

# AN EXAMINATION OF SOCIETY

*FROM THE STANDPOINT of EVOLUTION*

By  
LOUIS WALLIS

---

Columbus, Ohio:  
The Argus Press  
MDCCLXXXIII

COPYRIGHT 1901

By LOUIS WALLIS.

*Foreign Rights Assigned.*

20142803

To father and Mother

THIS BOOK  
IS LOVINGLY INSCRIBED



## PREFACE.

---

THE general thesis of this book was first published in a prospectus distributed in April, 1901. The prospectus is necessarily a mere sketch, omitting all development of details. A brief, but more satisfactory, presentation was made in the *American Journal of Sociology*, for May, 1902, in a paper entitled "The Capitalization of Social Development." That paper is a condensation of the work now published.

The book attempts to bring the doctrine of social evolution more definitely into relation with facts established by the newer treatment of history and life. The nineteenth century accumulated a greater mass of knowledge about human society than had been possessed in any previous age. Scientific research flung out into bold relief the fact that present-day civilization is the outcome of an unfinished growth-process which began on the levels of animality long before the times of written history. The remains of prehistoric ages, buried in ascending order in the soil of the continents, were extensively studied, with impressively uniform results wherever the investigation was carried. The sources of history, from ancient to modern times, were critically sifted. Altogether, through the labors of an army of inquirers, an immense mass of material has been accumulated, not only in immediate connection with the study of history and prehistoric archaeology, but along with the pursuit of investigations into the customs, manners, and arts of the lower races, the facts of human and animal psychology, and the action of the earth's physical forces. This material, however, is largely undigested. It affords a promising field for the inductive organization of knowledge about

society; but in large part the field lies fallow. To be more specific, the doctrine of evolution, as applied to human society, has thus far given us a gross map of a territory, a standpoint from which to approach the subject; but it has not opened up sufficiently concrete views of social phenomena, nor given us a practical and intimate idea of the facts. Dazzled by the achievements of evolutionary science, we are prone to think the whole story has been told. The great fact of development having been brought into relief, we have tended to accept the fact without pausing to ask what have been the actual conditions under which this vast upward movement of humanity has taken place. This book, as already suggested, is published in the belief that materials now at the disposal of sociological investigators lend themselves to a more positive treatment than they have yet received.

In attempting to give a more definite and concrete form to the doctrine of social evolution, the present work lays down a proposition whereof the validity is to be tested, not by prejudice, but by the logical methods of science. We are not entirely sure about the value of our thesis. No new facts are brought forward; but an attempt is made to apply to facts already established what is thought to be, on the whole, a new interpretation. To the general student, educated according to present standards, it is safe to say that our thesis will come with all the force of a novel proposition. If it appeal to the scholar, he will cautiously add the conception to his intellectual outfit.

Our examination involves a sweeping survey of social development, commencing on the levels of prehistoric animality, and passing up through the great historic civilizations that have contributed to the world's higher progress. The general thesis indicates what we conceive to be one of the most important factors of social evolution. The reader may be assured in advance, however, that we identify this principle with only a small part of social science. The danger is ever present of erecting

special principles into complete philosophies; and as we have emphasized this in the text, there is no need for special stress upon it here.

The application of the main thesis to universal history involves an inquiry into the decline and fall of the earlier historic civilizations. The line of human progress has, indeed, passed up from prehistoric beginnings through the ancient oriental and classic worlds into modern western society. But the ancient civilizations, despite their progress, did not endure; and the wrecks of many nations lie along the path of social development. Some of the later institutions of progressive society have issued from the struggles of earlier historic societies with the problem of their decline and fall; and if our inquiry should ignore the retrogressive aspects of human history we should be embarrassed in the treatment of these later institutions. Social development, as revealed by universal history, is not only a struggle for progress, but a struggle against retrogression.

Modern historical criticism shows that the decline of ancient oriental society coincided with the rise of Judaism upon the wreck of an earlier Semitic heathenism. The decline of classic civilization, in its turn, coincided with the rise of Christianity upon the basis of Judaism. Our treatment of the decline and fall of the earlier historic nations turns upon the rise of these two great religions. In other words, this inquiry carries us into the fascinating and absorbing fields of Old and New Testament history and criticism. The relevancy of this part of our work will be apparent to the scholar. To the mind still possessed by the idea that life is composed of a number of distinct "worlds," or "departments," this will seem at first like an unwarranted digression. We do not, however, touch upon the problems of Biblical research with the aim of pronouncing upon them from conventional standpoints. With the validity of religious doctrines a work on sociology can have nothing to do, for a discussion of the absolute content of the realities with which

sociology deals carries us at once out of the domain of sociology. The right of sociology to deal freely from its own standpoint with our sacred literature needs to be emphasized.

The modern school of Biblical criticism is undoubtedly engaged in a successful application of the same scientific principles that have been brought to bear upon history at large. But if certain positions advanced in this book are valid, Biblical criticism has not been brought so fully into line with scientific research as it might. Men like Wellhausen, and Robertson Smith, and Cheyne adhere to many conclusions based on the most rigid scientific grounds; but it presently becomes evident that they are, after all, preoccupied by an apologetic religious interest. This interest may be more subtle than in the case of more orthodox and less heretical men; but it is there nevertheless; and at a certain point in their work its influence begins to run counter to their own scientific principles. It seems to us that the critical school has not sufficiently utilized the sources, both inside and outside the Bible, which are available to the investigator. The general result of Biblical criticism has been toward the assimilation of the history of Israel with the growth of society at large. Sometimes this assimilation is complete; sometimes it is partial. The defects in the critical process hitherto, as we see them, result from the fact that as a rule Biblical scholars lack the sociological standpoint. This indeed is inevitable. Criticism of our sacred literature is only a part of the wider critical movement which has subjected the world's literature to the rigid test of scientific principles; and this critical movement is itself a necessary antecedent of scientific sociology.

One of the most epoch-making discoveries ever made is, that the social world in which we live is itself an object of scientific investigation. Human society constitutes the subject-matter of a general science. Like other sciences — and more than many of them — sociology, the science of

society, has been only partially worked out. This fact, however, should no more count against sociology than against physics or biology. The science of society, like other sciences, deals with phenomena. It makes no effort to break outside the charmed circle of phenomena; for if the sociologist should do that he would be lost in the metaphysician. Sociology is the crown of all the sciences. It comprehends, and also transcends, the special social sciences like politics, economics, and ethics. The social sciences are in themselves nothing. They deal only with abstractions from the reality which is common to them all. Sociological training is the necessary summation of all the experience that prepares for the most intelligent work in philosophy.

It is believed that the general conception of this work furnishes a practical sociological discipline of great importance. It helps to show what the science of society is; and it emphasizes that the special social sciences deal with phases of the reality common to them all.

The book itself is an examination of society; but it does not try to formulate a definition of society. It is a treatise on sociology; but it does not try to formulate a definition of sociology. It assumes that we need experience of society and sociology more than precise definitions of either. It is willing to let definitions grow out of experience, without trying to churn experience from definitions born out of due time.

We have tried to produce a text which will be intelligible not only to scholars, but to non-technical readers. This, however, not without misgivings: Generally speaking, a new thesis ought to be presented first in technical form to the experts who are qualified to pass judgment on it. This condition has been partly complied with by the publication of the paper noted above. As a plain matter of fact, if a book of this nature obtains any recognition from competent authorities, it is sure to come into the hands of non-technical readers. People of intelligence, who need a guidance in sociology which has

either not been available, or of which they are not informed, are now reaching forth for books from which they get more harm than good; and we have tried to adapt our treatment with these facts in mind.

We should like to acknowledge the guarded encouragement given to our enterprise by Professor Albion W. Small, of the University of Chicago. His kindly interest has been a stimulating influence.

August, 1903.

L. W.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS.

---

## CHAPTER I.

### PRELIMINARY SURVEY.

(Pages 19-28.)

The scientific doctrine of evolution as applied to human society. Bird's-eye view of the course of world-history, from primeval savagery and animality up through the oriental, classic, and western civilizations into modern society.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE PRIMITIVE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE.

(Pages 29-37.)

The scientific proposition that the original state of mankind was that of savagery and animality, unrelieved by progress in the industrial arts. Proofs and implications of this proposition. Primeval men necessarily scattered over the earth in small and hostile groups. Large societies impossible, since men possessed neither the material tools nor the knowledge whereby to develop the resources of nature.

## CHAPTER III.

### PREHISTORIC BEGINNINGS.

(Pages 38-46.)

Rough Stone Age. Smooth Stone Age. Early Metal Age. Discovery of fire. Domestication of animals. Saving of seed for planting. Social effect of early industrial progress. Prehistoric family groups and clans fuse into tribes. Tribes into nations. Nations into affiliated groups. Early stratification of growing social bodies into *two principal classes*, upper and lower. The tremendous fact of social cleavage into upper and lower classes. A necessary outcome of prior conditions, and a step in human progress. Cleavage based primarily upon ownership of the lower class by the upper class; and later (when society passed from nomadism to settled life) upon aristocratic land monopoly. Ancient common property in the soil not democratic communism, but *upper class* communism.

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE CAPITALIZATION OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

(Pages 47-59)

The integration, or drawing together, of mankind in social groups of increasing size rests upon the concomitant integration of a huge mass of material and spiritual *capital* whereby the resources of nature are adapted to human needs. Present day civilization based upon a vast mass of capital in the form of material tools, technical knowledge, etc. If this mountain of social capital were destroyed, men would be reduced at once to primeval savagery. Social capital not accumulated by the free combination of small quantities of individual capital. *Social cleavage into two principal classes, upper and lower, the main factor in the capitalization of social development.* The significance of cleavage not realized, either by scholars or by the general public. Cleavage known as a fact, but not hitherto treated as its importance demands. Society a collectivism paradoxically developing under the forms of individualism.

## CHAPTER V.

## ORIENTAL CIVILIZATION.

(Pages 60-196)

Application of this thesis to the most ancient circle of communities that lay in the path of the world's higher progress — the society centering around the eastern seaboard of the Mediterranean, Egypt, Chaldea, etc. The relation of social cleavage to all sides of ancient oriental life — political, industrial, religious, intellectual, etc. Paradoxical nature of cleavage. An instrument of social good and evil simultaneously. The world ruled by the play of opposed forces. Decline and fall of the ancient oriental world largely involved in abuses of social cleavage. These propositions as to both aspects of cleavage illustrated in dramatic fashion by the history of Israel, a nation which lay at the center and cross-roads of the ancient civilization here under survey. Early politics and religion united. The history of Israel a secular history under the guise of religious history. The origin and social nature of religion. The early religion of Israel shown by modern historical criticism to have been a local Semitic heathenism. Israel knew no god by the name of "Jehovah." This name first composed by a European monk. The true name of Israel's national god partly given in the fourth verse of psalm 68 under the form "JAH." This name-syllable pronounced as in the word "hallelu-jah." The full name of Israel's national god to be rendered thus: "YAHWEH." Historical reality of the sojourn of certain Israelitish tribes on the borders of Egypt. Historical reality of Moses. The man Moses a pre-supposition of Israelite history. The part played by Moses in the escape of Israel from the borders of Egypt. The god Yahweh not originally

the god of Israel. Derived by covenant from the *Kenites*, a nomadic people in the region of Mount Sinai, opposite the northeastern border of Egypt. Why Moses was not invited to the sacrificial meal at Mount Sinai. The economic basis of all these movements. The covenant between the Israelites, the Kenites, and Yahweh, interpreted by the social consciousness as the *choice*, or *election*, of Israel, by the god Yahweh. Attack of the allied Israelites and Kenites, under the assumed leadership of Yahweh, upon the land of Canaan. This movement plainly an economic movement arising from the needs of Israelites and Kenites. The Kenites partly absorbed into Israel. The partial nature of the so called "conquest of Canaan" by Israel revealed in Judges 1: 27-36 and numerous other sources. The vast importance of social cleavage as a fact in the social history of Israel. The Israelite invaders unable to take the Canaanite cities. The subjugation of the Canaanite agricultural districts by the Israelites. The Israelites a rustic aristocracy during the period of the "Judges." Multiplication of alliances and unions between the Israelite agricultural upper class and the Canaanite *city* upper class. Gradual mingling and reconciliation of the population. Marriage of Gideon, an Israelite clan chief, with a woman of the Canaanite city of Shechem a good example of this. Abortive attempt of the Gideonites to found a kingdom embracing city and country. Final union of Israelites and Canaanites forced by pressure of the Philistines, Ammonites, and other outsiders. The centripetal direction of the Israelite kingship from country to city. Gideon an Israelite clan chief in the agricultural districts. King Saul a country aristocrat from first to last. King David marries a daughter of Saul; then contracts a union with Abigail, widow of Nabal, a wealthy rustic landlord; but later in life is identified with Jerusalem, "the city of David." King Solomon and all subsequent kings, men of the city. *Passage of the Kingship from country to city a sign of the concomitant passage of economic power in Canaanitish Israel in the same direction.* The political conditions underlying and controlling the rise of Yahweh from the state of a tribal god to that of a national deity, and presently to that of an imperial god. Worship of the Canaanite baalim, or local gods, a sign of the Canaanite element in the mingled blood of Canaanitish Israel. Gradual contraction upon itself of the upper class of slaveholders and landowners. Real estate in Israel falls more and more into the power of city aristocrats and large rustic proprietors. This largely caused by poorly adjusted system of taxation, which pressed more heavily upon the country districts than upon city property. Consequent increasing economic difficulties of the less wealthy members of the upper class. David undertakes a census of Israel—probably to ascertain extent of taxable property. His son Solomon marks the kingdom into taxation districts regardless of tribal and clan affiliations. Division of the kingdom over the matter of taxation at the accession of Rehoboam. The kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Gradual social decline of both kingdoms. Gradual idealization of the imagined earlier golden

age of David and Solomon. Continued contraction of the upper class upon itself. Concentration of property and of economic power in relatively fewer and fewer hands. Evolution of prophecy, or forthspeaking on behalf of the divine. Dramatic role of prophecy in this history. The opinion of the majority of the people that Yahweh had deserted them. Startling claim of the minority, as voiced by the prophets, that Israel's troubles were the issue of Israel's own unfaithfulness to the contract with Yahweh at Mount Sinai. Yahweh had raised Israel to glory in former times, and conquered every god with whom his chosen people came in contact. But Israel had served the gods of other nations as well as the baalim of the Canaanites, the "former inhabitants of the country," who were now asserted by tradition to have been driven out by Yahweh. The great Elijah, or Eli-yah, who declared that Yahweh was the only "el," or god, for Israel to serve. Marriage of King Ahab of the northern kingdom with Jezebel of Tyre. Alliance with Tyre; and erection of altars to the Tyrian baal. Alliance of Judah and Tyre. Bloody revolutions of Jehu and Jehoash in both Israelite kingdoms, whereby worship of the Tyrian god was put down, and his votaries were killed in accordance with the program of Elijah, who desired Israel to "return" to Yahweh. Jehonadab, the upper-class *Kenite* Rechabite, who came in from his home in the rural districts at the time of the revolution of Jehu, to associate with the usurping king and see his "zeal" for Yahweh. Sociological basis for the assimilation of "righteousness" with the worship of the national god of Israel. The claims and program of prophecy formulated in the rural districts. Elijah a rustic. Elisha, his disciple, called from the plow handles. Amos a herdsman. Micah a resident of a country village in the Shephelah. But in the person of Isaiah, prophecy at length follows the line of the kingship, and enters the city, to remain at the center of the social problem to the last. The reaction between country and city an imperative fact in the history of Canaanitish Israel. The development of the message of the prophets. The psychology of the prophets. How Yahweh of Sinai finally became the imperial sovereign of heaven and earth (in the mind of Israel). Importance of the Babylonish Exile in fixing the religion of Israel in its later, monotheistic form. The *religious contrast* between post-Exilic Israel and pre-Exilic Israel. The *social identity* of post-Exilic and pre-Exilic Israel. The religion of Israel transformed indeed from a local Semitic heathenism into an imperial, ethical monotheism; *but the great social problem, which the prophets attacked, still unsolved.* The prophetic party deceived by the forms of society, and incapable of understanding the organic nature of the social problem. Society a collectivism developing, and also decaying, under the *forms* of individualism. Futility of the prophetic prescription of individual righteousness as a solution for the social problem. The message of prophetism founded upon a vast "post-hoc" fallacy. Evidence as to social cleavage in the post-Exilic psalms, proverbs, wisdom writings and apocryphal books. Continued decline of society at the eastern end

of the Mediterranean. Gradual shifting of the center of historical interest and social headship to the northern coasts of the Great Sea.

## CHAPTER VI.

### CLASSIC CIVILIZATION.

(Pages 197-231)

Further application of the general conception to the Greek and Roman societies. Social cleavage established in the prehistoric period of classic civilization upon precisely the same basis as in oriental civilization. The clan aristocracy the original factor in Greek and Roman politics. The growth of trade and manufacture in the northern Mediterranean exceeds the industrialism of the ancient eastern world. Rise of the classic "Third Estate" to *economic equality* with the clan aristocracy, or patrician element. Struggle of the patricians and plebeians issues in the enfranchisement of men upon the basis of wealth instead of upon the more ancient basis of descent. This change a matter of great sociological importance. Society now becomes impersonal in its political phase. Along with the retrocession of ancient family aristocracy, *fatherhood* ceases to rule and protect the state. Consequently the social ideal of fatherhood loses its military character, and becomes more industrial, domestic and lovable. Profoundly democratic effect of these transformations upon the social mind. Greece and Rome extend their empire all around the Mediterranean, including the remains of ancient Israel within the circle of these influences. *The social problem of cleavage, however, advances to the same issue in the later civilization as in the earlier civilization.* In the midst of this *declining social world* Christianity rises upon the foundations of Judaism, and centers about the person of Jesus, the prophet of Nazareth. The problem of the psychology of Jesus. The rise of Christianity a later chapter in the psychology of the prophets. Christianity spreads at first in the lower social class; but issues at length in a great politico-religious engine with an aristocratic constitution—the Roman Catholic Church. Continued decline of the classic world. Final collapse of the Roman Empire in the West. Influx of the barbarians.

## CHAPTER VII.

### WESTERN CIVILIZATION.

(Pages 232-278)

Extended application of this thesis to western society, beginning on the same level as in the chapters on the oriental and classic worlds. The plan of history broadens in scope still further. Current misunderstanding of American history and social development. It represents the efflux of civilized men and capital upon a vast empire of good, unmonopolized, and easily accessible soil. American history begins in the older civilizations.

## CHAPTER VIII.

WESTERN CIVILIZATION — (*continued*).

(Pages 279-318)

The problem of cleavage in western society. England, Germany and the United States. The great social paradox.

BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	319-322
INDEX .....	323f.

## ERRATA.

Page 18 (on fly-leaf): In fourth quotation from A. W. Small, *instead of* The concept of "individualism" *read* The concept "individual." The sentence is correctly given in the more extended quotation at page 55.

Page 265: *Instead of* emigrants *read* immigrants.



The sociologist maintains that specialism is partialism unless it is organized into realism. — Albion W. Small, *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. III, p. 167.

The paramount duty of social scholarship at the present moment is to reckon with the epoch-making fact that to-day's men have gradually cut the moorings of ethical and social tradition after tradition, and that society is to-day adrift, without definite purpose to shape its course, and without a supreme conviction to give it motion. — Idem, *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. I, p. 567.

Society is ethically bankrupt. We have some ethical assets, but they are a small percentage of our liabilities. Speaking generally, our ethical capital consists of a heterogeneous collection of provincial moralities. There is a permanent world's exposition of clashing moral standards. — Idem, *Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago*, Vol. IV., pp. 115, 116.

The concept of "individualism" is one of our convenient concessions to our intellectual incapacity. — Idem, *Decennial Publications*, Vol. IV, p. 128.

The individualistic conception of human affairs is not utterly false. It is a rough, uncritical, inexact exaggeration of a perception which must be reduced to more precise and proportionate formulation. To-day's sociology is still struggling with this preposterous initial fact of the individual. He is the only possible social unity, and he is no longer a thinkable possibility. He is the only real presence, and he is never present. Whether we are near to resolution of the paradox or not, there is hardly more visible consensus about the relation of the individual to the whole than at any earlier period. Indeed, the minds of more people than ever seem to be puzzled by the seeming antinomy between the individual and the whole. — Idem, *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. V, p. 514, 515.

Doubtless the social problem has waited longer than it ought for adequate formulation, because many men have believed too implicitly with Plato that "ideas make the world." Such men have told the story of history as though it were a ghost-dance on a floor of clouds. They have tried to explain how spirits with indiscernible bodies have brought about the visible results. They would not admit that the facts of human association have been the work of flesh-and-blood men with their feet on the ground. — Idem, *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. V, p. 518.

## CHAPTER I.

---

### PRELIMINARY SURVEY.

---

§1. — Modern scientific research brings out into bold relief the fact that civilization is the result of a process of growth, or development, which took its rise on the levels of savagery and animality long before historical times. This evolutionary process, moreover, still goes on around us. Whether or not the theory be true that mankind have ultimately descended from some lower species of animal, we must at all events accept the view that man once lived on the earth without knowledge of the material arts, in an animal condition, whence he rose, by a gradual process of development, into civilized society. This moderate position — which should always be distinguished from the radical view — is supported by many lines of positive evidence, and commands the assent of all competent authorities. Quite naturally, indeed, those who hold that historical man is descended from prehistoric ancestors who lived an animal existence, are likely also to hold, as we do, that prehistoric men were, in turn, derived from a non-human stock. But for the student of the rise and growth of civilized society, it is practically sufficient to accept the evolutionary doctrine as more narrowly applied. In other words, unless we are approaching the study of man from the biological standpoint, we may ignore the matter of his physical origin, and enter upon our work at those levels of animality and savagery whence man has passed upward through barbarism into civilization. This narrower doctrine does not affirm that progress is uniform; nor does it hold that progress admits of no retrogression. It declares that, on the whole, hu-

manity is a rising, or progressive, race; that some sections of the race exhibit more progressive tendencies than others; and that progress tends eventually to become generalized.\*

Although it has been fully shown by many writers that evolution is a great law of history, a current popular idea is that conditions in general have somehow gone backward from an almost perfect state of things — “the good old times.” Let it be emphasized, however, that this idea, opposed as it is to the doctrine of evolution, is perfectly natural in view of human psychology and the conditions under which progress takes place. There are at least two reasons for the vitality of this mistaken view of life. In the first place, it contains a small measure of truth. Progress plainly involves losses that are, at the least estimate, temporary. If we look at progress from a narrow standpoint, and fail to take a broad view, these losses assume undue proportions; and a primary tendency of our minds is to look at things from the narrow standpoint. In the second place, the retrogressive theory has been a most effective practical stimulus to progress. In a slowly developing world the existence of a widespread longing to recover the felicity of some fancied Golden Age in the distant past helps to urge man along the upward path.

It remains for the popular mind to adjust itself to the new intellectual atmosphere. Despite the great progress of the idea of development, it has not yet been brought home in a practical way to the daily, popular thought. Looking abroad in the world, it is plain that while the doctrine of evolution is fully entrenched in some quarters, it remains within comparatively narrow limits. It is, indeed, a matter of common knowledge that civiliza-

---

\* The term “evolution,” as used in this book, will have the narrower meaning given it in the text, unless we make specific mention of the more thoroughgoing doctrine of man’s descent from non-human stock, etc. We use the word loosely as the equivalent of growth, development, and progress.

tion has in some way arisen out of a simpler and ruder state of things; but this knowledge lies vaguely in the background of the public mind, and finds little or no application to practical questions. Current public opinion is usually based on discouragingly narrow premises.

§ 2. — Although we must, in this inquiry, assume the truth of the doctrine of evolution, without special attempt at proof, it may be well briefly to set down here the essential points of the argument for that doctrine as applied to human society.

First of all, historical records clearly show that civilization has grown up out of barbarism. Following the course of history backward and forward, we see that there has been unfolded a series of developmental, or evolutionary, steps.

But written history does not give us the earliest chapters of this great process. It does, indeed, supply more than we are commonly inclined to admit; but it does not take up the story at a point that can be in any way distinguished as a beginning. It breaks in, so to speak, upon a drama that has already begun. For the purpose of the sociological student, written history is fairly complete. It gives the essentials. But in the ancient period it begins to fail; the twilight of tradition and myth gathers; and at last we are left to grope in the darkness of antiquity.

What, now, is the student of social evolution to do? Let us turn away from written records for a time, and look elsewhere. Widely distributed over the world — in Europe, America, Asia, Africa, and in fact wherever investigation has been carried — are found rude tools in the crust of the earth. These implements consist of axes, hammers, knives, arrow-heads, scrapers, awls, and other articles of stone and metal. Now, we learn nothing trustworthy from written history about the nature and origin of these tools. In ancient Egypt and Chaldea they were thought to be of supernatural origin, and were used in connection with religious rites. In Europe, during the Middle Age, they were commonly known as “thunder-

stones." It was thought that they fell from the skies during storms; and that they had been used in the "wars in heaven," and afterward thrown to the earth. But there is now no doubt that they are the tools used by races which peopled the world long before historical times — prehistoric men, who had not wit enough to make and preserve a written record of their own existence. We have, indeed, no direct knowledge of this; but the physical evidence of it is just as good, and is entitled to as much credit, as evidence that we receive and act upon every day. If, in passing through a field, we see marks like those made by wheels and the feet of horses, we never think of doubting that a vehicle of some sort, drawn by a horse of some color, has been there before us. In the same way, the existence of these rude implements, buried in the soil of Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and elsewhere, taken in connection with the fact that written history from ancient to modern times has nothing trustworthy to tell us about them, proves, as well as anything can be proved from abundant physical evidence, that the earth was peopled in prehistoric ages by races of primitive men.

Not until the nineteenth century were these remains investigated in a thoroughgoing scientific spirit; and the results are even more impressive than at first appears. Very much more has been demonstrated than the mere fact that rude men peopled the earth before the times of written history. The prehistoric implements are not all found at the same distance from the surface. They are discovered at various levels — some higher, some lower; and in general are distributed in such a way as to show that all have not been where they are during the same length of time. As a rule, those that evidently have been in place the longest are buried deepest, and are significantly the rudest of all. These most primitive tools are made of stone, broken into pieces and brought into shape without smoothing or polishing. Higher up are found more various tools, made with more care and art, more regular in shape, and finished more smoothly, making better instru-

ments for cutting, piercing, scraping, grinding, etc. Among these later tools we begin to find parts of the human skeleton; but the bones of man and the smaller animals do not, as a rule, survive the action of natural forces. Only the skeletons of larger animals, like the mammoth and the mastodon, are well preserved. Going higher, and coming still nearer the surface, the polished stone implements begin to be mingled with utensils of copper and bronze. In these deposits the bones of men and animals are more common. Thus there is an ascent clearly marked out, beginning with the Rough Stone Age, passing up through the Smooth Stone Age, and thence into the Age of Metals. The conclusion is irresistible: Not only did primitive men exist on the earth long before the era of written records; but they were at the same time subject to the law of progress, development, or evolution.

By a study of these remains we find that man's condition in *later* prehistoric ages was practically the same as in the *earlier* age of written history. Presently we find ourselves driven on to the conclusion that the progress which took place before historical times was the earlier aspect of the same progress which has gone forward during the times of written records. In other words, prehistoric progress and historic progress are parts of one great evolutionary movement whereby modern civilization has grown up from the levels of rudest savagery and animality. This conclusion is fully sustained by all manner of research into the history, antiquities, and life of mankind. The doctrine of evolution is indeed the only doctrine that gives us an intelligible rendering of human history and human society.

§ 3. — The material for a study of the process of social evolution is extensive and various.

For prehistoric times we have the remains of extinct races. These remains are found, as observed above, all over the world beneath the crust in the same general order, beginning lowest down with tools of rough stone, passing upward through deposits of smooth stone uten-

sils, and thence to metal implements. This material is now represented by many public and private collections, and a large body of literature.

It is certain that the prehistoric career of humanity extended over a much longer stretch of time than the period embraced within the few thousand years of written history. Nevertheless, progress during prehistoric ages was so slow, and general conditions were necessarily so simple, that the essentials of the story of man before his appearance in the field of history are easily recovered and briefly told. It is the later and more complex periods, whereof we possess written record, that demand the closer attention, and are more difficult to understand and explain. We are, it is true, disposed to think that the reverse of this must be the case. At first thought, it seems as if the prehistoric period, of which there is no written record, would present greater difficulties to the student than the age of written history. But in a very important sense, as just observed, this is not so. The growth of society, like the growth of a plant or an animal, is from the relatively simple to the relatively complex; and life in prehistoric times was of necessity very simple as compared with life now. The results of the modern deductive and inductive reconstruction of early human life and progress are marvelous.

The knowledge derived from the study of prehistoric remains is widened and deepened by a comparative examination of the lower races now living in the world. These races are not the degenerates of a high civilization. They are simply wayside survivors from prehistoric times, having made various degrees of progress, and then stopped or slightly retrograded; and a study of their customs, industries, languages, and traditions is of great importance to the social student. We now have at our disposal an immense mass of information relating to the more backward races in all parts of the world. This material would justly be open to suspicion if it were more limited in quantity and of merely local scope. But it is of great extent,

and has been accumulated by the independent observations of thousands of travelers and missionaries in all parts of the world; and a comparative study of it reveals the operation of the same tendencies everywhere.

For study of the historical period we have written records, which carry the view forward from ancient to modern times. These records are of the most diverse character, from inscriptions on stone or metal, giving some detail of local import, to written and printed dissertations with a broad outlook over large areas of life. All authoritative historical works — like Mommsen's *History of Rome*, and Green's *History of the English* — are based on a critical sifting of these primary sources.

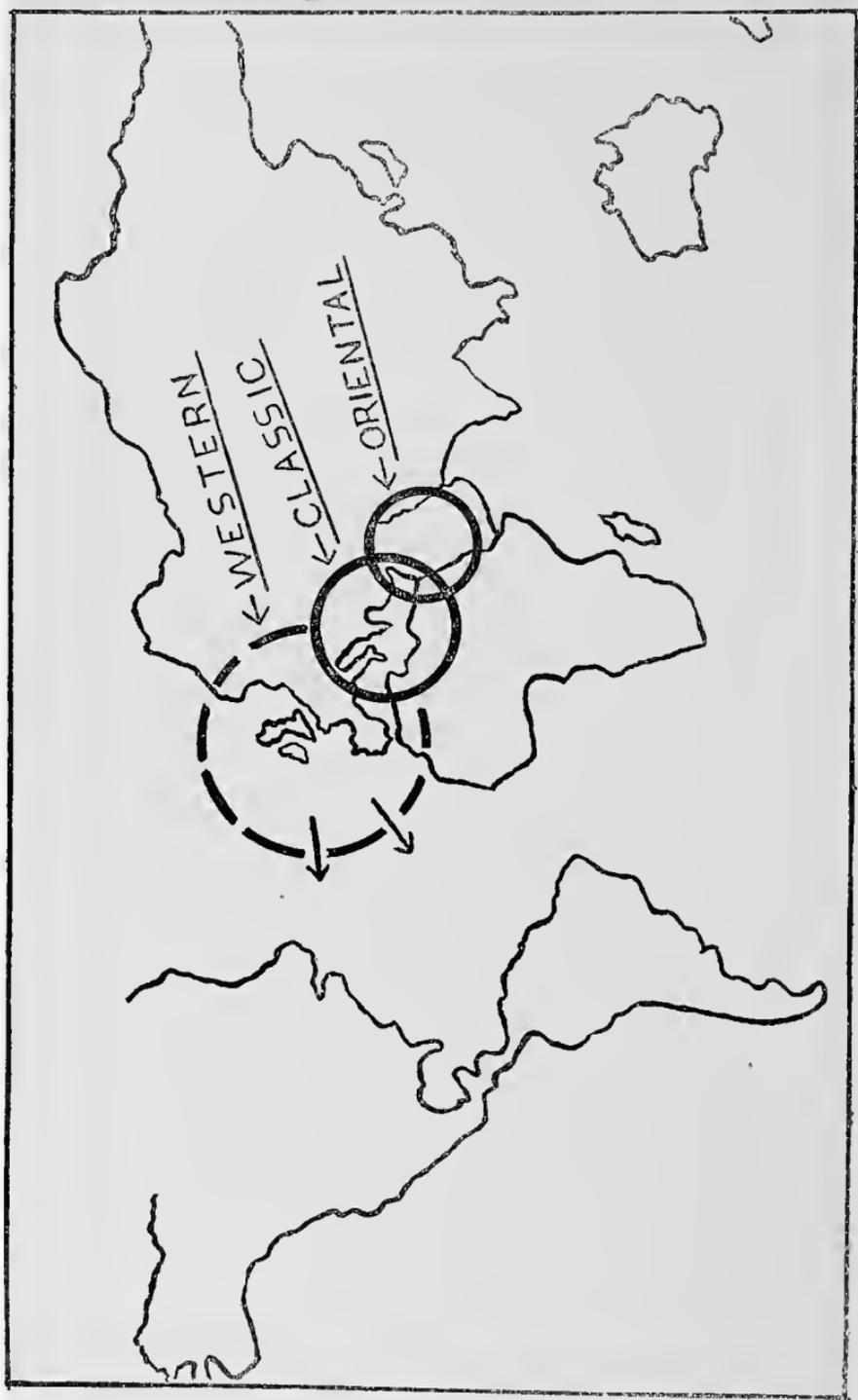
The social process as it goes on around us at present can be viewed practically at first hand in its whole extent.

The importance of each class of our material consists not only in its inherent value, but in its relations to other kinds of material. Each class throws light on every other class; and the total value of all the material at our disposal is much greater than the sum of the values of each particular class.

Altogether, the available sources enable us to recover the facts of social development in a fairly satisfactory way — not so fully as we would, but with sufficient certainty to afford a safe basis for the interpretation of essential facts and principles.

§ 4. — At first glance there seems to be no justification for speaking in a general way about the "development of society." Whether the outlook be upon the present or the past, the field seems to be divided between separate social groups rather than occupied by anything that merits comprehensive treatment. But a closer view reveals a well defined growth-process working out through universal history.

In order to give our thought graphic points of attachment, let us use a map of the world on Mercator projection. (See map accompanying text). At the right are Europe, Asia, and Africa. At the left, North and South



WESTERN

CLASSIC

ORIENTAL

America. Here we have an outline of the great stage whereon the drama of social development unfolds itself.

Now, prehistoric remains indicate that a limited measure of progress was made in early ages throughout the entire world.

But while there has been a limited measure of progress everywhere, the higher development of mankind has been worked out by a relatively small part of the race. This higher evolution has been accomplished by three great historic civilizations, or circles of communities.

The earliest of these to emerge from the darkness of prehistoric times into the daylight of history was the ancient oriental civilization. (See map). This great circle of communities was located near the eastern extremity of the Mediterranean sea, and included the Egyptians, Babylonians, Phenicians, Assyrians, Israelites, etc. Oriental civilization contributed much to the development of society; but it carried forward the work of progress only a relatively short distance, and then — as if the task were too heavy — went into stagnation.

Oriental achievements, however, were not lost. Another group of peoples now came into the light of history, absorbed the culture of the older circle of communities, and assumed the leadership of progress. This group included the races of Greece and Italy. It was located in the northern Mediterranean lands; and is known collectively as the classic civilization. (See map). Its contributions to the growth of society were great; but it also at length fell into stagnation.

And now a third circle of communities emerged from the darkness of prehistoric beginnings. Arising out of barbarism and savagery, as did the classic and oriental nations, these latter communities have expanded in central and western Europe, and overflowed into America and other lands. The largest and most important of the states constructed out of them are Germany, France, England, and the United States. These nations constitute the center of western civilization. (See map). Successors to

the task of the oriental and classic civilizations, and heirs of their achievements, the nations of the west are in the forefront of human progress.

Thus there come gradually into view the gigantic outlines of an evolution which has no local boundaries, and ever tends to include the world. In studying universal history, then, we must —

First — conceive of the entire prehistoric world as making various degrees of progress from animality. And we must —

Second — picture the *majority* of the races of mankind as halting at various way-stations along the path of social growth, taking up, as it were, a waiting attitude, while —

Third — the more progressive *minority* embraced in the oriental, classic, and western civilizations vicariously works out that economic, political, and intellectual culture which is today being generalized over the earth.

From this preliminary survey we pass on to a closer study of the field here marked out. Our inquiry will at first have to do with the prehistoric world in general. Then, after stating our main thesis, we shall narrow the scope of our survey to the first great historic civilization — the oriental, — passing thence through the classic world, and thence onward into our own western society.

## CHAPTER II.

---

### THE PRIMITIVE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE.

---

§ 5. — If civilization is the outcome of an evolutionary process which began on the levels of animality, it follows that early prehistoric men must once have lived the life of animals. In this chapter we shall try to obtain a clear idea of what that life was. As previously observed, we are able to trace the course of man's life backward through the Age of Metals and the Smooth Stone Period into the time when he used only rough implements of stone and wood. Below this latter point all physical evidence is lacking. Now, it makes no vital difference to the argument of this book whether man began his career on or below the level of the early stone age. But in the interests of clear thinking, it is well for us to push the view backward to a time slightly anterior to that period, and begin with man before he had learned to fashion tools. If it be objected that under such conditions man would not have been distinguished from the higher apes, and would not have been man at all, the answer is that this point is immaterial in the present connection. By carrying the view backward to the extreme limit, and trying to represent to ourselves how a creature like man would have lived in the pre-stone age — by doing this, we are able to set the total results of human progress in bolder relief against the background of nature, and hence to obtain clearer initial conceptions of our subject. The principle to be developed is the same whether we begin with man in the primitive stone age, or in the earlier time that preceded the first era of material progress.

§ 6. — Great social bodies were impossible in early prehistoric times for at least two good reasons:

First — the precarious food supply which is always offered by uncultivated nature;

Second — human ignorance about how to make artificial use of nature.

Under such conditions it was plainly impossible for large numbers to associate in one locality. On this point we may cite some interesting observations by Mr. Lewis Morgan, a careful student of Indian life, who was adopted into the Seneca tribe. The passage to be reproduced refers to a higher plane of existence than is here to be considered; but for that reason it applies with even more force.

“Numbers within a given area were limited by the amount of subsistence it afforded. When fish and game were the main reliance for food, it required an immense area to maintain a small tribe. After farinaceous food was added to fish and game, the area occupied by a tribe was still a large one in proportion to the number of the people. New York, with its forty-seven thousand square miles, never contained at any time more than twenty-five thousand Indians, including with the Iroquois the Algonkins on the east side of the Hudson and upon Long Island, and the Eries and Neutral Nation in the western section of the state” (1).

The conditions which underlay the dispersal of the Indians over a wide territory applied with far more force to primeval men, who had made little or no material progress. It was necessarily impossible for large social groups to be formed in the early prehistoric age, since the food supply was precarious and the material arts were unknown.

§ 7. — But while we are sure that primeval men must have been widely scattered, it is absolutely certain that a small measure of association obtained among them. The profound significance of kinship ties in the early history of all races proves that early social connections must have

been based, not on the accidental association of individuals, but mostly on some form of blood-relationship. The testimony of history and ethnology is reenforced by that of animal and human physiology. The care of the young was at least as necessary among primeval men as it is with the higher animals; and as a matter of logical inference it was even more necessary. This fact, of course, involved a family life of some kind. Wholly aside from such a consideration, the advantages of a limited cooperation for defense and offense could not fail to be manifest. The earliest social ties known to man, then, were those of the prehistoric family group. These groups would naturally hold together up to the point permitted by the available food supply.

§ 8. — The earliest records and traditions of all civilized races tell of great migratory movements; and savages and barbarians at the present day roam over the territories whereon they live. It is plain that the small, scattered groups of primitive men already spoken of could not, as a rule, remain permanently upon one spot. Ignorant of the material arts, and dependent upon the precarious gifts of uncultivated nature, they must have been forced into the nomadic life, restlessly wandering about in search of food.

§ 9. — The early records and traditions of all civilized peoples tell not only of migrations but of conflicts which, in last analysis, resolve themselves into struggles about the food supply. The facts of savage life tell the same story. Prehistoric social groups must, therefore, have been under the necessity of contending with each other and with the lower animals for the means of subsistence.

We know that natural goods, like water, fruit, and game, are not equally distributed over the earth at the present time; and that, simply on what we call "the law of chances," they have never been everywhere the same. Consequently the food supply was not equally distributed over the earth in prehistoric times. The effect of this in-

equality upon primitive men was increased by those inevitable variations in the environment which cause a drouth here, and a flood there; an unusual quickening of vegetable and animal life in one region, and a blight somewhere else. Thus it could not but happen that while some primitive groups were finding enough to sustain life, others were obtaining little or no subsistence in their accustomed haunts; and it is easy to see that these natural inequalities, together with human ignorance about the material arts, were at the basis of primeval warfare.

§ 10. — The issue of a conflict between two groups over the possession of an oasis that would accomodate but one group was necessarily, as a rule, the extermination of the vanquished by the victors.

If a group obtained food enough to support its members there was little or no cause for serious internal contention. All strength would be reserved for coping with outsiders. But even the condition of internal peace could not have been steadily maintained. Famines, as we know, have persisted far into historical times; they are known today among the more backward races; and it is not difficult to form some conception of the effects of a prehistoric famine. At such melancholy times the stress of the struggle for life must have broken the bonds that held the primitive group together. Civilized men, crazed by hunger, have been known to resort to cannibalism; savages more quickly do the same; and we may be sure that early prehistoric men were no better than savages.

§ 11. — These conclusions may profitably be set alongside some concrete pictures of the lowest savages at present living in the world. We cite first the testimony of Mr. Darwin, whose five years' travels are recorded in his "Journal of Researches." We should notice particularly that the people described are scattered and nomadic; that they are very ignorant of the material arts; that the groups are often compelled to fight among themselves; that these fights are in relation to the food supply; and that scarcity of food

leads to cannibalism. The passages quoted refer to the Fuegians of South America.

“While going one day on shore near Wollaston Island, we pulled alongside a canoe with six Fuegians. These were the most abject and miserable creatures I anywhere beheld. . . . These poor wretches were stunted in their growth, their hideous faces bedaubed with white paint, their skins filthy and greasy, their hair entangled, their voices discordant, and their gestures violent. . . . At night, five or six human beings, naked and scarcely protected from the wind and rain of this tempestuous climate, sleep on the wet ground coiled up like animals. Whenever it is low water, winter or summer, night or day, they must rise to pick shell fish from the rocks; and the women either dive to collect sea-eggs, or sit patiently in their canoes, and with a baited hair-line without any hook, jerk out little fish. If a seal is killed, or the floating carcass of a putrid whale discovered, it is a feast; and such miserable food is assisted by a few tasteless berries and fungi.

They often suffer from famine: I heard Mr. Low, a sealing master intimately acquainted with the natives of this country, give a curious account of the state of a party of one hundred and fifty natives on the west coast, who were very thin and in great distress. A succession of gales prevented the women from getting shell-fish on the rocks, and they could not go out in their canoes to catch seal. A small party of these men one morning set out, and the other Indians explained to him that they were going on a four days' journey for food; on their return Low went to meet them, and he found them excessively tired, each man carrying a great square piece of putrid whale blubber with a hole in the middle, through which they put their heads. . . . As soon as the blubber was brought into a wigwam, an old man cut off thin slices, and muttering over them, broiled them for a minute, and distributed them to the famished party, who during this time preserved a profound silence. . . . The different

tribes when at war are cannibals. From the concurrent, but quite independent evidence of the boy taken by Mr. Low, and of Jemmy Button [a Fuegian, who had been taken by the Darwin party, and had learned some English], it is certainly true, that when pressed in winter by hunger, they kill and devour their old women before they kill their dogs; the boy being asked by Mr. Low why they did this, answered, "Doggies catch otters, old women no." [That is, the dogs were more useful than the old women, and hence were spared longer]. . . . Horrid as such a death at the hands of their friends and relatives must be, the fears of the old women, when hunger begins to press, are more painful to think of; we are told that they then often run away into the mountains, but that they are pursued by the men, and brought back to the slaughter-house at their own firesides. . . .

The different tribes have no government or chief; yet each is surrounded by other hostile tribes, speaking different dialects, and separated from each other by a deserted border of neutral territory: the cause of their warfare appears to be the means of subsistence. Their country is a broken mass of wild rocks, lofty hills, and useless forests; and these are viewed through mists and endless storms. The habitable land is reduced to the stones on the beach; in search of food they are compelled unceasingly to wander from spot to spot, and so steep is the coast that they can only move about in their wretched canoes. . . .

The perfect equality among the individuals composing the Fuegian tribes must for a long time retard their civilization.. . . At present, even a piece of cloth given to one is torn into shreds and distributed; and no one individual becomes richer than another. . . . I believe, in this extreme part of South America, man exists in a lower state of improvement than in any other part of the world" (2).

Crossing the South Pacific Ocean into Australia, we find savage tribes but little more advanced in culture than

the Fuegians. We cite now from Professor Ratzel's work on the races of mankind.

"It is impossible to understand the Australians apart from their extensive nomadism, to which all the natural qualities of the land contribute. At the bottom of it lies the deficiency of water, and the unequal distribution of food, plants, and animals which partly results from this. The dry season causes a large number of places otherwise favorable to habitation to be simply impossible. But since, owing to the almost total absence of mountains to feed the springs, permanent drought is no less great than the time and amount of rainfall are incalculable, there are few permanent oases, and the arrivals of damp monsoons, few and far between as they are, are an insufficient check to nomadism. Vegetable food-stuffs are often to be sought for at great distances, while animals avoid the dry regions almost as much as men. Thus the lack of mountains and large rivers over the largest part of the country makes for migration, and if we further regard its isolated position, the conditions of Australia are as unfavorable as we can conceive for the development of a settled population. Thus the nomad tribes of the west go about, the men with their weapons in front, the women with the baggage and children in the rear. . . . The length of stay depends upon the quantity of food, water, and other conveniences; but even so they seldom remain in one place longer than a fortnight, owing to the pressure exerted by other groups. . . . One can hardly speak of agriculture among the Australians, only traces of it have been observed. . . . The prohibition to dig up seed-bearing food-plants after the flowering is merely the necessary result of ever-imminent famine. It is a long step from this to their preservation and increase by cultivation. . . . The life of the Australian native afforded little room for industrial activity. . . . Infanticide was and is very widespread, and in any case the number of births is out of all proportion to that of the children who survive. . . . Nature being for the most part unpropitious, renders dispersion

compulsory; but, at the same time, knits the bonds of the family group closer. This favors a high degree of isolation, which imparts to the life of a community a republican or quasi-federative character. Every family group has its elective chief" (3).

These quotations could be multiplied indefinitely. Study of the most primitive races now living in the world carries us far back to what must have been the condition of early prehistoric men generally.

§ 12. — A favorite line of thought with those who lean toward one style of theological reasoning is, that a kind Providence fitted the earth for man, and that each individual has but to take his seat at "the Father's table." Thus, Mr. Henry George compares the earth to an ocean steamship which has been amply stocked with food for its long voyage.

But it needs to be emphasized at the outset that men have not grown up in a physically hospitable world. The comparison of the earth to a steamship on which all the passengers have easy access to all the food, clothing, and shelter they need is too far fetched; and this line of thought cannot help theology in the end. Primeval men had certain physical needs; and the earth, like a well-stocked ocean steamship, undoubtedly contained enough and more than enough, in some form, to satisfy all the needs of which its "passengers" were conscious. But these ancestors of ours possessed neither the knowledge, the vast material outfit, nor the wide social organization and cooperative training necessary to the development of the resources of nature. And thus, although the earth's resources were ample in themselves, yet, relatively to man, these same resources were limited. Practically speaking, so far as primitive man was concerned, most of these abundant natural goods might as well have been located on the moon.

§ 13. — Summarizing the results of the studies illustrated by this chapter, the following propositions may be laid down as having the sanction of science:

Men were once ignorant of the material arts.

Nature, untouched by the hand of art, yields an uncertain subsistence alike to man and beast.

As a rule, early prehistoric men lived in small, scattered, family groups.

These primitive groups were nomadic.

The conditions of existence necessarily brought primitive groups into hostile collision with each other and with the lower animals.

The essence of these propositions can be expressed in a single sentence as follows: Men once lived an animal life, scattered over the earth in small wandering groups, depending for food upon a precarious natural supply, and fighting with the lower animals and with each other for the means of existence.

Against the dark background of the primeval world looms the great process of social evolution whose beginnings we shall study in the next chapter.

---

(1)—MORGAN, *Ancient Society*, (N. Y., 1878), p. 111.

(2)—DARWIN, *Journal of Researches* (London, 1894. Ward, Lock, and Bowden), pp. 213, 214, 215, 228. Cf. RATZEL, *History of Mankind* (London, 1897. Butler's trans.), II, p. 84ff.

(3)—IDEM (London, 1896), I, pp. 347, 348, 363, 365, 377.

## CHAPTER III.

---

### PREHISTORIC BEGINNINGS.

---

§ 14. — Rising slowly above the animal condition, men learned how to fashion rough tools of wood and stone, then utensils of polished stone and more carefully prepared wood, and at length implements of metal. Meanwhile they became expert in hunting and fishing, acquired the use of fire, and domesticated some of the lower animals. Before the dawn of history, men also learned to save seeds for planting, and thus laid the foundations of agriculture.

§ 15. — In studying the primitive struggle for existence we saw that, simply on what we call “the law of chances,” natural advantages were unequally distributed over the world in prehistoric times, just as they have been during all history, and just as they are today. Moreover, we saw that this unequal distribution of natural goods was necessarily at the root of much prehistoric warfare. Bearing these considerations in mind, we must now observe the effects of early material progress in the midst of the primitive struggle for existence.

Throughout all recorded history mankind have not everywhere achieved progress in the material arts at the same rate. Some have shot ahead; and some have lagged far behind. In harmony with these facts, and simply on what we call “the law of chances,” we know that the beginnings — the prehistoric steps — of material progress could not have been equal the world over. Primitive groups in one region advanced more rapidly in the arts than those in another. One of the first effects of material

progress was, therefore, to make more conspicuous the prior inequality of natural conditions.

This increased inequality operated, in turn, to increase the range and extent of warfare. The less fortunate would inevitably combine, and press upon the more fortunate in the proportion that differences obtained between their material conditions.

But while progress thus increased the total amount of warfare, it paradoxically operated at the same time to increase the sum total of peace. For, although it intensified the competition between groups, it secured, by the increased food supply, the enlargement of all groups through the affiliation of smaller groups and the reduction of infanticide. The number living at peace with each other within group limits was thus greater, even though the groups themselves were more liable to war than their earlier and smaller predecessors.

Material progress, then, —

Increased the inequalities naturally obtaining between social groups; and thus —

Increased the range and extent of warfare; but at the same time —

Increased the sum total of peace by providing an economic basis for the affiliation of smaller groups and the reduction of infanticide.

§ 16. — But in a still profounder and more dramatic way did material progress change the direction of the forces operating upon mankind. Primeval warfare was a struggle for *extermination*; but material progress gradually transformed war into a struggle for *domination*. Let us carefully notice the situation here developing, for it carries us upward, by a direct and simple route, through the darkness of prehistoric times into the light of ancient history.

Progress in the material arts endowed labor with the power of producing a surplus over immediate needs. In fights, the victors, instead of slaughtering the vanquished indiscriminately, as hitherto, now began to spare life, and

to enslave the vanquished. Along with the rise of slavery came the rise of a ruling and owning class — for the one implies the other. In the struggle for existence — in the struggle for good locations — the larger, better organized, and more powerful groups conquered and absorbed the smaller, thus producing tribal societies with an upper layer of free families and a lower stratum of slaves. At length, in place of small groups and tribes, there began to appear social bodies of national dignity, composed of associated tribes, permanently settled in favored regions like the valleys of the Nile, the Tigris, and the Euphrates; and the curtain had rolled up on the stage of history. The ancient civilizations come forward through the haze of myth and legend, out of the darkness of prehistoric times, with all the marks of their earlier history strong upon them. They are in possession of rude industrial systems; they are engaged in wars of defense and conquest; and they are stratified into two principal classes, whereof the lower is the property of the upper, in substance if not always in form.

Material progress, then, issued not only in the enlargement of competitive groups, but in the stratification, or cleavage, of these groups primarily on the basis of human slavery.\*

§ 17. — In illustration of some of these propositions about slavery we draw again upon the great work of Ratzel, which authoritatively describes the many races of

---

\* The essential fact to be noted here is simply the stratification, or cleavage, of enlarging social groups. A correspondent has suggested that we do not make it quite clear just how cleavage is brought about. We are not so particular just here to show how cleavage is produced, as to throw the fact of cleavage itself into relief. We have observed in the text that material progress endowed labor with the power of producing a surplus over immediate needs, and so led to the replacement of indiscriminate slaughter by capture and slavery. This is the most abstract possible statement of the case. The concrete involutions are not necessarily so simple as the abstract statement seems to indicate. The reader should notice this in the course of our survey of the historic civilizations.

which it treats. The passages reproduced relate to societies below the plane of modern civilization and yet above the level of the Fuegians and Australians noticed in the preceding chapter. We feel like apologizing for introducing so much quoted matter in connection with this point; but, for the general reader at least, it will be well to read the passages carefully.

“The Masai in East Africa, a shepherd tribe, who subsist upon herds of a fixed size, and have neither labor nor provisions to spare for slaves, kill their prisoners [of war]; their neighbors, the agricultural and trading Wakamba, being able to find a use for slaves, do not kill them (1).

Nearly allied to slaves are those despised and degraded portions of the population, who live as a sharply-separated and deep-lying stratum, under a conquering race. Almost every race in Asia or Africa which has made any progress toward higher development embraces some such, not always differing ethnologically. For that very reason, however, the social difference is all the more strictly maintained. . . . ” (2).

In such cases cleavage into upper and lower strata is based upon something more than property right in the laborers themselves. Just here, however, it is sufficient for the point that we are trying to make, to keep the attention focused upon slavery, in order to simplify the discussion as much as possible.

“Slavery, which has not much hold among the simpler [Malay] races, is strongly developed among the “town Malays” of Palembang, Acheen, and the like. [Note here again that the more primitive are not so fully stratified into classes]. It affects prisoners of war, malefactors who cannot pay their fines, and other debtors, among them not a few who have gambled away their liberty. . . . Illegitimate children, whether the parents are free or slaves come into this class. As a rule, slaves are treated as members of the household, can buy their freedom, and in practice are not inferior to poor relations who have been taken into the house for the worth of their service (3).

Class-divisions among the Polynesians are, by reason of taboo, as sharp as in the most thorough system of caste. They fall into those which participate in the divine, and those who are wholly excluded from it. The aristocratic principle is seldom carried to such an extreme as here, where a stern psychology remains inexorable even beyond the grave. In Tonga the native people, in contradistinction to the immigrant nobles, are regarded as having no immortal souls; while the souls of nobles return from the next world and inspire those of their own order for the priesthood, so that the connection of the tabooed [i. e. the upper] class with the gods is never interrupted. The boundary between these two classes is not everywhere alike, though the division into chiefs, freemen, or slaves runs through all Polynesia. . . . Of the men of rank the greater number are connected by ties of relationship, the memory of which is preserved by professed genealogists, with the aid of pedigree sticks. The remembrance goes far back. When the palace in Hawaii was dedicated none were admitted save those who were connected with the sovereign in the tenth or some less degree. . . .

In Micronesia, the division into classes is equally into nobles, freemen, and slaves. The first [i. e. the nobles], with the priests, are the most influential. . . .

In East Melanesia the classes correspond with the Polynesian divisions. . . . (4).

Society among the Hovas [in the large island of Madagascar, east of Africa] falls into three classes; the nobles, the citizens, and the slaves. The nobility consists mostly of the descendants of former chiefs. . . . Of slaves three kinds are distinguished. . . . The first are of the same blood as the Hovas. . . . The most numerous class are recruited chiefly from prisoners of war; they are slaves in the strictest sense. . . . The third class are Africans, imported by Arabs mostly from the Mozambique coast. Since 1877 the slaves have been nominally [but not actually] free in all parts of the island over which the Hova power extends. The slaves hold a

somewhat lower position than the other members of the family; but may, by the good will of their masters, lead an existence that many a free man would envy. . . .

The Hovas have become great by the power of the sword, and hold their power thereby. . . . (5).

In no part of the earth has slavery attained such vast importance as in Africa. . . . Its chief source is capture in war. . . . Every man bears a chain of some sort. It is only chiefs' children who are not liable to slavery. . . . Beside the slaves whom the Duallas put to live in separate villages of their own, as on the Mungo, and who attend to agriculture, and apart from their own want of freedom are only a little worse off than their masters, one thinks involuntarily of the oasis dwellers of the Central Sahara, subjugated by Tipoo, who tend their lords' date-orchards and share the produce with them. . . .

The southern basin of the Congo in its interior part being a part of Africa as little touched as any by European influences, the observations which have there been made in great number upon slavery and the slave-trade are of double interest. Slavery is beyond question universal there. Even in the Portuguese possessions, where it is formally abolished, it survives; and the 'working classes' are still, as of old, recruited by the purchase of negroes by preference from Mwata Jamvo's country. From the chief slave markets . . . only a few years ago thousands were going westward across the Kasai; and among the indigenous races the Kiotos and Bangala are especially active as traders and leaders of slave-caravans. . . . (6).

In Southern Arabia a separation of castes has grown up of quite peculiar sharpness. . . . As in other Islamic countries, a distinction is made into Shereefs, the alleged descendants of the prophet [Mohammed], then ruling families, then Bedouins, who, being fighters, are always valued more highly than the sedentary peasant population. Besides these there are the Akhdams, a term best rendered by 'disreputable classes.' Many industries are

despised by the haughty Bedouins, and these the Akhdams carry on. They are tanners, washermen, potters, butchers, and are therefore looked upon as tainted, though not so impure as to communicate impurity to the objects that have passed through their hands (7).

The social organization of Further India is not so elaborately bureaucratic as that of China. The great importance of the nobility reminds us of Japan; and in Cambodia and Burmah we have Indian institutions, of which there is also a glimmer in Siam. In Cambodia the royal family stand in the first class, almost a caste; in the second are the descendants of the old kings of the country. Third come the preams, the Brahmins of India, and fourth, the servants of Buddha. The lowest place is held by the laboring population, husbandmen, fishermen, artisans, shop-keepers. These are nominally free, but have to render service to a lord and most liberally to the state. In addition there are the slaves, especially numerous in Siam and in Cambodia, in whose ranks is much of the best labor-power in the country" (8).

