, lapwings, and all the other birds of passage. Among mammals we have herds of antelopes, elephants, and beavers, in regions where man has not yet penetrated.

It is even likely that all animals in normal circumstances must have lived in herds. What is it that collects them together thus? Is it not want or necessity? No doubt there are animal communities which must have been established for hunting purposes, such as packs of wolves, or for purposes of defence, like the bisons which used to live in America. But most of these communities must have been formed simply from friendship. No one who has stopped to watch the sparrows in the gardens of the Tuileries, the pigeons of St Mark's in Venice, or the gulls on the shores of Lake Geneva can resist the feeling that these animals find pleasure in living together, and even that they communicate their ideas to each other by means of a language and code of actions which we should very much like to understand.

In this last category of animal communities we observe not only a gathering of like to like and an element of co-ordination, but also a certain amount of subordination. Most of these herds or flocks have a leader who is responsible for their defence, at all events in countries which man has not yet entered. So we find here a kind of Government, and therefore, if I may use the term, an embryonic political society.

It is possible, and even probable, that the constitution of these animal societies, among what we call 'the higher

species,' has been completely upset by the presence of man. If man had not appeared upon the earth all the mammals would have had communities which would perhaps have been as perfectly organized, each in its own way, as those of the ants and bees. But the terrible rivalry to which the human race has subjected them has dispersed and disorganized them. What do you expect to happen to communities of elephants if you massacre them in thousands? Of course they revert to a wild state.

The beavers used to form wonderful animal communities, but to-day there are only a few remaining, and these have lost their social virtues and even the art of building. They can still be found here and there in the island of Camargue, at the mouth of the Rhône, but they are a degenerate race and can no longer build dams.

Partridges, again, are accustomed to live in flocks. But when they are fired at by sportsmen all through the season the coveys of young birds get scattered. For although the effect of peril is oftentimes the formation of a society, yet after a certain point danger kills the social spirit instead of creating it. In a sinking ship or a burning house the spirit of association disappears. When the cry is "Sauve qui peut!" it is a case of each for himself.

That is the position, then, with animal communities among species resembling ourselves. We must not therefore conclude from their rarity that they did not exist once, and even, it may be, in extremely perfect forms.

Now what lessons is the sociologist to draw from these animal communities as described for us by the zoologist? In the first place there are the moral lessons which every age has discovered in them—the morals of the fables, the lessons taught in school, and the advice given long ago by King Solomon in the Book of Proverbs: "Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways, and be wise." In fact, we can find practised among them the following virtues.

First comes foresight. The ant stores up grain in the

anthill, and the bee collects honey in the hive. In the latter case the foresight is the more wonderful because the honey is stored for posterity, and not for the bees who store it. It is like the act of the father who saves for his children instead of for himself.

The next virtue is work. These creatures are untiring workers, and never shrink from their task. Their work, too, is not, as might be imagined, a form of play, like that of the butterfly wandering from flower to flower. We are told by those who have studied bees at close quarters that sometimes they are so tired in the evening that they have not strength to reach the hive, but are obliged to stop on the way. So exhausting is the toil that the soul of the hive, the unseen leader, pensions off the bees when they have carried on long enough at their job.

Then there is a third lesson to be drawn. It is said that man is naturally lazy and works only when he is obliged. The compulsion may be applied either by the whip of the slave-driver, or by hunger and the need of earning his daily bread, as in the case of the wage-earner, or by the desire for profit, as with the capitalist. The animal, on the other hand, needs none of these incentives. He works, if not for the pleasure of it, at all events by instinct.

However, if we look at the question a little closer, it will appear that even animals do not fail to shirk work when they can. This is notably the case with bees, for when we save them the trouble of building a hive and making the honeycomb by giving them paper combs they seem quite satisfied and make use of them at once. It has also been noticed that when bees happen to find themselves in the neighbourhood of a sugar refinery, and discover that they can just steal the sugar or syrup instead of going miles to get it, they do not fail to do so. In the West Indies, for instance, where sugar is grown everywhere, the bees have completely lost the habit of making honey from flowers, as they find it more convenient to take the sugar that they find

almost ready made. They have long been exploited by man, and now they are having their revenge!

Another characteristic which 'good' little books have not failed to discover among animals is their hatred of parasitism. Bees in particular are merciless toward the idler. If they were content with carrying out St Paul's maxim which the Bolshevists have borrowed from them, "If any will not work, neither let him eat," well and good. But they go further than that. The male bees who cannot work, but are made only for reproduction, as I have said above, are driven out and even killed as soon as their task is performed. At all events they are put outside the hive to die of cold and hunger. The swarming process itself, however romantic in appearance, is merely a very brutal way of getting rid of useless mouths. For it must not be imagined, as I used to think myself, that the swarm is made up of the younger generation, as in the old Greek colonies, which sent out their younger members under a leader to seek fortune at a distance. No! the swarm that starts off consists of the old bees, with the old queen, who have been driven out, and the ones who stay behind are the young ones who impudently take possession of the ancestral home.

But what men have particularly looked for in these animal communities is lessons in the art of government. Here, it is said, are such Governments as man has never been able to put into practice. But what kind of government is it? Is it a monarchy? For a long time it used to be thought so. We spoke of the queen-bee and the queen-ant. But it was discovered later that this queen exercises no royal functions. She is simply the female, a huge, inflated layer of eggs, a hundred times as big as the rest. She cannot move, and for that reason alone she has the privilege of being fed by the worker bees, but that is the only royal privilege she possesses.

The comparison of these Governments to republics is also a purely literary matter. Dr Forél, the eminent Swiss publi-

cist, who has studied many subjects, and notably that of sex morality, writes in his book on man and the ant:

> The hereditary social instincts of ants enable the anthill to develop without government, without a leader, without a king, without a police force, and without law, into a splendid anarchical organization whose co-ordinating principle is a profound social solidarity.

An "anarchical organization!" The anarchists, however, would be the first to protest against this description, for anarchy, by its very definition, is individualism in its extremest form. It is individualism which accepts neither God nor master, neither constraint nor law, and which is therefore as far removed as can possibly be imagined from those animal communities in which all individual development is apparently sacrificed to the interests of the social body. These societies would strike horror into the real anarchist.

The true facts are these, that this faultless co-ordination is simply due to the absence of any individuality strong enough to conceive of revolt, or even to become conscious of a personal life as distinct from the collective life. "Living one's own life"—an expression that has been greatly abused when employed to justify the most culpable errors of conduct—would be meaningless in reference to a member of such a society. No one can live his own life, because the only real life is that of the hive. Consequently the connexion between public and private interest—that great problem which our human societies endeavour so vainly to solve—is solved among the animals in the completest manner by the impossibility of separating the two interests.

The most interesting lesson to draw from these animal communities, though unfortunately we have not yet succeeded in discovering it, would be to know whether this communal state of affairs is the final stage in their evolution, or merely an intermediate stage in their progress toward something higher. We should have to know, in the first place, whether these communities have a history, for history

implies change, transformation, and progress. Now it does not seem as if these animal societies, unlike human ones, show any changes or anything resembling what we call progress. It is true that this statement is open to the reply that men have only studied these insects scientifically for two or three hundred years, a period which is no longer for a race that has lived a hundred million years than a few minutes would be to a human community, and that therefore there may possibly have been changes in the course of this enormous period of existence of which we have no idea. In fact, there are naturalists who declare—on what grounds I am not sure, but no doubt on that of fossils—that there was a time when bees did not live in societies and could not build hives. They say that only at a certain date, infinitely more remote than the prehistoric period in human history, did they learn the art which we have not yet properly learnt, of living in common.

Furthermore, even if we were to discover a process of evolution in animal societies, why should that authorize us to say, as Maeterlinck does, that this evolution will show us the way, and that the constitution of these societies is an anticipation and a forecast of our own future? Astronomers may read in the moon the future of our terrestrial globe, for the moon is just a smaller earth and must have passed through the same stages as our planet, though on a smaller scale. But insect communities and human ones are formed after different plans.

We must not picture the evolution of the animal species as the steps of a staircase rising till it reaches the human race. Insects are not at a lower stage in the animal scale. They and the human race are two branches which split off from the main stem at some unknown period and have developed separately. Man is the terminal shoot of one branch: the bee and the ant are the terminal shoot of the other.

But even supposing that the communities of bees and ants

were a forecast of what we shall one day become, what must we think of this prospect? It is to be noted that Maeterlinck, in drawing this horoscope for us, does not think of rejoicing at it. "It is rather disturbing," he says,

> to observe that whenever Nature endows a being with the social instinct it is in order to lead him gradually as association grows more perfect, through an increasingly stringent *régime*, to a system of constraint and tyranny that grows more and more intolerant and intolerable—the life of the factory, the barracks, or the gaol, demanding sacrifice and misery for every one, and giving happiness to none.

Dr Forel, on the other hand, in predicting the same destiny for us, finds in it a subject of rejoicing.

> A human anthill, unique on the earth, and yet divided into a swarm of multicellular individuals, communities, and states superimposed upon each other, but flexible within their limited bounds of freedom, will replace the ferocity and all the warlike anarchy of our ancestors.

It is all very well to talk of replacing human ferocity and warlike anarchy, but M. Forel knows better than I do that the world that presents the most frightful spectacle of ferocity and war is the insect world! All species of animals, and bees and ants in particular, wage pitiless warfare among themselves. You have only to introduce a strange bee or ant into a hive or an anthill for it to be immediately exterminated by its brethren. Sometimes, instead of slaying their enemy, they reduce him to slavery, as men have done. Ants have slaves, for they exploit the green-fly and other species as well. And yet, in this insect world the bees and ants are not the worst. You cannot read the ten volumes of Fabre's natural history without dropping the book in horror at the terrible descriptions of the fiendish tortures inflicted by insects upon their fellows. Nature has equipped them for this purpose with all the instruments of torture employed by the medieval executioner, and with others still more refined.

For my own part, I cannot think of this vast insect world, in comparison with which the little world of the so-called superior species is as nothing, without a nightmare. Try to picture to yourself the ants, the praying mantises, the beetles, the spiders, and the scorpions, all as big as mammals, and yourself condemned to live in the midst of them. Would not that be hell? In the seven days of creation it can only have been Satan who created this world of insects.

So it is not to them that we must go in search of lessons in peace, and certainly not for lessons in humanity. At the best we shall only find solidarity, but a solidarity that is compulsory, and therefore of no moral value.

CHAPTER III

PRIMITIVE COMMUNITIES

1. Social Relations in Primitive Societies

One might be tempted to think that the story of animal societies just outlined must be an introduction to the story of human societies, and that there is a natural transition from the one to the other. Surely men could do what bees and ants have been able to do? And from this it follows that communism, the culminating point of animal evolution, must have been the starting-point for the earliest human societies. That, however, is an inference which has no foundation.

In the first place, so far as ants and bees are concerned, man is not their successor in the genealogical tree of the animal kingdom. They are completely divergent branches, and there is no analogy between them.

At the best we might seek for a point of departure in communities of mammals, such as monkeys and beavers. But these societies, as we have said, are so scattered and so degenerate that they can hardly provide us with a basis of comparison or with any instruction.

Neither do we get any further if we try to obtain information by the direct observation of prehistoric documents. This is not because we have not plenty of knowledge about primitive man, as regards his industries, his food, even his art, and to some extent his history. We know that there were two great periods in this history, each extending over tens of thousands of years. The first was the Palæolithic Age, when flint implements were rudely fashioned. In this age there can apparently be traced an ascending period, followed by a backward movement due to some mysterious phenomenon, no doubt a climatic change brought about by

glaciers. The second period was the Neolithic Age, or the age of polished stone, marking a return to the upward path, and characterized by the appearance of the arts of sculpture and painting. These were followed by the prehistoric period, much nearer to our own times, and going back perhaps some five or six thousand years according to the country in question. In this period began the earliest civilizations.

All this, however, throws no light on our question as to the social relations obtaining among Old Stone men or New Stone men, cave-men or men of the lake-villages. Did they live in a communal state? If the Glozel excavations had yielded any information on this point the sensation they have created would not have been excessive. But they have told the sociologist nothing.

If we give rein to the imagination the evolution of human societies would be characterized, roughly, by the following features:

(1) The family, which is the earliest form of community, must have been created from the bond of sex, strengthened by the birth and bringing up of children. The human family has become a more lasting association than the animal one, because the period of suckling the child and the period of growth are much longer among primitive men than among other mammals, and even than among civilized men. Among savages the period of lactation lasts for two or three years. This serves to prolong the duration of the family tie beyond the period of sexual union.

(2) As the children remained with their parents even after they had grown up, and then in their turn contracted new unions, the family must have grown continuously larger and become a clan or tribe, and this must have retained the marks of the family community, in production as well as in consumption. Even to-day many examples can be found of these families that have grown into communities, the best-known being the Zadruga of the Yugoslav countries.

Sociologists, however, are in general agreement in acknow-

ledging that development has been in the opposite direction. Instead of starting with the family, and the family extending into the clan, the clan is the starting-point, and has split up gradually, and by a long evolutionary process, into families, either polygamous, monogamous, or matriarchal.

The point is of little importance so far as our study is concerned, for in either case there is a community, whether it be a tribe or a family. But of what nature was this community? Did it involve common production, or habitation, or consumption? Above all, did it provide mutual assistance —the principle of "each for all and all for each" of our present-day co-operative and benefit societies? Kropotkin, the anarchist, affirms in an enthusiastic panegyric that it did. But this revival of the 'noble savage' theory, so dear to the eighteenth century, is hardly borne out by observation of existing savage communities.

It is true that we do not know whether these communities of blacks on the Congo, or of South Sea islanders or Eskimos, are to be regarded as survivals, and consequently as faithful representations, of primitive societies, or whether they are not rather degenerate forms of a previous state, like the communities of beavers. One would like very much to know whether primitive man possessed a sentiment of solidarity. When we think of what life must have been for those wretched beings, in a land still peopled by the most ferocious animals, at grips with the great cave bear or the mammoth and with no other weapons than sticks and stones, we can only picture them as crowding together and forming communities for mutual assistance and defence.

Yet if this defensive solidarity was imposed upon them by the conditions under which they lived there does not seem to have been any very strong moral solidarity, in the sense in which we understand it to-day. There are still many savage communities which abandon or sell their children in order to get rid of them, and abandon or slay their old people in the same way.

There are some things to be seen among existing savage communities also which seem inconsistent with the idea we have formed of an original community, at least in the matter of consumption. For instance, men and women seem to have different kinds of food: the men live on the flesh of the beasts they have killed, while the women eat vegetables which they have found and gathered. That is a system of differentiation, but it is not that of the ants and bees, which makes for community of life. On the contrary, it makes for separation, for it almost creates two different species, the men being carnivorous and the women herbivorous, so to speak.

There is no need, however, to go back to primitive society, for in the country districts of the South of France the women on the farms do not eat with the men. But what is more surprising is that primitive societies are to be found in which the rule is not only that the two sexes must eat separately, but that the man must not eat in public. Even to-day, among various African tribes, such as the Touareg, it is improper to eat before a witness, through a kind of modesty which is similar to sex modesty. And yet, if there is any action nowadays which asks to be performed in common, it is the act of consumption, the common meal, the convivial repast.

2. The Origin of Personal Property

Without inquiring any further into the kind of life and social relations of primitive man we can at least affirm that he recognized the right of individual ownership in all personal objects, weapons, tools, pottery, and trinkets. How can we possibly imagine that these things were ever common property?

If we look at one of those rough or polished flints and think of the days, months, or maybe years required to fashion it and make it serve the purpose for which it was intended, and that with no other instrument than the stone itself,

alternately raw material and tool, it is easy to imagine the value set upon it by the craftsman. We must believe also that this sentiment of individual ownership was more jealous even than that of the peasant of to-day over his land, or of the artist in regard to his work, and that the craftsman would hardly be inclined to transfer his handiwork to the community. What proves it is that he carried these things with him even to the tomb. In the grave of primitive man were placed the personal articles which had belonged to him, the things which he had made his own, but which, just because they were incorporated with his person, so to speak, ought not to survive him and must therefore die with him.

Then, when the horse became a domestic animal, it too was often buried with its master. And when women likewise became private property they, like the personal articles, had to follow their master to the tomb.

Was a house individual property? In regard to that, I have received a letter from a doctor who has lived for many years in the land of the Basutos, and he says:

> When a Basuto dies his heirs have the right to carry off only those parts of the house which can be removed—the furniture, the doors, and even the windows, if there are any. The house itself does not pass to the heirs, but remains unoccupied. It dies with its master.

3. The Origin of Landed Property

The question of the ownership of the house brings us to that of the ownership of the land, and here we enter an entirely different realm. For in this case it really seems to have been the community system that lay at the base of all societies.

We must consider, however, the various phases of economic development. They are, of course, classified as follows: the hunting or fishing stage, the pastoral stage, the agricultural stage. These are as a rule the successive forms of economic

development, for the second implies the domestication of animals, and the third involves the cultivation of the soil. But even to-day we can still see societies which have remained in the first or second stage.

(i) The manner of life of a hunting race obviously excludes all individual ownership of the land, which is merely a hunting region belonging to the tribe.

This mode of life involves also some association in work. Nowadays when a hunter goes to shoot a rabbit or to fish with a rod and line he can go alone, but when fishing or hunting is an industry and a method of earning a living, then hunting is carried on by bands of men and fishing is done from a boat. And if production here requires co-operation it must be the same with distribution, for it is hardly possible to determine the exact share of the quarry killed by each individual.

If, however, the community system seems inherent in this primitive kind of economy it can apply only to small communities, for hunting requires such extensive tracts of land that it does not permit of the formation of large groups. In speaking of bees and ants we said that they set up very large communities. That is very easy for them, because within the two-mile circle which is covered by the flight of a bee there are enough flowers to maintain the 100,000 inhabitants of the hive. But within the six- or nine-mile circle that a hunter can cover on foot, or the twelve or eighteen miles that he can traverse mounted, there is not enough game to support thousands of men, or even hundreds, not even at a time when game was infinitely more plentiful than it is to-day.

(ii) Is landed property going to appear, then, in the second or pastoral stage? No, no more than in the earlier one. When wild animals became domesticated, transformed into flocks and herds, and multiplied at will, subsistence was assured, and the family was enabled to increase to the proportions of a band or tribe. That was the age of the patriarchs.

Pastoral life marks, indeed, a great step forward in social

progress. No longer are the old men killed off. On the contrary, it is they who become the patriarchs, the chiefs of the tribes. No longer are the children abandoned either, and therefore large communities are now possible. But if the family can feed upon the flock the flock must first find food, and since the pasturage is quickly exhausted, it must move on. That is why nomadic or tent life is one of the characteristic marks of pastoral peoples.

Now it is obvious that nomadic life is incompatible with private property in land. Just as in the case of the hunting peoples, the pastoral life involves merely a division of territory among the tribes. We find in the Bible, where the oldest and finest pictures of patriarchal life are to be found, this episode in the life of Abraham. Abram—for the patriarch was not yet called Abraham—said to Lot: "Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me: if thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left." Then Lot chose for himself all the valley of the Jordan (before the Dead Sea had partly swallowed it up), and Abram remained in the land of Canaan, which later became known as Judea.

(iii) But now we come to the third period, the agricultural. Here it is not only the wild animal that has been tamed and made to yield its flesh or its milk. It is the very land itself and all the vegetable life that it produces which ensures the regular feeding of the family, the city, and the nation.

There are some grounds for attributing to women this tremendous discovery of agriculture. Men, to be sure, lived mainly by hunting and war, and it was the women who specialized in vegetable foodstuffs and the gathering of the crops. It was the woman's business, as it is to-day, 'to make the soup,' if the expression is permitted. And in order to make the soup she went out with her basket, not to the market, but to the woods. And in this way she must have learnt to know the various kinds of plants and how they

grow, when they ripen, and how the seed that is sown is enabled to germinate and produce new plants.

Is it not thrilling to think that it was a woman who first discovered the grain of wheat? It was a clever thing to do, for if you saw a grain of wheat and tried to eat it you would scarcely guess, if you did not know what it was, that it contains the bread of life for the whole of the white races, if not for the entire human race. Still less could you foresee this when the wheat was the wild variety—the only kind in existence at that time, though it is never found to-day.

What effects followed the change from the pastoral to the agricultural stage? Did agriculture inaugurate the system of landed property when it took the place of the more or less communal systems of hunting, fishing, and stock-raising that preceded it? That is just what it did do later on, but this development was slow, and even to-day it is not everywhere completed. Even after agriculture had begun common ownership of the soil appears to have been at the foundation of all communities. This theory has been propounded in such well-known books as that of Émile de Laveleye on the primitive forms of property, published fifty years ago, and many others. Moreover, although these books are regarded to-day as out-of-date, and although this doctrine, like so many others, has found opponents, it still seems to us an evident truth, confirmed by what we know of history as well as by existing survivals.

Here, for instance, is an extract from a study of the primitive communities of the Congo, by a Belgian writer:[1]

> The idea of men claiming the ownership of the land is still inconceivable to these people. They recognize only a temporary right to the produce of the fields they have tilled, and even to what the soil has spontaneously produced. The cultivator selects a piece of land to his liking. If he then abandons it without resowing it anyone in his tribe can succeed him in the enjoyment of the property. The yield of the fruit-trees

[1] *Système économique des Primitifs dans l'État indépendant du Congo*, by M. Thonnar, 1901.

belongs to him exclusively when their leaves cover the site of his hut. Anything growing wild farther off is also reserved for him if he leaves his mark on it—for instance, if he encircles the trunk of a palm-tree with the girdle by which he climbs it.

This conception of private property as attaching only to what is produced by labour and not to the gifts of Nature appears from the beginning, and it remains and reappears in all the so-called systems of nationalization, in spite of all the strain imposed upon it by strife and robbery.

There is no need, however, to go to the blacks of the Congo to discover the non-existence of property in land at the beginning. Even at a period of very advanced civilization there is no word in Roman law, the source of so much modern law, to denote landed property, strictly speaking. The Romans designated a man's inheritance by the two words *familia* and *pecunia*, the former being his slaves, and the latter his cattle (*pecus*). Land is not mentioned, and so it did not count among a man's personal property.

All students of law know that the classical mode of alienation among the Romans was *mancipatio* (from *manus* and *capere*), which means "a taking with the hand," and one can only take with the hand what is movable.

According to Fustel de Coulanges's famous book, *La Cité antique*, individual ownership of the soil originated with the dead: the first property was that of the tomb. This was connected with ancestor-worship. The dead man became a god, and the place where he rested became a sacred spot which belonged to him. It is a striking idea, that it was the dead who first established property in land.

What must have happened next is that the ancestral tomb became a kind of centre around which there gradually extended the landed estate, the house, and the enclosure surrounding it. This estate being sacred, it must have also been inalienable, so that it could not become an article of commerce.

In the early days the Romans used to assign to each

citizen two *jugera* of land, which was equal to about an acre and a quarter. This was not enough to feed a family, but all the land beyond this little enclosure remained public property. This, however, was gradually seized by the patricians—an action which gave rise later on to the demands of the plebeians and the agrarian laws.

This common ownership of land has certainly nothing to do with equalitarian communism. Rather is it a kind of nationalization, for the owner is represented only by the chief of the clan or tribe, who regards the land as belonging to him and disposes of it as he pleases. If a stranger comes and asks for a grant of land it is the chief who gives it to him. And later on, when the tribe becomes a civilized society, the chief is called 'the State,' or 'the Government.'

Thus it is that even to-day all the land in Great Britain belongs, according to English law, to the King. As a matter of fact, no landowner troubles about this royal overlordship or even thinks of it: it is merely a legal fiction involving no real community of ownership.

That, it should be observed, is a feature which survives in the history of landed property in all countries. The soldiers, the chiefs, the priests, and all who constitute a nobility of any kind receive portions of land from the king, and thus is established the feudal *régime* under which the ownership of land is combined with sovereignty.

A similar situation has prevailed in Russia since the Soviet Revolution. Legally, all property in land has been abolished, and all the land belongs to the Russian nation. But in practice the peasant who tills his plot regards it as his own property. The peasants even live a more individual life than before the Revolution, for the old community—the *mir*—is rapidly falling to pieces. The Russian Government is trying to revive it in a modernized form by setting up co-operative communist societies among the *mujiks* by giving them a share in the cultivation, but they are meeting with little success.

From all these facts about primitive or savage human societies can any conclusion be drawn as to the future? If we grant the existence of a primitive community, what are we to conclude? Is this an argument for communism? No, for it may be said that such a system is clearly obsolete, and that any attempt to restore it can only be a useless endeavour condemned by the law of evolution—a step backward. That is the usual argument of the economist, but to us it does not seem altogether convincing, for the Latin poet Horace wrote long ago that things that are past are often seen to reappear, and the theory of cycles is more scientific than that of development in a straight line.

But if, on the other hand, we agree that there were no communities at the beginning, would this be an argument against the system? No, for it cannot be proved that they will not exist at the end. We have said above that some naturalists assert that bees did not reach the hive stage until after a hundred million years of progress. The founders of communist colonies need not be discouraged, therefore, and their experiments, which we are going to study, may perhaps be merely a foreshadowing of a far distant future.

4. Communist States: the Empire of the Incas

Can we not discover in history any States which have been constituted on more or less communistic lines? If we can their testimony will be very valuable.

They are not to be found—or at least not in Europe. What about Sparta? In Sparta, it is said, the children were brought up in common, and the men took their meals in common, the women alone taking food in their own homes. But there was nothing communistic about that. Undoubtedly the Spartans gathered together at these banquets just as many men to-day dine at their clubs. It is even said that each one took his share of the food, so that these common meals were simply picnics.

There is one country to be found, however, where a communist *régime* must have existed. But we must search for it in South America, and we shall find it in the kingdom of the Incas.

This empire was apparently not in existence before the thirteenth century, the previous system being one of scattered and hostile tribes. It must, then, have lasted for about three hundred years, down to the conquest of the country by the Spaniards in 1529. A communication on this subject was made to the Société d'Économie Politique on July 5, 1927, by M. L. Baudin, Professor of Law in the university of Dijon. He had obtained his information, he stated, not only from the numerous histories of the Spanish conquest, but also from a vast collection, in 145 volumes, of unpublished documents on the history of the Spanish Indies. They seemed to him to be confirmed by certain surviving relics of this ancient system in the existing constitution of Peru. It must not be forgotten, however, that the Incas were not acquainted with the art of writing. To keep things in memory, to make notes of facts and figures, and to express their thoughts they used merely string with a somewhat complicated system of knots. Differences in the size and colour of these knots constituted their alphabet, and the code has proved impossible to decipher. Apart from this there is nothing remaining, for there, as everywhere else, the Spaniards wiped out every vestige of the native civilization, so that nothing is to be found but colossal ruins buried in the depths of the virgin forest. To-day the national pride of the Peruvians is leading them to reconstruct this early history, in order to throw their origin farther back and to assume titles of nobility. But it is too late, and we know very little about the social system of the Incas.

According to M. Baudin the State was the sole owner of all the land, but each family received a share proportional in extent to its needs. The family cultivated this plot and kept the produce, which was supposed to be about sufficient

for its consumption. The rest of the land was divided between the sun-god and the Inca—that is to say, the State. These public lands were no doubt tilled by unpaid and compulsory labour, and the produce was stored up as a reserve to meet the needs of the priests, the chiefs, the sick, the poor, and for unforeseen contingencies. It was the same with the live stock, which consisted only of llamas, for these peoples knew nothing of the horse, the ox, the cow, or even the sheep. The llamas were assigned to each family in very limited numbers, the greater part remaining in the possession of the Church or the State.

There was no wage-earning class, for work upon the land was compulsory. There was no exchange, except with foreigners. There was not even any metallic money, according to M. Baudin, but only commodity currency, such as maize, feathers, and shells—a particularly surprising thing in a land so rich in gold and silver that later on it flooded Europe with the precious metals for a couple of centuries.

Among the Incas, therefore, there was no community of dwelling, or of consumption, or even of distribution, because each man had to provide for his own necessities. The system was one which we shall meet with again in the Jesuit republics of Paraguay. It is probable that the Jesuits knew of the Peruvian system, and that it influenced them in creating their constitutions. This communal system still obtains among the natives of the lofty tablelands of Peru and Bolivia.

We have found a different account, and one which seems highly imaginative, in a book by M. Bonthoux,[1] which appeared at the same time as M. Baudin's paper—a coincidence the more remarkable because the two writers do not appear to have had any knowledge of each other's work.

The author of this book spent all his childhood in Peru, and lived there for some thirty years. He was on intimate

[1] *Le Régime économique des Incas*, by V. A. Bonthoux, 1927.

terms, he says, with an old man who was in possession of the most authentic traditions about the civilization of the Incas. These traditions were even preserved in a book—a printed book, not one of those made of string, as we have described. But the ship on which M. Bonthoux sailed on his return to France was wrecked, and the sea "swallowed up this precious collection, which might perhaps have changed the destiny of the world." That is a most romantic story, but it must not be forgotten that the author comes from Marseilles.

M. Bonthoux does not assert that all the land was the property of the State, but that the characteristic feature is that the State was the only merchant: all produce was deposited in the State storehouses, and from these the inhabitants had to obtain all that they required. The State storehouse was thus the centre of economic life: everything ended there and issued thence.

Gold and silver money, according to M. Bonthoux, were perfectly well known and used. The State paid the producers in money for all that it purchased from them, and received payment in money for all that it sold. This money must therefore have been those very 'labour notes' which the collectivists would like to create elsewhere. But these notes were not paper ones, but counters made of real gold or silver. The monetary unit, which was of gold, corresponded to the value of a day's labour, and its subdivisions corresponded to certain smaller periods of labour, such as an hour, five minutes, and one minute. And as their numerical system was a duodecimal one the scheme fitted in admirably.

When the producer took his goods to the storehouse he was given the amount of money representing the number of days or hours of labour accomplished—or, no doubt, the amount assessed according to a certain scale. In the same way the purchaser who bought any goods paid for them with the amount of money corresponding to the number of hours that they stood for. Payment was thus made always at a fair price, and there was no profit, no surplus, and no specula-

tion. It was the system, even in those early days, which Owen must have been trying to work out in his Labour Exchange.

There was no lending money at interest. The State alone lent money—gratuitously—to those who needed it for some useful work. But the State itself never borrowed. For the execution of works of public utility—notably a fine system of roads—the State had no need to borrow, for it had the work done by labour that was either unpaid or paid for with notes which soon returned to it by way of purchases from the public storehouses. Thus the Incas must have been acquainted not only with metallic money, but also with fiduciary money.

In any case, whether the kingdom of the Incas was a communist republic or a system of State socialism in a theocratic form, it remains true that the system can scarcely have been successful, considering how pitifully it collapsed. This empire extended over an area larger than that of France, with a population that is said to have amounted to twelve millions, which was greater than that of Spain in those days. It enjoyed a civilization which, to judge from its monuments and works of art, was remarkable, in spite of the people's ignorance of the art of writing, and in spite of the lack of iron and of beasts of burden and for ploughing—those three great factors in the industry of the Aryan races. And yet all that was needed to overthrow this great empire was a force of about 180 men, including thirty or forty horsemen, led by the adventurer Pizarro.

I know, of course, that Pizarro's easy victory was due to an act of abominable treason, of which colonial history, so rich in villainy, hardly shows another example.[1] But that

[1] Pizarro invited King Atahualpa to come and see him in his camp with his whole army, and took advantage of this to slaughter the native army and seize the King. He promised, however, to release him on payment of a ransom consisting of the whole of a large room filled with golden vessels and other objects, but when the ransom was paid King Atahualpa was condemned to be burnt alive. The only indulgence shown to him was that he was allowed to be strangled first.

is beside the point: an act of ruffianism would not have sufficed to overthrow an empire if it had been established on a firm foundation.

We must conclude, then, that the empire of the Incas is not an example to be followed.

CHAPTER IV

MONASTIC COMMUNITIES

MANY of my readers may be surprised at my giving a place to religious communities in such a book as this. But why not? They have occupied by far the greatest place in history, since for fifteen centuries they were, for good or for evil, according to one's opinion of them, one of the great factors of civilization, and even to-day they have not by any means lost all their influence.

Voltaire said: "Monk, what is your profession? It is that of having none, but of being bound by an inviolable oath to be a slave and an absurdity and to live at other people's expense." Perhaps this criticism was not too harsh at the time when Voltaire wrote, but it certainly was for an earlier age. In Voltaire's time, the eighteenth century, men were completely ignorant and scornful of the Middle Ages. Nowadays we are better acquainted with the history of the religious communities, and this history is by no means negligible or contemptible. It will form a natural introduction here to the story of the Jesuit republics of Paraguay.

1. HISTORICAL OUTLINE

The religious congregations, as they are generally called, were not originally communities. Monks began by living alone. You will even notice that by a curious etymological freak the word 'monk,' which is now used of those who live a community life, is derived from the Greek word *monos*, which means 'alone.' The earliest monks, in fact, were what we should now call hermits or anchorites. They dwelt in the solitudes of Egypt—the district known as the Thebaid.

It was not till later on that they became grouped together in communities, and for a long time still these communities were very unlike what we now call by that name. They are said to have originally consisted of bands of slaves, freed slaves, and refugees, including a goodly number of *curiales*, or landowners who, finding it impossible to pay their taxes, took to flight, pursued by the tax-collector. We shall see later on that the origin of the socialist and anarchist colonies of our own day has not been markedly different from this.

These groups had still none of the characteristics of the religious congregation: they were lay organizations entirely. None of their members were qualified to say Mass or to celebrate the sacraments, so they had to call in a priest to take the religious services. Neither did they take any vows. Every man came and went as he pleased. When he entered the community he put off his peasant's, or citizen's, or soldier's garb, and when he had had enough he resumed it in order to leave.

These men were idle, and Voltaire's words are certainly applicable to them. But they gave as their excuse for not working the words of Jesus: "Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow not, neither do they reap, nor gather into barns; yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they?" But since none the less God did *not* feed them, they looked after themselves by taking right and left whatever they needed. These 'black men' were the terror of their fellow-men, who called them 'Romans' or 'pagans.' They were also fierce iconoclasts, taking upon themselves the duty of destroying the images of gods in the temples.

It was not till very much later, in the sixth century, that these groups became disciplined and adopted the 'Rule.' Then it was that the religious orders appeared. The most famous of all, the Order of St Benedict, was founded in the first half of the sixth century. St Benedict himself died in the year 543.