§ 18. — Thus we see that slavery, or property in men, is today found everywhere among races that have climbed above the lower planes of savagery, while falling short of the levels of civilization. It does not now exist, at least in outward form, in the highly progressive modern countries like Germany, France, England, the United States, and the other parts of western society. But it once prevailed among the forefathers of these peoples; and as we have already observed, it was universal in the ancient classic and oriental civilizations. Before the prehistoric beginnings of material progress, property in men was not a factor in human life. In the preceding chapter, for instance, we saw that it did not prevail among the extremely backward Fuegians. The prime condition of slavery is, that labor be able artificially to produce more than enough for immediate necessities. When a surplus appears, along with the early steps of progress in the arts, then slavery inevitably follows. The institution of pro-

erty right in men originates in the stage of nomadic barbarism; and it continues in the life of settled races until their social development passes into higher stages.\*

§ 19. — We do not stop just here to inquire into the moral aspects or the general significance of property right in human beings, or any kind of property right by which an upper class is able to exploit a lower class without returning a direct economic recompense. In the present connection we are concerned, most of all, to emphasize the inevitableness of property right in surplus-producing labor at a certain point in social development. This institution is just as inevitable in the earlier stages of social evolution as the precipitation of rain when atmospheric conditions are favorable to it. The ancient civilizations, with their universal slavery, were oases in the midst of deserts of savagery and barbarism. The history of every ancient society records the presence of outside barbarisms with which it sooner or later came into contact, and against which it was compelled to undertake defensive and offensive operations. If the enslaved classes had withdrawn from the ancient civilizations, and established an equality and liberty such as that prevailing among the lowest savages and advocated by some social idealists, the seceding multitudes would have retrograded toward the conditions of the primitive struggle for existence. To use a homely phrase, they would have jumped out of the fry-

---

\* It may be noted here that the so-called "communism in land" practiced by ancient societies — oriental, classic, and western — was *upper-class* communism. Before the advance of material progress had permitted men to increase greatly and form general governments there was necessarily a large amount of unused land around every community; and this, together with occupied land, was at first regarded as the common property of the free upper class. When population increased, and general governments were established, the upper-class communism in land passed into upper-class individualism; and the soil was appropriated in severalty. The conquest of a society like Anglo-Saxon England, living under primitive upper-class communism, looks, to the superficial modern eye, as if it were the subjection of Democracy by Aristocracy; but in reality it was nothing of the kind.

ing-pan into the fire. Collision with an indefinite number of hostile tribes would have been certain. On the one hand, the seceders might have been conquered, and either exterminated or re-enslaved by new masters. Or, on the other hand, after exterminating a few tribes, they might have acquired some good territory as a home. But if the free and equal seceders had the good fortune to go as far as this, their troubles would not have been ended. They would now have been compelled to defend their hardly won possessions against others less fortunate than they. These hostile tribes, incessantly attacking, either singly or in combination, would have at length exhausted the resources of our ancient democracy and enslaved it. No race ever could nor did work its way up from the stone age into modern civilization on the basis of equality and liberty. It would have been simply impossible for free societies to organize the progress that has led up from the early prehistoric age through the oriental, classic, and western civilizations into modern democracy.

§20. — The beginnings of material art in the midst of the primitive struggle for existence, then, —

Increased the size of social groups, and —

Stratified these growing aggregates into two principal classes whose relations were based at first upon the institution of slavery, or property right in men.

Our survey thus far has disclosed a comparatively simple story; but the plot now thickens.

(1)—RATZEL, I, p. 123.

(2)—IDEM, I, p. 124.

(3)—IDEM, I, pp. 446, 447.

(4)—IDEM, I, p. 280.

(5)—IDEM, I, pp. 464, 465, 467.

(6)—IDEM, II, pp. 348, 349.

(7)—IDEM, III, p. 220.

(8)—IDEM, III, pp. 424, 425. — On slavery and serfdom in general, cf. SPENCER, *Principles of Sociology* (N. Y., 1895), II, pp. 290-310. IDEM (N. Y., 1897), III, pp. 464-492.

## CHAPTER IV.

---

### THE CAPITALIZATION OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

---

§ 21. — It is well understood by historical students that slavery was a great step in human progress; but whatever its merits may be, the consideration of slavery, or the institution of property right in men, introduces a much larger subject.

By means of slavery it is plain that an upper class appropriates the labor products and services of a lower class without engaging to make repayment. But it now becomes exceedingly important to emphasize that the appropriation of labor products on this one-sided basis is brought about by other institutions than that of property right in men. For instance, if a class engross the land of a country, and force the remainder of the population to pay rent for the use of the soil, such a procedure issues, like slavery, in the absorption of labor products by an upper class without repayment.

In the previous chapter we learned that social cleavage arose during prehistoric times, while society was yet in the stage of nomadic barbarism. Now, if we examine the field of history carefully, it becomes plain that one of the most considerable facts not only of the ancient civilizations, but of all civilizations down to the present, is just this cleavage, or stratification, of society into two principal classes, upper and lower. It matters little what legal form social cleavage may take. The upper class may own the lower class bodily — in which case we have slavery, pure and simple. Or, the upper class may own the land of a country, the lower class being personally free, but compelled to pay rent to the landed aristocracy.

Or, there may be a combination of slavery and land monopoly, or a variation of either of these in the direction of "serfdom." In any case there is a fundamental cleavage of society into two classes, the upper appropriating the labor products of the lower without engaging to make repayment. The form of the fact may vary; but the essence, or substance, of exploitation is always the same. And it is the naked fact of cleavage in abstraction from all forms of it that we have predicated as one of the most considerable facts of universal history down to the present. If the point is not immediately apparent, let it be assumed while we turn to the next proposition.

§ 22. — We have seen that in the prehistoric period, while men were engaged in the primitive struggle for existence, they were necessarily dispersed over wide areas in small, more or less hostile, groups, like animals. If we could rise to some elevated point, and take a bird's-eye view of all history, we should see that one of the most dramatic features of social development consists in the expansion and affiliation of these little groups into social bodies of continually increasing size. Primitive wandering, family groups have been gathered into nomadic tribes; tribes, in turn, have coalesced into settled nations; while nations have been gathered into great civilized communities, or groups of nations.

At the outset of this great process of social aggregation, or integration, imperative necessities, hitherto non-existent, came rapidly to the front. Men were beginning to live a life unlike that of their ancestors before the age of material progress. They were being unconsciously drawn together into expanding social systems by forces they little understood. They had struck out along the upward path of civilization; and as the old, primitive life receded into the past, they were confronted by a tremendous problem — or, perhaps better, by a number of problems with a common element. These problems did not have to be solved all at once; but, for convenience, we will enumerate a number of them together. If each expanding social cor-

poration were to enjoy internal peace, it was necessary that the most certain possible food supply be guaranteed for the largest possible number; that strongholds be erected and equipped; that the products of different localities be exchanged; that calculations be made and accounts kept; that roads be constructed, canals dug, and other means of transportation and communication by land and water provided; and it was necessary, too, that the religious tendency (which was at first complementary to politics) find expression through the establishment of priesthoods and rituals and the building of temples. All these and other necessities, which arose at various periods, resolve themselves in last analysis into a general demand for large and increasing quantities of labor products which take the form of capital. The drawing together of men into social bodies of increasing size depends largely upon the transformation of a part of the physical world into labor products which are not immediately consumed, but which are transformed into the various kinds of capital necessary to the development of society.

Looking around us in modern society, for instance, it is plain that one of the most fundamental conditions of the civilized contact of large numbers of people is the existence of capital, vast in quantity and various in form. Recur for a moment to the dispersed condition of primitive men. Then consider the amazingly close physical and intellectual contact of people in modern society: Farming and village communities outnumbering in the space of a small county the tribes that once required a territory equal to New York State. Towns and cities containing their thousands, hundreds of thousands, and millions. Nations with scores of millions, peacefully touching borders with each other. A great civilization bound together by vast systems of transportation and communication by land and sea, and pulsing with the currents of a universal commerce both in things and ideas. There is no feature of this great social system that cannot be shown

to rest immediately and vitally upon capital, *vast* in amount and *various* in kind.

We employ the term "capital" in a broad sense, "material" and "spiritual." Material capital is physical tools — labor products, or wealth — used for the production of still more wealth from the earth's resources. Spiritual, or intangible, capital is order, law, social organization, habits of cooperation and steady work on the part of large numbers, general and special scientific and literary knowledge, etc. In order to project the idea of capital into the boldest relief, it is only necessary to contrast the condition of mankind in, say, England or the United States, with the general condition of mankind under the primitive, animal struggle for existence as outlined in a previous chapter. Under the former condition, men were set off like animals against unimproved nature. There were only two main factors to be considered: mankind, and the earth under their feet. In the language of economics there were only two elements in juxtaposition, Labor and Land. But looking around us in western civilization, the contrast is tremendous. Although each one of us has neither more capital nor more knowledge at the beginning of life than had primeval man, we are all born into a different world. We do not find ourselves in the midst of a situation which can be described under the headings "Labor" and "Land," or mankind on the one side, and the uncultivated earth on the other. We grow up in the midst of a world which contains an immense quantity and variety of capital, or tools, in things and ideas, according to the definitions already given. In the absence of *capital*, we should all find ourselves in precisely the condition of animals, or of early prehistoric mankind, as described in our sketch of the primitive struggle for existence. It is capital that enables us to live together in civilization and develop the earth's resources in support of associated human life. So that progress introduces a third factor, and we have to describe the progressive world under three captions, Land,

Labor, and Capital, whereof the latter was at first lacking.

The main proposition just at present is, that the increasing association of mankind which is revealed by history is founded upon the production of increasing amounts of material and intangible capital. More formally and technically stated, the integration of society rests upon a concomitant integration of capital. It is a familiar fact that all kinds of undertakings in which we engage have to be provided with the things, or means, or agencies, for carrying them through. In brief, all of our undertakings have to be capitalized. Now, social development as a whole is to be regarded as the Great Undertaking of history; and a careful analysis of the situation shows that the conception commonly applied to the smaller aspects of life should be extended to the whole process by which civilization evolves out of animality. Social development as a whole is a process to which the conception of capitalization preeminently applies. If this point is not at once apparent in all its bearings, let it also be assumed.

§ 23. — These perhaps tedious propositions about cleavage, integration, capitalization, etc., will now possibly begin to fall into a logical sequence. The foregoing treatment has prepared the way for the following thesis, upon which this examination turns:

*Social cleavage is one of the principal factors in the capitalization of social development,\**

The advance of mankind from the scattered, nomadic, animal condition into settled social bodies of increasing size has rested upon the use of huge quantities of labor products, both in the form of diverse material capital, and in the form of immediate support for personal ministers

---

\* We have concluded that this formulation of the main thesis is better than that used in *The American Journal of Sociology* for May, 1902, p. 766. We there used the formula "Social cleavage into upper and lower strata has effected the capitalization of social development," qualifying it as on p. 767, l. 32 f., and p. 794, l. 24 f., and thus giving it the force of the statement employed in this book.

to such intangible social needs as those of order, law, administration, general science, cooperative training, organization, etc. Directly or indirectly, all social necessities resolve themselves into a demand for large and increasing capital. This is produced, not by the free cooperation of "individuals" in the conventional economic sense, but by a vast, unconscious cleavage within society itself. The phenomenon of cleavage is cosmic. It appears with the same inevitableness as the phenomenon of rain when atmospheric conditions are favorable. It is not established as the outcome of any far-seeing human plans. It is the issue of selfishness, moving on the lines of immediate pleasure and avoidance of pain, and without anticipation of good to posterity. Although capital freely takes the industrial and commercial form during the earlier stages of social development, the growth of large industry awaits the accumulation of intangible capital. Thus, the earlier of the great historic civilizations — the oriental and the classic — show a comparatively backward material development. But western civilization, with its energies freed from the pioneer work of spiritual beginnings by a rich heritage from its predecessors, has more promptly turned its capital into the material form; and within a period comparatively short, as contrasted with the chronology of the ancient civilizations, has developed a more balanced social system than the world has ever seen, conserving alike the material and spiritual forms of capital.

Everybody who thinks about the subject in a competent way knows that social development rests upon the use of large and increasing quantities of capital, and that without it society would disintegrate (1). But capital, like air, is such a pervasive commonplace that we are prone to take it as a matter of course, and think little about it. Economists have, indeed, given a specialized attention to capital in its material forms, considered as a "factor in production;" but they have looked at it almost exclusively in an abstract, *a priori* way, largely ig-

noring its actual genesis in their formal treatment.\* Economic treatises tell us that capital originates in "the saving of wealth." Professor F. A. Walker, for instance, in his *Political Economy* (Book 2, c. 3), imagines in some detail the transformation of a rude, poverty-stricken tribe into a community well stocked with capital, in which manufactures have sprung up, and wherein resides all the potentiality of a modern nation. The illustration is adduced for the purpose of showing that capital "stands always for self-denial and abstinence," and "arises solely out of saving." But this is true of actual human society only in an abstract sense. The average student would acquire a naive conception of capital from an exposition like Professor Walker's. We are correct in saying that capital originates in the reservation, or saving, of wealth in the same sense that we are correct in declaring a steamboat to be propelled by the power of steam. Both statements are true; but neither statement satisfactorily reports the truth. The mere knowledge that a steamboat is moved by the power of steam does not tell us how the thing is done. Likewise the mere knowledge that capital arises out of the saving, or reservation, of wealth carries with it no understanding of capital as a concrete social fact. If the present interpretation is correct, the history of capital is but slightly influenced by conventional ideas about abstinence and self-denial; and the practical work of social

---

\* In partial qualification, cf. MILL, *Principles of Political Economy*, Bk. 1, c. 5, sec. 4; ROSCHER, *Political Economy*, sec. 45; HADLEY, *Economics* (New York, 1896), p. 30, where the truth is squinted at, and passed by. Cf. sidelight in BOHM-BAWERK, *Positive Theory of Capital* (Smart's trans.), p. 103, note. Cf. also some clear observations in MAYO-SMITH, *Statistics and Economics* (New York, 1899), pp. 455, 456; and in a paper by MR. HADLEY in Volume 9 of the publications of the American Economic Association, at page 560. A foreshadowing of this conception is presented by MARX, *Capital* (New York, 1889, Engel's trans.), c. 24; but it is not applied to society considered as an evolution out of prehistoric anarchy; and the historical treatment is unsystematic and inaccurate. These drawbacks, however, only reflect the difficulties under which MARX wrote.

development in all its aspects is accomplished by the use of huge quantities of lower-class products, appropriated (or, perhaps better, controlled) under the forms of property right by a relatively small upper class whose origins are almost coeval with the beginnings of higher social growth. Doubtless the earliest material progress in the prehistoric period involved individualistic producing and saving of capital in the conventional sense. Social cleavage was not established at a single stroke; and probably it had to struggle for existence like everything else. Perhaps the stone age implements represent capital that was owned by its actual producers. But individualism in the production of capital is evidently an "unfavorable variation." Social cleavage arose in the prehistoric period to compete with individualism; and in the early historic period we find it everywhere in easy possession of the field. Cleavage has had the effect of a forced draught on a smoldering fire. Historically it has been a sort of cosmic bellows without which the flickering flame of progress must have been smothered on the lowest levels of culture, and humanity have perished without a career.

Economists, it may be repeated, have tended to fall in with the conventional, popular, individualistic view when thinking and talking about society. While they have often admitted the invalidity of the individualist philosophy, their formal doctrines, nevertheless, have been hitherto controlled by individualism. And this is true not only of men who, in a professional way, theorize about society, but of some who would reform society, like the individualistic single taxers and the anarchists, whose doctrines in many respects run counter to those of the professional economists. The conventional view is, that society is a crowd of people who come together on an individualistic basis, produce wealth from the earth's resources, hold back part of their wealth products for use as capital, add their capitals together in voluntary associations, etc. But all this is true only in an abstract sense which hides the real situation. If our general proposition is correct, society is

not the result of the free coming together of individuals; and the capitalization of society takes place in the main unconsciously, as an unforeseen incident of social cleavage.

§ 24. — This brings us to one of the paradoxical corollaries of our thesis. Capital, although social in its origin, has been mostly the private property of individuals from the dawn of history down to the present time — individuals who are members of, or affiliated with, the upper class. It therefore needs to be emphasized at the beginning of our inquiry that —

*Society is a collectivism, or socialism, developing under the forms of individualism.*

The category "individualism," as commonly conceived, is invalid in its application to society. "The concept 'individual,'" observes Professor A. W. Small, "is one of our convenient concessions to our intellectual incapacity. In view of our mental limitations, it is doubtless a necessary device, but there is nothing in the world of reality to correspond with the notion which the term 'individual' is made to connote in all the individualistic philosophies" (2). The individual is an expression of cosmic forces acting through himself and his environment. Whether he is something more than this, and how far and in what sense the category of individualism is valid in sociology, it is not within the province of this work to inquire.\*

§ 25. — Some earnest social reformers, whose information along certain lines is exceeded by their zeal, seem

---

\*It should be noted that we have not said that individualism is a wholly invalid sociological category, but only that individualism as conventionally, or popularly, conceived is invalid. We do not doubt that the conceptions of personal responsibility and free will are, at least for practical life, good working ideas up to a certain limit. But the question is not so much one of fact as of extent. The real problem is, How far does the significance of individualism extend into the plexus of social relationships and problems? If the position to which our inquiry seems to lead is correct, the significance of individualism falls far short of its conventional boundaries.

to think that the vast lower class has constituted the only important part of society; and that, from the first, it has occupied itself in the development of agriculture, manufactures, trade, scientific knowledge, etc., — only to be plundered and exploited by a parasitic and useless upper class. This, however, will not do. We are entirely willing and quick to admit that the upper social stratum has frequently abused its position, and that in most if not all controversies between the upper and lower classes the former has been in the wrong; but this, instead of being unnatural, is normal to the evolutionary process, and in itself constitutes one element of the great social problem. All truth is paradoxical; and cleavage, formally the sign of economic exploitation, is an adumbration, or foreshadowing, of the law of service. The fact that the upper class has often abused its position does not in the least militate against our thesis that cleavage is one of the principal factors in the capitalization of society.

Those who think that society could have been organized out of animalism, ignorance, and violence on the basis of democratic liberty and individual rights are looking at human history from the standpoint of the later achievements of progress. If we are seeking the plain truth, and trying to be merely accurate, this is just the reverse of the standpoint that we should take. Instead of looking back on human history we ought to look forward on history from the standpoint of the primitive struggle for existence. From this outlook another paradoxical corollary of our main proposition becomes evident:

*Individual rights are historically realized by the absolute denial of individual rights.*

If social integration rests upon a concomitant integration of capital which, in turn, results largely from social cleavage — if this is true, then the paradoxical and apparently obnoxious corollary follows. For the two great historical bases of cleavage have been property right in men and property right in the earth. Both of these are in denial of the “natural and inalienable” right of the in-

dividual to the proceeds of his own labor and to free access to those natural resources which have been produced by no man. If our position is correct, society could not have risen above the levels of early material progress, and the smoldering fire could not have been fanned into a blaze, without the absolute denial of individual rights. When these rights are finally acquired through modern democracy and the changes that are inevitably to issue therefrom, it will become evident that they too are capitalized!

§ 26.—The conception of capitalization through cleavage is thought to give us a clearer outlook on the facts of history than we have hitherto enjoyed, and hence to facilitate the interpretation of society. It is not put forward in a dogmatic spirit; nor do we claim for it the character of a complete social philosophy. We regard it as a contribution to the study of society in the making. There seems to be a large field over which the principle— if such it may be called— comes into active operation, and in which it plays an important part. The conception draws us into the dust and turmoil of real life. It seizes upon commonplace facts, and is essentially simple. It seems to indicate one of the main channels through which evolutionary forces have differentiated the phenomena of human association out of anterior orders of reality; and on all these counts the study of cleavage appears to be a sociological discipline of great importance.

While we are inclined, then, to claim a considerable place in the philosophy of history for our supposed principle, it is well to emphasize at the very outset, by way of caution, that it affords only a partial outlook on a large subject. The danger of erecting special principles into complete philosophies is ever with us, and is often ignored. On this point we can do no better than to quote from Bishop Stubbs:

“Among the first truths which the historical student, or indeed any scientific scholar, learns to recognize, this is perhaps the most important, that no theory or principle works in isolation. The most logical conclusions from

the truest principle are practically false, unless in drawing them allowance is made for the counterworking of other principles equally true in theory, and equally dependent for practical truth on coordination with the first. No natural law is by itself sufficient to account for all the phenomena which on the most restricted view range themselves within its sphere" (3).

In the scientific student of society the statement of this thesis — if it satisfy his sense of probability — will at once awaken the desire to see it illustrated in terms of world-history. On the other hand, the student who approaches the subject from the standpoint of social reform, or readjustment, will tend to overleap the past, and inquire into the present and future significance of the conception. The latter question, although legitimate, is here out of order. Bearing in mind the results of the inquiry thus far, it is now our business to attempt a summary illustration of our thesis in historical terms. The writer does not flatter himself that even if his thesis be substantially true, he can succeed in demonstrating it to the complete satisfaction of the reader. The most that we can do in this first attempt is to state the general proposition as clearly as possible, and to exhibit the leading facts of universal history in relation to the fundamental phenomena of cleavage.

#### REVIEW SUGGESTIONS OF THESIS.

Prior to the beginnings of material progress men were necessarily scattered about in small groups, like animals, and not gathered into great social bodies. Being ignorant of industrial art, they depended upon a precarious natural supply of food and other necessities. There was enough in the earth for all. But men had not the tools, the social organization, the technical knowledge, nor the cooperative habits necessary to the development of natural resources. In other words, LABOR lacked the CAPITAL which was necessary to the efficient use of LAND. Hence the primitive, animal struggle for existence, wherein the victors exterminated the vanquished. Natural variations in the environment issued here in plenty, and there in scarcity. Those who found themselves on the best locations had to defend themselves against the onslaughts of the less fortunate.

But in the midst of this primitive struggle for existence, the beginnings of material art began to effect a revolution. Rising above the animal state, men learned how to make tools of stone and metal; they acquired the use of fire; they domesticated some of the lower animals; they learned to save seeds for planting, and thus laid the foundations of agriculture. Originally, man was compelled, like the animals, to take the outer world as he found it, adapting himself to his physical environment as best he could. But now he learned more and more to adapt his environment to himself by means of art.

The beginnings of material progress, however, did not equalize those natural conditions which produce here plenty, and there scarcity. Those unequal conditions are still in existence. And not only this; but it is a mere plain fact of history that material progress itself has never been the same throughout the world. Some sections of the race have shot ahead. Some have lagged behind. The beginnings of material art, then, multiplied rather than diminished the inequalities obtaining everywhere. Larger numbers of men were able to live together in social groups; but war continued as before. War, however, became less a struggle for extermination, and more a struggle for domination. Material progress endowed labor with the power of producing a surplus over immediate needs; and the victors in war, instead of slaughtering the vanquished indiscriminately as before, now began to spare life and to take captives. Hence, not only did social groups increase in size; they also stratified into two principal classes, upper and lower. The upper class appropriated the labor products of the lower class, and converted these products largely into social capital of all kinds, material and intangible. It is true that the upper and well-to-do classes have been the greatest beneficiaries of progress thus far; but this has been no fault of the upper class. The inevitable reforms, or adjustments, which will distribute the benefits of progress more widely than at present will necessarily proceed upon the basis of a huge mass of social capital which has been accumulated mostly through the institution of social cleavage. Civilization could arise out of the universal welter of primeval savagery and animalism only as it has; and any scientific treatment of history must bring the facts of history into relation with the phenomena of cleavage.

---

(1)—SMALL AND VINCENT, *Introduction to the Study of Society* (N. Y.), pp. 78, 261.

(2)—*Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago*, IV, p. 128.

(3)—STUBBS, *Constitutional History of England* (Oxford, 1875), I, p. 32.

## CHAPTER V.

---

### ORIENTAL CIVILIZATION.

---

§ 27. — In studying the process of social development, we logically turn from prehistoric and barbarian society in general to the ancient world that centered about the eastern end of the Mediterranean sea. Oriental civilization was the first great circle of communities to come forward into the light of history, and, upon the basis of prehistoric beginnings, work out a culture of sufficient power to propagate itself onward in human experience. The leading peoples, or nations, of the ancient oriental world were the Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Phœnicians, and Israelites. The world-historical place of the ancient East is well set forth by Professor James Craig in the following words:

“It is a fact, more and more plainly perceived by scholars, that among the early peoples who have contributed to the ideas inwrought into our present civilization there is none to whom we owe a greater debt than we do to the Semitic family. . . . It is here that we find the earliest beginnings of civilization historically known to us — here that early religious ideas, social customs and manners, political organizations, the beginnings of art and architecture, the rise and growth of mythological ideas that have endured and spread to western nations, can be seen and studied in their earliest stages, and here alone information is supplied which enables us to follow them most successfully in their development” (1).

§ 28. — A survey of these peoples as they come forward on the stage of history shows that there was no such distinction of social structures and functions among them

as we find in the latest social theory and practice. The organization of society into definite institutions, industrial, political, religious, domestic, educational, etc., each having its own special function to discharge and giving its own peculiar direction to the human life common to them all — this is a modern idea and practice, and was but faintly foreshadowed in the life and thought of oriental civilization. Society develops, like other growing things, from the simple to the complex, from the indefinite to the definite; and we should not be surprised to find that the oriental community was far more primitive, and far less definite in structure, than the social order in which we live. This ancient world was indeed much nearer the prehistoric beginnings than we are commonly inclined to think. We are often reminded that written history supplies only the later part of man's life on the earth; and in a chronological sense this is true. But modern research into the evolution of society has made it clear that historical perspective is determined, not by chronology, but by achievement. Prehistoric ages doubtless embrace a much longer stretch of time than historic ages; but from the standpoint of achievement, prehistoric times contract, while the ages of written history expand. Comparing the achievements of historic times with the results of prehistoric progress, as illustrated by archæology and the life of savage and barbarian tribes, it is evident that the earliest recorded societies are, so to speak, earlier than they seem to be. The social constitution of the Orient was primitive because the Orient was itself a primitive society. Interrogate the ancient East for its own theory of things, and no great scientific thinkers come forward to make answer. Egypt had no Aristotle; Babylonia had no Spencer. Oriental thought was deductive, *a priori*, primitive. Human thought reflects human life.

If, now, instead of trying to discover some complex plan, or theory, of society whereon our ideas may turn in the study of the earliest historic civilization — if, instead of this, we bear in mind the facts and principles outlined

in previous chapters, the problem will be simplified, and our task will be reduced to workable dimensions. If the present interpretation is correct, oriental society is to be approached primarily from the standpoint of its cleavage into upper and lower strata. It is here that we seem to find a comprehensive clue to a practical study of the facts.

§ 29. — First, let us try to mark off the political forces and institutions, or, rather, that side of oriental life which corresponds to them. We must bear in mind that the comparatively undeveloped condition of this ancient society makes exact discrimination impossible.

In the light of our modern conception of the state as embracing all the people of a given territory, and of government as the agent of such a state, it requires an effort of the imagination to turn backward and realize the true nature of politics in the earlier ages of social evolution. In the ancient East, government was a prerogative of property in men and in the soil, an incidental function of the upper class; and there was no abstract idea of the state at all. In Egypt —

“There existed an aristocracy, the nobility, in whose hands lay the government of the towns and of the nomes [provinces] to which they belonged. They sat in the seats of their ‘fathers, the nobility of ancient days,’ and they present the best example of a hereditary nobility. Their riches consisted chiefly in landed property, and in their tombs we see [pictures of] long processions of peasant men and women representing the various villages belonging to the deceased” (2).

“The noble class of the Egyptian people had nothing in common with the vulgar mob. . . . To them were committed the highest offices of the court. . . . The nobles held as their hereditary possessions villages and tracts of land, with the laboring people thereto belonging, bands of servants, and numerous heads of cattle” (3).

In this respect Egypt was typical of all the ancient East. The government of society was everywhere in control of the upper class; and everywhere the upper class

itself was organized into "clans," "houses," or "families." In our survey of the primitive struggle for existence we saw that the earliest social groups naturally formed themselves on the lines of the family. In view of this fact there is nothing strange in the supremacy of the family in the original politics of all historical peoples. Early aristocracy was invariably the outgrowth of the evolution of warring clanships which fused into tribal corporations, and gradually accumulated a lower class of slaves. In settled communities these clans, or families, had been long established, as a rule. In wandering tribes there were always military chiefs who were in process of founding families.

The Israelites furnish good illustrations of houses in process of formation, and of houses already founded. Most of the important characters in the Old Testament literature either belonged to the nobility or worked their way into it. Whether he be a historical person or not, Abraham is a good example of the tribal prince. We are told, in Genesis 14, that he was able to gather and command three hundred and eighteen slaves (inaccurately rendered "servants"), "born in his house." Not having passed from the nomadic to the settled life, he had no landed estates; and his property consisted principally of slaves and cattle. Under these circumstances it was a matter of course that he possessed other valuables, the products of labor. In chapter 13 we read that he was "very rich in cattle, in silver and in gold;" and in chapter 23 we learn that he was able to pay "four hundred shekels of silver, current money with the merchant," for a graveyard. Another person of the same social position was the famous Job, to whom apply the same observations respecting historical reality. In the first chapter of the book bearing his name we learn that "his substance was seven thousand sheep, and three thousand camels, and five hundred yoke of oxen, and five hundred she-asses, and a very great household; so that this man was the greatest of all the children of the east." Of course, the personal labor

of such a man was not the force that purchased, and gathered together, and cared for, the property in his possession. He was simply an upper-class individual who, by force of property rights, was able to appropriate the fruits of the labor of other people.

Social development in its prehistoric beginnings, then, must be regarded as a scramble wherein the masses become subordinate to property-holding classes who organize communal control, or government.

§ 30. — As the smaller groups are fused into aggregates of national dignity, the local governments are combined under the authority of a general ruler, or king. The kingly office is at first elective, but with a tendency to become hereditary; and sooner or later it is associated with the holding of a larger amount of property than is possessed by any other member of the upper class. Government, then, is at first naturally of limited scope. Later, as tribes are settled permanently on the soil and formed into larger communities, general governments are established. Local authority is exercised by some member of the nobility, who is perhaps elected by his peers, or who perhaps holds his office by right of descent from some earlier chief. Separate communities occupying any region of uniform, or fairly uniform, physical characteristics, in which transportation and communication are not matters of great difficulty, tend to develop a general government at an early period. This result, however, is not always brought about in just the same way. Perhaps the pressure of invasion forces union for the common defense, the family and tribal chiefs electing a leader from their number. Perhaps the invaders are successful, their leader proclaiming himself as king of all that territory, and apportioning the soil and its inhabitants among his officers and principal followers. In either case, whether the invasion is successful or not, the communities of such a region are never afterward the same. The foundations of general control and affiliation have been laid; and, in spite of drawbacks, the tendency thus manifested represents a permanent so-

cial force which finds expression in many ways. The king is merely a well-to-do man of the free families — and sometimes of humbler origin — elevated to royal dignity by the votes of the upper class.

The masses of the people bear allegiance to the king only in an indirect way through their local rulers. This rough constitution, called “feudalism,” tends to prevail for a time wherever mankind leave the wandering life, and advance into settled society. The ancient East never passed beyond it. The student of social evolution who is fully conscious of the animalistic anarchy out of which civilization develops, is prepared to see that the character of early government is of smaller significance than the *fact* of government. As Mr. Bagehot has well said, “in early times the quantity of government is much more important than its quality. What you want is a comprehensive rule binding men together” (4).

A good example of the formation of a general oriental government in accordance with these tendencies is found in ancient Egypt. Some suggestions of earlier Egyptian development are supplied by the orientalist Maspero in the following passage:

“We must . . . pronounce the first Egyptians to have been semi-savages, like those still living in Africa and America, having an analogous organization, and similar weapons and tools. A few lived in the desert, in the oasis of Libya to the east, or in the deep valleys of the Red Land . . . between the Nile and the Sea; the poverty of the country fostering their native savagery. The Egyptians, even in late times, had not forgotten the ties of common origin which linked them to these still barbarous tribes” (5).

It is very plain that the famous people of the Nile were not united in one state from the first; and that originally they were split up into many political entities, or principalities, having little or no connection with each other (6). In time these principalities were consoli-

dated into two groups, constituting Upper and Lower Egypt; while the Pharaohs of history, who ruled over a united Egypt, wore a double crown, symbolical of the sovereignty and earlier independence of the two great divisions of the country. The local principalities represented the prehistoric tribes or clanships which, in ages past, had settled there; while the principalities themselves, until far down in the course of Egyptian history, bore the animal totem names which had once belonged to the original clans.

A more familiar and equally good illustration of the formation of general governments is found in the history of the Israelites. As previously remarked, most of the important characters in Israelitish history belong to the free families of the upper social stratum. Under this upper stratum lay the lower class, constantly increasing in size. The free families, or "father's houses," were affiliated in clans and tribes which conquered the land of Canaan, and partly subjugated and partly allied themselves with its earlier inhabitants. Cleavage was, of course, more prominent after the conquest than it had been during the nomadic life of the tribes in the desert. After the settlement of Israel in Canaan the family and tribal jurisdictions were converted into territorial governments having only limited authority. Later a national government was established by the choice of a king from the free families of the upper class.

There was no such political life in the ancient oriental world as there is today among the modern democratic peoples. Oriental monarchies have always tended to be "absolute." But there were necessarily much private discussion and factional difference within the governments themselves; and the sociologist will appraise this abused political term, "absolute," at its true value.

§ 31. — It is not easy to indicate just where the governmental activities of the upper class merged into its other functions. At the least, the local and general governments did a great deal that government now does.

They actively promoted social peace and order, made provision for the common defense, constructed roads and canals, fostered commerce, and set up judicial tribunals. Let us take another illustration from Egypt.

“The encouragement of trade and commerce, the establishment and improvement of commercial routes, the digging of wells, the formation of reservoirs, the protection of roads by troops, the building of ships, the exploration of hitherto unknown seas — such were the special objects which the monarchs of the eleventh dynasty [about 3,000-2,800 B. C.] set before them, such the lines of activity into which they threw their own energies and the practical ability of their people” (7).

This policy obtained its greatest development in the times of the succeeding, or twelfth, dynasty, under which, as Lenormant has observed, Egypt reached its apogee (8).

But sometimes the king’s energies were otherwise occupied:

“A considerable part of his time was taken up in war — in the east, against the Libyans in the regions of the Oasis; in the Nile Valley to the south of Aswan against the Nubians; on the Isthmus of Suez and in the Sinaitic peninsula against the Bedouin; frequently also in civil war against some ambitious noble or some turbulent member of his own family” (9).

This illustrates again the danger to which every early settled society is exposed. War was a prominent factor in the consolidation of ancient societies. They were always being attacked or threatened by communities on the same level of culture, and by militant tribes of inferior achievements. Hence they were compelled at the very least to stand on the defensive; and they were often forced to take the offensive, and chastise or subjugate belligerent outsiders if possible. This fundamental necessity for war bred a martial tendency which easily passed over into a habit of war, whether defense were strictly necessary or not; so that the line between necessary and unnecessary wars is often impossible to define.

§ 32. — The subject of governmental supply, as compared with that of government itself, is, for a long time, of secondary importance. The fact of governmental support is more significant than the exact source or nature of the support. In other words, the science of governmental revenue necessarily remains in abeyance while government itself is becoming organized and doing its preliminary work. If we bear in mind the process by which political union originally comes about, we shall not find it difficult to comprehend the main lines of primitive taxation. Large landed estates are connected with the throne at an early period; and from these are defrayed the ordinary expenses of the court. In the conduct of war the king calls upon his nobles throughout the country; and these respond by bringing up contingents of armed men from their estates. We reproduce a pertinent passage from Maspero:

“The duties enforced by the feudal [Egyptian] state do not appear to have been onerous. In the first place, there was the regular payment of tribute, proportionate to the extent and resources of the fief. In the next place, there was military service: the vassal agreed to supply, when called upon, a fixed number of armed men, whom he himself commanded, unless he could offer a reasonable excuse” (10).

The operations of local government, on the other hand, were partly defrayed by the forced labor of the lower class, and partly by general taxation of property. Of taxation in detail, however, more later.

§ 33. — In oriental society industry never attained anything like its modern development. The industrial phase of social evolution is illustrated more fully by the economic history of our western civilization; and we shall go more carefully into it at a later stage of our inquiry. In this connection we must be content with a very brief treatment, partly in the light of oriental evidence, and partly in view of European experience.

Our survey of prehistoric material progress indicated that the elaboration of stone tools preceded the domestication of animals and the saving of seeds for planting. It is fairly a matter of popular knowledge that shepherding, or cattle raising, forms a principal occupation in the nomadic stage of social evolution; and that to this is added agriculture as one of the major occupations when, at a still further stage, men have begun to settle permanently upon the soil. Now, oriental society, at the period of its emergence into the era of written records, had moved up out of the stone age into a period wherein cattle raising and agriculture were the main industries. These two great occupations were organized under the proprietorship of an aristocracy whereof the Old Testament characters already cited can be taken as examples. This aristocracy, conformably to the historical order of material progress just noted, was based originally on slavery; but as society became settled, the upper class naturally appropriated the land — first in common, and then in severalty.

In studying the industrial phase of social growth we must, indeed, bear constantly and prominently in mind the great institution of cleavage, not only as based in its primary form upon slavery, but as based more and more upon landownership. We must be careful not to acquire a merely statical conception of these facts. We must remember that slavery precedes land monopoly; and that the bonds of slavery are not relaxed until the influence of land monopoly is fully established. Of these two forms of cleavage, property right in men is historically the first. Then slavery and property right in the earth are intermingled. Finally, as in western civilization, property right in human beings is abolished; and the lower class obtains personal freedom. But by this time the upper class has largely, or completely, enclosed the soil; and the lower class, although formally and legally free, is not actually free.

We obtain views of the vast working masses through the following passages by orientalists. The first is by Professor Sayce:

“Slavery was part of the foundation upon which Babylonian society rested. . . . Slavery prevented wages from rising by flooding the labor market, and the free artisan had to compete with a vast body of slaves” (11).

The next relates to Egypt, and is by Professor W. M. Muller.

“The best part of the population, undoubtedly, was to be found, not in the haughty scribes and priests . . . but in the peasants. . . . Most of them were serfs — of the king, or of temples, or of landowners” (12).

To these passages we may add the quotations already taken from Erman, Maspero, and Brugsch in connection with our survey of the political phase. They all show that at the basis of oriental society was the lower class engaged mostly in the labor of shepherding and agriculture under the proprietorship of a slaveholding and landowning nobility, the upper class being organized into families, or clans.

In the midst of shepherding and farming communities, towns and cities began to grow up everywhere. It is impossible to show just when these aggregates of population began to be gathered together; but the main facts are clear. There was necessarily a time in early history when towns and cities had no existence; a period at length arrived in which they began to come into prominence; and the causes promoting their development lie all abroad in the economic history of the world.

Towns in general are inseparably connected with the growth of commerce and manufacture. Of course, these occupations take their rise before town life proper has begun; but it is to the further growth of commerce and manufactures, and their subsequent separation in large part from the earlier and more primitive industries of

shepherding and agriculture, that town life in general is due.

Let us look at commerce first. No locality is likely to furnish everything that its inhabitants want or can use. Differences of soil, climate and mineral deposits result in more products of a given kind in one region than its people need. Another part of the country shows a deficiency in respect of that particular product, and an oversupply of something else. Differences of this kind give rise to commerce, or the exchange of labor products. Exchange arose at an early period in the ancient east. A large trade grew up between Egypt, Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Greece, and outlying barbarian tribes (13). In connection with the exchange of products it becomes convenient and even necessary to establish definite centers where trade can be regularly and peacefully carried on; and this is only another way of saying that towns are involved in the growth of commerce.

The other principal factor of which we have spoken as contributory to town life is manufactures. It is evident that long before the rise of urban groups, manufacturing occupations are, in a small way, necessary on agricultural estates, in the production of tools, clothing, houses, outbuildings, etc. In this fact we see the forces which at length set aside the more clever workers as craftsmen in contrast with the more primitive workers, whose occupations remain those of tilling the soil and caring for livestock. As population multiplies, and increases the amount of manufacturing work to be done, it is more efficient for artisans to be stationed at the points where raw material exchanges. Hence the influence of this branch of industry upon town life.

It is important to emphasize that both commerce and manufacture are at first aristocratic in form, and largely so in substance. Commerce is primarily the exchange of their appropriations among the upper classes of different localities (14). Its aristocratic form, however, is

misleading unless we look below the surface, for while it secures the exchange of products intended for the use of the upper class, it also provides that circulation of raw materials and tools which promotes the subsistence and steady employment of the lower class.

The oriental nobility usually retained personal property rights over commerce, managing its operations through a corps of slave-stewards. The steward was placed in authority over his fellow slaves. The figures of the oriental aristocrat and his steward are familiar in the literature of the Old Testament. The steward of Abraham's house was Eliezer of Damascus (Genesis 15:2. Cf. 1 Chronicles 2:34, 35); and the master and his steward reappear in the New Testament in the parables of Jesus. Being the most important slave in his owner's employment, the steward was favored in proportion. In order to stimulate him to the most efficient service he was permitted to retain a commission on the products whose exchange he superintended. In this way he could accumulate considerable wealth of his own in the form of goods, and of money, and sometimes of slaves. He might even buy his freedom, and set up as an independent manager of commerce. It was only from the ranks of a servile merchant class that a free merchant class could originate in early times. A servile trading class necessarily preceded a free trading class. In spite of the tendency toward the formation of a mercantile body distinct from the ancient nobility, the currents of oriental trade were not great enough to produce a "third estate" of sufficient strength to assert itself collectively against the older nobility. In Greece and Rome, as well as in modern civilization, economic development produced a "third estate" of great extent and influence. In these later historical cases, a powerful social class was brought into existence outside the pale of government, — since politics, as we have seen, is always originally in the hands of the free families of descent. In the classic and western civilizations this new section of the upper class

was discriminated against by the older section of the upper class through its control of the taxing power and the courts. Great historic collisions resulted, whose outcome, in both classic and western civilization, was the admission of the newly rich to a voice in the government. In ancient Greece and Rome, and in modern Europe and America, the basis of the state was thus transferred from that of family to that of property regardless of descent. In the oriental civilization, however, nothing of the kind seems to have occurred. Nobilities always possess a limited assimilative capacity. It is probable that the formation of the oriental third estate never greatly outstripped the assimilative capacity of upper-class oriental families. Free merchants who accumulated wealth from commissions on the goods they handled, and who bought land and slaves of their own therewith, were doubtless admitted to the ancient families either by marriage or by the solemn ceremony of adoption. So that mostly, as remarked a moment ago, the clan aristocracy of the ancient East retained the proprietorship of commerce in its own hands. In Babylonia, for instance, the original nobility of birth, based on landholding, was eventually transformed into a class predominantly commercial in character (15).

The aristocratic nature of early manufacture, like that of early commerce, becomes manifest when we reflect upon the outstanding facts of organized society. Since the upper class everywhere appropriated the major part of the labor products of the masses, it was necessarily this class that patronized the artisans of ancient cities. Pertinent suggestions are found in the following passage from Rawlinson:

“Trade flourished under the Pharaohs, and was encouraged not only by the lavish expenditure of the Court, of the great nobles, and of the high ecclesiastics, but also by the vast demand which there was for Egyptian productions in foreign countries” (16).

Each of the great administrative offices in Egypt possessed its own craftsmen and workmen (17).

It is often said that when the lower classes are held in chattel slavery, or bound as serfs to the estates of great landowners, there can be no "mobility of labor" as there is in modern times when the lower class enjoys personal freedom, and can come and go in response to the demands of the market. As a matter of fact, however, an active trade in slaves located skilled and unskilled labor where it was most wanted; and the mobility of labor was perhaps as great, in proportion to the development of the age, as it is today among the more advanced western peoples. This is only another example of the erroneous ideas that gain currency in modern times respecting the social economy of the ancients. We are too often tempted to think of the society of early times as immovably fixed, when in reality it illustrates the law of development as fully in its own way as does modern civilization.

§ 34. — The rise of commerce illustrates, by the way, a fact of importance in connection with our thesis. There is danger of acquiring too rigorous an idea of the principle with which we are working. Social cleavage into upper and lower strata is an institution within the bowels of society, rather than the mark of two utterly contrasted and mutually exclusive social orders. When the noble class did not retain personal proprietorship of commerce, and an independent merchant class arose, it is plain that the latter was drawn from the lower people by a rigid process of selection. Even when the slave-managers of commerce did not succeed in reaching legal freedom, they were favored in proportion to their importance, and were living witnesses to a social mobility which, in fact if not in law, recruited the upper, directive stratum from the best elements of the lower.

But it was not commerce alone that illustrated this important fact. Ewald observes, in reference to the slave-stewards of noble houses, that "in order to prevent dispersion of the family property in default of a male heir, such a one was often adopted as a son, or married to his master's daughter" (18). In Genesis 15 we read that

Abraham recognizes his steward, Eliezer of Damascus, as his heir in case no son is born to the family. In 1 Chronicles 2:34 the same custom is illustrated in the following words: "Now Sheshan had no sons, but daughters. And Sheshan had a slave, an Egyptian, whose name was Jarha. And Sheshan gave his daughter to Jarha his slave to wife."

Other glimpses into class relations, with respect to the passage from the inferior to the superior stratum, are afforded by the following selections from the modern literature of Egyptian history.

"Many a monument consecrated to the memory of some nobleman gone to his long home, who during life had held high rank at the court of Pharaoh, is decorated with the simple but laudatory inscription, 'his ancestors were unknown people'" (19).

"In the schools where the poor scribe's child sat on the same bench beside the offspring of the rich, to be trained in discipline and wise learning, the masters knew how by timely words to goad on the lagging diligence of the ambitious scholars, holding out to them the future reward which awaited youths skilled in knowledge and letters. . . . Even the clever son of the poor man might hope by his knowledge to climb the ladder of the higher offices, for neither his birth nor his position in life raised any barrier, if only the youth's mental power justified fair hopes for the future. In this sense the restraints of caste did not exist, and neither descent nor family hampered the rising of the clever" (20).

"The scribe is simply a man who knows how to read and write, to draw up administrative formulas, and to calculate interest. The instruction which he has received is a necessary complement of his position if he belong to a good family, whilst if he be poor it enables him to obtain a lucrative situation in the administration or at the house of a wealthy personage" (21).

"Cases have been seen of the son of a peasant or of a poor citizen commencing by booking the delivery of bread or vegetables in some provincial office, and ending,

after a long and industrious career, by governing one-half of Egypt" (22).

"The number of persons of obscure origin, who in this manner had risen in a few years to the highest honors, and died governors of provinces or ministers of Pharaoh, must have been considerable. Their descendants followed in their father's footsteps, until the day came when royal favor or an advantageous marriage secured them the possession of an hereditary fief [landed estate], and transformed the son or grandson of a prosperous scribe into a feudal lord. It was from people of this class, and from the children of Pharaoh, that the nobility was mostly recruited" (23).

Likewise in Babylonia, the slave "could become a free citizen and rise to the highest offices of state. Slavery was no bar to his promotion, nor did it imprint any stigma upon him" (24).

§ 35. — Religion was an important factor in oriental social economy, as it is everywhere after a certain stage has been reached in the social process. Just here we need not specially refer to its origin. It is a well known fact that all primitive people are superstitious. At a very early period, before the entrance upon settled life, all races of men acquire ideas about a supersensuous world of spirits, great and small. These personal agents, usually thought to be invisible, are imagined as inhabiting all sorts of queer, out-of-the-way places, like trees, graves, mountain tops, the air, etc. They are thought to be greatly interested in, and affected by, the actions of men; and the primitive mind invests them with more or less power over nature and over human life. Their anger must be averted, and their favor obtained, by means of offerings, petitions, and appropriate courses of conduct.

The religious idea, like any other, might remain a mere idea, to survive or perish on its merits, if it had no potentiality of social service. But anthropology and history show that religion has a most decided influence over social life. The primitive social group, after passing a cer-

tain stage in its history, always acquires ideas not only of spirits in general, but of a spirit which pertains especially to that group. This spirit becomes a god, or divinity, who is thought to be interested in and affected by the affairs of the group, and who has power to help or hinder; whose favor can be obtained, and whose anger can be averted, by offerings, petitions, and appropriate conduct. We have seen that it is necessary that social groups be as coherent as possible in the struggle for life; and it is plain that the religious idea serves to cement the bonds that hold primitive societies together. In the words of Professor W. R. Smith, primitive religion "did not exist for the saving of souls but for the preservation and welfare of society, and in all that was necessary to this end every man had to take his part or break with the domestic and political community to which he belonged" (25). The common worship of a common deity, who is thought to lead in battle and fight for his people, cannot but serve to strengthen communal feelings. In Assyria, for instance, —

"Assur was supreme over all other gods, as his representative, the Assyrian king, was supreme over the other kings of the earth. . . . It was through 'trust in Assur' that the Assyrian armies went forth to conquer, and through his help that they gained their victories. The enemies of Assyria were his enemies, and it was to combat and overcome them that the Assyrian monarchs declare that they marched to war" (26).

§ 36. — Although a god was regarded as belonging in a general sense to the entire group, he was held to be especially the god of the upper class. His priests were naturally chosen from the nobility. Political and religious headship were often united in the same person; and even when the priestly and kingly offices were not identified, the governmental and religious classes were closely connected. Religion and politics went hand in hand; or, in modern phrase, church and state were united.

As tribes coalesced into national groups, and settled permanently upon the soil, the upper classes caused the

erection of temples and the establishment of regular priesthoods and rituals. Temples were endowed with landed estates and slaves. In Egypt, according to Maspero, the territory of the gods embraced at all periods within historic times about one-third of the whole country (27).

“Under the Middle and also under the Old [Egyptian] Empire each province was the seat of an ancient noble family, who for generations inherited the government and the high-priesthood of its temple. It is true that these provincial princes could only actually bequeath to their children the family estate and the membership in the priestly college of their native temple; but if there were no special circumstances against it, the Pharaoh would always bestow the government on the great landowner of the province, and in choosing their high priest, the [lesser] priests could scarcely pass over the richest and most important personage among them” (28).

Thus it begins to be evident that early religion was more than an idea and a cult, and that it was intimately involved in the secular life of society. As we have previously observed, if the religious idea had not had potentiality of practical influence on society, it must have remained a mere idea without visible issue; but as it was, the social forces drew it down from the cloudland of the imagination into the center of the great human drama; and if we do not look sharply into the facts, we shall miss the connection of religion with real life.

Turning from Egypt to Chaldea, we find that —

“The priests made great profit out of corn and metals, and the skill with which they conducted commercial operations in silver was so notorious that no private person hesitated to entrust them with the management of his capital: they were the intermediaries between lenders and borrowers, and the commissions which they obtained in these transactions were not the smallest or the least certain of their profits. They maintained troops of slaves, laborers, gardeners, workmen, . . . all of whom either

worked directly for them in their several trades or were let out to those who needed their services" (29.)

"The worship of their deities by the Babylonians . . . . formed one of the most important aspects of the national life, and, as their temples were the largest of their buildings, so the priests were the most powerful class in the community. In each city the largest and most important temple was that devoted to the city-god. . . . Situated on a lofty platform and rising stage upon stage, these ziggurats or temple-towers dominated the surrounding houses, and were more imposing than the royal palaces themselves. At the summit of each the image of the god reposed in his shrine, and around its base clustered the temple offices and the dwellings of the priests. . . . The temples were under the direct patronage of the kings, who prided themselves on the rebuilding and restoration of their fabrics as much as on the successful issue of their campaigns, while the priesthood were supported by regular and appointed offerings in addition to the revenues they drew from the lands and property with which the temples were endowed. The influence of the priests upon the people was exerted from many sides, for not only were they the god's representatives, . . . but they also regulated and controlled all departments of life. They represented the learned section of the nation, and in all probability the scribes belonged entirely to the priestly class. They composed and preserved the national records, and although some of the later Assyrian kings collected libraries in their palaces, this was probably accomplished only with the cooperation of the priesthood and by drawing on the collection of tablets preserved in the great temples throughout the country" (30).

The priesthood was, in fact, a part of the upper class; and the religious phase of social development must be studied principally from the standpoint of the great, all-pervading institution of cleavage.

Paradoxically speaking, the religious idea has been valuable to society, not for its intrinsic worth as an idea,

but in the proportion that it has lent itself to the practical, terrestrial needs of real life. And it has lent itself to these needs by functioning as a concrete structural notion upon which secular institutions can form themselves. What is meant is, that in studying religious history we are examining social, secular history under the special guise of religious history. The sooner we assimilate this paradoxical fact, the sooner we shall be prepared to begin to understand the religious phase of social evolution. Religion has been a positive element in human history in the proportion that it has been "materialistic." We say this, and enclose the term in quotation points, in the consciousness that we shall not improbably be misunderstood and misrepresented in all good faith. So long as religion has been involved in the satisfaction of some tangible social need, just so long has it been a dramatic element in the evolution of society. But in the proportion that these needs are satisfied, and religious institutions come to represent merely the idea upon which they are nominally based, just in this degree does religion cease to be a positive, dramatic factor in society, and revert to the status of a simple idea, surviving, changing, or perishing strictly on its absolute merits.

In the present connection we are concerned to emphasize that, given the religious idea as a psychological fact, religious history must be studied principally from the standpoint of cleavage.

Perception of this truth helps us again to see that the upper-class control of any given phase of society — industrial, political, religious, etc. — was more or less mixed up with all kinds of social functions. Oriental civilization, as previously pointed out, represents a primitive stage of social evolution; and all primitive social life, as contrasted with modern society, is relatively indefinite and undifferentiated.

§ 37. — We have obtained passing glimpses of oriental education in the course of our survey. This department of life, too, was in the hands of the upper class.

The schools were in charge, or under the direction, of the priesthood. It was the schools that fostered and extended the beginnings of human learning — writing, mathematics, astronomy, etc. It was the schools that educated the aristocracy, and freely trained poor children of promising talents to become useful members of the community.

In addition to the various glimpses of oriental intellectual life thus far obtained, a passage from Professor Rogers' work on Babylonian and Assyrian history affords an instructive insight:

“The closing years of Assurbanapal's long and laborious reign were largely spent in works of peace. Even during the stormy years he had had great interest in the erection of buildings and the collection and copying of books for his library. In such congenial tasks his latter days were chiefly spent. . . . The two kingdoms were ransacked for the clay books which had been written in days gone by. Works of grammar, of lexicography, of poetry, history, science, and religion were brought from ancient libraries in Babylonia. They were carefully copied in the Assyrian style, with notes descriptive, chronological, or explanatory, by the scholars of the court, and the copies were preserved in the palace, while the originals went back to the place whence they were borrowed. The library thus formed numbered many thousands of books. In it the scholars, whom Assurbanapal patronized so well, worked carefully on in the writing of new books on all the range of learning of the day. Out of an atmosphere like that came the records of Assurbanapal's own reign. Small wonder it is that under such conditions his historical inscriptions should be couched in a style finished, elegant, and rhythmical, with which the bare records of fact of previous reigns may not be compared at all” (31).

Assyria was originally an off-shoot from Babylonia; and it is to the mother country at a still earlier period that we must look for more primitive stages of intellectual cul-

ture. From the Persian Gulf in the east to Upper Egypt in the west the Babylonian language was known and used, at least fifteen hundred years before Christ, for purposes of international communication. Babylonian culture was carried westward to the Greeks, who, in turn, did a great deal of the thinking upon which modern science and culture are based. Professor Sayce has given such a vivid sketch of the oriental postal system, through which flowed many of the currents of intellectual life, that his account should be read in this connection.

“There were excellent roads all over Western Asia, with post-stations at intervals where relays of horses could be procured. Along these all letters to or from the king and the government were carried by royal messengers. It is probable that the letters of private individuals were also carried by the same hands. The letters of Tel-el-Amarna give us some idea of the wide extension of the postal system and the ease with which letters were constantly being conveyed from one part of the East to another. The foreign correspondence of Pharaoh was carried on with Babylonia and Assyria in the east, Mesopotamia and Cappadocia in the north, and Palestine and Syria in the west. The civilized oriental world was thus bound together by a network of postal routes over which literary intercourse was perpetually passing. . . . The Canaanite corresponded with his friends and neighbors quite as much as the Babylonian, and his correspondence was conducted in the same language and script. Hiram of Tyre, in sending letters to Solomon, did but carry on the traditions of a distant past. Long before the Israelites entered Palestine both a foreign and an inland postal service had been established there while it was still under Babylonian rule. The art of reading and writing must have been widely spread, and when it is remembered that for the larger number of the Tel-el-Amarna writers the language and system of writing which they used were of foreign origin, it may be concluded that the education given at the time was of no despicable character” (32).

§ 38. — Our inquiry thus far has shown us that oriental society, in every phase of its life, was organized on the lines of cleavage. This great institution seems to be wholly unjust. It seems to be wrong for an upper class to appropriate, consume, and control the labor products of a lower class by means of property right of any kind. But the beneficence of cleavage as a channel for the discharge of evolutionary force resolves the ethical problem into a question of relativity. A test of the question is to be found in a comparison of human life in the stone age, or among savages, and life in the more advanced societies. Let us frankly admit that great evils are involved in civilization as well as in the primitive struggle for existence. We have to inquire, first, whether the greatest good of the greatest number is better conserved, *on the whole*, by primitive conditions or by historic conditions. Do primitive conditions have a greater potency for human happiness than historic conditions? Or do the latter involve more actual and possible good than the former?