These orders were true communities, with a most stringent discipline which collected under its Rule a larger or smaller number of houses called 'monasteries.' Each monastery was governed by a prior or an abbot, who was elected for life by the members of the community and exercised absolute power. It was like the Roman empire on a small scale, for the Roman emperor himself was supposed to be elected for life.

Although each order had its own distinct Rule, laid down by its founder, they all had certain characteristic features in common. Thus all monks took the three well-known perpetual vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience.

The rules to which these communities were subjected were not entirely religious. It may even be said that besides these three vows there was another one—the vow of work. From the moment when that appeared the words of Voltaire cease to be applicable. The monks were no longer idlers, nor could it be said of them, as of the nobles at the same period, that they lived at the expense of the poor. The expression "to work like a Benedictine" has become proverbial in France, and it is entirely justified. But the Benedictines were not the only monks to work. The most usual division of the hours of the day was as follows: seven hours for work, seven hours for religious offices, two hours for reading, leaving eight hours for food and sleep. The monks no longer took for their motto the words of Christ, quoted above, but those of St Paul: "If any will not work, neither let him eat."

The work undertaken by the monks was extensive and varied. At first it took the form of voyages of exploration: the earliest Christian communities in the Roman world were communities of missionaries. They went out to settle in the most isolated spots, in the midst of forests, where the splendid ruins of their abbeys are still to be seen. In these places they created regular colonies, as Protestant and Catholic missionaries do at the present day in Africa and Asia. They went far afield, these monkish explorers. The lands on the edge of Europe, far away from the centre of

civilization on the Mediterranean—the lands of Scotland and Ireland—became in their turn centres of culture under the influence of these communities. Such, for example, were the monastery of Iona in Scotland, and that of Bangor in Ireland.

The travels of St Brendan, the Irish monk, in the middle of the sixth century have become famous. He tells how his ship was driven by the wind for fifteen days and fifteen nights toward the north. His vessel was followed by monsters of the sea, and thus he and his companions reached a land where day followed day without any night, where they saw cathedrals of crystal, and the rock to which the outcast Judas was exiled. And at last they came to the island which is the abode of the blessed. It is easy to see whales in these monsters of the sea, and icebergs in the crystal cathedrals, but it is harder to identify the isle in which St Brendan saw Paradise. Can it have been the Shetland Islands, or even Iceland?

Furthermore, these monks were great pioneers and clearers of waste land, like the pioneers of the American Far West a thousand years later. Around each monastery they cut down the forests with untiring axe,[1] and over their doors they inscribed the motto *Cruce et aratro* ("By cross and plough"), which they had substituted for the motto of Roman colonization, *Ense et aratro* ("By sword and plough"). Their zeal for hewing down forests was intensified by the fact that they combined the ardour of the iconoclast with that of the pioneer, for the forests at that time were the sacred places of the druids, where pagan divinities had taken refuge in the shape of fairies.

All the thousands of towns in France which bear the names of saints—Saint-Germain, Saint-Cloud, Saint-Denis, Saint-Malo, Saint-Quentin, Saint-Étienne, for example—grew up around some monastery and took the name of the saint who was honoured therein.

Monastic life was very interesting also from the purely

[1] See Montalembert's eloquent *Histoire des Moines d'Occident.*

economic point of view. It was of the kind known to economists as 'closed'—a self-sufficing organization, practising neither buying nor selling. The monastery bought practically nothing from outside, because it produced almost everything that was necessary to meet the requirements of the community. It even produced, as a rule, more than the monks themselves needed, because there was always a regular *clientèle* of dependents, beggars, pilgrims, and travelling strangers, for whom the monastery filled the place of the modern hotel—but a free one.

The monastery lands were places of refuge for serfs who sought safety from their lords on abbey property. The very animals themselves came to seek sanctuary in those still extensive parts of the forest which the monks left uncleared. The monks ate no meat, and in any case did not hunt, in an age when hunting was the usual occupation of all the nobles. Consequently, the lands of the monks were something like the 'reserves' in America and some parts of Europe to-day, where hunting is forbidden, with the object of preserving animal or vegetable species that are threatened with extinction. There are many poetical legends that tell how these animals, pursued by the nobles, took refuge on the monastery lands under the shelter of the cross.

It is sometimes considered to-day that the vast estates of the religious communities are economically harmful because they are held in mortmain, and they are sometimes regarded as even politically dangerous, at least from the electoral standpoint. But if this is true it was not the case at the time of which we are speaking. In the Middle Ages the great monastic estates were what would now be called 'schools of agriculture.' In an age when agriculture was an entirely unknown art both to the feudal landowners and to their poor serfs, neither of whom, moreover, had the capital to put into their land, it was only on estates belonging to religious corporations that anything approaching a scientific mode of cultivation could be found.

Many varieties of our great French wines were planted and created by the monasteries, and have taken their names from them. They were excellent judges of wine, those worthy monks, and even of liqueurs as well. There is no need to recall the famous liqueurs which issued from their stills—the Chartreuse of the Carthusians, the Benedictine of Fécamp, and many others possessing more or less curative virtues.

The industrial arts and handicrafts were not practised much in the monasteries because they were not necessary, the needs of the monks in the matter of clothing and furniture being reduced to a minimum. Some, however, took an interest in music for the liturgical chants, while others studied astronomy for the purpose of fixing the various feasts in the calendar. Some were not afraid to occupy themselves even with alchemy. It is known that the musical notation with the seven notes of the scale—*do*, *re*, *mi*, etc. —is due to a Benedictine monk, Guy d'Arezzo, and the sarcastic French saying, "He did not invent gunpowder," [1] does not apply to the monks, for it was actually one of them, Roger Bacon (died 1294), who is credited with this discovery.

To the motto *cruce et aratro* should be added the words *et libro*, for in all that concerns the art and industry of making books the monks were past masters. It was in these monastic communities that the intellectual life of the Middle Ages took refuge. It was there that the first libraries were formed. These were poor enough if judged by the number of books they possessed. Thus the abbey of Jumièges, whose beautiful ruins are to be seen on the Seine, had one of the finest libraries of those days, but it contained only 400 books! However, they were three feet high, they could only be read when placed upon strong desks, and it was all that a man could do to move one of them. They were extremely costly, and when one of them changed hands a deed of conveyance had to be drawn up before a notary, as in the case of real estate nowadays. When the books were

[1 Equivalent to our "He will never set the Thames on fire."]

t—for they did lend books in those days, though it was only from one monastery to another, as is done nowadays with very rare books between university libraries—a deposit had to be paid, consisting generally of relics, to ensure the return of the borrowed volume. The finest books were usually fastened by chains, and thus became a kind of fixture. In histories of the Reformation it is often indignantly related that Luther found a Bible fastened up with iron chains in a monastery, and the comment is made that the Catholics used to chain up the Bible to prevent people from becoming acquainted with the Word of God, whereas the truth is that the chained Bible must have been one that was greatly valued by the monastery.

The monks were not content merely with collecting books: they also copied them. St Columba, in the course of his life, copied the Gospels and the Psalter three hundred times. It was the monks, too, who bound the books and illuminated them: they were, in fact, the publishers of those days.

No doubt we have reason to complain that they sometimes destroyed irreplaceable Latin and Greek books by copying their Psalters on them, and to-day we have to scrape these old parchments—palimpsests, as they are called —to reveal the original Latin and Greek beneath the writing of the monks. But all the same they did not everywhere destroy or despise the ancient books, and they preserved many of them. They had also a certain amount of literary feeling. Think of the monk Cadoc, who admired Vergil so much that he could never get over his grief at thinking that Vergil must have been damned through not knowing Christ. One day, while he was walking by the seashore reading Vergil, the book was carried away by a gust of wind. He had no doubt that this was the finger of God meting out justice upon the work of the outcast poet. But next day a fisherman brought him a huge fish, and inside the fish he found his book! Then Cadoc knew that Vergil had found grace in the eyes of Jesus, and that God wanted

to teach him by this miracle how faithless he himself had been in doubting the Divine goodness.

The monks established universities, however, as well as libraries. For besides the novices, or probationary monks, a large number of real students flocked to these monastic libraries. The monastery of Bangor, in Wales, is said to have contained as many as 4000 students and 900 monks. These figures are probably exaggerated, but none the less the monasteries were important centres of teaching, and the only ones there were.

And now, to come back to the real subject of this book—the community system—it must be observed that the monastic Rule did not always impose upon its followers a communal life. There were monastic orders with different Rules. There were some in which the monks lived separately in cells, and were not allowed to speak to each other even when they met. Those of you who have visited monasteries may often have seen inscribed over a cell this Latin motto: *Beata solitudo, sola beatitudo* ("Blessed is solitude, the sole blessing"). In most monasteries, however, communitarian life was practised at the table, in the fields where the monks laboured, and, of course, in church for the services. There was also the most absolute community of goods, since owing to the vow of poverty no member of the community could own anything himself. This, therefore, is the true type of communist society. Each monk was more than merely poor, for he possessed absolutely nothing belonging to him. One of the problems discussed by the schoolmen was whether the monks did not at least own the food that they consumed, but the usual reply was that they had only the use of it, and thus their consciences were set at rest. And yet they lived in communities which went on growing richer from one generation to another, through the labour of each individual.

In the socialist societies which we are about to review we shall certainly not come across such another example of the complete sacrifice of the individual to the group. It is true,

however, that this communal wealth was not always produced by the collective toil of the members of the community, for it came far more frequently from outside sources, such as gifts and legacies. Nor can it be said that the growing enrichment of these communities from century to century was altogether a matter for congratulation, whether from the economic, the moral, or the religious point of view. From that cause came their destruction, and it is well known that the great fortunes of the religious congregations have been a matter of grave concern to politicians.

2. Why the Monastic Communities Rose and Fell

But whatever opinion we may hold as to the formation of these fortunes, they do prove that the communities were successful, whereas all attempts at communist or socialist societies have ended, as we shall see later on, in poverty and ruin after a short life. How comes it, then, that these religious communities managed to live and grow rich? Was there in them some special virtue?

The answer is easily given. The thing that kills lay communist societies is quarrels between individuals, and especially between households. It is not that women are less 'clubbable' than men, but that the family is even more inimical to communism than the individual. That is easily explained, since the family is itself a unit of solidarity, and every such unit conflicts naturally with its environment—that is to say, with other units of solidarity.

The failure of lay communities is due also to the difficulty of submitting to discipline—to a Rule. This submission is the more intolerable because those who form these communities are rebels and advocates of liberty—men who have been unable to endure the rules, which they call tyranny, of existing society. It is a cause of continual irritation to them to live side by side with each other and to submit to rules about food and work.

Monasteries, on the other hand, contain only celibates, and they have left the world not in search of greater freedom, but to flee from its temptations. Submission to rule is accepted by them all, beginning with the performance of their religious duties. They get into the habit of attending the monastic services—*prime*, which involves rising at midnight, *matins*, which necessitates getting up at cockcrow, *tierce* during the morning, then the midday service, *nones* in the middle of the afternoon, *vespers* and *compline* in the evening—and each time they have to go to the chapel, each time they must kneel, and each time they repeat the same psalms. And when this habit has been acquired, then the individuality of the monk is subdued, and it is no trouble to him to submit to any rule whatever in the economic sphere.

Another great obstacle in lay communist societies is the difficulty of stifling the sense of ownership, the desire for individual gain. A man wants to keep for himself the whole or a part of the produce of his labour. Hence arise those incessant conflicts which result in the dissolution of the societies, or their transformation into capitalist or at least co-operative ones. This form of individualism is eliminated in religious communities, where each member has taken a vow of perpetual poverty.

Finally, the great difference between lay and religious communities is that for the former communism is the end, while for the latter it is only a means—a means of making men live a higher life, freed from the cares of the world. It is not on this earth but in Heaven that they intend to set up the new city, the city of God, and so they are proof against the delusions of those who wish to establish it here below, and who do not succeed.

The story just related of what may be called "the heroic age" of religious communities came to an end partly through the weakening of religious faith and partly also in consequence of a revolution in the mode of government of these

communities. I have said that these monasteries were ruled by priors elected by the monks. But the kings of France, and particularly Francis I, by the Concordat of 1516, abolished the election of priors and assumed the right of nominating them themselves. Then began the reign of the abbots—those elegant and dissolute Court *abbés* who were given monasteries as gifts or privileges from the hand of the king, or sometimes from his mistresses. Thus Bussy d'Amboise, the favourite of Henry III, received the abbey of Bourgueil, and the fair Corisande, one of the mistresses of Henry IV, was given the abbey of Châtillon, and so forth. In these circumstances, as the monks themselves copied their superiors, the picture drawn by Voltaire of monastic life bears a pretty close resemblance to the truth.

But the period which saw the end of the heroic age of the great religious communities of the Middle Ages saw also the birth of another order which was to occupy an important place in history. This was the Order of the Jesuits, created in the year 1540 by Ignatius Loyola. The aim given to the Jesuits by their founder was that of combating the Reformation movement which had just robbed Rome of nearly half Europe. But the Jesuits were not content with this defensive mission, and they adopted as their aim to make up for the losses sustained by the Catholic Church by conquering the New World for her. America was discovered by Columbus in 1492, and it was in the early years of the following century that the first Catholic missionaries arrived on the shores of South America. In the next chapter we shall see them at work.

CHAPTER V

THE JESUIT REPUBLICS OF PARAGUAY

1. The Beginning

If you look at a map of South America you will have no difficulty in finding the great estuary of the Rio de la Plata, or River Plate. It was first sighted by Juan Diaz de Solis in 1508, but it was not till 1525 that it was first ascended and named by Sebastian Cabot, a Frenchman in the Spanish service. He went up the estuary as far as the confluence of the two rivers Uruguay and Parana, which combine to form this fresh-water sea. The Rio de la Plata estuary is something like the estuary of the Gironde, formed by the union of the Garonne and the Dordogne, but on a far larger scale. The two American rivers, flowing almost parallel to each other for some six hundred miles, cover an enormous region. That region was the site of what are called the Jesuit republics of Paraguay, though, as we shall see later, there was nothing republican about them.

This district to-day includes the state of Paraguay and the most southerly province of Brazil. At the time of which we are speaking it was entirely Spanish. The territory was the subject of warfare between Spain and Portugal for a hundred years. You know that throughout the whole of the sixteenth century the Spaniards and Portuguese contested all the unknown regions of the earth with each other, and that, to put an end to strife, Pope Alexander VI (a Borgia) drew an imaginary line through the Atlantic, dividing the globe into two parts. All that lay to the east of this line was to belong to Portugal, and all that lay to the west to Spain. Unfortunately, however, no one quite knew where this famous meridian was on the other side of the world, so

that there was strife and controversy between Portuguese and Spaniard, each of them saying, "This is my territory, for it is on my side of the line." Brazil lay within the disputed area, and so the Portuguese took Brazil. It is owing to a geographical error, therefore, consecrated by a papal decree, that the vast land of Brazil became Portuguese, and although the two are now separated, yet their former union has secured a splendid future for the Portuguese language. The rest of South America went to the Spaniards.

We have said above that it was in 1540 that the Order of the Jesuits was founded in Spain by Ignatius Loyola. And it was in 1549 that the first Jesuits landed in Brazil. Now I have no particular reason for being sympathetic toward the Jesuits, for I come of an old Huguenot family which was dispersed at the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. But I shall never be wanting in fairness to anybody, even to the Jesuits, and even to the Devil if anyone wronged him; and it is undeniable that they accomplished a very great work—it might even be called a heroic work—in America, and particularly in South America. What they did was nothing less than to preserve the native population. If there are fifty millions of natives of the Aztec or Guarani races still alive to-day it is very largely owing to the intervention of these Catholic missionaries. Not all of them, however, were Jesuits: Las Casas, the most celebrated, was a Dominican.

These men traversed the whole of North and South America. They blazed a trail through the virgin forest not only with their wooden crosses, but with their bodies. They set up thousands of stations, of which only those of Paraguay have entered into history, while hundreds of others have remained nameless.[1] Such marvellous explorers were they that none of those whom we boast of to-day are to be

[1] In those districts between Brazil and Bolivia that are still almost inaccessible the Jesuits founded many missions, whose names are still extant. In these the same system seems to have existed as in Paraguay, but only a vague tradition of it remains.

compared with them. It was nothing unusual for them to travel from one of their stations to another, though it was a six or eight months' journey, and that through regions which at the present moment are largely unexplored—so much so that a search is now being made for two English travellers named Fawcett, father and son, of whom nothing has been heard for three years.[1]

In the year 1588 the Bishop of la Plata sent an appeal to the Jesuits. They came, some from Peru and some from Brazil. They were Italians, Spaniards, Portuguese, and one Scotsman. They were told that they must go and convert the native races. All the natives in that part of South America were entirely savage, and even cannibals. They did not eat each other, but they ate their enemies who were slain in war and those who were captured. Yet, as experience showed, they were very gentle and tractable people, and allowed themselves to be converted and domesticated with great ease.

The Jesuits accepted the call, but on one condition that is extremely noteworthy. "We will be responsible for these people," they said, "but on condition that no white settler, not even a Spaniard, is allowed to enter our territory." It has been said that this was to reserve for themselves the sole right of exploiting the natives! In reality it was because they knew that the colonist is the worst enemy of the native. Even to-day there is not a mission in Madagascar, in China, or in Indo-China, whether Protestant or Catholic, that would not impose the same condition if it could. But no Government would agree to this demand nowadays. The Government of Madrid, however, gave its consent.

Another condition was imposed by the Jesuits: that these missions were not to be intermittent, like those they had been founding for fifty or sixty years throughout South

[1] It has just been learned that they were massacred in 1925, and the second expedition sent in search of them narrowly escaped the same fate. [More recent news from Brazil throws doubt upon the alleged death of Colonel Fawcett and his son. See *The Morning Post*, May 11, 1929.]

America, which showed very little if any result. They demanded a long lease, as it were. Their position was something like that of the modern chartered companies in Africa, which obtain a grant from Government of vast areas of land, including its inhabitants, for a long period—a system which, it is well known, has given rise to the greatest abuses.

The Spanish colonies were divided into territories called *encomiendas*,[1] which were administered under a kind of feudal system in which the Spanish colonists played the part of lords and the natives were the serfs. There were two kinds of *encomiendas*, the first consisting of natives who had fought for their independence: they were regarded as serfs and had to work all the year round for the Spanish settlers. The second consisted of natives who had voluntarily accepted the Spanish rule. They were only required to give one month's free labour every year for the benefit of the colonists, and for the rest of the time they were free. It goes without saying that the *encomiendas* of the first kind were far more sought after than the others, since in them the natives could be made to work all the year round for nothing. The Spanish colonists were constantly asking the Government to give them by preference estates containing conquered natives. However, this system of wardship—for that is what it was—was only to last a matter of five or six years, after which the natives, it was thought, would have arrived at mental, religious, and economic maturity, and also, no doubt, would have found the true faith and would then regain their independence. But I will say at once, anticipating the future, that this provisional arrangement, like all such arrangements, was bound to prolong itself indefinitely. It has been the same with the French system of native citizenship in Algeria. This should have been abrogated after five years, but instead of that it has been continued time after time

[1 "*Encomienda*, the name of the estates, comprising both land and its Indian inhabitants, granted by the Spanish Crown to the *conquistadores*, or military adventurers in America."—Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*, vol. i, p. 712.]

until a year or two ago, when it was forgotten that the period had expired, so that by that lucky forgetfulness the system in Algeria has been automatically abolished.

The Spanish Government, then, granted these *Entre Rios*, or 'between-river' territories, to the Jesuits as trustees. Here is the text of the royal decree of 1608 giving instructions to the Governor of Asuncion, the capital of this district:

> It is the express wish of the King that the Indians of Paraguay shall not be subdued except by the sword of the spirit and that no other persons than the missionaries shall reside in the *encomiendas*. He has no desire to deprive the natives of their natural freedom, but wishes to liberate them from their savage and depraved mode of life, to bring them to know and adore the true God, and thus to assure their happiness.

This decree must evidently not be taken too literally, but all the same it shows that in high places—in the Government of the mother-country—there were benevolent intentions toward the natives. The cruelties incident to Spanish colonization have been exaggerated. History has preserved only the story of the atrocities, and these were indeed abominable, as witness the action of Pizarro in treacherously seizing the King of the Incas and putting him to death, or that of Cortez in roasting the Emperor Guatimozin on hot coals. But atrocities are the usual accompaniment of all colonization, and it is not they that bring about the disappearance of the native populations. Far worse for the natives are such things as dispossession from their lands, the system of compulsory labour, and the importation of alcoholism and all the vices of the white man. Now the native populations of the Spanish possessions have not had to suffer a great deal from this struggle for life, as is proved by the fact that they have continued to exist, and have formed to this day the basis of the population of South America.

If we compare North and South America we shall notice a double contrast between them. North America was

colonized by English Protestants, Puritans, and Quakers—a race that was far superior to the Spanish *conquistadores* in religious, civil, and economic virtues. Merely to compare the United States with the twenty states of South America, or with Central America, is enough to show the overwhelming superiority of North America in all that relates to industrial progress and wealth.

All that is true. But in North America all the natives are dead, except for a few who have survived in the reserves specially prepared for them, like those made for the bison and the silver fox, so that the race shall not completely disappear. The rest of the Indians have vanished simply because they were placed in contact with a superior civilization. It was a contest between the earthen pot and the iron one.

But we must return to our Jesuits. Armed with this official authority, the Jesuit Fathers set to work at once. They sailed up the endless river as far as Asuncion. Then they plunged into the virgin forest among the peoples called 'Guaranis,' a name that was applied thereafter to a large part of the native population of South America and which persists to this day. In the year 1602 they founded their first colony, that of Loretto, and it was a great success. The natives were converted with the greatest ease, raising no objections whatever. It succeeded so well, in fact, that two years later another colony was established in honour of the great patron of the order, and named 'San Ignacio.'

These colonies were given the Spanish administrative name of *encomiendas*, but nowadays we should call them simply missionary stations. Without going into the history of these foundations in detail, I will content myself with saying that after some time there were thirty-one stations. The most important of them had 8000 inhabitants, so that it was quite a little town, but the average population was only 3000. The whole of them combined did not represent a large population, despite the enormous area of the territory.

The Jesuit republic must not be looked upon as a vast empire: its total population does not seem ever to have exceeded 150,000 inhabitants, scattered over a region as large as France.

Thus, then, was the work begun, and for a period of more than a century and a half it continued to expand. The story would be very monotonous if we arranged it chronologically, so to put a little order into it we will relate it under three different aspects: political life (*i.e.*, government), economic life, and social and moral life.

2. Organization

We have no first-hand documents relating to the Jesuit republics. The Jesuits wrote no memoirs, and the documents and papers they possessed, which would have been of great value, were stupidly destroyed, as we shall see farther on. But many books were published about them, especially in the eighteenth century. The best-known writer, to whom I owe most of the information here, is Fr. Charlevoix,[1] himself a Jesuit, who wrote the story of the republics in French. I might mention also the work of an Italian, Muratori,[2] which has been translated into French, and a fairly large number of books in Latin.

These so-called republics met with a great deal of popularity. Many great Frenchmen of the eighteenth century, including Montesquieu and even Voltaire himself, who had no weakness for the Jesuits, felt great admiration for this work. Why was this? Because the eighteenth century was the age of the 'noble savage,' when it was believed that man was naturally good, and that if he could be freed from the incrustations of civilization he would be found without vices, just as Nature had made him.

[1] *Histoire du Paraguay* (1756). See also Southey's *History of Brazil*, in three large volumes.

[2] Muratori, *Il Christianesimo felice nelle Missioni di Padri della Compagnia di Giesu nel Paraguay* (French translation, 1754).

It was not Rousseau alone who glorified the natural man. The physiocrats themselves, the founders of economic science, said that all that was needed was to bring back what they called "the natural order of things." And these Jesuit republics appeared to be a return to the natural order of things, and a model, therefore, for civilized men. But as a matter of fact, as we shall see directly, the Jesuit settlements in Paraguay were not in the least in a state of nature.

But first, were they republics at all? In one sense they were, for they had that self-government which is being clamorously demanded to-day by the natives of all the French colonies—young Tunisians, Annamites, and Malagasies. It is true that they were under the sovereign though distant authority of Madrid, and also under the authority, more near at hand, of the Governor of the province, but he paid little attention to them. They nominated their own leaders. The organization was modelled on that of the Spanish municipalities, and there were about ten officials. There was the *corregidor*, who represented the executive power; two mayors called *alcades*; four *regidors*, or municipal councillors; the *alguazil*, or chief of police; and the *procurador*, who was the public prosecutor. With the exception of the *corregidor*, who was appointed by the Governor of the province, I think that all these officials were elected.

I should like to point out to those who are enamoured of the theory of natural order that this democratic institution of election was not exactly the natural state, for of course the Guaranis themselves did not practise the electoral system. They were governed, like all savage tribes, by chiefs who owed their position to their birth—*caciques*, whose name has been introduced into the Spanish tongue. But the Jesuits left them nothing but certain ornamental functions and exemption from taxation.

This government, however, was democratic only in appearance: in reality it was a theocratic system. In each

settlement there were two Jesuit Fathers, one young and one old. The older one, the 'Father' properly so called, was styled 'rector' or 'parish priest,' while the younger one was the 'curate' or 'probationer.' He was there to learn the language of the natives, he would take the place of his senior when he retired, and he was the travelling missionary. The two Fathers were inseparable.

Nevertheless it must be owned that the Jesuits always protested against this imputation of exercising real government. They said that they had no more authority than the parish priests in Spain. This may be true, but at that time the parish priest had a great deal of authority, and especially in Spain. That authority was even greater in the missionary stations. It is only natural that the native converts should regard the missionary, whether Catholic or Protestant, as their temporal as well as their spiritual chief. Besides, this modesty on the part of the Jesuit Fathers, in saying that they took no share in the government, is contradicted by many of the facts.

To begin with, they had a kind of veto over the elections. If they discovered that a magistrate or other official was not worthy of the duties entrusted to him by the electors they invited the latter to nominate another, and this invitation had the force of a command. Besides this, the *corregidor* used to report to the rector every morning, telling him what had been happening in the village, and this obviously implies a certain amount of supervisory authority that was not entirely spiritual.

However, these natives had little to complain of as compared with those of the other Spanish colonies and even with those in our modern colonies. They were very well treated. They paid only a nominal tax of eight reals, the Spanish real being worth about 2½*d.*, though of course these monetary comparisons mean nothing at the present time, because the real and all other currencies have been dancing such a jig that no comparison is possible. Be that as it may,

the tax was only one-fifth of that paid by the other natives outside the settlement, and it was payable only by men between the ages of twenty-two and fifty. It did not, as a matter of fact, pay the cost of the Spanish Government —far from it. For the Government subsidized the Jesuit Fathers, paying 600 pesos (£120) to the rector and his curate, and providing also what was needed for the sacraments of the Church, such as oil, wine, wax for the candles, and gold and silver for the sacred vessels, all of which cost a great deal in those countries.

The natives were also greatly favoured in the matter of military service. There was no conscription, but it was simply understood that when the Spanish king needed them and called upon them for help the Guaranis would send a detachment of men at their own expense, very much as the great chieftains of Morocco do when they send their contingents at the request of France. There was indeed a pretence of military training once a week, but this was rather a source of entertainment for the people, and for a century and a half the natives had to bear arms only on the three or four occasions to be mentioned later.

What was the position of these people from the economic standpoint? Was it communism, in imitation of the monastic congregations—a system which would have seemed natural enough under a Government whose members belonged to a religious order? No, it was not. The inhabitants of the settlement did not live in common. Each family had its own house, and each was granted a field large enough to feed the household, and cultivated it for itself. It was rather a co-operative community, for the difference between co-operation and communism is that in the former system each one has a share in the income.

As regards the land, however, the co-operative system does not necessarily imply individual ownership, and this did not exist in the Paraguayan colonies. Lands and houses were granted only for use, not ownership. They were granted

free, but the holders had a right to the land only so long as they cultivated it, and to the house only so long as they lived in it.

Besides these lands that were thus divided among individuals there were large areas that were reserved for the whole community. Their purpose was to supply the needs of the poor, the widows, the aged, the orphans, and those who, for one reason or another, were unable to work.

It was a common accusation, whenever these colonies were mentioned, to say that the Jesuits carried off not only the produce of the common lands, but even the produce of the work of the inhabitants on their own lands. But there is no justification for this charge. Not only do we not know of a single Jesuit who grew rich himself, but there has never been observed in any of these missions any other wealth than that which served to adorn the churches. Even the produce of the common lands did not go, as might be imagined, and as would have been to some extent legitimate, to defray the cost of religious worship. These expenses were met by the Government in Madrid in the shape of payments to the missionaries and maintenance of the places of worship, and when the Jesuit Fathers wanted something more for their churches they just went and bought it at the community shop.

The work was organized as follows. Each family tilled its own plot of ground. They generally grew maize, which was the chief food of the people, as it still is to-day. They also grew cotton, which was their only textile. Cultivation was thus sensibly divided between food crops and clothing crops. It is clear, although I have been unable to discover any definite documentary evidence on the subject, that the people must have devoted part of their time—a certain number of days, weeks, or months—to the cultivation of the common lands, which were called the 'fields of God.'

This was not compulsory labour, but rather a form of social solidarity, or even a kind of mutual aid, that was

legitimate enough since there was no other taxation except for the insignificant payment made to the mother-country. Instead of levying monetary taxes, as we do, for the support of the sick, every one provided labour itself. These common fields were presumably cultivated, at least partly, by the work of the children, as we shall see farther on.

All these villages were built on the same plan, namely, a square in the middle, with houses on three sides and the church and the public storehouse on the fourth side. I say 'public storehouse' because in these colonies there was no trade, either internal or external, which is a particularly interesting fact. The intention was to eliminate everything that might give rise to a desire for profit and everything that might create wealth. The Jesuit Fathers carried out in their colonies the action of Jesus when he drove out the money-changers from the Temple. There were therefore no private shops, but there was a public shop belonging to the community. Here was collected the produce of the common fields, the 'fields of God,' and here it was sold to those who required it.

This, by the way, is almost the same system as that practised by the Soviet Government after the Revolution of 1917, when all private shops were closed and trade was forbidden, so that there were no shops left except the State ones. The position was the same, but you will remember that four years later the Soviet Government withdrew this law and started private trading again, by what is called the Law of N.E.P.—the initial letters of *Nouvelle Économie Politique*, the New Political Economy.[1] In the Jesuit colonies, on the other hand, this system lasted as long as the colonies themselves.

Neither was there any external commerce, or at all events it was limited to what was strictly necessary and regulated in the most rigorous fashion. It was scarcely necessary, indeed, for the settlements produced almost the whole of

[1 Or New Economic Policy.]

what they consumed, and consumed nearly all that they produced. There was hardly any surplus for exportation, for the people did not work much. When a native had produced enough for his own and his family's subsistence he rested. However, as these settlements could not live without any contact with the outside world, as Robinson Crusoe did, a delegation was sent every year to Buenos Ayres or the nearer town of Santa Fé, on the Parana, to take any surplus goods and bring back what was needed. This delegation did not consist of professional merchants, but of inhabitants of the colonies who were picked out for this mission, for it was a real mission. They set out on their journey, to the number of a score. It was a long journey, taking several months, going and returning. But during the absence of the delegates their friends tilled their fields, so as to provide for the needs of their families.

The caravan took with it very little. The chief export was the famous *maté*, or Paraguay tea, which is still the national beverage of the whole of South America. Even in those early days it was much sought after, and fetched an even higher price than it does to-day, because it was only found growing wild. It is not really a herb, but the leaves of a tree that is nearly as large as the orange-tree. Particular virtues have always been attributed to it, but it requires special preparation to make it into a drink, and it is little appreciated by those who are not familiar with it. In any case, the caravan was only permitted to carry a certain limited quantity of *maté*, so that this trade might not become a source of wealth to the growers. The caravan carried also a little tobacco, some cotton fabrics, hides, and leather, and that was about all.

Arrived at the end of their journey, the delegates sold these goods and used the money obtained, in the first place to pay the Spanish tax, because they had not otherwise any money to pay it with, and then, with what remained, they bought the few things that they needed. These consisted,

first, of ornaments for the church, then chiefly metal goods, such as musical instruments and tools, because the colonies had no mines and had to obtain from Europe everything made of metal, and this was extremely expensive.

Had the missions no other industries than this very limited amount of trade? Yes, they had some domestic industries. The women were employed in spinning and weaving cotton to make clothing. A fairly large number of men were employed in building churches and keeping them in repair. This was no light task if we think of the number of workmen and artists required to build a medieval cathedral—sculptors, masons, carpenters, glaziers, painters, and metal-workers. To be sure, the churches of the Jesuits in Paraguay were not to be compared with our Gothic cathedrals, but they sufficed to maintain an entire local industry, and one which could not fail to develop a certain distinctive style. If their churches did not reach a standard of great beauty—and the Jesuit style is well known in church architecture—they were at least richly decorated, and in them the glory of the missions still survives. That, however, was an industry which yielded no profit, and that is exactly what was wished.

We have said already that these people had no money. Why should they? What could they have done with it, when there was nothing to buy and nothing to sell? Later on we shall have occasion to observe that there are colonies in Palestine to-day—Zionist colonies—in which the same system obtains: they have no money. When there is a surplus in the produce of the colony it is taken to a town where it is exchanged for things that are wanted in the colony.

What was the nature of the social and moral life of these communities? It is here that the theocratic character mentioned above is somewhat picturesquely displayed.

First of all there is the subject of education. I have said that there was no community of life in these settlements,

but the education of the children was carried out in common. The system of a single compulsory school, therefore, was already in existence, but not co-education, for there were separate schools for the two sexes. Early in the morning the bell sounded. The children rose and went to church to hear the catechism and Mass, after which they breakfasted together. Then they were taken to work in the fields, the boys on one side and the girls on the other. They walked in procession, with music or hymns, carrying the statue of San Isidro, who in Spain is the patron saint of those who till the fields. The statue was set up in the field where the children were to work, being placed on a pedestal to inspire and sanctify the day's labour.

That reminds me of Fourier, for Fourier, enemy of the Jesuits as he was, also had visions of work being done by groups of workers collected under banners and carrying out their duties singing, with as much enthusiasm as is put into a *fête* nowadays.

It is probable that the children were chiefly employed on the common lands, the 'fields of God.' The girls were engaged particularly in the cotton-fields, to drive away the birds which came to devour the seed, and the boys' task was to repair the roads.

When work was finished the children were taken back to church where they said the rosary, and then they dined together and afterward returned to their families.

Perhaps you will ask, "But when did they go to school?" Well, they did not go to school much. Those who did were nearly all children of the *caciques*, who would one day become officials. We have said, it is true, that these officials were elected. But this is just what proves that these elections were purely a matter of form. In reality it was the sons of the ancient chiefs of the aristocracy who were destined for this honour and prepared for it, and it was for them that the school was reserved, at all events on certain days. They were not taught Spanish, as this was quite useless since the

colony was closed to all Spaniards. Moreover, the popular language then, as it is to-day throughout the whole country, was Guarani. The Jesuit Fathers had compiled Guarani grammars for teaching writing and reading, and this was no light task.

When the children emerged from childhood they entered the religious congregations, the males going into the congregation of St Michael the Archangel at the ages of from twelve to thirty, and the females into that of the Queen of Angels. Above these there was also the congregation of the Mother of God, which could be entered only by selected candidates, who took, as it were, their doctorate in piety, for they were granted a diploma which was very highly esteemed and regarded as a great distinction among the people.

Notwithstanding all this discipline the people did not lead as dreary a life as might be imagined. The settlements did not in the least wear the aspect of a monastery. The Jesuit Fathers were well able to set apart the time needed for amusements. Every year there was the great feast of the patron saint of the settlement, and nearly every Sunday there were dramatic representations. They acted plays resembling the miracle plays of the Middle Ages, such as *The Three Kings*, *The Nativity*, *The War between the Christians and the Moors*, recalling the ancient glories of Spain, *The Fight between the Archangel Michael and the Dragon*, and so forth.

A tremendous amount of attention was given to music. The historians tell us that there was nothing to be heard in these settlements but the singing of hymns. But there were also concerts with all manner of wood, copper, or stringed instruments. These natives seem to have had a very special gift for music and singing. They were trained in it, and the best were chosen to become choristers.

There was even dancing also, but as the Fathers who taught music were not qualified dancing masters, a professional teacher was engaged—the only Spaniard, admitted

by special permission—who taught the people, we are told, as many as seventy dances.

Moral behaviour was naturally looked after most carefully. There were native day inspectors and night inspectors, who made three rounds every night to make sure that people were not visiting each other's houses. Some of these inspectors bore a distinguishing mark, while others were not in uniform so that their supervision should be more effective through their not being recognized, just as is done in modern police forces.

There were no crimes, murders, or misdemeanours, properly speaking, but only occasional 'sins.' When any offence against morals or religion was detected the guilty person was punished, but the punishment was nothing very dreadful, for it was simply public confession, followed by the whip. It must not be imagined, however, that the natives had any idea of rebelling against these punishments. On the contrary, we are told that they sought them, even accusing themselves of sins and shortcomings—often imaginary ones—simply for the satisfaction of making public confession and getting a thrashing. When they had received it they kissed the hand that had administered it, saying, "May God reward you for saving me, by this light punishment, from the eternal torment that I have deserved." There was even such a mania for confessing in public that this form of penance was not imposed upon every one, and it was especially forbidden in the case of women.

And now, what judgment are we to pass on this system of evangelization, or domestication, for here the two words are almost synonymous? The principle that inspired it was lofty enough from one point of view. The Jesuits had a very high idea of their mission. Renan said, "I do not see why a Papuan should have an immortal soul." But the Jesuits did not say that. They were convinced that these Guaranis had souls, and souls that were redeemed at an infinite price, for they had been ransomed by the blood of

Jesus Christ. They were therefore quite ready to grant them a privilege that lay colonists have never granted to any native population, namely, equal rights with white men.

At the same time, however, they still regarded the natives as children to be guided, watched over, and, above all, preserved from every temptation. That was the one anxiety of the Jesuit Fathers. To meet the temptations of the senses they compelled the natives to marry at a marriageable age —fifteen for the girls and seventeen for the boys—and they abolished trade so as to combat the temptation to acquire wealth. Their entire social system was an answer to the prayer, "Lead us not into temptation."

Their educational system, on the other hand, stands self-condemned, for during the whole of the 165 years that it lasted it never succeeded in turning these children into men. They never considered that the time of emancipation had come. I know quite well that this is always the case with guardianships, whether it be that of colonists over natives or of Governments over mandated lands. But in these latter cases the continuance of the guardianship may be explained, if not justified, by the interest that the colonists have in maintaining their own privileges, and the Governments in maintaining their domination, whereas the Jesuits in Paraguay would have been delighted, I imagine, to be able to say that their mission was achieved. But they could not say so. One of their historians, Southey, remarks very fairly that with this ultra-Catholic education the Jesuit Fathers were yet unable to train up a single native to such a point that he was worthy to be admitted to their own ranks.

Chateaubriand, speaking of these missions in his *Génie du Christianisme*, says very finely:

> The missionaries had set apart those who showed signs of genius, as Plato advises, so as to initiate them into the sciences and the arts. From this superior company there should have emerged one day the priests, the magistrates, and the heroes of the country.

Exactly; but none of these did thus emerge. Not one of them, so far as I know, attained to any higher dignity than that of sacrist. And yet these Jesuits were short of personnel, and were obliged to get novices from a distance and with great difficulty.

The Jesuits, then, regarded the natives as perpetual minors. They based this opinion upon various facts, and especially upon their improvidence. They said that if the natives were given full ownership of the oxen intended for ploughing they would kill and eat them, as sometimes they actually did. But the Jesuit Fathers do not appear to have possessed a very sound knowledge of economics. For, on the contrary, if these natives had owned the oxen, like our French peasants, I am quite sure that they would not have killed them for food. If they did kill them it was precisely because they knew that they belonged to the community.

At the same time it seems unjust to say, as is generally said, that these natives were absolutely degraded. They seem, on the contrary, to have preserved for a long time a certain dignity. This is proved by the comments of such Spanish colonists as entered the settlements—a rare occurrence, since, as we have seen, this entry was forbidden—for they complained of the insolence and arrogance of the natives. This proves conclusively that they had retained a certain amount of pride, which they probably owed to the fact that they had not lived in contact with white men.

Their standard of life was not a low one, for besides the maize and cotton which they grew for their own food and clothing they found everything they needed in the communal shops. Their food was evidently very simple, but they could supplement it by hunting and fishing, in regions still in a wild state where there was no lack of game and fish.

It was apparently only their houses that were cut down to a standard of really excessive simplicity, though to be sure the modern housing problem cannot have existed for them.

Each household had only a small house—we might even call it a hut—containing a single room, about twenty-four square feet in area. This was nothing to boast of, but it must be remembered that in that country people lived out of doors and the house was only a shelter for the night.

Thus, then, were combined together all the requisite conditions for a healthy life: no monetary worries, no poverty—those two evils which torment the rich and the poor respectively in civilized countries. So if the teaching of demographic science is well founded it seems as if this race ought to have increased rapidly during its peaceful century and a half of history. And yet, far from increasing, the population actually diminished. When the thirty-one missions were first founded they had an average population of about 3000 inhabitants, making a total of about 100,000. Then the population increased gradually to 144,000, after which it fell back to the original figure of 100,000.

This is very surprising when we think of the growth of population in other circumstances. For instance, the Bible tells us that the sons of Jacob numbered seventy when they went into Egypt, and when they left it 430 years later they counted 630,000 men fit to bear arms, which represents a total population of 2,500,000 persons. These figures must be accepted with reserve, for we may well wonder how two and a half million people could spend forty years in the terrible desert of Sinai before reaching the Promised Land, and live there, even with the help of the manna and the quails. But even if we take a big discount off these figures it seems evident that any population must increase rapidly if it is free from the pressure of want and has no cares for the morrow.

One of the great objections always made by economists against communism is this, that the communist system, by taking from parents the care and responsibility for their children, whom they would not have to feed, would remove all restrictions upon birth and lead to such over-population

as would bring the communist society to ruin, and this forecast appears quite well founded. Now here, in these Jesuit republics, we have, if not a communist society in the strict sense, yet a society whose members had no need to think of the future or of the maintenance of their children, since these were supported at the expense of the community. Not only that, but all those causes which lead to birth restriction in civilized countries were non-existent here. Marriage was entered into at puberty, and contraceptive methods were certainly unknown, first because at that precocious age young couples are little inclined for restrictions which belong rather to a riper age, and secondly because the Jesuit Fathers would not have allowed them. Those men and women who spent their time in going to confession, and of whom it was said that the confession of a single one was longer than that of ten Spaniards, would have been considered in a state of mortal sin if they had thus prostituted the marriage bond. How then did it happen that this population remained stationary and even diminished? What was the check that restrained its natural upward movement? Was it the death-rate, and are we to believe that though there were many births the deaths were still more numerous? But if so, how is this great mortality to be explained, since the people were well though temperately fed, and free from alcoholic as well as sexual intemperance? Shall we say that it was because there were no doctors? Some sceptical folk, indeed, might regard this as a favourable rather than an unfavourable state of affairs. However, it was not entirely true, for although the Jesuit Fathers were not qualified physicians, yet they had some experience which was worth the knowledge of many professional doctors. Having spent their whole life in that part of the world, they knew all the herbs of the country and their medicinal virtues. It is to them that we owe quinine, which used to be called 'Jesuits' bark,' and that in itself was no small discovery. There is no doubt that they were acquainted also with the virtues

of many other herbs, known by the charming name of 'simples' and perhaps too much despised nowadays.

There is something mysterious, therefore, about this early mortality or deficient birth-rate—for we have no documentary evidence to show which of these two causes was at work. It seems as if the people died of a sort of decline, like the animals in zoological gardens which cannot endure being tamed and just flicker out like a lamp without oil and not from any specific disease. There was, as it were, an indifference to life among these gentle and submissive people, and they just let themselves die.

A fact which seems to confirm this explanation is their lack of resistance to disease. When an epidemic occurred it made terrible havoc. Thus there was an epidemic of smallpox in 1732 which reduced the population from 144,000 to 100,000, carrying off nearly a third of the people. And this is what Fr. Charlevoix says in his history of the missions:

> As far as can be judged, they all died in baptismal innocence. No matter what care was taken, it was impossible to save them. The missionaries were reduced at last to praising the mercy of the Lord and consoling themselves with the thought that they had done everything possible to make this unfortunate race a sharer in the advantages of the Redemption.

And farther on he writes in a strain of touching enthusiasm:

> When they saw the earth depopulated they consoled themselves by thinking that Heaven was the richer for these earthly losses.

However, the Jesuit Fathers cannot be held responsible for this lack of vitality. It has been the same with all native races, in North America, in Australia, in New Zealand, and in the islands of the Pacific. But so far as the Guaranis are concerned, they did not disappear, despite their feeble vitality, for they are still alive, even at the present moment.

3. The End

Such, then, was the life of these missions, which continued unchanged throughout a century and a half. And now we will bring the story to an end, for the reader is no doubt curious to know the sequel. From the standpoint of social science, too, it is a matter of importance to know whether this communist republic was brought to an end by the inherent weakness of the system, or whether it died a violent death. We shall see that the second of these alternatives is the true one.

These Jesuit republics had many enemies. In the first place, the Portuguese were hostile to them—or, rather, the Brazilians, for certain parts of South America, occupied by the conquering Portuguese, had already become what is to-day known as Brazil, and the city of São Paulo was already founded. This city, now the centre of the world's coffee trade, was then the haunt of brigands called Paulists. They were slave-dealers, but whereas the European Portuguese bought slaves on the coast of Africa, these Portuguese colonists sought for them among the native populations of South America. So when they heard of the Jesuit republics they saw in them a sort of game preserve lying ready to their hand. The farther the Jesuits extended their colonies the nearer they approached São Paulo. If you look at a map of South America you will see that the farther you ascend the Parana the nearer you get to São Paulo.

The Paulists made their first expedition in 1629, not very long after the first settlement of the Jesuits, and this expedition was quite a fruitful one from the point of view of the slave-traders. They plundered all the settlements nearest to them in the North, just as the Arab slave-merchants did with the native villages in Africa. They slaughtered a large number of the inhabitants, and carried off a band of 1500 of them to São Paulo. The long journey, taking nearly nine months, was made in abominable conditions, resembling

those of the African slavers before this kind of commerce was forbidden. The captives were fastened together—men, women, and children—and though they did not suffer from heat and thirst, as in Africa, the passage of the virgin South American forest was no less deadly, and the route was scattered with the bodies of those who were unable to keep up with the rest.

What did the Jesuit Fathers do? They were not in a position to oppose this brigandage by force, but two of them, unwilling to abandon their wretched flock, went with them, caring for the wounded and giving absolution to the dying who were left by the wayside, until they reached São Paulo. There they appealed to the authorities, demanding justice, but they were only laughed at. Then they proceeded to Rio, which in those days was a tremendous journey. The Governor of Rio was a more humane man. He admitted the justice of their claim, and said that slave raids in the Jesuit settlements must be stopped. He even sent a Government officer with them to São Paulo to insist on justice being done. But by that time the human booty had already been dispersed. Not a single native remained to be restored to them, and the two Fathers, setting out again on the endless road, returned alone to the settlement.

Encouraged by this success, the Paulists renewed their expeditions on several occasions. The Jesuits realized by now that they must undertake their own defence, and asked the Spanish Government for permission to arm themselves. This had hitherto been refused them, just as we refuse the right to the natives in our colonies. But the Spanish Government now acceded to their request, on condition that the arms were kept locked up in magazines and under the control of the Fathers alone. So when the Paulists made another expedition ten years later they met their match. They came into collision with a body of Guaranis commanded by Jesuits, and were completely defeated. All the Paulists were either slain or captured. The Fathers who led the natives took

part in the fight themselves, and the Rector of the settlement, Diego de Alfara, was killed in the battle, thus acting up to the words of the Gospel, "The good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep."

The colonies had other enemies also. These were the Spaniards themselves, although the settlements were on Spanish territory. The Spaniards did not love them. The Governors were annoyed by their autonomy, and demanded that the *corregidors* of the missions should be Spaniards, and that their taxes should be doubled. The Spanish colonists hated these republics because they were closed to them, so that they could neither enter them in search of fortune nor even trade with them, as the territory of the Jesuits was forbidden ground. Their irritation is easily understood. Imagine what it would be like to-day if there were lands in Madagascar or West Africa reserved for Catholic or Protestant missionaries, where no French colonists were allowed to go for commercial purposes or to settle. There would be a rare outburst of indignation!

All sorts of charges were made against the Jesuits in order to compel them to leave, but it is useless here to relate the long story of these accusations. Sometimes they were charged with wishing to set up a free State, independent of the Spanish Crown, and sometimes, on the contrary, of desiring to sell the settlements to Brazil. At one time it was said that they had discovered gold-mines on their lands, which they were keeping concealed and thus mysteriously acquiring wealth, for at that date every one was obsessed by the vision of gold-mines or of the silver-mines of Potosi. The Jesuits were obliged to go to Madrid and demand an inquiry, and there they proved that the silver-mines were entirely imaginary.

But it was not with lay colonists alone that the Jesuits had difficulties. It was even with the bishops and with other religious orders. For it must not be imagined that they have always been loved within the Catholic Church. Their com-

petition was greatly feared, and their power provoked envy. Cardenas, Bishop of Asuncion, waged a terrible war against them. He accused them of teaching heresy in their catechism. This was a serious matter, and it was carried before the Court of Madrid. Once more the Jesuits were compelled to go there, this time to plead their cause against the Bishop. Finally the Spanish King, who at that time was Philip V, ordered that the Jesuits were to be left in peace.

Later on the republics were exposed to yet graver perils. This time they were in conflict not only with the Spaniards or the Portuguese alone, but with a coalition of the two. It was the result of what is called in the history of South America 'the Boundary Treaty.' This treaty was concluded between Spain and Portugal in 1750, with the object of tracing the frontier between the possessions of these two countries—that is to say, between what is now Brazil on the one hand, and the Spanish possessions which became the Argentine Republic, Paraguay, and Uruguay on the other.

Now the frontier traced by this treaty of 1750 followed the course of the river Uruguay, giving to Spain all the land to the West and to Portugal all the eastern part, and it was in that eastern part that seven of the most flourishing missions were situated, so that the mission territory was split in two. The inhabitants of the seven missions thus ceded by Spain to Portugal received notice to leave the district and cross the Uruguay into Spanish territory. The natives were in despair. They pointed out the distress into which they would be thrown if they were driven to abandon their lands. It was the same drama as we have seen acted recently when the Greeks were driven from Asia and the Turks from Macedonia. The natives, however, were unwilling to remain under the rule of the Portuguese—the very people against whom they had fought before and who had tried to enslave them. So a combined Spanish and Portuguese army was sent to drive them out by force. It

consisted of 3000 men, about equally divided between the two nations. When it came face to face with the army of the Guaranis the latter amounted to only 2200 men, and on this occasion it was not commanded by the Jesuits, for they, as loyal subjects, were unwilling to assume the leadership of rebels. The Guaranis, left to themselves, were wiped out in a battle whose name is of no importance since it will not be recorded in history, but which nevertheless was, comparatively speaking, more bloody than those of the Great War, for of the 2200 men in the Guarani army 1500 were killed, 100 or 150 were taken prisoners, and the rest were dispersed.

The question arises, Why was it that natives who had fought so bravely against the Paulists, and sometimes in the service of Spain, allowed themselves to be thus mercilessly annihilated almost without a struggle? It must be borne in mind, however, that more than a century elapsed between the victory over the Paulists in 1639 and the defeat of 1750, and that during this century the race had probably degenerated from a physical and moral, and therefore also from a military, point of view. Their defeat would result, then, from that slow process of enfeeblement to which we have already attributed the decline in the population.

After this defeat the seven missions were ravaged as a punishment for their rebellion. The Fathers went away, and the natives scattered into the woods. Yet the very next year the Spaniards and Portuguese made an agreement to the effect that the new frontiers were cancelled and were not to be regarded. So the Fathers and the natives were invited to return, which means that these unfortunate people had been slaughtered and their villages and missions laid waste, all for nothing—another instance, among so many, of the ferocious stupidity of war. But now we are approaching the end.

The period we have reached is the second half of the eighteenth century, when the ideas of the French philo-

sophers and encyclopædists were beginning to spread abroad and the French Revolution was being foreshadowed. The power of the Jesuits was on the wane at this time, not only in France, but even in lands where they seemed most firmly established. Everywhere they were hunted down and driven out. Portugal decreed the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1758, and Spain followed her example in 1767. And just as Portugal expelled them from Brazil as well as from the mother-country, so too the Spanish Government decreed their expulsion from all the Spanish possessions in South America. So the Jesuits of Paraguay were included in the general decree. A demand was made for these missions to be exempted, but their opponents raked up the old excuse that the Jesuits were trying to create republics independent of the Crown of Spain.

The task of expulsion was entrusted to Bucarelli, the Governor of La Plata, whose name is known only in this connexion. The same day, or rather the same night, the soldiers entered the Jesuit houses at Buenos Ayres and Cordoba, where the Jesuits had founded a great university with the only library existing at that time in South America. The Fathers were turned out, and the papers relating to the history of the missions were destroyed. This being accomplished, Bucarelli ascended the Uruguay with a small but adequate body of troops and took possession one by one of the thirty settlements, notifying the Jesuit Fathers of the decree of expulsion. The number of Jesuits thus expelled from South America was 6177, but only seventy-eight of these were in the settlements. They offered no resistance and made no protest. They were put on board ship for Cadiz, and thence deported into Italy. It is impossible not to feel a certain sadness at such an end to a story lasting 165 years—a story that was not particularly glorious, but none the less a unique chapter in the history of colonization.

The expulsion of the Jesuit Fathers by armed force bears some resemblance to the expulsion of the Jansenists from

Port Royal by order of Louis XIV. I should be the last person, indeed, to compare the splendid house of Port Royal, which produced such a man as Pascal, with the settlements of Paraguay, which, as I have said, gave birth to not one man who rose above mediocrity. But none the less this expulsion was an act of moral murder, for if the colony had not been destroyed it might perhaps have been a unique specimen in colonial history.

How was it, you will ask, that the natives did not defend the Jesuit Fathers, when the latter had cared for them like good shepherds for a century and a half? Why did they look on passively at their expulsion? The reason is that they had been too well brought up. They were too well disciplined, too filially submissive, to dream of revolting against the Government and against the will of the Jesuits themselves, who even at that supreme hour ordered them to submit. Moreover, the Spanish Government, fearing a revolt, was careful to tell them that this expulsion would mean their liberation, that the communist system would be abolished, that henceforth each man would possess his piece of land in full ownership, that trade would be free, and that access to the settlements would be open to every one. At the same time it was guaranteed that they would not be subjected to the administrative system of the *encomiendas*. All those promises were made, but it does not appear that any of them were kept, and the natives seem to have been reduced to a state of semi-slavery, like all the rest. The few industries that had been created disappeared one after another. Many of the natives left the missions and were scattered abroad, some in the districts that had been ceded to Portugal, some among such independent tribes as still existed.

Something remains of all this story, as I have already said. This native race, unlike the Indians of North America, has remained in existence and has even kept its language. Among the native populations of Paraguay, Uruguay, and

the Brazilian province of Rio Grande do Sul there are undoubtedly very many tribes which still have in them the blood of the Guaranis who were saved by the Jesuits. Their mark is visible on the map. If you study a fairly detailed map of South America you will see that around the Uruguay river there is a whole territory called by the sounding name of "the ten peoples of the mission," like the district in Palestine called Decapolis, "the region of the ten cities." You will also find a number of towns and villages bearing the names of saints: St James, St Francis, St Louis, St Nicholas, and the Holy Angels, which are relics of the Jesuit colonies. There is hardly one of these places but shows with pride a church, or the ruins of a church, erected by the Jesuits and preserving still the richly ornamented style of architecture that is well known as the Jesuit style.

This country of Paraguay seems to have attracted the founders of colonies, for several have been set up there since the days of the Jesuits. Only recently the Mennonites, descendants of the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century, came there in great numbers—nearly twenty thousand of them, it is said, and the Government of Paraguay put at their disposal a vast area of land.

I should not like it to be thought, however, that this native population was the only one in colonial history to be saved by missionaries. There are other cases to be found, though they are less celebrated because they were not made in the form of laboratory experiments, under a bell-jar, so to speak, like those of the Jesuits. To mention only one case, which is interesting to us as the work of French missionaries, nearly a hundred years ago, in 1833, some French missionaries settled down in South Africa among the Basutos, a tribe of Hottentots. This wretched tribe seemed destined, like all other tribes in South Africa, to come to an end, either slowly or by violence. But the missionaries may be said to have saved the existence and even the semi-independence of this tribe of blacks, as the Basutos

themselves admit. They declare that they owe it to the French mission that they have escaped the ravages of the Boers or Dutch colonists in South Africa, and afterward absorption by the British, so that to-day they number some 500,000. Similar instances can be found also in the islands of the Pacific.

The history of colonization has been made by four great factors: the axe of the pioneer, the sword of the soldier, the goods of the trader, and the cross or the Bible of the missionary, according as he is a Catholic or a Protestant. I do not go so far as to say that these last have done the greatest things, but they have at least taken to the natives what no other white man has taken—a little love.

CHAPTER VI

PROTESTANT COMMUNITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

ALTHOUGH the so-called republican missions of the Jesuits have been classed among communist societies they were in reality neither republican nor communist. The Jesuits did not propose to set up a new form of society, but on the contrary to keep the natives in a state of nature. The missions were a kind of acclimatization garden, as it were.

But the societies now to be dealt with set out to establish an entirely new kind of social organization. Their aim was not to retain the past, but to anticipate the future. They may be divided into two chief classes: communities of a religious character, which therefore follow naturally from those of the Jesuits in Paraguay; and communities inspired by socialism, to be dealt with in the next chapter. We will speak first of the former class.

These religious communities are not Catholic, but all of them Protestant, so they are to be looked for not in South or Spanish America, but in British America, in the United States. Some of them are mentioned as early as the middle of the eighteenth century, even before the downfall of the Jesuit republics of Paraguay. But although all these religious sects, with the exception of the Russian Dukhobors to be dealt with later, were born of Protestantism, this does not mean that their Protestantism was orthodox. The most important of them, that of the Shakers, as we shall see, did not acknowledge the divinity of Jesus Christ. They were therefore, for the most part, very heretical Protestants, but they were never any of them composed of Catholics or of Jews.

This peculiarity is easily explained, for both Jews and Catholics observe in their religion a discipline that admits of no dissent—or extravagances, if you like. In the Protestant Churches, on the other hand, each Protestant, as a famous critic has said, is a Pope when he has his Bible in his hand, and so these Churches are far more likely to give rise to new congregations of every kind.

The religious associations of which we are speaking were very numerous. Several hundreds have been counted, but almost all of them are now dead, only three or four being still in existence. I am not going to relate their history individually, for since they are so much alike that would be a wearisome business. Here is the story of the Shakers, the most famous of them all, and after that I shall devote a few words to those that show the most novel features.

1. Historical Sketch of the Principal Communities

(i) **The Shakers.** This is the oldest of these communities, and it lasted nearly as long as that of the Jesuits, for it was founded in 1774 and existed until quite recently.

(*a*) *History.* The Shakers arose out of a religious sect known as 'the Quakers,' or 'the Society of Friends,' which was founded by George Fox, an Englishman, in the middle of the seventeenth century, but which spread particularly in America under the patronage of the great William Penn. He it was who settled the Quakers, especially in the State of Pennsylvania, which still bears his name. They are to be found, however, in every land, though in very small numbers. Thus they have a centre in Paris, in the Avenue Victoria.

The Quakers were the strictest sect of Puritans. The men wore broad-brimmed hats which they never removed because they gave no greetings. They abstained from all those little civilities of modern civilized life which they regarded, with some reason, as being just so many lies: no hand-

shaking, no embraces, no good wishes or compliments. They always use 'thou' instead of 'you,' and indeed, since it is the Protestant custom to use 'thou' in addressing God, it is hard to see why one should say 'you' to men. But if the Quakers despise all these shams they have always shown themselves, on the other hand, admirably devoted to all men of whatever religion, and not only to their own brethren, and though they naturally have a horror of war they offered their services to both sides in the recent war, and received the thanks of all the Governments concerned.

Within this sect of Quakers there was formed, in the middle of the eighteenth century, a new and still more advanced sect. They were called Shakers, which means almost the same thing as Quakers, namely, 'tremblers,' because at their gatherings they often used to enter into a convulsive state—what spiritualists call a 'trance.' The same phenomenon has been observed in all periods of religious revival. Thus in France, in the pre-Revolutionary period, there was a sect of Catholics known as the 'Convulsionaries of St Médard.'

In this little sect of Shakers there was a young woman named Anne Lee who at once assumed a leading place. All her life she could neither read nor write, but she could perform miracles, like the founders of all religions. She was immediately called Mother Anne, although she was still young, and that is the name by which she is known to history, for she became the actual priestess of the new Church. It is somewhat common, by the way, to find women becoming the founders of new religions. At the present time the leader of the Theosophists is a woman, Mrs Annie Besant, whose name is well known to all interested in religions of a more or less occult nature and who has been almost deified as the adoptive mother of the young 'Messiah' Krishnamurti.

This Anne Lee gathered around her a number of adherents, and she was persecuted, as prophets always are. She was even thrown into prison, and so she determined, like the

Puritans in the seventeenth century, the Quakers in the eighteenth, and the Jews in the nineteenth, to go to America. Fortunately for her the United States was not then closed to undesirables! She set out in 1774 with her family, her husband, and a score of relations and friends. Instead of remaining in Pennsylvania they went on farther over the frontier of the State of Connecticut, to found a colony which they called 'Mount Lebanon,' for all these sects had a passion for names taken from the Bible. Anne Lee herself died soon after, in 1784, but the community of Mount Lebanon survived and grew, though somewhat slowly, and even sent out fresh swarms, like a hive of bees. Half a century later, in 1823, it had about eighteen daughter communities, numbering nearly five thousand persons.

We will now describe the main features of these communities, as we did in the case of the Jesuit republics.

(*b*) *Religious Life.* It is impossible to ignore the religious life of these communities, for religion was their prime motive. They drew their inspiration far more from Moses and the prophets than from Jesus Christ, from the Old Testament instead of the New, as all sects did at that time. The religion of the Puritans in the time of Cromwell and of the Huguenots in the days of Louis XIV was a Biblical religion, like that of the Jews. The only difference between the Puritans and Huguenots on the one hand, and the orthodox Jews on the other, was that the former believed that the Messiah announced by the prophets had already come in the person of Jesus, whereas the latter were still awaiting his coming.

For the Shakers not only had the Messiah appeared for the first time in the person of Jesus, but he had come a second time in the person of Mother Anne! The Shakers found nothing unnatural in this, since God himself, according to their teaching, was both man and woman. They proved this from the Bible, for we read in the first chapter of Genesis, "God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he

them."[1] It must be added, however, that to the Shakers neither Jesus nor Mother Anne *was* God: they were not incarnations but manifestations of God.

In the story of the Fall, according to the Shakers, the sin that was committed was not the symbolic act of eating the forbidden fruit, but the act of sexual union, and after it was committed Adam immediately died. Then Satan, the author of his fall and of his death, assumed the form of Adam, unknown to Eve, and from their adultery the human race was born. This strange story is set forth in a kind of poem that is not without a certain epic inspiration. The following verses taken from it are a dialogue between the sons of Adam and Adam himself.

The sons of Adam say:

First, Father Adam, where art thou,
With all thy num'rous fallen race?
We must demand an answer now:
Pray tell us how this sin took place.
This myst'ry we could never scan,
That sin has sunk the human race.

And Adam, in his reply, after relating the story of the loss of Paradise, continues as follows:

When I was plac'd on Eden's soil,
I liv'd by keeping God's commands. . . .
An idle beast of highest rank
Came creeping up just at that time,
And show'd to Eve a curious prank,
Affirming that it was no crime:
Ye shall not die as God hath said.

So I gave up to gratify
The meanest passion in my blood.
O horrid guilt! I was afraid,
I was condemn'd, yea, I was dead.
Here ends the life of the first man. . . .

[1] This passage (Genesis i, 27) is at variance with the much better known words in the following chapter (ii, 21–23) which say that woman was created after man, and made out of his flesh. But the earliest chapters of Genesis are known to have been drawn from two different and often irreconcilable sources. From the first passage can be drawn an argument for the equality of the sexes, as was done by the Shakers, while the second, on the contrary, provides an argument for the inferiority of the female sex.

Soon as the life had left my soul
He took possession of the whole;
He plundered all my mental pow'ers,
My visage, stature, speech, and gait,
And, in a word, in a few hours
He was first Adam placed in state.
He took my wife, he took my name,
And, but his nature, was the same.
O horrid cheat! O subtle plan!
A hellish beast assumes the man!

This is your father in my name:
Your pedigree ye now may know.[1]

In other words, men are the sons not of Adam as he was created by God, but in a bodily sense the sons of Satan, so it is not surprising that they are wicked. According to the Shakers, however, man can be regenerated and become a new Adam, or rather can become the old Adam again, on condition of rising from the abyss into which the first Adam fell—that is to say, divesting himself of his carnal body and abstaining from all sexual union. Celibacy combined with chastity is therefore the first commandment of the Shakers, and the principle on which their community is based. It was not so at the beginning, however, for Mother Anne was married and even had several children. But when she had founded Mount Lebanon she divorced her husband in order to conform to her principles.

From that time forth this rule of celibacy was observed among the Shakers, and has continued to be kept ever since. There is nothing particularly remarkable in that, to be sure, for we find it in all religious congregations in the shape of the vow of chastity. But there is this peculiar feature about the community of the Shakers, that in their congregation, if it can be called so, the sexes are not separated, but live a communal life, which obviously makes the observance of their vow a more meritorious action. At the same time they do not defy temptation to the extent of living actually together, for the separation of the sexes is the rule for meals

[1] C. Nordhoff, *Communistic Societies of the United States.*

as well as for habitation. Even visits between the sexes were regulated, and were not to take place except before witnesses. Moral discipline was extremely rigid.

But if there were to be no more children, it will be asked, how was the community to be recruited? And if the whole world were one day to be converted the human race would come to an end. The answer is that the Shakers do not claim to impose their doctrine upon the whole world. They claim that they are a chosen band of regenerates, but they do not forbid marriage to those who wish to remain sons of the false Adam, sons of the Devil—those who live in what they call 'the outside world.' Moreover, even in the communities of Shakers there are children. There used to be a fairly large number, indeed. When they were at the height of their success and amounted to 4000 or 5000 persons there were as many as 500 or 600 children. Where, then, did these children come from? They were adopted children who had been entrusted to them by other Quakers who had not a sufficiently lively faith to become Shakers themselves, but who nevertheless wanted to entrust their children to the community to be educated and regenerated. This method of recruitment, however, has become increasingly rare, and recruits are normally obtained by the admission of converts, as in other religious congregations.

The Shakers were extremely strict in making these admissions. The candidate had first to prove that he had paid all his temporal debts, and then he confessed himself. For it is a remarkable thing that confession, which is a characteristic feature of the Catholic religion and does not exist in Protestant Churches, was practised by the Shakers. With them the confessional played a very large part, but with this difference, that the confessors were of both sexes, so that men confessed to men and women to women.

On entering the community, therefore, it was necessary to make a complete confession of all one's past faults. How was it to be known whether the confession was complete?

If we do not know, said the Shakers, God will know, and He will make it impossible for persons to remain with us if they have not sincerely confessed themselves. The burden of the falsehood will become heavier and heavier upon them, until it ends by overwhelming them so that they will leave the community of their own accord.

Another peculiar feature of their religious life is that they did not pray. This was because, they said, prayer was useless to men who lived, as they did, in God. Prayer is a necessary mode of communication for those who live at a distance from God, but one does not carry on correspondence with members of one's own family living beneath the same roof, so the Shakers said that they did not need to pray to God as they never went away from Him.

(*c*) *Social Life.* The social life of the Shakers was much like that of other religious congregations. I have spoken of the vow of chastity. They might be said to have the vow of obedience also—absolute obedience, as practised in Catholic congregations. Obedience to whom? To the older members, who were called 'elders.' Of these there were two or four in each community, of both sexes, and on a footing of entire equality. These male and female elders ruled the community in the most autocratic fashion.