A careful study of the primitive struggle for existence, as contrasted with the conditions thus far brought out in our scrutiny of ancient civilization, cannot fail, we think, to show the superiority of the historic over the more primitive stage of human evolution. The upper class practically owned the lower class, and appropriated its labor without engaging to make repayment. There was no give and take between equals. But the upper class did not simply consume its appropriations in idle luxury. If cleavage had merely provided for the parasitic exploitation of the lower class, then the social groups wherein it became a factor must apparently have been swept aside in prehistoric times.\* The societies that have emerged from

---

\* Mr. Lester F. Ward, who has done so much good work in sociology, seems to have gone astray on the subject of class relations. In his *Dynamic Sociology* he identifies the parasitic-leisure class with the upper class of all history. As a matter of fact, *parasitism* is only an involution of the upper-class control of society. When settled society increases in population, the perfecting of land monopoly makes the subjec-

the terrific struggles of the prehistoric age, and made progress in civilization, have invariably exhibited the phenomenon of cleavage. This book is not a blind apology for cleavage, but a protest against blind attacks on a great historic institution, and a plea for middle ground. The universe, as a whole and in all its details, so far as we know it, is a manifestation of opposed "forces," or "tendencies." Human society, as a cosmic fact, falls under the reign of this law; and it must be approached with this truth in view if we are to begin to comprehend the social problem. Although the lower class received no direct, immediately apparent, economic return for its labor, it received a large return indirectly. In the more primitive, animal period, life was precarious, food uncertain, clothing and shelter insufficient, ignorance universal. But the advance of the evolutionary process into settled life included all concerned in a growing social system which at first, on the whole, brought more good than evil — more actual good, and more possibilities of good, than men had known before. The upper class controlled the labor of the lower class under unequal terms. But cleavage actively enlisted the egoism of the upper class in the tremendous work of social development. A large part of the appropriated labor of the masses was converted into the material and spiritual tools whereby humanity conquers its environment and struggles upward along the path of progress. It was material tools, knowledge, mental training, organization — in other words, capital in the largest sense — that early prehistoric man lacked and needed. It is material and spiritual capital with which to develop nature's resources that man must have if he is to

---

tion of the lower class more complete, and throws the incidental parasitism of the upper class out into ever bolder relief. This, however, is a problem by itself. It is illustrated eventually in the life of all settled society. But the total significance of cleavage should not be tested from the standpoint of the evils developed in connection with it. These do not control the entire perspective by any means.

rise above primitive levels. Development is the outcome of reactions between organism and environment. The higher evolution of mankind has come with the physical and intellectual appropriation of their environment. The degree in which we appropriate our environment, physically and intellectually, is the measure of our civilization. It is impossible for large numbers of men to affiliate in society without vast and various capital. The beginnings of material progress began to supply a small amount of capital, probably on the individualistic basis. But material progress, by producing a surplus in the midst of the primitive struggle for existence, issued in social cleavage; and this institution had the effect of a forced draught on a smoldering fire. In the resulting civilization, life became surer, the production of food steadier and more extensive, and the preparation of clothing and shelter more satisfactory, than in the earlier period. By promoting the growth of capital, the upper class unconsciously served the lower class, and forced the different sections of the humble folk to serve each other. Civilization, to all outward appearance, is based on exploitation; but in its deepest essence, it is founded on the law of service. Cleavage is a paradoxical involution of the law of service.

§ 39. — But, having studied cleavage in the oriental world thus far with reference to its beneficent aspects, it is necessary at this point for us to emphasize the opposite side of the paradox. At length its abuses, never absent, began palpably to outweigh its benefits. As tribes took up definite homes, and formed settled nations and empires, the upper classes reached out and slowly absorbed the soil. Population steadily multiplied, and thus increased the demand for, and the value of, land. The growing monopoly of the soil gave the superior class a not less powerful, but far more subtle, hold upon the masses than did slavery. The masses, being in complete economic dependence, and without popular political institutions through which to express their wants, lost interest and vigor. The upper class, with its increasing wealth and

luxury, became effeminate and morally corrupt, having never had an intelligent understanding of its public, or social, function, and being wholly incapable of solving the problem which brought advancing civilization to a stand. Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Phœnicia, and Israel sank into mysterious decline in their ancient seats; and the proud oriental civilization began more and more to succumb to the shock of assault from without. New races came crowding upon the scene — Elamites, Kasshites, Ethiopians, Scythians, Medes, Persians, Greeks, and Romans. It would seem that oriental society, having waxed powerful up to a certain stage, ought to have repelled these enemies instead of offering a weaker and weaker front to their assaults. But the contrary was the case; and the genius of progress at length departed from the eastern world.

§ 40. — Before carrying the development of our main thesis further it is necessary to look more closely into the great problem which oriental civilization failed to solve. This can be attempted to best effect in connection with a somewhat detailed study of that interesting oriental people known generally as “Israel.” The Israelites bred a line of preachers, or “prophets,” who made the first dramatic attempt in human history to cope with the social problem, and who have profoundly influenced later thought.\* As Renan justly says, it is through prophecy that Israel occupies a place in the history of the world (33). In order to study Israel and the prophets it is necessary to make what will here seem, at first, like an unwarranted digression. This turning aside, however, will serve not only to illustrate the nature of the problem which oriental society encountered, and which every civilization is compelled sooner or later to face; but it will bring out with even greater emphasis the relation of cleavage to history, as well as make intelligible some of the

---

\* The English word “prophet” meant primarily a preacher, not simply a predictor; although a predictive element might enter the preaching of the prophet; and the Hebrew term which it represents is to be taken in this general sense. Of this, however, more later.

later developments of our subject. Our general thesis forces us to examine the nature of this problem, since it is out of attempts to solve it that some of the later institutions of the oriental, classic, and western societies take their origin. Our thesis opens up one side of a paradox which must be treated from both sides if our examination of society is to reach the most intelligible results. However, since this proposition is anticipative its force does not become fully evident at this early stage of the inquiry.

§ 41. — It should be observed at the outset that Israel was a late comer among the ancient nations. The great peoples of oriental civilization had reached perhaps the height of their culture while yet the ancestors of the Israelites were wandering barbarians in the desert. The "children of Israel" came forward into the light of history during their conquest and settlement of a strip of territory on the eastern seaboard of the Mediterranean. We have learned that the passage from barbarism to civilization is always attended by the permanent occupation of some definite territory; and we are thus prepared to see that the Israelite conquest of Canaan was a normal, not an extraordinary, event in history.

§ 42. — We have but little trustworthy information touching the details of Israelitish history before the time of the Conquest. Like other ancient peoples, they developed a mass of myth and legend in the effort to account for their origin. Modern research, however, leaves no doubt as to their proximate origin, at least. They were simply one of the families of the great Semitic race; and, like other nations, they came forward into the light of history out of prehistoric barbarism. Just as the Anglo-Saxon people of the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand are descended principally from English forefathers, so the Israelites, in common with the Moabites, Edomites, Ammonites, Phœnicians, Arameans, Arabs, Babylonians, Assyrians, and other oriental peoples, were derived partly or wholly from prehistoric barbarian Semites, who had swarmed out in successive waves from their

earlier homeland (probably Arabia), and overspread the ancient eastern world. 'According to Genesis 19 and 30, even the legends of Israel recognize the kinship of the Israelites with the Moabites, Edomites, and Ammonites; and chapters 11 and 15 of the same book speak of the ancestors of this people as immigrants from the country of Chaldea. The Israelites used practically the same language and system of writing as their neighbors, and had no difficulty in coming verbally to terms with them.

This people, then, was not a nation apart. The Israelites belonged to one of the great races of mankind; and came forward on the stage of history, like all historic nations, through the tumult of war and conquest (34).

§ 43. — Critical study of the canonic literature of Israel (the Old Testament) shows that its beginnings were made in Semitic heathenism; and that after the Israelites had developed a purer form of religion, a higher stratum of writings was laid over the earlier; while the foundation literature itself was, to some extent, edited in a sincere effort to harmonize it with the later developments. The adjustment of the heathen writings to the newer faith, however, was not the outcome of a perfectly coordinated effort or series of efforts. There was no absolute unity of plan in the production and the arrangement of the literature; and the Old Testament is, in fact, a loose collection of books by many authors and editors. The books themselves are, in many instances, logically and chronologically out of place; and scholarship encounters little difficulty in restoring at least the essential outlines of the history and religious development of this interesting oriental people.

The general position of modern Biblical scholarship is well described in the following words of Professor C. H. Cornill of Königsberg, an expert of the first rank:

“At the time when the historical books of the Old Testament were put into the final form in which they now lie before us, during and after the Babylonish exile, the past was no longer understood. Men were ashamed of it.

They could not understand that in the days of old all had been so completely different, and therefore did all in their power to erase and blot out of their accounts of the past whatever at this later date might be a cause of offence. In the same manner the Arabs, after their conversion to Islam, purposely obliterated all traces of the era of "folly," as they termed the pre-Islamitic period of their existence, so that it gives one the greatest difficulty to get in any wise a clear picture of the early Arabic paganism. The history of the German nation has also an analogous spectacle to show in the blind and ill-advised zeal of the Christian converts who systematically destroyed the old pagan literature, which a man like Charles the Great had gathered together with such love and appreciation. This, luckily, the men to whom we owe the compilation and final redaction of the ancient Israelitish literature did not do; they were satisfied with emendations and corrections, and left enough standing to afford, at least to the trained eye of the modern critic, a sufficient groundwork for unraveling the truth. The newest phase of Old Testament investigation has succeeded in raising this veil, now more than two thousand years old, and through an act similar to that of Copernicus, by which, so to speak, the narrative was turned upside down, has brought out the real historical truth" (35).

It is almost unnecessary to add that the life of Israel, in every phase and throughout its whole extent, must be studied not only by the help of the canonical and uncanonical books of that people, but in the light of evidence derived from the nations with which Israel came into contact, as well as in view of truths derived from the study of mankind in general.

§ 44. — By way of preliminary to a survey of the social history of the Israelites we must obtain a view of their early religion; and before this, in turn, must come notice of the origin and nature of primitive religion in general.

It has been well said that while there are some savage tribes which apparently have no religion, there are no savages without ghosts or superstitions of some kind. We have already observed that practically the entire human race has some idea, more or less definite, of a mysterious, unseen personal world, which in some way influences human life. This persuasion may exist unformulated among the most backward, or it may be developed into definite doctrines and practices among the more progressive races; but in its essentials it is everywhere based on the same foundations; and it everywhere constitutes the backbone of religious development. The general question here is, How did religion start? This has been fully and conclusively answered by modern investigators; and we do not need to go into the subject at any length in this connection. It will be sufficient to give a sketch of the results attained by expert students of the problem.

§ 45. — It is well known that children believe dreams to be actual events. They are unable to distinguish between the subjective dream world and the objective world of reality. A little boy of the writer's acquaintance once persisted in declaring that he had killed a cow. Older people thought he was telling an untruth. The probability is, that he had dreamed of killing a cow. Doubtless many of the falsehoods of little people are equally innocent. We know, in the same way, from the independent testimony of responsible travelers in all parts of the world, that savages mistake dreams for actual happenings. Mr. Im Thurn, a traveler in British Guiana, relates a case in point, which gives an interesting glimpse into primitive psychology.

“One morning when it was important to get away from a camp on the Essequibo River, at which I had been detained for some days by the illness of some of my Indian companions, I found that one of the invalids, a young Macusi Indian, though better in health was so enraged against me that he refused to stir; for he declared that, with great want of consideration for his weak health, I

had taken him out during the night, and had made him drag the canoe up a series of difficult cataracts. Nothing could persuade him of the fact that this was but a dream.

At that time we were all suffering from a great scarcity of food. . . . Morning after morning the Indians declared that some absent man, whom they named, had visited their hammocks during the night, and had beaten or otherwise maltreated them; and they always insisted upon much rubbing of the supposed bruised parts of their bodies" (36).

In accordance with these facts, then, dreams are not dreams to the primitive mind, but real, objective events.

The inconsistencies between dream life and real life are reconciled by a rude and easy philosophy. In the visions of the night the primitive man goes far afield, hunts, feasts, and fights. But at length he learns that these events take place while his body is lying quietly in the hut or cave where he sleeps. His wife has been awake, perhaps, for some time, stirring the fire, watching and listening, when he suddenly comes to consciousness and tells her that he has just been away on a long journey. But she replies that she has been awake, and that he has been sleeping by the fire, and has not been away at all. Then, still more bewildering, the primitive man sees, among the companions of his dreams, not only the faces of the living, but the moving forms of old friends that he knows to be long dead and buried in the earth. What more natural than that there should at length arise among prehistoric men the idea that the body possesses a ghostly or air-like double, an independent duplicate, free to roam about while the body itself sleeps or crumbles into dust? To the primitive mind, this rude philosophy explains the facts. We find it everywhere among mankind. The primitive man, after acquiring the ghost philosophy, would relate in all seriousness how, when lying down to sleep, he "went away from himself," and then after a while "came back to himself." And thus we, his descendants, using the same phrases, speak of "losing ourselves" when going to

sleep, and of "coming to ourselves" when awakening. The primitive form of words remains, but emptied of its long forgotten meaning.

§ 46. — An unimportant person would be forgotten in later generations of prehistoric men, just as the mass of men perish out of human memory now. But the decease of a clan father, or of a tribal chief, was an important event. The worship of the dead is widespread among primitive races. Offerings of food are made at the grave or tomb, or before the prepared corpse. The philosophy of these offerings is a part of the primitive ghost philosophy. Not only men, but things, are seen in dreams. Therefore, not only do men have ghostly doubles, but inanimate things also have ghostly replicas. Upon the death of an important personage, the living made haste, then, to offer him nourishment in order that his spirit might enjoy the ghostly part of the food.

§ 47. — Since all the important persons in society are never of equal influence or importance, it follows that the ghosts which the primitive man worshipped were not all on the same level. First, there would naturally be the worship of the ancestors of the smaller family circles. This is well represented today by the Chinese, for instance, with their "ancestral tablets." In ancient history the Romans, with their "Lares and Penates," or little family gods, are a good illustration. Concerning these, Mommsen writes:

"Of all the worships of Rome that which perhaps had the deepest hold was the worship of the tutelary spirits that presided in and over the household and the store-chamber: these were in public worship Vesta and the Penates, in family worship the gods of forest and field, the Silvani, and above all the gods of the household in the strict sense, the Lases or Lares, to whom their share of the family meal was regularly assigned, and before whom it was, even in the time of Cato the Elder, the first duty of the father of the household on returning home to perform his devotions. In the ranking of the gods, however,

these spirits of the house and of the field occupied the lowest rather than the highest place" (37).

§ 48. — Above the little family gods came the larger gods of the clan, or group of families; and of the tribe, or association of clans; and of the nation, or union of tribes. These more important deities were derived from chiefs and kings — prehistoric Napoleons, and Julius Caesars, and Alexanders.

Attention to the worship and food of a dead chief or king, who had led his people successfully in war, guaranteed the post-mortem continuance of the help and leadership which he had given during his lifetime. In conflicts with their foes, his people would call upon his name, and encourage each other in the thought that he was still present, helping them and hindering their enemies. This would naturally stimulate them to do their best. If success came, or if any unusual natural phenomenon helped them and hindered their enemies, it would confirm their devotion to the spirit of the dead chief. If they failed in battle and were permanently conquered, this proved, not that the worship of dead chiefs in general was wrong, but that the worship of that particular dead chief was not a paying institution.

Thus the primitive mind evolved a belief which, in the case of a conquering tribe or nation, was always held to prove itself. The belief was a mental factor in material success; while material success, in turn, strengthened belief in the power of the dead leader's ghost and extended his worship. The primitive mind was never skeptical about religion as a general proposition. It was only particular, concrete religions that excited skepticism. The question was "Does it pay?" And the answer to this, in turn, depended upon circumstances which the primitive mind interpreted after a fashion of its own.

§ 49. — The gods were not at first thought of as creators. They were merely translated men, very powerful and somewhat capricious beings, reflecting the passions of belligerent humanity, and, like men, largely concerned

with war. There was not at first any idea of one supreme and only God, for conditions during the earlier stages of social development were unfavorable to such a magnificent conception.

§ 50. — Primitive religion, then, is intensely social and practical. Its nature has been so well set forth by Professor W. R. Smith that we reproduce the following passages from his work on the early religion of the Semites:

“The circle into which a man was born was not simply a group of kinsfolk and fellow-citizens, but embraced also certain divine beings, the gods of the family and of the state, which to the ancient mind were as much a part of the particular community with which they stood connected as the human members of the social circle. The relation between the gods of antiquity and their worshippers was expressed in the language of human relationship, and this language was not taken in a figurative sense but with strict literality. If a god was spoken of as father and his worshippers as his offspring, the meaning was that the worshippers were literally of his stock, that he and they made up one natural family with reciprocal family duties to one another. . . . The social body was not made up of men only, but of gods and men. . . . Religion [existed] for the preservation and welfare of society, and in all that was necessary to this end every man had to take his part, or break with the domestic and political community to which he belonged” (38).

§ 51. — The use of idols, or images, in religion grows out of customs connected with the corpses of great men. On this point we reproduce a passage from Mr. Grant Allen:

“The earliest Idols . . . are not idols at all — not images or representations of the dead person, but actual bodies, preserved and mummified. These pass readily, however, into various types of representative figures. For in the first place the mummy itself is usu-

ally wrapped round in swathing-clothes which obscure its features; and in the second place it is frequently enclosed in a wooden mummy-case, which is itself most often rudely human in form, and which has undoubtedly given rise to certain forms of idols. Thus the images of Amun, Khem, Osiris and Ptah among Egyptian gods are frequently or habitually those of a mummy in a mummy-case. But furthermore, the mummy itself is seldom or never the entire man; the intestines at least have been removed, or even, as in New Guinea, the entire mass of flesh, leaving only the skin and skeleton. The eyes, again, are often replaced, as in Peru, by some other imitative object, so as to keep up the lifelike appearance. Cases like these lead on to others, where the image or idol gradually supersedes altogether the corpse or mummy. . . .

Landa says of the Yucatanese that they cut off the heads of the ancient lords of Cocom when they died, and cleared them from flesh by cooking them; then they sawed off the top of the skull, filled in the rest of the head with cement, and making the face as like as possible to the original possessor, kept these images along with the statues and the ashes. Note here the preservation of the head as exceptionally sacred. In other cases they made for their fathers wooden statues, put in the ashes of the burnt body, and attached the skin of the occiput taken off the corpse. These images, half mummy, half idol, were kept in the oratories of their houses, and were greatly revered and assiduously cared for. On all the festivals, food and drink were offered to them. . . . At a further stage . . . we come upon the image pure and simple" (39).

Thus we see that idols, in their origin, are not regarded as having power in and of themselves. They are simply representative.

§ 52. — Among primitive peoples life after death is not regarded with satisfaction. It is thought to be a negative existence, dragged out in dark and gloomy regions below ground—the chill underworld of the

shades. It is here that most people are thought to go after death; and here they exist in the twilight gloom. Only the gods and special spirits live above ground; although even they are supposed occasionally to visit the abodes of the dead. Witches, wizards, and necromancers are persons who are thought to be able to converse with the spirits, to bring them up temporarily, and hence to act as mediums between the living and the dead.

§ 53. — Strange as it still seems to many people, the religion of Israel at the outset, as well as for several centuries after the conquest of Canaan, is not to be regarded as essentially unlike the religions of other primitive peoples. This is now, indeed, a commonplace of historical science. Continuing our apparent digression, let us glance at the early religion of Israel.

§ 54. — At the time of their entrance into Canaan, the associated tribes of Israel, in their character as a nation, acknowledged the over-lordship of only one deity. In the fourth verse of the sixty-eighth Psalm, we find the first syllable of his name, given as accurately as it can be rendered in a modern Aryan tongue, thus: "JAH." The syllable is pronounced as in the word "hallelujah," which means, "Give praise to Yah," or "Praise Yah." We frequently find this name-syllable as an element in the names of Israelitish characters. For instance: Elijah, or Eliyah; Isaiah, or Isayah; Hezekiah, or Hezekyah. The more familiar "Jehovah," or "Jahovah," was introduced in the sixteenth century by a monk named Galatinus, who got this incorrect form by combining the consonants of the full name of Israel's national god with the vowels of the Hebrew common noun "adoni," or "edonai," which means "lord." The more correct form is partially as given in Psalm 68; that is "Yah," or, in full, "YAHWEH."

§ 55. — This notice of the verbal symbol for the Israelite national god is preliminary to a view of Yahweh himself in his original character. Just as Israel was only one people among the other peoples of the earth, so Yahweh was at first regarded as a god among other gods. He

was thought to be, not the only God in the universe, but simply the national god of Israel. His original character in this respect comes out with startling distinctness in several passages belonging to what we have called the "foundation literature" of the Old Testament. Thus, in Judges 11: 23, 24, certain words are put in the mouth of Jephtha, one of the so called "judges" of Israel, in which he addresses the king of the Ammonites as follows: "So now Yahweh, the god of Israel, hath dispossessed the Amorites from before his people Israel, and shouldst thou possess them? Wilt thou not possess that which Chemosh thy god giveth thee to possess? So whomsoever Yahweh, our god, hath dispossessed from before us, them will we possess." Here, a foreign god is clearly recognized as conquering territory for his people, just as Yahweh conquers territory for the Israelites. The passage seems to make a mistake in associating the god Chemosh with the Ammonites, for the god of Ammon was Milcom (1 Kings 11: 5, 33; 2 Kings 23: 13). Chemosh was the god of the neighboring Moabites, as in Numbers 21: 29: "Woe unto thee, Moab! Thou art undone, O people of Chemosh: He [Chemosh] hath given his sons as fugitives, and his daughters into captivity, unto Sihon, King of the Amorites." This passage, like the other, admits the reality and power of a foreign god.

A more familiar illustration of the same idea is found in the first chapter of the book of Ruth. An Israelite, named Elimelech, had gone over into the country of Moab with his wife Naomi and his two sons. The sons took wives of the women of Moab. After a time the father and sons died, leaving Naomi with her two daughters-in-law. Naomi now decided to leave Moab and return to her old home in Israel. When she set out, her daughters-in-law started to go with her. But Naomi expostulated with them, advising them to remain in their old home. One of the daughters, Orpah by name, accordingly went back. But the other, whose name was Ruth, would not do so.

Upon this, Naomi turned to Ruth and said: "Behold, thy sister-in-law is gone back unto her people, and unto her god: return thou after thy sister-in-law." To this, Ruth replied, "Intreat me not to leave thee, and to return from following after thee; for wherever thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge; thy people shall be my people, and thy god my god." In this case, the Israelite woman urges the Moabite woman to return to Moab and to Chemosh, the god of Moab. But with the Moabite woman, personal ties overbalance national ties. If she may accompany her beloved mother-in-law, she is willing to leave Moab and the god of Moab, and go to any people and any god that Naomi chooses. Any of the gods will do for Ruth. In her own country she has been worshipping Chemosh. Her sister has gone back to Chemosh; and Naomi advises Ruth to do the same. But if her mother-in-law is going to return to Israel and Yahweh, then Ruth also will go to Israel and Yahweh.

The successful struggle of the Israelites to obtain possession of the land of Canaan implied, of course, not only that Israel acquired the land, but also that Yahweh had acquired it. Canaan became not only the land of Israel, but also the land of Yahweh. He became the "god of the land," as the ancient saying goes. In those times, removal from a country, as in the case of Ruth and Naomi, was usually the same as leaving the worship of that country's god. Ruth and Orpah and Naomi thought it natural and right to serve the deity of any people among whom they lived. Words illustrating this idea are put in the mouth of the famous David in 1 Samuel 26:19, 20: "They have driven me out this day that I should not cleave unto the inheritance of Yahweh, saying, Go serve other gods. Now, therefore, let not my blood fall to the earth away from the presence of Yahweh." But if certain formalities were observed, it was thought possible to worship the god of a land outside of his own "inheritance." Naaman, captain of the army of the king of Syria, is represented as asking that some of the soil of the land of

Israel be given him, so that he could carry it away into Syria, and worship Yahweh upon it (2 Kings 5:17). "I pray thee," he says, "let there be given to thy servant two mules' burden of earth; for thy servant will henceforth offer neither burnt offering nor sacrifice unto other gods, but unto Yahweh." The same primitive ideas are illustrated by a passage in 2 Kings 17, which is partly reproduced here, and which needs no further comment.

"And the king of Assyria brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Avva, and from Sepharvaim instead of the children of Israel; and they possessed Samaria, and dwelt in the cities thereof. And so it was at the beginning of their dwelling there, that they feared not Yahweh. . . . Then the king of Assyria commanded, saying, Carry thither one of the priests whom ye brought from thence; and let them go and dwell there, and let him teach them the manner of the god of the land. So one of the priests whom they had carried away from Samaria came and dwelt in Bethel, and taught them how they should fear Yahweh. Howbeit every nation made gods of their own, and put them in the houses of the high places which the Samaritans had made, every nation in their cities wherein they dwelt. . . . So they feared Yahweh and made unto them from among themselves priests of the high places, which sacrificed for them in the houses of the high places. They feared Yahweh, and served their own gods, after the manner of the nations from among whom they had been carried away."

Another instructive example of ancient ideas about national gods is afforded by the inscription on the famous Moabite Stone. The stone was discovered in 1868, in what was once the land of Moab, by the Reverend Klein, an agent of the Church Missionary Society. This ancient writing is inscribed in a language almost identical with that of the early Israelites. The Moabite and Hebrew letters are the same. The style of the inscription resembles that of the earlier parts of the Old Testament. And last but not least, the Moabite theology corresponds

with the primitive theology of Israel. The translation of a part of the inscription is as follows:

"I am Mesha, King of Moab. . . . And I made this high place for Chemosh. . . . Omri, King of Israel, afflicted Moab for many days, because Chemosh was angry with his land. And his son succeeded him; and he also said, I will afflict Moab. . . . But . . . Israel perished with an everlasting destruction. . . . And Chemosh said unto me, Go, take Nebo against Israel. And I went by night, and fought against it from the break of dawn until noon. And I took it, and slew the whole of it, 7,000 men and male strangers. . . . And the king of Israel had built Yahas, and abode in it, while he fought against me. But Chemosh drove him out from before me. . . . And Chemosh said unto me, Go down, fight against Horonen. . . . And I went down" (40).

The god Yahweh of the Old Testament, then, was not at first regarded as the supreme God of the universe. Originally he was, at most, the national god of Israel, just as Chemosh was the national god of Moab, or as Dagon was a local god of the Philistines, or as Rimmon was the god of the Syrians. In the words of Professor Wellhausen, "Moab, Ammon, and Edom, Israel's nearest kinsfolk and neighbors, were monotheists in precisely the same sense in which Israel itself was" (41).

§ 56. — We are careful to say that Yahweh was originally at most the god of Israel, because there is a large probability that Israel acquired him from a smaller people shortly before the conquest of Canaan. Most ancient gods grow up with the people that serve them; but the Israelites cherished a tradition that Yahweh had "chosen," or "elected," them, and made a covenant with them, before the conquest of Canaan; and this tradition, moreover, seems to have a solid historical basis.

Prior to the settlement in Canaan, the Israelites, as we have seen, were wandering shepherd tribes, living the life of the desert. According to tradition, a number of

Israelitish tribes, while searching for subsistence in a time of famine, were attracted by the pastures of Goshen, on the northeastern frontier of Egypt. "The land of Goshen," says Professor W. R. Smith, "did not belong to the [Egyptian] Delta proper, which can never have been given up to a shepherd tribe, and would not have suited their way of life. In all ages nomadic or half nomadic tribes, quite distinct from the Egyptians proper, have pastured their flocks on the verge of the rich lands of the Delta. . . . That the Israelites at this time came under any considerable influence of Egyptian civilization must appear highly improbable to any one who knows the life of the nomads of Egypt even in the present day, when there is a large Arab element in the settled population" (42). Here, then, according to tradition, the original Israelite tribes pitched their tents for a season. At first they seem to have been tolerated by the Egyptian government. Later, however, entanglements of Egypt with foreign powers may have moved the Pharaoh to place a guard over these free sons of the desert, by way of precaution, and to exact forced labor from them.

The real historical details of the situation are hidden in a haze of myth; and in view of the positions presently to be worked out in connection with a study of Israelite sociology in Canaan, these details, even if we could recover them, are of little or no importance. At most, they could only serve to satisfy a reasonable scientific curiosity. The outstanding facts, however, appear to be plain and simple: Temporary settlement on the borders of Egypt; trouble with the Egyptian government; escape under the leadership of a man named Moses.

In greater detail the situation presents itself to the writer as follows:

Moses was an Israelite who had perhaps made himself obnoxious to the Egyptian government by actively espousing the cause of his brethren. He had been forced out of the country; and had then attached himself to a Midianitish tribe known as the "Kenites," and married

one of the daughters of Jethro, the priest and chief of the Kenites.

The wandering ground of this tribe was in the Mount Sinai region, adjacent to the land of Goshen where the Israelites were temporarily located. But in Judges 1: 16 we find that, in company with the Israelites, these Kenites took part in the attack upon the land of Canaan. "And the children of the Kenite, Moses' father-in-law," so runs the record, "went up with the children of Judah into the wilderness of Judah." In Judges 4 and 5 we learn how Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite, helped on the cause of Israel and Yahweh by killing Sisera, one of the enemies of Israel. There were Kenites in the south of Judah in the time of king Saul (1 Samuel 15: 6); and David appears in connection with a reference to the cities of these Kenites (1 Samuel 30: 30). In the time of the two Israelite kingdoms, we read in 2 Kings 10 of the "zeal" of Jonadab, or Jehonadab, the Kenite Rechabite (Cf. 1 Chronicles 2: 55). And later still, in the time of Jeremiah, we see the Kenite descendants of this man Jehonadab pouring into Jerusalem from the country for fear of the army of the Chaldeans (Jeremiah 35). Thus it is plain that the Kenites of Sinai joined forces with the Israelites when the latter attacked the land of Canaan; and that they were at length partially absorbed into Israel.

No desert tribe undertakes a migration of this kind for trivial reasons. Probably the food supply of the Kenites was falling short. Like many other tribes at this time, they were evidently disturbed, and on the watch for a new location.

We have, therefore, two important circumstances to take into account: The Israelites in trouble in Goshen on the northeast border of Egypt; and the Kenites in trouble not far away in the Sinai region.

Now, the position toward which modern criticism strongly gravitates is, that Yahweh was the god of the Kenites before he became the god of Israel; and that

Moses was the medium whereby Israel became identified with the name of this god. It is around these critical propositions that we are here attempting a version of some of the details of Israelite religion and history prior to the conquest of Canaan.

Going back, then, to Moses, we find that after leaving Egypt he married into the tribe of the Kenites. This tribe, we may suppose, was outgrowing its old home in the Sinai region; and the problem of subsistence was becoming more pressing. But the Kenites alone were not able to conquer the territories they needed. At the same time, the Israelites, across the way on the borders of Egypt, were being ill-treated by the government. Their old gods had evidently forsaken or failed them; and they had lost heart. But Moses now conceives a plan whose execution makes him famous in history. Taking advantage of the needs of both Israelites and Kenites, he will combine the two peoples in an attack on the land of Canaan. He communicates with his brethren in Goshen, and tells them that Yahweh, the thundering god of hosts, mighty in battle, together with his people the Kenites, will help them to escape their troubles, and find a more pleasant home in a land flowing with milk and honey. This encourages the children of Israel; and awaiting a favorable opportunity, they escape in the night.

Conditions in Egypt at this time were favorable to such a move. Egyptian military strength was not what it had been formerly. There were hostile pressure upon the country from without, and grievous pestilence within, such as not infrequently sweeps over unsanitary and ignorant populations. At the time of the escape of the Israelites there may have been a fight with, or a pursuit by, an Egyptian guard; but, although the general situation is plain, it is impossible to say what were the exact historical details, for the narratives upon which we mainly rely are heavily incrustated with miraculous accounts. At any rate, the exodus from Egyptian territory was regarded as

a deliverance; and it made a great impression that was never forgotten.\*

The alliance, or covenant, between Yahweh, the Israelites, and the Kenites was formally celebrated at Sinai, or Horeb, "the mountain of Yahweh," in a typically primitive manner. The record of this event is found in the document whereof Exodus 18: 12 is a part. Notice the wording closely. "And Jethro, Moses' father in law, brought a burnt offering and sacrifices for God. And Aaron and all the elders of Israel came to eat bread with Moses' father in law before God." (It may be explained incidentally that the Hebrew word "elohim," plural in form, but singular in ordinary Biblical usage, and here translated "God," is an alternative term for "Yahweh," as in verse 1 of the same chapter). Notice that the burnt offering and sacrifices were brought, not by Moses, nor Aaron, nor by any of the Israelites, but by Jethro, the leader and priest of the Kenites. "And Aaron and all the elders of Israel," says the account already quoted, "came to eat bread with Moses' father in law" before Yahweh. Notice also that Aaron and the elders of Israel, *to the exclusion of Moses, the most important personage concerned in the movement*, are mentioned as partaking of

---

\* Readers who have been trained in the objective, literalistic theology may think it strange that we do not assert the fact of a supernatural divine interference in harmony with Biblical claims. But it is not properly an object of an examination of this kind to inquire whether there was either an extrinsic or an intrinsic divine guidance of events. As a matter of personal opinion, we do not think that the history in question will bear the specific interpretation put upon it by the Biblical writers. That is to say, we do not believe that anything occurred in this stage of Israel's history (nor any other stage, for that matter) which was out of the usual order of nature and human nature as we experience them now. But while we think it proper to express the belief that the history of Israel will not bear the *specific* interpretation put upon it by the Biblical writers, we do not feel called upon in this connection to state our views on the question whether or not the *general* interpretation put upon Israelitish history by the Biblical writers is true. This last is, after all, the critical religious question; and any discussion of it here would be out of place.

the sacrificial meal with Jethro the priest. Why was not Moses included in this? The answer is, that Moses is not specially mentioned in connection with this ceremony because, according to primitive custom, he had already allied himself with Yahweh and the Kenites by marriage and adoption into the tribe. Any further ceremony on Moses' account would have been superfluous. Therefore it is that Aaron and the elders of Israel, to the exclusion of Moses, are mentioned as eating the sacrifice with Jethro the priest.

Under ordinary conditions the adoption by strangers of the god of a tribe means that the political and social identity of the strangers is merged in that of the earlier worshippers of the god. So that it would seem, on first sight, as if the Israelites ought to have become Kenites by this transaction instead of retaining, as they did, their own political identity and even largely absorbing the Kenites. But under ordinary conditions the incoming strangers bear a smaller ratio to the original worshippers than the Israelites did to the Kenites; they are either married into the tribe, or adopted, or conquered by it; and they affiliate with the worshippers first, then with the god *through* the worshippers. In this case the circumstances were all reversed. The Israelites outnumbered the Kenites, or at least those of the Kenites who accompanied them into Canaan; they were neither conquered nor adopted by the Kenites, nor received through the door of marriage; and they regarded themselves as having affiliated with the god when leaving Egyptian territory, before associating with his earlier worshippers.

And thus we see the historical basis for the tradition that Yahweh chose the Israelites, and delivered them out of Egypt (43).

We have adverted to the probable Kenite derivation of Yahweh by way of preliminary to the secular history of Israel. We do not assert dogmatically that Yahweh was derived from the Kenites; but we accept this view provisionally.

It is certain that the Old Testament literature shows persistent and unmistakable traces of the association of Yahweh with the region of Mount Sinai, the home of the Kenites. In Deuteronomy 33:2 we read: "Yahweh came from Sinai, and rose from Seir unto them; he shined forth from Mount Paran." The terms "Paran" and "Seir" are connected with the Sinai region. In Judges 5:4 we read: "Yahweh, thou wentest forth out of Seir." In Habakkuk 3:3 we read: "The Holy One came from Mount Paran." The tradition in 1 Kings 19 sends the prophet Elijah, in a season of discouragement, to Horeb, as Mount Sinai is otherwise called. Finally, in Hosea 12:9 and elsewhere, the national deity is made to declare, "I am Yahweh thy god from the land of Egypt." The persistence of the association of Yahweh with Sinai is explained, we think, partly by the fact that, as god of the Kenites, he was once actually thought to live in the Sinai region, and partly by the fact that the Israelite conquest of Canaan was not a sudden event, but a long process wherein, so to speak, Yahweh was drawn slowly (in the thought of his worshippers) from his old home on Sinai to his new home in the land of Canaan.

§ 57. — But the worship of Yahweh did not of itself comprehend the early religion of Israel. Along with the general worship of the national god there went the special and more primitive worship of family gods. These little gods were represented by images called "teraphim;" and their worship corresponded to the ancestor worship of the Chinese and the Romans. We find an instance of this private, local religion in the case of Micah the Ephraimite, as set forth in Judges 17. Micah's mother dedicated eleven hundred pieces of silver to religious objects. She "took two hundred pieces of silver, and gave them to the founder, who made thereof a graven image and a molten image: and it was in the house of Micah. And the man Micah had an house of gods, and he made an ephod and teraphim, and consecrated one of his sons, who became his priest." Later, the son was displaced by a Levite,

who was hired by Micah for his food, clothing, and ten pieces of silver per year. This religious establishment acquired no small reputation. Among its patrons were the Danites, who were so pleased with the counsel they had received from its oracle that they stole the priest, the teraphim, and the entire outfit. Another instance, from a later period of Israelite history, is equally interesting: When king Saul tried to slay David, Michal, the wife of David, let him down through the window. "And Michal took the teraphim, and laid it in the bed, and put a pillow of goats' hair at the head thereof, and covered it with the clothes. And when Saul sent messengers to take David she said, He is sick. And Saul sent messengers to see David, saying, bring him up to me in the bed that I may slay him. And when the messengers came in, behold the teraphim was in the bed with the pillow of goats' hair at the head thereof" (I Samuel 19). In further illustration of this point, we find in the legends of Genesis, chapter 31, that when Rachel eloped with Jacob, she stole the teraphim of Laban, her father. This account does not have to be historical to serve our present purpose. At the least, it reflects the religious ideas of the people among whom it originated and gained currency. Continuing we read that the angry father, Laban, said to Jacob, "Wherefore hast thou stolen my gods? And Jacob answered and said to Laban . . . With whomsoever thou findest thy gods, he shall not live . . . For Jacob knew not that Rachel had stolen them. And Laban went into Jacob's tent, and into Leah's tent, and into the tent of the two maidservants; but he found them not. And he went out of Leah's tent, and entered Rachel's tent. Now Rachel had taken the teraphim, and put them in the camels furniture, and sat upon them."

§ 58. — A darker feature of these barbaric times was human sacrifice, which was practiced among the Israelites as among other primitive peoples. In 2 Samuel 21 we find an illustration of this as follows:

“And there was a famine in the days of David three years, year after year; and David sought the face of Yahweh. And Yahweh said, It is for Saul, and for his bloody house, because he put to death the Gibeonites. And the king called the Gibeonites, and said unto them, What shall I do for you? and wherewith shall I make atonement that ye may bless the inheritance of Yahweh? And the Gibeonites said unto him, It is no matter of silver or gold between us and Saul, or his house; neither is it for us to put any man to death in Israel. And he said, What ye shall say, that will I do for you. And they said unto the king, The man that consumed us, and that devised against us, that we should be destroyed from remaining in any of the borders of Israel, let seven men of his sons be delivered unto us, and we will hang them up unto Yahweh. And the king said, I will give them . . . And he delivered them into the hands of the Gibeonites, and they hanged them in the mountain before Yahweh, and they fell all seven together: and they were put to death.”

Another instance is found in 1 Samuel 15:33, where we read that Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before Yahweh in Gilgal. A better known case is that recorded in Judges 11 — the sacrifice of Jephtha's daughter (44).

§ 59. — Another important feature of the thought of the Israelites is found in their ideas of death and the other world. They had no doctrine of immortality, properly so called. In Psalm 6, for instance, the writer says, “Return Yahweh; deliver my soul: save me for thy loving-kindness' sake. For in death there is no remembrance of thee: In Sheol who shall give thee thanks?” And again, in Psalm 39, we read, “O spare me, that I may recover strength, before I go hence, and be no more.” A psalm preserved in Isaiah 38 says, “For sheol cannot praise thee, death cannot celebrate thee: they that go down into the pit cannot hope for thy truth. The living, the living, he shall praise thee, as I do this day.” In Ecclesiastes 9:5 we read: “The shades [wrongly trans-

lated 'dead'] know not anything; neither have they any more a reward; for the memory of them is forgotten."

But while it is plain that no doctrine of immortality in the modern sense was cherished in Israel, it is equally clear that the Israelites, in common with other primitive people, had some positive, as well as negative, ideas about the ghost world. The references to the underworld, quoted above, do not imply the idea that the "refaim," or shades, were thought to be absolutely dead, like stocks and stones. They were thought to lead a shadowy, colorless existence, deprived of all that makes life worth living. It was believed that they could be called back for a few minutes by spiritual mediums, or necromancers. The story of king Saul consulting the witch of Endor, found in 1 Samuel 28, illustrates this:

"Said Saul unto his servants, Seek me a woman that hath a familiar spirit, that I may go to her, and inquire of her. And his servants said to him, Behold, there is a woman that hath a familiar spirit at Endor. And Saul disguised himself, and put on other raiment, and went, he and two men with him, and they came to the woman by night: and he said, Divine unto me, I pray thee, by the familiar spirit, and bring me up whomsoever I shall name unto thee . . . Then said the woman, Whom shall I bring up unto thee? And he said, Bring me up Samuel. And when the woman saw Samuel, she cried with a loud voice. . . And the woman said unto Saul, I see a god coming up out of the earth.\* And he said unto her, What

---

\* This is probably reminiscent of the fact that the gods were developed originally from the heroic dead. The same term is applied to the mighty dead, to the divinities worshiped by the living, and also to living great men like judges, as in Exodus 21: 6 and 22: 8. In these Exodus passages the seventeenth century English version translates the Hebrew word "elohim" by the term "judges," without explanation. The Revised Version, however, in both cases, translates the term with the word "God," and places the word "judges" in the margin. Compare Psalm 82:1, where the old version translates the word "elohim" with

form is he of? And she said, An old man cometh up; and he is covered with a robe. And Saul perceived that it was Samuel, and he bowed with his face to the ground, and did obeisance. And Samuel said to Saul, Why hast thou disquieted me to bring me up?"

Of course, we do not necessarily have to take this account as wholly, or even partly, historical in order to use it for the illustration of our point. Many of these Bible stories are no truer in the literal sense than corresponding tales among the Greeks, Romans, and Indians. The story may have grown out of an actual interview between king Saul and a witch, or it may have been a myth originating after the death of Saul. In either case it illustrates the primitive idea that the shades are not wholly devoid of life. To the same effect is the reference in 2 Kings 21:6 which states that king Manasseh used enchantments, and dealt with them that had familiar spirits, and with wizards. The many well known passages regarding spiritual mediums, all through the Old Testament, prove that the shades were thought to retain some power of life. A wholesale revival of the shades is depicted in Isaiah 14:9-12, where we read: "Sheol from beneath is moved for thee to meet thee at thy coming: it stirreth up the refaim [shades] . . . All they shall answer and say unto thee, Art thou also become weak as we? art thou become like unto us?"

It becomes evident by this hasty and inadequate sketch that the primitive religious ideas of the Israelites were on a level with ideas prevailing everywhere throughout the primitive world at a corresponding stage of culture (45). To some readers, the above observations and citations will be novel. To the scholar, if he care to read them, they will serve only as a hasty review. In any case they are a necessary introduction to the sociological and historical treatment now to follow.

---

the phrase "the mighty," and the new version translates with "God." Also Genesis 6: 2, 4, where "the sons of elohim," translated "the sons of God," are spoken of as coming in unto "the daughters of men."

§ 60. — The political condition of the land of Canaan at the time of the attack by Israel was confused, and could not well have been otherwise. In the centuries immediately preceding the Israelite Conquest, the land had been ruled and fought over by at least three great oriental powers. The Canaanites, as we have seen, had acknowledged the overlordship of the old Babylonians for so long that the language of the dominant race had been adopted as a common medium of written communication among the upper classes. In the fifteenth century B. C., however, Babylonia was disturbed by an irresistible combination of circumstances. She was troubled at home by the rising military power of Assyria in the north; while in Canaan she was replaced by the northeastward advance of Egypt. Governors from Egypt were placed in such Canaanite cities as Jerusalem, Tyre, Askelon, Gezer, and Hazor. But the rule of the Egyptians did not long extend over this region. In fact, before a century has passed, we find the governors of these cities writing home for help, declaring their inability to hold the country. Presently the land was relinquished, partly to local Canaanitish tribes, and partly to the Hittite kingdom whose seat was in Asia Minor. It was between these moves on the great checker-board of oriental politics that the barbarian Israelites, with their primitive Yahwism, broke from the wilderness into the land flowing with milk and honey (46).

§ 61. — The Conquest was not a well organized campaign with a speedy issue. Beginning about 1,300 B. C., it was carried forward by the different Israelitish tribes in an irregular way over a long period of years. The Canaanites were neither driven out nor annihilated, as uncritical Bible readers are prone to imagine; although many were of course killed in battle. A suggestive account is given in the first chapter of Judges. Commencing at verse 27, we read:

“And [the tribe of] Manasseh did not drive out the inhabitants of Beth-shean and her towns, nor of Taanach and her towns, nor the inhabitants of Dor and her towns,

nor the inhabitants of Ibleam and her towns, nor the inhabitants of Megiddo and her towns: but the Canaanites would dwell in that land. And it came to pass, when Israel was waxen strong, that they put the Canaanites to taskwork, and did not utterly drive them out. And [the tribe of] Ephraim drave not out the Canaanites that dwelt in Gezer; but the Canaanites dwelt in Gezer among them. [The tribe of] Zebulun drave not out the inhabitants of Kitron, nor the inhabitants of Nahalol; but the Canaanites dwelt among them, and became tributary. [The tribe of] Asher drave not out the inhabitants of Acco, nor the inhabitants of Zidon, nor of Ahlab, nor of Achzib, nor of Helbah, nor of Aphik, nor of Rehob: but the Asherites dwelt among the Canaanites, the inhabitants of the land: for they did not drive them out. [The tribe of] Naphtali drave not out the inhabitants of Beth-anath; but he dwelt among the Canaanites, the inhabitants of the land: and the inhabitants of Beth-shemesh and of Beth-anath became tributary unto them. And the Amorites forced the children of Dan into the hill country; yet the hand of the house of Joseph prevailed, so that they became tributary.”

The Conquest, as we have said, was not an affair of a day nor a year. It was a long and tedious process. The adjustment of the newer and older inhabitants was not complete until the age of the Judges had passed away. We learn from 2 Samuel 5: 6-10 that the Canaanitish Jebusites were still in possession of Jerusalem in the early days of king David, at least 150 years after the beginning of the Conquest. “And the king and his men went to Jerusalem against the Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land: which spake unto David saying, Thou shalt not come in hither but the blind and the lame shall turn thee away. Nevertheless, David took the stronghold of Zion; the same is the city of David.”

§ 62. — In connection with these passages it becomes plain that the history of Israel in Canaan illustrates, at the very outset, the great and overshadowing fact of cleav-

age into upper and lower classes. Cleavage, however, was not originated by the Conquest. It existed among the barbarian tribes of Israel in the desert, as in the case of the nomadic Abraham with his many slaves, and as it does among nomadic tribes now in that region. But the passage of Israel from nomadism to settled life in Canaan brought them into a more extensive relation with the institution of cleavage than ever before. Nor was cleavage unknown to the Canaanites before the conquest by Israel, for the "inhabitants of the land," like all oriental peoples then and now, were not a free, democratic race. They were stratified into upper and lower classes before the Israelites appeared.

A brilliant sidelight on class relations in Israel is afforded by a late passage in Leviticus 25:39-47, as follows:

"If thy brother be waxen poor with thee, and sell himself unto thee, thou shalt not make him to serve as a bond-servant. As an hired servant, and as a sojourner, he shall be with thee unto the year of jubilee. Then shall he go out from thee. And as for thy bondmen, and thy bondmaids, which thou shalt have of the nations that are round about you, of them shall ye buy bondmen, and bondmaids. Moreover of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you; and they shall be your possession. And ye shall make them an inheritance for your children after you, to hold them for a possession. Of them shall ye take your bondmen forever."

An interesting bit of evidence in this connection is furnished by the so-called "tenth commandment," recorded in Exodus 20:17. It is an injunction against covetousness; and in its innocent modern translation it reads: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his manservant, nor his maidservant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is thy neighbor's." The words rendered "manservant" and "maidservant" would better have been

“man slave” and “woman slave” respectively. The slightest thought on the real nature of this well known injunction is enough to show that it would be without significance in relation to these terms if the so-called “servants” were not held as property. There is nothing wrong in desiring your neighbor’s free, hired servant. Manifestly, then, this famous injunction presupposes a condition of slavery. It puts human beings into the same category as cattle and houses; and in this respect it is an aristocratic commandment.

In Genesis 9 we find an early legend which explains and justifies the subjugation of the people of Canaan by the Israelites. Canaan is depicted as outraging decency, whereupon he is condemned by his father, Noah, in the following words: “Cursed be Canaan. A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren.” To the same effect is the Declaration of Jephtha, in Judges 11: 24: “Whomsoever Yahweh, our god, hath dispossessed before us, them will we possess.”

Thus it begins to be plain that Israel was no exception to the law which we have put forward as a mighty factor in social development. In our examination of this interesting oriental people we must hold the fact of cleavage in full view in all its wide significance. To the trained eye, the phenomena of cleavage will stand out conspicuously through all the course of Israel’s history.

§ 63. — The political disintegration which we have noticed in Canaan before the Conquest made it possible for the people of Yahweh to break up into their tribal groups, and undertake the subjugation of the country in detail. Herein we see the anarchical period of the “Judges,” when the people were not yet permanently united in a single nation under a king.

Since they were not compelled to maintain a general organization, the general religion of Israel, tended to fall into neglect. Notice again how the religious and political conditions of early society are bound up together. Yahweh, the covenant deity, was the one, general god of Is-

rael; and the fate of his worship hung upon the realization of an Israelite nationality. If, at this early stage in its history, Israel should be permanently subjugated, the religion of Yahweh would be cast aside and forgotten. Under the actual conditions, however, Yahweh was not, and could not be, wholly forgotten either by the Israelites or the Canaanites. His worship went forward at the altars in different parts of the country; and the thought in the background of the consciousness of Israelite and Canaanite alike was: "Yahweh is the one, general god of Israel. He has led Israel out of Egypt — that great country; — and has therefore defeated the gods of Egypt. He has not only done this, but he has given Israel victories and a foothold in this land. He must, therefore, be a great and powerful god." If a united Israel, under the leadership of Yahweh, had conquered a united Canaan under the leadership of some other general god, then the general god of Canaan would have been defeated with his followers; and Yahweh would have risen at once to a higher place than he actually occupied during the period of the Judges. If we say that Yahweh had no immediate power to become the preeminent "god of the land," we merely express in theological terms the fact that Israel had no immediate power to form a nation within the land.

§ 64. — In the third chapter of Judges we read that "the children of Israel dwelt among the Canaanites;" and that "they took their daughters to be their wives, and gave their own daughters to their sons, and served their gods." As a matter of fact, the subjugation of the Canaanite inhabitants by the Israelite intruders was but a partial one. After the Israelites had settled down in the agricultural districts, leaving the Canaanites mostly in the towns, there were treaties and intermarriages between the two. Of this, however, more in due order. At present, we are concerned with its theological aspect. As the records indicate, the worship of Yahweh was gradually associated with, but not superseded by, that of the local deities of the Canaanites.

It needs to be emphasized that this was perfectly natural under the circumstances. Israel and Yahweh had indeed gained a foothold in the country, and had won victories over the Canaanites and their local gods; but they had neither driven out nor annihilated the Canaanites, and hence had neither driven out nor permanently defeated their gods, or "baalim." The baalim of Canaan were the gods of a settled and comparatively civilized population, which was agricultural and commercial, rather than military, in character; and these gods, of course, reflected the nature of their worshippers. On the other hand, Yahweh was a god of militant barbarians who were fresh from the desert. He was a "god of hosts, mighty in battle," as the Old Testament sometimes describes him. He was the dreadful god of Sinai, enthroned on the black thunder clouds. And while he was worshipped on important occasions, and held as a military reserve, so to speak, it was inevitable that the pastoral Israelites, when settling down and making treaties and marriages with the agricultural and commercial inhabitants of the land, should recognize and worship the local baalim. For the Israelites were anxious to learn the arts of agriculture and settled life; and to obtain success therein it was thought necessary to serve, not a military god, but the more civilized gods who had plainly given wealth and success in life to a settled population. According to the standard of that age, the service of the *local* baalim was no disloyalty to Yahweh, the *general* god of Israel. The local baalim were worshipped only in a subsidiary capacity. Israel did not recognize any god who could compete with Yahweh in his own peculiar field. His worship was associated with that of the local baalim just as it was with the worship of the teraphim, or little family gods. The service of these household gods by people like Micah the Ephraimite, and David and his wife Michal, and all the rest of Israel, did not imply the denial of Yahweh as the general god of Israel. In the same way, the recognition of the local Canaanite

gods involved no disloyalty to the god who had delivered his chosen people from Egypt; and as the facts now to be noticed prove, he was still regarded as preeminently the god of Israel (47).

§ 65. — After the people of Yahweh had entered Canaan, other attacks were made upon the land by still other outsiders. As the Israelites gradually settled down in the country districts, leaving the Canaanites mainly in the towns and their vicinity, these attacks by outsiders proved to be troublesome not only to the Israelites but to the Canaanites as well. Enemies from without the land had no reason for making a permanent distinction between Canaan and Israel, for they were the enemies of all the people in the territory they coveted. This at length had the effect of creating a community of interest and feeling between the older and newer inhabitants of the land.

It was, indeed, attacks by the troublesome Philistines and Ammonites that finally welded Israel and Canaan into a single mass. And they were rallied against these enemies — how? Assuredly, not in the name of any one of the local baalim, for none of these gods had a general jurisdiction. The only god worshipped in Canaan who had a general jurisdiction was Yahweh, the god of hosts, mighty in battle, whom the Israelites held as a sort of military reserve. The combined Israelites and Canaanites were therefore rallied against their common enemies in the name of none other than Yahweh, who had defeated the powerful gods of Egypt, and given Israel a foothold in Canaan. Henceforth we hear no more about conflicts between Israel and Canaan. The tedious formative period of the Judges at length passed away; and a national state was founded under the headship of king Saul and his successors, in the name of Yahweh, god of Israel. “The old population,” writes Wellhausen, “slowly became amalgamated with the new. In this way the Israelites received a very important accession to their numbers. In Deborah’s time the fighting

men of Israel numbered 40,000; the tribe of Dan, when it migrated to Laish, counted 600 warriors; Gideon pursued the Midianites with 300. But in the reigns of Saul and David we find a population reckoned by millions. The rapid increase is to be accounted for by the incorporation of the Canaanites" (48).

The situation here developed calls for close attention. As Wellhausen observes, the assimilation of the older and the newer inhabitants of the land never had the effect of making Israelites Canaanites; but, on the contrary, it made Canaanites Israelites (49). This is a very nice point, turning obviously on the politico-religious phase of the situation. The original Israelite tribes intruded themselves into the life of Canaan in somewhat the same way that the Normans intruded themselves into the life of England. It is true, we hasten to say, that the Israelites placed their name on the land they conquered; while the Normans did not turn England into a Normandy. But the difference between the two situations is rather one of form than of substance; and this is just the point that we are trying to bring out. Prior to the Norman Conquest, England had a national organization of her own. Norman life simply flowed into the mould offered by English life; and Normans thus became Englishmen. "As early as the days of Henry the Second," writes Green, "the descendants of Norman and Englishman had become indistinguishable. Both found a bond in a common English feeling and English patriotism". (50). But, on the other hand, Canaan, as we have repeatedly observed, had neither a national organization nor a national religion. So that in this case it was the incomers, and not the original inhabitants, that furnished the national mould, or matrix, wherein the corporate life of the mingled peoples could run. Thus the Canaanites, the earlier inhabitants of the land, became Israelites.

Partly from a natural and naive tendency of mind which predisposes men to exalt the simple and the dra-

matic over the complex and the prosaic, and partly as a matter of pride, the resulting mixed race magnified its descent from the conquering Israelite stock, and rapidly forgot its Canaanite ancestry. In coming years the invasion of the land by the tribes of Israel projected itself into bold relief against the historical background, while the silent, prosaic intermingling of the races made no impression on the popular mind. Everybody, of course, wanted to be known as descended from the conquerors and not from the conquered. In later generations these tendencies logically issued in the tradition that *their* ancestors came into the country and dispossessed the alien Canaanites. This is, indeed, one of the stock ideas of the uncritical Bible reader of today; and unless we take the trouble to look below the surface, and hold the basic elements of the situation steadily in mind, it neatly conceals a number of important sociological facts.

In marriages between the old and the new inhabitants of the land, it is plain that alliances would be contracted largely between the families of the Israelite chiefs and elders, who had seized the undefended agricultural districts, and the families of the Canaanite upper class, which resided principally in the towns.\* The mixture of the races, however, would be effected in many other ways, regular and irregular.

At the outset, the balance of power in the new Israelite nation lay naturally with the country aristocracy, which was of the most pure Israelite blood. Accordingly, it is the country, with its agricultural interests, that we hear of more than of the city during the early life of Israel in Canaan. Gideon, as we have incidentally observed, was a clan chief in the agricultural districts. Saul, before

---

\* Perhaps a typical marriage of this kind was that between Gideon, an Israelite clan chief, and a woman of the Canaanite city of Shechem (Judges 8: 31 and 9). The issue of this union was the ill-fated Abimelech. It was Gideon's family, by the way, that headed the first, abortive attempt to avoid the evils of the troubled age of the Judges by founding a monarchy. Strictly, Saul was not the first king in Israel.

his election to the throne, busies himself in directing the affairs of the family estate in the country. David, the next king, begins life as a shepherd boy; and, in the early part of his career, marries the widow of a rich country landlord.

But intermarriages between the Israelite and Canaanite upper classes presently produced families which inherited both city and country property. This tended to carry the balance of power into the cities, which were wealthy long before the Conquest. The shifting of the center of influence in this direction probably became noticeable even in the reign of David. At a later period in his career he brought the city of Jerusalem into prominence, and identified himself with it so closely that it became known as "the city of David." The third king, Solomon, was wholly a city man; and under him we may imagine the process of amalgamation as being complete, and the balance of power — at least, of economic power — as on the way toward permanent location in the cities of Canaanitish Israel.

§ 66. — A fact which calls for emphatic notice emerges into view at this point. The history of "Israel" in Canaan must be regarded, not as later chapters in the history of the original Israelitish tribes, but rather as a continuation of the prior history of Canaan. From the standpoint of science, the phrase "history of Israel," as commonly understood, is misleading. The Israelite invasion brought a temporary backset to the country; but after the races had been peacefully united under the kings, the resulting progress which we associate with the names of David and Solomon, was really Canaanite progress under the name and style of Israel. We should realize, then, that we are studying the history of society in Canaan rather than merely the history of Israel. If we continue the subject under the impression that we are simply studying the later history of the original tribes of Israel, we delude ourselves in the same fashion as when we loosely imagine that the Israelites took possession of

Canaan and "drove out" the earlier inhabitants. Both of these ideas are conventional conceptions which hide serious facts to which we must frequently recur.

§ 67. — But since primitive politics and religion go together, it is necessary to turn once more to the religious aspect of this history.

We have seen that Yahweh was once a tribal god. But the rise of Canaanitish Israel brought with it the rise of Yahweh among the gods of the nations — that is, in the minds of his worshippers. Let us try to study the religious psychology of Israel under the united monarchy, during the "golden age" of David and Solomon.