Discipline was severe. The Shakers had to rise at 4.30 A.M. in summer and 5 A.M. in winter, and the curfew sounded at 9.30 P.M. On Sundays it was permissible to rise an hour later. The Sunday rest was strictly observed, like the Sabbath of the Jews. There was nothing peculiar in that, however, for in England the Sunday has merely replaced the Jewish Sabbath.

Meals were taken in common, but at three separate tables for men, women, and children.

Their costume was even more severe than that of the Quakers. All superfluous ornament, both for men and women, was absolutely banned, and this included not only jewels, which goes without saying, but even neckties, for

these were ornamental articles of dress which were entirely superfluous. This little detail is of some interest, for in our own day it has been a comic subject of dispute in Soviet Russia.[1] The women's headdress was very simple and somewhat resembled the Salvation Army bonnet.

All unnecessary furniture was barred. When chairs were not being used they were hung up on the wall. Carpets and curtains were all abolished, not only through hatred of luxury, but also on hygienic grounds, which is somewhat remarkable considering how all concern for hygiene was totally unknown to our ancestors. The Shakers could have given points to the modern schools of health reformers, and washing and cleaning went on unceasingly in their colonies. All pictures and works of art were likewise excluded from their houses. This is how a Shaker of Mount Lebanon explained their views in the course of an interview:

> The beautiful, as you call it, is absurd and abnormal. We have no desire to know it. The man who lives in God has no right to spend money on adorning his house and his daily life when other men are living in poverty.

It must not be concluded, however, from what I have just said that life among the Shakers was an utterly dismal affair. They had some recreations. They met together every evening and read the newspapers, except those which reported crimes or murders—and we know some great Paris papers which would not have been allowed in these Shaker colonies. They also indulged in music, for their condemnation of art did not extend to music, probably because it involves no great expense. Moreover, music played an important part in the Jesuit republics, as I have already observed. It looks as if those communities whose life is most ascetic try to find compensation in music for their exile from the world. This

[1] "There is absolutely nothing reprehensible in a tie, and it is not true that it is only worn by the *bourgeoisie*. When Michael Ivanovitch Kalinin came to see us he was wearing a tie, and he created an excellent impression. Moreover, Karl Marx is always depicted with a black tie, and Vladimir Ilitch (Lenin) is also photographed sometimes with a tie."—*Pravda*, 26, II.

form of art is not opposed to the religious ideal, for the heavenly life is generally represented under the image of a never-ending concert of angels.

What is more surprising is that dancing was practised. However, I remember that it was also held in high honour among the Jesuits of Paraguay. The Shakers did not fail to recall the fact that David danced before the Ark of God. I do not know whether the separation of the sexes was enforced in their dances.

It might be imagined that this system of celibacy—universal, perpetual, and complete—would necessarily import a certain coldness into social life. But this is the reply given by a Shaker in the interview mentioned above, when asked if he did not find life irksome: "The joys of celibacy are greater than I can explain: they are indescribable."

The opinion of this misogynist, however, was not shared by all the young Shakers, a great many of whom have left the society because they could not endure celibacy. That is one of the reasons for the decay of the sect. Even the children brought up by the Shakers did not grow accustomed to the system, so that the colony ultimately consisted only of older people.

At all events this simple life was very conducive to health. The extraordinary longevity of the Shakers is a remarkable fact. They were not like the poor Guaranis, described in the last chapter, who died off like flies. On the contrary, they seemed endowed with the vitality of the patriarchs whom they so much admired. Ninety years was a common age among them, while several are mentioned as having exceeded a hundred years, and one died at the age of 120, so that his life covered almost the whole history of the Society of Shakers. It is probable that their diet was favourable to longevity, for their table was abundant without being excessive, and they drank no fermented drinks and ate hardly any meat. Vegetarianism, though not compulsory, was the general rule. The regularity of their work was also a very

favourable factor in promoting health, and it was not too toilsome.

That leads us to consider, in the fourth place, the economic constitution of the colony.

(*d*) *Economic Life.* From the economic standpoint the system of the Shakers was absolute communism, like that of the Catholic congregations, for, like them, they added the vow of poverty to the two vows of chastity and obedience. They owned nothing themselves. I have just described the conditions imposed upon candidates for entry into the Society, and here is the declaration which they also had to sign:

> With perfect sincerity and in the most solemn fashion I consecrate and devote myself as well as all my personal belongings to God and His people. I hand them over to the keeping of the deacons (or trustees) duly appointed, to make such use of them as they shall judge expedient for the welfare of the Church and the assistance of the poor, and not for any private advantage.
>
> And I declare, in the presence of God, that I will not demand any interest or the rendering of any account of all that I have brought.

They therefore gave up all their possessions to the community in full ownership, and these possessions were administered with absolute authority by the deacons. The elders were more particularly concerned with the moral and religious government of the community, and the deacons with the temporal management of its possessions.

The system was not like that of the Jesuits of Paraguay, where each family kept the fruit of its own labour. The Shakers lived a real communal life. The work was done in common, and the St Simonian formula, "To each according to his work," did not apply. Every one had to put in a certain number of hours of manual labour, the elders setting an example by working as long as ordinary members. Paid work was not excluded, but was rarely practised. The children (adopted) spent a great deal of their time working,

and the women worked too, though they were kept to indoor work. Each male member was entrusted to the care of a woman, who was not in his employment, as domestic service was absolutely forbidden, but who was responsible for mending his clothes and doing all the little services that an unmarried man requires of a woman.

The work was not hard, any more than it was in the Jesuit republics. Work is only hard when it is performed under a system of slavery, whether the slavery be that of the lash or that of necessity, hunger, and want, or the no less imperious demands of profit-making and the desire for wealth. None of these motives spurred on the Shakers in their work. They worked peacefully, with no idea of enriching themselves, but solely to provide for the needs of the community, that is to say, for their own needs. These needs being very slight, the community was able to produce nearly everything that it consumed, including not only food, but also clothing, for its members, and even their furniture, which was reduced to the very simplest terms. The Shakers recognized that the industrial objects which they made for themselves cost more than those they could buy elsewhere, but they preferred to make what they required themselves, saying that the articles were of better quality and more durable, besides providing a useful form of education for the community.

As they produced only for their own consumption they had nothing to sell. What was the use of imposing extra labour on themselves when there was no profit to be made? They were not seeking to grow rich, either personally, since of course they were vowed to poverty, or even as a community. For they never adopted the policy of the Catholic congregations, where poverty was practised by the individual members, but not by the orders to which they belonged, so that some of the latter amassed enormous fortunes. As we have already remarked, these fortunes belonging to the religious congregations proceeded more from bequests than

from the labour of their members, but the Shakers never cultivated this method of enrichment.

Nevertheless their work, though not arduous and carried on without any desire for profit, did result in the course of a century in making the communities passably wealthy, and they came to possess fairly extensive estates. According to Nordhoff,[1] from whose very rare book most of my material is taken, about the year 1874, when he visited the Shaker colonies, there were eighteen of them, but they contained only 2415 members, nearly all old people. So the number had already fallen considerably from the maximum figure of 4870. At the mother station of Mount Lebanon the numbers had fallen from 600 to 380. But though the membership had diminished the extent of their estates had increased to 50,000 acres, which gives the very high average of twenty acres per head. It is true, of course, that the density of population is much less in the United States than in France.

The wealth of these communities was estimated at ten or twelve million dollars (£2,000,000 or £2,400,000), or £1000 per head, which is a very high figure, for if you divide the total wealth of France, £12,000,000,000 before the War, by the population, 40,000,000, you will get an average of only £300, which is a very much smaller figure than that representing the wealth of the Shakers.[2]

It cannot, then, be said that this community was not economically successful. No doubt it remained far enough removed from those other American undertakings which have made their thousands of millions of dollars, but then it did not aim at any such result. It had no other ambition than to produce enough for its own needs, and it succeeded in doing this, with some surplus over.

But what was the real effect? What happened was that

[1] C. Nordhoff, *Communistic Societies of the United States* (London, 1875).

[2] The corresponding figure for England has been estimated at about £360.]

each of these communities wanted gradually to realize its possessions, so it disposed of them, and then the communities themselves were dispersed and carried away into the whirlpool of American life. It was their very wealth, as so often happens, that brought about their destruction. According to the latest information, which dates from 1924, there remained at that time only one solitary community of Shakers, and that was the oldest of all, the community of Mount Lebanon, with only 200 inhabitants.

So the end has not actually been reached yet, and in any case the community lasted from 1775 to 1925, which is 150 years—almost as long as the Jesuit republics of Paraguay. It is undoubtedly an interesting experiment, for it proves that men can live communally, and that an undertaking of this kind is not necessarily doomed to failure, as all economists assert.

(ii) **The Perfectionists of Oneida.** The name of the Perfectionists requires no explanation: it is sufficient to recall the words of Jesus to His disciples, "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect." They date only from the year 1848, and they did not come from Europe, but are of American origin—Oneida is near Lake Ontario. Their system is of a very unusual character from the social if not from the economic standpoint, its two most curious features being the system of 'criticism' and the 'compound marriage.'

'Criticism' consists in making each member of the association appear before an assembly of his brethren, where each one tells him his faults with the utmost Christian frankness. The culprit has to listen calmly to the account given of him by his companions, and he must not reply for fear of provoking discussion, which would defeat the ends that the system seeks to attain.

In my young days there was a parlour game called 'stool of repentance'—I do not know if it is still played. One member of the company sat on a chair while the others,

seated in a circle round him, painted his portrait in terms more or less complimentary. It was the same with the Perfectionists, except that these judicial sittings were not a game, but carried out with all the seriousness of a religious act. They seem to have yielded good results—better than the confession of the Catholics, made in private to a priest who is bound to the most absolute secrecy, and better than the public confession that the Jesuits imposed upon the natives in South America. In this case it is the opposite of confession, for instead of the sinner being called upon to acknowledge his sins it is his companions who have to tell him of them. It might be thought that such a proceeding would be bound to provoke quarrels, and that the one who had spent the whole evening on the stool of repentance hearing his comrades say nasty things about him would be sure to bear some grudge. However, it appears that they generally paid attention and profited by what was said, for if our faults go on increasing it is very often because we are ignorant of them. As for the executioner whose business it was to reproach the culprit, it is asserted that he immediately forgot the accusations, and that the very fact of having told some one some home truths prevented quarrels, which are often caused by concealed grievances. They gave satisfaction to ill-tempered folk, and operated like the lancet applied to an abscess.

That kind of pedagogic method was assuredly not the work of men devoid of all psychological shrewdness.

The Oneida community introduced also another and still more extraordinary innovation. This is what is called the 'compound marriage,' though the term is not a very accurate one. The system might be called 'collective marriage,' or, even better, 'intermittent marriage,' or simply 'free union,' for every man in the community could marry at the same time any woman in the community, and *vice versa*.

It might be thought at the first glance that this system was established to satisfy the sex instinct in its crudest

form. It was a system of polygamy combined with polyandry, and the two together could not fail, one would think, to result in the most degrading form of communism, namely sexual promiscuity. But it was nothing of the sort. The peculiarity of this kind of community of wives and husbands is that it proceeded from the idea of subjecting love to discipline. They did not wish two human beings to be bound together by love, even in the form of conjugal love, which seems the purest of all. The conjugal love that makes one person devote himself or herself to another was regarded as an actual sin. It was a sin to make of another human being an object of adoration, as the phrase goes. Adoration should not be bestowed upon any creature, but only upon God.

When, therefore, the result of marriage was to create between a man and a woman too strong and lasting an attachment they hastened to sever the bond by making another union. It was like effecting a cure by the process of healing one disease with another. But lest anyone should think I am embroidering my account of this somewhat delicate subject, here is the account given by a witness who attended one of the criticism meetings mentioned above.[1] The sitting was presided over by Father Noyes, the head of the community, and this is what he said to the culprit on the stool of repentance, whom we will call Charles, the words being really addressed to the whole assembly:

> Charles's wife is expecting a child, and in these circumstances he has fallen into a selfish love and a desire to preserve intimate and exclusive relations with the woman who is going to make him a father. It is an insidious temptation and one to which many succumb, but none the less it must be combated. Charles understands this clearly, and has come to me to ask what he ought to do. After talking the matter over together we have agreed that he ought to leave his wife entirely and allow another comrade to take his place, and that is what Charles has done, in a spirit that is worthy of all praise.

[1] Nordhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

It does not seem possible for moral aberration to go farther than that. And yet you will notice that we are not dealing here with the Abbey of Thelema,[1] which bore the motto, "Do what you please." On the contrary, it was, I repeat, the sacrifice to the interests of the community of a mutual attachment which threatened to become too exclusive.

However, in 1879 Father Noyes ordered the abandonment of this system in deference to public opinion, leaving to his followers the choice between the two *bourgeois* alternatives of monogamy and celibacy. This was undoubtedly wise. But when 'society people,' as they are called, hide their faces in horror at these shameful things one cannot but smile, for they are doing, or soon will do, exactly the same thing, and not with any fantastic idea of disciplining love, as at Oneida, but, on the contrary, with the object of giving free rein to their desires. In the United States there is one divorce to every four marriages. Every man in America is liable to meet in the world several of his wives, and every woman several of her husbands. The only difference between this system and that of Father Noyes is that under the former the marriages are successive, whereas among the Perfectionists they were simultaneous.[2]

The extraordinary thing is that this community of Oneida, the most eccentric of all, is the one that succeeded best from the financial point of view, becoming a very flourishing industrial enterprise. It had a certain industrial character even when it was under a communitarian system, for it was not afraid of employing paid labour and producing for sale,

[1] A place where every kind of material delight was to be found in abundance. See above, p 16.]

[2] A great American paper, the *New York Times*, in announcing the marriage of a Mr Minot and a Mrs Bruden, gave the following facts: Mrs B. had already had two husbands and been twice divorced. Mr M., on his part, had been divorced from his first wife, who had taken a second husband who was himself a divorced man, so that one could form a group—I dare not say a sympathetic one—consisting of four husbands, four wives, and a certain number of children whose paternity would be too complicated to unravel. How does such a society differ from that of Oneida?

which m ans for profit. Articles of very varied kinds were made there, including silver plate, chains, reels of silk, and so forth. In the year 1880, when it was dissolved as a community, it was continued in the form of a joint stock company, each member receiving a $100 share for each year of residence. A good many sold their shares and went away, but the younger generation remained under the direction of Pierpont Noyes, who stayed on as president. And although the undertaking had discarded its communistic constitution, it retained a very democratic and equalitarian character by the adoption of the following rules:

1. No shareholder to be allowed to possess more than 3 per cent. of the social capital.
2. Very high wages to be paid to workers and relatively low ones to managers.
3. Wages to be increased 1 per cent. after three months' service, and then 1 per cent. every year, up to a maximum of 12 per cent.
4. A share in profits to be granted to the workers, which, combined with the rise just mentioned, might increase wages in good years by 22 per cent.
5. A week's holiday to be allowed, with pay.
6. Every worker, after ten years' service, to have the right to acquire shares. In this way more than half the employees became shareholders, and also some of the manual workers.

There were numerous committees—more than twenty—for all kinds of games and recreations.

This system of profit-sharing and shareholding by workers, which has yielded only scanty and mediocre results in France, seems to have been brilliantly successful here. There is no doubt that we must see in this a certain survival of the spirit of mysticism that inspired the community at the beginning.

Although the Society is still called the Community of

Oneida it really left that town in 1917 and moved, with all its belongings, to Sherill, some 250 miles to the East.[1]

(iii) **The Dukhobors.** The Dukhobors are a Russian religious sect which seceded from the Orthodox Church in the middle of the eighteenth century, just as the sects we have just described broke away from the Lutheran or Anglican Churches. They were the first to put into practice the doctrine afterward taught by Tolstoy and so widely discussed —the doctrine of non-resistance to evil. It is founded on the strict application of the words of Jesus: "Unto him that smiteth thee on the one cheek offer also the other; and him that taketh away thy cloak forbid not to take thy coat also." This teaching they practised to the letter, as is shown by many anecdotes. Thus one Dukhobor, seeing a robber stealing his horse from the stable and running off with it, called to him to stop in such commanding tones that the thief stopped. The Dukhobor asked him why he had stolen the horse when he had only to ask for it and it would have been given him. "In that way," added the owner of the horse, "you would not have incurred the guilt of stealing."

The Dukhobors naturally refused absolutely to perform any military service. For an entire century, in the empire of the Tsars, this little group, to the number of some twelve thousand, remained stubbornly unconquerable. They were deported to Siberia, but still they did not yield. Only at the end did they ask permission to emigrate in search of a country where they could practise their religion of non-resistance to evil, but it was not till 1879 that they at last obtained leave from the Tsar's Government to emigrate to America.

It goes without saying that the Dukhobors were always defended by the great Russian writer Tolstoy, who was to some extent their disciple. It was his rule never to receive any profits on his books and to refuse all royalties, but in

[1] For further details see an article by Mrs Esther Lowenthal in the Chicago *Journal of Political Economy* for 1927, p. 114.

order to aid the Dukhobors in emigrating he took what was due to him on his famous novel, *Resurrection*, and gave it to them.

They set out, therefore, for Canada, not 12,000 of them, for it was a difficult undertaking, but only 4000. They were granted a huge estate of thousands of acres, where they established themselves as a real community. But the Canadian Government was no more tolerant toward them than the Russian, saying that the laws of Canada did not allow them to make grants of land for communal purposes. So they started off again and proceeded into British Columbia, where they obtained grants of land, and as there is no compulsory military service in the British Empire they had no difficulty on this score. Like the Brahmins among the Hindus they respected all life and abstained entirely from killing any animal. A Dukhobor would not even kill a caterpillar, which is all the more meritorious since gardening is one of their chief vocations, and it is hard to see how they can succeed in getting rid of the insects that must ravage their crops like other people's without hurting the creatures that do the damage! No doubt they have solved this problem and reconciled their consciences with their professional interest, for the garden produce of the Dukhobors is notoriously the best in the country.

(iv) **The Mormons.** This religious sect ought not really to be included in this sketch, for the Mormons are not communists at all. But as they are generally thought to be, it is as well to give a little information about them, if only to refute this common idea.

The Mormons—or, to give them their right name, the Latter-day Saints—may be looked upon as the Jews of the United States, for long before the days of the Zionists they attempted the restoration of the Kingdom of Israel on the shores of another Dead Sea, the Great Salt Lake. It was in the year 1829 that a young adventurer of twenty-four, named Joseph Smith, began to imitate Moses, or rather to

ape him, first by claiming to have received a revelation direct from God, in the shape of two tables of gold which no one could read without magic spectacles, and then by founding a new religion more or less inspired by the Bible. Next he promised to lead his faithful followers through the desert to the Promised Land, as Moses had done, and finally he copied Moses in dying before entering this Promised Land. It was his successor Brigham Young, a second Joshua, who led this people of God across the deserts of the Far West—they were really deserts in those days—and though the journey did not last forty years it was long months before they came in sight of the Great Salt Lake. There they stopped to set up the New Jerusalem, the town which has since become Salt Lake City. Finally Brigham Young, like Solomon, spent his life in building a Temple.

In the constitution of the new State, however, Brigham Young ceased to take Moses for his model. He set up a theocracy with a priest for its supreme head with no other control than a council of elders. In the matter of marriage he preferred also to go back to the patriarchs and establish polygamy as a necessary condition, apparently, for the rapid growth of the colony in population. This was the more necessary as no immigration could be looked for, the rule of the Mormons being absolutely to exclude all strangers, 'Gentiles,' or pagans, so as to preserve the city from anything that might lead it astray. Such was the incredible ferocity with which this rule was applied that an entire caravan of 120 persons, men, women, and children, was exterminated because it entered their territory. This massacre remained long unpunished. The Mormons put it down to the Indians, but it was proved that it was they who had instigated the Indians, even if the latter were not really Mormons in disguise. At last, a long time after, one of the criminals was prosecuted and condemned to death by an independent jury.

The Mormons, however, were never communists. They

divided the land among them on their arrival, as Joshua had divided the Promised Land among the twelve tribes of Israel, and having become owners of the land in equal shares, their families retained possession of their property. Then from being landowners they became merchants—in which respect their history still more closely resembles that of the Jews—and many of them grew rich.

In 1869 the great transcontinental railway that crosses the United States passed through Salt Lake City, and from that date the isolation of the Mormon State ceased, though not voluntarily, and it could no longer preserve its original character. It obtained recognition, however, as an independent State—the State of Utah—so as to keep its autonomy among the other North American States, and this enabled the Mormons to keep for a time their own legislation and even their system of polygamy. And even when this was abolished by law it was very difficult to prevent it in practice, for polygamy among the Mormons was not practised by the harem method, as with the Moslems, but each wife had her own house and separate establishment—a kind of polygamy which exists more or less in all countries.

To-day the Mormons are back in the main stream of the population of America, but they have retained their religion, and they even employ missionaries who still bring in many converts to Mormonism. They used to find many converts among women, even when they practised polygamy openly.

(v) **Other Communities.** The four communities just described are the principal ones, but there are still a few more to be found. There are the Inspirationists, for instance, who are still in existence at Amana, in the State of Iowa. Like the community called 'Harmony,' to be mentioned later, they are of German origin. They date from the year 1848, so that they have already existed for more than three-quarters of a century. Here again there is no need to explain the meaning of their name: they are those who receive the Holy Spirit, which was not reserved solely for the Apostles

on the day of Pentecost, but is still poured out, at long intervals, upon certain chosen people. But these chosen people have to be recognized and obeyed. In this case the inspired person was a carpenter named Christian Metz. The name Amana was taken from the words of the Song of Solomon (iv, 8), "Look from the top of Amana."

Christian Metz is dead, and has left no inspired successor, but the colony has continued, and at the date of the latest information it was alive and very prosperous as an agricultural undertaking—too much so, in fact, since a division of the estate seemed imminent.

Is it worth while mentioning that other community which draws its inspiration from the religion of Persia? The religions and mysteries of the East are somewhat fashionable nowadays. This one was founded in 1889 by an American doctor, and was no doubt suggested to him by his name—Cyrus—unless indeed that was a pseudonym adopted by himself. Of this community the most marked characteristic is folly. For instance, it teaches that the surface of the earth is not convex, but concave, and that we live inside it: it is a mere sensory illusion that makes us think we are on the surface of the globe. Its exponents even set forth a geometrical demonstration, which may be referred to the disciples of Einstein. Let us leave it at that.

Among the far more numerous communities that have disappeared are there any that are worth recalling from oblivion? We might perhaps mention one of the oldest of them, founded not by Englishmen, but by Germans. In the year 1797 a man named Rapp, with a few ardent Protestants, broke away from the Lutheran Church and took the name of 'Separatists.' Being persecuted like the Shakers—the story is the same as that of Mother Anne—they too determined to go to America. They reached the State of Pennsylvania in 1805, and founded there, like the Shakers, a community to which they gave the name 'Harmony.' It lasted for nearly a century, and passed through the same

vicissitudes as the Shakers, though perhaps a little more acutely. It often had to move. After being established quite near to New York it was transferred to Indiana. But in 1824 the Harmonists, not being comfortable in this second abode, sold the estate to a rich English manufacturer, Robert Owen, who bought it for the purpose of founding a socialist community which we shall deal with later on. They then went forth and founded a third establishment, which they called 'Economy,' near to Pittsburg, the great manufacturing town, which at that time was only a village.

The Separatists practised complete communism and celibacy also, under even stricter conditions than the Shakers, for it was imposed upon husbands and wives. Marriage was not forbidden in the community of Harmony, nor were existing marriages dissolved, and it does not even seem as if actual separations took place, but the parties had to follow the advice of St Paul when he said, "It remaineth, that . . . they that have wives be as though they had none." And yet, despite the effort entailed by such an ordeal, no scandal appears to have arisen during an entire century to trouble the peace of a community bearing the beautiful name of 'Harmony.'

It came to an end in 1900, but it left behind two somewhat perverse daughters, Aurora and Bethel. For in 1831 there was a schism, and one-third of the 750 members went off to found another colony at Bethel, still in the same district, the State of Ohio, and later on a second colony was set up, called 'Aurora.'

2. General Characteristics of these Communities, and Causes of their Failure

What are the general characteristics of these communist associations? The point to be noted first, because it dominates all the rest, is their religious inspiration. In every one of them there appears a man or woman claiming to be

inspired, who presents himself as a Messiah, a prophet, or at least an Apostle, and gathers around him a nucleus of adherents. It is a common enough phenomenon in the history of religions, though at first sight it appears improbable, and it shows that it is relatively easy to found a new religion. This inspired leader always finds disciples ready to obey him as their head because he has received the Spirit of God. Thus to each of these associations is attached the name of a man (or a woman): with the Shakers it is Mother Anne; with the Separatists Father Rapp; with the Perfectionists Father Noyes; with the Inspirationists of Amana it is Christian Metz, the carpenter, and with the Dukhobors it is Veregin. When this founder dies the association sometimes dies with him, but it often finds a successor. Sometimes there is almost a dynasty of leaders, as in the case of the Dukhobors, where the Veregins succeeded each other and were numbered like kings of the same name, the present ruler being Peter Veregin VII.

It is the same, however, with all associations of whatever kind. It is sometimes said that associations kill the individual, but that is absurd. Every association, whatever it may be—not only communist associations, but the humblest mutual aid society, every trade union, and every co-operative society—owes its birth to some individual who created it, supports it, and gives it life, and if they do not find the man they require, then they do not grow. But even if they have the luck to find the man it often happens in lay associations that the creative individuality fails to retain its power and is discredited, criticized, and abandoned, so that the society relapses into anarchy. It is usually otherwise with associations of a religious character, where the founder can exercise sovereign power over his little company even though he is eccentric or even mad.

These associations, unlike the socialist communities to be discussed in the next chapter, are not animated by a revolutionary spirit, but by a spirit of obedience to the Word of

God. For them communism aims not at the overturning of society as it exists: it is not an end in itself, but a means of preparing for the after-life.

In the community of Amana this programme is set forth in the form of a table containing two opposite columns:

Apostasy	Confession
Atheism	Faith
Worship of Mammon	Worship of Jesus Christ
Private property	Communism
Death	Immortality

Communism is also one of the articles in their confession of faith: it is a matter of obedience to a religious command and was practised in the early days of Christianity, as we are told in the Acts of the Apostles (ii, 44, 45): "And all that believed were together, and had all things common; and they sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all, according as any man had need." The meaning of this passage has been much discussed. It seems to relate rather to a mode of assistance, particularly in the form of a common meal in commemoration of the Last Supper, but the religious communities took it literally.

At the same time, there are degrees of communism, ranging from complete communism to what is merely co-operation. In fact, there are three concentric zones, as it were, in which communism can be practised, namely, in production, in distribution, and in consumption, and communism is not necessarily practised in all three.

Co-operative production, whether partial or even total, is not communism. Here is a society in which the system of private ownership obtains. Each man is the owner of his plot of land, cultivates it, and keeps the produce. But he is bound to the other owners by various forms of association—one association for the sale of the produce, another for purchases, and another for cultivation. Now this is not communism, but co-operation as it is practised in some countries —very imperfectly in France, but much more completely in

the farming associations in Spain under the system of what is called 'internal colonization,' and also in Romania since the agrarian reforms which divided the land among the peasants.

Even when the land ceases to be individually owned and becomes the property of the community, yet if each man tills his plot, keeps the produce, and lives in his own household, that is still co-operation and not communism. That is the system practised in the Zionist colonies in Palestine which are called individualist in opposition to those which are frankly communist. The land does not belong to the colonist, but to the Jewish National Fund. We shall speak of these colonies later on. It is the same throughout Soviet Russia, where all the land is national property, but the peasant cultivates it as he pleases, though subject to certain restrictions.

Now let us go a step farther. Here is a colony in which not only the ownership of the soil is vested in the community, but the produce of individual labour goes to the community also. Here we have communism not only in production, but in distribution as well, for there is no actual division, no sharing out, no granting of shares to individuals.

Still, this is not yet the complete communist system unless there is also community of consumption and habitation—if every one can live in his own house with his own family. Of these communities, some have the appearance of collective houses, while others are more like villages or garden cities. Amana is a group of five villages.

Several of the so-called communist societies whose names we have mentioned have remained in this intermediate state where each family has its own house and household. Each one deposits the produce of his labour in the common store, and the community distributes the total produce. It possesses large storehouses and gives each household what it requires. Such is the case in the community of Amana (the Inspirationists). For instance, it is announced in the

morning that a bullock is going to be killed and that those who want any meat are to come and fetch it. Each one then goes to the communal butcher and receives gratis the portion that he needs. There are also collective kitchens, however.

Some of these communities supply only foodstuffs to each family, and not clothing or furniture. Instead of this they give a sum of money judged to be sufficient to meet these requirements. Thus the Amana community used to give fifty dollars to each man and woman and ten for each child. These figures apply to fifty years ago, and must have been altered since then, but that does not matter. In any case the amount allocated is calculated in conformity with the strict discipline that governs all these communities and forbids all luxury expenditure.

However limited the proportion of private ownership may be, it implies the existence of private shops in the community. In the community of Amana, for instance, there are private shops where one can purchase clothing and various other things. These shops are usually fairly well stocked, and give the communities the appearance of ordinary urban agglomerations.

Finally there is the last stage of communism, which includes the consumption as well as the production and distribution of the produce. It means a common house and table, as in monasteries, boarding-schools, barracks, and boarding-houses, so there is nothing unusual or terrifying about this.

When I say that communism in the matter of consumption and housing is the last stage of complete communism it must be clearly understood what this means. For it is only true in so far as this community of consumption is practised in addition to community of work and distribution; it does not, in itself, make communism. Thus there is a famous establishment in France called the Familistère of Guise, created by Godin, a disciple of Fourier, where the

workers live together in a single establishment, but each family has a separate set of rooms, and it is only certain general services that are performed collectively.

We might imagine a still more advanced degree of communism—community of wives. This, as we have seen, has not been practised in any of these colonies, though that of Oneida was not very far from it.

In general, however, what characterizes these associations is a system of moral government, and not merely a political one. Their discipline is extremely strict, sometimes of a Puritan type, but often taking various original forms of which some deserve better treatment than ridicule. The system governing sex relations takes very varied forms. Some communities are made up of celibates, like the Shakers and the Rappists, in some cases with this peculiarity, that the celibates of both sexes live in the same establishment, but independently of each other, while in other cases, such as the Perfectionists of Oneida,[1] marriage is permitted, but celibacy is imposed even upon those who are married.

In regard to those communities which do not impose celibacy upon their members, do they go to the other extreme and permit entire freedom in sex relations or do they regulate the birth-rate? For if they run the risk of coming to an end through lack of recruits they also run the opposite risk of a too rapid increase of population, beyond the limits of their resources. Would not the communist system be likely to encourage this over-population by freeing the parents of all responsibility? Although we have not found any specific declaration on this point, it seems that birth restriction must have been practised.

In these cases the union of the sexes is looked upon as having no other object than the good of the community, and so it should only be permitted—or commanded—to the extent that it appears to conduce to the interests of the community. Such doctrines are extolled, of course, by those

[1 The author seems to mean the Separatists. See pp. 111–112.]

who are called eugenists as well as by these communist sects. In England and the United States there is a regular school of eugenists, who hold conferences and publish reviews for the teaching of what is called conscious, rational, scientific reproduction.

It must be owned, however, that there is something repulsive in seeing these communities becoming, if I may use the term, a kind of stud farm or breeding establishment, where sex union is supervised like that of horses so that the lofty aim of continuing the race may not be endangered by the blindness of love. It is true that in mythology love is pictured blindfold, but even that is better than to see it wearing the spectacles of the health faddist.

And now, what conclusions are we going to draw from these experiments?

There have been very many failures, for, as I said at the beginning, out of the hundreds of communist associations that have been formed, only a very small number—about a dozen—are still in existence to-day. Why did the others fail? Their death does not appear to have been due to the causes foretold by economists. They had said that these attempts would fail because it was repugnant to man to live in common, and because men would quarrel over the rations allotted to them. But that is not so: there were very rarely any difficulties in these communities over questions of self-interest—at any rate in communities of religious origin, though it is not the same with the others. There are a few examples, it is true. Thus in the Amana community one of the members complained to Christian Metz, the director, saying: "My labour this year has brought in $1000 to the community, while so-and-so's has yielded only $250." And what did the director reply? He said: "Thank God for making you so skilful, so that you can help your brother, and ask Him that your brother may not one day have to do the same for you when you are old and infirm."

I have already pointed out that some of these communities

did not manage to survive the death of their founder. In all cases the period following his death was a very critical one for the community, for it very rarely happened that these petty Cæsars had the foresight, or the chance, or even the desire to designate a successor in time. Some of them, though not many, ended by lapsing into capitalism and industrialism. Such was the case with the Perfectionists of Oneida, the most advanced of all, whose freakish notions we have described. They abandoned the free marriage system in 1879, simply, they said, in deference to public opinion, and without implying any disbelief in the excellence of that system. Later on the community of Oneida ended by becoming a joint stock company, and to-day it is nothing but an industrial organization.

No doubt it will be said that even those that lived a long time lived a useless life, for they did not do much. But they did not set out to do much: their only object was to make a few people happy. Did they succeed in this? Apparently they did, to judge from the extraordinary longevity of their members. This point we have remarked on already in connexion with the Shakers, but in every one of these communities we find members reaching very advanced ages. Rapp and Noyes both died at the age of ninety, and even centenarians were fairly frequently to be met with.

CHAPTER VII

COMMUNITIES OF SOCIALIST ORIGIN IN THE UNITED STATES

It has often been remarked that there is a kind of synchronism by which the same ideas and discoveries appear at the same time in different places. It was not by chance, therefore, that there arose almost at the same date at the beginning of the nineteenth century two socialists in England and in France—Robert Owen, born in 1771, and Charles Fourier, born in 1772—who, though very different in social standing and individual character, set forth almost the same programme. And this programme was simply the creation of communities of a more or less co-operative or communist nature.

1. Owen and Fourier

These two men were very differently situated. Owen, though of very humble parentage, the son of a saddler, became at an early age a great manufacturer. At New Lanark in Scotland, where he lived more than in England, he established and managed a factory that was admired by the whole world and visited by the greatest people in Europe. It was well worthy of this honour, for Owen had introduced into it almost every kind of employers' institution known to the nineteenth century, besides anticipating all the factory legislation of the same period.

Thus for the first time in this New Lanark cotton-mill were seen short hours of labour in place of the old day of twelve or fifteen hours; an industrial quarter with workmen's dwellings and community finance; the protection of female and child labour; such sanitary and hygienic arrangements as the knowledge of that day permitted; and wages

on such a generous scale that during the cotton crisis, when the raw material could not be obtained from America and all the spinning-mills in England and Scotland were closed down for more than three months, Owen continued to pay his workers their full wages.

The value of these reforms will be more fully appreciated if we bear in mind that they were put into force at the darkest hour in the history of labour. The worker was never in a more wretched state than in the period that followed the invention of machinery, from the end of the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth.

The invention of the steam-engine in 1772–75 was followed, as you know, by frightful slavery for the working classes. To mention only one example, the children, with whom Owen was more particularly concerned, were employed from the age of six, and for twelve hours at a time, by night as well as by day. And since there were not enough children to be found who had fathers and mothers, the orphans of the workhouse were rounded up and put into the factories. So Owen opened schools for all the children of his workpeople up to the age of twelve or thirteen.

Fourier was engaged in commerce:[1] he called himself a 'shop sergeant.' Owing to a small inheritance, however, he was able later on to live independently, though modestly. There was nothing revolutionary about him, any more than there was about Owen. Owen was very proud of living among great folks and receiving visits from princes and ambassadors. Fourier, more modest, waited all his life for a capitalist who never came along. He was as characteristically middle-class as can possibly be imagined, and not even of the upper middle class: always very spick and span with his white tie, but very greedy, a bit of a rake and something of a jingo, fond of following military retreats, and rather proud of Napoleon.

[1] For further details about Fourier see Gide, *Fourier, Précurseur de la Coopération*, and for Owen see Dolléans, *Owen*. [Lives of Robert Owen have also been written by himself, by F. Podmore, by G. D. H. Cole, and by several others.]

Yet both these men, as I have said, came out with almost the same programme of socialist-communism—a programme which frightened their contemporaries horribly, though it was harmless enough in both cases. For neither of them had any idea of looking to revolution for the solution of the social problem. In their early youth they had lived through the great Revolution of 1789, and the horror of it remained with them, so that they aimed at setting up a new society by more peaceful methods.

They were both dominated by the notion that civilization, or what is called the economic order of things, is a hateful environment that makes men wicked, selfish money-grubbers, and that it is only necessary to change this environment for them to become naturally good, brotherly, and unselfish. The thing to be done, then, was to create this environment, not by making a clean sweep of capitalism, like the Russian communists at the present day, but by creating small communities or microcosms possessing all the characteristics of the ideal society.

Here is what Fourier himself said, and the sentence gives a good idea of his style. After describing his little world, or 'Phalanstery'—the word has become famous—he says:

> If we could suddenly see this order of things set up as it will be when in full swing there is no doubt that many civilized people would be struck dead by the violence of their rapture and their regret at seeing so much happiness which they might have been able to enjoy.

Owen expresses just the same idea, though in less poetical language, when he says:

> The character and conduct of individuals formed after the new system [his system of communal life] will soon supply a living proof of its superiority. Not one of these associations will be formed without creating the desire to form others. They will rapidly multiply, and it will not be long before the older type of society disappears altogether.[1]

[1] Quoted by Dolléans, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

Here we have exactly the same ideal and the same method, and this resemblance extends also to the details.

This new environment, this community, is to be realized in an agricultural form. For both Fourier and Owen there must be a return to the land. Neither in towns nor in industry can these experiments be made. Moreover, this agricultural community must not be very large, for it will obviously be easier to create the new world on a small scale than on a large one. The two men are even roughly in agreement as to the figure. Fourier says the community must consist of 1620 persons, and though this arithmetical precision may seem comical it is explained by calculations such as delighted the fantastic genius of the man. He counted up a certain number of characteristics or sentiments existing in every man, and decided that the total number of inhabitants must be an exact multiple of these individual or family characteristics, and so forth.

Owen said 1200 persons, and there is no great difference between these two figures.

There is the same agreement as to the extent of land required by the colony: Fourier said 4000 acres, and Owen's figure was slightly smaller.

Finally, a common dwelling would naturally be wanted to house this colony. Fourier gave to his the now famous name 'Phalanstery,' while Owen adopted no particular name but was to borrow that of 'New Harmony' from the Rappists. Both of them, and Fourier in particular, attached great importance to the establishment of this communal house, and the greater part of Fourier's *Association Domestique Agricole*, a book in two volumes of 600 pages each, is devoted to the minutest details of these prospective housekeeping arrangements.

It must not be thought, however, that Owen and Fourier borrowed their ideas from each other. Owen, who was rich and famous, completely ignored the little shopkeeper and never attached the slightest importance to his schemes. As

for Fourier, he hated Owen for many reasons: partly because he was an Englishman, and like all good Frenchmen at the beginning of the nineteenth century he hated perfidious Albion, but also because he hated merchants, and England to him was a land of merchants.

But in considering these resemblances between Owen and Fourier we must notice one great difference. That is, that Owen, the great capitalist manufacturer, was the true communist, whereas Fourier, contrary to what one might suppose, was no communist, but simply a co-operatist. What is called 'Fourier's communism' applies to labour, to production, to housing, and to daily life, but in no way whatever to the ownership of capital.

Fourier's society, the 'phalanx,' was a joint stock company. Each member was the owner of his share of the capital, and was to receive the profits in the form of dividends, even at the rate of 40 per cent. or 50 per cent., as Fourier assured them.

Owen, on the contrary, had a horror of profits. Though a great manufacturer who had made a large fortune, he said that profit was the cancer of the social body, and that the chief end of these communities was to abolish it entirely.

So much for the theory: let us now see how it worked out in practice.

2. Owenite Colonies

It may seem strange that an experienced business man should conceive the idea of founding communist colonies. But he was quite logical, holding the view of human nature that he did, that it could only be improved by the creation of a new environment where it would be cultivated under special conditions and particularly with the total exclusion of all idea of profit. His concern, therefore, was to create the "New Moral World," which is the title of one of his publications. He naturally thought that this new environment could not be established in the New Lanark factory, however great the improvements which he had made there.

To hatch out the new man there must be a new environment: he must build him a nest.

First he tried to establish it in Scotland. One of his followers organized the colony of Orbiston,[1] but it lasted only three years, from 1826 to 1830. So to find a suitable site he decided to go to the New World. He set out for America in 1825, and found there an environment already prepared in one of the Christian communities which I have described—the one founded by the German Rapp and christened 'Harmony.' But for various reasons this place did not suit Rapp, and he had made up his mind to leave it. He was very lucky, therefore, in having the opportunity of selling the place to Owen. A second-hand communist colony going cheap is a bargain not to be picked up every day! So Owen bought it, and naturally christened it 'New Harmony.' He had no intention of leaving Scotland and living there himself, but he installed his sons, his family, and a fairly large number of disciples there. For, as Owen was a well-known man, this experiment of his made a considerable stir.

But the inhabitants of New Harmony, unlike the inhabitants of the colonies we have been dealing with hitherto, were not religious men or inspirationists. On the contrary, they were free-thinkers. Their object in coming, as one of them said, was to find in New Harmony "a centre of enlightened atheism." Owen himself was a free-thinker, not in the sense of anti-clerical, as the term is used in France to-day, but simply meaning an unbeliever or non-Christian. He had been supported at the beginning by the Quakers. When he bought the New Lanark mills it was the Quakers who lent him the money. But they quickly broke away from him when they saw him establishing secular education in his school—an innovation that met with strong disapproval in England.

He therefore wanted in his new colony to create a secular

[1 Near Glasgow.]

as well as communist society. The first constitution was voted in May 1825. It was naturally of a democratic character, though Owen wisely kept for himself the right of being president for the first year: the presidency was not to be elective until the second year.

Owen remained at New Harmony for a few months only, and returned to England when he thought the colony was firmly established. But as soon as he was gone all work ceased, and he was compelled to return in the same year to try to instil a little order into the colony. This was no easy task, for people of all sorts had come from everywhere, with no real bond of union between them and no spirit of solidarity. Recriminations immediately arose because some worked while others did nothing. An attempt was made to publish the number of hours of work that each one put in. This was a kind of moral sanction, and the only one that could be imposed. But this method was ineffective, and the disorder continued. Even Owen himself did not manage to bring harmony into the colony which did so little honour to the name it bore. Schisms occurred, and little groups were formed on this side and on that, of those who preferred to work on their own account. There were even expulsions from the colony. But it is useless to go into the details of all these troubles. Suffice it to say that in April 1827 Owen started off for England for the second time.

It must not be imagined, however, that he left because he was discouraged. Not at all! He wrote at that time: "The social system is now firmly established, and our past experiments have developed easy and natural methods of forming communities"[1]—a fine example of optimism under every kind of trial!

However, when he returned the third time he was obliged to admit that the experiment had been premature, which did not mean that it must be abandoned, but only postponed. None the less, Owen seems to have come to recog-

[1] Quoted by Dolléans, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

nize that a change of environment is not sufficient to change men, but that we must change the men first by shaping their characters before creating the environment, or at least change the two together.

He must have realized also that a stricter selection must be made in founding his community. However, he set out for Mexico to found another colony in Texas, but the Mexican Government refused to grant him the land he asked for, so he had to return to England. It is remarkable, by the way, what a wonderful traveller Robert Owen was: in the space of a few years he crossed the Atlantic six times, at a time when the voyage from England to New York took three weeks or a month.

From that moment Owen gave up founding communities. He lived for a long time yet, for he only died in 1858 at the age of eighty-seven, but during the second half of his life he concerned himself solely with questions of social education and factory legislation.[1]

3. Fourierist Colonies[2]

In the year 1890 a colony was founded in Mexico, on the Bay of Topolobambo, by one Albert Owen, who, I imagine, was a descendant of the English socialist. It appears to have been a strange mixture of Owenite communism—with labour notes in place of money—and capitalist speculation, for it provided for a thousand miles of railway, the construction of canals, and the building of a model town called Pacific City. But all that apparently has disappeared.

Fourier, unlike Owen, had neither the opportunity nor the means to found a community, whether in France or in America, much as he would have liked to. He spent his life waiting for fortune to come to him in the shape of some philanthropic capitalist, so that he might realize his dream.

[1] For further details about Owen's work see the books already mentioned.

[2] I have told the story of these Fourierist experiments in greater detail in the book already mentioned.

Some of his followers, however, tried to do it for him, and in 1833, at Condé-sur-Vesgres (Seine-et-Oise), they made an attempt at setting up a phalanstery of which nothing remains to-day but a few ruins and a country house where the surviving disciples of Fourier spend a few weeks' holiday.

A little later on, in 1841, an Englishman named Young also tried to form a Fourierist community at Citeaux, near the famous old abbey, but this experiment did not get even as far as that of Condé. It must be said that all these experiments were disavowed by Fourier himself. They could not succeed, he said, unless they conformed absolutely to the model he had sketched, and he even abused the architects and draughtsmen who had presumed to act independently of him.

A good many attempts at carrying out Fourier's schemes were made in the United States, however. In 1841, a few years after the death of Fourier (who died in 1835), there was founded in the United States a communist colony which, unlike those described in the previous chapters, did not derive its inspiration from religion. It was a society of intellectuals, forerunners of Tolstoy, who held that men, and particularly intellectuals, must be taught not to live as parasites on the working classes, but to support themselves by the work of their own hands. This society, called 'Brook Farm,' had no very definite programme and was feeling its way tentatively. Meanwhile an American named Channing happened to be travelling in France. Although he is somewhat forgotten to-day, Channing was well known at that time as an apostle of social reform, not only in America, but also in France, where his ideas were often propagated by Laboulaye, a professor of the Collège de France. Channing was enraptured with Fourier's ideas and programme, and on his return to the States he offered Fourierism to the Brook Farm colonists as meeting their requirements. The latter, believing that they had found here the solution they were in search of, tried to transform their colony into a phalan-

stery on the exact model of that described by Fourier, the realization of which he had so vainly awaited.

Brook Farm had already attracted a large number of intellectuals, so that it had almost become an Academy. Some of their names are known. Among them was a writer named Hawthorne, who is remembered with gratitude by men of my generation for delighting them with his mythological stories for children. The environment here must evidently have been far superior to that of all the other communities, but it was in need of money, and when it was desired to make a phalanstery of it the money had to be found.

They tried to borrow $30,000, which would have been quite insufficient to create the phalanstery planned by Fourier. But they could raise only $8000, which shows that these æsthetic folk had not much credit in the financial world. However, with this slender capital (£1600) they succeeded in creating a miniature phalanstery with all its main features, particularly the organization of labour into sympathetic groups. But their ill-fortune could not be charmed away, and the little phalanstery was destroyed by fire in 1846. Then, having no money to build another, they gave up the experiment and dispersed. None the less this experiment has left a distinct mark upon social history.

This defeat did not produce discouragement. Fourierist communities sprang up in other parts of the United States: thirty-three of them have been counted, but there were certainly many more than that. It must be owned that of these thirty-three a large number did not last even a year: they were fires of straw, extinguished almost as soon as they were lighted. But among them were some which lasted rather longer. One in particular—called the 'North American Phalanx'—lasted for thirteen years. It was founded in 1843 by Brisbane, an enthusiastic American follower of Fourier, and was a real phalanstery, arranged very largely, if not entirely, as Fourier himself would have wished.

This leads me to point out more clearly the difference between communism and co-operation. The phalanstery is not a communist society, and it is not a monastery. It has been represented as such, even by contemporaries of Fourier, because the word 'phalanstery,' so strangely formed, struck horror into the middle classes of Fourier's day. But in Fourier's own scheme, and as it was put into practice in the North American Phalanx, it was simply a hotel such as you will find everywhere to-day, with a common kitchen and table. At that period hotels provided only *table d'hôte* meals, which are indeed a somewhat unattractive form of communal life, but Fourier would certainly not have been hostile to the modern system of small tables. What he was particularly keen on was the economy resulting from the collective kitchen and the collective preparation of dishes, and his indignation was aroused by the waste of coal and labour necessitated by living in separate households. But he never desired to make people sleep in dormitories: in the phalanstery each was to have his own room or set of rooms, furnished according to his means and tastes. The sole difference between the great hotel and the phalanstery is that in the former there is accommodation only for the rich, while in the latter there would be room for the poor as well, and Fourier laid great stress on this meeting together of different classes.

The phalanstery was to have the moral effect of reconciling rich and poor. There is a verse in the Bible (Proverbs xxii, 2) which says: "The rich and poor meet together: the Lord is the maker of them all." Fourier was probably not acquainted with these words, and would have been somewhat vexed at being forestalled by the Bible, but all the same his phalanstery was just that.

The same system obtained in the American Fourierist colonies. In the North American Phalanx there was less luxury than Fourier would have wished, but each family had two bedrooms and a sitting-room, and even for meals the *à la carte* system was admitted, as in restaurants.

Not only was there no community of consumption or of housing, but there was not even community of distribution. These American communities were constituted as joint stock companies, like all co-operative societies. Each member invested in it to the extent of one or more shares and had a right to dividends, and this word dividend is obviously entirely incompatible with the idea of communism. The community of the North American Phalanx paid dividends of 5 or 6 per cent.

Production alone was carried on in common, but divided into groups, each member being assigned the work best suited to his tastes and desires. It was a system of specialization of labour, but modified by the power to change one's work several times a day if one wished. Therein lies the principle of the Fourierist organization—division of labour by series. But in Fourier's plan there would have to be a great number of series and sub-series, and that would require a minimum of 1600 members to make up a complete phalanstery, and in the North American Phalanx there were too few members to practise such subdivision, though it worked fairly well, and no one even knows why it was dissolved. Its dissolution was voted very unexpectedly, by a chance majority, and came as a surprise to everybody. But once the dissolution was voted there was no going back on the decision, and the phalanstery had to be sold. This was done in very unfavourable circumstances, for it is not easy to find purchasers when an undertaking is liquidated, particularly an undertaking of such a specialized kind. Yet even so it was possible after liquidation to pay 65 per cent. to the shareholders. It is probable that but for this surprise vote the community could have lasted much longer.

It is also possible that the dissolution was caused by the application of a principle of equality which had no place whatever in Fourier's programme, namely, equality of wages, or at least a too limited range of difference between the pay of workers and directors. That is what the Bolshevists are

doing to-day: under Soviet rule no chief or director, if he is a member of the communist party, can receive a higher salary than 150 roubles (£15) a month.

There have been a few other colonies of Fourierist origin, but I will not dwell upon these because I must own that I have little knowledge of them. A colony was founded in Texas in 1852 by a well-known disciple of Fourier named Victor Considérant. It swallowed up all this man's personal fortune and those of the socialist shareholders who had been willing to entrust their money to him, to the extent of about £80,000, which was a considerable sum at that time. Other attempts at founding Fourierist colonies were made in South America. Tandonnet, a disciple of Fourier, founded one near Montevideo in 1839, but I believe it existed only on paper.

4. Icarian Colonies[1]

There is one colony, founded in the middle of last century, which continued down to our own day and has remained famous in the history of socialist communities. It differs from all the colonies already described in having been founded and peopled entirely by French socialists. This is the colony of Icaria, founded by Étienne Cabet.

Cabet does not stand in the front rank among the great socialists of the nineteenth century. He possessed neither the lofty views of St Simon, nor the fantastic imagination of Fourier, nor the eloquence of Louis Blanc, nor the mysticism of Pierre Leroux, the inspirer of George Sand, nor the argumentative faculty of Proudhon. He was a journalist

[1] The history of the Icarian colony has been exhaustively treated in a thesis for a doctorate by M. Prudhommeaux, and to this book we must refer the reader. Almost all that we have to say here is merely a summary of M. Prudhommeaux' book. The author travelled to the United States for purposes of research. The book is accompanied by a smaller one which serves as an introduction to it, but deals entirely with the life and works of Cabet. Among the latter the only one that has become famous is the romance, *Voyage en Icarie*. [See also Albert Shaw's *Icaria: a Chapter in the History of Communism*, and Nordhoff's *Communistic Societies of the United States*, already referred to.]

without much inspiration, and an unsuccessful politician with hardly any other distinguishing feature than that of being always in opposition to whatever Government was in power. It was his profession to be an opponent and even a 'conspirator.' Born in 1788, on the eve of the French Revolution, he was too young to do much 'conspiring' under the First Empire, but he began at the Restoration, when he was a member of a secret society imported from Italy, called the 'Carbonari' (Charcoal-burners).

When the Revolution of 1830 had overturned the Restoration Government Cabet found himself in the foreground, and as a reward he was made Attorney-General of Corsica—not a very common event in the life of a socialist-communist. Faithful to his vocation, however, he resumed his opposition to the Government of Louis Philippe, and was therefore recalled, prosecuted, and even imprisoned. He wrote a great number of articles, partly in his paper which was already entitled the *Populaire*, and partly in somewhat dull books. But how did he become a communist?

He was probably influenced by Babeuf, the great socialist-communist of the French Revolution who was executed under the Directory, and also by Robert Owen, of whom I have already spoken. Disgusted with all the systems that he had seen arise and fall before his eyes, he felt that a new society must be created, and that it could only be a communist one.

To give you an idea of Cabet's style, here is an extract from one of his programmes:

> Let us replace the old world by a new one, the reign of wickedness and Satan by the reign of goodness and God; let us replace darkness by light, injustice by justice, domination and slavery by emancipation and freedom. Let us substitute the well-being of all for the excessive opulence of a privileged minority who possess almost all the wealth without working. Let us replace the old religion—a mixture of superstition, intolerance, and fanaticism—by a reasonable religion that shall lead men to love and help each other. Let us replace individual

ownership, the source of all abuses, by social, communal, undivided ownership, which has none of the disadvantages of the other kind and is infinitely more productive of utility for all. In short, the old form of society is based upon individualism: let us base the new form upon communist fraternity, equality, and liberty.

This high-flown language, intolerable to-day, apparently made some appeal to Cabet's contemporaries. At any rate, when a reformer writes like that, it is no use expecting him ever to become a practical man. Cabet, indeed, never was a very practical man, but he was a most devoted and unselfish one, and I have no desire to belittle him. After fighting all his life for his ideas he set out for America when he was sixty—leaving his wife and daughter in Paris without means—to devote the rest of his strength to the society of Icaria of which I am now going to speak, and there he died. Of no other socialists, however superior to Cabet in talent, can it be said that they gave such proof of devotion to their cause. Unfortunately, however, there are some men who sacrifice themselves to no purpose, and Cabet was one of these.

In the year 1838 he had written a romance after the manner of More's *Utopia*, and had given it the title of *Voyage en Icarie*—though no one has ever succeeded in discovering the origin of the name. It is one of the dullest of the innumerable books of the communist Robinson Crusoe type. But Cabet had at least the merit of taking his own novel seriously, and he made it his mission to put it into practice. To few people has it been given to do this with their books. There was one Englishman, however, who had the opportunity, and that was Ebenezer Howard, who at the end of last century wrote a book called *To-morrow*, and lived to see a city built entirely on his plan—the garden city of Letchworth, with a population to-day of 20,000 people. But Cabet had not the same good fortune.

It was toward the end of the reign of Louis Philippe—on the eve, therefore, of the 1848 Revolution—that Cabet decided to put his Icarian system into practice. He had many disciples in France, and he was persuaded that he could send out to his colony a regular army. "We can send out," he said, "from ten to twenty thousand men to create a new nation in America." He had secured an extensive grant of land in Texas which he believed to be well situated, fertile, and accessible. But . . . he had not been to see!

(i) *Departure and Arrival.* Cabet began by sending out an advance-guard which left Havre on February 3, 1848. The date has a certain interest: you will soon see why. They set out to the number of sixty-nine, and the unpractical nature of their leader is plainly shown by the history of these early parties. When the advance-guard reached New Orleans, after a voyage of forty-five days, the first news they received was that there had been a revolution in Paris on February 24, and that it had been successful. Then the emigrants began to say among themselves, "Why did we come away? If we had been patient for only another fortnight we could have set up our Icaria in Paris, which would have been very much nicer." And there were even some who wanted to return to Paris.

To tell the truth, they were mistaken, for the Revolution of 1848, contrary to what one might think, was not in the least a communist one, particularly after what happened to the national workshops, or the Champ de Mars, or in the disastrous days of June. Although the Republic lasted another four years, till the *coup d'état* of Napoleon III, it was entirely a *bourgeois* republic in which the communists would have found no place. So true is this that Cabet, who had remained in Paris, was more worried and persecuted than he had been during the reign of Louis Philippe, and was only the more anxious to set out.

But the emigrants could not foresee how the Revolution

would develop, and it was with some feelings of regret that they continued their journey. At New Orleans they took ship to ascend the Red River as far as a town at a distance of four days' sail. That made nearly two months' travelling. All this was comparatively easy, but when they reached this town there was no method of transport to the Promised Land. They had to travel for two months on foot, with a few waggons for their baggage, drawn by mules and oxen, through a desert country, so it was not till the end of May that they reached the place intended for them. There they learned that there was indeed a vast concession awaiting them, extending over hundreds of square miles, but only on condition that they took possession before July 1. Before this date they must build, if not a house—the requirements were not so exacting as that—at least a pioneer's hut on each plot of land.

So there remained only five weeks in which this must be done, in default of which their right would be barred. And that, too, in the height of an American summer, which is as terrible as the winter, and that is saying a good deal. They were faced by a soil over which the plough had never passed, which is the very reason why it had been given them almost for nothing. Now none of these colonists had ever handled a plough, for they were Paris workmen. They tried it, none the less, but they were exhausted by their terrible journey. Seven of them died one after another of fatigue, and an eighth, by an extraordinary mischance, was killed by lightning. Then five more had enough of it and deserted. The survivors, however, stuck to their post like valiant sentries, awaiting the arrival of those who were to follow, for Cabet had arranged for the emigration to take place in successive waves which were due to follow each other at short intervals. But when the second party arrived, in September, the new-comers thought there was no reason to push the experiment any farther, and that they must go back. So they abandoned that vast concession and

set out again on the terrible return journey, leaving the bodies of another five or six of their members on the road.

What was Cabet doing meanwhile? He was in Paris, still writing newspaper articles and pamphlets, and running a recruiting office. He had set his wife and daughter to receive applications from Icarians who were prepared to go to America, and particularly to try to raise the money. He journeyed to England to see Owen and to ask him for advice, if not for money, and it was Owen, by the way, who had had the unfortunate idea of suggesting Texas for his colony—a very bad choice.

When Cabet learned that his expedition was in such distress he at length decided to join it. Starting on December 13, 1849. he reached New Orleans, where he found the unfortunate wretches who had been waiting a year for him, their Messiah, and were beginning to despair of ever seeing him arrive. They were already very disorganized, and out of nearly 500 who had been sent out in successive batches there were only 280 left when Cabet arrived. The rest had either deserted or died of cholera.

But Cabet was not discouraged. "Since Texas is no good," he said, "we will go and try somewhere else." This time he had better luck, extraordinary luck, in fact, though unfortunately he could not take advantage of it. A thousand miles up the Mississippi, beyond St Louis, there is a little town bearing the name of Nauvoo and famous already in the history of the Mormons as the first stage in their journey to their Promised Land. It was there that they had erected their first temple. But as they were much disliked in the country and felt that this was not the goal marked out for them by God and His prophet, they had gone in search of it farther west, beyond the Rocky Mountains, leaving at Nauvoo their entire establishment, including the temple. There was naturally no one to buy these things, so that Cabet found the houses and lands available. He hastened

to take advantage of this wonderful opportunity, as Owen had done in the case of New Harmony.

He would have done a good stroke of business if he had bought the lot. The price was not high, but he had no money. He had brought from Paris about £3360, which was little enough to found a new world with, and out of this he had had to spend a fairly large sum to pay for the return of those Icarians who wished to go back. He had also had to pay the expenses of the journey to Nauvoo, so that on his arrival there he had only about £2400 left.

The price asked was a ridiculous one—five shillings an acre, with the temple thrown in. But he could not dream of buying the land, because he would have to keep some money for fitting the place out, so he contented himself with renting it. This was not a good investment, and the Icarians swallowed up the little money that remained. They had taken 2000 acres on lease, and put into cultivation nearly 700 acres of it, but by November 1849 there was only five dollars (£1) left in their treasury, and there were only 200 members left out of the 500 who had started.

However, they had realized their dream to some extent, for they had set up an establishment which was not too bad, judging from the descriptions we have been given of it. Here is one of them. It is Cabet's, to be sure, but I will give you some one else's account presently.

> The work is organized, free, unpaid, with no money and no other compulsion than the sense of duty to the community. We enjoy the produce in common, according to the needs of each, on the principle of fraternity and equality, with no special privileges for anyone. We have the sovereignty of the people in practice, democracy in principle, liberty in application, and an open door to all peaceful reforms.
>
> In our society there is no opulence, but also no poverty. There are neither rich nor poor, neither rulers nor ruled, no anxiety or worry, no crime or police, and no trials or tribunals. There is the happiness of marriage and family life for all, instruction for girls as well as boys, the blessings of education for every one.

This testimony is confirmed by those who went there about the same time—*i.e.*, in the years 1850–53. They say that the life of the colonists, without being in the least luxurious, was quite pleasant.

The system was not absolutely communistic. It was not the Fourierist phalanstery, in the sense that there was no common habitation. For there is one curious difference between the two systems, and it is the very reverse of what we should expect. Fourier, who was by no means a communist, but was all for private property and profit, was yet keen on communal dwellings because he looked at things from the point of view of consumption, and saw in this method a source of enormous economy. Cabet, who was a complete communist and would not tolerate any private ownership, even of personal possessions, did not desire communal housing. The reason is that Cabet had a respect for family life and was himself a good husband and father, whereas Fourier was an old bachelor with a horror of the middle-class household and its humdrum existence.

Still, though each Icarian had his own house, they all dined at a common table, and the work naturally was done in common. The discipline was very strict. Every one had to get up and to have meals exactly at the hour fixed. This was the communist system that we have already seen in all the other societies on a religious basis. And although in this case it was a secular community, this discipline was at first fairly well maintained. But this did not last.

To begin with, Cabet was obliged to return to Paris, because he had just been condemned to two years' imprisonment for fraud! In the words of the judgment, he was guilty of employing funds entrusted to him in a venture absolutely without foundation. Whence came this blow? From some of his Icarian disciples who had been very annoyed at the way things had turned out and, without any gratitude to Cabet, had prosecuted him for abuse of trust in advertising a colony that did not exist. It must be said, too, that the

public prosecutor and the court jumped at the chance of striking at a communist, for it must not be thought that the 1848 Republic looked kindly upon them. Cabet was convicted by default and given a very severe sentence. However, as soon as he returned to Paris he had no difficulty in justifying himself, and he was then acquitted. But the journey took him fifteen months, and during this time the Icarians regarded themselves as schoolboys on holiday. They stopped working, and each of them carved out a little piece of private property for himself. They went hunting and fishing: no one paid any attention to the community, and each made his own little pile. Those who remained loyal to Cabet begged him to hasten his return, and the poor man, sorrowfully abandoning once more all that he loved —that is to say, his office, his newspaper, his political committees, his wife, and his daughter—took the road to Nauvoo once again, though he was now sixty-four.

(ii) *Quarrels and Secession.* Cabet saw on his arrival that the first thing to be done was to restore order or else his work would perish, so he asked for the dictatorship. But was it not his already? In the charter of the Icarian constitution he had been given the presidency for ten years. But as this ten-year term of office conflicted somewhat with the communist and equalitarian principles on which the new society was based, Cabet had agreed to stand again for election. He had regarded this, however, as a mere formal concession, and thought that he would always remain the real dictator of the colony. But when he returned he saw that his power was strongly threatened by the formation of an opposition which criticized him with great bitterness and unfairness, even throwing doubt upon his organizing capacity and demanding that he should be replaced by some one else.

Cabet replied by an imperious manifesto, claiming the re-establishment of the presidency for life. He did not hesitate even to set up a censorship over letters. Then there

ensued a violent struggle which lasted for an entire year. Into the details of the conflict I cannot enter, although it is one of the picturesque episodes of this story.[1] The association split into two parties, one remaining faithful to Cabet and the other rallying around the leader of the opposition, and there were perpetual quarrels and even hand-to-hand fights, so that the local police were compelled to intervene.

The dissentient party had gone on strike by way of protest. But Cabet, applying St Paul's principle, "If any will not work, neither let him eat," said, "Since they will not work, they shall not eat," and the refectory door was closed to them. Then the opposition took the refectory by storm and plundered the hen-roost and the fruit-trees.

> There was Cabet, leaning out of the window of his study on the first floor, calling on his supporters to capture the place they were forbidden to enter, much to the detriment of the Icarian crockery. The schoolmistress, who belonged to Cabet's party, received many a thump. She was seized by the hair, knocked over by a blow in the back from somebody's knee, and dragged outside, while the girls in the school cried and sobbed.

At length, in a general assembly held in 1856, Cabet was defeated. The association divided into two groups, and Cabet's group was beaten, though only by a small majority. There was nothing for him to do but to hand in his resignation. This he did, and, followed by those who remained loyal to him, to the number of 180, he left the place in the hands of his opponents and went back down the Mississippi which he had ascended so triumphantly seven years before. Instead of going on to New Orleans he stopped at St Louis, which was much nearer. There he busied himself looking for another site where he could start his colony again, but was struck down by apoplexy and died suddenly, November 7, 1856. There is no doubt that the worry and distress through which he had passed were one of the causes of his death.

[1] For the details see Prudhommeaux' book, already mentioned.

So there were his 180 faithful disciples left in the lurch at St Louis, bereft of their leader and Messiah. They were not discouraged, but worked for their living in St Louis while waiting to find a new site for their colony. St Louis was not then the huge city that it is to-day, but it was already an important town, of French origin, and the Icarians were able to find employment in the workshops. They could no longer live the communal life, as they were scattered about owing to their work, but with great honesty they brought their profits into the common fund so that the community might remain in existence legally if not actually. During this time they even made a fair amount of money, and were not badly off.

(iii) *The Cheltenham Establishment.* They still continued to search, however, and at last they found a site where they could settle down, in an unknown spot called Cheltenham, about twenty miles from St Louis. They had no money, but they bought the place on credit for $25,000, say £5000, or 125,000 gold francs at a time when the gold franc was worth far more than it was even before the War. The owner consented to be paid in ten annual instalments. So they settled down there and founded a new colony, the third if we count the Texas one, or even the fourth if we include the stay at St Louis, and even so it was not to be the last.

Things went pretty well, thanks to the guidance of an intellectual named Mercadier, a graduate in law of the University of Toulouse. But then came the great War of Secession in the United States, which lasted four years and greatly injured the colonists. Some of them enlisted in the federal army, that is to say, in the army of the anti-slavery party, of course. They did this not only out of sympathy for the cause of President Lincoln, but also because it was a means of earning a little money, for volunteers were very well paid, and they sent their army pay to the poor colony at Cheltenham. But despite this assistance and the labour of those who stayed at home, the thing happened which

might have been expected—they could not keep up the annual payments. Besides that, there were only twenty of them left in 1864, and only eight of these were adult men. So they abandoned the site and the buildings to their creditors, and the community was dissolved. None the less, there were some who went back to those who had driven them out. But what had been happening to them meanwhile? What was the turbulent and victorious minority doing at Nauvoo?

(iv) *The Corning Establishment.* This minority was not getting on much better. It had contracted bad habits, and after spending so much time and trouble in overthrowing Cabet it was not in the mood to organize itself peacefully. Moreover, Nauvoo was a town, and a town, even a small one, is not a suitable place for a community of this kind. Communism cannot be created in an individualist environment, offering continual opportunities of distraction and desertion to the members of the colony. So these members also determined to go forth and seek a refuge elsewhere, and after much search they settled down in a little place called Corning, some way to the west of the Mississippi, in the State of Iowa—Nauvoo is in Illinois.

At Corning, therefore, they established themselves afresh. There were not many of them, for there had been many defections, but their number was slightly increased by a few survivors of the old colony at Cheltenham who came back to them. Past quarrels were forgotten, and Icaria was thus reconstituted.