First of all, perhaps, there was the imposing tradition that Yahweh had chosen Israel, defeated the gods of Egypt on their behalf, and given them the land of Canaan. We have seen how much and how little basis there was for this; but it was taken more and more at its face value. Its dramatic force increased with the passage of time as the Canaanite side of the nation's ancestry became lost in the Israelitish descent of the mingled people. The Philistines on the southwest were so effectually chastized that they ceased to harass the Israelites. Therefore Dagon, the god of the defeated Philistines, had been defeated by Yahweh, and must take a lower place than the god of the victorious Israelites. Furthermore, the Moabites, the Ammonites, the Edomites, and the Syrians, or Arameans, located on the east and northeast, were defeated and put to tribute by Israel. The nomadic Amalekites were also severely chastized. Therefore the gods of all these peoples fell below the level of the great deity of Israel, who was plainly showing himself to be a god of hosts, or armies, mighty in battle. The commercial Phœnicians on the northwest were not a warlike race; and since they never came into hostile contact with Yahweh's people, their gods did not at first impress the religious consciousness of Canaanitish Israel. The Babylonians, having long ago retreated to their distant homeland, were too far away to exercise any influence on the imagin-

ation of Israel during its formative period. And since the Assyrian kingdom had not at this time grown powerful enough to throw its armies upon the Mediterranean seaboard, out of sight was out of mind in this case also. Thus Yahweh had proved his superiority over all gods with whom he had actually come into contact; and it was a natural inference that, if he chose, he could as easily defeat the gods of the nations with whom Israel had *not* so far come into relation.

Thus we see how the circumstances of this period exalted the idea of the power of Yahweh, especially in the minds of his Israelite worshippers. The growth of Yahweh — or more exactly, the growth of the idea of Yahweh — was the religious aspect of the increasing political importance of the newly founded nation of Israel. Of course, the relative importance of Israel in the world was less than the Israelite imagined it to be; and in the same way the greatness of Yahweh would bulk larger in the mind of the Israelite than to the eyes of the world outside. We are studying Yahweh, however, not as he appeared to the outside world, but as he existed in the consciousness of his people.

The atmosphere in which the Israelite found himself in the reigns of David and Solomon was, indeed, well fitted to give rise to expansive ideas about the importance and destiny of Israel, and, therefore, of the greatness of his god and the littleness of the gods of other nations. It is a well known fact that every ancient conquering nation tended to ascribe to its own god supremacy over the gods of the rest of the world. "Assur was supreme over all other gods," writes Professor Sayce, "as his representative, the Assyrian king, was supreme over the other kings of the earth" (51). The same spirit of pride that impels the small boy to think and assert that his country can defeat all other countries in war, and that his father can whip the fathers of all other boys, was naturally at work in the politico-religious consciousness of Israel at this relatively happy period of national power and glory.

“There has probably never existed, in any age or at any spot on the earth’s surface,” writes Mr. Fiske, “a group of people that did not take for granted its own preeminent excellence. Upon some such assumption, as upon an incontrovertible axiom, all historical narratives, from the chronicles of a parish to the annals of an empire, alike proceed” (52). It is inductively probable that, just as the Assyrians, when flushed by their military successes, held the gods of other nations in contempt, so the sentiment grew up in Israel that foreign gods were weaklings to be despised. It was, indeed, a part of the duty of every man in ancient times to think well of his own god, and ill of the gods of others. If his people were permanently conquered by another people, then, of course, the god of his conquerors was more powerful than his own god. But if, on the contrary, his own people subjugated others, then the latent tendency of every man to think well of his own god as a matter of self interest was brought into play and justified. We must not suppose that even in the case of a great conquering power like Assyria, the tendency to magnify one’s own god and to hold the gods of other nations in contempt, issued in downright denial of the existence of foreign deities. The general god of a conquering nation was thought by his people to hold the same place of supremacy with reference to foreign gods that his people held with reference to foreign peoples. And just as, in the mind of the small boy, the importance of other nations than his own tends to drop toward the zero point, so, in the thought of ancient conquerors, the dignity of outside peoples and foreign gods tended to diminish to the lowest point compatible with the fact of their existence. The mere existence of outside gods was not denied—even in Israel down to the last, as we shall see in due time; but the psychology of primitive conquering societies tended to magnify their own gods in the largest possible degree, and to minify the gods of outsiders in the largest possible degree, thus opening a profound quantitative chasm between the religions

of conquerors and the religions of the outside world. Almost every primitive god, indeed, may be regarded as, in a sense, potentially the god of the whole earth and heaven. There are no absolute limits to the power of the gods in the minds of their worshippers. It is uncertain what a god may or may not do, just as it is uncertain what a man may or may not do. This is especially true of a covenant god, like Yahweh, for his worshippers have not grown up with him; and they are, therefore, more uncertain about him than about gods with whom they are more familiar.

There can be no doubt that these general tendencies were at work in Israel during the period here under survey. They did not produce the doctrine of an absolutely imperial god, such as the later prophets proclaimed; but the foundations of that doctrine were laid in the "golden age" of Israel's national history.\*

§ 68. — It should be emphasized that the enlarged idea of Yahweh arose in the common consciousness of Canaanitish Israel, just as ideas about the gods of other nations grew in the minds of their worshippers. Yahweh had not yet become a world-god; but he was on the way to that exalted eminence; and nobody could tell what this dreadful covenant deity might do, nor how many foreign gods he might subjugate. He grew in the minds of his people as a reflex of the political situation. His greatness was obvious. It called for no special revelation from heaven, for anyone could see it.

But although the greatness of Yahweh needed not the word of revelation, it is inductively probable that persons arose under the united monarchy, as well as before that time, to give authoritative expression to the common tradition. Such persons were not necessarily

---

\* Some readers may interpose here the point that since Israel was completely and permanently defeated at a later period, and since Yahweh nevertheless finally became the imperial god of earth and heaven, the line of thought here working out is inconsistent with some important fact which we have overlooked. We leave this puzzle, however, to solve itself at a later stage of our survey.

specialists, who did nothing save make declarations about divine things. In later Israelite history the function of prophecy, or preaching, or forthspeaking, on behalf of divinity concentrated itself in specialists known as "nebiim" (translated "prophets"). But the further back we go in Israelite history and in general history, the more common is it for any extraordinary person to be regarded as an authoritative source of the divine word. In the earlier history of Israel the authoritative word from the divine, or concerning the divine, was uttered by seers, priests, kings, extraordinary women like Deborah, and leaders like Moses, all of whom combined in themselves many functions. The prophetic side of the character of Moses, for instance, is recognized by later prophets (Hosea 12:13; Deuteronomy 18:15, 18; 34:10). At first, the inspiration of deeds and of words was thought to fall upon the same person. The political head of the people could not only be an inspired leader of action; he could also give out the inspired word. Moses, as just observed, was regarded as a prophet in one aspect of his character. Samuel, the last of the judges, could be at once judge, priest, and seer. A valuable editorial footnote in 1 Samuel 9 explains that "beforetime in Israel, when a man went to inquire of God [*elohim*], thus he said, Come and let us go to the seer [*roch*]: for he that is now called a prophet [*nabi*] was beforetime called a seer." King Saul could be "among the prophets." Even David and Solomon — more in the eyes of later generations — could be regarded as giving out inspired words in psalm and proverb. It is significant that the prophetic reputation of kings David and Solomon should be greater in the eyes of posterity than of contemporaries, for under the united monarchy, in accordance with the law of specialization everywhere at work in development, prophecy at length disengaged itself from political leadership, and began to pursue a more independent course. Persons began to come into prominence who were specially known as forthspeakers of Yahweh (nebiim). The names of some such

individuals, coming down to us from the period of the united kingdom and just subsequent thereto, are: Nathan, Ahijah, Shemaiah, and Iddo. There are also mentioned a number of prophets whose names are not given.

None of these prophets have left us any writings; but it was doubtless among them that the first crude conceptions of Yahweh's greatness received authoritative statement. In the early age of the two Israelite kingdoms there were still other prophets from whom we have no writings — men like Elijah, Micaiah ben Imlah, Jehu ben Hanani, Elisha, as well as many who are mentioned but not named; and these, also, doubtless had their share in defining the greatness of the covenant god of Israel. The prophets of later centuries — like Amos, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, — whose writings we possess, utter in terms of increasing clearness the doctrine of Yahweh's imperial supremacy; but not one of them is conscious that this is a novel conception, even though we can trace later stages of its growth in the writings of these very prophets. The psychology of all the literary prophets implies an aggrandizement of the national god such as can have come only before the age of written prophecy.

Several facts, then, taken together, make it practically certain that under the national kingdom Yahweh was authoritatively declared to be an imperialistic god by men who were thought to be in close touch with him and inspired by him. First, the political history of Israel exalted the idea of Yahweh in the consciousness of all his worshippers. In the second place, prophets arose who would naturally give expression to the common idea. In the third place, the psychology, or general mental attitude, of the literary prophets of later centuries proves that these later men did not regard themselves as innovators.

§ 69. — Throughout this period, and for centuries afterward, the local baalim, or agricultural and city gods of the earlier Canaanites, were worshipped in the character of minor deities. The service of the baalim was continued as a part of the religion of the people because

of the qualified nature of the Conquest, as previously explained. The baalim were symbolic of the Canaanitish element in the descent of the mixed population. Several of the agricultural feasts held by the earlier Canaanites in honor of these gods, as well as the lewd practices in connection with the "high places," were continued in connection with the Yahwism of Canaanitish Israel. The local gods, however, were not to be compared to Yahweh, the god of all Israel; and, as we have already seen, their worship, like that of the teraphim, was not commonly held to be inconsistent with the practice of the national religion.

§ 70.—Canaanitish Israel was a united nation for about 100 years — through the reigns of Saul, David and Solomon. The capital was fixed at Jerusalem in the south; and a temple was built there for the god of Israel. Peace and firm government within the country brought with it social recovery and progress, and quickly elevated Israel to a place among the nations. Oriental civilization was introduced — or, to be more accurate, revived and stimulated after the temporary backset caused by the Conquest.

In the reign of Solomon friendly alliances were made with surrounding nations; and since recognition of a people involved recognition of its god (politics and religion going hand in hand), altars were set up in Israel for the worship of the deities of Egypt, Phœnicia, Moab, and Ammon — probably on soil transported from those countries.

§ 71. — But in spite of the apparent prosperity of the country, trouble was brewing. The social condition of Israel was rapidly assimilated to that of the oriental world at large.

The first dramatic incident in its decline occurred upon the accession of Rehoboam to the throne of Solomon his father. The weight of taxation had rested more heavily upon the northern part of the kingdom than upon Judah in the south, where the seat of government was located; and Rehoboam would consent to no reforms. In

consequence, the larger part of the kingdom — the so-called “ten tribes” in the north — rebelled against the dynasty seated at Jerusalem. This was about 940 B. C. Thenceforward there were two lines of kings — one for Judah in the south and one for Israel in the north; and all Israel was never again politically united as a nation. The consciousness of a common origin, however, was not forgotten; and Yahweh was still acknowledged as the god of the sundered people.\*

The troubles of Israel now increased. Rehoboam tried to reduce the insurrection in the north, where Jero-boam had been chosen king. Meanwhile, Shishak, who was then king of Egypt, invaded Judah. The internal decay of once powerful Egypt was exposing it more and more to the assaults of its enemies. As population multiplied throughout the eastern world, kingdoms pressed upon each other, nations rising and falling, with no stability anywhere, and increasing distress everywhere. The assault upon Judah by Egypt recalled Rehoboam to the south, and relieved the pressure on the north. Some years later the scales were turned; and the north, under king Baasha, pressed so hard upon the southern kingdom that Asa, the son of Rehoboam, was forced to call upon king Benhadad of Damascus for help. And so the tides of war surged back and forth.

After the division of the kingdom, the history of Israel is a record of gradual decline, interrupted by occasional returns of apparent good fortune, at least for the upper class. The northern kingdom was destined to be largely depopulated by the Assyrians, giving rise to the legend of the “ten lost tribes.” The kingdom of little Judah was to gather up into itself the traditions of Israel’s history. Part of its population were at length to

---

\* In respect of the terms “Israel” and “Judah” the usage varies in the Old Testament literature; but in the present inquiry this point need not be enlarged upon. The Judahites were Israelites in a broad sense; but after the division the term “Israel” was applied to them only on the more formal occasions.

be exiled. Of these, again, part were to return; and, under the name of "Jews," to erect a little ecclesiastical state, subject for the most part now to one power and now to another, and ultimately to be destroyed by the Roman arms.

Thus we see that the kingdom which came so triumphantly into the light of history, under the glorious leadership of the terrible covenant god Yahweh, pursued a comparatively brief career before its best days were over. We hardly trace its rise before we chronicle its commencing decline.

§ 72. — The evil turn in the fortunes of Canaanitish Israel resulted at length in a great religious ferment which, advancing through ever widening circles, has influenced the later religious history of the entire civilized world. We have seen that the rise of Yahwism was connected with the rise of Israel among the nations; and it is manifest that the later religious ferment which we are presently to study was equally based upon material decline.

The central question is, What was it that brought trouble upon the country? What was it that caused the decline of Israel? Was it the increasing attacks by outsiders? Or was it internal conditions? Or was it a combination of internal and external causes? Or, more broadly and simply, was it a local manifestation of the general social decay then creeping over the entire oriental world?

The evidence upon which our general thesis is based leads us to support the affirmative side of the latter form of the question. It will be recalled, indeed, that our entire digression upon the history of Israel is based on the view that this history brings out to good effect the general conditions of the oriental social problem.

§ 73. — As troubles thickened, and the period of the united kingdom receded into the past, there grew up, as was but natural, an ever brighter tradition of the glory

and happiness of the golden age under David and Solomon. We see the marks of this in 1 Kings 4: "Judah and Israel were many, as the sand which is by the sea in multitude, eating and drinking and making merry. And Judah and Israel dwelt safely, every man under his vine and under his fig tree, from Dan even to Beersheba, all the days of Solomon." This passage was composed, not during the period of the united kingdom, but after the division, at a time when it had become customary to speak of the people of Yahweh under the double form, "Judah and Israel." The tradition represented by the passage was, of course, an idealizing tradition; but that made no difference. Distance often obscures details, and lends enchantment to the view. When we are in difficulty we always like to erect some standard of perfection to which we can refer as an ideal. If our earlier experiences have realized any of this ideal, we tend to paint the former times in the brightest colors; to set the apparently happy past over against the unhappy present; and to accept the resulting tradition of an earlier golden age at its full face value. The passage here taken from 1 Kings 4 shows all the marks of a characteristic idealization of earlier history. Notice that all its terms go to extremes. "In the good old days," it says in effect "*everybody* dwelt safely, *every* man under his *own* vine and fig tree, from one extreme of the country to the other — from Dan in the north to Beersheba in the south. There were so many people that they could not be counted. They were like the sand by the sea, or the stars of the heaven, in multitude; and they were *all* eating, and drinking, and making merry." More specific implications of this passage will be noticed later.

All that we know about earlier and later times points to the fact that internal social conditions grew steadily worse in the century following the division of the kingdom. This was not a result of the division, but an outcome of the deeper forces presently to be studied with care. In this period it was naturally the desire of the

people of Canaanitish Israel to return somehow to the imagined felicity of the past. But their utter ignorance precluded all intelligent effort looking to the correction of social abuses; and the century following the division has left us no record of any general or positive movement of the public mind in either kingdom.

§ 74. — In the middle of the ninth century, however (about 850 B. C.), we meet several unmistakable signs that public opinion was awakening slowly to a realization that something must be done.

Ancient nations always ascribed their troubles to the anger of the gods. Thus, in the foregoing quotation from the Moabite Stone, king Mesha says, "Omri, king of Israel, afflicted Moab for many days, because Chemosh was angry with his land." The anger and malice of the gods was thought to be due either to some ritualistic mistake on the part of their worshippers, or to their own divine caprice.

The first tendency of the people of Israel, in the midst of their troubles, was to take this conventional view. But along with the more primitive, conventional idea that Israel's troubles were due to the capricious desertion of his people by Yahweh there grew up another view, which at length ripened into positive doctrine.

Setting out from the basis afforded by current traditions, the new doctrine advanced the startling claim that Israel's troubles were due, not to the caprice of Yahweh, but to the unfaithfulness of the people to their god. Yahweh had performed his side of the great contract made at Mount Sinai; but his people had not lived up to their side of it. Yahweh, the greatest god on earth, beside whom other gods were small, had chosen Israel when it was in trouble, delivered it from Egypt, made a contract with it, conquered the land of Canaan for it, driven out the inhabitants before its face, given every man his own vine and fig tree, and subjugated surrounding nations. But what had Israel rendered unto Yahweh in return for all these benefits? Israel had served the baalim, the gods of

the former inhabitants of the country! Israel had raised altars and built temples in honor of foreign gods in the very land which Yahweh had so graciously conquered for his chosen people! Israel had been tried by a good god and found wanting. Yahweh had done more than was demanded by his part of the contract. He had given good measure, pressed down, shaken together, and running over. Let Israel return to the worship of Yahweh, according to the pure and simple service of the wilderness days, abhorring contact with the local baalim and the gods of other nations; and then Yahweh would once more smile upon his people, restore prosperity to the land of Israel, and give every man his own vine and fig tree.

The new view was not less primitive than the old; but its force lay in the fact that its opponents had no means of overthrowing it. The advocate of the old, conventional theology might claim that the troubles of Israel were proof positive that Yahweh had "hidden his face from his people." To this the new school would reply by admitting the conventional claim in so far as it connected Israel's misfortunes with the will of Yahweh; but the new school would add the important qualification that Yahweh had brought trouble upon Israel, not out of mere caprice, like the gods of other nations, but as a punishment, according to the immutable decrees of his divine justice. Indeed, the new view would press hotly on to the conclusion that Yahweh would not be the great god that he had proved himself to be, and that all Israel had admitted him to be, if he had not brought just this punishment upon his chosen people. His many benefits when Israel had not deserved them in the first place, had proved his willingness to live up to the divine side of the contract; and if he had continued these benefits indefinitely, while Israel still worshipped other gods and refused him the undivided service that he had given his chosen people, then he would have been mocking himself! All these doctrines were logical deductions from the premises afforded by current traditions. Grant the tra-

ditions; and the deductions followed. King Mesha might ascribe the troubles of Moab to the capricious anger of Chemosh; but this view would not hold in the case of Israel and Yahweh. Israel's god had brought trouble upon his people as a just punishment. History had proved that he was willing to do them good. The new school would cite the Sinai covenant, and all the goodness of an electing god; and the old school could not deny these propositions, for they were affirmed in common by the old and the new. Then the new school would ask, "Is it not true that Israel has worshipped, and is now serving, the baalim of the former inhabitants of the country, and that Israel has officially recognized the gods of other nations by building altars and temples to them in the very land that Yahweh has conquered?" And to this, also, the old school would be obliged to give an affirmative answer. Then the new school would triumphantly put the final question, "Is it not true that happiness was the result of Yahweh's faithfulness to Israel, while trouble has followed Israel's persistent unfaithfulness to Yahweh in mixing and confusing his worship with the service of other gods? Yahweh chose Israel in preference to all the peoples of the earth; and Israel must likewise cleave to him, putting away all other gods from before his face, for he is a jealous god."

This doctrine, together with a moral element that will emerge into view later, may possibly have been stated in embryonic form by Moses. At all events, it now first came into great public prominence; and we are inclined to think that any ascription of the full blown form of it to Moses, or to anybody before the first age of the two kingdoms, is a reading backward of later ideas into an earlier time. The historical point, however, is not important here; and we leave it to such settlement as it may find within or without the present inquiry.

The new theology did not by any means take the public at once by storm. The great desideratum was to make the people think. The old theology was consistent with

the religious habits of the entire primitive world. Lazy and easy going, it persisted in Israel down to the last. But the new view gathered strength with age, and rose up to combat the old.

§ 75. — The new view seems to have been crystallized out of the indefinite religious ferment of the time by the policy of king Ahab of the northern Israelite kingdom. He married Jezebel, daughter of Etbaal, the king of Tyre; and in honor of his wife, her country, and her god, the Tyrian baal, Ahab had a temple erected at Samaria, his capital city. That he still recognized Yahweh as the general god of Israel is made evident by the fact that the children born to him and Jezebel were given names compounded with that of the Israelite god. Their daughter was named Athaliah, or Athal-yah, which means, "Yahweh is great." One of their sons was named Jehoram, or Yah-ram, which means, "Yahweh is high." Another son was named Ahaziah, or Ahaz-yah, which means, "He whom Yahweh supports." Not only did Ahab acknowledge the national god in the names of his children; but he also acknowledged Yahweh by consulting many of the prophets of the Israelite god, as in 1 Kings 22. In building a temple to the Tyrian baal, Ahab intended no disloyalty to the great god of Israel. His policy was nothing new. Politics and religion went hand in hand. Recognition of a foreign people involved recognition of its god as a matter of course; and so far as Israel was concerned, the great Solomon had set a precedent for this very thing in the days of the united kingdom. But the days of Ahab were not the days of Solomon; and public opinion was preparing slowly for the new doctrine.

§ 76. — In due time appeared the first great champion of the new theology. The heroic figure of Elijah, or Eliyah, whose name signifies, "Yahweh is the god," looms up in tremendous proportions amid the mists and shadows of his age. His name echoes in the Old Testament literature and resounds in the books of the New Testament. We cannot for a moment suppose that the new theology

was the creation of Elijah. Nor can we assume that the increasing agitation of the public mind, which first becomes generally noticeable in his time, was due merely to him. "Prophets do not speak until they must," says Dr. Bruce, very truly. "They do not arise until they are sorely needed, and then they come and give voice to the burden that is on the heart of all like minded with themselves" (53). The prophet who makes an impression upon his contemporaries is not the only white sheep in a flock of black sheep. The leader of thought, like the leader of action (and the two are much the same) gives personal expression to the forces at work in the society around him. He does not make the social movement; but the movement makes him.

Politics and religion being united, it is obvious that the religious consciousness, at the least reckoning, is one phase, or aspect, of the *social* consciousness. Therefore the testimony of the religious consciousness to the great importance of the prophet Elijah is an authoritative "source" of the first rank in the study of Israelite history and sociology. In the centuries lying between the time of Moses, the founder of political Israel, and the times now under survey, no figure looms up like Elijah. This man, indeed, can be regarded only as the first great representative of that notable succession of prophets, or "preachers," who, in the name of Yahweh, undertook the concrete application of the new theology. It is not Samuel, nor Ahijah, nor Amos, nor Hosea, nor Isaiah, nor Jeremiah, but *Elijah* who is to appear before the final cataclysm of the great and dreadful "Day of Yahweh" (Malachi 4:5). And it is not these other prophets, but *Elijah*, again, whom the social consciousness deems worthy of association with Moses, the founder of political Israel, and Jesus, the founder of spiritual Israel, in the dramatic scene of the great Transfiguration on the Mount (Matthew 17:3; Mark 9:4; Luke 9:30).

Elijah, unlike his successors the literary prophets, has left us no writings of his own; and the accounts of

him contained in the books of Kings as they now stand are plainly encrusted with myths, like the accounts handed down to us concerning many of the famous characters of ancient times, both inside and outside the Bible. But if the miracle stories must be given up, it is very certain that Elijah strongly opposed the policy of king Ahab, denouncing the worship of the Tyrian baal, and probably also the service of the local baalim of Canaanitish Israel. Elijah goes down into history, not because he was a physical magician, but because he was the first great spokesman of the new theology. It does not seem probable that he reached the clearness of expression which we find in the famous writing prophets who lived in later centuries.\* But his platform contained in the germ all the doctrine of subsequent prophecy. And just as his views were brought out more clearly by later men, so the problem which the new theology tried to solve became clearer in its conditions and more awful in its pressure during the period wherein these later men preached and wrote.

The most dramatic event in Elijah's career seems to have been concerned, not with miraculous fire from heaven, but with affairs of the earth in a very literal sense. It is in precisely the most sober part of the Elijah-narratives that we find the account of this event. According to the narrative alluded to (1 Kings 21), one of the smaller aristocracy of Israel, Naboth by name, owned a piece of land in the neighborhood of the palace of king Ahab. The king tried to buy this land, offering in exchange either another piece of property or the worth of it in money. But Naboth, who may have been speculating for a rise, refused to sell. Then queen Jezebel treacherously procured the judicial murder of Naboth; and Ahab went to take possession of the coveted property. The incident gave Elijah an opportunity which he was quick to improve.

---

\* We recognize that the books of the later prophets, as they now stand in the canon, have been edited and enlarged by still later unknown writers animated by the prophetic spirit.

Boldly making his way into the royal presence itself, he confronted the king with an awful curse.

It should be emphasized that the significance of this Ahab-Naboth case lay not alone in the treacherous and violent manner in which Naboth was dispossessed. The treachery which, in this instance, attended the transfer of land from one of the less conspicuous upper-class families to the most conspicuous upper-class family in the kingdom, was of course unjustifiable; but it throws out into bold relief, as by a lightning flash, a silent process of economic concentration which has been illustrated equally by the oriental, classic, and western civilizations in their later stages. The literary prophets of the following century, as we shall see later, complain about this process in the most bitter terms. On the law of chances, the members of the upper social stratum never possess the same amount of property apiece; and the underlying economic conditions of society are such that when civilization enters a certain stage the upper class begins to contract upon itself, as well as to increase relatively in wealth and power, its weaker members being ruined and forced into the lower social stratum. The special significance of the idealizing tradition about the earlier golden age, wherein every man sat under his *own* vine and fig tree, will now begin to become apparent. Vines and fig trees are never planted in the air. They are always rooted in the soil. And when the ownership of the soil is concentrating in fewer and fewer hands, it is plain that fewer and fewer men can sit under their own vines and fig trees, and that more and more men will sigh regretfully for the times of old. The concentration of landed property, which invariably attends the development of what is popularly called "the" social problem, was evidently going forward in the age that we are now trying to study. Israelite society as a whole was economically so backward that public opinion made no distinction between treacherously seizing an estate, as Ahab did, and foreclosing (perhaps by violence) a mortgage on landed property. To

the confused, ignorant, and excited public mind of the time, the Ahab-Naboth case doubtless typified the entire contemporary process of concentration; and it gave the prophet a dramatic text in illustration of one of the evils and hardships that came hand in hand with Israel's unfaithfulness to Yahweh.

It is very probable that the contraction of the upper class and the increase of its wealth had not yet proceeded so far as in the times of the literary prophets; and that the majority of the upper stratum was as yet composed of less pretentious landed proprietors and slaveholders of the rustic type. Only upon this view can we explain the events that followed the preaching of Elijah. It made no difference whether or not the prophet were logical according to valid standards. In courageously denouncing the most conspicuous land monopolist in the kingdom for seizing the property of one of the smaller monopolists, Elijah seemed to be championing the cause of all those whose land was encumbered by debt, or threatened, or seized, by wealthier creditors. He was evidently a potent factor in converting the majority of the landholding class to the idea that there was a connection between Israel's unfaithfulness to Yahweh and the various troubles afflicting the country from within and without.

§ 77. — The results of the movement whereof Elijah's preaching was an expression did not become clearly visible until after his death. His work was continued by his disciple, the prophet Elisha, under whose ministry a startling revolution occurred in both kingdoms. Ahab was dead; his son Ahaziah, after occupying his father's throne for a short time, was also deceased; and the second son, Jehoram, had worn the crown of the northern kingdom for a decade. We reproduce from 2 Kings 9 a passage bearing on the revolution:

“And Elisha the prophet called one of the sons of the prophets, and said unto him, Gird up thy loins, and take this vial of oil in thine hand, and go to Ramoth-gilead. And when thou comest thither, look out there

Jehu the son of Jehoshaphat the son of Nimshi, and go in, and make him arise up from among his brethren, and carry him to an inner chamber. Then take the vial of oil, and pour it on his head, and say, Thus saith Yahweh, I have anointed thee king over Israel. Then open the door, and flee, and tarry not. So the young man, even the young man the prophet, went to Ramoth-gilead. And when he came, behold, the captains of the army were sitting; and he said, I have an errand to thee, O captain. And Jehu said, Unto which of all us? And he said, To thee, O captain. And he arose, and went into the house; and he poured the oil on his head, and said unto him, Thus saith Yahweh, the god of Israel, I have anointed thee king over the people of Yahweh, even over Israel. And thou shalt smite the house of Ahab, thy master, that I may avenge the blood of my servants the prophets, and the blood of all the servants of Yahweh, at the hand of Jezebel. For the whole house of Ahab shall perish; and I will cut off from Ahab every man child, and him that is shut up and him that is left at large in Israel."

This bloody charge was carried out to the letter. Jehu (or Yahoo) killed Jehoram, king of Israel, and Ahaziah, king of Judah, as well as many of the royal princes of both kingdoms; trod under foot the dead body of Jezebel, the queen mother; and last but not least, he destroyed all that he could find of the priests and prophets of the Tyrian god (2 Kings 9 and 10). The revolution of which Jehu was the champion in the northern kingdom was matched a few years later by a similar course of events in the southern kingdom, whereby the boy king Jehoash came to the throne, and Mattan, the priest of the Tyrian god, was killed (2 Kings 11). But for the present, Judah may be neglected. The northern kingdom, while it lasted, embracing as it did by far the larger part of Yahweh's people, was the principal representative of the life of Israel.

Thus we behold the first great triumph of the new theology in the official repudiation of the service of foreign

gods. There was evidently sufficient public opinion to support this revolution. But large bodies move slowly; and the local baalim of different cities and villages, having been derived from earlier generations, and not being identified with any general, or national, religious ideas, were still worshipped. Now that his people had repudiated foreign gods, Yahweh would surely smile upon Israel! Surely he was not jealous of the little baalim, who had never aspired to be national gods, and who acknowledged his imperial headship over Israel! These local deities, together with the various images, poles, teraphim, high places, and other physical machinery of religion, were merely subordinate features of the popular faith. We shall hear more about them later. Reforms always come slowly; and one drastic change at a time was evidently all that the sluggish public opinion of Israel, with its dark, underlying mass of primitive religious ideas, was capable of supporting.

§ 78. — An incident connected with the revolution calls here for special notice. In 2 Kings 10 we learn that when Jehu was in the midst of his bloody work he saw Jehonadab, the son of Rechab, coming to meet him. "And Jehu saluted him," continues the account, "and said to him, Is thine heart right, as my heart is with thy heart? And Jehonadab answered, It is. If it be," continued Jehu, "give me thine hand. And he gave him his hand; and Jehu took him up to him into the chariot. And Jehu said, Come with me, and see my zeal for Yahweh." We should note that the name "Jehonadab," sometimes given "Jonadab," is combined with that of the Israelite god, like the names of so many persons that figure in this age. It is more accurately given as "Yahnadab." The questions here are, Why should Jehu be so glad to have this man Jehonadab see his "zeal" for Yahweh? And who was Jehonadab?

The context gives us no hint of an answer. The absence of all explanation for such a striking incident is of itself good presumptive evidence that the writers and

editors of Kings took it for granted that everybody in Israel would know who Jehonadab was, and what he represented. But turning to the book of Jeremiah, written over two centuries after the age of Jehonadab, we find in chapter 35 a passage which throws light on this earlier time:

“The word which came unto Jeremiah from Yahweh, saying, Go unto the family of the Rechabites, and speak unto them, and bring them into the house of Yahweh, into one of the chambers, and give them wine to drink. Then I took Jaazaniah the son of Jeremiah, the son of Habaziah, and his brethren, and all his sons, and the whole family of the Rechabites; and I brought them into the house of Yahweh; and I set before the sons of the house of the Rechabites bowls full of wine, and cups, and I said unto them, Drink ye wine. But they said, We will drink no wine, for Jonadab the son of Rechab our father commanded us, saying, Ye shall drink no wine, neither ye, nor your sons, for ever; neither shall ye build house, nor sow seed, nor plant vineyard, nor have any; but all your days ye shall dwell in tents; that ye may live many days in the land wherein ye sojourn. And we have obeyed the voice of Jonadab the son of Rechab our father in all that he charged us, to drink no wine all our days, we, our wives, our sons, nor our daughters; nor to build houses for us to dwell in: neither have we vineyard, nor field, nor seed: but we have dwelt in tents, and have obeyed, and done according to all that Jonadab our father commanded us. But it came to pass, when Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came up into the land, that we said, Come, and let us go up to Jerusalem for fear of the army of the Chaldeans, and for fear of the army of the Syrians; so we dwell at Jerusalem.”

Turning now to a genealogical table in 1 Chronicles 2, we find in verse 55 the following: “These are the Kenites that came of Hammath, the father of the house of Rechab.”

These passages taken together give us grounds for the following important conclusions: Jehonadab, or Jonadab, was a man of importance, a chief of a "father's house." That is, he was not a man of the lower class, but of the upper social stratum. This is congruous with the fact that Jehu, a man aspiring to the kingship, was glad to associate with him publicly. But more significant than this, Jehonadab, as 1 Chronicles 2 shows, was a *Kenite*; he bore a Yahweh-name; and was known as a champion of Yahweh. It was from the Kenites, we remember, that the Israelites apparently derived their national god; and it is not surprising that the Yahweh tradition and worship should be strong in families of Kenite descent. The Kenites of the Sinai region lived the free, open life of shepherds and tent dwellers. The Israelites, before the conquest of Canaan, were on precisely the same level of culture. The Rechabite descendants of Jehonadab, who came pouring into the city of Jerusalem for fear of hostile armies, were also primitive country folk, dwelling in tents, avoiding agriculture, and following doubtless the occupation of shepherds and cattle breeders. Probably this family, located on the outskirts of Canaan, had found a market for their products within the conquered land from the first. We know that Israel was not entirely agricultural, commercial and industrial, although these activities became the ruling ones in society. However far civilization has advanced, it has always depended partly upon the services of people who follow the more primitive modes of life. Jehonadab, then, seems to have been a chief of an Israelite-Kenite family of cattle raisers, that lived in the country districts of Canaanitish Israel. Probably he was a well-to-do herdsman of the Abraham description.

From these general conclusions we deduce that the founding of the Rechabite sect was merely the confirming of the family of Jehonadab in their primitive habits, as contrasted with the more civilized and settled life which was now the rule in Israel. The Rechabites, in short, embodied a protest against the social problem which always

comes with civilization, and which was now pressing upon Israel and the whole oriental world. The interlacing of the interests of society is so close and complex that any change inimical to the main body of Israel could not fail to react adversely upon the fortunes of country folk — by limiting the market for their goods, at the very least. The reason behind the refusal of the Rechabites to drink wine is obvious. Wine implies agriculture and a settled mode of life; and in making their protest against civilization, these tent dwellers and shepherds looked upon wine as a symbol of the life they more and more abhorred, from which were issuing the economic influences hurtful to their welfare. Jehu, the aspirant to the throne, was glad to have Jehonadab see his “zeal” for Yahweh because Jehonadab was a valiant Yahweh man himself, and prominent among the discontented party which supported the revolution.

It cannot be too many times emphasized that ancient politics and religion were united; and that in studying events like these we are examining ordinary, secular events under the guise of religion.

§ 79.—Another important fact calls for notice in connection with our survey of the first great age of the new theology. With a single exception, no king in Israel before the time of the prophet Elijah had borne a name compounded with that of the god of Israel. Thus, we have Saul, David, and Solomon over the united kingdom; and these bear no Yahweh-names. After the division, we find Rehoboam, Abijam, and Asa over the southern kingdom; and Jeroboam, Nadab, Baasha, Elah, Omri, and Ahab over the northern. Among these names we find only one — Abijam, or Abijah — that might indicate an increasing public recognition of the claims of Yahweh; and this, by the way, occurs in Judah, where the Kenites had been partly absorbed. But in and after the age of Elijah a very impressive change takes place in this respect. The heads of both kingdoms, as a rule, now bear names compounded with that of Yahweh. Thus: Ahaziah, or Ahaz-

yah; Jehosaphat, or Yah-saphat; Jehoram, or Yah-ram; Joash, or Yah-ash; Jehu, or Yah-oo; Jotham, or Yah-tham; Amaziah, or Amaz-yah; Uzziah, or Uz-yah; Zechariah, or Zechar-yah; Hezekiah, or Hezek-yah; Pekahiah, or Peka-yah; Jeconiah, or Jecon-yah; Zedekiah, or Zedek-yah. This very strikingly indicates a growing public, or formal, recognition of Yahweh, god of the Israelites; and is in line with the general movement now under consideration.

§ 80. — Four significant facts, then, distinguish the period which we have called “the first age of the new theology.”

First: The rise of the new theology itself in the person of Elijah the prophet.

Second: The bloody politico-religious revolutions in both kingdoms, whereby foreign deities and priests, and the kings who affiliated with them, were cast out, and Yahweh was recognized as the one general god whom Canaanitish Israel might legitimately worship.

Third: The founding of the primitive sect of the Rechabites as a protest against the evils of civilization.

Fourth: The practice of compounding the name of Yahweh with the names of the monarchs of both kingdoms, which begins in this age.

§ 81. — In studying the decline of Israel, we must bear constantly in mind the fact that Canaan had been settled and largely civilized long before the Israelite conquest. Trade centered in the Canaanite cities. Agriculture and stock raising occupied the Canaanite villagers and country folk.

We have seen that when the people of Yahweh attacked the land of Canaan, they settled in the agricultural districts, being unable to subdue the towns. The principal method by which the Israelite upper class acquired its country estates was doubtless the extermination, or subjugation of the Canaanite rustic aristocracy. Whether or not all the arable soil of Canaan had been brought under cultivation by the time of the Conquest, we do not know.

Perhaps it had not. In any event, whatever the historical circumstances may have been, the period of the Judges saw the establishment of an Israelite rustic aristocracy, superimposed upon a lower class partly of Israelite, and partly of Canaanite, extraction; and while some of the estates of this aristocracy may have been carved out of hitherto uncultivated land, perhaps the majority of them were the spoil of war.

The settling down of the Israelites to a peaceful life, and the community of language between them and the Canaanites, paved the way for the union of the older and the newer inhabitants. The process of union, as we have seen, was hastened by the attacks of enemies from outside the country. In the long run the Israelite rustic aristocracy and the Canaanite city aristocracy were alike interested in opposing the foreign foe and in maintaining peace. The diverse population was rallied against its common enemies, not in the name of any one of the local Canaanite baalim, but in the name of Yahweh. The new nation that resulted became Israelite in name, through its acknowledgment of Yahweh, and partly Israelite in blood through the continued intermingling of the older and newer inhabitants. The most formal aspect of this fusion is to be found in the marriages between the Israelite rustic aristocracy and the Canaanite upper class of the towns and cities. As previously observed, this operated to shift the balance of power from the country, where it lay in the early days of Saul, to the towns and cities, which it probably reached in the latter days of David, and, more fully, in the reign of Solomon.

Upon the accession of Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, the kingdom divided on an economic question whose details, if we could recover them, would probably show a foreshadowing of the later troubles. After the division we enter an age of decline, wherein the social problem of civilization begins to press for solution — the age that

saw the dramatic rise of the new theology, and culminated in the bloody politico-religious revolution.

§ 82. — In the decades following the accession of the bloody Jehu the troubles of Israel continued to develop. About 100 years after that event (i. e., at about B. C. 740) we are in the midst of another interesting period in the history of Israel. The earlier parts of the books of Amos, Hosea, Micah and Isaiah were written in this later period. In these books we find that the problem whose beginnings have been scantily indicated above has reached the acute stage, and is fast assuming that chronic form which has been characteristic of oriental countries for many hundreds of years. In the period at which we have now arrived, indeed, the entire oriental world was facing a problem whose gravity can hardly be overestimated. Failure to solve it entailed social decay and exposed the earliest great historic civilization to that long series of successful assaults from without which has issued, for the time being, in the triumph of Mohammedanism and the Turk. Failure to solve the same problem at the critical period likewise brought internal decay upon Greece and Rome, and laid open their civilization to the attacks of barbarians whom they would have been able to resist if their social organism had been more healthy. Modern society also faces the old problem, albeit under new forms; and failure to solve it can have no other issue than of old. The ultimate practical problem of every society is to raise good men — moral, hopeful, healthy men, with an assured economic welfare; and if this result is not reached the wheels of progress are inexorably reversed.

§ 83. — The great evolutionary process that we are examining begins in the anarchy of animality, and ever tends to work out the development of a social system, or collectivism. It does this, however, unconsciously. The organic and collectivistic nature of society is either not realized, or is but slowly comprehended by men. Social progress accumulates an ever increasing mass of material and

spiritual capital, principally through cleavage. The significance of the social system at any given moment is due, not mostly to the individuals who compose the system at that given moment, but mostly to all that the past has done for the present. The resources of society are public, or communal, in their nature. They do not derive their significance from the individuals composing the society at the time. Both in respect of its good and of its evil, society is more properly described as a collectivism than as an individualism.

But if society is a collectivism, it is, nevertheless, as observed in the preceding chapter, a collectivism developing under the forms of individualism. Although the resources of society are public, or communal, in their nature and origin, they are individual, or private, in their ownership and control. All the commonplace, working ideas of men are adjusted primarily upon the individualistic basis. Human society is primarily and mostly regarded by its members as a mere crowd, or mob. It is not thought of as a growing organism. This paradoxical attitude, however, is entirely natural. Human society develops out of a prior anarchy, and is composed of persons who have grown up from the crude selfishness of infancy, and who live self-centered lives. Looking at the social process objectively, through the lenses of science, its organic and collectivistic nature and tendencies are plainly visible; but looking at it subjectively, from the standpoint of the actors in the process, the whole scene is changed; and herein is the paradox. To the individual, the world is a vast open space occupied by himself and other individuals. He is one of a crowd, or mob, of people who are engaged in various pursuits. His first tendency is to take things as he finds them. In order that men shall exist in society, and engage in their various pursuits, it is necessary to have a common standpoint from which to think and talk about affairs. This common standpoint, which everybody primarily assumes, is the individualistic standpoint. The common ground upon

which men primarily meet in society is the ground of individualism.

Applying these considerations to the subject of cleavage, the first thing to be observed is, that the social, or public, mind has been hitherto unconscious of cleavage as here expounded. Public opinion has never yet reckoned with it in the sense that we are here trying to reckon with it. The nearest that the common consciousness comes to it is when verging upon "the relations between the rich and the poor." There has been more or less vague talk about "the grinding of the faces of the poor," and of "the conspiracy of the rich against the poor;" and there has been a small section of class-conscious persons on both sides of the line of cleavage. But the vast subject of class relations has never been formulated as it deserves, either in public or private thought. There has always been a strong tendency on the part of all classes to assume that all men have had an equal start; that a man's position in life depends more upon his personal exertions than upon forces over which the individual has no control; that a man is to be judged by the clothes that he wears, and by the amount of property at his disposal; that a poor man is not to be honored; and that a rich man is to be given great personal credit. It is, of course, the desire of practically everybody to be able to control a large amount of wealth. Life is thought of under the figure of "a race for wealth." The goal is wealth; and all are in the race. According to the figure, it follows that the successful ones in the race must have been able to run more swiftly than the unsuccessful ones. Those that are wealthy are given individual honor, not only by each other, but by the vast mass of the unsuccessful who have never attained the goal. Wealth is practically identified with merit; and if a man is not wealthy, let him say nothing, and serve those who are wealthy, that perchance he may get some of the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table. And all this accords with the popular individualistic philosophy, which is at most only half true.

It is necessary to hold these considerations firmly in mind when studying the problem toward which our survey is advancing, for they reveal the terms of the profound paradox concealed in the very heart of society, to miss which is ultimate social ruin.

§ 84. — We have learned that while society is in the nomadic stage of development, cleavage rests upon slavery. When society settles down permanently upon the soil, however, the earlier form of cleavage is associated with, and at length displaced by, a later form of it. The free, upper class claims individual property in the soil, and becomes a landed class. At first the beneficence of this arrangement manifestly exceeds the evils that flow from it. While population is scanty, and while unclaimed land is available, social progress goes forward without serious check. But at length social cleavage as based on private land monopoly begins to develop more evil than good.

Along with the growth of population the demand for land becomes greater. This causes land to rise in value. As capital accumulates, increasing the sum of industrial facilities, it becomes more and more profitable to engage in enterprises of all kinds in city and country; and this, too, forces up the value of land. It is realized that land is the foundation of all things; and at length all the available soil, used and unused, comes into the grasp of private rights.

Thus the progress of every settled society leads to the enclosing of more and more land, not only for immediate use, but also for speculation. All the land within a country becomes the absolute monopoly of a class. There is no escape from this proposition. The entire body of land-owners obviously composes a monopolistic upper class as against all persons living or to be born. The members of this class may, indeed, give or sell some or all of their monopoly privileges to other persons. But the transfer of a monopoly by gift, sale, or bequest, does not change its nature. The monopolists may come and go; but the monopoly itself remains. And it is land monopoly that grad-

ually replaces human slavery as the determining factor in social cleavage. The ancient civilizations, however, did not abolish the institution of property in men, leaving that for modern society to do.

§ 85. — The tendency of land monopoly, when it is completely established, is toward the depression of the lower class to the lowest point at which that class can exist from day to day on a hand-to-mouth basis, and to raise the upper class into correspondingly greater affluence. The upper class holds the key to the source of all supply. The lower class, having only its labor power to depend upon, must apply to the masters of the economic situation for opportunities to exert that labor power. The slave, as a rule, is permitted to reserve out of his labor products enough to support life in fair comfort. The slave is his master's property; and, providing the supply of slaves be not excessive and their price low, it is plainly the interest of slaveowners to keep their human property in good physical condition. But if slavery be abolished while the upper class monopolize the land, or if there be a personally free element in the lower class, the so-called "free" laborer must, as a rule, be content with a wage representing, in the long run, about enough to support himself and family on a hand-to-mouth basis. The increase of population, constantly throwing new "hands" into the labor world in search of work, tends to hold wages at the hand-to-mouth level, or to depress them to that level if, for any reason, they have been above it. If the free laborer demand a higher wage than he has been receiving, other men stand ready to work for the price he has been getting. Though the lower class be free in name and in form, nevertheless it has no resources beyond its labor power; and its members must compete with each other for employment in the service of those who own the natural source of all supply.

Thus extreme wealth and extreme poverty appear together, the cause of the one being also the cause of the other. The vast increase of wealth in the hands of the

upper class results in the diversion of appropriated labor products from *capital* to *luxury*; while the vast increase of dependence in the lower class generates all the evils that accompany poverty. The lower class grows hopeless. Robbery and crimes against the person increase. Beggary grows apace. Poor girls and women, lacking the necessities produced by the labor of their own class, sell themselves to men who have grown wealthy on lower-class labor, and who have more than they can use properly.

§ 86. — This problem is complicated, but not essentially altered, by the fact of monopoly concentration, already referred to when discussing the preaching of Elijah, the Ahab-Naboth incident, and the vine-and-fig-tree tradition. It is now time to look at this important fact more closely.

If a country be newly settled by foreigners, as America was after its discovery by Columbus, or if a country be subjugated, as Canaan was by the Israelites, there are at first opportunities not only for the formation of large landed estates, but of small ones as well. When America was first settled by Europeans, not only did wealthy persons from the nobility and the commercial upper class in the old countries take up large tracts of land, but the immense empire of good, unused soil provided homes for many free men of little or no wealth. All the good soil of America has at length come into the grasp of private rights. To some extent, of course, it has been taken up for actual, immediate use; but more for speculation than for use. The vast empire of land over which today flies the flag of the United States contains natural resources great enough to support several times its present population; but these natural resources are monopolized — “held for a rise;” and the pressure of increasing population is forcing Congress to apply the superficial remedy of irrigating the arid lands of the west for the benefit of the homeseekers. When the Israelite tribes left the barbaric, wandering life of the desert, and conquered part of

the land of Canaan, there were opportunities not only for the leaders and larger slaveowners to take up large landed estates, but there were also homestead openings for humbler freemen. These men were the relatives of the clan leaders. They were men who had few slaves or none. If these humbler freemen possessed a few slaves, they figured as a small aristocracy. If they had none, depending upon themselves and perhaps their sons, or upon hired labor, they figured as a peasant proprietary. In any case, whether the smaller freemen had slaves or not, we should know that the settlement of Canaan by the Israelites, like the settlement of America by Europeans, provided at the start for the admission of poor as well as rich to the monopoly of the land.

Coming now to the present point, we observe that in any social system wherein private property in the soil exists, the lesser landholders, even if they form at first an actual majority of the free class, tend to be depressed by economic forces into the lower dependent class. This contraction of the landowning class, whereby the many small estates are added to the larger holdings, complicates the social problem, but does not change its essential nature as generally set forth above. Concentration went forward in Israel and oriental society in general, just as it is going forward in America today. It is impossible to indicate the point in time at which the effects of upper-class contraction began to be visible. We run no risk, however, in concluding that its beginnings were noticeable at the time of the division of the kingdom; and that in the age of Elijah it had become serious. With reference to the still later period whereon our attention is now gradually focussing, Professor Paton writes: "While the nobles flourished the poor grew steadily poorer. The peasant proprietors were crowded out, and all the land came into the hands of a few great nobles. The free-born Israelites sank to the position of serfs. Oppression and injustice flourished" (54).

§ 87. — The forces working toward the concentration of landed estates in Canaanitish Israel were many. A suggestion from a late period, but valid as an illustration at any time, is found in the fifth chapter of Nehemiah:

“Some also there were that said, We are mortgaging our fields and our vineyards and our houses: Let us get corn because of the dearth. There were also that said, We have borrowed money for the king’s tribute upon our fields and our vineyards. Yet now our flesh is as the flesh of our brethren, our children as their children: and, lo, we bring into bondage our sons and our daughters to be slaves, and some of our daughters are brought into bondage already; neither is it in our power to help it; for other men have our fields and our vineyards.”

Reference to the “king’s tribute” in the passage reproduced above leads to a subject of great importance in relation to the concentration of land monopoly. Taxes were poorly adjusted in ancient oriental society, as they were in ancient Greece and Rome, and as they are in modern society. Taxation relates to the payments by members of a social group in support of common policies necessary to the life and welfare of the group. The institution, or agency, which carries out these common policies we call “government;” and the concerns and forms of government we call “politics.” Thus “politics” is merely an abstract term standing for one side, or phase, of the complex life of human society.

In the earlier sections of this chapter we have tried to show that government, like many other institutions, necessarily organizes itself upon the lines of cleavage at a very early period. As soon as social bodies of any size have been formed, government rests naturally with the freemen, not with the slaves; and out of the totality of freemen, the wealthier ones acquire control of the government. The great type of the ancient politician is Abraham, whether he be taken as an actual person or not. Such a man, however, is merely “the first among peers.” The other freemen of the tribe, relatives of Abraham by

blood or adoption, consult with him in regard to the proper courses to be followed in common for the benefit of the whole group.

In a primitive society of this kind, it is difficult to say where the subject of taxation begins or ends. Taxation, like everything else, is under the law of evolution. It passes from the indefinite to the definite; and no human science can trace the details of its history. The most that can be done is to indicate the bolder tendencies and outlines. Let us suppose that such a tribe, having camped for a time upon a certain territory, finds its food supply growing short, and proposes to acquire the pasture lands and hunting grounds of some other tribe. After the governing council has decided what to do, the tribal chief summons the freemen to the common enterprise. Each freeman is naturally assessed for the expenses of the campaign in proportion to the amount of his slaves, cattle and other property. Each freeman thinks of himself and his brother freemen as "paying" slaves, cattle, and goods toward the expenses of the campaign; and, what is more, since public opinion is primarily formed by the upper class of legal men, the same view is taken by the lower class also. Likewise, people who in modern times are actually bearing the largest share of the burdens of government, regard themselves, and are thought of by others, as non-taxpayers; while a relatively small class of men who formally and legally hand in the taxes to the government officials are thought of by all as the only real "payers." But the real payers, alike in modern society and in the nomadic tribe, are not necessarily identical with the legal payers; and the superficial view commonly taken breeds trouble in the discussion of the later problems of governmental support.

When tribes left the nomadic life, and settled permanently on the soil, they naturally carried over with them the principle of taxation according to ability to pay. This is the method which first and most naturally occurs to us when discussing the subject of governmental sup-

port; and, on the whole, if correctly and consistently applied, it is the best rule of taxation.

But before it can be carried to its logical application in *settled* society, and while it is applied only in its earlier and cruder form, this principle works irresistibly toward the concentration of landed estates and of general wealth. The mass of city property, real and personal, movable and fixed, is inevitably under-assessed as compared with taxable values in the rural districts; and the further the progress of civilization advances, with its ever growing preponderance of city life over country life, the further does the relative over-assessment of rustic property go. In the agricultural and stock-raising districts the assessor can estimate very closely the value of all property. The items of rustic property are matters of common gossip; and the farmer himself, when questioned by the assessor, cannot much understate the values in his possession without risk of detection. On the other hand, the appraiser cannot accurately estimate the total values of the different kinds and amounts of real and personal property in the cities. A large part of city wealth consists of trade stocks in a state of constant flux; much city wealth can be effectually hidden from the tax collector; and often the owners of city property cannot themselves accurately estimate the values in their possession, or that have passed through their hands in the course of a year. The larger the cities grow, and the wealthier they become, the more difficult is it to reach their property by the crude application of the ability-to-pay principle. Thus, in all settled societies there is an over-assessment of rural property, and an under-assessment of city property; while the smaller property holders everywhere, in city and country alike, pay more in proportion than do the larger holders.

In Canaanitish Israel the burdens of the frequent and often protracted wars obviously fell more heavily in proportion upon the small than upon the large proprietors. The estates of the smaller landowners were

necessarily more neglected during a war than the better served and more organized estates of the larger proprietors and slaveowners; while the town aristocracy suffered least of all. We must bear prominently in mind in this connection that the Canaanite upper class of the towns and cities held its own at the time of the Conquest; and that these busy centers of population were wealthy before the appearance of the tribes of Israel. As soon as the Israelites had established themselves in the agricultural districts, and united politically with the Canaanite towns to form the nation of Canaanitish Israel, the conditions here being set forth began to prevail. After a war the small aristocrats and the peasant proprietors would find their estates in decay. In order to re-stock their farms and pay their taxes, they would be forced to borrow from underassessed and richer men in country and city, as we saw the farmers doing in the passage quoted from Nehemiah. Thereafter, the small aristocrats would have to make their property yield not only all their living expenses and taxes, but interest on the loan, and finally the repayment of the loan itself. In time, they or their heirs, working at a continuous and increasing disadvantage, would fall under these burdens; and the richer neighbor, or the money lender from the city, would claim the property. As the passage in Nehemiah also suggests, drouth and failure of crops, like war, would force the small owner to borrow from the wealthier, and with a like result.

In the light of these universal tendencies, is it strange that the question over which Canaanitish Israel was divided at the end of its first and only century of national existence was a question of taxation? David was reprobated by later tradition for taking a census of Israel, whereof an object, among others, was probably to ascertain the amount of taxable property in the whole country. Solomon, his son, divided the land into taxation districts regardless of tribal affiliations. At the death of Solomon, who was a city man in contrast with Saul, the first king,

the balance of economic power in the mixed population had probably shifted from country to city ; and the writings of the literary prophets exhibit the increasing economic domination of the rural districts by the city plutocrats. Is it strange that there has always been more or less feeling between the rural and the urban sections of society? And is it strange that a formal protest was made by Jehonadab and the Rechabites on behalf of the original primitive life, against the evils that were somehow connected with progress and civilization, commerce and cities?

§ 88. — Thus we note the conditions operating to reduce the comparative size and increase the economic resources of the upper class, while, on the contrary, increasing the comparative size and cutting down the economic resources of the lower class.

Undoubtedly, as we have already explained, the lower class has derived untold benefits through the advance of each great civilization which has been thus far projected above the levels of barbarism, savagery, and animality. It must be frankly acknowledged, however, that this participation in progress has not been the result of any social intelligence. By the operation of cosmic forces, and without knowledge of what is working out in their lives, primitive men are carried up from savagery and animality into civilization. But the further the process of social development goes, the more necessary does it become that men awaken to a realization of the nature and laws of society. They must acquire knowledge enough to perceive what public measures to take, and public spirit enough to take those measures. The civilization that fails in this respect inevitably goes backward; and the lower class, as we are learning, is the first to suffer.

In the period at which we have arrived, oriental civilization had reached its great social crisis, and, ignorant of the facts and laws of its own social being, was going down to ruin. Here was a vast world of humanity whose culture lies at the base of much of the higher progress

of later historic civilizations. Here was a social world which had accomplished more, both materially and intellectually, than any other section of the human race up to that time. Yet, just at the period when we seem to have the right to expect oriental society to achieve a still greater destiny, it falls into internal decay, and succumbs to the attacks of barbarians that close in upon it from all sides.

§ 89. — When the oriental world attempted to explain the situation in which it found itself in its age of decline, the social intelligence of the period, as just observed, was unequal to the task. Out of all that great civilization — out of all that weltering sea of humanity — the only voice that has reached us across the vista of the centuries is the voice of the prophets of Israel, proclaiming the doctrines of the new theology. It would be illogical, however, to suppose that Israel was the only people among whom expressions of dissatisfaction found voice, for, in the very nature of the case, dissatisfaction must have been universal. But Israel was the only people whose early history supplied a basis, either in fact or in tradition, for a dramatic interpretation of the social problem. The prophets were moved by no merely local tendency. They represented a local involution of a universal tendency.

We have seen that Elijah, in the ninth century B. C., was the first great representative of the new theology. But probably the new view did not reach complete expression until tradition had had more time to work. In the eighth century B. C. it became at length fully articulate in such preachers as Amos, Hosea, Micah, and Isaiah. To the sociologist who investigates the writings of these and later prophets from the broad, scientific standpoint, it is plain that their concern was primarily social, and secondarily theological. They were dealing with what, in modern times and modern terms, is commonly called "the" social problem. Their preaching, although necessarily theological in form (politics and religion being united), was in substance an attempt to explain and solve

practical, secular difficulties which the world has now learned, or is fast learning, to approach in a wholly different spirit. In this respect, indeed, the new theology was directly in line with what has been shown to be the practical motive of all early religion. In other words, the new Israelite theology, however strange it may have seemed in contrast with primitive theology in general, was a new species of an old genus.