They too were hard hit by the War of Secession—for the Americans do not allow us to call it a 'civil' war. But they were more fortunate than their brethren at Cheltenham, for the effect of the war was to enrich them, because the price of agricultural produce rose and they were able to sell their crops at a very high price. Nevertheless, as they had taken up an enormous estate of 7500 acres, they also were unable to pay off the loan they had contracted to meet

the purchase price, so they proposed to their creditors to free themselves by giving up two-thirds of the estate—5000 acres. This was a very sound arrangement for both parties, and it was accepted by the owners, because the land had acquired a very great value and they were amply repaid. As for the Icarians, with the 2500 acres left to them they still had far more than they could cultivate.

These years from 1860 to 1878 were the happiest period in all this melancholy story. Here are a few accounts given by people who visited the Icarian Republic at this time:

> Nothing could be more cheerful and pleasing than the appearance of Icaria (Corning). The great refectory building, with little houses standing round it in a quarter of a circle, is backed by a great dark wood that throws into contrast the little white-painted houses. The different parts of the village are pleasantly divided from each other by fruit-trees, forest trees, grass plots, and a few squares.
>
> Each dwelling contains a sitting-room and a bedroom, with two rooms for the children above, under the roof. That is the general plan.
>
> The three meals of the day are taken in common. Breakfast, at five o'clock in the summer and at daybreak in winter, consists of soup, coffee, and butter. Dinner at midday comprises three dishes, one of meat, one of cheese, and one a confection of fruit or rhubarb. Supper is much the same as dinner, and the fare on the whole is good.

There was no luxury, however, and scarcely even any comfort—no wine, no crockery, and only iron plates—and each person had to go to the water-jug for water. The community did not provide tobacco, and those who wanted to smoke were obliged to grow it themselves for their own consumption. But they said cheerfully enough, "What more could you want?"

When Nordhoff visited this colony in 1873 he too received a very good impression, though the community seemed to him very poor. But the village, he said, was the grave of noble hopes, and it might still have a great future before

it. It was the only representative in America of a great idea—a democratic realization of communism.[1]

No doubt you will be thinking that life in these communities must have been a very dull and tame affair. For you it undoubtedly would be, and for all town-dwellers, all whose time is occupied in the pursuit of their profession, or in sport, theatre-going, committee meetings, newspaper-reading, politics, or their various passions and vices. But just think of the kind of life that is led by the millions of peasants who dwell in our country districts, or the workers living on the outskirts of our large cities, and then ask yourself whether their life is not more dreary and tame than that of the members of these Icarian communities. They had their little enjoyments—pleasures that would be trivial enough to us, though not to those who have made a habit of them. People who have lived in the country will know how little it takes to brighten up a whole day and to furnish a whole lifetime—the coming of the postman, the movements of the flocks and herds, or even the changes of the moon—all things of which the townsman knows nothing. It takes little to make a man unhappy, and little also to make him happy.

(v) *The Second Secession.* But now in 1878, after a fairly long period of eighteen years of prosperity and absence of history, the society again split into two camps. Again an opposition was formed, fresh quarrels arose, and the local police had to interfere, as at Nauvoo. The same scenes of disorder were enacted, and were perhaps even more serious than in 1856. If the memory of old feuds had disappeared, new ones arose. The Icarians divided themselves into 'young' and 'old,' the former charging the latter with having antiquated ideas and even superstitions—not of a clerical nature, but none the less impregnated with a more or less evangelical kind of Christianity which they declared was incompatible with the new spirit and with true communism.

[1] Nordhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

They complained also that conditions of admission for new members were too stringent, and that the community was thus being kept in a mummified state. They demanded an amicable separation.

This demand was indignantly refused by the older members, the more so as the minority claimed half the possessions of the community. They said that it was they who had borne the burden of starting the colony and had passed through all the early trials, while the others, the new-comers, who had brought nothing at all, were now demanding half the colony that their elders had created. "We have no use," they said, "for *that* sort of communism!"

Then, in true *bourgeois* fashion, the younger members instituted legal proceedings. They summoned the colony before the local court and won the day! The county jury, influenced by the legal arguments of the minority, declared that the community had not observed the terms of the grant, had not put enough land into cultivation, and had established communism, politics, and propaganda. In short, the tribunal pronounced the dissolution of the new community of Corning, and ordered its property to be divided. However, in spite of the judgment in their favour, the minority party felt some remorse, and it was decided that the sharing out should be arranged amicably.

There were lands belonging to the concession which had not been exploited and on which nothing had yet been built, so one of the two parties was to go and settle there, while the other remained in the old place. But it was decided that those who went away should receive a few thousand dollars by way of indemnity. Now although the just and natural thing was for the older members to stay in the old concession and for the younger ones to go to the new, it was actually the reverse of this that took place. What the old members said was that if they were the ones to remain they would be ruined by having to pay the indemnity, so they preferred to remove, in order to obtain the money to

found a new colony. This was called New Icaria although composed of old Icarians, while the young minority who stayed where they were called themselves the 'Icarian Colony.' Thus was enacted Molière's comedy:

> The house belongs to me, I'd have you know;
> So you who play the master, out you go!

So now there were two Icarian colonies, the elders and the younger men, facing each other like neighbours, but absolutely separate. The community of the young Icarians, remaining in possession of the old house, hardly justified its history, for they did even less than their elders and did not long retain their usurped realm. They decided to go and seek fortune elsewhere and first to create a daughter community in California, on a magnificent site eighteen miles from San Francisco. To this new colony they gave the auspicious name 'Icaria Speranza,' or 'the Icarian Hope' (1883). But this also had a very short existence, for it disappeared in 1886 after living only three years. It did not die of poverty, however, but of prosperity. The members divided among themselves the lands, which had acquired great value, and settled down each on his own plot. But the downfall of the Speranza colony indirectly brought about the downfall of the mother colony at Corning in 1887.

(vi) *New Icaria and its End.* After this general slaughter there remained only one of these associations. This was the one known as 'New Icaria,' though it was really the old one, continuing the tradition of Cabet himself. For a long time it was fairly prosperous: this was the third period of prosperity in the course of this melancholy tale. We have noticed one such period during Cabet's lifetime and another at Cheltenham, but both of these were short, whereas this last one was longer and even somewhat brilliant. There was even reason to think that it might be permanent, and that after so many trials the colony of Icaria had at last come safely into port.

Unfortunately it was not so. It died neither of poverty

nor of strife, but simply of old age. The faithful had grown old, and the younger generation had not come along. There were no recruits. At the end of the nineteenth century there were only a score of members, of whom only nine were men, and of these nine men six were over sixty years of age. This faithful band still struggled along, however, being anxious to carry on for the sake of the name and the memory of Cabet. Among them a woman was the most noticeable for her tenacity. But there came a moment when they said to themselves, "We are no longer a community, but only a little family, and our association has no interest now as an experiment in social revolution."

Perhaps it should also be admitted that the dissolution of the society became more and more tempting as the number of its members diminished, for despite the economic reverses that the colony had suffered, the land had increased in value in the course of the last eight years, just as it had done at Speranza. What good was it, then, for these lands to remain held in common? And upon whom would they devolve? If they were to belong to the last survivor, then the communist enterprise would finish up as a tontine![1] Even the old members themselves did not want to die under communal conditions without having had their share during their lifetime. So at length they voted for dissolution, and the vote was unanimous, including even the intrepid lady who started weeping over the downfall of the colony . . . but voted none the less. The end came on October 22, 1898.

If we count them up we shall see that this colony was the seventh. The first, in Texas, was still-born after a few months. The second, at Nauvoo, lasted seven or eight years and ended in 1856. The third, at Cheltenham, near Nauvoo, lasted a few years and then, after a comparatively prosperous

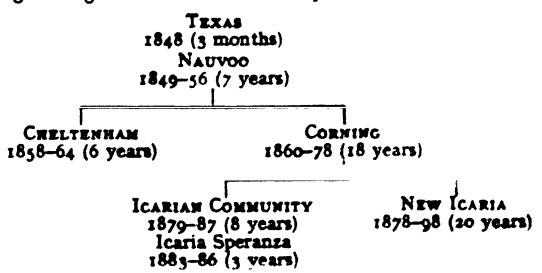
[1 "An annuity shared by subscribers to a loan, with the benefit of survivorship, the annuity being increased as the subscribers die, until at last the whole goes to the last survivor, or to the last two or three, according to the terms on which the money is advanced."—Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*, vol. iii, p. 548.]

period, ended through lack of recruits. The fourth, at Corning, in Iowa, also went on fairly well for some time and was dissolved by judicial process. The fifth remained at Corning, but became the Icarian Community. The sixth was the Speranza colony, in California, an offshoot of the last. The seventh, called New Icaria, was really the direct heir of the first colony founded by Cabet. In order to untangle the intricacies of this story, it should be set out in the form of a genealogical tree,[1] for the connexion between each colony and its predecessor is one of filiation, or more often of subdivision, in the manner of those infusoria which multiply by dividing themselves into parts. That, however, is a regrettable mode of propagation in the case of social organizations. However, if we add up the total number of years of existence of these societies we shall see that they lived for half a century, from 1848 to 1898, which is something after all. But what a stormy life it was!

5. Moral of this Story

What general lessons can we learn from the story of all these communist colonies? Contrary to what might be imagined, it was not exactly economic causes that brought the Icarian colonies to an end, any more than it was in the case of the other communities. It is true that there was often an inadequate amount of work done, and still more

[1] Here is the genealogical table of the Society of Icaria:



often there was bad work. The colonists were not agriculturists for the most part, but industrial workers, and their leaders were ex-politicians. On the other hand, there was always a deficiency of capital, even more than a deficiency of competent labour. The colonies lived almost the whole time in a somewhat undignified fashion on loans which they were generally unable to repay, and on subsidies from the office in Paris which made collections so as to send them what money it could. It was little enough, to be sure: between 1852 and 1855 it was only possible to send about £4500. As for the Americans, they never gave or lent a single dollar. The Icarians also received the contributions brought by new members, who had to put all they had into the common stock. This was a very abnormal mode of life, but we must not be too hard on them. We shall see later on that the Zionist colonies in Palestine live in the same way, and even in France such new organizations as credit co-operative societies and housing societies have only managed to be formed and to grow by means of large State subsidies.

However, in spite of all these deficiencies, these associations did not die of poverty. They carried on somehow or other, and some of them even finished up in comparative comfort. This is proved by the fact that when they were dissolved there was a pretty good share for each of the members. So it cannot be said that they completely failed from the economic standpoint. Rather was it the moral element that was missing.

These colonies, being given the rules to which they were desired to submit, and in the absence of that choice of rules that religious communities made through faith in the same religion, would require a selection of the strictest rules. For instance, here are the terms of a manifesto of the Young Icarians, setting forth the conditions to be fulfilled by the members:

> If you are not entirely convinced of the superiority of communism over other social systems; if you are subject to selfish

impulses; if you are unable to renounce what you believe to be your own personal interest in favour of the general interest; if you are afraid that you cannot live in a community where everything belongs to every one, including even the money and the things that you bring with you when you enter; if you are unable to put up with contradiction, opposite opinions, and the rejection of your proposals by the general assembly; if your temperament makes other people's shortcomings unbearable to you; if the practice of equality, in regard to each person's needs and faculties, is inclined to offend your sensibilities—then do not come to Icaria, for you would not be happy there. You will do better to stay where you are and try to improve yourself there.

Quite so! and it was hardly to be expected that many people would be found well enough qualified to satisfy such stringent requirements as these.

The government of these colonies could be nothing but the most absolute of democracies—the direct rule of all the members of the society. Now it must not be forgotten that these colonies were recruited particularly from among people of a rebellious type. After the Revolution of 1848 they received an influx of refugees, and the same thing happened after the Commune of 1871, and peaceable societies are not easily created out of characters of that kind. So it is not to be wondered at that there was so much opposition and strife. Even Cabet himself, as we have seen, passed the whole of his life in organizing opposition and making conspiracies, so he could not well feel shocked when the same treatment was accorded to him.

The hardest rule to enforce was naturally the one which required the members to give up all their private property, and this was for Cabet the essential principle of the new society. Some of the members cheated. Cabet constantly complained of violations of this principle. Thus we find him writing from Paris:

One of our women members has written to ask if her daughter can have a work-box containing embroidery requisites.

The Icarians have got up a subscription to buy one for her at a cost of twenty francs. Now all that is a violation of our principles of equality, simplicity, and economy.

According to Cabet, when the Corning colony split up and a legal division was made on the judgment of the county jury, the younger members demanded an inquiry into the possessions of the older ones, and this was the result:

The trustee had a domiciliary investigation carried out by the constable, and the results exceeded all that could be imagined, for eight large waggons were filled with goods of every kind. They found upward of 200 gallons of wine which had been made from grapes belonging to the community, as well as all sorts of other things—implements, tools, and so forth—hidden away in the houses and sometimes buried in the gardens and out-buildings of the former majority party.

There was therefore secret but unceasing strife between the communist rule and the individualist instinct.

Communal life brings with it every day its petty clashes. Here, for example, is a page from a report, not on the Icarian colony, to be sure, but on a communist colony of more recent date. Yet in the cases of friction that are here described we can undoubtedly discover those which are the plague of every communist society.

A says to B, "C puts far too much sugar in his coffee." "Yes," says B, "that is because he comes from the *bourgeoisie*." "He'll have to get out of the habit," declares A; "the financial condition of the society won't stand it. We are short of everything, and if people don't exercise more economy we shall be ruined." When C is told that he takes too much sugar he is naturally extremely annoyed with those who have denounced him, and he says, "When you eat at the same table and all live together in the same house you lose all freedom and become even more of a slave than in *bourgeois* society." So he makes up his mind to go and live away from the community, with his housekeeper to look after him. But although he lives apart he is still under the

eye of his comrades, who notice that he eats too much butter at the expense of the community, so they lodge a complaint with the general assembly.

Another subject of dispute connected with the preceding was the question of repayment. The rule was that every new member should bring to the community all that he possessed, both in money and in kind, and in case of his resignation nothing was paid back to him. But, as may well be imagined, so stringent a rule was not calculated to attract many recruits, and there was a risk of making the colony a kind of refuge for people who had not a farthing. So it gradually became necessary, as experience taught, to admit certain exceptions and modifications of this strict rule. The colonists were permitted to keep articles for their personal use—personal property in the strict sense. It was necessary also to modify the severe clause which prohibited any repayment of their contributions to members who resigned, so it was decided in the 'Young' Icaria that those who left should be repaid a part or the whole of what they had paid in. There were various methods of doing this, into the details of which I shall not enter, but as a general rule the part of the contributions returned was proportional to the length of time spent in the colony.

But then arose another dispute. The old members said:

> When we entered the community we gave up everything. We, the workers who came into the vineyard at the beginning, have sacrificed everything to the community, and if we wanted to desert it to-day what would they give us? Nothing at all! And here are the workers who came in at the eleventh hour, and after a few years in the colony they will just receive back their contribution as if it were a deposit in the bank!

Yet it became necessary to do still more in this direction, and in the last stage of development a certain share in the profits was granted to the members, though this was completely at variance with the principles of the system.

In Speranza, the last-founded of the colonies, it might

even be said that communism had given place to Fourierism, for it was simply a joint stock company whose profits were divided among the shareholders in proportion to their shares, a system which is opposed not only to communism, but even to co-operation. It is a return to capitalism.

CHAPTER VIII

ANARCHIST COLONIES

THE communities whose history has been narrated in the last chapter were socialist and even communist ones, but not in the sense in which these terms are understood nowadays. Owenism, Fourierism, and Cabetism are different forms of the old socialism of the first half of the nineteenth century, which we call associationist socialism and which can even be termed, in anticipation, co-operative socialism. But when modern socialism—Marxian socialism—appeared in the middle of last century (the communist manifesto was issued in 1848, and Karl Marx's great book on capital in 1867) all these socialist experiments ceased, because Marxism professes the utmost contempt for all such miniature realizations of the socialist ideal and regards their adherents as children playing with dolls.

The basis of Marxism is, of course, that the social revolution cannot be accomplished by individual effort or by small groups. The existing social order can only be changed by class warfare on a grand scale, and by stirring up and organizing the whole of the proletariat. At the same time Marxism found an opponent in the very heart of communism itself. This was anarchism.

Already in the famous International, the cradle of Marxism, Karl Marx was up against Bakunin, the father of anarchism, as Marx himself was the father of collectivism. And although in the end they both had the same programme —communism—they differed entirely in spirit. Many people think that anarchism and socialism are the same thing, or that there is only a very slight shade of difference between them. But those who confuse the two should go to Russia,

where the communist Soviets make merciless war upon anarchists, even more than they do upon the *bourgeois*. So much is this the case that the walls of Paris two years ago were covered with protests by anarchist societies against the way in which anarchists in Russia were being persecuted, imprisoned, and shot.

In what way, then, does anarchism differ from Marxian collective socialism? The difference is this: that anarchism holds to that very idea condemned by Marxism, that the social revolution is to be accomplished by the individual or by very small groups. The anarchist has a horror of the large-scale regimentation and blind obedience to a party which characterize Marxian socialism and particularly the socialism of the Soviets. The root principle of anarchism is individualism carried out to its ultimate consequences. I have even said frequently that anarchism is a kind of exaggeration of liberal individualist political economy, after the fashion of those concave or convex mirrors that reflect faces, but only in a grotesquely distorted form. Let every one do what he likes, on the sole condition that he allows the same freedom to others—that is anarchism.

The principle, I admit, is noble enough. It recalls the attitude of the gods upon Olympus. In the tragedy of *Hippolyta* Euripides makes Diana address Theseus in these proud words: "The only law among the immortals is that no one shall do injury to the will of others, but that each shall fulfil his own desires." This law of the immortals must become also the law of mortals: this Olympus must be created.

Notice, too, how the anarchists, unlike the Marxians, resort to the little colonies of the communists, though with this difference, that they say it is not necessary to go overseas to found them: why purchase freedom at the price of exile? A society can be formed in France, for instance, by making a little world for oneself. The Catholics have done so. They have set up monasteries where they go in search

of a refuge 'outside the world,' as they put it. But monks and nuns, when they withdraw from the world, bind themselves by vows and obey a Rule and even a superior, whereas in anarchist communities there are no rules and no superior —"neither god nor master."

It is to be remarked, however, that this ambition of theirs seems a little contradictory, for though on Robinson Crusoe's island they might be free to do as they liked, in the midst of the world of to-day each colony is surrounded by the world and subjected, whether it likes it or not, to those laws and legal restraints which are the very things the anarchist wishes to escape. They may be free enough within their narrow limits, but their freedom is that of the bird in its cage. The bird is not tied up and can flutter about in the cage, but it cannot get out.

As for the religious congregations, the very reason why they were expelled is that the Government considered, rightly or wrongly, that the social body could not tolerate the presence of foreign bodies in its midst. Would not the same thing apply to anarchist communities?

But the anarchists were not discouraged by these difficulties, and at the beginning of the present century a series of new communist experiments was tried, this time of a purely anarchist character.

1. The Free Society of Vaux

In the year 1902 there was founded in Paris a society entitled 'The Society for the Creation of a Free Environment' (Société pour la Création d'un Milieu Libre). Its object was not to create anarchist colonies itself, but to collect adherents, subscriptions, and sympathy, so as to enable a suitable site to be found for establishing a free environment in the sense just explained. Just at that time, at the beginning of this century, anarchism was being widely discussed. Already at the end of the previous century there had been

an epidemic of bomb-throwing as a means of propaganda, and this obviously discredited anarchism very considerably, though at the same time it obtained for it a certain amount of publicity.

Anarchism by that time had won some sympathy among intellectuals, such as the brothers Reclus. Chance, as sometimes happens, served them pretty well. A peasant in the neighbourhood of Château-Thierry offered them his house with a few plots of land around it amounting to some five or six acres, and he offered also the assistance of his own labour and that of his daughter-in-law and one of his nephews. This man, whose name was Butin, had been fascinated by the anarchist programme, and was perhaps moved also by the desire to turn his little property to good account. What happened later, as we shall see, seems to point to the second of these explanations as the true one.

Advantage was speedily taken of the opportunity, and after sending a small delegation to inspect the place the first colonists established themselves in March 1903 in what was called 'the Colony of Vaux.' There were not very many of them. They began with two; in May there were seven; and finally, in June, the number, I believe, was seventeen. They came from almost everywhere. Prominent among them was a Tolstoyan Russian, Sofia Zaïkowska, who brought with her all the enthusiasm of the Slav. She was the woman comrade—for the term 'wife' was not admitted—of Butaud, one of the founders of the colony.

What were the requisite conditions for entry into the colony? To begin with, it was necessary to be a member of the mother society, which was a propagandist organization. In the second place, there was an entrance fee of thirty francs (24*s*.). Thirdly, the candidate had to undertake to do whatever work was necessary to supply the needs of the community, and had therefore to be competent to perform this work. And, lastly and most important, he had

to subscribe to a fairly exacting profession of faith in the following terms:

> I acknowledge that I am trying this experiment on my own initiative. As a supporter of the principle of absolute freedom, and acknowledging that I am sufficiently developed never to give way to acts of violence against any of my comrades in a free society, and also that there is no need of any force whatever to impose labour upon individuals, who will freely perform it of themselves, I declare that I will give myself to the colony at my own expense, and that if I should desire to leave the society the latter is to restore me to my native country at its own cost, so that I may not be compelled through lack of funds to live in a *milieu*[1] against my will.

It will be noticed that in this case the door is open for anyone who wants to depart, for otherwise the *milieu* would not be 'free.' This is in conformity with the anarchist system and contrary to the practice of Cabet's colonies, where an attempt was made to keep the colonists by putting all possible obstacles in the way of their departure.

Did every one, then, do as he liked in this society? Were there no rules, not even a rule of work? No; we have seen in the declaration just quoted that each member acknowledged the uselessness of compulsion in making men work, and believed that they would work spontaneously.

Neither was there any compulsion in the matter of distribution. Every one took 'from the pile,' as the anarchist formula had it. Each one went to the granary or the fruit-tree and took what he needed, for the formula of communism was not "To each according to his work," but "To each according to his needs."

But what was this principle worth when there was not enough to go round? Was not some form of distribution or even rationing necessary then? Yes, an equal division was made in this case. But they lived on very little: in 1903 the maintenance cost per head was only about 1*s.* 3*d.* a day.

[1 The word *milieu*, generally rendered by 'environment' or 'surroundings,' is here used, it will be noticed, in a somewhat specialized sense for which there seems to be no exact English equivalent.]

The following are the rules of the colony:

(1) *Property.* No one shall regard himself as an owner, even of a portion of the soil, of the buildings, of the instruments of labour, or of the animals, for everything must belong to the colony. None the less, anyone who for any reason whatever shall leave the colony will be allowed to take away with him the furniture or other things which he possessed on entering or shall have acquired during his stay in the colony, besides the clothing bought for him by the colony, which provides it for all members according to its means and their declared needs.

(2) *Work.* Since we admit no other discipline than that imposed upon himself by each conscious individual, because he knows that he should make his life conform to the logic of things as they are, under penalty of falling into worse disasters, no conventional rule will be made for beginning or ending work; each will work freely according to his strength and skill.

(3) *Payment and Consumption.* No member of the colony shall have any right to any kind of remuneration for his collaboration in the work of the community, but all shall consume freely according to their tastes and needs.

(4) *Family.* The community will ignore the existence of families. Any member who has a woman comrade, or even children, will not be made to produce more than others, and each of his people will have the same right to all enjoyments as those who are celibate.

(5) *Children.* Children will be brought up at the expense of the communal fund, and will be allowed to devote themselves entirely to their games, their education, and the free course of their vocation so long as the economic condition of the colony permits.

(6) *Distribution of Profits.* In view of the fact that within the colony we shall still be more or less subject to the laws of capitalist society, there will probably be certain intellectual and moral needs which the means of the colony will be unable to meet. To take an example at random: With the profits accruing at the end of the year, X might feel the need of establishing a propagandist paper, Y might desire to publish a book, and Z might wish to assist the members of a new colony. It is obvious that if the necessary sum was not enough to satisfy more than one of the three without dividing the

profits we ought to go on voting continuously, as in a conclave,[1] until there was a sufficient majority to give a final decision. But by this proceeding the minority would find itself oppressed by the majority, which would thus obtain authority, and in this way we should have set up the very condition that we wish to suppress. To obviate this difficulty, and on account of our capitalist surroundings, we have thought it best to make an equal division among all the adult members—counting as adults all of both sexes over the age of eighteen—of such sum as the material necessities of the community leave disposable.

(7) *Woman.* In the capitalist form of society woman is chiefly the slave of man because her material existence depends upon him, and the man often remains the slave of a union because it is his duty not to abandon his comrade and his children to all the chances of poverty.

(8) *Admission of New Members.* If our community is to be as far as possible a representation of the communist ideal it must be the result of affinities. New members can therefore be accepted only by a unanimous vote, and will have to declare in writing their adherence to the principles here set forth. The purpose of this is to protect ourselves against the evil intentions of an enemy who might cunningly insinuate himself among us and afterward slander us, by inventing conditions to suit his case.

From the material standpoint, when the colony admits a new member it will take no account of the work accomplished or the results obtained by the others. Therefore if the new arrival is unable to contribute anything to the common fund he will at once have a right to the same advantages as the older members, so that equality may be maintained among us.

(9) *Possible Disagreements.* If there should arise between two colonists a serious disagreement such as to disturb the happiness of the rest, and if there is no way of restoring their concord, there are two cases to be considered: either all the other colonists will lay the blame upon one of the two, in which case it is only reasonable that he should be the one to withdraw in order to restore harmony; or else there will be a division of opinion, in which case both the contestants will be asked to leave the colony as constituting a real danger to the general peace. We are convinced, however, that such intervention will not be required.

[1 Assembly of cardinals for the election of a Pope.]

The colonists seem to have worked pretty well at agriculture, shoemaking, and hosiery, while even a tailor found a certain amount of custom among the anarchists, charging 36s. for a jacket and 44s. for a coat.

The colony also aroused considerable curiosity, and had many visitors. On Sundays and holidays people came to see the 'Colony of the Free Environment.' Among the men of letters who thus came was Lucien Descaves, who made it the subject of a very successful play called *La Clairière*. It was also visited by Victor Méric and Maurice Donnay, the Academician, and I believe that M. Donnay introduced Sofia Zaïkowska, called 'the Russian Princess,' into his novel, *Oiseaux de Passage*, making her the heroine of the book. The Free Environment Society published a bulletin which was of some interest.

But this Garden of Eden period was of short duration. First of all the colonists fell out with the peasant who had given them his house. He soon had enough of communism, and sued the colony for the return of the wretched house and the few bits of ground he had given them. "We take the liberty," he said in somewhat vigorous language,

> of taking back what belongs to us. We therefore give public notice to the society that from the date of the publication of this notice we resume possession of all the lands belonging to us, in the condition in which they are, and order the members of the society not to set foot on them again, and still less their hands, and to restore to us the things which they still hold. We will repay them what they paid in the same coin as they gave themselves

—which means that, having paid nothing, they would receive nothing.

To this summons the anarchists replied in the same tone, as follows: "If Butin cares to come into the colony we give him notice that there are still a few wooden cudgels at Vaux." But, all the same, they had to evacuate the little house in 1903. They were not much inconvenienced, however, for in the meantime they had found a wealthy manu-

facturer, more generous than the peasant of Vaux, who, out of sympathy, had made them a free gift of a far more comfortable house than the one they had lived in first.

So this first obstacle was surmounted, but other and more dangerous ones arose before them. The very founder of the colony and his woman comrade were charged with 'authoritarianism.' It is somewhat amusing, in an anarchist colony, where people go to get away from all authority, to see one of the founders accused of excessive use of authority by his comrades. Butaud was charged with being a dictator: it was said that he did only what he liked, and he was blamed for introducing members without asking advice of anyone, and doing repairs without consulting the association. So the comrade lost patience and went off, and here is his farewell letter:

> We are accused of a tendency to disruption, of moral 'authoritarianism,' of excess of logic, and we are asked to leave the colony. Faced by the threat of seeing the colony collapse, we therefore leave it, pointing out at the same time that in this way the freedom of the colonists of Vaux is violated in our persons by the influence of certain comrades and even by those who adopt in their own lives the principle that one should not give oneself up to violence.

This was signed by Butaud and Sofia Zaïkowska. On January 1, 1904, one of the remaining members wrote: "We have escorted the deserters to the station. Of the twenty-one who came, fourteen have left." The last faithful members then grew wearied and left also, and that was the end.

2. The Aiglemont Colony

The Colony of the Free Environment died in 1906, after living three years. But during this time another colony had been created in 1903. It was founded by an anarchist who bore a name that was celebrated at that time, though forgotten to-day—Fortuné Henry. He was the brother of

another anarchist who had been executed eight years previously for throwing a bomb in the Chamber of Deputies (1894). Fortuné Henry, disgusted with the world, went and settled in the Ardennes, building himself a hut in one of the most isolated spots in the heart of the forest. He could not remain quite alone, however, and he did a little in the way of propaganda, with the result that in the autumn of 1904 there came to him a companion—a Man Friday, as it were —who was an Italian anarchist. They both spent the winter in building a more comfortable hut than the one in which they had lived during the summer, which was merely a pit dug in the ground, and they cleared a few small plots of land.

"But," you will ask, "had not this land an owner? And what did *he* say about it?" Well, he was very conciliatory and offered to sell the land for a very low price, for this part of the forest was entirely unused. But Fortuné Henry, as a good anarchist, could not submit to becoming a landowner by purchasing the land. This difficulty was got over by the help of an obliging friend who bought the land and allowed Henry and his colony to establish themselves on it.

They met with a certain measure of success. The colony became known as 'Aiglemont,' from the name of the nearest little parish. It is even said that there were as many as five hundred candidates for entry, but only a small number could be admitted. This colony also received many visits, and it even had the honour of being described in two articles in *Le Temps* (June 11 and 13, 1905) by a contributor who had spent a couple of days in the colony and regarded it with a kindly eye. It was also visited by Lucien Descaves and other literary men.

One rather quaint episode was the issue of a loan of five thousand francs, in 25-franc shares. This anarchist loan was not completely subscribed, but it brought in a little money, and this enabled the colony to grow. The colonists kept cows and chickens and led the life of small farmers, fairly

comfortably off. A child was born in the colony in May 1905, but as the parents were unwilling to be subjected to the laws of the State it was registered as "born of parents unknown." It would be interesting to know what became of this little born anarchist.

What happened at Vaux, however, happened here also. Henry was called a dictator and invited to depart, which he did. So this colony ended like the other and from the same paradoxical cause, that the champions of freedom became too despotic.

3. Some other Experiments

A colony resembling the preceding had been founded near Newcastle in England in 1891, before the establishment of the colony at Vaux, by a group of anarchists inspired by a Czech tailor named Kapr. They rented a farm of twenty acres called Clousden Hill. The colony started with eleven members, of whom only three were men, but it soon numbered about thirty persons. This colony also, like the Aiglemont one, was honoured by a long article in *Le Temps*. "In founding the colony," said Kapr to the writer of the article, "I vowed that no authority should ever be established in it, and that if such a thing happened I would be the first to leave Clousden Hill." Even when a vote was taken it was merely for consultative purposes, for the minority were in no way bound to conform to the decision of the majority. Each party did as it pleased, and experience decided which was best.

This go-as-you-please system produced schisms, however, and at last those who remained resolved to give up communism and divide the estate, so the colony came to an end in 1898. It might have ended more honourably and more in conformity with its principles by agreeing to transform itself into a co-operative society, for the local co-operative societies offered it their support.

Mention might also be made of a colony founded by Italian anarchists in the south of Brazil, not far from the site of the old Jesuit missions. This was the colony of Cecilia, founded in 1890. It either collapsed or ended in the usual way, by a division of the property, for I have heard nothing more of it.

Here and there might be found other attempts at anarchist colonies, such as that of the Naturiens in Auvergne, which has never, I believe, got beyond the stage of being planned. Then there is another, whose name is a programme in itself—'the Cavern of Zoroaster,' at Tourettes-sur-Loup. This colony collected as many as forty-six 'cave-men'! Finally there is the colony of Blarikum, in Holland, and a good many others which have actually materialized.

4. 'Robinson' Colonies

Among still existing colonies which may be included in this chapter on anarchism for want of more precise characteristics, may be counted those which revive the 'Robinson' story—not Defoe's Robinson Crusoe, for he alone on his island, or even in company with Friday, could not constitute a communist colony, but Wyss's 'Swiss Family Robinson' which established itself on a desert island.

I know at least two of these. One of them has lasted for a century and a half, and its extraordinary story is a theme for the cinema. It has just been told afresh by Maurice Soulié in his novel *L'Équipage révolté*, which was the subject of a long article in *Le Temps*.

In 1779, on the eve of the French Revolution, an English ship called the *Bounty* touched at the island of Tahiti, famous at that time as a Garden of Eden, but certainly not before the Fall, so let us call it rather 'the Island of Cythera.' Here the sailors found themselves so comfortable that they were unwilling to leave. The English captain ordered them to embark, but on the way they rose in their wrath and got

rid of the captain and such of the crew as remained faithful by abandoning them in boats on the open sea. Then they returned to Tahiti to resume their enjoyment of the delights they had tasted before. Thinking, however, that if they remained there they would speedily be taken and hanged they decided to establish a colony in another island. So they set out—eight Englishmen and eight native couples—and sought refuge on a little Pacific island called Pitcairn Island, where they settled down.

Then began a long and dramatic story. The eight native women killed their husbands one after another, so that there remained only the eight Englishmen and the eight widows. Then the English also did some killing among themselves, till there were left only four Englishmen and seven native women, and these were the nucleus of the communist colony.

For a very long time the colony remained unknown, until at last it was discovered by an English vessel. Meanwhile the captain had been picked up and had related what had happened, but as more than thirty years had elapsed the mutineers were left in peace, as proceedings against them were barred.

A time came when this patriarchal family became too large for the island, which was somewhat barren, to support them. So in 1835 they removed to Norfolk Island, off the Australian coast, and there they are still, after a century and a half. They number 400 persons, and according to the latest information, dating from 1924, they form a colony which is entirely communist, but which, in spite of its sorry origin, seems to have been happier and more peaceful than the other colonies we have met with on our journey.

The second colony of which I should like to say a word or two is also situated on an island—the most far-away island in the world. This is Tristan da Cunha, in the South Atlantic, almost equidistant from South Africa and South America, some 2000 miles from each, and a place where no one ever goes.

The island was discovered in the sixteenth century, and remained for three hundred years entirely uninhabited. It was not till 1811 that it received a few inhabitants, and they have lived there ever since—which means for more than a century—in complete isolation, communicating with the outside world only every year or two, and they also have formed a communist colony. Each family has its own little house, and if it cares to clear and enclose a plot of ground it can keep the produce, but if the family dies out or gives up working, then the enclosed land reverts to the community. However, the cultivation of grain is impossible owing to the swarms of rats.

The members of the colony do not appear to be unhappy, for a mission was sent to them from Cape Colony in 1904 to suggest that they should leave their lonely home and settle in South Africa, where lands would be granted them. So a plebiscite was taken, and they unanimously decided that they preferred to stay on their island. According to the latest news, which is somewhat old, for I do not know that there is any wireless in Tristan da Cunha,[1] the colony contained seventy inhabitants belonging to sixteen families.[2]

Perhaps we should add a third colony, and that in the very island where dwelt the sailor who was the prototype of Robinson Crusoe in the famous story—the island of Maso Fuero, in the Juan Fernandez archipelago. To this island the Chilean Government recently deported its communists in order to get rid of them, leaving them free to form themselves into a communist colony if the spirit moved them to do so. But I do not know the sequel to this penal proceeding.[3]

[1 It was reported in the Press recently that a wireless receiving set had been presented to the islanders, who are said now to number 156.]

[2 The following book has just appeared, too late for me to make use of it, *The Lonely Island*, by Rose Annie Rogers.

[3 According to newspaper reports, these communists petitioned the Chilean Government some six months after their deportation, asking leave to return and saying that they were ready to give a solemn pledge to refrain from all agitation against the existing Government and social system. Their request was acceded to.]

ANARCHIST COLONIES

There are still a few other colonies in South America whose names appear in the history of communist experiments, but it is difficult to say exactly whether they are to be classed as anarchist or socialist. Such are 'The Good Friends' (Buenos Amigos), founded in Peru in 1853, and 'Cecilia,' on the Parana, in Brazil, founded by Italians in 1890.

CHAPTER IX

AGRARIAN COMMUNITIES

WE come now to a more modern type of communist society —those which are still communities, but entirely agrarian. They are called in America by the rather strange name of 'enclaves,' as though they were little socialist islands emerging from a capitalist ocean. These communities entirely abandon the old rule of true communism, for they exclude community of dwelling, of consumption, of work, of production, and even of distribution, each man keeping for himself the produce of his own labour. What remains, then, that is communistic? Just this: that the land is not appropriated by individuals. It is divided into as many shares as there are members of the society, but these shares, instead of being granted as perpetual, absolute, and permanent possessions, are assigned merely for a long term of years, each holder being free to live as he pleases and to reap what he has sown.

1. PRINCIPLES OF AGRARIAN COLLECTIVISM

Before describing the system adopted in these agrarian communities I should like to explain the general principles on which their programme is based.

Marxian socialism makes no distinction between land and capital: both of them, being factors of production, should be socialized and removed from the sphere of private ownership. But agrarian collectivism says "No!" It draws a vital distinction between these two classes of goods—capital and land. And it is true that land, and the subsoil also, have certain characteristics which differentiate them absolutely from capital.

The first difference is that capital is a product of labour and land is not. I know full well that collectivists deny that capital is the produce of labour: they say that what makes capital is not labour at all, but profits, speculation, and robbery. But even supposing that this thesis were well founded we should still have to recognize that for good or for evil such things as speculation, theft, and usury are the acts of man and manifestations of individual initiative. Values created thus are none the less creations, and even the work of Satan is an individual work!

But with land it is not so. Land cannot be regarded as the fruit of labour or the fruit of fraud, neither in its nature, for it is obvious that man has not created the soil or the subsoil, nor in its value, because this value is created by its social surroundings, by the pressure of population, by circumstances (what the Germans call *Konjunktur*), such as means of transport and the development of human wants. Who would say that the price of a square yard of land in Paris is the produce of labour? Whose labour? It results simply from the presence of four millions of Parisians who have collected there and exerted a tremendous pressure on the value of the land.

The second difference between land and capital is that land is a permanent form of wealth, whereas capital, like all things made by man, lasts only for a time, and often for an exceedingly short time. Capital in its real concrete form has but a short life. It is used up, or consumed, while the land remains for ever. No doubt it is possible by legal devices to confer upon capital a sort of perpetuity—we can create what are called 'perpetual annuities,' for instance —but these are purely fictitious, as we can see at this very moment by merely observing what has become of them in the hands of the *rentiers*: they have evaporated.

The consequence of this difference from the social standpoint is that the terrible inequalities of riches and poverty—inequalities created by capital—are not generally themselves

permanent. In the matter of personal property Fortune's wheel is not a good illustration. It revolves, indeed, unceasingly—how many personal fortunes have been created, as it were, yesterday!—but how few there are which date from a hundred years ago! But the land does not change, and the inequalities which it creates between man and man are therefore permanent ones. These are the inequalities which have created patricians and plebeians, the feudal system, aristocracies, the sovereignty of the nobles—in a word, which have made history what it is.

The land has yet a third characteristic: it is the source of all wealth, without exception. There is nothing—save only the fish and the pearls of the sea—which does not come from the bosom of the earth, and therefore it gives complete economic power to whosoever possesses it completely and exclusively. We hear much nowadays about 'the power of money,' but that phrase is greatly misused. I do not deny the power of money, but it is certain that if the land were to fall into the hands of a single class the power of that class would be a good deal more effective than that of the dealers in money.

Lastly, there is the fourth characteristic of land, that it is limited in quantity—limited in extent, like the very surface of our globe. It may be said, no doubt, that the earth is large compared with our little human race, and that there is still room for the needs of future generations. But the reserves of land still available on our planet are rapidly diminishing from one generation to another, so that the conclusion cannot be avoided that if the land is to remain in private ownership this landed property will tend to become a monopoly, as it already is in all countries where the landowners set up protectionist barriers against the competition of such free land as still exists.

Capital, on the other hand, is never limited in quantity. Whether it is the fruit of labour and saving, as the economists say, or the result of speculation and exploitation, as the

socialists say—in any case the source is inexhaustible. There is no fear, therefore, of capital ever becoming a monopoly. Actual monopolies can of course be established by means of combinations and trusts, but these are only temporary monopolies.

Such, then, are the reasons for recognizing common ownership of land while refusing to admit common ownership of capital.

I might add some other characteristics to those already mentioned. Thus I might say that ownership of land makes the distinction between landowner and proletarian more striking and more irritating. In the realm of capital the capitalist and the proletarian do not know each other and do not see each other. They may meet, it is true, in small scale industry, but if you take the capitalist pure and simple —which means the shareholder—he never knows which worker it is that provides him with his dividends. So too the worker never knows through whose hands the product of his labour passes: it is not for nothing that the French call joint stock companies 'anonymous' (*sociétés anonymes*).

To the farmer, however, and even to the farm-labourer, the landowner is never anonymous. Even when he is a great lord—an 'absentee' who never condescends to set foot upon his lands—yet those who work for him and the fruit of whose labour he consumes are not ignorant of him: they know his name, and they know at whom to shake their fists. The opposition between the workers and the idlers—those whom the ancients described as *fruges consumere nati* ("born to consume the fruits of labour")—appears here in its crudest form. That is the reason why there is nothing worse than agrarian revolution. The Bolshevist Revolution, though led by intellectuals, was an agrarian revolution.

This is the reason for the creation of an agrarian socialism which aims at collective ownership of land, but not of capital. There are many economists, too, who, without being collectivists or Marxians, have been converted to agrarian

collectivism. Thus there is John Stuart Mill, there is Herbert Spencer, who, to be sure, gave up collectivism later, on grounds of expediency, and in France there are Léon Walras, the economist, and philosophers like Renouvier and Fouillée.

What, then, are the proposals of those who adopt the programme of agrarian collectivism? The creation of agrarian communities such as we are going to describe is one of these reforms, but it is not the only one: there are many others which we shall not set forth here as they are outside the scope of this work. They include—to name only the best known—the schemes of Léon Walras for the purchase of land by the State, all the land becoming national property, and Henry George's 'single tax' plan, which means the nationalization of rent alone, the ownership of the land itself remaining unaltered. But now for a few words about agrarian communities.

2. Fairhope

The movement started in America in 1904 with the founding of the colony of Fairhope. It is still in existence, and is situated in the State of Alabama, on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. It has served as a model for more than a dozen similar communities, almost all of them in the United States, though there is one small one in France. They own fairly large areas of land, and are constituted on the following lines.

Fairhope to-day has 400 inhabitants, and is therefore a large village. Each inhabitant has a separate house, and there are eighty-four dwelling-houses, three provision shops, a co-operative society, drug-stores, bakery, grocer's shop, sawmill, printing office, tailor, shoemaker, dentist, hairdresser, and so forth, and even a little seaport. The colony publishes a paper called the *Fairhope Courier*. It also contains a temple, for though it is not a religious sect like those

we have already described, yet it is not anti-religious like the anarchist and communist associations.

"This society," say the statutes, unlike those which we have seen,

> does not make it its object to provide its members with their daily bread—it is their business to earn it themselves—but only to offer them, in return for an entrance fee of $100, a place of refuge or lay sanctuary where they will be sheltered from political quarrels, commercial frauds, and the pursuit of profit, and will be exempt from all taxation, for the association itself takes them in its care.

The colony possesses some 1600 acres of land which are the common property of the society. The land, according to the statutes, is equally divided and let to members of the community on 99-year leases at a rent that is assessed each year, when the lease also is revised.

3. The Liéfra Colony

There is no need to go so far afield, however, to find agricultural communities of this type, for near at hand there is a little French colony that anyone can go and visit. It is only an insect, to be sure, in the vast fauna of communist societies, but none the less it combines on a small scale all the essential features of the American communist colonies. It is called Liéfra, from the first letters of the three words *liberté, égalité,* and *fraternité,* and it was created in 1908 by Paul Passy, son of the economist Frédéric Passy, who was well known at the end of last century as a great apostle of pacifism and a staunch follower of Bastiat. But while Frédéric Passy belonged to the purely liberal and even individualist school, his son has become a communist-socialist. But he is also a Christian socialist, and the founder and president of a very small society called the Socialistes Chrétiens. Most of its members are Protestants, and they included M. Biville, a professor of law at Caen, who died

prematurely. Their belief is that true Christianity is not only not incompatible with socialism, but that it can be nothing but socialistic if we wish to follow boldly the teaching of Jesus and His Apostles—which of course is an utterly different kind of socialism from that of Karl Marx.

M. Paul Passy was content to try the experiment in the shape of an agrarian community. It is not that he does not consider that capital, like land, should be socialized, but it is the ownership of land that seems to him most directly opposed to the principles of justice and the teaching of the Bible.

This colony might therefore have been included in our chapter on colonies of religious origin, not because any confession of faith is required—for it is open to all without distinction of religion or sect—but because in practice the colonists share more or less the spirit of their founder. Therein lies some guarantee that this colony of Liéfra will live, for, as we have already seen, it has generally been the religious communities that have succeeded best and lasted the longest in the United States.

M. Passy inherited a small property of £2000 which he employed in the purchase of a farm of 175 acres near Troyes, in the department of Aube, close to a little village called Fontette, and here he set up his colony of Liéfra. This was in 1908. The colonists numbered eight. The estate was not at first common property, but remained in the possession of M. Passy, who wanted to prevent it, if it became prosperous, from suffering the fate of so many other colonies where the members had demanded a division of the land. But it was handed over to the society in 1912.

The society was constituted under the modest title of 'Co-operative Association for Agricultural Production' (Association Coopérative de Production Agricole), with the ridiculously small capital—though this was purely nominal—of 600 francs divided into twelve shares, of which M. Passy took one and the eight colonists the remainder. There was nothing in hand except this minute sum of £24, for the

£2000 mentioned above had been completely absorbed: half of it went to purchase the estate, and the other half was needed for its equipment.

The domain is divided into two parts. One part is to remain common land, in the sense that it is to be worked in common and the crops it yields are to be placed to the account of the association to form a common reserve for the future, to provide plots for such new colonists as may arrive. It will be remembered that a similar division was made in the Jesuit colonies in Paraguay, and this similarity of arrangement is somewhat interesting as showing that it does not proceed from the imagination of the founders, but is necessitated by circumstances.

All the rest of the land—the larger part—is shared in plots among the different families. The plots are small ones, enough to support a family, but not big enough to require any other labour than the family can supply. As they vary in fertility and situation they are so allocated as to be of approximately equal value, though different in size and position, but each family, if it so wishes, can rent such lands as are available. Each family, then, will have its own piece of ground and will cultivate it as it pleases.

The government of the colony is entirely democratic. The assembly of the members governs as it thinks fit, and M. Passy exerts no dictatorial authority of any kind.

In all other agrarian communities—at Fairhope, and in the Zionist colonies to be described later—another and an essential rule is enforced. This is that any land-holder who gives up cultivating his plot loses it, and this is only reasonable, since in these colonies landownership is regarded as a public function. At Liéfra, however, this rule of compulsory labour as a condition of ownership is not imposed. No doubt it is some scruples of liberalism, bordering here upon anarchy, that have made M. Passy unwilling to include this obligation among his rules, but to leave the matter to the conscience of each individual.

In regard to profits, each holder of the allocated land keeps for himself the whole of what he produces. But it is different with the collective portion which is worked in common. This common part is responsible, in the first place, for providing the interest on the shares—the slender capital mentioned above. After that, half the produce is placed in reserve to enable the association to develop and to purchase more land, while the other half is divided equally among all the members who have worked on the land.

The colony of Liéfra consists at the present time of five families, containing only twenty-two persons. It is not possible to take many colonists, because the domain, in spite of various extensions, comprises only about 320 acres. Reckoning seven and a half acres per head, that makes 165 acres, which still leaves a good margin for the collective portion of the estate.

More capital would be needed to purchase fresh equipment for the reception of new colonists, and this capital M. Passy is seeking and would be very pleased to obtain.

However, though the colony has not increased much in the matter of numbers, it has given birth to various other interesting organizations, and these, though somewhat outside the scope of our subject, deserve a rapid mention as being very characteristic.

First there is an orphanage called 'The Nest,' founded during the War for children whose parents were refugees or had been killed. You know how many of these there were in France—not as many hundreds of thousands as in Russia, but quite enough all the same. These children are gathered together, educated, and taught the agricultural life. At the present time there are some thirty of them, forming, it is to be hoped, a nursery of new colonists for Liéfra.

Another institution that was grafted on to this colony only three years ago is an 'international peasant university.' Paul Passy had been very much impressed by a similar institution created in Denmark a few years back,

which he had been visiting. This is a school that appeals to the young folks of all nations so as to develop in them a feeling of international brotherhood. To this school have come young people from all countries except France, because the French looked upon it as a sort of Germanizing organization.

That is what Passy has tried to do on a more modest scale at Liéfra. His school is open only during the summer. Those who come to it are not exactly intellectuals, but members of working-class or peasant families, and it is open only in the summer because the premises are too uncomfortable in the winter. The school has not many students, but it has gathered them from seven or eight different nationalities, including even Ireland. It cannot, however, attract many adherents from the French working classes, because although the diet is very frugal and each student is required to put in at least an hour's manual work every day, a payment of £6 (750 francs) a month must be made, and this is rather a big sum for the sons of peasants or workmen. It is easier to find well-disposed teachers to take courses in different languages.

A third institution, still only in the projected stage, is the agricultural loan society. It goes without saying that these Liéfra colonists have no money. Not much can be done with a miserable capital of 600 francs, which, moreover, has long been expended, so they are obliged to borrow on burdensome terms, and it would be a great advantage if they could have a co-operative mutual loan society, like thousands of parishes in France. By way of a commencement, and until the State pays the subsidy which it should pay, M. Passy is asking for £50 (6000 francs) for the loan fund, and £200 (25,000 francs) for the international peasant university. But neither of these modest sums has been forthcoming.

The interesting thing about these colonies, like the Palestine ones that we are coming to next, is that they inaugurate a new form of landed property. But how, it will be asked, does the position of the members of these agrarian

colonies differ from that of ordinary farmers or small peasant proprietors? Let us see how they differ.

In the first place, the colonists are not in the same position as the French peasant proprietor. To begin with, they are obliged to pay a rent for their land just as if they were mere farmers belonging to the association. Besides this, they are subject to certain rules which might be reasonably described as involving bondage in the interest of the community, and which are indispensable if the community is to exist. The system is therefore one of individual ownership, but without the three classical attributes of absolute ownership—ownership as known to Roman law—described by the words *jus utendi*, *fruendi*, *abutendi* ("the right to use, to enjoy, and to misuse"). Here the colonist has only the first two of these rights—the right to use the land and to gather the fruits—but he has not the *jus abutendi*. A colonist cannot sell his plot, except to another member of the association, and then only on condition that the alienation does not result in doubling the share of the member who acquires it, for the purchaser would then be in the position of a large landowner farming his land by means of wage-paid labour. Equality of plots must be maintained. Nor may the colonist mortgage his plot.

There is one still more important rule, namely, that a revision of the plots is made every ten years. If one of them has acquired too high a value owing to certain local conditions the plot will be reduced in size or its price raised. Conversely, if one family has a larger number of children, while another has diminished in size through death, then a more equitable distribution is made. It is obvious that the prospect of this decennial equalization entirely alters the character of ownership. If the French peasants were compelled by law to submit to such a periodical revision of their holdings they would have something to say!

From all these aspects, then, there are restrictions on what is called the right of ownership. And the economists will be sure

to say that the right of ownership loses in this way its value as a stimulus. M. Paul Passy himself admits that his colonists do not put the same energy into their work as the neighbouring peasants do. Such is the strength of individual interest.

But now, in the second place, how does the position of these colonists differ from that of ordinary farmers?

It is vastly superior, because, to begin with, these landholders are secure in the possession of their plots of ground for ever—ninety-nine years being the legal period of the society. This means that the concession will extend to their children as well, so that it becomes an hereditary lease. This used to be called an emphyteusis,[1] and though it existed in the Middle Ages it has almost disappeared by now.

The position of the colonist differs also in this respect, that he has a right to be credited with all the surplus value due to his labour or his expenditure. If he builds a house he keeps the value of it, and if he makes repairs he is indemnified. So he is sure to get back the produce of his labour.

But, you will say, as he has to submit to a revision of terms like an ordinary farmer, he might one day be told that he is not paying enough rent and that he must pay more. That is true, but what a difference between his situation and that of the farmer under the existing system! This revision can only take place every ten years, at a fixed time, and it is made not by an owner who is out to exploit his tenant and make him pay as much as possible, but by the community itself: it might almost be called a family affair, and in any case it is carried out for every one on the same basis.

4. Zionist Colonies in Palestine

Let us now travel far away from the United States to Palestine at the present day. During the last few years,

[1 "An expression of Roman law, for the permanent letting of land at a chief rent, called *pensio*. The tenant was, for all practical purposes, the owner of the land."—Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*, *s.v.* "Emphyteusis."]

since the Zionist revival, there has been in that country an even more luxuriant blossoming-forth of communities than in America. Palestine, from the social standpoint, is like those great international exhibitions or trade fairs that are so popular to-day, for there we can find collected specimens of all kinds of associations, ranging from individualist ones to those that are completely communist, and passing through every intermediate stage of co-operation.

There is no need to recall the fact that ever since the capture of Jerusalem by Titus in the year A.D. 70 the Jews of Palestine have been scattered all over the world. That is what they call in their own tongue 'the great dispersion,' or 'the diaspora.' In Palestine itself there remained hardly any Jews except the very old ones who returned there to pray and mourn beneath the Wall of Lamentations (in the foundations of Solomon's Temple, or at least of Herod's) and to be buried in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. There were scarcely any who went there to work.

It was forty-eight years ago, in the year 1882, that the first colony properly so called was established. It had nothing communistic about it, but was a colony of agriculturists, and was set up in a place that is still famous as the oldest of all these colonies—called 'Richon les Sion.' It was in a very bad way when Baron Edmund de Rothschild came to its assistance—the man who gave France millions to found her Institute of Chemistry and for so many other objects. Being interested in this first attempt, he took the initiative in founding other colonies so that some of his co-religionists might be able to go and settle in their native land.

The programme of the Baron, as he is always called in Palestine, was in no way a communist one, as might be imagined. He bought a well-situated estate, and installed thereon a few Jewish immigrants who for the most part knew nothing of agricultural work, for the Jews in all lands are traders, merchants, bankers, and money-lenders, but not

farmers, though this is not their own fault, because there are many countries where they are forbidden to own land and even to live in the country districts. But these Jews worked in their colony for many years and learned the art of agriculture. Then when they had reached what the Baron considered a suitable stage of development he divided the estate between them. Each one took his share and became thus an independent landowner, with no other ties to bind him to his fellows than those which arose naturally from their common origin and their proximity to each other, for by the nature of things they were not far apart.

In this way there were formed several colonies which are still very prosperous. They are even the richest of all. Some of them have grown into pleasant little towns, like Zichron Jacob, on the hills overlooking the ancient shores of Cæsarea. To-day there are some thirty of these colonies, covering altogether about 100,000 acres, and almost all of them economically prosperous. That of Richon les Sion, for instance, the oldest of all, is known everywhere for its wine—a golden wine as fine as the best French varieties—and it also produces oranges, tobacco, etc.

These colonies, however, present no particularly interesting features from the social point of view. They serve to create owner-colonists, they employ wage-paid labour—far more often Arab than Jewish—and so they are outside the scope of this work.

A considerable change took place, however, in the history of Palestine as a result of the Great War. On December 9, 1917, the British Army entered Jerusalem under General Allenby (now Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby). It was the fifteenth time in its marvellous history that Jerusalem had been taken. Assyrians, Egyptians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Turks, and Franks had all captured it, and every time with horrible massacres. But this time there was neither siege nor assault: the Turkish Army had retired, and Allenby, dismounting from his horse, preferred to enter on

foot the Holy City which Jesus had entered riding upon an ass.

A few weeks earlier, on November 2, Lord Balfour, who was then Foreign Secretary, had addressed a letter to Lord Rothschild declaring officially that Great Britain regarded favourably the establishment in Palestine of a national home for Jews, and would do all in its power to facilitate it. This did not mean that the British Government recognized the existence of an independent Jewish State, but that it was prepared to organize a place for refuge for all Jews who wished to take advantage of it. This was an unparalleled event for the entire Jewish world—the greatest event in their history, indeed, since the capture of Jerusalem by Titus, mentioned above.

To understand the enthusiasm of the Jews in this matter it must be explained that the restoration of Zion was not only the subject of continual prophecies, and that the ceremonial greeting of the Jews on the Passover day was, "Jerusalem next year!" but that since the end of last century the realization of this prophecy was a matter of practical politics. It was incarnated in the person of a Viennese journalist named Herlz, who even opened negotiations to this end with the notorious Sultan Abdul Hamid, but without success. Discouraged by this failure, the Zionists had almost given up hope of restoring the kingdom of Palestine, and a refuge for the children of Israel was being sought for in the deserts of East Africa. When, therefore, this declaration of Lord Balfour's was published Zionism entered upon a new lease of life, and from every land—or at least from every land where they were persecuted and martyred—the Jews came to repeople the Holy Land. Then it was that colonies were founded of an entirely different kind from those of Baron de Rothschild—colonies which may be classed with those already studied in this chapter as agrarian communities.

For this purpose two national funds were created, one,

called 'the Keren Hayesod,' for colonization in general, and the other, called 'the Keren Kayemeth,' which was concerned specially with the purchase of land.

The Keren Kayemeth did what Baron de Rothschild had done: it bought estates with the money it received from subscriptions collected throughout the whole Jewish world. But, unlike the Baron's method, these estates were never alienated or divided. The colonists who were settled upon them were not there as candidates for permanent ownership, but simply as grantees, or tenants if you like, but they were tenants like those at Liéfra—hereditary tenants—with almost all the attributes of actual owners.

Why was it that the Jewish National Fund, to give it its English title, was unwilling to alienate these lands? The first reason was a religious or theocratic one—the desire to put into force again the law of Moses. There is a famous passage in the Bible which reads, "The land shall not be sold for ever: for the land is mine" (Leviticus xxv, 23; see also Exodus xix, 5). But how is this text to be interpreted? Does it mean that the land, because it was created by God, must remain common to all the children of God—to all men? That would be an anticipation of agrarian socialism and the nationalization of the soil of which we have spoken already (p. 170), but that is not the true interpretation. This is proved by the fact that these same books of the Bible tell us that after the conquest of Palestine by Joshua the land of Canaan was strictly divided among the twelve tribes, and within each tribe it was shared equally among the families, and this division certainly implies the system of individual ownership, or at any rate of hereditary family ownership.

Yes, but the real meaning of the words "the land is mine" is that the land is outside the sphere of commerce—that is to say, it is inalienable. Land ought not to be regarded as a thing to be bought and sold. The text states this definitely. Moreover, this idea is not found only in the

Bible, but is common to all primitive civilizations. The negro tribes of Africa do not acknowledge the sale of land. What they say is that you can buy and sell whatever you can carry, whatever is *on* the land, but not the land itself.

The consequence was that since the land could not be alienated it had to remain perpetually in the hands of the family which had received it from Joshua. All that could be sold was the enjoyment of its produce, and even that not perpetually, but only for a certain number of years, the interval between two jubilees. For every forty-nine years all the lands thus alienated for another to reap their crops returned to the family of the man who had first granted them.[1] It was only possible, therefore, to sell the number of harvests remaining to be reaped up to the next jubilee. If the sale was effected just after a jubilee it would be operative for forty-eight years, but if it was made in the forty-seventh year it would have only one year to run.

This system also is not altogether peculiar to the Bible, for the well-known Russian institution of the *mir* was much the same. There the land was divided by the parish among the peasants for a period of three, six, or nine years, or even longer, and at the end of that time a new division was made so as to give each family a new plot according to the increase or diminution in the number of its members.

This land system of the Hebrews, however, did not, it seems to us, imply that all the land was national property, or that its owners had to pay a rent. So the system instituted by the Keren Kayemeth is quite different. Why is this?

The first reason is a political one. Since the object of the Jewish National Fund was to re-establish the kingdom of Israel it was necessary for the land of Palestine to become one day the national land of Israel. That would happen when by hypothesis—though this hypothesis, as we shall soon see, will probably not be realized—the Jewish National Fund has succeeded in buying all the land in Palestine, and

[1 See Leviticus xxv, 8–13.]

when the new Jewish nation, with its blue and white flag, has been really and truly reconstituted.

But there was also an economic reason why the Jewish National Fund retained the system of landownership. It was to enable it to benefit by the excess value of the land which generally accrues in all countries where the population increases, and which, under a system of individual landownership, benefits only the owners. That is the origin of those outrageous fortunes seen in England, the United States, and even France—fortunes derived solely from this surplus value without the owner having done anything for it except smoke his pipe, as Henry George expressed it.

Owing to the system of inalienable property adopted by the National Fund, however, this excess value is saved for the nation. At the end of the prescribed period a revision takes place, and the price for renewing the concessions is increased in proportion to the surplus value acquired. The revisions are even made at shorter intervals than the long period of forty-nine years which was adopted out of respect for Mosaic tradition. Twenty years is the period, I believe, for rural concessions, and ten years for urban lands. Thus at each revision of its rates the National Fund will see its income increasing, and if we are to believe such theorists as Henry George and Walras this income will be enough to support the whole budget of the State and free the people from all taxation!

It remains to be added that the retention of the property in the hands of the Keren Kayemeth enables the latter to exercise a perpetual control over the colony in all matters concerning health and general management.

Finally it must be remarked that the landholder himself derives great benefit from this system, for if the land were sold to him he would have to pay the price of it, and this price, as we shall see, is somewhat high. Now the Jewish immigrant has no money, so he would have to borrow it and would be still worse off. But by settling on the land as a

mere grantee he has to pay only a moderate rent, representing 2 per cent. of the cost of settlement and purchase of the land. He has nothing to pay out on taking possession, and he is even allowed credit for the first two or three years.

That, then, is how the Jewish National Fund goes to work. It buys estates wherever they are for sale: at the beginning it found as many as it wanted, but it is increasingly difficult to-day to get hold of them. Judea and Samaria are stony and almost waterless hill-sides, and it is only in the middle of Palestine, between these two mountainous masses—Judea and Samaria to the South and Upper Galilee to the North—that there lies a rich but narrow valley stretching from the Lake of Tiberias to the Gulf of Haifa. This is the Plain of Jezreel. Through this plain passed the Assyrians and the Babylonians on their way to Egypt whenever there was war between Assyria and Egypt. Here it was that Joseph was sold by his brothers, that David began his campaigns, that Jesus walked on many occasions. Here is Mount Tabor, and the Mount of the Beatitudes, and here met in battle the Franks and the Saracens, and, six centuries later, Napoleon Bonaparte and the Turks. And it is here that the Zionist colonists are installed to-day, thanks to the talent the Jews have always possessed for discovering the best places.

These colonies began as little islands, then they grew into an archipelago, and to-day they occupy almost the whole of the valley from the Sea of Tiberias to the Mediterranean.

There are also a certain number of colonies situated on another plain that is likewise very rich, but still more limited in extent—the plain that skirts the sea at the foot of the Carmel mountains. It is the famous Plain of Sharon, which means 'Roses'—the plain that is sung of in the Song of Solomon. There the National Fund does not install colonies separately, but groups them together in sufficient number to exploit the whole of an estate, and even of an

estate large enough to be cultivated on a really large scale. The rule is for each family to cultivate its plot itself, without employing paid labour, but as this absolute equality of labour is not always suited to the kind of cultivation practised, a sort of mutual assistance takes place among the colonists at times of pressure.

Once a group is installed on an estate it has complete freedom to organize itself as it pleases, and it is to this very freedom that we owe the marvellous variety of organizations mentioned above. Out of about thirty colonies there are no two exactly alike. Despite their diversity, however, they can be classified into three typical categories: (*a*) those of an individualist type (*moshovah*), with individual ownership and the employment of wage-paid labour: these are particularly the colonies founded by Rothschild; (*b*) those of a communist type, with collective ownership and work and consumption in common (*kvoutsoh*); (*c*) those of a co-operative type, intermediate between the other two (*moshovovdim*).

The most famous colony of this last type, and one which is a place of pilgrimage for visitors to Palestine, is called 'Nahalal,' a name taken, like all the others, from the Bible. It was a city in the land of Canaan which was taken by Joshua's army, and the new colony claims to stand on the actual site of this ancient town, destroyed three thousand years ago. It is a fairly large colony, arranged for the reception of eighty families, a number which it has actually received. Each of these families is given twenty-five acres of land—a fairly large plot for one family, so that it must be pretty hard work to cultivate it all by its own labour. Each family tills its plot of ground and keeps what it produces. If there is a good crop, so much the better: if they have not worked hard enough, so much the worse. That is why this kind of colony is called 'individualist.' But at the same time the description is not altogether accurate, not only because the land, as you will remember, is nationalized, but

also on account of the many co-operative associations in which the members are bound together.

To begin with, there is something co-operative about the very system of settlement, for the plots of all the families are grouped around collective establishments. Nahalal can be pictured as a small-scale reproduction of the Place de l'Étoile in Paris, with streets radiating from a centre. The domain has been divided into eighty exactly equal sectors, one for each family. In each sector there is a house for the family, with a garden between it and the central square, while behind the house, on the circumference of the circle, are the fields to be cultivated. Thus the fronts of all the houses form an almost continuous circle. In the circular central space are situated all the collective services: school, library, sanitary institute, school of agriculture for women, and so forth.

These collective services are necessitated by the nearness of all these families to one another. First there is the question of water-supply. Water is scarce in Palestine, so in all these colonies there is a raised water-tank like those used at railway stations, and this supplies everybody. In some colonies there is also a still-room for making the wine, used likewise by all those who grow vines, and colonies that go in for stock-raising keep a stud bull. As a rule, too, there are associations for the sale in common of such products as tobacco. This is one of the chief products of Palestine, but for exportation it requires to be dried in the sun, oven-dried, fermented, and very carefully packed, and you cannot imagine eighty families all separately preparing the tobacco they have grown, so a central organization is required to deal with the drying, packing, and dispatch of the tobacco. The same applies to the packing of oranges. There are also purchasing associations like the French agricultural syndicates.

Besides these there are co-operative associations for carrying out various kinds of work—planting, to begin with,

which is an indispensable proceeding in these utterly bare regions. One important tree that is planted in marshy places is the eucalyptus, imported from Australia and looking strangely out of place in these old Eastern lands, though it has remarkable properties as a remedy for malaria. Co-operation is similarly necessary in such matters as drainage, irrigation, road-construction, fencing, and all the other pioneering work that is essential in a new country. The Jewish National Fund executes most of this work, but each colony has to complete it on its own estate.

Next come those colonies which are entirely communist. These should have been included in the last chapter, as there are many more of them in Palestine than of agrarian communities, but I did not want to separate them from the rest of the Zionist colonies. The best known is that of Nuris, which practises communism more completely than any of those studied in the previous chapters. It adopts community of work for men and women, community of dwelling, a common table, and community of life for the children, in the sense that from birth they are brought up together, and while the mothers work in the fields the children are looked after and trained by the colony itself.

The colony provides for all needs—food, utensils, clothing, and so forth. I asked a colonist, "What do you do when your clothes are worn out?" and he replied, "I get a ticket by showing that my coat is done for, and then I go to the shop and they give me another one." The system is the same for the women, though in this case such Spartan simplicity is the more remarkable.

The colony of Nuris lives almost entirely on what it produces itself, and consumes nearly all that it produces, so that it constitutes what is called in political economy a closed or self-sufficing community. When it has to have recourse to the outside world, either to sell its surplus crops or to buy such things as it cannot grow or make, it sends to the nearest town where there is a branch of the great

consumers' co-operative society, the Hamashbir, or 'Caterer,' which serves the whole of Palestine. The delegate from the colony takes the produce of its harvest, and is told the price, which is entered to the credit of the colony. Then he goes to the selling department and gets whatever he was instructed to buy, the amount of his purchases being debited to the colony, so that the business is settled without the need for a single coin. At the end of the year the colony receives a statement of its account, as we do from our banker, showing that it is debtor or creditor for so much, and the balance is carried forward to the next year's account. That is a type of colony which, though communist, knows how to utilize the capitalist system none the less!