§ 90. — According to the most general form of the prophetic doctrine, the troubles that had come upon Israel in Canaan, both from outside and inside the country, were primarily due to the fact that Israel had not been faithful to the contract with Yahweh at Mount Sinai. At the beginning of the national history, Yahweh had wrought great wonders for his chosen people, and given Israel a glorious and rising place in the world. He was obviously the maker of Israel. But Israel had perversely “forgotten his maker,” and “gone a-whoring after other gods, and after the baalim of the Canaanites whom Yahweh drove out before the face of Israel.” If Israel would not be faithful to Yahweh in return for all his faithfulness, what wonder was it that Yahweh should turn, and “hide his face,” and bring trouble upon his chosen people? Let Israel cast away the baalim, and serve Yahweh as faithfully as he had served his chosen people; then the tide of prosperity would return; and the course of empire, interrupted by the sins of the people, would once more take its way until Israel should inherit the world.

The revolution of Jehu in the northern kingdom, and of Jehoash in the southern, had, indeed, banished the gods of other nations; but the baalim of the Canaanites, “the former inhabitants of the land,” remained. Yahweh himself, having conquered Canaan, was called the great Baal, or proprietor, of the land of Israel. His worship was conducted at the “high places” all over the country in connection with the service of the local baalim; and when the same term, “baal,” or “proprietor,” was thus applied at once to Yahweh and the local gods, it became plain to

zealous worshippers of the general god of Israel that this practice was likely to make the people confuse Yahweh with the lesser gods. Listen to the prophet Hosea, in a passage which exhibits the tendency of the people to apply to Yahweh the same title as that which they bestowed upon the lesser gods, and also shows the persistence of the worship of these local deities :

“And it shall be at that day, saith Yahweh, that thou shalt call me Ishi, [my husband], and shalt call me no more Baali [my proprietor]. For I will take away the names of the baalim out of her mouth, and they shall no more be remembered by their name” (Hosea 2:16, 17).

It is plain that the prophets did not understand the inner circumstances of the conquest and settlement of Canaan by Israel. Elijah and his successors lived in times when the glory of united Israel was a thing of the past. They could not see, as we today can, that the conquest was a much smaller and more sordid affair than it seemed in the eyes of the later generations among whom they lived. They could not understand that the establishment of Israel as a national power was largely due to the incorporation of the Canaanites themselves. Nor did they perceive that the history of Israel in Canaan was really a continuation of the earlier history of the country under a new name.

The prophets, however, were not critical historians. There were no critical historians in that age; and, moreover, the object of the prophets was not historical. They were intensely preoccupied with the practical difficulties of their own times. They accepted the popular tradition of Yahweh and Israel at its face value; but they got more out of the tradition than did the less thoughtful among the people.

§ 91. — Physical faithfulness to the worship of Yahweh as contrasted with other gods was not, however, all that the prophets demanded. To the prophetic mind, faithfulness to Yahweh meant a great deal more than mere mechanical devotion to his worship. Israel had not

only mixed the worship of Yahweh with the service of other gods, and thereby committed grievous error; but the people had been "unrighteous" and "unjust" in their dealings with each other. It was clear to the prophets that the people could not render the fullest and most efficient service to Yahweh when they were unrighteous to each other. Justice and righteousness were a part of the service of Yahweh; and if the people were unrighteous, this was proof positive that they did not "know Yahweh." If the people did not know Yahweh, even while faithful to his worship in a ritual, or mechanical, sense, they were offending him as much as by the worship of other gods. "I hate, I despise your feasts," are the words that the prophet Amos utters for Yahweh. "I will take no delight in your solemn assemblies. Yea, though ye offer me your burnt offerings and meat offerings, I will not accept them: neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts. Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs; for I will not hear the melody of thy viols. But let judgment roll down as waters, and righteousness as an overflowing stream" (Amos 5: 21 f.). It is plain, from the works of the literary prophets themselves, that all the people regarded and worshipped Yahweh as the great god of Israel. There is no doubt of this. But the people had mixed his worship with that of other deities; thereby showing unfaithfulness to a powerful god who had chosen them out of all the families of the earth, and shown a singular faithfulness to their interests. Although they held many feasts and solemn assemblies in his honor; although they made many burnt offerings, and meat offerings, and sacrifices of fat beasts; although they rendered songs, and played on musical instruments before him, — yet there was injustice in their every-day life. Unless judgment "ran down as waters," and righteousness as "an overflowing stream," all this mechanical worship counted for nothing. Yahweh hated it; and would not accept it.

§ 92. — There was nothing essentially new in this prophetic association of ethics and religion; but the circumstances made it seem new. To begin to understand the circumstances, we must once more consider the transition stage in social development wherein wandering tribes unite in settled nations.

In the nomadic social group, a certain species of justice between the tribesmen is plainly a condition of their corporate unity and strength. If the clan brothers are unjust to each other they destroy the unity of the group, and expose it to the attacks of outsiders. This primitive, tribal morality is the legislation of immemorial custom, whereof the tribal and the clan chiefs are the executives. And since the gods are translated chiefs and heroes, they too represent the demand for morality. All personal conduct which is thought necessary to the common welfare is, then, demanded by the gods; and in the name of the gods the tribal chief renders judgment between man and man. When the Israelitish tribes acquired their god Yahweh in the wilderness, there was naturally associated with him a conventional, primitive morality. The considerations here adduced are the inductive grounds for supposing that Moses gave the people a rough code of ethics at Sinai. If the literature of Israel affords deductive grounds for the same conclusion (as we think it does) so much the better for the argument.

But when tribes hitherto nomadic settle permanently upon the soil, and unite into a nation, it is not long before the national organization overshadows and supercedes the earlier tribal system. The altered social condition of the people makes it not only unnecessary but impossible to continue the tribal organization and life. At length, all that remains of the more ancient system is family political supremacy and family social tradition. Tribes, indeed, may be said to evaporate in sentiment when nations crystallize in politics. This profound social transformation cannot fail to affect the ethical relations obtaining between men; and in the case of Canaanitish

Israel, the dramatic rise of the new theology in the persons of Elijah and his successors, the writing prophets, indicates that along with the dissolution of tribal bonds the Mosaic, or tribal, ethicalism had broken down.

The prophets based their ethicalism upon the Mosaic tradition; but, practically, their demand for righteousness is to be traced back directly into the primitive religious consciousness of rustic Israelites like the family of Jehonadab, and to the example of nomadic tribes that always hovered on the outskirts of the land in limited contact with the main body of Israelite society in Canaan.

It is indeed of great importance to notice and emphasize that the earlier preachers of the new theology came, not from the cities, but from the rural districts, which were bearing the heavier proportional burdens of taxation, and falling under the economic sway of the cities. The cities were wealthy before the Conquest; and it was to the cities that the titles to the property of the mixed population steadily gravitated after the rise of the national kingdom of Canaanitish Israel. It was against all tendency to city life, we are again and again reminded, that the zealous Jehonadab and the Kenite Rechabites protested in the first great age of the new theology. The affinity of prophetism with this feeling is exhibited in words that Hosea, one of the earlier literary prophets, puts in the mouth of Yahweh: "I will yet again make thee to dwell in tents" (Hosea 12:9). This declaration is the antithesis of a reproachful reference to the wealth of the city people as follows: "As for the canaanite [i. e., the trader], the balances of deceit are in his hand. He loveth to defraud. And Ephraim [i. e., northern Israel] said, Surely I am become rich. I have found me wealth" (Hosea 12:7, 8). In this passage the term "canaanite" does *not* indicate the descendants of the earlier inhabitants of the land, as such. It is applied to Israelites of the cities as a term synonymous with "trader," "trafficker," or "merchant." It was the cities of Canaan, we remember, that the Israelitish tribes could not conquer;

and the later, commercial signification of the term "canaanite" is reminiscent of this fact. The new theology, then, took its rise in the rural districts. The home of the great Elijah seems to have been in the Gilead region, in the hills east of the River Jordan, bordering on the Arabian desert, where Israelite society naturally retained longest the rustic simplicity of earlier days, and where it came into contact with nomadic folk (1 Kings 17:1).<sup>\*</sup> Elijah's disciple and continuator, Elisha ben Shaphat, was called by him from the plow handles (1 Kings 19:19 f.). According to the text, Elisha was plowing with twelve yoke of oxen before him, and he himself with the twelfth. Leaving his work he asked permission of Elijah to kiss his father and mother. Evidently we get a glimpse here of one of the rustic landed families of Israel. Likewise, Amos, probably the first of the writing prophets, was a herdman of Tekoa and a dresser of sycamore trees (Amos 1:1; 7:14, 15). Hosea was probably more familiar with rural than with urban life; and the quotations just made from his book reveal his prejudice against the city. Micah appears to have been connected with a country village located in the Shephelah, where, as Professor G. A. Smith remarks, "there are none of the conditions or of the occasions of a large town" (55); and Micah's book is especially concerned with the peasantry of the agricultural districts. Thus we see that for about the first hundred and fifty years of its existence — i. e., from Elijah to Micah — the new theology was rustic, and not urban, in its main connections. It was formulated in the country.

But in the last half of the eighth century B. C., prophetism, tardily following the line of the kingship, was drawn into the centripetal movement of population and

---

<sup>\*</sup> Plausible grounds have been advanced for the view that the great center of the new theology was in the Jerameelite Negeb; but this does not affect our point, for the Negeb was one of the most primitive outlying sections of Israel.

power. Isaiah, the great contemporary of Micah, carried the message of the new theology into the city of Jerusalem; and from Isaiah onward prophetism appears in connection with city life.

§ 93. — One who rightly studies the works of the prophets in connection with the other literature of Israel, and in the light of universal history, cannot fail to see that the prophets are unconsciously dealing, in large part, with problems involved in cleavage.

The basis of cleavage in the times of the prophets was in great part shifted from slavery to land monopoly, although the institution of slavery survived in vigor from an earlier time. There was a vast lower class. Above this was outspread a smaller upper class which owned a part of the lower class and all of the soil under its feet. The upper stratum — of mixed blood, and calling itself "Israel," *par excellence* — was, and had been for several generations, contracting upon itself by the operation of the powerful economic forces that we have described. The small aristocrats and the peasant land monopolists were being depressed into the lower, unpropertied social stratum.

The prophets, representing primarily the rural aristocracy, were greatly scandalized by the concentration of property. They held it to be immoral for a large landowner to take the estate of some smaller monopolist who was indebted to him, but could not discharge his obligations. Interest on loans (rendered "usury") was also forbidden as unbrotherly and wrong. These ideas are strange to one who has been reared in a modern, commercial society; but in the times that we are studying they expressed the ignorant reaction of the country against the city, of tribalism against commercialism. In the eyes of the more primitive and less fortunate Israelites, it was just as wrong for a wealthy landowner to foreclose a mortgage upon his less wealthy brother of the tribes of Israel as it was for a man to take by force the land of one who owed him *nothing*. These two kinds of cases, unlike in es-

sence, are the same in outward form; and hence they were thrown into one class by the more primitive sections of Israelite society. In the light of these considerations, already alluded to in an earlier connection, we begin to see more clearly how it was that Elijah could make an impressive point in denouncing Ahab for seizing the land of Naboth. It is evident that Ahab had no mortgage against Naboth; and that the procedure was indefensible (to say nothing of the murder); but the economic sense of the rural aristocracy made no fine distinctions. The Ahab-Naboth case, in one of its prominent aspects, represented the forcible seizure of the land of a small monopolist by one of the larger monopolists; and was not this just what was becoming all too common in Israel? The protests of the eighth-century prophets indicate that concentration was not abated in their times. "Woe to them that devise iniquity!" exclaims the prophet Micah. "They covet fields, and seize them, and houses, and take them away: and they oppress a man and his family, even a man and his heritage" (Micah 2:1, 2). The prophet Isaiah takes up the same strain: "Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no room, and ye be made to dwell alone in the midst of the land!" (Isaiah 5:8). The concentration of property, and the contraction of the upper class went steadily forward in Israel and in the oriental world at large, just as it has in Greece, Rome, western Europe, and modern America. The wealthier Israelites, in order to protect what, under the existing system, were their legitimate rights, were perhaps often compelled to resort to force and cunning when foreclosing. The only difference between ancient and modern forms of the process is, that in ancient times it was accomplished rudely, while in modern times both creditors and debtors have learned to be more polite.

According to the prophets, then, the action of a wealthier Israelite in ejecting his poorer brethren was a sin on the part of the individual; and such sins were among the *causes* of the bad condition of Israel. In com-

menting on the doctrine of the prophets, Dr. Kirkpatrick says: "No doubt there were not a few among the wealthy nobles of Micah's day who prided themselves on not being guilty of injustice. Yes! Perhaps they were entirely within their legal rights when they seized the land of some poor neighbor who through bad seasons and misfortune and pressure of heavy taxes had failed to pay his debts and fallen into their power. But was conduct like that brotherly?" (56). Evidently, the modern commentator endorses the doctrine of the prophets.

§ 94. — In sharp contrast with the claims of the prophets, not only on this point, but on others, a scientific treatment of the subject must, we think, hold, not that the condition of Israel was the result of bad individual conduct, but that bad personal conduct was the result of the condition of Israel. Contraction of the upper class is a natural incident of private land monopoly. Private ownership of the earth, as we have seen over and over again, is the second great historical basis of cleavage, human slavery being the first; and the prophets never had anything to say against either of these foundations of cleavage. It is true that the prophet Jeremiah (chapter 34) demands, in the name of Yahweh, the liberation of certain specified slaves; but these individuals were free-born persons, of Israelite parentage. "Every man should let his manservant, and every man his maidservant, being an Hebrew or an Hebrewess, go free; that none should serve himself of them, of a Jew his brother." This proclaims no universal, or social, emancipation; and it is only an echo of the exclusive "brotherliness" of primitive tribalism. The real attitude of the prophets, which in this respect was like that of their contemporaries, is represented by the passage already quoted from Leviticus 25. This passage, it will be recalled, forbids the reduction of free-born Israelite brethren to slavery, but commands the purchase of bondmen forever from foreigners and from strangers that sojourn among the people. The settlement of a country, as we have already observed, gives oppor-

tunities for the formation of both large and small estates. But the small estates, equally with the large ones, represent the principle of monopoly; and the smaller proprietors must accept the consequences of the institution on which their property is based. But in ancient Israel the smaller monopolists made a great outcry. They demanded, first of all, that they be permitted to borrow from the wealth of their brethren, the larger monopolists, without paying interest. (This wealth, we must remember, consisted principally of the appropriated labor products of the lower class). Then, when they were unable to repay their loans, they protested against the seizure of their estates. In brief, they wanted to be taken by the loan route more fully into the fortunate upper class of "brethren" who fattened on special privileges.

Of course, foreclosure was a very painful procedure. But, upon the basis of the social institution of private earth monopoly, there was nothing wrong in the adding of house to house and field to field. If the less fortunate monopolists had not grace enough to take the standpoint of their more fortunate brethren, and give up their estates to their creditors, it was natural that their creditors should eject them by force, with little ceremony, and often with brutality. It is true that the creditors might have been more polite about it, and that in the rudeness of the foreclosures there was opportunity for the improvement of individual conduct. But when we have narrowed the question down to the basis of politeness we have passed the point where we can ask, with Dr. Kirkpatrick, whether it was brotherly.

§ 95. — We have already fully recognized that the demand of the prophets for personal righteousness was broader than the limits of this particular question; and we have indeed criticised this aspect of their preaching merely by way of introduction to a more general view of their claims.

From beginning to end, the prophetic doctrine of individual righteousness as a remedy for existing social

conditions was cast on the same lines. The prophets declared, in effect, that the troubles of Israel were due, first, to unfaithfulness to Yahweh, and, second, to personal unrighteousness; and while they never ceased to demand ritual faithfulness to the covenant god of Israel, they more and more assimilated personal righteousness to his worship. Viewing society from the standpoint of individualism, they said, in effect: "Let every citizen firmly resolve to become a better citizen and a better man; and then, when every man is good, the world will be right." Into this claim their prescription resolves in final analysis; and we shall consider the prophets for a space in their character as individualistic moralists.

§ 96. — We cannot better illustrate the main point that we are trying to make in connection with the prophets in this character than by recurring to an earlier stage of our survey. When studying the struggle for existence which prevails among animals and men in the state of nature, we saw that the fighting and slaughter and hatred and evil passions of primeval times grew directly out of the *relative limitation of the food supply*. The resources of the world were sufficient for all men, if men had possessed the knowledge, the tools, the social organization, and cooperative training and habits of thought necessary to the development of those resources. But in the state of nature all these necessary things are lacking. Hence the struggle for existence among prehistoric men and among wild animals. Evil conduct is not the cause of their troubles. On the contrary, their troubles are the cause of their evil conduct. Their conduct, in last analysis, rests on a cosmic basis, and not on the ground of individual ill will. It would have been fatuous for a prehistoric prophet to preach the virtues of good will, and to urge every savage to cleanse his heart from all evil feelings, and to resolve to become a better citizen and a better man. Conditions are so simple in primeval times, and the distance from cause to effect is so direct and short, that even a tyro can see that the evil passions and ac-

tions of primeval men are the effects and not the causes of their troubles.

The remedy for the troubles of primeval mankind — so far as those troubles could be corrected — lay, not in stamping out individual ill will, but in changing the relations obtaining between man and his physical environment. If he had not learned how to develop the earth's resources man would have remained on the level of animality. The foundation of human development is to be sought in those material arts whereby nature is entrapped, circumvented, and controlled by the human *intellect*. Destroy all *knowledge of material art*, and you reduce present day people to the levels of animality and the primitive struggle for existence. Nothing in the line of morality would prevent retrogression. To be sure, human progress involves moral progress — but as effect rather than as cause. Those who think and speak about morality as if it were a cause, and not a phase of something far more inclusive, do not understand the real nature of morality. To advocate "righteousness" as a primary factor of human development is like advising a man to lift himself by his boot-straps. The real nature of human progress is to be found in the intellectual development of man.

§ 97. — Intellectual development, however, has not been uniform in the human race. The artificial progress of early man, as we have learned, was not everywhere the same; and this inequality of art threw out into even bolder relief the inequality of nature. Under these conditions, cosmic forces, acting unconsciously — without human planning, — pounded out an engine, or institution, through which art could operate. In the midst of the primitive struggle for existence the beginnings of material art and progress converted the petty fights of small social groups into the great wars of tribes and nations, and ushered in the historic period. The engine through which art worked out into civilization was cleavage; and under this institution three great historic civilizations have been thus far projected above the plane of barbarism.

In the age of the new theology, however, the evil tendencies of cleavage in oriental society had plainly overbalanced its benefits. It cannot be too many times emphasized that the prophets found themselves in the midst of a situation that forced the vast majority of the lower class in a multiplying population to bid against each other for the favor of a small upper class which monopolized the physical environment. *On the whole*, the resulting evils were the outcome of no human planning. The situation proceeded to the same issue all over Israel. It proceeds at length to the same issue in every civilization. To the superficial observer, it seems indeed as if the upper class were in a vast conspiracy against the lower. But this is only in appearance. Never in human history has there been such a conspiracy. Cleavage is primarily a result of the cosmic forces that raise human society out of animality. It cannot be denied that many wealthy men have taken deliberate evil advantage of the needs of poor men. Such sins give color to the charge of a conspiracy. But they are incidental phenomena *within* the larger circle of relations based upon social cleavage itself; and they are, in truth, properly to be dealt with on the individual basis. Whether the rich take culpable advantage of the poor or not, it is inevitable (if our general thesis be correct) that social evolution should everywhere unconsciously involve an upper class, based at first on monopoly of human beings, and later on monopoly of the earth. When land monopoly reaches its inevitable issue, it produces the situation that existed in the times of the prophets. A small upper class monopolizes the soil, the source of all supply. The individuals of the lower class, under the constant pressure of immediate bodily needs, and without property of any kind, bid against each other for opportunity to work. Wages are naturally at the hand-to-mouth level. The lower class cannot accumulate property. The individuals in the upper class, not unreasonably imbued with the idea of the uncertainties of life, struggle to increase their resources to the greatest pos-

sible degree. Those below the line of cleavage, driven by immediate physical necessity, do the deeds that come under the head of the sins of poverty. Those above the line of cleavage commit the characteristic sins of the spoiled children of wealth. But the social problem involved in the situation is not the issue of individual unrighteousness. On the contrary the unrighteousness is the result of the social problem. Certain observations by Dr. E. B. Andrews respecting modern social conditions are pertinent: "Few of the wrongs brought to light," he says, "involve personal guilt or sin on anyone's part. They mainly consist of social maladjustments for which no one in particular is responsible, and which are to be removed, if at all, by general social effort" (57).

§ 98. — In addition to extracts already made from the prophets, we now reproduce a number of passages which more fully exhibit their attitude with reference to the general problem. In these passages we shall notice —

Clear evidence of a sharp line of social cleavage;

Extreme dependence on the part of the lower class;

Luxury in the upper class, indicating the diversion of lower-class labor from production of capital and other useful wealth;

An intensely individualistic tone on the part of the prophets.

"Yahweh will enter into judgment with the elders of his people, and the princes thereof: It is ye that have eaten up the vineyard; the spoil of the poor is in your houses: what mean ye that ye crush my people, and grind the face of the poor? saith the lord Yahweh of hosts. Moreover Yahweh said, Because the daughters of Zion are haughty, and walk with stretched forth necks and wanton eyes, walking and mincing as they go, and make a tinkling with their feet: therefore Yahweh will smite with a scab the crown of the head of the daughters of Zion. . . . In that day Yahweh will take away the bravery of their anklets, and the cauls and the crescents; the pendants, and the bracelets, and the mufflers; the

headtires and the ankle chains, and the sashes, and the perfume boxes, and the amulets; the rings and the nose jewels; the festival robes, and the mantles, and the shawls, and the satchels; the hand mirrors, and the fine linen, and the turbans, and the veils (Isaiah 3:14 f.). Woe to them that are at ease in Zion, and to them that are secure in the mountain of Samaria [the capitals of the two kingdoms of Israel], the notable men of the chief of the nations to whom the house of Israel come! . . . Ye that put far away the evil day, and cause the seat of violence to come near; that lie upon beds of ivory and stretch themselves upon their couches, and eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the stall; that sing idle songs to the sound of the viol; that devise for themselves instruments of music, like David; that drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the chief ointments (Amos 6:1-6). Forasmuch therefore as ye trample upon the poor, and take exactions from him of wheat; ye have built houses of hewn stone, but ye shall not dwell in them; ye have planted pleasant vineyards, but ye shall not drink the wine thereof (Amos 5:11). For they know not to do right, saith Yahweh, who store up violence and robbery in their palaces. . . . And I will smite the winter house with the summer house; and the houses of ivory shall perish, and the great houses shall have an end saith Yahweh (Amos 3:10, 15). For I know how manifold are your transgressions and how mighty are your sins; ye that afflict the just, that take a bribe, and that turn aside the needy in the gate (Amos 5:12). And I said, Hear, I pray you, ye heads of Jacob, and rulers of the house of Israel: is it not for you to know judgment? who hate the good and love the evil; who pluck off their skin from off them, and their flesh from off their bones; who also eat the flesh of my people; and they flay their skins from off them, and break their bones: yea, they chop them in pieces, as for the pot, and as flesh within the cauldron (Micah 3:1-3). Their hands are upon that which is evil to do it diligently. The prince asketh,

and the judge is ready for a reward; and the great man, he uttereth the mischief of his soul. Thus they weave it together. The best of them is as a brier. The most upright is worse than a thorn hedge (Micah 7:3, 4). The godly man is perished out of the earth, and there is none upright among men. They all lie in wait for blood. They hunt every man his brother with a net. A man's enemies are the men of his own clan (Micah 7:2, 6). Run ye to and fro through the streets of Jerusalem, and see now, and know, and seek in the broad places thereof, if ye can find a man, if there be any that doeth justly, that seeketh faithfulness (Jeremiah 5:1). Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes. Cease to do evil. Learn to do well. Seek judgment. Relieve the oppressed. Judge the fatherless. Plead for the widow" (Isaiah 1:16, 17).

§ 99. — From the evidence already brought forward, and in the light of still further evidence, to be cited presently, it is clear that the prophets committed what is called in logic a "post-hoc fallacy." \* All around them they beheld the worship of Yahweh mingled with the service of other gods. All around they saw evil conduct. These things were plainly and notoriously associated with the decline of Israel from that glorious and ideal condition wherein every free man dwelt safely, "under his vine and under his fig tree, from Dan even to Beer-sheba," and wherein the people "were many, as the sand which is by the sea in multitude, eating and drinking and making merry." The prophets, giving expression to the feeling of a certain part of their fellow countrymen, boldly pointed to these things as the causes of Israel's troubles. Let us not be understood to claim that the demand for personal righteousness cannot legitimately be raised. What we are asserting is, that the prophets, with ever increasing emphasis, pointed to individual conduct as the

---

\* More fully: Post hoc, ergo propter hoc.

cause and cure of a social, collective, institutional mal-adjustment.

Possibly it may be claimed that, after all, the prophets were concerned with individual problems, not with social problems. But, although they said nothing in so many words about what we now call the *social* problem, it cannot be successfully claimed that their object was individual, and not social. Our inquiry shows, by broad and well founded inductions, that the fundamental difficulty in the age of the prophets was collective, institutional, cosmic, and not individual. The prophets were therefore trying to solve a social problem, whether they realized it or not; and their program of individual righteousness was, in effect, put forward as a social remedy. They said nothing explicitly about society, because society, as we have seen, develops primarily under the forms of individualism. The sociological conception was too abstract for the ancient Semitic mind. The prophets of Israel accordingly took society at its formal, or face, value as an individualistic mass; and since they unconsciously ignored its essence, they failed to establish a law of connection between the phenomena.

§ 100. — The reader may not irrelevantly ask what, then, was the remedy for the situation.

We reply: Theoretically, there was perhaps a remedy; but practically, there was no solution for the problem. We must lift our eyes from Israel, and look at the entire oriental world. No local corrective, however sagaciously applied, would have been efficient. Had Israel succeeded in reforming itself, and in establishing the prosperity of all classes, the little nation would have been — as it actually was in time — crushed out by one or more of the powerful and greedy empires around. These empires were also tormented by an internal pressure which drove them to military expansion whenever and wherever possible. To have been effective, a wise readjustment of oriental society must have been instituted in a sufficiently large number of states to combine in defense

of the reform. But such a thing was impossible. Ancient oriental civilization did not possess the requisite intelligence and public spirit. We saw that the evils of the primitive struggle for existence were ameliorated, not primarily by moral progress, but through intellectual advance; and the same truth ever obtains with iron consistency. So far as it permits of solution, the problem of cleavage constitutes a draft upon the *intellect*. The prophets did not see that satisfactory moral relations are always, in the long run, based upon satisfactory economic relations. They failed to perceive that the *organization of mankind* for the production of food, clothing, and shelter, underlies and conditions every phase and quality of human life.

§ 101. — Along with, and incidental to, the social preaching of the prophets there went a theological development which must be noticed at this point, although it did not proceed to its logical issue in the official religion of Israel until after the Babylonian Exile.

The great, outstanding fact is, that Yahweh, after having been originally thought of as a local deity, like Chemosh, or Dagon, was at length regarded by his worshippers as the imperial god of heaven and earth. All that the Israelite doctrine of monotheism came to, however, as hinted in an earlier connection, was the magnification of Yahweh, and the corresponding minification of all other gods, until, in the minds of his worshippers, foreign deities were depressed to a very low level. In the furthest reaches of its thought, Israel never compassed the conception of an exclusive God — the Absolute God of modern philosophical Christianity. The monotheism finally reached by Israel was a practical, not an absolute, monotheism. This finds expression, for instance, in the first verse of the eighty-second psalm, where it is declared that God “judgeth among the gods.” Likewise, we read in Exodus 15:11, “Who is like unto thee, O Yahweh, among the gods?” To the same effect, in Exodus 12:12, the following declaration is put into the mouth of Yah-

weh: "Against all the gods of Egypt I will execute judgments." This qualified, or practical, monotheism was carried over bodily into early Christianity. The apostle Paul, in 1 Corinthians 8 and 10 says: "Concerning therefore the eating of things sacrificed to idols, we know that no idol is anything in the world, and that there is no God but one. For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or on earth; as there are gods many, and lords many; yet to us there is one God, the Father." "But I say that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to demons [incorrectly translated "devils"], and not to God. And I would not that ye should have communion with demons." In these passages Paul recognizes that physical idols are nothing, but that the idols represent inferior gods and lords in the realm of spirits (58).

§ 102. — As just observed, the doctrine of the imperial supremacy of Yahweh did not become a part of the official religion of Israel until after the Exile; and we must now note more fully the pre-Exilic basis of that doctrine.

We have seen that, according to the national traditions, Yahweh had positively demonstrated his superiority over all gods with whom he had come in contact. He had chosen Israel, and given them victory over the Egyptians, Canaanites, Philistines, Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Syrians, and Amalekites. Finally, at the time of the bloody revolutions of Jehu and Jehoash in the first age of the new theology, he had driven out the god of Tyre. He was thus greater than the gods of all these nations. He had shown that he could, if he would, vanquish and subject any god with whom he came in conflict. In this way the idea of his imperial supremacy had opportunities for growth, and for authoritative and extravagant statement, before the age of the writing prophets.

According to the new theology, as represented by the prophets, it was evidently the intention of Yahweh to sub-

ject the world to his chosen people if Israel should remain faithful to their side of the Sinai contract. But his plans were *interrupted* by the sins of Israel. If Israel would repent, these plans would go on to their logical issue. Yahweh would make Israel an imperial nation; and prove that he was an imperial god.

This doctrine took complete possession of the prophets. It seemed so plain and simple to them that they marvelled at the obtuseness of their fellow-countrymen. They begged and pleaded for the people to be faithful to Yahweh, and to practice personal righteousness. They vehemently promised that if their program were carried into effect, Yahweh would abundantly pardon, and that Israel should see peace, prosperity and national grandeur. But the mass of the people could not be moved. The bloody revolution of Jehu represented the high-water mark of popular interest in the new theology. The prophets, however, were not satisfied with this, for Yahweh evidently demanded more, as proved by the fact that prosperity did not return to Israel.\*

It is in the bitter disappointment of the prophets at the indifference of the majority that we must seek the proximate influence, or force, which prompted what little these men did in the development of Israel's monotheism. They announced their diagnosis of the situation. It seemed perfectly clear to them. But it did not seem so clear and practical to the majority of their contemporaries. "Repent!" cried the prophets. And the people, by their natural indifference and inertia, replied in effect: "We will not repent." "But think of what Yahweh has done for his people!" exclaimed the prophets in desperation. "In the olden time he raised Israel up to a splendid state of prosperity and glory. Other nations were subject to us. Every free man sat under his own vine and fig tree, and enjoyed his own heritage. Their lines were

---

\* There were a number of "reforms" in addition to that of Jehu and Jehoash; but we make no mention of them in the text.

cast in pleasant places; and Yahweh gave them a goodly heritage. His plans were going on to grand fruition. But Israel deserted him, and walked unrighteously. Therefore, after bearing long with you, he hid his face, and turned, and did you hurt. If ye will but return, he will again do you good. The baalim and all foreign gods are vanities and lies! They are subject to Yahweh, every one of them! Behold, what a mighty helper Israel is voluntarily deserting!" The prophets were not conscious that their emphasis upon the imperial power and supremacy of Yahweh was on the whole, a novel item in their preaching; and this is a very significant fact. Their theology, indeed, was plainly incidental, and subordinate, to their social preaching. They made use of Yahweh as a magnet wherewith to draw the people into a program which they thought would solve the social problem; and it was but natural, under such circumstances, that they should present the god of Israel in the most alluring and attractive and powerful character possible.

We have here all the elements of a dramatic situation involving the most intense mental stress. About a century after the death of Elijah, and while continuing to exhort by word of mouth, the prophets began to commit their doctrines to writing. Their contemporaries would not heed their advice; and they would leave a witness to future ages. The writings of the pre-Exilic prophets reveal a desperation perhaps never exceeded in the history of the human mind. Beginning with Amos in the eighth century, they conclude with Jeremiah in the sixth century; and so fierce did the invective become in this last great prophet before the Exile, that when we wish to characterize a speech that goes to a great length of censure and abuse, we sometimes call it a "jeremiad." The prophets applied the most extravagant terms of reproach to their fellow countrymen. They became fanatics, possessed of one idea, going about with dishevelled hair and wild eyes, crying out alternately the vengeance and love of Yahweh.

§ 103. — The prophetic doctrine was crystallized in a startling form by the advance of the Assyrians.

We have seen that it was no new thing in ancient thought for a god to bring trouble upon his people, and even to give them into captivity. "In every misfortune that overtook a commonwealth," says Professor Duncker, "in every calamity, a bad harvest, an infectious disorder, a reverse in war, the Greeks saw the effects of divine anger" (59). In Numbers 21:29 we read: "Thou art undone, O people of Chemosh. He hath given his sons as fugitives, and his daughters into captivity." In the Moabite inscription, we saw that Chemosh was angry with his land, and permitted the Moabites to be chastised; but that afterward he turned, and fought for them again.

In line with these ideas, the prophets made a conditional prediction respecting the future of their people. They declared that unless Israel repented, Yahweh would bring a foreigner upon them, who should carry them away captive as a punishment for their sins. But the prophets added that if this calamity came to pass, a righteous remnant should at length return to dwell in the land in the knowledge and fear of Yahweh.

§ 104. — About the year 721 B. C., the northern Israelite kingdom was brought under subjection by Assyria; part of its inhabitants were carried into a captivity from which they never returned; and the land was flooded with foreign colonists. This left only the little kingdom of Judah in the south as the legal representative of the life and traditions of Israel.

About a century and a quarter later, however, in the year 597 B. C., Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, began the captivity of Judah also.

§ 105. — We should note particularly that the captive Judeans were not all carried away at the same time. There were two deportations, about ten years apart.

And we should also take particular notice of the social character and station of the exiles in the two de-

portations, for at this critical period the fundamental fact of cleavage comes out again into bold projection.

In Jeremiah 27:20 we read that Nebuchadnezzar "carried away captive Jeconiah, the king of Judah, and all the nobles of Judah and Jerusalem." In Jeremiah 24:1 we read, to practically the same effect, that the king of Babylon "carried away captive Jeconiah, king of Judah, and the princes of Judah, with the craftsmen and smiths from Jerusalem and brought them to Babylon." In 2 Kings 24:14, 15, we read, somewhat more fully, that the king of Babylon "carried away all Jerusalem, and all the princes, and all the mighty men of valor, even ten thousand captives, and all the craftsmen and the smiths. And he carried away Jeconiah to Babylon, and the king's mother, and the king's wives, and his officers, and the chief men of the land, carried he into captivity from Jerusalem to Babylon." In short, the first deportation was recruited principally from the upper class.

On the other hand, we are told in 2 Kings 24:14 that "none remained save the poorest sort of the people of the land." Over these the king of Babylon appointed an under-king, giving him the name of Zedekiah.

There might have been but one deportation had not the under-king revolted against the overlordship of the king of Babylon. This occurred about ten years after the commencement of the Judean captivity. Nebuchadnezzar with his army again made a successful assault upon Jerusalem. The second batch of captives now taken away was of course largely from the lower class.

But even now the country was not entirely depopulated. We read, in Jeremiah 52:16 that "the captain of the guard left of the poorest of the land to be vinedressers and husbandmen." (Cf. Jeremiah 40:7; and 2 Kings 25:12).

§ 106.—The exilic social situation has been so well set forth by Professor G. A. Smith that we reproduce his words.

“The first host of exiles, the captives of 598, comprised . . . the better class of the nation, and appear to have enjoyed considerable independence. . . . They remained in communities, with their own official heads, and at liberty to consult their prophets. They were sufficiently in touch with one another, and sufficiently numerous, for the enemies of Babylon to regard them as a considerable political influence, and to treat with them for a revolution against their captors. But Ezekiel’s strong condemnation of this intrigue exhibits their leaders on good terms with the government. Jeremiah bade them throw themselves into the life of the land; buy and sell, and increase their families and property. . . . There is every reason to believe therefore that this captivity was an honorable and an easy one. The captives may have brought some property with them; they had leisure for the pursuit of business and for the study and practice of their religion. . . . Some, by their learning and abstinence, rose to high positions in the court. Probably to the end of the exile they remained the good figs, as Jeremiah had called them. Theirs was, perhaps, the literary work of the exile; and theirs, too, may have been the wealth which rebuilt Jerusalem.

“But it was different with the second captivity, of 589. After the famine, the burning of the city, and the prolonged march, this second host of exiles must have reached Babylonia in an impoverished condition” (60).

§ 107. — Although they were fairly well treated, the exiled Israelites (who were now called “Jews”) looked back upon their far away native land with homesick longing. The stirring events of the time stimulated reflection upon the history and religion of their forefathers. Israel in exile pondered over the past.

During and subsequent to the Babylouian Exile the religious consciousness of Israel gradually absorbed the new theology. The great prophets, most of whom had been long dead, seemed to be wonderfully and miraculously vindicated by history. Looking backward over the

past, the exiles thought how Yahweh had chosen their forefathers; how a contract of mutual faithfulness had been made between people and god; and how much had been done for Israel by their covenant god. They thought how they had not done unto their god as he had done unto them; and how they had insulted him by worshipping the Canaanite deities and foreign gods whom he had defeated. Then they remembered in bitterness of spirit how trouble had begun to come upon Israel. Following this, they reviewed the rise of the new theology and the new prophetism, recalling how the prophets had warned the people that their troubles were due to unfaithfulness; and that if they did not repent of their sins, Yahweh would bring upon them an invader who should carry them away captive as the culmination of all their misfortunes. And now, behold! All had come to pass as the prophets had said. Israel was in captivity in a foreign land. The prophets, therefore, grew in stature during the Exile.

§ 108.—But what does it signify to say that the religious consciousness of Israel absorbed the new theology? Does it mean that the great *social* object of the prophets was at length attained? and that Israel was henceforth to set the pace for humanity in the work of social reform? Nothing of the kind! We are once more face to face with the ancient phenomenal dualism whereof cleavage is an illustration. The prophets triumphed,—and the prophets failed! Unless we realize this tremendous paradox, we are not prepared fully to appreciate their work.

Let us first look at the prophetic triumph. The official religion of Israel before the Exile admitted the godship of other deities than Yahweh on equal terms with him; and his sovereignty was unofficial. But the religion of Israel as at length officially established after the Exile incorporated the doctrine of the moral holiness and the imperial sovereignty of Yahweh; and while admitting the existence of other gods, placed them at an utterly inferior level. Yahweh became the master of the whole

earth, and all the heaven, and the waters under the earth. The Exile, as the culmination of the troubles of once imperial and expanding Israel, was held to prove the prophetic claim that Yahweh was the supreme god. On behalf of Israel he had defeated every god against whom he had been matched, until at last the unfaithfulness of his chosen people had exhausted his patience, and forced him to reverse his policy. Instead of driving away foreign gods, he now brought these deities and their votaries against his chosen people by way of punishment. According to this view, which was advocated by the prophets in opposition to the old, conventional theology, the defeat of Israel by the Assyrians and Babylonians was *not* the defeat of Yahweh, as the older theology claimed. It was the work of Yahweh himself, who thus evidently controlled all nations and gods at his imperial pleasure. Extreme ritual faithfulness to Yahweh in this magnified character became, therefore, the cornerstone of the official religion of Israel after the Exile. By extreme faithfulness to Yahweh as thus conceived, the Jews were to win back the favor which they had forfeited. A prince of the Davidic line was to be seated in glory on the throne of his father David. He was to be the anointed of Yahweh, like David of old — the new Messyah, or Messiah. Unto him should be the desire of all nations, and the government should be upon his shoulder. The splendor of the first national kingdom, interrupted only by the sins of Israel, was to return; and all the world was to acknowledge the sovereignty of Yahweh and the rule of Israel. Judaism officially elevated ritual to the level of ethics. Practically, indeed, it went even further than this. It lifted ritual above ethics; and the moralism of prophecy slumbered in the long night of legalism, only to be awakened at last by the great paradox of history, the prophet of Nazareth.

But we are almost ahead of our subject. Let us now turn to the failure of prophetism. The prophets did not preach a morality that can save society. Their injunctions respecting righteousness were barren of social con-

tent. They were individualists in the midst of a social fabric whose problems called for something far more than the individualistic interpretation. They did not understand that individual conduct is an expression of cosmic forces. They did not know that in last analysis the problems of society grow out of cosmic conditions, and not out of personal ill will; and that while it is of course best that the individual should at all times do good according to his light, the problems of society, as such, can only be rightly approached from the cosmic side, and not from the standpoint of personal righteousness. Doubtless the exiled Israelites, under the influence of temporary emotions, made many good resolutions along the line of personal righteousness; but after the Exile, as we shall presently see, social cleavage and the social problem existed as before.\*

---

\* As this examination is attempting a scientific inquiry in the field of sociology, and not in that of theology, we are debarred from saying anything in the text about the religious value and significance of the history under survey. But we here note the following suggestions: The ethical monotheism of Israel would never have come into existence if the righteousness of the prophets—i. e., individualistic righteousness—were a valid counsel of social salvation. We interpret the psychology of the prophets inductively and deductively, as an involution of ordinary human consciousness. The human consciousness, as revealed more and more by modern psychology and sociology, is always animated by motives which are described from the *phenomenal* standpoint by the term "secular." That is to say, the great theological and religious movements of history, whatever may be their *transcendental* significance, resolve into secular movements in disguise. Thus we exhibit the prophets as animated primarily by the desire for social welfare; and although this interpretation of their consciousness will be new to some readers, it is not essentially different from that which has now become a commonplace in the field of critical scholarship. As our text shows, however, while we agree on the fact, we part company with the devout wing of critical scholarship on the interpretation of the fact. We assert that the post-hoc fallacy of prophetism saved the religion of Israel to the world. This leads us to the second suggestion: The conventional religions of the heathen world are based upon the assumption that human salvation is mechanically imparted from without by the will of the divine. The revelation of science on the contrary, is that human salvation is derived from within, by the

§ 109. — The mind of Israel during the Exile found expression in several new prophets who arose in that period. Chief of these is the so-called "Second Isaiah," the unknown author of a part of our present book of Isaiah. Only a part of the material in the first thirty-nine chapters of the present book of Isaiah can possibly be attributed to the original prophet of that name. The remainder of the book was written long after his time, during the Babylonian Exile, and later still.

The introduction to the book of the second Isaiah is a cheerful proclamation to the captives from Judah and Jerusalem: "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your god. Speak ye to the heart of Jerusalem, and cry out to her that her time of service is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned; and that she hath received from Yahweh's hand double for all her sins" (Isaiah 40:1, 2). At last, then, after more than a generation, Israel is to return across the rough desert into his own land.

The prophet speaks in a highly figurative way about the return through the wilderness: "The voice of one that crieth, Prepare ye in the wilderness the way of Yahweh, make straight in the desert a highway for our god. Every valley shall be filled up, and every mountain and hill shall be levelled; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places smooth" (Isaiah 40:3, 4).

§ 110. — But how will all this come to pass? Is Yahweh to make a visible descent from heaven, and restore his people to Judah and Jerusalem? The prophet makes no such claim. He simply puts a theological interpretation upon the history going on around him. A new power,

---

development of the intellect. All human progress is primarily based on the intellect. In harmony with science, and in startling contrast with heathen religions, the faith of Israel, as based upon the work of the prophets and extended into Christianity by Jesus and Paul, is the only religion which has ever practically succeeded in bringing the emotions into line with the intellect in affirmation of the doctrine that we are naturally in the attitude of having "no good thing in us," and of "working out our own salvation with fear and trembling."

coming from the east and from the north — a great host, led by Cyrus, king of Persia — was in full career of conquest. The doings of Cyrus were being noised all over the world; and the prophetic spirit of Israel was quick to utilize the situation. According to the prophet, king Cyrus was an instrument in the hands of Yahweh. At the bidding of Yahweh he was to conquer the corrupt and declining Babylonians, and let the captive Israelites return to their old home. In Isaiah 41:25 we read: "I have raised up one from the north, and he is come; from the rising of the sun one that calleth upon my name; and he shall come upon rulers as upon mortar, and as the potter treadeth clay." In chapter 44:28 the prophet is even more explicit, indicating the advancing conqueror by name: "Cyrus is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure, even saying of Jerusalem, She shall be built; and to the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid."

§ 111. — The aristocratic tendency is irrepressible. Looking into the future in imagination, one of these later prophets declares: "They shall build up the old wastes; they shall raise up the former desolations; and they shall repair the waste cities, the desolations of many generations. And strangers shall stand and feed your flocks; and aliens shall be your plowmen and vinedressers. But ye shall be named the priests of Yahweh. Men shall call you the ministers of our god. Ye shall eat the wealth of the nations, and to their glory shall you succeed" (Isaiah 61:4, 7). In other words, after the restoration Israel as a whole is to occupy the position of an upper class in respect of the world at large. The instinct of cleavage will not down.

§ 112. — In the year 538 B. C., Cyrus, king of Persia, overthrew the kingdom of Babylon, and rode triumphantly into the great city on the Euphrates. His aim was to conquer the world. The greatest power that now opposed his westward march was Egypt. Some ten years before this time, Egypt, observing the rise of Persia, had joined an

alliance against that power. In line with his general policy, king Cyrus now gave the Jewish exiles permission to return to their old home, stipulating, of course, that they acknowledge his overlordship, and pay him tribute. Judah would be a good buffer-province between Egypt and Persia; and would serve as a convenient base of operations in a campaign against the land of the Nile. From the standpoint of Cyrus, the return of the Jewish exiles was merely a Persian colonizing scheme.

§ 113.—Concerning the social state of the Jews after the Exile we reproduce the following from Professor G. A. Smith:

“Some sixty years after the earlier, and some fifty years after the later, of Nebuchadnezzar’s two deportations, we find the Jews a largely multiplied and still regularly organized nation, with considerable property and decided political influence. Not more than forty thousand can have gone into exile, but forty-two thousand returned, and yet left a large portion of the nation behind them. The old families and clans survived; the social ranks were respected; the rich still held slaves; and the former menials of the temple could again be gathered together. Large subscriptions were raised for the pilgrimage, and for the restoration of the temple” (61).

The Exile, then, despite its theological influence, effected no change in the fundamental economic institutions of Israel. Cleavage remained, based as before upon slavery and private property in land. The second chapter of the book of Ezra supplies a long list of the free families that returned, omitting not to add that they were accompanied by seven thousand, three hundred and thirty-seven slaves (Cf. Nehemiah 7).<sup>\*</sup> With respect to landed property ancestral claims were doubtless revived as far as possible. All the free men, however, may have acquired estates at

---

<sup>\*</sup>Doubtless these family lists are to be taken as a post-exilic census, rather than as a literal record of the “return;” but since neither version affects our thesis adversely, and since both support it, the historical point need not be pressed in this connection.

first; but as the later history shows, the contraction of the monopolistic upper stratum began promptly.

§ 114.—Without attempting to trace this history further we shall close our study of Israel and of oriental civilization with a few additional notices.

We have seen that the return from the Exile did not include all the Jews who had been settled in Babylonia. About eighty years after the first home-coming, a second band of exiles, among whom was Ezra the scribe, crossed the wilderness. A few years later still a Jewish aristocrat and Persian court-functionary, named Nehemiah, obtained the permission of the Persian king to regulate matters in Judah. Armed with governmental powers he appeared in Jerusalem about 445 B. C. An interesting view of economic conditions at that time is found in Nehemiah's book, from which we reproduce the following passage, already quoted in part:

“Then there arose a great cry of the people and of their wives against their brethren the Jews. For there were that said, We, our sons and our daughters are many. Let us get corn, that we may eat and live. Some also there were that said, We are mortgaging our fields, and our vineyards, and our houses. Let us get corn, because of the dearth. There were also that said, We have borrowed money for the king's tribute upon our fields and our vineyards. Yet now our flesh is as the flesh of our brethren, our children as their children. And, lo, we bring into bondage our sons and our daughters to be slaves, and some of our daughters are brought into bondage already. Neither is it in our power to help it, for other men have our fields and our vineyards. And I was very angry when I heard their cry and these words. Then I consulted with myself, and contended with the nobles and the rulers, and said unto them, Ye exact interest every one of his brother. And I held a great assembly against them. And I said unto them, We after our ability have redeemed our brethren the Jews, which were sold unto the heathen; and would ye even sell your brethren, and

should they be sold unto us? Then held they their peace, and found never a word. Also I said, the thing that ye do is not good. Ought ye not to walk in the fear of our god, because of the reproach of the heathen, our enemies? And I likewise, my brethren and my slaves, do lend them money and corn on interest. I pray you, let us leave off this interest. Restore, I pray you, to them, even this day, their fields, their vineyards, their oliveyards, and their houses, also the hundredth part of the money, and of the corn, the wine, and the oil, that ye exact of them. Then said they, We will restore them, and will require nothing of them; so will we do, even as thou sayest. Then I called the priests, and took an oath of them, that they should do according to this promise. Also I shook out my lap, and said, So God shake out every man from his house, and from his labor, that performeth not this promise; even thus be he shaken out, and emptied. And all the congregation said, Amen, and praised Yahweh. And the people did according to this promise" (Nehemiah 5: 1-13).

Doubtless a large part of the trouble in this case grew out of the special circumstances wherein the attendance and labor of rich and poor alike were demanded upon the hasty re-building of the Jerusalem wall. But the illustration exhibits universal elements which cannot be ignored; and it throws a lurid light upon the social conditions of the time. Nehemiah was a good and an altruistic man; but his individualistic interpretations and remedies, although they have been on record for more than two thousand years, have not been serviceable to social reform. A further quotation from the same chapter shows Nehemiah more fully in the character of a benevolent and wealthy ruler:

"Moreover from the time that I was appointed to be their governor in the land of Judah, from the twentieth year even unto the two and thirtieth year of Artaxerxes the king, twelve years, I and my brethren have not eaten the bread of the governor. But the former governors that

were before me were chargeable unto the people, and took of them bread and wine at the rate of forty shekels of silver. Yea, even their slaves bare rule over the people; but so did not I, because of the fear of God. Yea, also I continued in the work of this wall, neither bought we any land; and all my slaves were gathered thither unto the work. Moreover there were at my table of the Jews and the rulers an hundred and fifty men, beside those that came unto us from among the heathen that were round about us. Now that which was prepared for one day was one ox and six choice sheep; also fowls were prepared for me, and once in ten days, store of all sorts of wine. Yet for all this I demanded not the bread of the governor, because the bondage was heavy upon this people" (Nehemiah 5: 14-18).

The conditions here illustrated prevailed, not only before the times referred to, but from those days onward into the age of Jesus. Indeed, the same conditions, modified only by the gradual introduction of western ideas and capital, exist in that country today. The social problem had passed from the acute to the chronic form before the Exile; and it was nothing less than chronic after the Exile. The post-Exilic proverbs, wisdom writings, and psalms contain material of importance to the doctrine of cleavage. We cannot cite nor discuss it in full here; and shall make only a few quotations and comments.

The post-Exilic sections of the book of Isaiah yield material which reflects a social condition exactly repeating that of the older times. In the following passages an unknown prophetic writer puts these words into the mouth of Yahweh: "Behold, in your fast-day ye follow your [own] business [i. e., to the neglect of my service], oppressing all your workmen. — Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo the yoke, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? — None calleth in righteousness and none pleadeth in truth. They trust in vanity, and speak lies. They conceive mischief, and bring forth iniquity. — Their

works are works of iniquity, and the act of violence is in their hands. Their feet run to evil, and they make haste to shed innocent blood. Their thoughts are thoughts of iniquity. Desolation and destruction are in their paths. The way of peace they know not, and there is no judgment in their goings. — Judgment is turned away backward, and righteousness standeth afar off. For truth is fallen in the street, and uprightness cannot enter. Yea, truth is lacking; and he that departeth from evil [i. e., ceases to oppress others] maketh himself a prey [to the wicked]" (Isaiah 58:3, 6; 59:4, 6, 7, 8, 14, 15).

In the first appendix to the book of Proverbs, by Agur ben Jakeh, we find a familiar strain: "There is a generation whose teeth are as swords, and their jaw teeth as knives, to devour the poor from off the earth, and the needy from among men" (Proverbs 30:14).

The introduction to the second appendix lays much emphasis upon judging righteously the cause of the poor and afflicted. The body of the second appendix is a well known picture of the ideal upper-class wife, whose husband sits among the elders and rulers at the city gate. She is a good manager and worker in her household; she carefully orders the tasks of her slaves and hirelings; she is kind to all and gives to the needy poor. But, significantly, this is only a picture of an ideal, for the writer asks, "Who can find such a woman?" (Proverbs 31).

The book of Proverbs itself has much to say about upper and lower classes. Thus: "The rich ruleth over the poor; and the borrower is slave to the lender" (Proverbs 22:7). "The strong city of the rich man is his wealth. The poverty of the poor is their destruction" (Proverbs 10:15).\*

---

\* We must bear in mind that the word translated "poor" does not describe the entire lower class. It makes no reference to the many legal slaves; and refers primarily to free-born Israelites who, by their own or their ancestors' misfortunes, find themselves in the lower, unpropertied class. It is from such as these that the ranks of the poorly paid "hired servants" were doubtless filled.

Observe the complacent theism of the aristocrat who writes: "Thou maintainest my lot. The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places. Yea, I have a goodly heritage" (Psalm 16: 5, 6).

In the apocryphal book, *The Wisdom of the Son of Sirach*, dating from the second century B. C., we find these words: "What agreement is there between the hyena and a dog? and what peace between the rich and the poor? As the wild ass is the lion's prey in the wilderness: so the rich eat up the poor. As the proud hate humility: so doth the rich abhor the poor" (Sirach 13: 18-20). "The rich hath great labor in gathering riches together; and when he resteth he is filled with his luxuries. The poor laboreth in his poor estate; and when he leaveth off he is still needy" (Sirach 31:3, 4).

The son of Sirach also sets forth his views upon upper and lower classes in the following passage:

"The wisdom of a learned man cometh by opportunity of leisure; and he that hath little business shall become wise. How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plow, and that glorieth in the goad, that driveth oxen, and is occupied in their labors, and whose talk is of bullocks? He giveth his mind to make furrows; and is diligent to give the kine fodder. So every carpenter and workmaster, that laboreth night and day: and they cut and grave seals, and are diligent to make great variety, and give themselves to counterfeit imagery, and watch to finish a work. The smith also sitting by the anvil, and considering the iron work, the vapor of the fire wasteth his flesh, and he fighteth with the heat of the furnaces. The noise of the hammer and the anvil is ever in his ears, and his eyes look still upon the pattern of the thing that he maketh. He setteth his mind to finish his work, and watcheth to polish it perfectly. So doth the potter sitting at his work, and turning the wheel about with his feet, who is always carefully set at his work, and maketh all his work by number.

He fashioneth the clay with his arm, and boweth down his strength before his feet. He applieth himself to lead it over; and he is diligent to make clean the furnace. All these trust to their hands; and every one is wise in his work. Without these a city can not be inhabited; and they shall not dwell where they will, nor go up and down. They shall not be sought for in public council, nor sit high in the congregation. They shall not sit on the judges' seat, nor understand the sentence of judgment. They can not declare justice and judgment; and they shall not be found where parables are spoken" (Sirach 38: 24-33).

At the time when the son of Sirach wrote his book, Judah had been brought under the rule of Greece. The oriental world had, indeed, long since lost its primacy. A new civilization had arisen out of barbarism, and was acquiring the headship of the world. The center of historical interest gradually shifts from the eastern seaboard of the Mediterranean to the northern coasts of the Great Sea.

(1)—CRAIG, *The Semitic Series*, I (N. Y., 1899), Preface.

(2)—ERMAN, *Life in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1894. Tirard's trans.), p. 99f. Cf. pp. 80, 81.

(3)—BRUGSCH, *History of Egypt* (London, 1881. Smith's trans.), I, p. 28. Cf. MEYER, in *Encyclopedia Biblica* (N. Y., 1902), III, col. 3752.

(4)—BAGEHOT, *Physics and Politics*, (N. Y., 1881), p. 25.

(5)—MASPERO, *The Dawn of Civilization* (London, 1896. McClure's trans.), pp. 52, 53 and note.

(6)—IDEM, chap. 4. Cf. p. 70.

(7)—RAWLINSON, *History of Ancient Egypt* (Boston, 1882), II, pp. 141, 142. Cf. ROGERS, *History of Babylonia and Assyria* (N. Y., 1901), II, pp. 278-280, 314.

(8)—LENORMANT, *Ancient History* (London, 1871), II, p. 353.

(9)—MASPERO, *Dawn of Civ.*, p. 268.

(10)—IDEM, p. 300. Cf. SAYCE, *Babylonians and Assyrians* (N. Y., 1900), p. 175.

(11)—SAYCE, *ibid.*, p. 67. Cf. p. 149. Cf. MASPERO, *Dawn of Civ.* pp. 742-745.

(12)—MUELLER, in *Encyclopedia Biblica* (N. Y., 1901), II, col. 1224.

(13)—RAWLINSON, *History of Ancient Egypt*, I, p. 496. Cf. WILKINSON, *The Ancient Egyptians* (Boston, 1883), I, pp. 38, 280, 284. Cf. ROGERS, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, II, p. 280.

(14)—Cf. BRUGSCH, *History of Egypt*, I, p. 403. Cf. ROGERS, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, II, p. 224. Cf. ASHLEY, *English Economic History* (N. Y., 1894), I, pp. 70, 115 note 9. Cf. MOMMSEN, *History of Rome* (N. Y., Dickson's trans.), I, pp. 261, 262.

(15)—SAYCE, *Babylonians and Assyrians*, p. 173. Cf. p. 107.

(16)—RAWLINSON, *History of Ancient Egypt*, I, 496.

(17)—ERMAN, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 180-186.

(18)—EWALD, *History of Israel* (London, 1867, Trans.), I, p. 294.

(19)—BRUGSCH, *History of Egypt*, I, p. 29.

(20)—IDEM, pp. 28, 29.

(21)—MASPERO, *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria* (N. Y., 1899, Trans.), p. 9.

(22)—IDEM, p. 11.

(23)—IDEM, *Dawn of Civ.*, p. 296. Cf. p. 290 for a case in point.

(24)—SAYCE, *Babylonians and Assyrians*, p. 67.

(25)—W. R. SMITH, *The Religion of the Semites* (London, 1894), p. 29.

(26)—SAYCE, *Babylonians and Assyrians*, p. 256.

(27)—MASPERO, *Dawn of Civ.*, p. 303. Cf. ROGERS, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, II, p. 133. Cf. SAYCE, *Babylonians and Assyrians*, p. 173.

(28)—ERMAN, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 80, 81. Cf. p. 99.

(29)—MASPERO, *Dawn of Civ.*, p. 679.

(30)—KING, in *Encyclopedia Biblica* (N. Y., 1899), I, col. 433.

(31)—ROGERS, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, II, pp. 278, 279.

(32)—SAYCE, *Babylonians and Assyrians*, pp. 228, 229. On oriental education, cf. LAURIE, *Historical Survey of Pre-Christian Education* (London, 1900), pp. 38-48, 57-61.

(33)—RENAN, *History of the People of Israel* (Boston), II, p. 225.

(34)—Cf. McCURDY, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments* (N. Y., 1896), I, chap. 2. Cf. BARTON, *Semitic Origins* (N. Y., 1902), pp. 1-29, 270. Cf. KENT, *History of the Hebrew People* (N. Y. 1899), I, chap. 5.

(35)—CORNIL, *The Prophets of Israel* (Chicago, 1897), p. 3f. Cf. DRIVER, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (N. Y., 1892), pp. 2-4.

(36)—*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XI, pp. 364, 365. Cited by SPENCER, *Principles of Sociology* (N. Y., 1895), I, p. 774. Cf. SULLY, *Studies of Childhood* (N. Y., 1896), p. 103f. Cf. LARCOM, *A New England Girlhood* (Boston, 1891), p. 137.

(37)—MOMMSEN, *History of Rome*, I, pp. 213, 214. Cf. REVILLE, *Native Religions of Mexico and Peru* (London, 1895), p. 77.

(38)—W. R. SMITH, *The Religion of the Semites* (London, 1894), pp. 29, 30. Cf. McCURDY, *History, Prophecy, etc.*, (N. Y., 1897), II, p. 133.

(39)—ALLEN, *Evolution of the Idea of God* (N. Y., 1897), pp. 80, 81, 82.

(40)—DRIVER, in *Encyclopedia Biblica* (N. Y., 1902), III, article "Mesha."

(41)—WELLHAUSEN, *History of Israel and Judah* (London, 1891), p. 23.

(42)—W. R. SMITH, *The Prophets of Israel* (London, 1897), p. 379.

(43)—Cf. BUDDE, *The Religion of Israel to the Exile* (N. Y., 1899), chap. 1, and *passim*. Cf. BARTON, *Semitic Origins* (N. Y., 1902), chap. 7. We are greatly indebted to the excellent treatise of BUDDE.

(44)—Cf. W. R. SMITH, *The Religion of the Semites* (London, 1894), p. 372. Cf. KUENEN, *The Religion of Israel* (London, 1882, May's trans.), I, pp. 236f., 250.

(45)—Cf. W. R. SMITH, *Rel. of Semites*, pp. 3, 4. Cf. WELLHAUSEN, *History of Israel, etc.*, (London 1891), p. 16. Cf. KENT, *History of the Hebrew People* (N. Y., 1899), I, pp. 41, 97, 201; II, p. 97. Cf. MURISON, *Totemism in the Old Testament* (*Biblical World*, Chicago, Sept. 1901).

(46)—PATON, *Early History of Syria and Palestine* (N. Y., 1901), pp. 1-103. McCURDY, *History, Prophecy, etc.*, I, p. 163f.; II, p. 5f. WELLHAUSEN, *History of Israel, etc.*, p. 31.

(47)—Cf. BUDDE, *The Religion of Israel to the Exile*, chap. 2.

(48)—WELLHAUSEN, *History of Israel, etc.*, p. 35. Cf. W. R. SMITH, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (N. Y., 1891), p. 269. McCURDY, *History, Prophecy, etc.*, I, p. 228; II, p. 6.

(49)—WELLHAUSEN, *History of Israel, etc.*, p. 8. Cf. CORNIL, *History of the People of Israel* (Chicago, 1899), p. 48.

(50)—GREEN, *History of the English People*, Bk. 3, chap. 1.

(51)—SAYCE, *Babylonians and Assyrians*, p. 256.

(52)—FISKE, *The Beginnings of New England* (Boston, 1900), p. 245.

(53)—BRUCE, *Apologetics* (N. Y., 1899), p. 280.

(54)—PATON, *Early History of Syria and Palestine*, p. 227. Cf. W. R. SMITH, *The Prophets of Israel*, pp. 88, 89.

(55)—G. A. SMITH, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets* (N. Y., 1898), I, p. 377.

(56)—KIRKPATRICK, *The Doctrine of the Prophets* (London, 1901), pp. 225, 226.

(57)—Hartford Seminary Notes (Hartford, Conn.), IV, p. 126.

(58)—Cf. TOY, *Judaism and Christianity* (Boston, 1892), p. 77f. Cf. W. R. SMITH, *The Prophets of Israel* (London, 1897), p. 59f. Cf. BRUCE, *Apologetics*, p. 176f.

(59)—DUNCKER, *History of Greece* (London, 1886. Alleyne and Abbott's trans.), II, p. 228.

(60)—G. A. SMITH, *The Book of Isaiah* (N. Y., 1900), II, p. 57f.

(61)—IDEM, *ibid.*

## CHAPTER VI.

---

### CLASSIC CIVILIZATION.

---

§ 115.—The social development of classic civilization began on the same level as did that of the oriental world. In the background of the history of Greece and Italy, as in that of the ancient east, is the shifting scene of tribal migration and war. A passage relating to the early ages of Greece, written by the Greek historian Thucydides in the fifth century B. C., is worth reproducing in this connection for its general suggestiveness:

“The country was not regularly settled in ancient times. The people were migratory, and readily left their homes whenever they were overpowered by numbers. There was no commerce, and they could not safely hold intercourse with one another either by land or sea. The several tribes cultivated their own soil just enough to obtain a maintenance from it. But they had no accumulations of wealth . . . , for being without walls, they were never sure that an invader might not come and despoil them. Living in this manner . . . , they were always ready to migrate; so that they had neither great cities nor any considerable resources” (1).

§ 116.—Modern archaeological research proves that there was a prehistoric civilization located on the north Mediterranean coasts prior to the appearance of the Greeks and Romans. Probably these early communities were not wholly swept away. Their people were doubtless partly exterminated and partly subjugated by the tribes that came pouring down from central and eastern Europe to found the Greek and Roman communities of historic times (2).

The earliest historic societies in these regions exhibit cleavage into upper and lower strata. In both Greece and Italy the upper social stratum was originally composed of the clan aristocracy, which constituted a slaveholding, landowning class. This class was the legal element in the State; and it controlled the policies of government. Thus we see that the societies destined to compose the classic civilization began politically on the same level as the oriental world (3).

In society as thus constituted it signifies nothing to the principle of cleavage-capitalization whether government assumes the monarchial or the republican form. Political moralists cannot extract lessons from the experiences of Greek and Roman republics in which the "people" cast out their kings, and replaced them by frequently elected officers. For the people in these cases were like the people in, say, ancient Israel. That is, they were not the people in the modern sense, but merely the upper classes. The establishment of an ancient republic was far from being a democratic event in the modern sense. Indeed, such a procedure might rivet more firmly the power of the nobility by unseating a king who was disposed to remedy the worst abuses of class rule, and substituting an official whose tenure depended upon the good will of an upper-class electorate (4).

§ 117.— No settled community long exists without the exchange of labor products. The social history of Greece and Italy was early marked by the rise of domestic and foreign trade, and the establishment of towns and cities. This may perhaps, to some extent, be regarded as a revival of the prehistoric commerce of those countries.

§ 118.— Just as in the Orient, so here, commerce was primarily the exchange of lower-class products among the upper orders.

At first the tendency was for commerce to remain in the hands, or under the proprietary control, of the nobility. It was doubtless to some extent personally managed by the nobility at first, but more and more by slave-stew-

ards, as was the practice in the east. In harmony with our conception, Mommsen holds that there was no distinctively commercial class in early historic Rome. He says:

“No special superior class of merchants distinct from and independent of the class of landed proprietors developed itself in Rome. The reason for this surprising [?] phenomenon was, that the wholesale commerce of Latium was from the beginning in the hands of the large landed proprietors — a hypothesis which is not so singular as it seems. It was natural that in a country intersected by several navigable rivers the great landholder, who was paid by his tenants their quotas of produce in kind, should come at an early period to possess barks; and there is evidence that such was the case. The transmarine traffic conducted on the trader’s own account must therefore have fallen into the hands of the great landholder, seeing that he alone possessed the vessels for it and — in his produce — the articles for export. In fact the distinction between a landed and a moneyed aristocracy was unknown to the Romans of earlier times; the great landholders were at the same time the speculators and the capitalists” (5).

§ 119.— But the economic phase of life in classic civilization began to escape the control of the family nobility at an early date in the historical period. Commerce became more and more active; and began to move in greater volume and through vaster circuits than the trade of the Orient. The old nobility, while retaining their landed estates and slaves, and the monopoly of government, found it advantageous to grant personal freedom to many of the slave-managers of trade, as well as to invite the settlement of commercial foreigners under guarantee of exemption from seizure. This was a sign of the advancing differentiation of society — the division of labor. The nobility themselves could not manage their own and the public business, and at the same time personally attend to the growing demands of trade; and it became necessary for them to enact laws guaranteeing absolute liberty and self-owner-

ship to a limited class in order to secure the most efficient management of commerce. These changes took place gradually between the eighth and fifth centuries B. C. Mommsen writes:

“Rome was in fact a commercial city, which was indebted for the commencement of its importance to international commerce, and which with a noble liberality granted the privilege of settlement to every child of an unequal marriage, to every manumitted slave, and to every stranger who surrendering his rights in his native land emigrated to Rome” (6).

The following passage from Curtius, relative to conditions in Greece at the close of the seventh century B. C., should also be read in this connection:

“Wherever a sea abounding in harbors washed the shore a new class of men was arising . . . composed of those engaged in industrial pursuits . . . This class would necessarily rise in proportion as trade spread over all the coasts, and the gains of commerce were reaped which were flowing forth in rich abundance out of the colonies in the east and west, out of the interior of Asia, and above all out of the newly opened valley of the Nile. These acquisitions would be accompanied by a universal social transformation; and in Attica, also, notwithstanding that the native nobility themselves endeavored to profit by the new resources, the ancient state of things could never more be maintained” (7).

§ 120.—The mercantile and manufacturing classes, which thus grew up and increased greatly, did not represent the rise of the people in the modern sense. Although drawn from the lower class by a process of social selection, they were essentially an expansion of the upper class outside the limits of the original clan aristocracy, whose descendants continued to monopolize the control of the State. The vast lower class remained as before in actual or practical slavery, its labor controlled by the superior stratum. The mercantile order managed the exchange of labor products in the upper class, and grew rich by re-

taining as compensation some of the wealth which passed through its hands. Likewise, the manufacturing order naturally found its patronage in the upper class. Merchants and manufacturers alike grew rich; bought lands and slaves of their own; and thus became, in fact if not at first in law, a part of the upper stratum.

§ 121.— In the East, as we have remarked before, the growth of the newly rich class probably did not much exceed the absorptive power of the older, noble families. Marriage and adoption assimilated them with the clan aristocracy. In classic civilization, however, the “third estate” grew so rapidly and so large that a new political problem arose.

The nobility of the ancient clanships were naturally jealous of the newly rich, who, without aristocratic connections or political power, were somehow rising to a manifest economic equality with the “old families,” and sometimes to a position of superiority. Since this new section of the upper class was excluded from the government, it lay under the rule of the nobility, which possessed the courts of justice, a monopolistic knowledge of the unpublished law based on old tribal and clan customs, and the control of the taxing power. Thus, the older section of the upper class was able to, and did, harass the newer section in many ways. Probably the strained relations between them arose in part out of the economic obligations of the older nobility to the newer wealthy men. To use the words of the historian Duncker—

“As soon as the mariners and traders attained a wider and more extensive view of life, and the new impressions made upon them by foreigners led to reflections and comparisons, they must have felt that their interests were not consulted in the government of the nobles, that the commonwealth gave them no chance of representing those interests, that they had no acquaintance with the laws according to which the nobles decided the rights of property . . . , and that . . . judges awarded punishments and penalties according to a very arbitrary standard.

Why should the merchant and the shipowner, they must have inquired, stand so far below the noble?" (8).

§ 122.—The internal political history of Greece and Rome narrates the struggles between these elements of the upper class. The old nobility was everywhere forced to retreat, and make one concession after another. In the most progressive parts of Greece "the rule of the nobles gave way to a rule of the rich. Energetic men who had made their own way in the world were no longer excluded from civic power and office" (9). Similar developments took place in Rome, of whose history in this period we obtain a glimpse in the following passage by Mommsen:

"Beyond doubt from the very first a portion of the leading plebeian families had attached themselves to the movement party, partly from a sense of what was due to the fellow-members of their order, partly in consequence of the natural bond which unites all who are treated as inferior, and partly because they perceived that concessions to the multitude were inevitable in the issue, and that, if turned to due account, they would result in the abrogation of the exclusive rights of the patriciate and would thereby give to the plebeian aristocracy a decisive preponderance in the state. Should this conviction become — as was inevitable — more and more prevalent, and should the plebeian aristocracy at the head of its order take up the struggle with the patrician nobility, it would wield in the tribunate a legalized instrument of civil warfare, and it might, with the weapon of social distress, so fight its battles as to dictate to the nobility the terms of peace and, in the position of mediator between the two parties, compel its own admission to the offices of state . . . Nothing shows so clearly the defencelessness of the clan-nobility when opposed to the united plebs, as the fact that the fundamental principle of the exclusive party — the invalidity of marriage between patricians and plebeians — fell at the first blow scarcely four years after the decemviral revolution" (10).

Through this great political change, the classic societies in their corporate character passed from the ancient family basis to the basis of property. The road to legal membership in the State lay no longer through the channel of ancient descent, nor of adoption or marriage into the noble families. Noble descent, although a much prized social honor, no longer conferred special privileges. The legal right of every man to a voice in public affairs was recognized — provided that he were free, and had property of a certain value. Sometimes the franchise was not limited by a property qualification. The practice was not uniform.\* But there was always a restriction of this kind upon the right to hold important offices. Although government was therefore still in the hands of the upper class, this change was in reality a great political step in advance of earlier practice. The State in something like its modern form appeared.

§ 123.— It should be emphasized that the governments wherein the new aristocracy won a place beside the old nobility were democratic in form but not in substance. The Greek and Roman republics were not popular, democratic republics in the modern sense. Mr. Mahaffy has well said that the Greek democracies were one and all slaveholding democracies, and that for each freeman with a vote there were at least three or four slaves (11); and it is not too much to declare, with Merivale, that “at no period within the sphere of historic records was the commonwealth of Rome anything but an oligarchy of warriors and slaveholders” (12).

§ 124.— Not only did the classic peoples rise out of barbarism, and form relatively stable communities in possession of numerous arts; they assimilated the results of oriental culture; and made invaluable contributions of their own to human progress. As Greece and Rome gradually brought the civilized world within the scope of their influence and power, all around the shores of the Mediter-

---

\* We can state the facts only in the most general form here.

anean and far inland, the impediments to a broader social intercourse, hitherto raised by local speech, local custom, local religion, and local habits of thought, were swept away. Throughout the vast world thus gathered under a single government the rights of citizenship were conferred upon large and increasing numbers without regard to descent, and sometimes without reference to property. In contrast with the older tribal and national narrowness, how stimulating it is to hear Paul the apostle, in a far-off province of the Roman Empire, stay the hand of authority by uttering the magic formula: "I am a Roman citizen!"

§ 125.— But this great circle of communities waxed and waned like the oriental peoples. In the later, as in the earlier, civilization the abuses of cleavage eventually outweighed its benefits; and the pressure of militant invaders became irresistible. The soil was gathered up in the hands of a landowning class (13); and since all available territory in Europe, Asia, and Africa had been conquered and occupied, there was no further opportunity for colonizing unappropriated lands with poor men. The continents were, in fact, full of savage and barbarian tribes, many of whom were themselves restlessly in search of new homes; and the declining military power of Rome was unequal to the farther extension of her empire.

It is true that the territory embraced in classic civilization was not fully settled nor improved. The population was no more overcrowded with reference to the standing room and natural resources afforded by the land than the population of modern countries. But, like modern countries, and like ancient Israel and her neighbors, the classic world held its unused soil at a price. Whoever wanted to invest capital in projects of any kind had first to pay into private hands either a lump sum, or an annual rent, for bare location; and then submit to annual public taxation. The public revenue system, having come down from the earlier, nomadic period of social development, was ill adjusted to the needs of settled society. The man

who held land out of use at a price was taxed little or nothing; and was thus encouraged to speculate in unused natural opportunities. The man who wished to invest capital in planting the ground, or in putting up dwelling houses and stores, was discouraged by the same policy. If a heavy tax had been resting upon land values, it would have been impossible for luxurious Roman senators and Athenian aristocrats to hold land out of use; while the expenses confronting the investment of capital would have been greatly reduced.

But no such change was made, nor even thought of. The multiplying population stived and sweltered, without secure means of a livelihood, without property, and consequently without patriotism. In the last half of the second century before Christ, the Gracchi met death at the hands of the upper classes in a poor but sincere attempt to remedy the economic situation; and they stand for perhaps the greatest wisdom that classic civilization ever brought to bear upon the social problem. "Soldiers of Italy!" cried Tiberius Gracchus, "You are called lords of the earth; but you do not possess a single clod to call your own!"

In the age of the Gracchi, indeed, the Roman army had already entered upon that course of deterioration which was at last to prove fatal to Rome herself. The supply of patriotic soldiers — men with spirit to defend *their* country — was running short; and the ranks were being filled up with slaves, poverty stricken freemen, and barbarians. The latter element grew more and more in numbers, until at last Rome defended herself against the barbarians by hiring barbarians to fight her battles against their own brothers. What wonder is it that the barbarians at length overwhelmed the classic world in a mighty flood, and subverted the second great civilization in the world's history?

At this period all the moral evils with which the prophets of Israel had contended were prevalent. Everywhere the multiplying lower class was partly in personal bondage and partly free. But the upper class monop-

lized the earth; and whether the members of the lower class were free in form or not, they were nowhere free in fact. They lived in a world which was itself the property of a class; and their immediate bodily needs forced them to compete with each other for the economic favor of that class. Between the upper and nether millstones of taxation and monopoly, the lower classes were in misery. Their labor produced wealth of all kinds; but they consumed little of their own products. As in oriental civilization and in present day society, this appropriated labor was more and more diverted from the production of capital and useful wealth to the production of luxury for the upper class. Labor is diverted from capital to luxury in the proportion that it becomes unprofitable to invest new capital in business. And as luxury and poverty increase, the evil personal conduct growing directly out of these conditions also increases. The sins of poverty and the sins of wealth come hand in hand.

It is as idle to charge the decline and fall of classic civilization to individual moral decay as to charge the like in the case of oriental civilization, or to say that the evils of the primitive struggle for existence were due to the lack of gentleness and good will. Many people, however, are still of the ancient persuasion. "The collapse of the Roman power through loss of moral virility," says Professor Peabody, "is the most solemn proof which history provides that righteousness alone exalteth a people" (14). But if our contention is worth anything, the decline of Rome was itself the cause, not the effect, of evil conduct. If Rome collapsed because of the unrighteousness of her people, it follows that she must previously have risen as a consequence of righteousness. But if we are to speak scientifically of personal conduct as connected with social progress and social decline, we must criticise our categories more carefully, and revise our definitions.

§ 126.— In this declining civilization, with its internal and external troubles, a new institution gradually arose—the Christian Church. Christianity took its rise on

the soil of the oriental world in a territory then ruled by Rome — the little country of Judea, which was all that remained of the old national kingdom of Israel. Striking its roots into the soil of the Jewish faith, and centering about the person of Jesus the prophet of Nazareth, the new religion presently spread throughout the classic world.

§ 127.— At the opening of the Christian era both upper and lower classes among the Jews were anxiously expecting the king long foretold by the prophets. He was to be the Messiah, the anointed, or chosen, of Yahweh. Upon his advent was to be established the great Messianic kingdom — the kingdom of God, or of Heaven. The Messiah was to be the earthly king; but the real King was to be Yahweh, god of all. The glorious times of David and Solomon were to return with added glory. Jerusalem was to take the place of Rome and of old Babylon as the imperial city of the world. All men were to be subject to the Jews, and to serve Yahweh, the King of heaven and earth. Disease, war, and famine were to be abolished. Rich Jews were to become richer; while the lower classes anticipated an era of “righteousness” and “justice” wherein their oppressions and hardships were to cease (15).

§ 128.— A careful study of the books of the gospel seems to show that the message of Jesus resolves itself under three general heads:

- 1: The Proclamation of the Kingdom.
- 2: The Characterization of the King.
- 3: The Interpretation of the Kingdom.

§ 129.— By the proclamation of the kingdom Jesus connected his preaching with the current hopes of his race. This was the earliest element of his message. According to the most primitive gospel records, Jesus began his public ministry with the words: “The time is fulfilled; and the kingdom of God is at hand. Repent; and believe the good news” (Mark 1:15). According to the Matthew-account his preaching opened with the same thought: “Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand”

(Matthew 4:17). These phrases, "kingdom of God" and "kingdom of heaven," are practically synonymous; and they occur frequently in the reports of the words of Jesus.

§ 130.— In taking up the second element of this message — the characterization of the Divine King — we must once more turn back the pages of history. It is a commonplace that the predominant conception of deity in the literature of the Old Testament represents a much harsher and more violent being than the predominant conception in the books of the New Testament. The older literature, indeed, frequently reflects the most violent ideas of deity. But in the later literature we are conscious of entering a different atmosphere. In the New Testament we find the universal God of love. Now, the newer conception has become the common property of mankind through the personality of Jesus; and in order to begin to estimate this element of his preaching it is necessary to do something more than study Jesus himself.

We have learned that in the earlier stages of social evolution it is the heads of families, the leaders of the "fathers' houses," who alone constitute the legal element in the community. This is a general sociological truth. The supremacy of fatherhood in politics obtained throughout the entire oriental civilization. It was the law at first in classic civilization; and it also obtained at first among the ancestors of our own western peoples. The conception of fatherhood is at first closely associated with the idea of protection against enemies. It was the fathers in early days that were the chief warriors and defenders of society. When they went to war on behalf of their families and homes they went in their paternal character. They loved their kindred after a fashion; but their love was rough as compared with what we now understand by the word; and it could hardly be extended to include strangers.

We have seen that the ancient gods were developed out of dead chiefs and clan leaders; and it is not at all remarkable, therefore, that the gods of early men should be

represented as partaking of the general character of early men themselves. Ancient gods were thus primarily war gods. Yahweh was a god of barbarian tribes which attacked and occupied the lands of other peoples, and which were in turn compelled to defend themselves against repeated invasions. Hence, like the deities of barbarians in general, he was mostly thought of as a god of armies, and as a god mighty in battle (Psalm 24). In 1 Samuel 7:10 we read that Yahweh thundered upon the Philistines (Cf. 1 Samuel 2:10). In Psalm 29:3 we read: "The god of glory thundereth." In harmony with these conceptions we read at greater length in Psalm 18th as follows: "Then the earth shook and trembled. The foundations also of the mountains moved and were shaken because he was wroth. There went up a smoke out of his nostrils; and fire out of his mouth devoured. Coals were kindled by it. He bowed the heavens also, and came down; and thick darkness was under his feet. Yahweh also thundered in the heavens; and the Most High uttered his voice; hailstones and coals of fire. He sent out his arrows, and scattered them; yea, many lightnings, and discomfited them." The point here is, that Yahweh was principally thought of in Old Testament times as a strong and violent god. In brief, theology reflected sociology.

But we have seen that society moved upward through important stages of evolution between the times of the Old Testament and the New. The earlier system of government founded on the family aristocracy had passed into the modern system of government founded on property and personal freedom regardless of descent. No longer monopolized by the "father's houses," government passed out of the period wherein the fathers, in their paternal character, controlled the people and fought the battles of society. The State — that is to say, society in its corporate capacity — moved out of the *personal* stage of politics into the *impersonal* stage. Governmental activities and political rights, although open to fathers, no longer

pertained to fathers in their paternal character. A citizen did not necessarily belong to an ancient noble family. When fathers went into battle, they went, not in their paternal character, but simply as men under the direction of governments no longer monopolized by fatherhood. The area of peace was vaster than hitherto. There were not so many petty wars. If the conflicts on the frontier equalled or exceeded the conflicts of ancient days, they were farther away, and the actual social space within which men came into peaceful contact was greater than it had ever been before. These changes, although gradual, were nothing less than revolutionary; and their effect upon social psychology was profound. Fatherhood grew more industrial and peaceful in character. The family, no longer the main pillar of the state, underwent an internal development within the state itself. Love between the members of the family increased as compared with love at earlier stages of progress. The ideal of fatherhood was no longer associated with blood, thunder and military protection. It lost its barbarian ferocity, and grew more industrial, peaceful, and lovable. In other words, the evolution of society pours a wealth of new meaning into the fact and into the ideal of fatherhood. All this is a part of what came to mankind through the classic civilization; and it was the classic world which, long before the time of Jesus, extended itself around the shores of the Mediterranean, and included the remains of Israel within the mighty circle of its influence.

Jesus was a city man of the humbler sort, although not by any means from the lowest levels of the lower class. Up to about the age of thirty, his life, like that of Joseph, the head of the family, was occupied in the pursuits of industry. There is no hint that the rude currents of war ever disturbed his home, and involved him in the fiercer conflicts of men. The vast society whereof he was a part had in his day accumulated a greater stock of intangible capital in the form of Peace than the world had known hitherto. Like most Jewish boys, Jesus had been duly in-

structed in the idealized history of his forefathers; and he had early shown a disposition to study the ancient histories and prophecies of his race. Doubtless, too, he read such other scanty literature as came within the range of his limited opportunities. But mostly the literature of his people held his thought. The learning of Jesus, however, was not like the learning of the priests and scribes. He read the sacred books of his race with the liberal eye of the prophet, not with the contracted vision of legalistic priests and scribes. The first and second Isaiahs were prominent among his teachers; and his life and influence are proof that in him the ancient spirit of prophecy, after a sleep of centuries, at last re-awoke, and attained the crown of its development. His life and influence have, indeed, completely justified the verdict of his contemporaries, "A great prophet is arisen among us" (Luke 7:16. Cf. Gospels, *passim*).

The psychology of prophetism always associates the prophet closely with Divinity; and it is not strange that after Jesus had connected his ideas with the hopes of his race by proclaiming the advent of the Divine Kingdom, he should advance to the characterization of the Divine King, the real head of the new polity. In the order of time this was not the first element of his teaching. In the order of logic and practical importance, however, it was first and fundamental. The proclamation of the kingdom was introductory and subsidiary to it.

On looking into the sacred books of his people, Jesus found that although the predominant conception of Divinity in ancient Israel was harsh and violent, Yahweh had been frequently spoken of as a father. Most of these references merely relate to the Israelites, either in the singular or in the plural, and not to the world at large.\* In 2 Samuel 7:14 Yahweh is brought into personal relation with King Solomon thus: "I will be his father, and

---

\* Cf. Hosea 11: 1; Isaiah 1: 2; Jeremiah 3: 4; *ibid.*, 31: 9; Malachi 1: 6; Psalm 2: 7; Psalm 89: 26, 27; Deuteronomy 1: 31; *ibid.*, 8: 5; *ibid.*, 14: 1; *ibid.*, 32: 6; Exodus 4: 22.

he shall be my son." In Psalm 103:13 a similitude from fatherhood is used. Yahweh is there said to pity those that fear him — not those that do not fear him — as a father pities his children. But fatherhood in connection with ancient gods was mostly thought of in the formal, corporate, collective, impersonal sense. The Israelite felt that he was "a son of Yahweh," not because he was an individual man, but because he was an Israelite. It is the custom of the clan aristocracy in the early days of all historic nations to connect themselves with the gods by direct descent. Thus, the Anglo-Saxon kings claimed to have descended from the god Woden. Thus, the Moabites are spoken of in Numbers 21:29 as the children of the god Chemosh: "Thou art undone, O people of Chemosh. He hath given his sons as fugitives, and his daughters into captivity." It is true that, so far as Israel was concerned, Yahweh was a covenant god, and not a god who had grown up with Israel from the beginning. But that would make no difference. The fathers of ancient tribes were spoken of as "our fathers" by outsiders who were adopted or married into these tribes; and foster-parents are always addressed under the same forms as natural parents. On the basis of these facts, then, Jesus had good grounds for thinking of Yahweh in the paternal character, and for speaking of him as a father. But fatherhood in the mind and the teaching of Jesus did not stand for what fatherhood represented in the Old Testament; and we are now coming closer to the sources of his basic doctrine.

The work of the earlier prophets, in transforming the practical polytheism of Israel before the Exile into the practical monotheism of post-Exilic Israel, made it unnecessary for Jesus to put stress on the doctrine of monotheism. This phase of the doctrine of God was therefore no characteristic part of the personal work of Jesus. He quietly assumed the monotheism which was now an official doctrine of his people.

The fundamental element of his preaching was, we think, the product of three considerations: (a) Yahweh the

imperial god, as established through earlier history and prophetism; (b) Yahweh the father, established in this character on the basis of early tradition, which asserts the paternity of all the gods; and (c) the ideal of fatherhood as transformed by social evolution between the times of the Old and New Testaments. If Yahweh were the god of all mankind, and if he were also a father, he must be all that was *now* implied in the sociology of fatherhood. In short, he must be the loving father of every man, regardless of nationality or descent, just as the individual was now admitted to political rights regardless of descent or previous condition of servitude. The more primitive religious thought of Israel had authoritatively declared the fatherhood of Yahweh. Nevertheless, the leading idea of him, as found in the literature of the Old Testament, was harsh and barbaric. His love was for Israel, and for those in Israel that feared him. Ancient theology reflected ancient sociology. The discrepancy between the leading Old Testament idea of Yahweh as a god of hosts, mighty in battle, and Yahweh as a father, worked upon the consciousness of Jesus. There was no sense of history in his day; and, preoccupied with the newer and more modern social psychology of fatherhood, the liberal genius of the new prophet overleaped the discrepancy in the ancient doctrines, and read back into the word "father," which had been applied to Yahweh in the days of old, all the wealth of new meaning which the evolution of society had poured into the fact and the ideal of fatherhood. In the religion of Jesus, theology thus again reflected sociology. In brief, Jesus brought theology down to date.

As noiselessly as a flower grows and blooms in the sunshine, so the newer doctrine of God grew in the mind of Jesus. There was no sense of history in his day; and although the loving father of all mankind, as preached by Jesus, represents an advance over the Old Testament god of armies, mighty in battle, yet Jesus was not, and could not be, conscious of presenting a new religious doctrine. At the most, he thought of himself as emphasizing an ele-

ment of the divine character which, for some reason that he perhaps did not speculate about, had not been presented by the earlier prophets. He became completely possessed and inspired by the conception; and his favorite term for the God of heaven and earth was simply "Father." The thought of the Old Testament god of armies, battles, and thunder seems out of place in the New Testament writings.

Thus theology develops. The line of prophetism runs backward into the darkness of prehistoric times. Affirmations about the gods are passed on from generation to generation. As historical development pours new meanings into old terms, later-coming prophets read these meanings back into the old terms; and theology is again and again brought down to date. So far as we are able to judge, Jesus did not have the slightest consciousness that he was introducing what was practically a *new* theological doctrine; and in the considerations here set forth we see the basis for the paradoxical fact that he could proclaim a new doctrine under the impression that it was *old*. "A prophet is never a repeater of commonplaces," observes Dr. Bruce, in his work on Apologetics. "When we find him affirming any new truth with intensity and iteration, we may be sure it is a new truth, at least in respect of the amount of conviction with which it is uttered, and the connections of thought in which it is introduced" (16). The mass of the people in the time of Jesus and in later ages, have unconsciously shown by their attitude that in him they find a doctrine which is not adequately expressed by any earlier prophet. His place in history is, indeed, bound up with his emphasis upon the loving fatherhood of a universal God.\*

---

\*The following sentences doubtless well represent the most important phase of the psychology of Jesus: "Father, the world knew thee not, but I knew thee" (John 17: 25). "No one knoweth the Father but the Son" (Matthew 11: 27). "No one knoweth who the Father is, save the Son." (Luke 10:22). Jesus was plainly conscious that his fundamental idea of Divinity had never been entertained by the world

§ 131.—Having announced the advent of the divine kingdom, and characterized the King, Jesus proceeded to interpret the nature of the kingdom. Much of this part of his teaching may be regarded as a deduction from his doctrine of the universal divine fatherhood. But just as his doctrine of God reflected the sociology of his age, so his doctrine of the kingdom is plainly, if unconsciously, an outgrowth of the social conditions about him. The whole teaching of Jesus is so inextricably bound up with itself, and with the conditions of his age, that it is hard to discriminate justly.

The Greeks and Romans, by breaking up the limitations of tribalism and nationality, and gathering men into a larger social aggregate than the world had ever seen before, furnished a dramatic suggestion of the brotherhood of all men. Accordingly, whether we are to regard Jesus' interpretation of the kingdom as a deduction from the newer doctrine of the universal fatherhood of God, or as being suggested by social conditions, or as partly a development from both, it is not strange to find

---

at large. Yet, for the reasons given in the text, his doctrine of the divine fatherhood could not present itself to him save as expressing an ancient fact. He may have wondered why no earlier man had apprehended the Divine as he did; but the lack of historical and social science in his day shut out all possibility of explanation; and he never publicly addressed himself to this problem. It would be interesting to know what his theory of the fact was. Probably it would relate itself in some way to his apprehension of the Messianic office.

As to the validity of the psychology of Jesus in reference to objective reality, we are not here concerned to inquire.

In explaining Jesus' idea of God, there is no necessity for going outside the bounds of history as recovered by modern scientific scholarship. It is no explanation of the central feature of the psychology of Jesus to say that he was a "unique religious genius," or that his doctrine of divinity was the issue of "revelation." The conventional apprehension of Jesus is most unsatisfactory. The mystical Christology of the churches, at the one extreme, and the equally crass rationalism of scholars like Renan, at the other, are obsolescent. When the higher criticism of the Old Testament is completed, we shall see an evolution of New Testament criticism which will, for the first time, supply a satisfactory account of Jesus.

Jesus teaching the doctrine of universal human brotherhood. If God were the loving Father of all, then all men were neighbors and brothers regardless of tribalism and nationality.

We have seen that the admission of the individual to political rights, regardless of descent or of any previous condition of servitude, had broken the power of the ancient family nobility. This was a tremendous revolution over the politics which had prevailed in all societies from the dawn of history. Its effect on the social mind was profoundly democratic. The lower classes of the people saw persons from their own ranks rising to positions of social and political importance, and even into the councils of nobles, kings, and emperors. Although the suffrage was indeed usually hedged about with considerable property qualifications, the new system, as compared with the older system of descent, was only a step from the admission of all men to political rights on the basis of manhood alone. And this made the humble folk look up with new unrest and new hope. The rights of the individual had been, so to speak, legally suggested. Nevertheless, the rights of the individual were not secured unless he were wealthy. The situation was paradoxical. The individual in the abstract had rights; but only some individuals got rights in the concrete.

This phase of the situation was also reflected in the teaching of Jesus. If all men were brothers, and the sons of a common Father, it must follow that all had a right to the same consideration, even the least of the little ones. But the sociology of human brotherhood was never fully taught by Jesus. His relation to the political phase of human life, through which alone the rights of the individual are secured, is indefinite, and is well expressed by his famous injunction to "render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's" (Mark 12:17). He seems to have avoided a delicate subject by a cleverly politic sentiment. Jesus did not press the point. Perhaps the idea of manhood suffrage never occurred to him as a practicable thing.

If he had thought it necessary to his interpretation of the kingdom, he would probably have said so, for his attitude toward other matters proves that he did not lack courage.

The doctrines of human brotherhood and human rights found practical expression in the so-called "golden rule," which had been previously formulated by the Jewish teacher Hillel and the Chinese teacher Confucius. "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them; for this is the law and the prophets" (Matthew 7:12. Cf. *ibid.*, 22:40). According to Jesus, the golden rule summarizes the secular aspect of the kingdom.

In his interpretation of the kingdom Jesus comes to close quarters with the vital subject of cleavage. In his treatment of the relations between upper and lower classes, and in his implied treatment of the subject of property, he advances no new doctrine, and echoes the cry of the older prophets. He approaches the social problem in the character of an individualist; and no straining of points can extract a properly social-organic doctrine from his teaching. Certainly we do not find it in his conception of human brotherhood. He treats the subject of personal relations, righteousness, and justice, not from the cosmic standpoint, but from the standpoint of individualism. "Woe unto you that are rich, and you that are full!" he cries, denouncing the upper class indiscriminately (Luke 6:24, 25). On the other hand, he commends the lower class in like terms: "Blessed are ye poor, for yours is the kingdom" (Luke 6:20). It is true that in Matthew 5:3 the saying about the poor is etherealized into "Blessed are the poor in spirit." But whatever we do with the saying in Matthew, the materialistic edition in Luke remains; and it corresponds with much of the teaching preserved in the three-fold synoptic record upon which we depend largely (but not wholly) for our conceptions of Jesus. According to Luke 18:24, 25, Jesus declares that they who are wealthy shall hardly become members of the kingdom, and that it is

easier for a camel to go through a "needle's eye" than for a rich man to enter the kingdom. According to Matthew 23 and Luke 20:46, 47, the scribes and pharisees are denounced as the head and center of the upper class, devouring widows' houses, and neglecting the weightier matters of the law — judgment, mercy, and good faith. This reminds us of the words of the prophets Isaiah and Micah, in which they pronounce woe upon those who add house to house and field to field, and sacrifice to Yahweh but neglect mercy. It is plain that Jesus' interpretation of the kingdom had little sympathy with the politico-material hopes of the upper classes. The trend of his preaching, as indicated by the quotations just made, favored the lower social stratum as against the upper — not, indeed, by any definite program, but in its general tendency, after the manner of older prophets.

Consistently with this, we read, in Mark 12:37, that the "common people," or the "great multitude," heard him gladly. And, of course, the upper class repaid his hostility with interest. In Luke 19:47, 48 we read: "And he was teaching daily in the temple. And the chief priests and scribes and principal men of the people sought to destroy him; but they could not find what they might do, for the people all hung upon him listening" (Cf. Luke 20:19). In John 7:48, 49 the pharisees inquire: "Hath any of the rulers believed on him, or of the pharisees? But this multitude [which follows him] which knoweth not the [Mosaic] law are accursed." There are exceptions to most rules; and Jesus found a few friends among the well-to-do. But, on the whole, the upper class was against him; and the force of its opposition steadily increased.

Many people in modern times have thought that Jesus either expressly or impliedly favored some positive scheme of organic reform, such as socialism, or communism. But the attempt to extract a social program from the gospel records is unsuccessful. The gospels are saturated with individualism. The times of Jesus could not produce a man with a social program. The view that he had some

organic measure in reserve misunderstands Jesus no less than did the popular view which, in his own day, regarded him as a candidate for the throne of Israel (John 6:15; Matthew 20:21).\*

§ 132.— Jesus' thought about himself seems, on the whole, to have been kept in the background. The idealizing book of John represents him as declaring his Messiahship to a Samaritan woman early in his ministry. But the synoptics do not support this. His idea about himself was evidently subsidiary in his own thought; and it must have been so on the basis of any such message as that to which the synoptics bear common witness. His humble countrymen were attracted by his proclamation of the kingdom, his delineation of the King, and his interpretation of the kingdom itself. They did not come out to hear him talk about his own person. It was not until after his execution that the legalistic idea of his person, as represented by the apostle Paul, took root in men's minds. We

---

\* It is a hopeless task to try to understand Jesus apart from his environment. We heartily endorse the judgment of Professor Lobstein, as expressed in the following passage taken from his recent work on Protestant dogmatics: "To isolate the Christ from the general evolution of humanity — is not that to place him outside of humanity itself? Is not that to condemn him and never to comprehend him?" LOBSTEIN, *Introduction to Protestant Dogmatics* (Trans. by A. M. Smith, University of Chicago Press, 1903), p. 263. Probably Professor Lobstein would not endorse all of our positions in this connection. But the passage quoted is profoundly significant.

There is pressing necessity for general treatment of religious evolution in terms of modern thought. This has been accomplished only in part by historical criticism of our sacred literature. If plans do not miscarry, the treatment of the subject as found in the present work is to be expanded into a larger volume entitled, *THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE PROPHETS: A Study in the Development of Religion as Illustrated in the History of Israel and Christianity*. The proposed work will undertake to exhibit in detail the sociology of religion. Men generally have yet to learn that it is possible to treat the subject in a scientific way without impugning religion itself. Religious reality lies in the absolute content of the so called "finite facts;" and the religious interpretation of life must be susceptible of expression within the terms of any proposition about life that can be laid down and proved scientifically.

cannot imagine the historical Jesus preaching "Christ and him crucified," and teaching that salvation came through faith in his name. This was a later and a necessary form of Christianity. Jesus, however, was undoubtedly convinced of his own unique relation to God. We have seen that he put a moral-spiritual interpretation upon the kingdom instead of the politico-material construction favored by the mass of the people in every social station. In the same way, he regarded himself, not as a political King, but as the suffering servant of Yahweh; and the literature of Israel gave no small warrant for this. His view of the Messianic character was plainly contrary to that held by most of his countrymen; his immediate disciples were not educated up to his view in his lifetime; and the divergence between the two conceptions became painfully apparent at the last, when even the common people lost faith in him.\*

§ 133.—The preaching of Jesus evidently drew the public attention that he desired. Probably there would have been no upper-class opposition to him if he had simply confined himself to theology. But his treatment of the kingdom on the secular side, especially as it touched the delicate question of cleavage, was too much for the temper of the aristocrats. It was the grandees of the higher social stratum that plotted his death. It was the sanhedrim, the legal citadel of Jewish aristocracy and monopoly, that condemned him.

§ 134.—A short time after his execution, a few of the disciples of Jesus became convinced that he had risen from the dead; and that in the character of the long-expected Messiah, he would presently return on the clouds of

---

\* That the personality of Jesus was an important element in his influence, not to be overlooked in an exhaustive scientific study of the impression that he has made on the world, will be readily admitted. The psychology of hero-worship, however, has not been given the attention it deserves. The subject of personal relations in respect of leadership and discipleship has not been fully worked out; and we must pass over this item along with many others.

heaven to usher in the Golden Age.\* This view was proclaimed by certain of the humble disciples and followers of Jesus, who urged the Jews to accept him as the Messiah. If the Gentiles would participate in the felicities of the Golden Age, they must first be circumcised and become Jews.

In considering the early history of Christianity, we must bear in mind that the terrible economic oppression of the vast lower class was manifest everywhere; and that the earlier disciples of Jesus were drawn mostly from the lower class. In preaching the resurrection and Messiahship of Jesus, and his prompt return on the clouds to establish the Golden Age, the disciples thought they had a remedy for the troubles of the times. They succeeded in raising a disturbance on the streets of Jerusalem, and in converting a few Jews to their way of thinking. But in view of subsequent history, it is plain that Jewish Christianity could not have become a world-religion. The historical career of Christianity has been a Gentile, not a Jewish, career. The Jews have never accepted Jesus as the Messiah; and it is a very significant fact that the original disciples of Jesus, who had been most with him, did not succeed in their enterprise.

§ 135.—It was not Jewish Christianity, then, that triumphed. The great Gentile world outside of Judaism was brought to Christianity, not by the preaching of the original disciples of Jesus, but by Paul, “the apostle to the Gentiles,” as he is indeed rightly called.

Paul was a Jew by birth and education; and he at first bore an active part in the persecution of the Jewish Christians. His life and letters reveal a man who could have done a thing of this kind only as a result of the most intense conviction. He had been trying to practice righteousness, and escape the chill underworld of “death,” by the strictest adherence to “the law of Moses” as elaborated

---

\* It seems impossible at this point for us to give the same rendering of the history as that which is found in the gospel accounts.

by Judaism. His contact with the Jewish Christian movement, in the character of persecutor, "breathing out threatenings and slaughter," seems to have brought to a sudden culmination a process that had been going forward in his mind (Cf. Romans 7). This he could only interpret, after the habit of his age, as a supernatural turning about. Paul was a man given to visions and revelations, whether in the body or out of the body he could not tell; and the risen Jesus, he thought, appeared to him in a vision as he had appeared to the earlier disciples.

§ 136.—It became apparent to Paul that the earlier system of righteousness by works imposed upon men a greater burden than they could bear; that Jesus had come as the suffering Messiah, or Christ, to do away with the law of Moses forever by his sacrificial death; and that righteousness and justification were consequently to be attained by faith in Jesus Christ and practice of his teachings rather than through the mechanical works of the law. As a consequence of his apprehension of Jesus, Paul declared that physical circumcision, the symbol of Judaism and the law, was abolished; and that the entire Gentile world might now become a part of the spiritual Israel by circumcision of the heart. Paul's liberal attitude with reference to the law of Moses was not peculiar to himself. We know now that the Jews of the Dispersion were divided into two parties, whereof one was liberal, and rejected the rite of circumcision and other ceremonies (17). Liberal Judaism, however, did not, like Paul, have Jesus behind it; and it was the genius of Paul that incorporated this Jewish liberalism into Christianity. As might be expected, Paul's ideas in their external aspect are somewhat burdened with many of the absurdities of primitive thought; but their substance is philosophically sound.

In their essentials there was no difference between Paulist Christianity and the Jewish Christianity of the original disciples; but Paul's expression of Christianity

was superior to that of the original disciples, and more accurately represents the spirit of Jesus himself.\*

In their external machinery, especially in regard to the rite of circumcision, Paulinism and Jewish Christianity were, however, in conflict. The sound of this conflict reverberates in the letters of Paul; but presently his form of the gospel triumphed in the great Gentile world. After he had accomplished his work, two of the foremost of Jesus' original disciples left the oriental world and their exclusive mission to the Jews, and came over into the center of classic civilization. John at Ephesus, and Peter at Rome, entered into the labors of him they had at first opposed. This movement is a typical manifestation of human nature; and it signifies the early closure of the controversy. In later years, when the opposition between the two parties had subsided, the first history of the Christian Church was written. In that book, which is known as "The Acts of the Apostles," *Peter* appears as an early liberal, being converted by a vision of a great sheet let down from heaven; and the Paul of the Acts is a very different man from the same person as he appears in his own letters. This difference, however, is to be accounted for, not as the issue of a deliberate "tendency," as not a few modern scholars have claimed, but as a result of the changed standpoint of the more harmonious Christian times in which the book of Acts was put into its present shape. This may be otherwise expressed by saying that Acts is true in spirit, but not in letter. It is a monument, not to early Christian discord, but to early Christian harmony (18).

§ 137.— And now we come to what is, in the present connection, the most delicate and vitally important point in the rise of Christianity. We saw that the struggle of the Old Testament prophets to solve the social problem issued, not in social reform, but in the old social cleavage.

---

\* Some scholars have regarded Paul as the real founder of Christianity, and Jesus as a much smaller man than the apostle to the Gentiles; but this, we think, is a critical aberration.

In the same way, the efforts of the New Testament prophets were at length frustrated on the phenomenal, or secular, side. We shall now examine how Christianity articulated itself with cleavage, and became a state institution, differing not in its externals from any other state religion.

Passing from the Jesus of the Synoptics to Paul, the student of cleavage is at once conscious of a changed atmosphere in which a sociological barometer indicates the inevitable transformation. Paul *concreted* Christianity as a movement in history; but, paradoxically, the demand for righteousness becomes more *abstract* in him than in Jesus. Jesus instinctively arrayed the lower class against the upper; and the upper class responded by putting him to death. But in Paul we note the absence of that strong hostility against the upper class which is manifest in Jesus. Paul does not go about crying, "Woe unto you rich!" and, "Blessed are you poor!" and, "A rich man shall hardly enter the kingdom!" Paul can make his way anywhere in the Roman world without setting the classes against each other. Could a gospel, he argued, which proclaimed the brotherhood of all men bar out the well-to-do and the rich if they chose to come in? It is true that Christianity, even as represented by the courtly Paul, appealed at first with vastly more force and success to the lower class than to the upper. A gospel which promised the speedy return from heaven of a Christ who should avenge his own elect, and which guaranteed a life of eternal bliss beyond the grave, naturally at first attracted the less fortunate in greater numbers than the more fortunate. But this was not Paul's intention. Looking out over the great world, the apostle to the Gentiles declared that the church ought to include everybody — Jew and Greek, barbarian and Scythian, slave and freeman, male and female (Colossians 3:11; Galatians 3:28; 1 Corinthians 12:13). Where Jesus at least approached the problem of cleavage in a concrete way, Paul avoids the subject.

Christianity spread at first mostly in the cities. Writing about A. D. 50 to his converts in Corinth, a representative city of the Empire, Paul reminds them that "not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble" were among them (1 Corinthians 1:26). As Professor McGiffert observes, the Christian victims of the Neronian persecution of 64 A. D. were evidently from the lowest classes of society, or the emperor would not have dared to treat them as he did (19). As we have many times remarked, the lower class included slaves and poor freemen. The apostolic church evidently drew a large part of its membership from the personally enslaved lower class as well as from the personally free lower class. In Ephesians 6:5, 8, the writer issues the following injunction to Christian bondservants: "Slaves, be obedient unto them that according to the flesh are your lords, knowing that whatsoever good thing each one doeth, the same shall he receive again from the Lord, whether he be a slave or a freeman."\* In Colossians 3:22 we read: "Slaves, obey in all things them that are your lords according to the flesh." In 1 Timothy 6:1: "Let as many as are slaves under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honor." In Titus 2:9: "Exhort slaves to be in subjection to their own masters, and to be well pleasing in all things, not gainsaying, not purloining, but showing all good fidelity." In the letter to Philemon we see Paul returning a

---

\* The King James Bible uses the word "servants" for the term here freely rendered "slaves." On the other hand, as the men who produced the Revised English Bible say in the margin, the word which their predecessors had translated "servants" is more accurately rendered "bondservants." It ought to be manifest, surely, that the passage here quoted should commence with a term like "bondservant," or "slave," implying ownership by an economic superior, in order to consist intelligibly with the conclusion of the passage, which even the King James translators could not escape rendering "bond or free." Allowance ought, perhaps, to be made in their favor in view of the fact that the word "servant" carried a lower implication in the seventeenth century than it has now; but there is no excuse for using their translation at the present time.

fugitive Christian slave to his owner, saying that he thought the slave had wronged the master in running away. Another testimony to the presence of the poor in the early church is found in the anxiety for collections of money. The apostle to the Gentiles tells us that at the conclusion of the famous Jerusalem conference, the "pillar apostles," Peter, James, and John, gave to him and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship that Paul and his companion should go to the Gentiles, and they to the circumcision, adding, "only they would that we should remember the poor, which very thing I was also zealous to do" (Galatians 2:10). The collections taken were used, not for the poor in the non-Christian world outside the church, but especially for them that were of the "household of faith," the "poor saints," and the "poor brethren."

But if the church at first consisted principally of poor freemen and slaves, it included an increasing proportion of more fortunate people — the rich: the slaveholders and the landowners. The master Philemon, to whom Paul returned the fugitive bondservant, was a beloved fellow-worker in the gospel, and a member of a church that met in his own house. As we have already observed, there was really nothing to keep such people out. The older religions were collapsing by this time. People were ceasing to believe them, or to find any comfort in them; and Pauline Christianity, with the novel background of Judaism, was well fitted to replace them. The little churches, composed principally of slaves and poor freemen, who met in private houses, gladly welcomed into their brotherhood stragglers like Philemon from the more fortunate classes, who contributed from their wealth to the needs of the new movement. In 1 Timothy 6:2, Paul indirectly speaks of early Christian slaveholders when he exhorts Christian slaves not to despise "believing masters," because these masters are brothers in Christ. In Ephesians 6:9, Christian masters are commanded to treat their slaves well. Similarly, in Colossians 4:1, we read: "Lords, render unto your slaves that which is just and equal." Thus it is

evident that the upper classes began to be "converted," and to "join the Church" in growing numbers. Indeed before the close of the first century of the Christian era one Christian writer thought it well to sound a note of warning against the favor shown by the church to the wealthy. This writer's composition has come down to us under the title, "The General Epistle of James." His letter was written late in the century — probably about 90 A. D. (20). When reading the passage herewith reproduced, we should bear in mind that it occurs in a letter which does duty, not as a local and special writing, but as a *general* epistle:

"My brethren, hold not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ with respect of persons. For if there come into your assembly a man with a gold ring, in fine clothing, and there come in also a poor man in vile clothing; and ye have regard to him that weareth the fine clothing, and say, Sit thou here in a good place; and ye say to the poor man, Stand thou there, or sit under my footstool; are ye not divided among yourselves, and become judges with evil thoughts? Hearken, my beloved brethren; did not God choose them that are poor as to the world to be rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which he promised to them that love him? But ye have dishonored the poor man. Do not the rich oppress you, and themselves drag you before the judgment-seats?" (James 2: 1-6).

We learn from the testimony of the Church Fathers that in the second century the larger part of the Church was still recruited from the uneducated, humbler class (21). But the second and third centuries marked the steadily decreasing influence of the lower class, and the corresponding growth of aristocratic tendencies in the Church. The rich multiplied their offerings; and it became not infrequent for the wealthy, upon their decease, to leave property to the Church by will. Gifts and legacies at first assumed the form of money and other wealth. But more and more the possessions of the Church embraced landed property. Gibbon has indicated conditions in the third Christian century in the following sentence:

“Before the close of the third century, many considerable estates were conferred on the opulent churches of Rome, Milan, Carthage, Antioch, Alexandria, and the other great cities of Italy and the provinces” (22).

Respecting the early years of the fourth century, Hallam writes:

“It was among the first effects of the conversion of [the emperor] Constantine to give, not only a security, but a legal sanction to the territorial acquisitions of the church. The edict of Milan, 313, recognizes the actual estates of the ecclesiastical corporations. Another, published in 321, grants to all the subjects of the empire the power of bequeathing their property to the church. His own liberality and that of his successors set an example which did not want imitators” (23).

The spread of Christianity through the upper stratum is interestingly shown by the fortieth and forty-first canons of the Synod of Elvira, which was held about the year 305. It was declared that the Christian *landlord* ought not to permit his pagan *tenants* to pay rents in kind if these products — for instance, flesh and vegetables — had been previously offered to idols; and that the Christian *master* ought not to permit pagan *slaves* to keep idols on his property (24).

It is plain that between the first and fifth centuries a mighty change was wrought. At the former date the Church consisted of small bodies of obscure people, with no comprehensive organization and no regularly appointed leaders. At the latter date we find it with wholly changed fortunes, a state institution, drawing its membership from upper and lower classes, divided sharply into laity and clergy, its higher officers holding great estates of landed and movable property, and assimilated with the secular upper class. In short, the primitive groups of Christians had been transformed into a powerful social engine — the Roman Catholic Church — whereof we shall see more in our survey of western civilization (25).

§ 138.—Religious conditions in the fifth century have been so well depicted by Professor Dill in his work on the Roman society of this period that we quote him:

“The line between Christian and pagan was long wavering and uncertain. We find adherents of the opposing creeds side by side even in the same family at the end of the fourth century. . . . Anyone acquainted with the life of St. Jerome will remember Paula, the great Roman lady, who was the aristocratic leader of the exodus to the Holy Places. She gave up all her vast wealth to maintain the religious houses which she founded at Bethlehem. Her whole soul was absorbed in the study of the Scriptures, and in the thought of the life to come. Yet Paula was united in early youth to a noble named Julius Toxotius, who boasted of his descent from Aeneas, and who refused to abandon the worship of his ancestors. Their son, the younger Toxotius, who, at any rate in his youth, was also a staunch pagan, was married to Laeta, another devoted friend of St. Jerome, to whom he addressed a letter on the proper education for a Christian maiden. Laeta herself was the offspring of a mixed marriage. Her mother was a Christian, and her father was one of the most distinguished chiefs of the pagan aristocracy, Publius Caeonius Albinus. The affectionate relations of this household seem to have been quite undisturbed by the difference of creed among its members. St. Jerome speaks of Albinus in a friendly tone as a most learned and distinguished man, and sketches a pleasant picture of the old heathen pontiff listening to his granddaughter singing her infant hymns to Christ. . . . In general society the cultivated skeptic or pagan appears to have often maintained a friendly intimacy even with the most uncompromising champions of the church. The correspondence of St. Augustine reveals the singular freedom and candor with which the great religious questions of the time were debated between the cultivated members of the two parties” (26).

After an ineffectual attempt to remedy the evils growing out of the social problem, Christianity thus turns its head toward the clouds, and "stands gazing up into heaven," without closely studying the real course of events on the earth.

§ 139.—The growing worldliness of the Church produced a reaction which issued in another institution of religion. Persons disgusted with the world went into the deserts and country places to live a holy life. Such were called "monks." But these, too, obeyed the powerful collective impulse. They associated in growing numbers; accepted endowments from wealthy Christians; and in time the Church adopted monasticism as one branch of its organization.

§140.—As the Church extended its power and perfected its machinery, society continued steadily to decline. In the fifth century after the birth of Christ, the Empire collapsed in its ancient seat; and the barbarian tribes came into control of all the West. In Greece and the East, the Roman power, indeed, lived on for a time; but that part of the world, as the issue proved, no longer lay in the main path of human progress.

The center of historical interest, having shifted from the eastern to the northern seaboard of the Mediterranean, passes now into western Europe as whole. Here a third great civilization emerges from savagery and barbarism, assimilates the achievements of its predecessors, makes original contributions to progress, and assumes the leadership of the world.

(1)—THUCYDIDES, *History* (Boston, 1883. Jowett's trans.), pp. 1-2.

(2)—Cf. HALL, *The Oldest Civilization of Greece* (London, 1901), p. 20. Cf. RIDGEWAY, *The Early Age of Greece* (Cambridge, 1901), chaps. 1 and 2.

(3)—DUNCKER, *History of Greece* (London, 1886. Alleyne and Abbott's trans.), II, pp. 119, 138, 312. Cf. GROTE, *History of Greece* (N. Y., 1875) Pt. 2, chap. 9. Cf. DURUY, *History of Greece* (London, 1898), I, chap. 5. Cf. MOMMSEN, *History of Rome* (N. Y., Dickson's trans.), I, p. 80.