But it seems that there is a colony that has gone one better, for I have read in the papers that a new and ultra-communist colony has just been founded near Haifa. Here there is not only community of dwelling, eating, work, distribution, and life in general, but also of clothes—a system that exists nowhere else. Each person, apparently, takes whatever he needs for work or leisure out of the common wardrobe. Even the children are held in common, though this must not be taken to imply community of wives, for it relates to children born in wedlock. But they belong to the community and do not take their parents' name. They are registered as born of unknown parents, and bear simply a first name. 'Father' and 'mother,' 'papa' and 'mamma,' are names unknown in this colony.

What are the results of this Zionist colonization? For two thousand years the Jews have been entirely traders, merchants, and money-lenders, and it is an impressive sight to see them now coming forward to wield the pick and the plough, in company with a goodly number of young men and women from the universities of every land in Europe. They have come with a wonderful faith, no longer in the coming of the Messiah, for the religious faith that supported Israel for so many centuries is almost completely absent from these colonies, but in the resurrection of the people of Israel and

the kingdom of David. There is something thrilling in the sound of that sacred tongue which used to be only a ritual language, like the Latin of the Catholic Church, but has now become once more a living language. Every one speaks Hebrew in Palestine, including the children in the schools, and its square characters are proudly displayed alongside the beautiful Arab script and that of the English language at every railway station, in the streets, on the shop fronts, and on the coins with their trilingual inscriptions.

From the economic standpoint, however, we should hesitate to make any forecasts. The forces of resistance are great. To begin with, there is the resistance of the Jews themselves, for the majority of them are rather hostile to the Zionist movement because they think that the creation of a Jewish nation in Palestine will supply one more argument to their enemies who hold the view that the Jews are and always will be foreigners. Will they not be told that they have only to return to Palestine, where they will find a national home, and thus rid the Christian lands of their presence?

Then there is another great obstacle in the fact that Palestine is already peopled. There can be no question here of such colonization as that of West or South Africa, which are almost uninhabited. In Palestine there are over 700,000 Arabs who are not in the least inclined to give up their place, and who are extremely angry at seeing a Jewish State coming to settle in a land which they regard as theirs—and not without reason, considering that they have been there more than a thousand years! Who knows, indeed, if they may not be descendants of the Canaanites dispossessed by Joshua? There has even been strife, and some bloodshed. The first Jewish colonies to be established had to defend themselves by force of arms against the Bedouins, or nomadic Arabs, just as in the early days of the conquest of Algeria the French colonists were obliged to take up arms against these same Bedouins, and these wars, though petty enough as

regards the number of combatants, yet had their heroes whose names are enshrined in the history of Zionism, like that of Trumpeldor, who was killed in one of these fights.

At the present day, although there are no longer these deadly conflicts and the Arabs have learned to appreciate the advantages of every kind that the Jewish colonies have brought to them, yet there is still a conflict of nationalities, and complaints are still being continually addressed to the British Government from one side or the other. If Great Britain were to withdraw from the country there can be little doubt that the 150,000 Jews already settled in Palestine would be driven out.

The third obstacle in the way of colonization is that Palestine is a small country. It has held such a prominent place in history that it is hard to realize how small it is. Its whole area is scarcely more than five million acres,[1] equal to four French departments, for the Dead Sea region and the arid desert that separates Egypt from Palestine can scarcely be included. And the country is not only small, but extremely poor. The Bible is full of glowing descriptions of this land of Canaan "flowing with milk and honey," and tells how the messengers of Joshua returned and showed the astonished people such bunches of grapes as two men could scarcely carry. We can admit the honey and the grapes, but it is difficult to see where the milk can have flowed from. No doubt it proceeded from a mirage that is understandable enough when men have just crossed a desert where they have been living for forty years.

Before the English came to Palestine the land served to support only a few flocks of goats and sheep and herds of camels, but since the conquest, and particularly since the Zionist immigration, it has increased in value, although the National Fund is trying to prevent the rise in price by concealing its purchases. In this way Zionism has automatically raised the price of land and thereby placed an obstacle in

[1 About the combined acreage of Yorkshire and Lancashire.]

the way of its own development. The Arabs have taken advantage of the opportunity thus offered them, and this increased value has also made them look more kindly upon the Jewish immigration. But the fact remains that at the present time the founding of a colony is a ruinous business, for it takes over £1000 to install one family, without counting the purchase price of the land.

But now where does the Jewish National Fund obtain its money? It collects it by subscriptions from all over the world. In the household of every pious Jew there must be a little blue and white money-box—the colours of the flag of Israel—to receive offerings for the buying-back of the land of Israel. That method brings in half a million pounds a year, but this does not go far at the rate of £1000 per family. The consequence is that colonization can no longer provide enough land for immigrants, and that is why the number of immigrants, which reached 30,000 in 1925, has not only fallen almost to nothing, but many of these Jews have been obliged to go back through lack of employment. At the present time the number of those leaving is greater than the number of entries, so that the splendid dream of Zionism—the prospect of seeing the Jewish immigrants form the majority of the inhabitants of the land of Israel and gradually absorb the Arab population—seems to be fading away.

At the present moment there are only 150,000 Jews in Palestine, against 750,000 Arabs and about 100,000 Christians, and while the increase of the Jewish population is impeded, the Arab population, by a kind of recoil that was scarcely expected, is increasing more than it has ever done before. The reasons are: first, that the British have given the country security; secondly, that the Jews have reduced the death-rate by draining the marshes; and, thirdly, that the Jews have enriched the Arabs by purchasing their lands for gold and teaching them to cultivate better those that they have retained. So the paradoxical result is that the

future of Zionism is threatened by the very benefits it has conferred upon the country.

I do not think, however, that there is no chance of a good understanding between the two races. The Zionists must undoubtedly give up the hope of creating in Palestine a Jewish State, but they can hope to make a bilingual nation out of the two races, Arab and Jewish. For this there are plenty of precedents: Belgium, which is Flemish and Walloon; Finland, which is Finnish and Swedish; and Switzerland, which is even trilingual. Why should there not be formed a bilingual Palestine in which the Jews might very legitimately preponderate, as they easily would do over an uncivilized people, considering how great is their influence even in our European civilization? Such a plan as this seems the more capable of realization since there is a certain relationship between the two races, just as there is between their tongues. They know well, though many Christians do not, that they are both children of Abraham, Isaac being the son of Sarah and Ishmael of Hagar, and it is even the case that the tomb of Abraham at Hebron is held by the Arabs, who forbid the Jews to enter it. This common parentage, though it dates from rather a long way back, is none the less a good augury for the reconciliation of the descendants of the two brothers.

Another reproach that is cast upon Zionism is that these colonies have so far lived only an artificial life, and to live on the support of others is certainly an artificial life, as the melancholy history of Icaria has shown us. Scarcely any of these colonies, except those founded by Baron de Rothschild, are self-supporting. They owe their existence to the Jewish National Fund, which itself lives upon subscriptions obtained from public-spirited Jews throughout the world.

Now, in entire contrast to this, the characteristic of every co-operative association is to be self-sufficing. We must not, however, lay too much stress upon this accusation, for there

are many institutions which have been enabled to exist only by means of subventions, at least at the beginning of their career—such as the French co-operative loan societies, for instance. And since Zionism is, by definition, a national movement, it cannot be blamed for appealing to the national solidarity of the Jewish race.

Two great public works are going to be started in Palestine. One is the harnessing of the Jordan, that holy river which flows through a rift-valley 1300 feet below the level of the sea, and shows a considerable difference of level which can be used with advantage to produce motive-power. The other is the exploitation of the Dead Sea by the industrial utilization of that rain of salt and brimstone which buried the accursed cities of the plain. When these things are done it may be that industry will be able to offer to Jewish immigration such openings as agriculture has been insufficient to provide.

CHAPTER X

CO-OPERATIVE COMMUNITIES

WE have seen already in dealing with these communities that most of them ended, by a gradual process of change, in a social system that is closely akin to co-operation. So it was with the Icarian colonies and with Oneida, and so it apparently will be with the Zionist colonies. But an opposite tendency is to be found also—co-operative societies which arrive by a process of development and integration at a form that closely resembles communism, starting either from productive or consumptive co-operation.[1]

[1] We can sum up in tabular form the various steps in this co-operative integration—or, it would be better to say, in this unfolding of the co-operative association, as a flower-bud unfolds its petals one by one.

(1) Absolute individual ownership of both land and produce, with individual consumption, labour, and habitation, co-operation appearing only in the form of certain specialized associations, such as loan societies or consumers' societies, agricultural syndicates, electrification, etc. This is the system in some of the rural parishes in France.

(2) Collective ownership of the estate, but in the shape of shares which are still private property, giving a right to a share in the produce proportional to the amount invested. Cultivation by wage-paid labour, separate households, and few or no relations between fellow-members. This system is dependent on the capitalist system, and is practised in a small number of estates.

(3) Collective ownership in the form of joint stock companies, as in the preceding system, but with no payment of profits to capital shares, profits being divided among the members in proportion either to their work or their consumption. This is the Llano system.

(4) Ownership vested in a foundation outside the colony, the colonists only holding the land at a rent or on a long-term concession, but each retaining the produce of his labour—long-term concessions and separate households. This is the system of the Zionist colonies and Liéfra.

(5) Common ownership, vested in the colony itself. Labour and produce in common, and therefore no distribution and no individual ownership. Consumption and habitation generally in common, but this rule not necessarily compulsory. This is the system of the religious and socialist-communist societies already described.

CO-OPERATIVE COMMUNITIES

1. Integral Co-operation

A co-operative society is really an association that may be at any point on the scale between individualism on the one hand and communism on the other.

Let us take as an example any co-operative society whatever, whether a consumers' society, a co-operative production society, or a housing or loan society. We will take a co-operative building society—one in which a number of members combine to build houses, separate, but near each other, so as to form a garden city. Let us suppose that this community of neighbours establishes collective services, provision shops, restaurants, schools, games, and a cinema or theatre. Now go a step farther and imagine that it creates workshops and factories and even buys or rents land so as to produce itself all that its inhabitants require, both manufactured articles and foodstuffs, and thus becomes a self-sufficing community. Will it not then resemble in every respect the communities we have already visited?

There will remain, however, one essential point of difference in the matter of distribution. For in this co-operative society, even when integral, individual ownership will not be abolished. Each member owns not only the share that he holds in the society, but also his share in what the undertaking produces, this latter being divided among the members in the form of interest or 'dividends' which may be capitalized and thus create little fortunes for their owners.

It should be noticed, however, that though in these co-operative societies there is individual ownership and distribution, there is at least equality among the members. In practice they generally subscribe about the same number of shares, and a fairly low maximum is usually even fixed by the rules. As for the 'dividends,' they depend on the amount of purchases, which no doubt vary for each member, but which also fall in practice within narrow limits.

It must also be observed that in the co-operative association this individual ownership loses its essential attribute, which is the production of profit. It gives a right to interest alone, and never to a dividend in the ordinary sense, while there are some societies which even refuse to pay interest, or pay it only on supplementary shares. In this way is brought about the abolition of the profit-making spirit which was one of the essential principles of the communist societies.

Finally, this individual distribution, even in the shape of simple 'dividends,' may itself disappear in some co-operative societies of a socialist nature—those belonging to what is called the Saint-Claude school. And by that time co-operation has reached the final stage mentioned above, becoming an entirely communitarian association.

Observe that I am not holding up this form of development as an ideal. It is disliked by the school of Nîmes, as well as by the Rochdale school, not so much on theoretical grounds as on grounds of practical utility, and because they believe that it would be the ruin of the co-operative movement, at any rate in the present circumstances. But what must be noticed is that already here and there this form of integral co-operation has begun to be put into practice.

2. Some Co-operative Villages

Here, for instance, on the outskirts of Basle, is a little town called Freidorf, or "Free Town." It is an offshoot of the great consumers' co-operative association of Basle, the largest society in Switzerland, comprising 35,000 families, which is almost the entire population of Basle. It is a kind of garden city inhabited solely by the employees of the co-operative society itself. Each family has its own house and little garden, and there are also a library, an orchestra, a savings bank, an insurance society, a loan society, playing-fields, and so forth. The inhabitants are housed at a very

low price, but on condition that all their purchases are made from the co-operative society, at least so far as it is able to supply what is needed. These purchases amount in practice to a considerable number—an average of nearly £127 per member. And if you compare this with the £8 which is about the average figure in French societies you will realize the difference.[1] Even in those French societies in which the number of sales per member is highest, such as the Nîmes railway employees society, the average does not exceed £32, or a quarter of the Freidorf average.

Suppose now that this society, which is already a housing and consumption society, were to become also a production society, establishing workshops for the production of the principal articles of clothing and furniture needed by its members. Suppose even that it were to buy an estate and become an agricultural society, producing everything needed for the consumption of its members. We should then have a society very closely resembling those we have already been studying.

Freidorf, however, has not done this, and will not do it, for experience has shown that it is very difficult for consumers' co-operative societies to undertake production, and especially agricultural production. Even the powerful English consumers' co-operative associations which have tried this experiment on a large scale, with upward of 50,000 acres of land, have hardly been successful. On the other hand, the bond created between members of a consumers' society by the mere fact of buying at the same store is too weak to provide a basis for a real communitarian association.

The passage is easier, however, if we start from productive co-operation. This does not mean that this latter is easier than consumptive co-operation—far from it—but that once the productive association has managed to get formed, at

[1 In Great Britain in 1928 there were 1245 co-operative distributive trading societies (retail), containing 5,885,000 members, and their sales amounted to £209,000,000, which gives an average of nearly £36 per member.]

all events if it is an agricultural society, it may become integrated into a community.

Of this there are several examples, even in the distant past. Thus we may mention the strange history of the community of Ambelakia, a village in Thessaly, at the foot of the stately Mount Olympus. This region, in the Vale of Tempe of which Vergil sang, was from 1788 to 1810 the home of an extraordinarily prosperous community consisting of the landowners and workers of twenty-two small villages who combined for the production of cotton, thread, dyes, etc. So great was its success that it became one of the great centres of this industry in the East, and distributed profits at the rate of 100 per cent. on its capital. In this respect, to be sure, it was neither communistic nor even co-operative, but it was in this, that all the profits were paid into a common fund from which were paid first the taxes and presents required by the Turkish pashas, secondly, what was needed by the poor, the churches, the schools, and the hospitals, and after these deductions had been made the rest was divided in very equitable proportions between the landowners and the workers. This wonderful co-operative centre, which had been respected by the Turkish Government, was destroyed by Ali, the ferocious pasha of Janina, who was held up to execration by Victor Hugo in his *Orientales*.

Nearer to us in both time and place is a village in Bohemia —or Czecho-Slovakia, as it is now called—which is equally unknown and yet intensely interesting from our point of view. This is the village of Prikazi, which contains 350 families, forming an almost completely co-operative community. Private property is not abolished: each keeps his own land and his own house, but everything is done co-operatively—all buying and selling. There is a loan society which is also a savings bank, and around this as a centre are grouped the various collective services. It was started in 1835, and to-day it occupies a magnificent building which seems at first sight out of all proportion to the population of the

village. So this little village, combining thus for production, for consumption, and for habitation, almost exactly resembles the communities of Nuris and Oneida.

3. The Colony of Llano

But the most remarkable instance of productive co-operation carried to the point of communism is that of Llano. It was founded in California, not far from Los Angeles, in 1914, but three years later, not having found the water it expected to find on the site, it moved to Louisiana, where it exists to-day under the name of 'New Llano.'[1] It was founded by a San Francisco journalist and politician named Harriman, who had been a candidate at many elections, including that for the Vice-Presidency of the United States.

Harriman is a Marxian, and when he founded his colony at Llano he intended to set up a collectivist form of society in the proper sense of the term. But little by little he was driven by force of circumstances to form a co-operative association. The Llano association is, in fact, a productive co-operative association, both industrial and agricultural. Like all co-operative societies it is established on a share basis, the members not being required to place all their money in the common fund, but only to subscribe shares. They can also invest as simple lenders. But, it may be asked, of what use is their personal fortune to those who live at Llano if they retain it for themselves? In any case, each member has to subscribe 2000 dollar shares, making $2000, or say £400. That would be a very considerable sum for the French, but it must be remembered that this is in the United States. Moreover, the full amount is not required to be paid up, but only half, or $1000. And of this thousand dollars only half need be paid in cash, the

[1] For Llano and all the other colonies see *Communities of the Past and Present* (1924), an anonymous work by Harriman himself, the founder of Llano.

rest being paid in kind, in the shape of land, personal belongings, tools, implements, or goods. The thousand unpaid shares are paid up gradually, by weekly or monthly deductions from wages.

It should be noted that subscriptions to these shares is not confined to those who wish to live in the association, but is open to all. In fact, there is a separate society—a mother society—whose business it is to collect capital and gifts, and its members are not necessarily candidates for residence in the Llano community. We have seen a similar form of organization to this in the Free Environment of Vaux and even in the colony of Icaria. For them too there was another society for collecting gifts, quite distinct from the society whose object was to set up a community.

With the funds thus collected an estate has been purchased, and this is cultivated in common—therein lies the communism. The members work together, not only in the cultivation of the land, but also in the various industries which are attached to the agricultural exploitation. The founder of the colony enumerates thirty-two such industries, though that figure involves a little exaggeration because many of them are still only in an embryonic state. But it may be hoped that they will grow and make of Llano an industrial as well as an agricultural colony.

And now, how is distribution carried out? There is no individual distribution, but all the products of the colony are pooled and used to supply the members with food, housing, and all the services of which I have just spoken, such as the requirements of sickness, education, and recreation.

At the outset a wage system was established, each member being remunerated according to the number of hours he worked. But this plan was abandoned, and the present system may be summed up by saying that distribution to individuals is made not in money but in kind, in the shape of food and other necessaries.

There is no community of dwelling at Llano: each member lives in his own house, which he either rents or has built for him, just as he likes. Even community of meals is not compulsory. There is a common table, but those who prefer to do their cooking at home in the *bourgeois* fashion can do so, in which case they obtain their provisions from the society's shop and prepare their food themselves.

But there are collective services of all kinds, as in every important co-operative society. They include a theatre, an hotel, and facilities for games: there are as many as eighteen clubs of a more or less recreational kind.

It will be seen, therefore, that this colony is really a co-operative one. True it does not practise individual distribution, but this feature is not enough to exclude it from this class, for there are other co-operative societies which fail to keep the Rochdale rule and make no individual distribution.

The papers this morning[1] announce the death of M. Ponard, member of the French Chamber of Deputies, who was the founder and director of the co-operative society of Saint-Claude, called *la Fraternelle*. Now the rule of this society is not to distribute any bonus or 'dividend' to its members, but to benefit them only collectively by means of insurances against sickness and old age, and various other recreational and educational institutions—an anticipation, therefore, of the Llano system. It must be said, however, that the societies which have adopted this sytem are rare in the co-operative world, and though in speaking of this society I have spoken of the Saint-Claude school—a name of which the society is rather proud—yet it has not really created a school. However, there is a tendency in every country toward a progressive reduction of individual distribution—a tendency leading to its total abolition.

What will be the future of this Llano society? It is still quite young, as it dates only from 1914, but it has already had a somewhat stirring existence—a life of quarrels, conflict,

[1 This was written in 1928.]

legal proceedings, and secessions, like that of Icaria and other communities.

When the colony moved from California to Louisiana it received a new swarm of residents from Texas who would have nothing to do with communism and finally seceded. Legal proceedings cost the colony a great deal of money—several times the amount of its capital. Notable among these trials is one that took place quite recently and is worth being described as it throws some light on the mixed character of the society.

A shareholder, discontented at receiving no dividends, brought an action against the society, claiming that since it had made a profit it ought to pay him a dividend, and the American court decided against the society on the ground —very unpalatable to a communist organization—that since its object, as defined in its charter, was to make a profit, it had violated that charter by refusing dividends to its shareholders. No doubt the judge had some grievance against the Llano society! Americans do not like these communist societies, and when they appear before the American courts they are frequently condemned, as we have seen in connexion with other societies. The court also declared, with some malice, that the directors of the society had looked after themselves pretty well by holding a mortgage on the society's property, and that the society had never kept proper books and had lived mainly on its capital.

The case was taken on appeal to the Supreme Court, however, and here the judgment of the lower court was reversed. The plaintiff member of the society was ordered to pay costs, and all his allegations against the society were declared to be fabrications. The judgment declared definitely that the community had been conducted strictly on communistic or co-operative principles, and its aim had been to 'colonize' its members so that all should labour for the good of all. Its object was not the distribution of dividends, but the procuring of better conditions of life for its members residing

in the colony. Since all it produced was consumed on the spot there was no need to keep books, and no complaint could be made against it if its book-keeping was not quite in order.

Despite this testimony it would seem that the Llano society has always lived a hand-to-mouth existence. I have passed the same criticism on other co-operative communities, and this one is no worse than the rest in being unable to live on the produce of its own enterprise. It has lived on the capital obtained from its shares or from the excess value of its land, which accrues rapidly in America, but this is not a proper way to live. It is asserted that the colony has got through $800,000 (£160,000). But it must be owned also that it has suffered from ill-luck, especially in the shape of two fires, like Brook Farm and the Phalanx—a strange brotherhood in misfortune!

The evidence of those who have had the opportunity of visiting this colony, some of which is reported in *The Co-operator*, the journal of the American co-operative associations, is somewhat divergent. An American student who spent three weeks there to prepare a thesis for a doctorate speaks most highly of it, while others say that it is a communist association masquerading as a co-operative society, that its alleged industries are a mere decoy, that the colony has no doctor, no dentist, and no nurse, and that the principal industry is trying 'to catch mugs'! With such a diversity of views it is hard to form an opinion and harder still to forecast the probable future of the society. One bad symptom may be noted, however, and one we have met with already in many of these communist societies and always as the forerunner of the end—that is, a progressive diminution in the membership. In 1920 there were 800 members, in 1923 there were only 350, and the latest figure, for 1927, is only 188, which is not reassuring.

Another bad sign is the continual secessions. A fresh one has been announced: a considerable group has gone up the

Red River to found a new colony, not far from the place where the Icarian advance-guard came to grief.[1]

4. The Lasserre Foundation

Nevertheless these experiments, no matter how incomplete, have created the idea of proceeding in a more methodical fashion to the formation of co-operative communities covering the whole range of economic life.

There was founded at Basle in July 1927 an association with the very object of creating complete or integral co-operative associations, or, as they are also called, communitarian co-operative associations. The word 'communitarian' is better than 'communist,' because the latter has a political meaning nowadays which it is almost impossible to dissociate from it, whereas the term 'communitarian' shows plainly that the organization is a purely social one.

The founder of this organization is not a Swiss, but a French Canadian, Professor Henri Lasserre, of Victoria College, in the University of Toronto. He has drawn up the rules of this society (July 5, 1927), though the society itself exists at present only on paper. But it is interesting to see what its programme is.

Lasserre is directly inspired, as he admits himself, by the Zionist colonies in Palestine and the Llano colony.[2] Communitarian co-operative societies will not be joint stock societies, but will consist of members holding 'shares' which neither

[1] We might have mentioned in this chapter several attempts at establishing co-operative villages in Algeria, but these have found no support from the Government and have had to be abandoned.

[2] Perhaps I may be allowed here to quote the concluding lines of my book *Fourier, précurseur de la Coopération* (1922):

"Specialization should be the first step, and integration should only gradually be arrived at. We must start with specialized institutions, each with its own aim, and later on these can be federated or integrated into more complex institutions. It is by no means out of the question that we may one day see some agricultural co-operative colony combining all the functions which to-day are separated, and thus realizing the expectations of the great visionary."

bear interest nor give any voting power. Members will not be required, as in the communist societies we have studied, to put all their possessions into the common stock, but only to subscribe a small number of 100-franc (nearly £4) 'shares.'

How many members ought these organizations, in the opinion of the founders, to contain? Not many. The same attention has been given to this subject as by all the founders of the colonies we have discussed. Fourier said 1620; Owen said 1200. M. Lasserre is more modest—he does not want to go beyond 500. Now if each member subscribed only one 'share' that would only make 50,000 francs (nearly £2000), and although these are Swiss francs this is not a large capital.[1] Every member is invited, however, to subscribe more than one 'share,' but no one will be able to take up an unlimited number, for this would mean a relapse into capitalism. So the total number of 'shares' will not be allowed to exceed twenty times the number of members, which means that with 500 members there could not be more than 10,000 'shares,' or one million Swiss francs (say £40,000).

It would be simpler to say that no member could take up more than twenty 'shares,' but this would not be the same thing at all, for if a maximum of twenty 'shares' per member was fixed many members would take far less than this, and the total capital would be much less than the million francs indicated above, whereas under the system adopted it will be possible to find a few rich shareholders to supplement the deficiencies of the poorer ones. Even supposing that 499 members took only one 'share' each, while the last member subscribed the remaining 501, the requisite capital would be obtained but the inequality would be rather considerable.[2]

If the 'share' capital is insufficient the society will be able to borrow. Professor Lasserre has himself provided an

[1 The Swiss franc is worth about 9½*d.* (25.22½ to the pound), whereas the French franc is equivalent to just under 2*d.* (124.21 to the pound).]

[2 The author seems here to be basing his calculations on a capital of 1000 shares instead of 10,000.]

endowment of 150,000 francs (£6000) toward the establishment of the society.

When the capital has been collected the first thing to be done will be to acquire an estate on which to settle the colony. Shall it be bought or rented? M. Lasserre advises renting by preference, provided it is on a very long lease indefinitely renewable. Why does he prefer a long lease to full ownership? Simply to rid the colony of the spirit of ownership. It will be for the mother society to concern itself with questions of interest and ownership, the communitarian colony itself having to deal only with its administration. This is the same system as the one described in the last chapter in connexion with the Zionist colonies, where the Jewish National Fund is the owner of the land and lets it on long and renewable leases to the Zionist colonies, so we need only refer the reader back to what we have already said in this connexion.

Once installed, the colony would be exclusively agricultural at the commencement, but it is hoped to set up all industries that may meet the needs of the members and show any chances of success. In any case, a shop will be established where the members of the colony will find everything they require, as at Freidorf, and even more than there, for here there will be agricultural produce grown on the land of the colony itself.

It is expected that every member of the colony will be willing to take part in all the agricultural or industrial work of the colony, though each will be left free to choose as far as possible the kind of work he will do.

How will the work be organized? In agriculture the rule will be direct cultivation carried out in common, but the cultivation of plots rented by members of the society will be permitted, on condition that no wage-paid labour is employed and also that the tenants do not sell the produce of their labour outside the colony. All that is produced will be put into the common stock, and then, if necessary, the com-

munity will sell the surplus outside, after providing for all its own needs.

There remains the big question of distribution. Here there will be no distribution in kind, as at Llano. The society will not undertake to feed and house its members, but will confine itself to providing them with all those collective services which are already installed in some of the great tenement houses, even in Paris.

The society will keep in reserve whatever it considers necessary, and the surplus or net product will be divided among the members of the community. How, and on what basis, will this division be made? On this point there are three systems to be distinguished—the communist, the capitalist, and the co-operative. Under the capitalist system the distribution would be made in proportion to what each member had invested: "How many shares have you subscribed?" "Twenty." "Then you will have a right to the dividends on twenty shares." Under the ordinary Rochdale system as practised by almost all consumers' co-operative societies the distribution would be proportionate to consumption, in the shape of 'dividends' on purchases. On the communitarian system of Llano or even of Saint-Claude there would be no individual distribution, but only a collective assignment of goods and services.

In M. Lasserre's new community there will be none of these three methods. There will be individual distribution in proportion to the number of hours worked by each member, and as it is to be supposed that all members will put in the same number of hours of work—for it is expected that this will be the result of leaving it to each man's conscience —this means that there will be approximately equal distribution. That is a feature that resembles the Marxian socialist programme rather than the co-operative.

This division of profits will not be in cash, but in the form of book credits or coupons available only at the society's shops. The result will be, therefore, that members will not be able

to use their profits as they please, but can only spend them on purchases from the society itself. Thus the profits will return automatically to the community. This is the method adopted already in some consumers' co-operative societies of a socialist type, particularly in Belgium.

So far as consumption is concerned, each member will be free to live in his own house, having his meals there and eating as he likes, or, if he prefers, he can have *table d'hôte* meals or dine at small tables, which is the commonest system, or even be served in his own lodgings.

But will he be able to do his cooking for himself in his own household? I imagine that he will, as the rules do not mention this point. But household cooking is the most burdensome method of consumption. It presupposes the existence of a special room for the purpose, and it involves a far greater expenditure of fuel, besides being a great burden upon the wife, or else it means a waste of labour by the employment of a cook for every household—all conditions which are entirely opposed not only to the spirit of communism, but to that of integral co-operation as well.

However, this society, as I have said, is not yet in existence, and does not appear to be in any hurry to come into being.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

AND now, in conclusion, what is it that all these experimenters in new forms of society are aiming at? They are in search of an environment in which they can find satisfaction for that very lofty need of justice and freedom which they cannot satisfy in the world as it is. They believe that the way to satisfy it is to remove that class inequality which is the principal cause of social strife, and with that object they desire to abolish the main factor in producing that inequality, namely, the pursuit of profit and the money-loving spirit.

Their aim is also to create an environment in which conditions of work shall be easier and pleasanter than they are in the existing state of society, at any rate for the working classes. It seems that it ought not to be difficult to make work comparatively light if we bear in mind, first, how many people there are at present who do nothing, or at least no useful work, and, secondly, how many artificial needs there are which involve a vast expenditure of human labour and yet are absolutely superfluous. If, therefore, everybody could be made to work we should abolish perhaps a third of the population consisting of parasites, and if none but useful things were produced we should save perhaps a third of the labour that is devoted to production. Thus the day's work might be reduced if not by two-thirds yet by a considerable amount, without reducing the total wealth that is necessary to human well-being.

These requirements do not seem chimerical, but they do appear to be capable of being met without going as far as real communism—that strict communism which sacrifices

family life and even individual liberty. That is why the latest of these colonies, taught by the experience of those that have gone before, are content with co-operative association of a more or less complete kind. The latest manifesto, which is that of the Llano seceders who went off to found the third Llano, declares that their aim is not to save the world, but merely to work co-operatively for their own mutual advantage, in the hope that their example may lead others to do the same.[1]

It is particularly essential, however, to abandon the hope that was cherished by Owen, Fourier, and all the other founders of colonies—the hope that man would be changed by his environment. Harriman, the ex-Marxian founder of the Llano colony, writing on this subject, said that after three years' experience he realized that the materialist philosophy of Marxism, founded upon economic determinism, was inadequate to explain observed phenomena, and that ethical and spiritual qualities are of the first importance in community life.[2] That is the admission of a Marxian that the important thing is not only to create a new environment, but to create new men.

The only communities which we have seen to be successful, or at least to live for any length of time, are those which were produced by a personality strong enough to gain the obedience of his followers, and even this discipline has hardly ever been obtained except where it was founded upon religious discipline or even fanaticism.

But should it not be possible to get a discipline freely

[1] From among all the manifestos which might be quoted the following is from the colony of Cosme, which is not now in existence: "The competitive system as it exists in our modern civilization appears to us false, unjust, cruel, and barbarous. Furthermore, it has seemed to us that human beings, bound together in friendly agreement and inspired by a very simple ideal, should be able to live and work together quite well by helping each other instead of continually fighting. That is exactly where we differ from the vast majority of other people, and those are the ideas that have urged us to pitch our tent in this far-off South American forest and to try to lead there as brotherly a life as our human frailties permit."

[2] Harriman, *Communities of the Past and Present*, Introduction.

admitted in virtue of education alone? The founder of Llano has a very interesting remark on this subject. He says that the difficulties of life in these colonies are less when they are recruited from relatively well-to-do social circles than when the colonists are proletarian socialists. He has observed that these middle-class folk are far less exacting in the matter of consumption and more active in production. That speaks for itself. A man who has lived in comfort and known how to use wealth and the pleasures it can procure is more inclined —however paradoxical it may sound—to sacrifice these things and practise economy. He is also more ready to accept the society of others and even to create that environment which is known as 'good company.' The intellectuals of Brook Farm got on better together than the socialist comrades of Icaria, for those who are driven into these colonies by poverty or by hatred of existing society, or sometimes simply by laziness, can obviously bring nothing to the community but trouble. Those who have found it difficult to accommodate themselves to the existing state of society will find it still more difficult to live in a community in which isolation is much harder than in our great cities.

Ought this survey, which is something after the style of an obituary notice, to lead us to the conclusion that it is all up with this dream of communitarian colonies? By no means: it proves on the contrary that the idea is always living. Some of these associations are dying every day, but every day new ones are being born. And besides those which take bodily form there must be counted also all those mentioned in my first chapter, all those which have existed only in novels, all the Utopias that relate to 'the land of nowhere.' And these, unlike the old romances of chivalry, cannot be described as old-fashioned and out-of-date, for they are increased each year by the addition of some new book such as those of Gabriel Tarde, or Anatole France, or H. G. Wells. It must be admitted, then, that these Utopias meet one of

the needs of mankind, or at least an aspiration toward a less individualist kind of life than exists to-day.

If there was a single one of these societies living and flourishing to-day that would be enough, for in physical or chemical science a single successful experiment is enough to establish the truth of a law. A hundred unsuccessful experiments prove nothing against one that succeeds. If they have failed it is merely because circumstances have not been favourable, and the only conclusion to be drawn is that it is not easy to combine these favourable conditions.

Unfortunately we cannot point at this moment to a single example of a really communist society which has really succeeded. But we have seen several which lasted a long time, some of them for over a century, and that is itself a proof that they are practicable. Are we, then, to expect them to be immortal? No, for how many business companies or commercial houses are there which can celebrate their centenary? Very few indeed. So why be astonished if out of two hundred communist societies that have been formed only two or three should be able to celebrate their hundredth birthday?

It is by no means improbable that some day there may be one that will live on permanently. I do not even consider it unlikely that either this century or next these communitarian associations—or integral co-operative societies, if you like—may occupy as large a place in the world as the religious communities did in the Middle Ages.

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