- (4)—Cf. DUNCKER, *History of Greece*, II, pp. 5-15.
- (5)—MOMMSEN, *History of Rome*, I, pp. 261, 262.
- (6)—IDEM, I, p. 111.
- (7)—CURTIUS, *History of Greece* (N. Y., 1875), I, p. 339.
- (8)—DUNCKER, II, p. 319.
- (9)—ABBOTT, *History of Greece* (N. Y., 1888), I, p. 367.
- (10)—MOMMSEN, I, pp. 370, 371. Cf. RAMSEY AND LANCIANI, *Roman Antiquities* (London, 1894), p. 91. Cf. MORGAN, *Ancient Society* (N. Y., 1878), pp. 215-343.
- (11)—MAHAFFY, *Problems in Greek History* (London, 1892), pp. 16, 88. Cf. SCHOMAN, *Antiquities of Greece* (London, 1880. Hardy and Mann's trans.), p. 347.
- (12)—MERIVALE, *History of the Romans under the Empire* (N. Y., 1889), VII, p. 484. On class relations in Greece and Italy generally, see the following: GILBERT, *Greek Constitutional Antiquities* (London, 1895, Brooks and Nicklin's trans.), p. 170-200. RAMSEY AND LANCIANI, *Roman Antiquities* (London, 1894), chaps. 2 and 3, SCHOMAN, *Antiquities of Greece*, Part 1, chap. 4; Part 2, chaps. 3 and 4. MAHAFFY, *Social Life in Greece* (London, 1892), Chap. 9. BLUMNER, *Home Life of the Ancient Greeks* (London, 1893), Chap. 15. GUHL AND KONER, *Life of the Greeks and Romans* (London, 1880), p. 509. COX, *Greek Statesmen* (N. Y., 1885-6), *passim*. SIMCOX, *Orationes of Demosthenes, etc.* (Oxford, 1872), XXV.
- (13)—Cf. DILL, *Roman Society in the Fifth Century, A. D.*, (London, 1899), pp. 138, 139.
- (14)—PEABODY, *Jesus Christ and the Social Question* (N. Y., 1901), p. 229.
- (15)—Cf. SCHURER, *The Jewish People in the time of Jesus Christ*, *passim*.
- (16)—BRUCE, *Apologetics* (N. Y., 1899), p. 177.
- (17)—FRIEDLANDER, in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Jan., 1902.
- (18)—Cf. RAMSAY, *St. Paul, the Traveller* (N. Y., 1898), pp. 19, 20. Cf. MCGIFFERT, *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age* (N. Y., 1900), pp. 172, 173.
- (19)—Cf. MCGIFFERT, *ibid.*, p. 629. Cf. FISHER, *History of the Christian Church* (N. Y., 1894), pp. 34, 35, 39.
- (20)—BACON, *Introduction to the New Testament* (N. Y., 1902), p. 165. Cf. MCGIFFERT, *The Apostolic Age*, p. 581.
- (21)—FISHER, *History of Christian Doctrine* (N. Y., 1899), p. 52.
- (22)—GIBBON, *Decline of the Roman Empire* (N. Y., Harper, 1900), chap. 15, p. 134.
- (23)—HALLAM, *Europe in the Middle Ages*, chap. 7. Cf. MILMAN, *History of Latin Christianity* (N. Y., 1889), I, pp. 507-511, 536.
- (24)—HEFELE, *History of the Church Councils* (Edinburg, 1883. Clark's trans.), I, p. 154. Cf. pp. 424-426; II, pp. 186, 301, 306; III, p. 169. Cf. LEA, *Yale Review* (New Haven), II, p. 356.
- (25)—For passages on the influence and functions of the Church in the last century of the Western Empire, cf. DILL, p. 215. KITCHIN, *History of France* (Oxford, 1873), I, pp. 64, 65.
- (26)—DILL, pp. 13, 14.

## CHAPTER VII.

---

### WESTERN CIVILIZATION.

---

§ 141.—The social development of western civilization began on the same level as that of the oriental and classic worlds. In the background of the history of our great modern states is the shifting scene of tribal migration and war. A passage from Strabo, a Greek geographer who lived at about the beginning of the Christian era, gives an interesting view of barbaric Germany, from whose forests issued the tribes that finally overwhelmed the western Roman Empire:

“Common to all the inhabitants of this land is their readiness to migrate — a consequence of the simplicity of their mode of life, their ignorance of agriculture in the proper sense, and their custom, instead of laying in stores of provisions, of living in huts and providing only for the needs of the day. They derive most of their food from their cattle, like the Nomads; and imitating them they load their goods and furniture on wagons, and move with their cattle wherever they like” (1).

In the fifth century after Christ a host of barbarians came pouring out of the German forests. This movement was caused partly by the increase of a population which was unable to extract subsistence from its home territory on the capitalistic basis then prevailing, and partly by the pressure of outlying tribes from eastern Europe and Asia. It was plainly a mere involution of the vast cosmic process that underlies all history. Everywhere that Rome had ruled in western Europe her power was overthrown; and the barbarian flood rose to high tide. In Britain the Angles and Saxons, and later the Normans, established themselves. On the soil of Gaul, or France, and reaching

back into Germany, the Franks became the dominant race. In Italy the Lombards, and in Spain the Visigoths, took possession.\*

§ 142.— At the historical beginning of western civilization we read everywhere the old story of advance from the nomadic to the settled life; of the drawing together of men into social bodies of increasing size; of the mingling of conquerors and conquered; and of the stratification of society into two principal classes, upper and lower. It is plain that cleavage in western civilization, as in the oriental and classic worlds, did not commence in the full daylight of history. Tacitus and Cæsar show that it had begun within the tribes at an early period, long before the fall of the Empire (3).

§ 143.— Brought actively to the front during the early wars, the upper class consisted at first of a military, landholding nobility divided into clans, or gens, like the original aristocracies of the oriental and classic civilizations. And, as in these earlier communities, the clan nobility constituted the State, and wielded the power of society in its corporate capacity.

But this nobility soon added to itself another element. By the "conversion" of the barbarians to Christianity, the Roman Catholic Church was extended from its home in Italy throughout all the communities of western Europe. Everywhere lavish grants of land were made by nobles and kings to the bishops and the monastic orders (4). In England, the nobility made generous provision for

---

\* In tracing the growth of western civilization, we shall consider the subject mainly, but not exclusively, from the standpoint of English history. There are three reasons for this: The evolution of England illustrates, and eventually becomes the pattern for, the development of modern civilization; the literary sources of English history surpass those of the other European countries; and, last but not least, our space is limited. With reference to the sources, Professor Gross observes: "Owing mainly to the blessings of insularity, and to the absence of violent domestic revolutions, the national archives of England are older, richer, more continuous, and more nearly complete than those of any other European nation" (2).

the Church. The country had not yet been united into a nation; and bishoprics were established in each tribal kingdom (5). The clergy subsisted upon the produce of their own local estates; while some of their lands were leased for payments in kind, in personal service, or in money — although not much of the latter was in circulation as yet. It is estimated that after the Norman Conquest in the eleventh century, the ecclesiastical nobility held thirty per cent. of the cultivated soil (6). Thus, the Church system, with its aristocratic constitution, passed over entire into the life of the young states that took the place of Rome in western Europe.

Religious ministrations consumed a relatively small part of the activities of the Church; and the priesthood occupied, in fact, the same large place that the ecclesiastical wing of the upper stratum had held in the older civilizations. The churchly nobility conserved the knowledge acquired by the ancient world; and furnished the secular nobility with civil administrators. In the upgrowth of western civilization, the Roman Catholic Church was nothing less than a power of the first magnitude. It is difficult for us to realize that period in which the Church was the representative at once “of politics, legal knowledge, diplomacy, education, literature, and much more besides; a period in which the clergy were not only father confessors, but belonged to the state as chancellors, treasurers, ambassadors, justices, clerks of the court, barristers, attorneys, physicians, accountants, and secretaries” (7).

Thus, the upper class consisted of two sections. The ecclesiastical wing was known as the “First Estate;” the secular nobility, as the “Second Estate.” But we must not be confused by names and forms. We must bear in mind that, sociologically, the First and Second Estates were not independent bodies. They composed a single upper stratum, which absorbed a large portion of the labor products of the lower class, attracted the best intellect,

and gave practical expression to all the forces of social development.

§ 144.—Below this composite upper order lay the great lower class in a legal condition which, with exceptions presently to be noted, is broadly described under the name of serfdom, or serf-slavery. The serf was, according to law, compelled to remain on the land of his lord, who, as we have seen, might be either a secular or an ecclesiastical noble. Occupying a stated assignment of the soil on some great estate, and living in his own little hut, the serf must give to his lord a portion of his labor products, and, for a part of the time, put his labor at the disposal of the same superior authority. Both of these conditions, of course, amounted to essentially the same thing — upper-class control of lower-class labor without direct economic repayment. Broadly speaking, this was the condition of the bulk of the lower class throughout Europe for many centuries after the fall of the Empire. The status of the masses naturally varied within certain limits, and at different places and times. Some of the peasantry could almost be called free. But, as Vinogradoff observes respecting mediæval English conditions, “it would be difficult to speak of free peasantry in the modern sense. . . . Some kind or form of dependence often clings even to those who occupy the best place among the villagers as recognized free tenants, and in most cases we have a strong infusion of subjection in the life of otherwise privileged peasants” (8). It would be wearisome to linger over the details of the lower-class constitution. Suffice it to say that the mass of the community occupied an inferior position with reference to the great landholding order — a smaller part of the lower class consisting of tenants, who paid a stated rent, and were otherwise practically free; the larger part consisting of serfs (9).

§ 145.—Notwithstanding the legal fixedness of the lower class, it is a mistake to suppose that labor was immovable in the Middle Age. Although the serf might not of his own will depart from the soil whereon he was born,

he could be moved by his lord from one estate to another, or from agricultural to manufacturing work (10). Again, a lord could send into a foreign country, and purchase from some other lord the services of desirable workmen. Benedict Biscop, Abbott of Wearmouth Monastery, brought workmen from beyond the sea (11). King Alfred the Great did the same (12). Charlemagne sent for laborers from foreign parts (13). King John ordered iron-smelters to be sent from Durham, England, over into Ireland (14).

§ 146.— It should also be noted that in western society, as in the oriental and classic worlds, there were no impassible barriers between upper and lower classes. Many roads were open to the ascent of ability. "Great facilities for rising from class to class in the social order," says Professor Stubbs, "are not at all inconsistent with very strong class jealousies and antipathies and broad lines of demarkation" (15). Modes of advance in the economic world will become evident as we proceed. Meanwhile the following passage from Rogers can hardly be omitted:

"All the prospects which the Church offered . . . were open in effect to the mass of the people. . . The son of a villain [serf] could, if fortune, or merit . . . favored him, reach from the hut of his parents to the mitre of a parliamentary abbot, to the crozier of the bishop, to the custody of the great seal, to the wand of the lord high treasurer, to the princely state of the Roman Cardinal. Fox, the founder of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, is said to have left his home at an early age in order to be trained for the Church, and on journeying down some time afterward to Lincolnshire, to have told his parents, when they wished him to stay with them, that their homestead would not serve for the kitchen of the house that he was building for himself. Never perhaps in the social history of nations was there so great an opportunity for capacity to rise by acknowledged roads to dignity" (16).

§ 147.— It required about one thousand years — from the fifth to the sixteenth century — for the development of the barbarian tribes into a community stable and civilized enough to take up the work of progress which had been laid down by classic civilization. This period of preparation we now call “The Middle Age,” since it lies between ancient and modern history. It was the birth time of the great nations of today. The Middle Age itself may be reviewed in two divisions of five hundred years each — the Dark Age, and the Age of Awakening.

In the Dark Age, extending, say, from the fifth to the eleventh century, western Europe was on a primitive, agricultural basis. No large manufacturing industries had sprung up. Production was of a simple and primitive character, and mostly for local consumption. These conditions alone would have prevented extensive commerce; and others operated in the same direction. It was difficult for people to discover each others wants and products. Movable wealth was insecure. Traveling in the open country was unsafe. Means of transportation and communication were exceedingly primitive. There was but little money in circulation. There were no strong and permanently established governments with wide jurisdictions (17).

In the Age of Awakening, which extended, say, from the tenth to the sixteenth century, the picture is brighter. Progress of a most substantial kind raised western Europe to a position from which, moving outward into modern history, it could take up in earnest the work of development where the ancient civilizations had stopped. Governments with wider jurisdictions were formed. Law and order were established more securely and uniformly. Multiplying international treaties, and the steady pressure of the universal Church, along with other influences, paved the way for a growing cosmopolitanism. The study of old manuscripts and books revived the learning of the ancients. Manners were softened. Commerce and manufactures reached an extensive development; and the in-

creasing circulation of money diminished the area of primitive barter.

§ 148.— In the old Saxon Dialogs, the merchant says that he brings home “skins, silks, costly gems and gold, various garments, pigments, wine, oil, ivory, orichalcus, copper and tin, silver, glass and such like” (18).

It has been observed that this passage is a good illustration of the fact (already twice brought out by the present inquiry) that trade as an independent occupation first arises in the service of the upper class (19). It is well to notice this fact again, since we are dealing with conditions more fully in the light of history, and leading up through a straighter path to the society in which we live.

Throughout western Europe in the second half of the Middle Age a merchant class gradually arose to engineer trade, and to make itself a power in the community. It became known as the “Third Estate.” But names are often misleading; and just as the First and Second Estates composed what was in effect a single upper stratum, so the Third Estate was a development of the upper class under a new form.

The origin of the Third Estate must be sought in ages in which it had no existence as a class. The lay or ecclesiastical noble was too much absorbed in large business to exercise detailed oversight of the great throngs of humble folk on his estates. His lands were often widely scattered in different parts of the country (20); and it was necessary for him to have a staff of managers, bailiffs, or stewards, to superintend his affairs. These persons were in serfdom; and they reached their positions by proved fitness. It was one of the functions of such men to superintend the exchange of surplus products for goods from other localities. Thus, the formation of a servile, or un-free, merchant class precedes the rise of a free merchant class.

Aside from the proprietor himself, the steward was the most important man on the estate. He enjoyed the confidence of his lord. He was favored over the other

lower-class folk in proportion to his importance. As a stimulus to the best performance of his duties he was permitted to retain a part of the goods that passed through his hands. In this way he might accumulate considerable wealth, which the law guarded from arbitrary seizure. When money came into use, the property accumulated by favored serfs took the form of cash, or could be exchanged for cash.

At the next step in this process, the lord of the estate, becoming pressed for ready money, permits the thrifty serf to buy his personal freedom, giving him a quit-claim charter as evidence of his new position in life. The following passage gives a case in point. The nobleman is Bishop Swinfield. The serf is Robert Crul. The time is 1302:

“Robert Crul was a bailiff upon one of the farms of the bishop’s manor of Ross. He was a ‘villien regardant,’ with a mother, wife, and children living with him. In 1302, by a solemn deed, he was manumitted by the bishop; and ‘Robert Crul, of Hamme, and Matilda his wife, with all his offspring begotten and to be begotten, together with all his goods holden and to be holden,’ was rendered ‘forever free and quit from all yoke of servitude’ . . . . Robert Crul, by his industry in the service of the bishop, was enabled to buy his freedom for forty marks, and he became the founder of two honorable families. This power of rising, however slowly and painfully, out of the condition in which they were born, . . . was, no doubt, the sustaining hope of many of the more frugal, diligent and intelligent villans of that age” (21).

After his enfranchisement, a man like Robert Crul could re-enter the service of his former owner, or the employment of some other nobleman, and manage his trade for him. Or he could contract to superintend the commerce of several estates, or of an entire locality.

The merchant class operated for several centuries under monopolistic privileges granted by the nobility; grew

rich by retaining commissions on the goods that passed through their hands; and bought landed estates.

The purchase of land clearly marked the entrance of a wealthy merchant into the upper class; and in many such cases a title of nobility was granted by the king (22).

§ 149.—With the expansion of commerce and the rise of the merchant class there grew silently up amidst the old, agricultural economy, with its peasant huts and lordly castles, a new economy of towns and cities. In the Middle Age, trade could not go on continuously, as today. Its beginnings were hampered, as we have learned, by great obstacles. Population was dispersed; traveling in the open country was unsafe; and people had difficulty in discovering each others wants and products. Under such conditions, the legal establishment of markets and fairs was an incalculable social benefit. “Unless traders were brought together at definite centers at definite times,” remarks Professor Ashley, “it was impossible either to protect them, or to supervise their dealings in the interest of the consumer, or to obtain from them those payments which formed a considerable part of the royal revenue. Hence the policy of the government was to create for trade regular channels within which it might be compelled to move” (23). From this standpoint, mediæval towns and cities have been well and simply defined as privileged places where markets were held (24). The new centers of population grew up at convenient points — near fortified stations, monasteries, and churches, on rivers, and along the sea-coast. One of the most interesting features of life in that age is the selling of charters to the towns by the lay and ecclesiastical nobility of the territories whereon the towns arose (25).

§ 150.—Increased exchange of wealth was associated with increased production of wealth. In order to examine the growth of manufactures and of industrial capitalism it will be necessary once more to retrace our steps.

Social development, in its beginnings as well as in later stages, depends upon material industry. But indus-

try as we think of it today, in its highly organized form, had no existence in the earlier historic stages of social evolution. In early times, the material needs of associated men were small as compared with other social needs. Upper-class appropriations, although partly converted into industrial capital, were more largely consumed in the immediate personal support of the upper orders during their discharge of non-industrial functions. The extensive growth of manufactures and commerce waits always upon the organization of social stability over wide areas. In the three great circles of communities (oriental, classic, and western) which have thus far come before us, we have seen how stability was organized out of savagery and barbarism, under the forms of the Clan State, by the forces of social cleavage. In surveying the first two of these, we passed rather hurriedly over industry and commerce, giving more attention to other aspects of the subject. But in western civilization the industrial phase of life has acquired an importance hitherto unknown — in large part, as we must apparently believe, because the energies of western society have been released from the mighty task of intellectual beginnings by its rich inheritance from its predecessors. The principle of cleavage, having been a powerful factor in the earlier development of society, has actively operated in the evolution of the vast industrial plant existing around us today.

§ 151.— We have seen that in the confusion of the wars, migrations, and settlements during the first half of the Middle Age the community existed on an agricultural basis. In the midst of these conditions the beginnings of manufactures and of industrial capital are to be found on the estates of the secular and ecclesiastical nobility (26). It was only here that industrial capital could begin to accumulate in large quantities. This general truth needs to be emphasized. Manufacture, like commerce, has not grown up out of prehistoric animality in self-centered independence, manned by free workers who have saved their

own capital. The upper class has not been a mere parasitic burden upon the development of industry; and, as already observed, the whole subject of manufactures and commerce must be approached from the standpoint of cleavage.

At first the handicraftsman was also an agricultural worker. The pursuits of agriculture involved the use of implements, clothes, and various buildings. These things were, for a time, sufficiently provided by temporary drafts upon the regular field hands. Such temporary handicraftsmen were chosen from those that showed the most proficiency in mechanical pursuits.

But along with the increase of trade and population, the demand for mechanical work at length absorbed the most proficient laborers; and thus a distinct class of industrial serfs was gradually specialized. There were the serf-carpenter, the serf-blacksmith, the serf-shoemaker, etc.

Part of the raw material worked up by the artizan-serf was produced on the home estate; but an increasing part of it was imported from elsewhere through the deepening and extending channels of a commercial system which was growing up, so to speak, over his head.

Although the labor products of the artisan serf were appropriated by his lord, his activities contributed, not alone to the profit of the nobility, but to the general good. The artizan could not perform his work without food and clothing; and these were supplied by his lord, in the person of bailiff or manager, from the products of other serfs. The *agricultural* workers, now able to devote themselves more continuously and efficiently to food-producing occupations, were, in turn, aided by the labor products of the *artizan*.

These hints give us an imperfect view of the social evolution that was working out in the busy fields and villages and towns of the Middle Age, and leading up from barbarism to the life of today. All attempts to examine and interpret the different aspects of the subject reveal its

immense complexity, and the impossibility of tracing it out in detail. But such attempts, while showing the impracticability of detailed reconstruction, prove that the social process can be brought within the terms of general propositions that faithfully describe the real facts.

§ 152.— This, the most primitive stage in the growth of organized manufactures, began to be widely displaced in England in the thirteenth century by the “guild system.” Under the new system the artizans gained their liberty in ways presently to be suggested, and became townsmen, participating in the chartered rights and immunities purchased from the lords of the territories whereon the towns arose. Among the most valued privileges conferred by charter was that of having a general “merchant guild” (27). The guild at first included merchants and artizans alike, and gave them a monopoly of trade and the right to fix their own prices (28). No man might carry on trade or practice a craft unless he joined the town guild.

The transition from the primitive system to the guild system was involved in the growth of commerce and of the towns and the increasing use of money. A part of the great unconscious movement of society, it was resisted by the landed nobility, but favored by them at the same time because irresistible (29). Along with the increasing circulation of money, the lower classes were permitted to commute their labor dues, payments, and rents in kind into cash rents for land. The artizans, having been a comparatively small and favored section of the lower class, were able to buy themselves free and go into the towns where trade and manufactures were centering, and where there was a growing demand for skilled and unskilled labor. Often, indeed, evading all formality, serfs ran away in the night; and if they remained in a chartered town “a year and a day,” they secured their freedom without ceremony (30). In a brief survey, the most important thing to notice is, not *how* the change from the primitive system to the guild system came about, but that it actually took place.

Off-hand statements about the transition are, at best, somewhat obscure and inconsequential.

It will not do to condemn the guild monopoly on a *priori* grounds evolved out of the modern inner consciousness. Nor can we justly criticise it adversely from the standpoint of the later achievements of progress. Professor Gross, for instance, in his invaluable work, for which we are very grateful, pronounces the guild monopoly pernicious. But we must consider the circumstances of the age, and the nature of the evolutionary process in which the guilds were involved. The landed nobility were dominant. They regarded the growing commercial and industrial classes with suspicion and hostility, but were compelled to tolerate them, since their services were indispensable. They would have been glad to dictate prices to the merchants and artisans; but the townsmen, in defending their freedom against the nobility, must, above all things, get the right to have a monopoly, and to fix prices to those who were formerly their masters and now their principal customers. For it must be remembered that the trades were supported as yet, not by the patronage of the lower class, but by the nobility (31). It can hardly be doubted that the right to fix prices was the most essential element of guild liberty. It not only secured the practical independence of the merchants and craftsmen; but, as we shall presently see, it helped them the more speedily to accumulate capital and advance to a position where monopoly was no longer needed.

The following passage gives a glimpse of the changed industrial conditions at this period:

“The great religious corporations and landowners who had once provided on their own estates for all local wants recognized the new condition of things, and instead of making cloth at home as of old, sent every year far and wide across the country to the great clothing centers to buy material for their household liveries, seeking from one place the coarse striped cloth of the old pattern and from another the goods of the new fashion” (32).

§ 153.— At first the free artizan had little more in the shape of accumulated capital than the tools of his craft. His labor, as a rule, was piece-work. His patrons found the materials, brought them to him, and paid him when the work was finished (33).

But under these conditions the craftsmen began to accumulate wealth, and to enlarge their facilities (34) "One notable fact in the economy of the fifteenth century," observes Rogers, "is the development of the capitalist artisan. At a previous period in the social history of England, this personage has scarcely an existence" (35). By the time of Henry VII (1485-1509) artizans not only had the necessary capital for large contracts, but they found the materials as well. When this point was reached, the craftsmen began to turn into capitalist employers of labor (36).

We make a serious mistake if we suppose the earlier artizans of the towns to be representatives of those whom we call today the "laboring classes," for the proletariat of the towns and cities had not at that time come into prominence. Craftsmen, indeed, usually had one or more assistants; but these workers expected to set up for themselves in a few years, and enter the guild. Masters and men wrought side by side; and there was no social gulf between them — no struggle between capitalists and laborers.

§ 154.— But the merchants and artizans of the towns were not alone in securing enfranchisement from serfdom. Along with the changes that we have been considering, the entire lower class in England emerged from the condition wherein they were legally anchored to the soil.

The increase of trade and manufacture created a demand for an increase in the currency. At the same time strong governments with wide jurisdictions were being formed, which were able to furnish the desired currency. Now that money was coming into general circulation, the secular and ecclesiastical nobility began to bargain with the serfs who lived on their lands. Instead of a rent of

labor products and personal services, the nobility now began to accept the worth of these products and services in money. This was more convenient for both sides. It is impossible to say when rents in service and in kind were first commuted for cash. But in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in England the movement had reached large proportions; and in the middle of the fifteenth century (1450) it was practically complete throughout the country (37). On the continent this transformation was more slowly effected.

The change was very important. On the one hand, it worked the extinction of serf-slavery. On the other, it went a long way toward converting the older, feudal form of landholding into the present form of that institution.

It did not, however, bring in at once the practice of leasing land for the highest obtainable cash rent. The old villain services were simply commuted for a fixed rent in cash. After this fixed money rent had been paid each year the "copyholder," as he was now called, regarded the land as his own. Of this we shall see more presently.

§ 155.—And now the movement of evolution carries us forward another stage. By the middle of the sixteenth century (1550) a great deal of capital had been amassed in the towns; and this was having a strange issue. Throughout England in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the older chartered towns, once the centers of busy and prosperous life, went into decay (38). The secret of this remarkable fact was, that in the presence of a widening market, and of the growing wealth which had been accumulated under the policy of monopoly, the guild system, with its regulation of prices and wages and hours of work, had served its day and at last become a barrier to progress. While the old industrial centers were, in truth, decaying, industry itself was prosperous, for capital and labor were leaving the chartered towns and establishing themselves in the smaller places where the guilds had no jurisdiction (39). Grass grew in the streets of the older

towns; and under the stress of competition the guild law became a dead letter in the places of its origin.

Then, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the tide of industry, no longer fettered by the older monopoly, surged back into many of the original chartered centers; and throughout all England, in towns new and old, flowed the currents of internal free trade, serving upper and lower classes at once. The guilds faded away into social clubs, whereof numbers are still in existence, interesting survivals from conditions that have long since passed away.

§ 156.—Accompanying these changes there came gradually into existence what we now term the “proletariat.” At first, as we have seen, this class had no existence in the modern sense of the word, for masters and men worked side by side, and the latter were admitted to the guild in a few years and became head craftsmen themselves. But with the expansion of the market, the continued influx of liberated serfs from the country, and the transformation of the original artizans into capitalist employers, the earlier condition of things prevailed less and less. The guilds became exclusive; and it was harder and harder to obtain entrance to them. The craft guilds, which arose by differentiation from the general guild merchant, are well said to have consisted of the aristocracy of labor (40).

As an outcome of these changes, the wealthy merchants and manufacturers engrossed the houses and land of the towns, reaching out more and more for property in the agricultural districts. The same element also monopolized political power in the towns. No man could be a burgess — a full citizen with a voice in the town government — unless he were a guild brother and a landowner. As Professor Ashley observes,

“A part of the inhabitants which constantly tended to become smaller, the ‘burgesses’ proper, held alike the government of the town and the monopoly of trade to and

from it. What is true of England is also probably true of the whole of western Europe" (41).

After the guilds had broken down and lost their old character, the manufacturing and mercantile classes no longer felt the need of guild protection. They held the land and most of the wealth in the towns; and the right to vote was hedged about with property qualifications.

§ 157.— Thus we behold all over western civilization, as in the case of its classic predecessor, the marshalling of a newly rich wing of the upper class. Under the old system, the interests of this new part of the superior stratum were inevitably brought into opposition to those of the titled landed magnates, which, as we are bearing in mind, consisted of the ecclesiastical and secular nobility. We are now to witness a three-cornered fight between the First, Second, and Third Estates, wherefrom the latter issues triumphant. This fight convulsed western civilization. In general, it is known as the Reformation; but in England it passed into the great Puritan Revolution, which, although of local scope, was of universal significance.

The popular idea is that the Reformation was a theological movement which turned upon questions that people do not much trouble themselves about in the present age. As we shall try to show in due order, there is a certain amount of truth in this view; but unless we are astray, the conventional view, if unqualified, is false and misleading. The Reformation was more than a theological movement. It was based on economic conditions.

§ 158.— It is plain that by the beginning of the sixteenth century the Roman Catholic Church, great as had been its evolutionary value in the Middle Age, was no longer discharging its old functions in the social economy.

Throughout England and northern Europe especially, the wide estates of the Church in the agricultural districts were no longer the home of manufactures and commerce. These pursuits, as we have seen, had long been gravitating to the towns that were everywhere growing

up. With the rise of merchants and master-manufacturers, the ecclesiastical monopoly of learning and education passed away. The towns were themselves becoming the training ground for educators and administrators.

At the same time, the landed property of the Church was being swelled to yet vaster proportions by the bequests of well-to-do persons, who, at the hour of death, sought to make secure the future of their souls. The holdings of religious corporations were also extended by thrifty purchases.

Not only were the social functions of the Church decreasing, and its landed possessions unduly increasing; but the ecclesiastical wing of the upper class was becoming identified with many other evils. Church property was usually exempt from the regular burdens of taxation, which consequently rested upon the secular nobility and the industrial classes of the towns with disproportionate and increasing weight. In addition to its regular income from the lower classes on its own estates, the clerical nobility was also able to make requisition upon the other sections of society for various church dues. Controlling the ecclesiastical courts, which had a wide jurisdiction during the Middle Age, it was able to reach the pockets of great and small in many ways by process of law.

To crown all these abuses, the streams of wealth pouring into the hands of Roman bishops, priests, and monks were obviously being squandered in luxury and immorality.

These considerations, together with the subsequent history of western civilization, prove that the Church was coming into the possession of more landed property than it ought to hold; and that it was enjoying too much wealth and power in proportion to services rendered. The case may perhaps be summed up as an unconscious error in capitalization.

Although the economic aspects of the Reformation have not been treated as they will be in the future, they have not lacked extended notice by modern writers. In

the course of his inquiry into work and wages in England, Rogers has pointed out the association between the rise of commerce and the Reformation in the following words:

“It cannot be by accident that those parts of Europe which have been from time to time distinguished for manufacturing and commercial activity have also been, with one exception, and that capable of easy explanation, generally hostile to the pretensions of the Church, and that they have, when possible, revolted from it. It was so in Toulouse, before the crusade of Simon de Montfort wasted the fairest part of France. It was so in Flanders and Holland, in the Baltic towns, in Scandinavia, and in the eastern parts of England. It was so in the most industrious and opulent parts of France in the sixteenth century. It was not indeed so in Italy. It was not in human nature that it should willingly quarrel with the process by which it became opulent, though in the end it paid dearly for its advantages . . . Nor again can it be by accident that those countries which have thrown off the yoke of the Roman see were and have been most distinguished for intellectual activity. The true literature of modern Europe is almost exclusively the work of those countries in which the Reformation has been finally settled — of England, of Holland, of Northern Germany” (42).

The Reformation is principally associated with the sixteenth century. But there were more or less distinct foreshadowings of it long before that period. To go no further back than the latter half of the fourteenth century in England, we find the forces gathering headway that were destined to strike down the Roman Church in the most progressive countries of Europe. John Wicliffe has been called “The Morning Star of the Reformation.” The conventional view represents him as principally engaged in fighting for doctrines like those of the sixteenth-century reformers, and as working for “the open Bible for the people.” But this was only one feature of his campaign — and a later feature at that. Emphasis ought to be laid on the fact that his preaching had an economic

side; and that the economic side came first. Mr. George Macaulay Trevelyan, who has made a careful study of England in the age of Wicliffe, says of the reformer that "his demand for disendowment preceded his purely doctrinal heresies . . . , while his attack on the whole organization and the most prominent doctrines of the Mediæval Church is found in its fulness only in his later works" (43). Wicliffe was a professor in Oxford University; and was accounted the greatest scholar of his time. In his book, "De Dominio Civili," he argued for the secularization of Church property. A passage from his writings may be fitly introduced here, giving his economic position in his own words, a few terms being modernized.

"Secular lordships that ecclesiastics have full falsely against God's law and spend them so wickedly, should be given by the King and wise lords to poor gentlemen, that would justly govern the people, and maintain the land against enemies. And then might our land be stronger by many thousand men of arms than it is now, without any new cost of lords, or taxation of the poor commons, and be discharged of great heavy rent, and wicked customs brought up by covetous ecclesiastics, and of many taxes and extortions by which they be now cruelly pillaged and robbed" (44).

Two noblemen that stood near the English throne, John of Gaunt and Lord Percy, invited Wicliffe to London to advocate the cause of Church disendowment under their patronage. John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster, was a son of the reigning King, the famous Edward III. His reformatory zeal was inspired by the hope that he and his noble friends might obtain some of the Church property.

But the Duke of Lancaster was doomed to disappointment. The demand for change was at that time premature and weak. The Church party, by an astute use of its wealth and influence, was able to maintain its position for many years thereafter.

The secular wing of the upper class, however, did not wait until the sixteenth century before taking positive action of some kind. Although the lay princes did not venture to seize the vast landed estates of the Church during the early period of the agitation against it, they passed laws in many countries of Europe restricting the right of the ecclesiastical nobility to acquire additional property. English experience in respect of this matter is given by Blackstone in his Commentaries on the Laws of England, from which we cite a suggestive passage :

“Alienation in *mortmain* . . . is an alienation of lands or tenements to any corporation, sole or aggregate, ecclesiastical or temporal. But these purchases having been made by religious houses, in consequence whereof the lands became perpetually inherent in one dead hand, this hath occasioned the general appellation of mortmain to be applied to such alienations, and the religious houses themselves to be principally considered in forming the statutes of mortmain; in deducing the history of which statutes, it will be matter of curiosity to observe the great address and subtle contrivance of ecclesiastics in eluding from time to time the laws in being, and the zeal with which successive parliaments have pursued them through all their finesses: how new remedies were still the parents of new evasions; till the legislature at last, though with difficulty, hath obtained a decisive victory” (45).

It availed but little to pass laws against the extension of Church property; and the problem was not to be solved in this fashion.

The merchants and artizans of the towns reacted more and more against the Roman Church. “The instinct of self-interest,” says the historian Motley, “sharpens the eye of the public. Many greedy priests of lower rank had turned shopkeepers in the Netherlands, and were growing rich by selling their wares, exempt from taxation, at a lower rate than lay hucksters could afford. The benefit of clergy thus taking the bread from the mouths of many excites jealousy, the more so as, besides their miscellaneous

business, the reverend traders have a most lucrative branch of commerce from which other merchants are excluded. The sale of absolution [for sin] was the source of large fortunes to the priests. The enormous impudence of this traffic almost exceeds belief" (46).

Not only were the mercantile and manufacturing people thus alienated from the ecclesiastical section of the upper class; but the secular nobility, as already suggested by the reference to John of Gaunt, were becoming more and more hostile. In the transition period leading out from the Middle Age into modern times, the fortunes of the secular nobility were, indeed, at a low ebb. Their property, as we have seen, consisted of agricultural estates intermingled over the country with those of the Church. They were already over-taxed as compared with their brothers the Church magnates; and it was becoming more and more difficult for them to procure, from those who held their lands, enough money to exchange with the city merchants and manufacturers for the necessaries of life. By the middle of the fifteenth century in England the older land rents, consisting of personal services and payments in kind, had been commuted into their cash equivalents. But although land values were undoubtedly rising, it was difficult for the nobility to increase their money rents along with the increase of their expenses. These rents represented old customs; and they were supposed to be fixed and incapable of development. To increase them would be to provoke an inconvenient uprising. The modern practice of renting land for the highest obtainable price was unknown, for there was as yet no general competition among tenants. Thus it is that about this time we begin to hear apparently inconsistent, but really well founded, accounts of "poor nobles."

It was easier for the "poor nobles" to quarrel among themselves for each others lands than to put the screws on their tenants; and this they did before the secular elements of the upper class finally united against the Church. In the fifteenth century the descendants of John of Gaunt,

the Duke of Lancaster, engaged in a civil war with another family, the house of York, also descended from Edward III, John's father. The struggle between the houses of Lancaster and York is known in history under the flowery title "The Wars of the Roses." One side had the red rose as its emblem; the other the white. The objects of the contestants were the crown of England, control of the national taxing power, and possession of each others estates. One result of these conflicts was that the older, secular nobility was largely reduced in numbers. At the conclusion of the Wars of the Roses, King Henry VII could find only twenty-nine secular lords to sit in the upper house of the first parliament of his reign.

Altogether, it is no matter for wonder when we see the titled and untitled secular upper class turning from the timid mediæval policy of restricting clerical estates to the bolder sixteenth century policy of confiscating Church lands wholesale. "The religious reformation in every land of Europe," says Motley, "derived a portion of its strength from the opportunity it afforded to potentates and great nobles for helping themselves to Church property" (47).

The English Reformation began in the reign of Henry the Eighth (1509-1547). In his time the pressure for economic change became too great to be resisted. Successive confiscations transferred the vast English property of the Roman Catholic Church into the hands of the King, and thence in large part to the secular upper class. Green writes as follows:

"The bulk of these possessions were granted lavishly away to the nobles and courtiers about the King, and to a host of adventurers who 'had become gossellers for the abbey lands.' Something like a fifth of the actual land in the kingdom was in this way transferred from the holding of the Church to that of the nobles and gentry. Not only were the older houses enriched, but a new aristocracy was erected from among the dependants of the Court. The Russells and the Cavendishes are familiar instances of

families which rose from obscurity through the enormous grants of Church-land made to Henry's courtiers" (48).

So far as England was directly concerned, the final drama of the Reformation centered around a great sea battle forever famous in history. Philip II of Spain was the successor of that Charles who was elected Emperor of Germany, and who outlawed the German reformer, Martin Luther, at the Diet of Worms. With the good will and sanction of the Pope, King Philip gathered an immense fleet, the great Spanish Armada, and prepared to send it against the heretical island. Among other projects, his plan was to reduce the country to a Spanish dependency, restore to the Roman Church its confiscated possessions, and re-establish the "true faith." English Jesuits assured Philip that the English Catholics were waiting for him, and would support him in force against Queen Elizabeth as soon as the Spanish fleet appeared off the coast. But when the Great Armada came sailing up the Channel, and beacon fires blazed up by thousands all over the island, the English Catholics joined their countrymen against the foreigner. As Green well says, "England became Protestant in heart and soul when Protestantism became identified with patriotism" (49).

§ 159.—As to the religious, or spiritual, aspects of the Reformation, there is much to be said; but we can refer to this phase of the subject only by the way. When Christianity became the religion of the barbarians in the fifth century after Christ, it accommodated itself to minds on a lower level of culture than those in which the Christian faith, and its parent, Judaism, had been developed. As a result of this, and without blame on the part of anybody, the Roman Catholic system in the Middle Age was barbarous and superstitious. The intellectual pitch of Catholicism in early western civilization was necessarily far below that of the prophetic spirit, which, from Amos and Isaiah to Jesus, had been associated, not with barbarism, but with civilization. The progress of culture in western so-

ciety, bringing it up to the level of the ancient civilization, made inevitable a doctrinal readjustment of some kind.

But the Reformation was not a "ghost-dance on a floor of clouds." A doctrinal and spiritual change would, indeed, have been a reformation; but it would not have been the Reformation that actually took place. The actual, historical Reformation was accompanied by a vast confiscation of Church property, and by other great economic changes. It convulsed Europe for many years in wars that cost millions of lives. These conflicts were not fought over airy doctrines. They had a materialistic basis; and the doctrines were the flags, or badges, that distinguished the antagonists.

§ 160.—The Reformation restored the economic balance of society. It did not effect the political enfranchisement of the Third Estate; and this part of the growth of western civilization was a long process beginning before, and continuing after, the Reformation. In the transfer of the basis of the State from family to property, England led the way. The other western powers have built their governments after her model, showing that England merely gave expression to universal forces.

After England had been freed from ecclesiastical domination, she was gradually driven into a struggle with the arbitrary power of the Crown. The Tudor family had been succeeded by the Stuarts; and this family attempted to tax and govern the nation at their own pleasure.

The first of the Stuarts to inherit the English crown was James VI of Scotland, or James I of England. Before assuming his new principality, he had struggled with the Scotch lords on behalf of national authority against their local, feudal independence; and his idea of the divine right of kings was very high. The changes introduced into Scotland by the Reformation had also contributed to make James equally arbitrary in matters of religion. The retention of their independent character so far into modern times by the Scotch lords is one aspect of the backwardness of social development in the Scotland of

that period. Owing largely to the nature and position of the country, the currents of commerce had not circulated as freely as in England. There was a national congress, or parliament; but the kings had summoned only the secular and ecclesiastical nobility to it. At the time of the Reformation, the Scotch lords, like the secular nobility elsewhere, had appropriated the local estates of the Roman Church. The exclusion of the trading classes from a voice in the Scotch government threw them into an opposition which drew the peasantry with it. The rise of the Scotch Kirk, with its National Assembly, gave the people an organ through which to express their opinions and grievances in matters of economics and politics. Here, again, religion acted as a rallying point for society, and as a disguise for economic movements. "It is the Scotch people," says Green, "that rises into being under the guise of the Scotch Kirk" (50).

It was with a temper hardened by his conflicts with the Scotch lords and the Scotch Kirk that James came to take the English crown. The struggle of Puritanism against the arbitrary policies of the Stuarts, although flavored with religion, was fundamentally economic.

The difference between the political history of England and that of the continental states has been unduly emphasized by many writers. The English Parliament has been referred to as a peculiar creation of the national genius, whereby the liberties of "the people" were preserved at a time when the governments of the rest of Europe were arbitrarily controlled by monarchy and aristocracy. But in the very century in which the English Parliament assumed its characteristic form similar bodies were convoked in Spain, France, Germany and Sicily. The evolution of continental parliaments was, however, checked for a time by local circumstances which it is not here essential to notice. The growth of the English Parliament at a period in which no similar institution could thrive in Europe at large was likewise based on peculiar-

ities in the social history of Britain. The difference between the political development of England and that of the other progressive states of Europe has been more a matter of form than of substance. England, equally with Europe, has illustrated the overshadowing law of cleavage. The Upper House of the English Parliament, or House of Lords, has always been upper-class in substance and name. And until the nineteenth century the so-called Lower House, or House of Commons, included no representatives from the economic lower class. "The two Houses," writes Bagehot, "were not in their essence distinct, they were in their essence similar, they were, in the main, not Houses of contrasted origin, but Houses of like origin. The prominent party of both was taken from the same class — from the English gentry, titled and untitled" (51). In the seventeenth century the Lower House consisted of representatives from the lesser landed aristocracy throughout the country districts, and of representatives from the commercial and manufacturing upper class in the towns. In substance it was practically as aristocratic as the House of Lords.

With the grudging consent of English kings and lords, the principle had been established that the House of Commons should have control over all money bills.

This principle, however, had been established more in theory than in practice. The idea still prevailed throughout western civilization as a whole that the government of society belonged of right to ancient noble families, to be exercised at their discretion. The English royal and noble families, as just observed, had been slow to admit the power of the House of Commons over taxation and other affairs of government; and in the seventeenth century after Christ the struggle between the Clan State and the Property State, which had been fought out on Roman soil by the patricians and plebeians, was at length brought to an issue on the soil of England. The Clan State was powerful enough in seventeenth-century England to make a great struggle for supremacy. On the

side of Charles I, the son of James, were most of the nobility of the House of Lords and the other landowning classes in the country districts, including large numbers of the constituents of the House of Commons. On the side of the Commons were some of the landowning classes in the country districts and practically all of the upper classes in the towns (52). Looking back on the struggle from this distance in time, it is easy to see that the burden of the Parliamentary fight against the king was borne by the towns. The country upper class might, and actually did, differ among themselves touching the wisdom of arbitrary monarchial government; but it was the aristocracy of London and the other towns, together with the population dependent upon them, that turned the scales. Mr. Lecky well says that just as, at the time of the Reformation, the towns were the strongholds of Protestantism, so, at the time of the reaction against the Monarchy, the towns were the strongholds of Puritanism (53). If it had not been for the wealth and industry accumulated in the towns, it would seem that the government of England at this period, like those of Spain and France, must have become a central despotism.

Professor Gardiner, in writing of the period which he has made his own, rounds out our view by saying suggestively that "Puritanism had no deep hold in the minds of the agricultural poor" — that is, the rustic lower class, which worked the soil of England without owning it; and he adds that "they wanted to be let alone that they might be allowed to earn their daily bread in peace" (54). It should be emphasized, indeed, that this great civil struggle of the seventeenth century was an upper-class conflict; and that it did not secure political rights for the lower, unpropertied class either in town or country.

§ 161.— Having glanced at the Reformation and Puritanism, we must now take some notice of the conditions leading directly to the overflow of European society upon the soil of the New World.

We have seen that by the middle of the fifteenth century the increasing use of money had led to the transformation into cash rents of the older personal services and payments in kind rendered by the lower class. From serfs who had held plots of land on villan tenure, and been bound to the soil by law, there had sprung, by the middle of the fifteenth century, an order of "yeomen," or small farmers. The yeomen, it must be carefully noted, did not hold their farms in absolute ownership. They paid a money rent to the large landed proprietors out of whose estates their holdings were carved; but their farms were deemed by custom to be theirs to pass on from father to son. It should be noted with equal care that the yeomen were not coextensive with the lower class. They sprang from those of the lower class who were fortunate enough to possess agricultural holdings at the period in which the commutation of the older villan services into money rents was taking place. Their rents, which, as we have seen, were at first fixed in amount, fell further and further below the true rent, or absolute worth of the land they held. As population multiplied, increasing the number of poor and landless laborers, it is evident that the yeomen were thus put more and more into the position of small monopolists who held title to the earth as against the propertyless classes. In Bishop Latimer's first sermon before Edward VI we obtain an interesting glimpse of the yeomanry, and of the propertyless classes which everywhere existed and multiplied alongside of them. He states that his father was a yeoman, and held a farm for a small rental; that he had a hundred sheep and thirty cows; that he was able to keep in school the boy who afterward became Bishop Latimer; that he gave each of his daughters a goodly sum when they were married; that he employed six laborers; and that he was hospitable to his poor neighbors (55). The yeomen had, in fact, acquired a minor interest in the land monopoly of the country; and, like all small monopolists, they were doomed to be crushed out. Their lands were increasing in value, but were not being

put to the most efficient use, and were yielding neither rental nor taxation on their true value.

In the midst of these conditions the merchants and manufacturers of the towns began more and more to put their surplus wealth into landed estates in the agricultural districts. They either bought out the landlords, or leased of them at higher figures than the yeomanry were paying. As a result, many of the small farmers were evicted from their customary holdings. In describing this change, Green says that the merchant classes "began to invest largely in land, and . . . were restrained by few traditions or associations in their eviction of the smaller tenants. The land indeed had been greatly underlet, and as its value rose with the peace and firm government of the early Tudors the temptation to raise the customary rents became irresistible" (56). The fact is, that a change in landholding was inevitable. When we consider the immense revolutions with which modern history opens, both in State and Church, and the dense ignorance of the age concerning social laws, it is plain that great suffering was as inevitable as great change.

The yeomen were not all evicted at the same time. Large numbers were thrust out in the first half of the sixteenth century (1500-1550). But perhaps the majority of them were able, with economy, to pay the increased rental demanded of them. We know that Bishop Latimer's father, who had paid four pounds per year at the most, was replaced by a man who paid the landlord sixteen pounds annually (57); and this increase was not unusual. Prices of agricultural products rose during the last half of the sixteenth century, affording the farmers temporary relief.

But in the first half of the seventeenth century rents began once more to advance. All the good lands near the more settled parts of the country had been enclosed and reduced to private property by this time; and the poorer yeomen began to think about leaving England for other parts. It was but natural that they should become Puri-

tans. Politics and religion were united. King James, who had struggled with the Scotch people when they took the guise of the Scotch Kirk, declared that all the people of England should be made to conform to the Anglican Protestant Church, and to support its priests. "I will make the Puritans conform!" he exclaimed, when outlining the religious phase of his policy. "And if they will not conform," added the King, "I will harry them out of the land!" Anglicanism in religion came to be associated with the policy of taxing and governing at the monarch's pleasure; and it is not strange that the Puritan migration from England assumed the religious form. In 1607 a small congregation of yeomen, centering in the little village of Scrooby in Nottinghamshire, set sail for Holland. On the Continent, however, they found that industrial conditions were as hard as in their old home. It became evident that they could find no satisfactory abiding place in Europe; and in 1620 they sailed away in the little ship *Mayflower* to the New World.

Had it not been for the outlet afforded by the opening of America at this period, it is likely that western civilization would more quickly have developed the modern social problem. The unused land of Europe was being rapidly appropriated; and lacking the great American safety-valve, the like of which no earlier society in an equal state of culture had enjoyed, there is little doubt that the third great civilization of history, like its classic and oriental predecessors, would long ago have degenerated, and perished under a flood of barbarism.

§ 162.—The relation of the principle of cleavage-capitalization to the discovery, settlement and growth of America is obscured both by the individualistic psychology common to all societies, and by the economic conditions under which the social development of America has taken place. The same naive conceptions of American history seem to lie alike in the mind of the school boy, the Fourth-of-July orator, the platform lecturer, the plain citizen, and the majority of educated persons. If you ask your

neighbor about the facts, the same answer is almost invariably elicited. America, says the tradition, was colonized by people who were seeking an opportunity to practice religion after the dictates of their own consciences. The tradition yields nothing more than vague ideas about "people who came over," like men who cross from one side of the street to the other. The colonial period, beginning in the sixteenth century, has already sunk to the level of dim, ancient history. The popular mind is intellectually too sluggish to inquire into the vital facts underlying the relations of America to Europe and to earlier society in general. American history, to the popular mind, began in the New World. It is admitted that there is a historical connection of some kind between America and the Old World; but that connection is mostly thought of under its conventional form, not in its vital substance. The tradition tells us about "people who came over" in search of religious liberty. The descendants of these people were oppressed by a British King, and revolted from his despotic rule. They set up a government, so the tradition runs, under which all men were and are free and equal. We are assured that the American people, owing either to peculiar virtues of their own, or to the blessing of God, or both, have been and are happier than any other people on earth. And it must be confessed that the scholarly treatment of the subject has been controlled more by conventional, individualistic, easy-going views than by conceptions arising out of an inductive examination of society at large.

Looking at America from the standpoint of our guiding conception, the facts take on a different aspect from that which they bear in the popular traditions. American society is a part of western civilization, modified by the physical environment of the New World; and it is not essentially different from society in England, France, and Germany. Its history began in western and central Europe, and around the northern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean, as well as in prehistoric ages.

It affords no more illustration of individualism than any other part of human society; and regarded from the cosmic standpoint, American social development bears witness to the same law of capitalization that we have hitherto traced in prehistoric, ancient, mediæval, and modern times.

The discovery of America was itself a capitalized achievement, both from the material and from the spiritual standpoint. The story of Columbus is familiar; but we hardly pause to think of the significant fact that his great voyage of discovery was made on the basis of a mass of capital in the form of ships, metal and wooden implements, food supplies for a long period, etc. (58). The less famous voyages of discovery and exploration that were made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries represent a large outlay of wealth.

Turning to the settlement of the country, we naturally recur to the first Pilgrim congregation. We find that these people obtained from seventy upper-class merchants a loan of 7,000 English pounds, wherewith to purchase transportation facilities and supplies (59). When we think of the Pilgrims, we imagine them, under the forms of individualism, simply as "people who crossed the ocean;" and we forget, or ignore, the social capital of all kinds, material and intangible, without which their enterprise would have been a failure. And so of American colonization as a whole. European immigration to America flowed out from a society which had been raised from nomadic barbarism into a settled economy wherein a vast and various mass of social capital had been rolled up across fifteen centuries and more of cleavage. European immigration to America has brought the Past with it across the Atlantic. It avails nothing to declare that if the emigrants had been previously permitted to work under conditions of industrial freedom and individualism they could have produced sufficient capital with which to colonize America. Such a thought is wholly beside the question. The Pilgrim fathers themselves upheld private property in

land, the second historical basis of cleavage; and the idea of individualism is only a passing dream.

What would have been the fate of all European emigrants to America if they had been deprived of the capital with which the great enterprize has been accomplished? Before answering this question, it is necessary to inquire further what it would *mean* to deprive European emigrants of capital. It would mean simply reduction to the savage level or lower. All their material and spiritual capital would be taken from them. They would be deprived of ships, metal implements, guns, gunpowder, food supplies in store, the accumulated knowledge of generations, co-operative training and habits of thought. If the emigrants had succeeded in crossing the ocean, it would merely have been another case of barbarian against barbarian, savage against savage; and we are familiar with results under such conditions. In the actual course of history, capitalized European immigration to America has pushed the Indian brother aside like one of the lower animals, and entered into his heritage. When the Israelites conquered Canaan, they intermarried with the Canaanites, and reduced many of them to the lower class. But the social distance between western civilization and Indian barbarism has been so great that the Indian could not permanently compete against the white man, even in the lower class! The closer we look into the subject, the plainer does it become that the forces of organized society in the Old World prepared the way, under the direction of the upper class, for the overflow of western civilization into America; and that the settlement of the population has been accomplished at every stage with the help of material and intangible capital accumulated through cleavage.

We must notice more fully the relation of cleavage to the development of America. From the sixteenth century onward the stream of immigration to the New World has been derived from upper and lower classes, although more of course from the lower. Early colonial society was capitalized by European commercial companies, and by indi-

vidual wealthy persons. Many wealthy persons, indeed, came over in the hope of increasing their fortunes by trade with Europe. Social distinctions were in evidence from the first. Slavery flourished from Florida to Maine. Negroes were imported mostly into the south. In the northern colonies the lower class was more mixed. Indians and negroes were used; but the Indians were more numerous, and the negroes fewer, than at the south. White slavery was everywhere established in a modified form. This was recruited partly from transported convicts who were sold for periods of years, but more largely from the trade in lower class Europeans known as "redemptioners," or "indentured servants." These masses of laborers were used in all kinds of work — agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing. Negro slavery, as is well known, finally became the rule at the south. In the central and northern colonies, Indian slavery continued through the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth. But the modified white slavery, above-mentioned, more and more displaced it as the Indian tribes were driven westward and the tide of immigration rolled in from Europe. The trade in white redemptioners became important in the seventeenth century, swelled to great proportions in the eighteenth, and continued into the early years of the nineteenth. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, an American upper class of wealthy landholders and capitalists had been fully formed. And just as the Indian was crowded out of the lower class by the redemptioner, so the trade in redemptioners died away as the American lower class increased in numbers, and as vast armies of so-called "free laborers" came in from England, Ireland, Italy, Hungary, Germany, Scandinavia, and elsewhere. These native and foreign-born free laborers competed with each other for employment at the hands of the propertied upper class; and it was cheaper to employ such workers than to buy redemptioners (60).

We do not realize as we should the true nature of American history. Never before in all time was there

opened such a tremendous empire of good, unmonopolized soil to the settlement of such a highly capitalized race. This fact is unique. Looking at American history simply from the American standpoint, and without reference to its connection with earlier social evolution in the Old World, we can easily mark its contrast with the histories of such countries as England, Germany, France, Greece, Rome, Egypt, Chaldea, and Israel. Compare the United States with these other nations; and the point that we are trying to illustrate will come clearly out. As we have seen many times, the beginnings of these earlier peoples were made in barbarism and savagery. It was barbarian conquests that laid the foundations of Israel, Egypt, Chaldea, Greece, Rome, England, Germany, and France. It was not until three great civilizations had thus arisen through long centuries of capitalization by cleavage that American history, in the more restricted sense, began. The discovery, exploration, and settlement of America have been capitalized from the Old World. Cleavage has been a great factor from the first. But the presence of good, free soil upon which capital and labor could expand with little or no social restriction made it impossible for the American upper class to acquire an Old World grip on the lower class; and, as a rule, wages have not been so low in America as in Europe. We are speaking now not so much of present American society as of earlier conditions. If America, instead of being the vast continent that it is, had been a strip of soil five hundred miles long and one hundred miles wide, its land would have been promptly monopolized; and the social conditions of the Old World would have been quickly reproduced. Perhaps we should say, "more quickly reproduced;" but this would carry us ahead of our present point. The tradition which connects freedom with America more than with other countries is clearly due to the conjunction of two factors: large and various capital in the broadest sense here given the word, and free land. American freedom is not a creation of

Americans. It is cosmic, whether we approach it from the physical or from the sociological standpoint.

§ 163.—At this point let us once more take up our position in England.

From about the middle of the sixteenth century onward for a period of over two hundred years, until the latter half of the eighteenth century, there were no great nor specially significant changes in the process that we are tracing. On the Continent the Reformation was more tardy of settlement than in England; and that kingdom profited much by the dissensions of its neighbors. Thousands and thousands of thrifty artizans and merchants were driven into England and America. It was in this period that the industrial supremacy of England in western civilization became an accomplished fact. Agriculture, however, still engaged the majority of her people. None of the great labor-saving machines had been introduced. Manufactures were partly carried on by capitalist employers in the towns; and, as in the woolen industry, by country folk, who combined spinning and weaving with the cultivation of small plots of land. There were, of course, many small shops with one workman, like the shoemaker or the blacksmith; but we are speaking mainly of the larger and characteristic tendencies; and it may be profitably noticed, by the way, that these "individual" workmen derived raw material in most cases from an industrial and commercial system organized before their time by the forces that we have been studying. There were, of course, no railroads, telegraphs, nor steamships. Goods were carried slowly on pack-horses and wagons, and in sailing vessels along rivers and over sea. English merchants were now trading with America, Africa, Arabia, India, Holland, Germany, France, Russia, Norway, Italy, Turkey, and other countries. Meanwhile the value of land was rising, irregularly but steadily; and the landed upper class was investing rents in commerce and manufactures, or making loans to the industrial world. But society was turning less to the purely landed class for the accumulation of the

capital upon which all depended. Merchants, out of their surplus, were lending to manufacturers; the latter were lending to the former; and both of these were augmenting their capital, not only out of the profits of sales to the landed class, but from transactions with humbler folk as well. Naturally, however, they still found their most profitable customers in the upper class; while they themselves, we should remember, had invested a goodly part of their wealth in real estate, and were constantly receiving ground rents. It should not be overlooked that the wealth pouring into England through the mighty currents of her world-wide commerce was appropriated from the labor of the lower classes by the economic masters of the countries with which England exchanged her products.

On the whole, this period of about two centuries marks a further increase of capital. Sir William Temple (61), writing in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, remarked as a new thing the many marriages contracted in the preceding fifty years between commercial and landed families. Macaulay (62) takes particular notice of the increasing capital seeking for investment in the period between the Restoration and the Revolution (1660-1688); and the eagerness with which the public took the stock of the great South Sea Company and other schemes, legitimate and illegitimate, in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, showed that the same process of accumulation was going on.

§ 164.—In the latter half of the eighteenth century there began certain great changes, known collectively as the “industrial revolution,” whose influence upon the development of society has been incalculable. Hitherto, as we have seen, there had been no machine industry in the modern sense. But now many labor-saving inventions were brought out; and several great discoveries were made within a short space of time. Their effect was to reinforce the power of man over nature, so that production could be enlarged and perfected to an extent never dreamed of before. Only a brief and suggestive catalog need be given.

The earliest inventions were in the textile industries. The spinning wheel and the hand loom had been used since time out of mind. But now came the flying shuttle of Kay, the spinning jenny of Hargreaves, the spinning frame of Arkwright, the spinning mule of Crompton, the power loom of Cartwright, and the cotton gin of Whitney; and these machines revolutionized the manufacture of cotton, woolen, and linen goods. Until far into the eighteenth century wood had been used for iron-smelting; and the scarcity of fuel, together with primitive methods, had limited the output of metal. But now it was discovered that coal could be used for smelting; an improved air blast was invented; and the modern coal and iron industries were founded. The cardinal factor of power was yet lacking. The great and increasing demand for this was met by James Watt, who improved and practicalized the steam engine. Work which hitherto had been performed by the muscles of man and beast, and the force of wind and water, was now accomplished by a power which could be applied almost everywhere, increasing the efficiency of human effort a million fold. The demand for adequate means of transportation was met by the cutting of canals, and later with railroads and steamships. And such was the outward aspect of the great industrial revolution.

The new machines and processes were thought out by persons in all ranks of society. No class monopolized the initiative. But wherever the original brain might be, its product, in order to be spread abroad in the world, required the help of capital which was already in existence or which could be readily assembled out of the fruits of labor. This was furnished by the manufacturing, commercial, and landed aristocracy. Two suggestive examples will be given; but the fact ought not to require much illustration. Of Watt, the improver of the steam engine, and of the circumstances connected with the introduction of this machine to the world, we learn the following:

“It was his good fortune to be early supported by Dr. John Roebuck, a man of singular enterprize and ability,

who carried on large ironworks on the Carron, in Stirlingshire, and afterwards, when Roebuck had been ruined, to be taken into partnership by Matthew Bolton, the head of the great ironworks at Soho, near Birmingham. Assisted by the capital and labor at the disposal of a great manufacturer, the most splendid inventive genius of the eighteenth century had full scope to display itself" (63).

"In 1776 Watt's engine . . . was a success. Orders came in fast . . . Saw-mills in America, sugar-mills in the West Indies, paper-mills, flour-mills, engines for flint-grinding in the potteries, were ordered in quick succession. In 1785 one was ordered for a silk-mill in Macclesfield, and one was built for Robinson's cotton-mill at Papplewick, in Nottinghamshire. The first engines in Manchester and Glasgow were set to work in 1789 and 1792 respectively. In fact, between 1780 and 1800 the steam engine was established as the motive power of the day" (64).

Concerning the introduction of canals we read to similar effect:

"Francis, Duke of Bridgewater, . . . was the possessor of collieries at Worsley whose value depended on their finding a market at the neighboring town of Manchester and it was to bring his coal to this market that he resolved to drive a canal from the mine to the river Irwell. With singular good luck he found a means of carrying out his design in a self-taught mechanic, James Brindley. But in Brindley's mind the scheme widened far beyond the plans of the duke . . . , and, instead of ending in the Irwell, he carried the duke's canal by an aqueduct across that river to Manchester itself" (65).

"Barton aqueduct was built, and the whole canal completed . . . in 1761, and the price of coal in Manchester fell from 7d. per cwt. to 3½d. Not content with this, the duke set Brindley to work at once on another canal connected with the first at Longford bridge and going to Runcorn. This was also successfully carried through, at a cost of £220,000. Long before it was finished the duke

was at his wit's end for money. On one occasion he sent his steward around to collect scraps of rent in advance to pay his workmen" (66).

"What Brindley had discovered was, in fact, the water-road, a means of carrying heavy goods with the least resistance, and therefore the least cost, from the point of production to the point of sale; and England at once seized on his discovery to free itself from the bondage in which it had been held. From the year 1767, when Brindley completed his enterprize, a net-work of such water-roads was flung over the country; and before the movement had spent its force, Great Britain alone was traversed in every direction by three thousand miles of navigable canals. To English trade the canal opened up the richest of all markets, the market of England itself. Every part of the country was practically thrown open to the manufacturer; and the impulse which was given by this facility of carriage was at once felt in a vast development of production" (67).

The capitalizing of the industrial revolution, however, was more than a physical matter. The revolution was a great mental movement on the basis of a huge volume of intangible capital which had been slowly accumulated by the experience of three historic civilizations.

§ 165.— Looking around us in present-day society, we see a huge industrial plant which millions of people utilize in preparing the earth's resources in support of life. This plant is technically known as "capital." Looking at it first on the material side, and attempting a brief but suggestive enumeration, it consists of such things as factory buildings, with tools, machinery, and appliances of all kinds; agricultural implements; domestic utensils; mining machinery, railroad tracks, cars and engines; steamships; business blocks; dwelling houses, etc., etc. If it were all gathered together and piled up in one place, what a huge mountain of art it would make!

But material forms of capital imply intangible forms of it. And who can rightly estimate the quantity and

variety of the intangible capital now lying at the disposal of men? Concerning intellectual achievements Mr. Benjamin Kidd well says: "They are not the colossal products of individual minds amongst us; they are all the results of small accumulations of knowledge slowly and painfully made and added to by many minds through an indefinite number of generations in the past, every addition to this store of knowledge affording still greater facilities for further additions" (68). Accumulated knowledge may be taken as representing intangible capital.

The two general forms of capital, indeed, go together, and are accumulated together; and we may work up to the illustration of our thesis from either standpoint. Referring broadly to both forms of capital, Mr. Bellamy has well said: "All that man produces to-day more than did his cave dwelling ancestors, he produces by virtue of the accumulated achievements, inventions, and improvements of the intervening generations, together with the social and industrial machinery which is their legacy . . . . Nine hundred and ninety-nine parts out of the thousand of every man's produce are the result of his social inheritance and environment" (69).

Our prehistoric ancestors of the stone age, and of still earlier times, dragged out their miserable lives with little or no capital of any kind. And what should we of western civilization do, if, at birth, we were thrust into the midst of the primitive struggle for existence? What would distinguish us from our prehistoric ancestors? Nothing of moment. Prehistoric men could not invent the telegraph, discover the differential calculus, build a sky scraper, nor construct a steam engine; and we, if removed at birth from all contact with civilization, with its accumulated capital of all kinds, could not surpass the achievements of our primitive ancestors. We too, growing up from birth wholly outside the influence of civilization, should live the animal existence of primeval men.

The vast and various capital around us in modern society, then, has been produced by the aid of earlier capital, which, in turn, rested back upon still earlier, and so on. Broadly speaking, capital has developed along with the evolution of society. Let us here confine ourselves, for the sake of simplicity, to its material forms. Having been reserved out of labor products, thrown over from generation to generation, and renewed and added to, capital has at length — across the flight of time and the mutations of mortality — accumulated into that vast industrial plant which is employed today in working up the earth's resources into the form of consumable goods.

Now, according to the present thesis, the *principal* agency whereby this industrial outfit has become a concrete fact in society is to be found in social cleavage, based at first on personal slavery and serfdom which, in modern times, have been commuted into competitive land rents.

This vast collective process, continually piling up a greater and greater mass of social capital, has gone forward under the forms of individualism; and, moreover, the psychology of society is still individualistic. Persons who possess wealth, whether in small or in large amounts, think and speak about their own and other people's wealth in the individualistic way. We say, "There is a man who began life with little or nothing. But by industry and economy he has accumulated fifty millions;" and we thoughtlessly accept this account as the whole and exact truth. But there is no individual fortune in civilization which is not practically social in its origin and which does not derive significance more from society than from the person identified with it. The history of individual fortunes can be expressed by an almost unvarying general formula which involves the proposition of cleavage. "The rich man," says Frederick Harrison (and he could as well have said the small property holder), "is simply the man who has managed to put himself at the end of a long chain, or into the center of an intricate convolu-

tion, and whom society and law suffer to retain the joint product conditionally" (70).

Our inquiry could fitly be brought to a period at this point. But the disturbances now agitating society are such that we can hardly close without a word in regard to the bearing of social cleavage upon present conditions. We have seen that the oriental and classic civilizations, after emerging upon the stage of history, developed a social problem which grew out of the great fact of cleavage; and, unless we are mistaken, western society is reproducing the conditions of its predecessors in this respect. It will hardly be disputed that cleavage has an important bearing of some kind upon the present social problem; and our idea of its relation to contemporary questions is briefly indicated in the following chapter.

(1)—STRABO, in Schrader's *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryans* (London, 1890. Jevons' trans.), p. 281.

(2)—GROSS, *Sources and Literature of English History* (London, 1900), p. 55. Cf. CUNNINGHAM, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (Cambridge, 1896), I, pp. 26, 27.

(3)—HOLMES, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul* (London, 1899), pp. 12, 13. TACITUS, *Germania*, chap. 25. Cf. STUBBS, *Constitutional History of England* (Oxford, 1875), sec. 14.

(4)—HALLAM, *Europe in the Middle Ages*, Chap. 7. Cf. MOTLEY, *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, Introduction, sec. 5. Cf. BLOK, *History of the People of the Netherlands* (N. Y., 1898. Bierstadt and Putnam's trans.), I, p. 170f. Cf. HENDERSON, *Germany in the Middle Ages* (LONDON, 1894), pp. 34, 135. Cf. TUTTLE, *History of Prussia* (Boston, 1884), pp. 26, 58.

(5)—KEMBLE, *The Saxons in England* (London, 1876), II, p. 358. Cf. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (any ed.), item "Anno 657."

(6)—PEARSON, *History of England* (London, 1867), I, p. 383.

(7)—GNEIST, *History of the English Constitution* (N. Y., 1886. Ashworth's trans.), II, p. 155. Cf. PEARSON, *History of England*, I, pp. 314, 635. Cf. PUTNAM, *Books and Their Makers in the Middle Ages* (N. Y., 1899), Preface. Cf. MACAULAY, *History of England*, chap. 3.

(8)—VINOGRADOFF, *Villainage in England* (Oxford, 1892), p. 178. Cf. POLLOCK AND MAITLAND, *History of English Law* (Cambridge, 1895), I, p. 38.

(9)—On the English lower class, Cf. SEEBOHM, *The English Village Community* (London, 1884), pp. 89-97. POLLOCK AND MAITLAND, *History of English Law*, I, pp. 11-13, 395-416. KEMBLE, *The Saxons in England*, I, pp. 185-225. MAITLAND, *Domesday Book and Beyond* (Cambridge, 1897), pp. 26-66. STUBBS, *Constitutional History of England*, sec. 132. Same in *France and Germany: MOMBERT, Charles the Great* (N. Y., 1888), pp. 64, 65.

(10)—VINOGRADOFF, *Villainage in England*, p. 57.

(11)—BEDE, *Ecclesiastical History of England* (London, Giles' ed.), ix.

(12)—PAULI, *Life of Alfred* (London, 1878), p. 227.

(13)—JANSSEN, *History of the German People* (St. Louis. Mitchell and Christie's trans.), II, pp. 1-3.

(14)—LAPSLEY, in *English Historical Review*, XIV, p. 515.

(15)—STUBBS, *Constitutional History of England* (Oxford, 1878), III, p. 610.

(16)—ROGERS, *History of English Agriculture and Prices* (Oxford, 1866), I, pp. 160, 161. Cf. TURNER, *History of the Anglo-Saxons* (London, 1828), III, p. 83. STUBBS, *Constitutional History*, III, pp. 606, 607. GNEIST, *History of the English Constitution*, II, pp. 105, 106.

(17)—HALLAM, *Europe in the Middle Ages*, chap. 9. ADAMS, *Civilization During the Middle Ages* (N. Y., 1894), pp. 279, 280.

(18)—TURNER, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, III, p. 115.

(19)—ASHLEY, *English Economic History* (N. Y., 1894), I, p. 115.

(20)—SEEBOHM, *The English Village Community*, pp. 82, 83. PEARSON, *History of England*, I, Appendix C.

(21)—KNIGHT, *History of England* (N. Y., Lovell), pp. 441, 442.

(22)—Cf. BOURNE, *English Merchants* (London, 1866), pp. 65-68. GRUBE, *Heroes of History and Legend* (London, 1880), chap. 13. GIBBINS, *Industry in England* (London, 1896), p. 138. STUBBS, *Select Charters* (1884), p. 65. IDEM, *Constitutional History of England*, III, pp. 595, 596.

(23)—ASHLEY, *English Economic History* (N. Y., 1894), I, p. 97.

(24)—HENDERSON, *Germany in the Middle Age* (London, 1894), p. 417.

(25)—GREEN, *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1894), chaps. 7, 8, 9. STUBBS, *Constitutional History*, I, pp. 425, 426.

(26)—Cf. JANSSEN, *History of the German People*, II, pp. 1-3. TURNER, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, III, p. 105. HALLAM, *Europe in the Middle Ages*, chap. 9. TRAILL, *Social England* (N. Y., 1898), I, p. 207. ASHLEY, *English Economic History* (N. Y., 1898), II, p. 219.

(27)—GROSS, *The Gild Merchant* (Oxford, 1890), I, pp. 5-8. Cf. TRAILL, *Social England* (N. Y., 1897), II, pp. 109, 265, 556.

(28)—GROSS, *The Gild Merchant*, I, p. 107.

(29)—Cf. GREEN, *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*, I, pp. 53, 54.

- (30)—POLLOCK AND MAITLAND, *History of English Law*, I, p. 633. VINOGRADOFF, *Villainage in England*, p. 86.
- (31)—Cf. TRAILL, *Social England*, II, p. 111.
- (32)—GREEN, *Town Life*, I, pp. 53, 54.
- (33)—ROGERS, *Six Centuries of Work and Wages* (N. Y., Putnam's), p. 338. ASHLEY *English Economic History*, II, p. 100. TRAILL, *Social England*, II, 556.
- (34)—ROGERS, *English Agric. and Prices*, I, p. 530.
- (35)—IDEM, *Work and Wages*, p. 338. GREEN, *Town Life*, II, p. 66f.
- (36)—GROSS, *The Gild Merchant*, I, p. 116.
- (37)—VINOGRADOFF, *Villainage*, pp. 178, 291, 306. Cf. *Eng. Hist. Review*, XV, *The Disappearance of English Serfdom*.
- (38)—Cf. GROSS, *The Gild Merchant*, I, p. 51. ROGERS, *Work and Wages*, pp. 339, 340. IDEM, *Agric. and Prices*, IV, pp. 106-109. CUNNINGHAM, *English Industry, etc.*, I, pp. 440, 453. TRAILL, *Social England* (N. Y., 1898), III, p. 121. ASHLEY, *Eng. Econ. Hist.*, II, 169.
- (39)—CUNNINGHAM, *English Industry*, I, p. 506f. ASHLEY, *Eng. Econ. Hist.*, I, p. 92. IDEM, *The English Woolen Industry* (*American Economic Asso.*, 1887), pp. 45-53, 75-84. Cf. *Eng. Hist. Review*, XII, p. 437f.
- (40)—GREEN, *Town Life*, II, chap. 4. WEBB, *History of Trade Unionism* (London, 1894), p. 37, note.
- (41)—ASHLEY, *Eng. Econ. Hist.*, I, p. 103. Cf. *Eng. Hist. Review*, V, p. 652. GROSS, *The Gild Merchant*, I, p. 125. GREEN, *Short History of the English People*, Book 4, sec. 4. IDEM, *History of the English People*, Book 5, chap. 1. GUIZOT, *Civilization in Europe*, Lect. 13. TRAILL, *Social England*, II, pp. 397, 407.
- (42)—ROGERS, *Work and Wages*, p. 360. Cf. ADAMS, *Civilization and Decay* (N. Y., 1897), chap. 7.
- (43)—TREVELYAN, *England in the Age of Wicliffe* (London, 1899), p. 170.
- (44)—WIKLIFFE, *Select English Works* (Oxford, 1869-1871. Arnold's ed.), III, pp. 216, 217.
- (45)—BLACKSTONE, *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (N. Y., 1890. Chase's ed.), p. 423. Cf. FROUDE, *History of England* (N. Y., 1873), I, p. 328f. BAIRD, *Rise of the Huguenots of France* (N. Y.), I, p. 61f.
- (46)—MOTLEY, *Rise of the Dutch Republic* (Phila., McKay), I, p. 77.
- (47)—IDEM, p. 272.
- (48)—GREEN, *Hist. of the Eng. People*, Book 6, chap. 1.
- (49)—IDEM, Book 6, chap. 5.
- (50)—IDEM, Book 7, chap. 2.
- (51)—BAGEHOT, *The English Constitution* (N. Y., 1890), pp. 19, 20. Cf. SEIGNOBOS, *The Political History of Europe Since 1814* (N. Y., 1900. Macvane's ed.), pp. 19, 20.

(52)—MACAULAY, *Miscellanies*, on Nugent's Hampden, pars. 107, 108. Cf. HALLAM, *Constitutional History of England* (N. Y., 1880), I, pp. 597, 610.

(53)—LECKY, *England in the Eighteenth Century* (N. Y., 1888), I, p. 203.

(54)—GARDINER, *History of England* (London, 1884), IX, p. 158.

(55)—LATIMER, *First Sermon Before Edward VI* (Parker Soc.).

(56)—GREEN, *History of the English People*, Book 5, chap. 1.

(57)—LATIMER, *First Sermon*, etc.

(58)—See the conservative estimate of the cost of Columbus' first voyage in FISKE, *The Discovery of America* (Boston, 1896), I, pp. 418, 419.

(59)—Cf. FISKE, *The Beginnings of New England* (Boston, 1900), p. 80. Cf. BRADFORD, *History of Plimouth Plantation* (Mass. State ed., Boston).

(60)—Cf. on American social cleavage, the following: EGGLESTON, *The Transit of Civilization* (N. Y., 1901), p. 294f. FISHER, *The Colonial Era* (N. Y., 1897), pp. 61, 75, 109, 159, 253, 254. McCRADY, *South Carolina Under the Proprietary Government* (N. Y., 1897), p. 477f. IDEM, *South Carolina Under the Royal Government* (N. Y., 1901), pp. 143f, 399f. MERENESS, *Maryland as a Proprietary Province* (N. Y., 1901), chap. 5. BROWNE, *Maryland* (Boston, 1884), pp. 179-183. WEEDEN, *Economic and Social History of New England* (Boston, 1890), I, pp. 84, 85, 99, 149, 400; II, 449, 520, 763, 834. BRUCE, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century* (N. Y., 1896), I, p. 572; II, pp. 1f, 57f. McMASTER, *History of the People of the United States* (N. Y., 1900), V, chaps. 43 and 44.

(61)—LECKY, *England in the Eighteenth Century* (N. Y., 1888), I, p. 209. Cf. HARRISON, *Description of England*, Book 3, chap. 4.

(62)—MACAULAY, *History of England*, chap. 19. Cf. TRAILL, *Social England*, IV, pp. 115, 116.

(63)—LECKY, *England in the Eighteenth Century* (N. Y., 1887), VI, p. 216.

(64)—TRAILL, *Social England* (N. Y., 1899), V, pp. 461-463. Cf. SMILES, *Lives of the Engineers*, chap. 8.

(65)—GREEN, *History of the English People*, Book 9, chap. 3.

(66)—TRAILL, *Social England*, V, p. 323.

(67)—GREEN, as above. Cf. *The Dictionary of National Biography* (English), under the names "Watt," "Brindley," "Bridgewater," "Roe-buck," etc., etc., for important material relative to social cleavage. One who can read between the lines will find this Dictionary a mine of suggestion. The general sociological value of biography does not seem to be fully appreciated as yet.

(68)—KIDD, *Social Evolution* (N. Y., 1895), p. 286.

(69)—*Contemporary Review*, July, 1890.

(70)—*Forum*, Dec., 1893.

## CHAPTER VIII.

---

### WESTERN CIVILIZATION (CONTINUED).

---

§ 166.— For the last three centuries the great human tide has been setting across the Atlantic. Hardly pausing on the eastern coasts of America, it has flowed on into the West, sweeping the Indian before it. When the great modern exodus began, all the best land in Europe had been appropriated by the upper class; and the enclosure of the soil there is now complete. In the United States of America at the present time it is a simple fact that all the desirable territory once open to the settler is locked in the grasp of private right, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It is not that the present population of America is too great for the country, nor that the country is settled up to its full capacity; but it is that the unused land of America, like the unused land of Europe, is appropriated, and held at a price. The vacant building lots in and around cities and towns, the empire of unused farming soil, the mining lands whence metals, coal and oil are taken — all these natural opportunities and resources are held on speculation. The situation which has become chronic in Europe is being reproduced in America. The enclosure of the soil in Europe and America has been so well set forth by Henry George that we quote from him. The passage reproduced below was written as far back as 1883; and remarks about conditions at that time apply now with even more force.

“Twelve months ago, when the hedges were blooming I passed along a lovely English road. . . . On one side of the road was a wide expanse of rich land, in which no plow-share had that season been struck, because its owner

demanded a higher rent than the farmers would give. On the other, stretched, for many a broad acre, a lordly park, its velvety verdure untrodden save by a few light-footed deer. And, as we passed along, my companion, a native of those parts, complained bitterly that, since this lord of the manor had enclosed the little village green and set out his fences to take in the grass of the roadside, the cottagers could not keep even a goose, and the children of the village had no place to play! Place there was in plenty, but, so far as the children were concerned, it might as well be in Africa or in the moon. And so in our Far West, I have seen emigrants toiling painfully for long distances through vacant land without finding a spot on which they dared settle. . . There is plenty of vacant land on Manhattan Island. But on Manhattan Island human beings are packed closer than anywhere else in the world. . . . The social pressure which forces on our shores this swelling tide of immigration arises not from the fact that the land of Europe is all in use, but that it is all appropriated. . . We still talk of our vast public domain, and figures showing millions and millions of acres of unappropriated public land yet swell grandly in the reports of our Land Office. But already [1883] it is so difficult to find public land fit for settlement, that the great majority of those wishing to settle find it cheaper to buy, and rents in California and the New Northwest run from quarter to even one-half the crop. It must be remembered that the area which yet figures in the returns of our public domain includes all the great mountain chains, all the vast deserts and dry plains fit only for grazing, or not even for that; it must be remembered that of what is really fertile, millions and millions are covered by railroad grants as yet unpatented, or what amounts to the same thing to the settler, are shadowed by them; that much is held by appropriation of the water, without which it is useless; and that much more is held under claims of various kinds, which, whether legal or illegal, are sufficient to keep the settler off unless he will consent to pay a price,

or to mortgage his labor for years. . . . To the very farthest corners of the Republic settlers are already going. The pressure is already so great that speculation and settlement are beginning to cross the northern border into Canada and the southern border into Mexico; so great that land is being settled and is becoming valuable that a few years ago would have been rejected — land where winter lasts for six months and the thermometer goes down into the forties below zero; land where, owing to insufficient rainfall, a crop is always a risk; land that cannot be cultivated at all without irrigation. . . . There is not today remaining in the United States any considerable body of good land unsettled and unclaimed, upon which settlers can go with the prospect of finding a homestead on Government terms. Already the tide of settlement presses angrily upon the Indian reservations, and but for the power of the general government would sweep over them. . . . We may see what is coming by the avidity with which capitalists, and especially foreign capitalists, who realize what is the value of land where none is left over which population may freely spread, are purchasing land in the United States. This movement has been going on quietly, for some years, until now there is scarcely a rich English peer or wealthy English banker who does not, either individually or as the member of some syndicate, own a great tract of our new land, and the purchase of large bodies for foreign account is going on every day. It is with these absentee landlords that our coming millions must make terms" (1).

After reading this passage, written in 1883, it is interesting to notice a paragraph on the editorial page of *The Ohio State Journal*, for May 22, 1899, which observes that "the increased demand for land has induced the government officials to expedite surveying and placing on the market the remaining unoccupied government lands in the West."

In the same connection an editorial in *The Farmer's Voice*, Chicago, January 26, 1901, may be read with profit.

“The growing scarcity of land and the hunger of man for a place he may call his own are never more graphically illustrated than during one of those rushes for land like the one in 1889, when the free land of Oklahoma territory was thrown open to settlement. Who can forget the mingled tragedy and comedy of that exciting time and not pray that its like may never come again! Yet there is in prospect just such another scene of brutality, outrage and murder, for at this moment thousands of men are waiting on the borders of other vast areas of land, prepared to make the run of their lives to secure the land soon to be thrown open. This land comprises about 3,800,000 acres, and is composed of reservations in Oklahoma ceded to the United States since 1895 by the Wichitas and affiliated bands of Indians, and the Comanches, Kiowas and Apaches in the southern and southwestern portions of the territory. . . . The passing of the land of the people is a sad moment in the history of our country. As we go in and out about Chicago, travel through Illinois, or Michigan, or Indiana, and see the millions of acres of virgin land — land that never grew a crop, yet which is held at prohibitive prices — and consider at the same moment the millions who now are landless, and the new-born children who are coming into times when there is left for them no heritage in land such as awaited their parents born under our flag — as we contemplate this condition we are compelled to question the future. Lord Macaulay said that so long as we had a vent in free land the safety of our nation was secure, but he foresaw troublous times when the people could no longer go out to the land and establish homes for themselves.”

§167.— The land problem has been ably treated by Henry George. Earlier writers, among whom were Thomas Spence (1775) and Patrick Dove (1850), have dealt with the problem to the same issue (2); but Mr. George will always justly stand out as the greatest student of the subject. The principal differences between his apprehension of the problem and our view of it arise out of

historical facts over which no theories can ride. Mr. George discusses the land problem with no systematic reference to history; while, according to the view held by the writer, the land problem is correctly apprehended only in an evolutionary setting. Mr. George developed his views at a time when the newer conceptions of history and of society had not acquired the depth and breadth which they now have. Much excellent work on the source-materials of history, which had not been accomplished when Mr. George formed his ideas, have been at our disposal. It is quite possible to discuss the land problem in its contemporary bearings, without reference to the past; and it is in this practical respect, we think, that the services of Mr. George will be appraised by posterity.

Mr. George's presentation of the land problem was confused with an inadmissible individualism. In harmony with conventional, orthodox economics of the old school, he assumed that capital possesses, or ought to possess, only an individualistic significance. He was tacitly in the position of imagining individual producers peacefully at work through all ages developing the earth's resources, and reserving part of their products in the form of capital, as an aid to future production. If he had been interrupted in the midst of an individualistic argument by a student of social cleavage, he was in the position of brushing aside such an interruption with the remark, "If capital has not been freely accumulated by individuals it ought to have been." Over against the background of individualism, he introduces the central villain, the landowner, who spoils the play; and we see ground rents ascending into the regions where the landowner dwells, a useless creature, devouring the earnings of capitalists and laborers in luxury and riotous living. We are asked to take this *a priori* account of the situation as a true picture of the real world in which we live. The treatment is wholly statical. There is nothing said about the historical conditions reckoned with in the present inquiry. Mr. George's writings are not calculated to give the reader any appreciation of the vast

and various capital existing in society. "The value of a building," he says, "like the value of goods, or of anything properly styled wealth, is produced by individual exertion, and therefore properly belongs to the individual" (3). It is true that most of the wealth of society belongs to the individual; but how much of the wealth of society derives its origin and significance from the individuals who own it? It is hard to see how any single taxpayer whose attention has been adequately directed upon the facts of history can remain an individualist. Unless we are preoccupied, how can we fail to see that there is rolled up across the centuries an ever increasing mass of capital which is largely formed upon the lines of cleavage? How can we fail to see that the further society advances along the path of progress and of time, the *more* it comes under bonds to the past, and the *less* is its capital due to the labor of individuals living at the moment? Mr. George did not notice the social nature of capital; nor did he reckon with cleavage as an element in the capitalization of society. He did not emphasize that the owners of capital have mostly saved it, not out of their own labor, but out of the labor of the lower class. He missed the fact that society is a collectivism developing under the forms of individualism; and he took the current individualistic psychology of society at its face value without going beneath the form to the substance.

Mr. George also mingled with his economics inadmissible propositions about "absolute ethics," which must be ignored in order to reach the essence of his work. He was at his strongest when he said nothing about absolute ethics, and confined himself to the contemporary economics of the land problem. He was at his weakest when he trenched upon those profound problems of conduct which have baffled philosophical thinkers far greater than he. When Mr. George was in the ethical frame of mind, he imagined that the future adjustment of the land problem would be based upon grounds of "absolute ethics." Private appropriation of rent for the use of the land,

which no man has created, thought Mr. George, is absolutely wrong under any and all circumstances. Slavery likewise ought never to have existed. That great social cleavage which is revealed by history ought never to have been found among men. No good comes from it. From the earliest age onward, according to Mr. George, human society ought to have been organized under a democratic, individualistic system wherein every man possessed his inalienable "rights." Mr. George's presentation of the land problem, then, was mixed with much archaic ethical philosophy. He worked in a transition era; and belonged at once to the present and the past. Any future adjustment of the land problem will be based, not upon "absolute ethics," but upon the solid grounds of contemporary expediency where Mr. George was strongest.\*

The land problem has been so ably treated by Mr. George and others that there is no excuse for going into it here at any length. Ample presentations of it are contained in the works whereof a list will be found in the bibliography at the rear of this book. The brief treatment which follows can do no more than suggest the situation.

§ 168.—The existing social regime places land in the same category as things produced *from* the earth's resources by human labor; and attempts to tax land on the assumption that there is no difference between property in the earth and property in things produced from the earth's resources. It is a natural and legitimate result of this system that speculation in unused land is encouraged. As population multiplies and spreads out, the reduction of the soil to private ownership runs ahead of the actual needs of settlement; and presently the society finds itself in the midst of a complete land monopoly.

Land being thus treated as an object which may be exchanged for other objects, or sold for a cash price, or leased, or taxed, like any other item of property, it follows that there is a constant pressure to realize from land as

---

\* Expediency will secure for men those rights which some philosophers imagine to be inherent and absolute.

much rent as possible. The selling price of land is calculated, in the long run, with reference to the rent that can be got for it. In the use of capital in all kinds of enterprise there is, first, a heavy private charge for land; and, second, a heavy public charge by way of taxation. If a capitalist undertakes to erect a dwelling house in a city, and has no suitable building lot, he must rent or purchase appropriate land whereon to build. Building lots, like all other land, vary in price. We will suppose that our capitalist pays \$1,500 for a site. Some sites are worth far more, and some far less. On a location commanding \$1,500 would be placed a house costing from two to three times as much — say \$3,500. This would bring the total value of the property up to \$5,000. Our capitalist must now pay an annual tax on this total value. We will place the tax rate at  $2\frac{1}{2}$ ; and suppose that the property is assessed at two-thirds of its value. This means an annual payment of about \$83. Thus, in order to erect a \$3,500 house, our capitalist is compelled to pay \$1,500 for a site and \$83 annual tax in addition. This case illustrates a universal fact. The earth being held as private property, and assessed for taxation on the same basis as property produced from the earth's resources by human labor, all investments of capital must, in the long run, be made to yield ground rent and taxes.

§ 169.— At the same time we must note the effect of systems of taxation which, in harmony with our present regime of property, throw land into the same category with wealth produced from the resources of the land.

The testimony of experience is, that such systems bear with greater proportional weight upon agricultural property of all kinds than upon city property, and more heavily upon the smaller holders of all kinds of city property than upon the larger holders. Our study of the history of Israel showed us the crushing out of the smaller land monopolists in the agricultural districts; the concentration of the property of Israel in the hands of the city magnates; and the dramatic protest of the country against

the city. The same process of concentration has been coming to pass in western civilization in modern times. It began earlier, and has proceeded further, in Europe than in America; but its progress in America is more rapid with each passing decade. The present system of taxation causes increasing unrest and inquiry. In 1879, the State of California, for instance, adopted a new constitution at the behest of the agricultural classes, under which it was expected that the rustic population would be relieved of its disproportionate tax burdens. But as a matter of course, the new constitution has brought no relief to the class that voted for it. The experience of California is that of all the American and European states. In Ohio, Governor McKinley appointed a commission to investigate the workings of taxation in that state. The commission reported in 1893, showing that the agricultural counties paid more than the wealthy city counties in proportion to their property. The over-taxation of farmers, and small property owners in general, in country and city, is elaborately demonstrated by the 1894 report of the Illinois State Bureau of Labor Statistics. The same fact, again, is proved by an investigation summarized in a pamphlet issued in 1897 by the United States Department of Agriculture (Division of Statistics, Circular No. 5). Mayor Johnson, of Cleveland, Ohio, also declares that the smaller property owners pay relatively more than the larger holders. In the course of a signed statement issued in 1900 after a careful investigation, he says:

“Small shops and homes, including the rented homes of the poorer people, are assessed relatively higher than any other real estate in the city. A great majority of these small properties, valued at less than two thousand dollars, are assessed at more than 60 per cent of their true value, some being actually assessed at more than the owners offer to sell the property for . . . The more valuable properties, those assessed at more than \$2,000 each, show great variations, and generally the more valuable pieces are assessed at the lowest rates. . . The rule

is almost universal that the valuable properties are assessed low, while the least valuable are assessed high."

It is often claimed that this state of things can be remedied by electing honest assessors. But while the evils of a system of state revenue which places land in the same category as other things may be palliated, they can be relieved only by a radical reform of the system itself.

§ 170.—Let us now glance at the upper and lower classes under the present regime.

We have seen that from prehistoric times down to the present there has existed a vast lower stratum which has never been a propertied class. At present, throughout western civilization as a whole, the lower class comprises the larger part of the community. It is personally free; but in order to live, and provide for immediate bodily needs, it must apply to the upper class, which owns most of the capital and land of Europe and America. In other words, the members of the lower class must compete with each other for work. A small minority of skilled laborers command high wages; but this has no effect on the general situation. The essential fact lying behind the relations between upper and lower classes in contemporary society has been so well set forth by Professor Small that we quote from a paper by him.

"It will possibly be news to many men, who look from the calm heights of professional position upon the struggles of organized wage-earners, that only those children who inherit a title to land or its use are born into a legally protected right to earn a living. Other children may inherit money or equivalent personal property, and so long as it lasts the law will protect them in its use. Then they must apply, with the crowd born without inheritance, to those who possess the land, for the privilege of working in further support of life. . . . A social system which incorporates the assumption that a portion of society may righteously monopolize the productive forces of nature, so that other men must ask the permission of the monopolists to draw on the resources of nature, practically de-

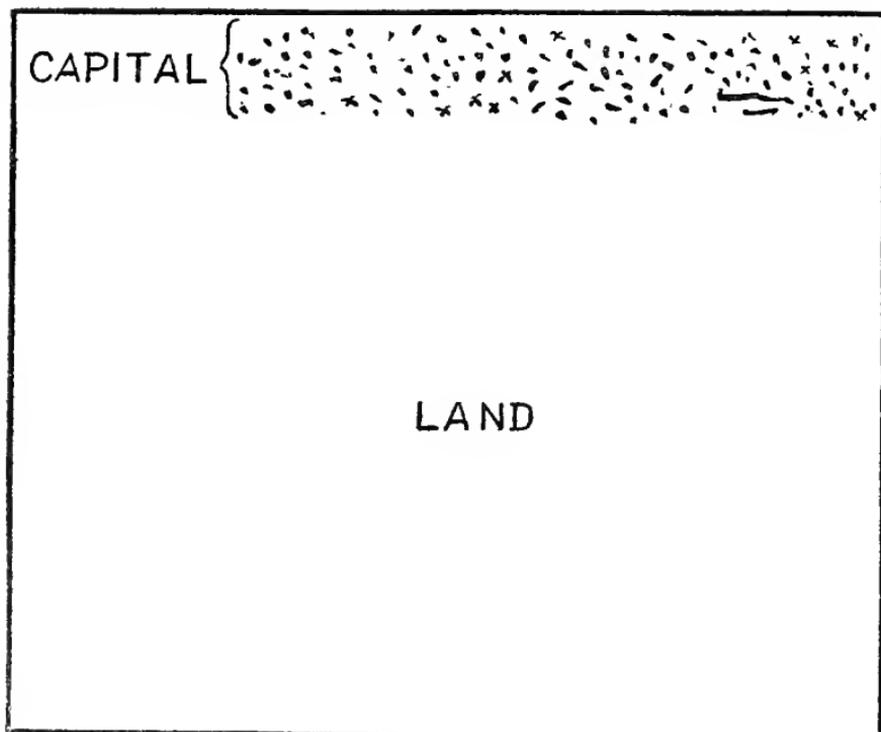
nies to the unprivileged class not merely a rightful share of goods, but an intrinsic claim to any share at all. In other words, it establishes at least two castes among men, the caste of the propertied and the caste of the pauperized. Failure to perceive the literal truth of these propositions is due to sheer weakness of the imagination. We all understand that if a farmer is forced from his land, the law allows him no claim to any other land except a life lease of a place at the poor farm. We understand that if a weaver or a switchman loses his job no law compels another employer to hire him. Few men outside the wage-earning class have fairly taken in the meaning of this familiar situation. If a bookkeeper, or salesman, or teacher, or doctor, or lawyer, or minister be thrown out of employment, with no title to land, and no property in stocks controlling natural agencies, he is literally a man without a country. Whatever his personal ability to extract the supply of his wants from nature's resources, the opportunity is closed. He has no stock in nature. The resources of the world are divided up among the members of the propertied caste, and the remainder of men depend upon the members of this caste for permission to get a share of nature by labor in improving nature" (4).

§ 171.— The present social problem in western civilization (at least on its economic side) is now before us in rough outline. We see the conditions under which the use of capital in all kinds of enterprise must yield ground rent and taxes; in which an ill adjusted revenue system burdens the smaller holders of all kinds of property more heavily in proportion than the larger holders; and in which the members of a vast unpropertied lower class are forced to compete with each other for employment at the hands of those who hold most of the capital and laud of the community.

Various interpretations are put upon this problem, from diverse points of view. The only ones, however, which can be accorded the merit of approaching the situ-

ation from the standpoint of radical analysis are, we think, two — that of the single taxers, and that of the socialists. The discerning reader will perceive that the momentum of our general thesis carries us in between the single tax and socialism. Concerning the latter we shall have something to say presently. Meanwhile we turn to the former.

§ 172.—The single taxer would shift the incidence of taxation from wealth produced out of the earth's resources to the value of land itself. In order to illustrate this proposition, we may picture the capital and unused land at the disposal of society as in the accompanying diagram. If there were imposed on all land, used and unused, a tax equal, or approximately equal, to its market value, the conditions confronting the investment of the capital which society has accumulated would be far simpler than at present. It would be manifestly impossi-



ble to hold vacant land out of use. It is not that under such a regime all unused land, or even a thousandth part of it, would at once come into use. But it is that the bars now up would be down, for no person or corporation, however wealthy, could afford to pay taxes equal to the rental value of property which was yielding no income. The laying of a tax on land up to its full value would be equal to opening all unused soil to settlement and improvement. We say nothing about the effect of such a measure upon improved property, leaving that by the way temporarily. Under the present method, the capitalist in the illustration already taken was compelled to pay, first, a heavy private charge for improving the vacant land; second, a heavy public charge annually in support of government. Under the proposed method, the capitalist could improve the unused building land at an annual public charge equal or almost equal to its rental value and go free of taxation on the improvements. To one who has not looked into this question, it seems as if there is a juggle of some sort here, in which some factor has been eliminated from the reckoning. For such, we advise a closer consideration of the facts thus far cited in connection with the problem.

§ 173.—The land problem really centers about the question of capital; and the slogan of the single taxer ought to be not "Free land," nor "Equal Rights," nor "Special Privileges to None;" but simply "Encouragement of Capital." According to our general view, cleavage into upper and lower classes has been the principal factor in the accumulation of social capital. Cleavage is originally based upon personal ownership of the lower class by the upper; and later upon ownership of the soil whereon all must live. As population multiplies, the enclosure of unused land exceeds the normal demands of settlement. Presently we have a condition wherein all the land is reduced to private ownership. At this point the evils of cleavage as based on landownership begin to overbalance its benefits; and we have the social problem of, say, oriental or classic civilization, or present western so-

ciety in Europe and America. Non-taxation of land up to its full value, in contrast with heavy taxation of it, operates to discourage the freest investment of capital in all kinds of enterprize — agricultural, mining, manufacturing, commercial, domestic. Private property in land, as identified with private appropriation of rent for the use of the earth, is defensible only as a temporary basis of that cleavage whereby social capital is accumulated. When sufficient social capital has been amassed, the continued reduction of unused soil to private and speculative ownership interposes obstructions to the freest use of capital, and makes the economic operations of society unnecessarily complex and cumbersome. The paradox of cleavage in this regard is no extraordinary phenomenon to one whose eyes are open to the antinomies of the world. "The whole history of civilization," says Bagehot, "is strewn with creeds and institutions which were invaluable at first, and deadly afterwards" (5).

We do not claim that the single tax proposition is by any means the full or final word on social reform. We are talking simply about the central problem of the present age, which we believe to be that of bringing Land, Labor, and Capital together in the freest way.

§ 174.— The proposition that a heavy impost on land values would stimulate the investment of capital is almost axiomatic. Under the present regime, people who own, and people who borrow, capital are constantly investing it in all kinds of enterprize under the necessity of paying, first, either annual or capitalized ground rent; second, annual taxation. Why would not the investment of capital by owners and borrowers be stimulated when taxation is concentrated upon land according to its value? This is not theory, but fact, as we shall presently see. Such a measure would make it impossible for the speculator to hold vacant land at a price, and would simultaneously make it possible for the owner or borrower of capital to invest it in all kinds of enterprize on far easier terms. In the case already cited as exemplifying the pres-

ent system, our capitalist, in order to erect a \$3,500 house, was compelled to pay, first, \$1,500 for land whereon to build and, second, \$83 annual tax. Under the single tax, he would have occupied the land, expended \$3,500 for his house, and paid an annual rent, or tax, of about \$75 on the site value of the location. The single taxer wishes to universalize these conditions and open the vast empire of unused farming and mining lands, and building lots, around which there is now a high speculative wall acting as a bar to the freest outflow of capital and labor in the development of the earth's resources.

Not only is the proposition almost axiomatic that the land value tax thus proposed would stimulate enterprize; but actual experience goes far to prove it.

In July, 1892, the town of Hyattsville, Maryland, U. S. A., introduced the taxation of land values to the exclusion of all other local taxes. Before the new system came in, speculators in vacant land predicted that the heavier taxation of land values would simply raise the price of land. They said they would add the tax to the selling price of their lots, and shift the increase to purchasers. But when the new system went into effect, they saw that they could not afford to pay the heavier taxation on property that was yielding no income. The expenses of the town government were not large enough to call for the complete single tax; but as it was, the tax rested upon land values with sufficient pressure to force land upon the market at lower rates. After the new system was introduced there was determined opposition by land speculators; and an application was made to the courts for a writ of mandamus to compel the town to return to the old system of taxation. The State Court of Appeals declared the new tax unconstitutional; and it was accordingly abandoned. Respecting the operation of the system while it was in force, the chairman of the Board of Town Commissioners is reported as saying:

“The practical working of the new system in Hyattsville was beneficial. It has already appeared that it light-

ens the taxes of those most worthy of consideration. It did more. Coincident with the adverse decision of the Court of Appeals, all building came to a standstill, and because of the return to old methods, the proposed construction of buildings was abandoned. The sum total of the value of all new buildings erected within the two and one-half years since the forced abandonment of the new system, does not exceed one-half of that of the year in which it was enforced. There was no practical difficulty in the application of the system" (6).

Perhaps even more startling than this instance is one published in the Consular Reports of the United States Government, in Volume 62, at page 407. Under the heading "Land Tax in Kyao-chau," we read: "The German Government has adopted the system of single tax for Kyao-chau, levying a tax of 6 per cent on land values." It should be explained that the place with the queer name is a German colony in China. In this instance, as in the Hyattsville case, the conditions are not wholly those of the ideal single tax but the German-Chinese case approaches the proposed method closely. This looks like a revolutionary policy for a supposedly conservative European government to take; but it is a sign of the times. Respecting the steps leading up to it, Mr. W. McCrackan writes as follows, in the *National Single Taxer*:

"A certain Major Wissmann is well known in Germany as an African explorer. Some years ago he was made governor of one of the German colonies in Africa. . . . Like all the other German colonies, with the exception of Kiautschou, Governor Wissmann's colony was languishing from militarism and land monopoly combined. The Berlin land reformers took this opportunity to send him a memorial in which the crushing effect of the great companies which owned vast tracts of land and held them for speculative purposes was explained. Governor Wissmann did not reply, but it is significant that, not long after, he resigned his office, and gave among his reasons 'that he was tired of working for great land syndicates.'

From this point on I can only guess, but it is reasonable to suppose that Major Wissmann, well known as an explorer and standing high in the councils of the colonial party, should have been consulted when a new colony was founded in China. . . . If Major Wissmann was consulted about Kiautschou, he who 'was tired of working for great land syndicates,' the German government probably heard some home truths. At all events the method of procedure was entirely changed in the new colony" (7).

Concerning the new system as finally established, the German minister of marine is reported as saying:

"No colony has ever enjoyed such absolute freedom of production and trade as we have secured to Kiautschou. Not one single duty or tax will be imposed, except the tax on land values. Not financial considerations as much as considerations of politico-economical character have dictated these measures. That the measure is popular is proved by a petition presented to the British government by the merchants, who are also the landowners, of Hong-Kong, who, led by Mr. A. Mathieson, proposed the abolition of all taxes and the substitution for the same of taxes on land values" (8).

Under the local option law in New Zealand, 58 municipalities have adopted the "Hyattsville method" of land value taxation to the exclusion of other taxes for the purpose of raising local, municipal revenues. The general revenue system of the whole country, in which system the municipalities are involved, remains unchanged, so that here, also, we do not see the unrestricted single tax. But even on the present basis, after five years' experience, the premier of New Zealand, Mr. R. J. Seddon, states that the new tax has proved a success, popular opinion supporting it so strongly that its repeal is out of the question (9).\*

---

\* The city authorities of Glasgow, Scotland, backed by popular vote, have asked the British Parliament for permission to adopt this system for local purposes; and many other British cities have done the same. At the fall election of 1902, a vote was taken in Colorado on a law permitting local option on the question whether local revenue sys-

In April, 1892, the United States House of Representatives appointed a committee to investigate the subject of taxation in the District of Columbia. While we are on this part of our subject, it is worth while to consider the report of the committee. Strong recommendations in favor of heavy land value taxation were made. It should be observed that one-half the governmental expense of the District of Columbia is borne by the national treasury. In 1892 the proposed revenue was about \$6,000,000. The committee reported that a tax absorbing one-eighth of the ground rent of the District would supply the District's half of the \$6,000,000; that a tax on land values at the rate of one-fourth of the total ground rent would supply the entire \$6,000,000 without calling upon the nation at large for a single penny. And the committee went on to say:

“The collection of 50 per cent would give, without any tax upon improvements or any contribution whatever from the national government, \$12,000,000 of revenue a year, or more than twice the amount the Commissioners ask for — a sum which properly used would soon make the National Capital the most beautiful and delightful city in the world. And this could be done without the slightest tendency to decrease the comfort or increase the cost of living of any resident or visitor. On the contrary, the very weight of the tax thus levied on land values would check speculation and make land needed for buildings much easier to be had by those who wanted to improve it, an effect which in its turn would so increase population and prosperity as to greatly increase legitimate land values and thus increase the fund that could in this manner be drawn on for all District needs. . . .

---

tems should be modified in the direction of the single tax. Newspaper reports had it that the vote was heavily in the negative; but astounding revelations of fraud in the count have been made, even an opposition paper like the Denver Times printing damaging concessions. Interesting developments may be anticipated in this case.

When it is remembered that the value of improvements is constantly depreciating, and that of the total taxable value of the District, they constitute less than one-fifth, amounting in round numbers to but \$73,000,000 out of \$495,000,000, while the value of land, amounting already to \$24,000,000 of annual rent, is appreciating at the rate of over \$40,000,000 a year, it would seem but simple justice to do away with the burden now levied on the depreciating property, even though it necessitated a slight increase in the taxation of that property so constantly and so enormously appreciating.

If the National Government were to assume the entire cost of the District Government, no one would be benefited except the landowners. They could and would still demand from tenants the full rental of land regardless of the remission in the assessment on it, and the effect of this net increase in the profits of land-owning would be to raise the selling value of land and to greatly stimulate land speculation. Thus the effect of such liberality toward the Federal District on the part of the Congress would ultimately be only to increase enormously a few large fortunes and to drive a greater number of citizens into narrower quarters and make it more difficult for them to live. And if, while refraining from assessing land values, still more lavish appropriations were made from the proceeds of general taxation for the purpose of improving and embellishing the National Capital, the effect would simply be to increase a few great fortunes and to hasten the crowding of the body of its population into flats and tenement houses, and, behind stately avenues lined with palaces, to raise noisome slums.

Already the effect of the growth and improvement of the Federal District has been, by the increase of land values, not only to give hundreds of millions to a fortunate few, but to increase the cost of living to such a degree as to make it a serious question with many of the officers and employees of the National Government who are called on to live here. And if this tendency continues not only will

the salaries paid to employees of the United States soon become entirely inadequate to the scale of living for which they were intended, but the Capital of the American Republic must ere long present such a contrast between luxurious idleness and poverty-stricken workers as can be exceeded in no capital of professedly aristocratic countries. . . .

That the change we recommend in the subject of assessment would powerfully contribute with the changes we recommend in the manner of assessment to secure equality, there can be no doubt. When, instead of being distracted by various subjects of taxation, public attention is concentrated upon one, and that a subject which from its nature cannot be hidden or concealed but *can* be perceived by everyone who walks or rides along the public streets, public opinion will be called in to secure equality" (10).

During the investigation by the committee from whose report we have made these extracts, the assessors raised the reported value of land for taxation in the District of Columbia from \$76,000,000 to \$198,000,000 — an increase of 160 per cent. This extraordinary measure was probably dictated by fear of something more drastic. Although it did not return even one-half the true value of the land, and although the method of assessment was not reformed, it naturally gave some relief; but large bodies move slowly; and, at the present writing, the single tax on land values has not yet been adopted in the Capital City of the United States.

The eighth biennial report of the Illinois State Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1894, presented an exhaustive study of the revenue question. It recommended the single tax on land values as the only way out of many present social difficulties; and its general treatment was as positive and intelligent as that of the Washington report.

These reports are interesting and suggestive in connection with the references to the experience of Hyatts-

ville, the German-Chinese colony, and the New Zealand municipalities.

None of the actual cases mentioned exhibits the single tax in operation in its untrammelled form over a wide social area; but they all tend to show, from the standpoint of experience, what the single taxer claims from the standpoint of pure logic — that the proposed method, if once generally applied throughout a large part of civilized society, would stimulate the investment of capital.

§ 175.— The single taxer, then, is in the position of declaring that the present actual investment of capital in ways most useful to the greatest number of people represents an *under-investment* as contrasted with what would normally take place if social conditions were more perfectly adjusted. Let this under-investment be represented by the letter  $x$ . Then the normal use of capital which the single tax proposition contemplates will be represented by  $x$  plus a relatively small quantity. The single taxer, in last analysis, claims that the present social problem grows out of the fact that the present use of capital  $x$  instead of  $x +$ . He asserts that this minus use is the sign of a maladjustment which throws the social machine out of gear (or, perhaps better, which prevents the machine from being better geared), and enables the upper class to exploit the lower class in the service of luxury.

This claim is so simple that it seems futile. But the trouble is that we do not take a sufficiently dynamic view of life. We look at society too much from the statical standpoint; and we naturally and mistakenly seek dramatic social causes and solutions for dramatic social problems.

Since capital is a product of labor, an artificial check upon the use of capital translates itself into the unemployment of an equivalent portion of the labor power of society. The labor actually employed at any given time in ways conducive to the greatest good of the greatest number may be represented by the letter  $x$ . The labor which, if social adjustments were better, could be employed in the

most useful way would, then, be represented by  $x$  plus a certain relatively small quantity. This unemployed, or poorly employed, labor — small relatively, but large absolutely, and scattered everywhere in society — *reacts upon the entire labor situation*. It is the so-called “surplus on the labor market.” The presence of this labor surplus has a tendency to depress the wages of all labor employed. An artificial surplus of labor is the correlate of an artificial scarcity of work. We talk about “the market for labor;” and we tend to forget that there is a market for “jobs” as well. An artificial scarcity of jobs, like scarcity of anything else, raises the price of jobs. Laborers must pay more and more to obtain jobs, or, what is the same thing, accept smaller wages for the same work.

In this way, the labor surplus may be entirely absorbed into the industrial field. Labor may be universally employed; — but employed on what terms? At wages representing less than the expedient share of labor in the industrial output. The increase of population swells the ranks of labor, makes the price of labor lower, and the price of employment higher; and alongside of splendid and growing opulence we see a vast mass of under-paid working people enthralled in wage slavery.

§ 176.— Common knowledge and statistics testify that the wealth of western civilization is increasing steadily. Yet statistics also make it certain that wealth and landed property are concentrating in relatively fewer hands, and that the power of the upper class over the lower is increasing.

Respecting Germany, Dr. Charles Spahr, in his work on the distribution of wealth, says:

“In Germany the degree of concentration is less than in Great Britain or Paris, though each decade and each reform in the method of assessing the income tax reveals greater concentration. A dispassionate statement of the change that has been going on was made by the late Professor Roscher (Political Economy, Book 3, chap. 7, sec. 205). Between 1852 and 1873 the number of incomes

in Prussia assessed between \$300 and \$750 increased 175.5 per cent; the number assessed between \$9,000 and \$18,000 increased 470.6 per cent; while the number assessed at more than \$40,000 increased 2,200 per cent. This disproportionate increase of large incomes continues to the present day. Soetbeer's table of Prussian incomes for 1890 is shown to be obsolete, or worse, by the assessments for 1892-93. His estimates for the large incomes must be doubled to conform with the newer tax lists. From these it appears that a little over 1 per cent of those receiving incomes hold more than 20 per cent of the income of the kingdom, while 10 per cent hold nearly one-half of it" (13).

On the basis of the fortieth report of the British inland revenue department, and the British statistical abstract for 1897, the following interesting and significant figures are shown: In round numbers, one-half of one per cent of the population owns over seventy per cent of the real and personal property of the United Kingdom. On the other hand, 92 per cent of the population owns less than one-third of one per cent of the real and personal property (11). Investigations in the city of London by Mr. Charles Booth, ex-president of the Royal Statistical Society, show that 31 per cent of the population are in some degree dependent upon charity; that 51 per cent support themselves upon the verge of poverty; while only the remaining 18 per cent are in various degrees of easy circumstances (12).

Concerning American holdings, we take the following from the elaborate report of the Illinois State Bureau of Labor Statistics for 1894:

"A concentration of private land owning, the magnitude and the danger of which were never before approached in the world's history is to-day going on under our eyes. Our methods of taxation stimulate and nourish it.

It is the value of holdings, not merely their area, that in periods of highly specialized industry like ours, indicates the extent of land monopoly. The usefulness of land

is measured by its value. Thousands of acres in sparsely settled regions are of little use, and consequently of little value, in comparison with fractions of an acre at labor centres; if the whole Desert of Sahara were monopolized it would make but little difference either to the laborer or to the monopolist, but the monopolization of a city business block controls enormous unearned incomes. . . Between Sahara and the best business block of the most flourishing city there are many grades of utility, which are expressed in corresponding grades of value. A lot in the desert might beg in vain for a tenant who would pay rent; a lot in the business block yields a fortune in annual rent to its owner. Farms in populous places are worth more than the sandy billows of a desert, and those on the edge of towns still more, while lots in suburbs or smaller towns are lower in value than those in business centers; and so the values range; the difference in every case being at bottom a difference of utility, a difference, that is to say, in the expenditure of labor necessary to secure under given circumstances a given industrial result. Since this difference is measured by value, the intensity of the centralization of land ownership must also be measured by value.

When this is done the enormous and growing extent and the threatening character of land monopoly in this country may be quickly perceived and conclusively proved. More than 75 per cent in value of American land is said upon good authority to be owned by less than 10 per cent of the whole number of land owners. Or, to put it in reverse form, 90 per cent of American land owners own less than one quarter of American land. And outside the top-heavy land-owning class, a large and increasing mass of the population own no land at all" (14).

The report then goes on to demonstrate that the observations applied to the United States in general are substantially true of Illinois. We cannot pause here for details, and must refer the reader to the bibliography for this chapter.

From another standpoint, a writer in the *Outlook* states the case for America thus:

“Half a century ago, when the first estimate of national wealth was made by the Census Bureau, the aggregate value of private property, excluding slaves, was little more than five billion dollars. Our population is now but little more than three times as great as then, but our wealth is more than fifteen times as great. Yet, except at the South, the proportion of propertyless families is perhaps greater now than then, and the poverty of the poor is made the more distressing by reason of the contrasts in economic conditions that have developed. The increase in our aggregate wealth is likely to go on, and the Nation’s welfare depends upon whether the increase goes chiefly to augment the power and luxury of those already rich, or the independence, comfort, and culture of the rank and file of the people. In other words, the problem before us is to make the increase in National wealth synonymous with the increase of National well-being” (15).

Nobody would be foolhardy enough to attempt to show that the ownership of real and personal property is now generally diffusing in the United States. The most that is attempted is demonstration that wages are increasing. But there is grave dispute even of this. Concerning the summary of the famous Senate Report of 1893, Dr. Spahr writes:

“The statisticians employed to summarize the returns were to a hurtful extent in sympathy with the political aim of the investigation. . . . It is this summary that has spread so much misinformation throughout the country. Some of the more serious errors in the report are apparent upon a casual examination. When any one at all familiar with the course of wages in recent years takes up the report, he is astonished to see that the wages of clerks in stores have risen out of all proportion to wages in other industries. In the metal works, as he would expect, currency wages are reported to have fallen since 1873; so, too, in the cotton factories; but in stores, where the invasion

of women and girls is believed to have depressed wages to an unusual extent, he finds it reported that an advance of nearly 40 per cent. has taken place. If, to understand the anomaly, he takes the trouble to consult the original data, he discovers that for the metal works and cotton factories the returns covered many establishments and many hundred employees, while for stores the returns covered but one dry-goods store and one grocery, employing together less than 30 clerks. Yet the committee, in its table of 'simple averages for all industries,' made the uninvestigated industry count as much as either of the thoroughly investigated ones. And the committee did not stop here. Despite this assumed rise of nearly 40 per cent. in the wages of clerks, the table of 'simple averages' still showed that currency wages had fallen 4 per cent. since 1873. Thereupon the committee proceeded to make a table of 'weighted averages,' assuming that the incredible advance of 40 per cent. in wages had been received by all the clerks in the country, and that since these outnumbered the employees in metal works and cotton mills put together, therefore the returns for less than 30 clerks ought to outweigh those for more than 1,500 metal workers and more than 3,000 cotton operatives. By this means currency wages in 1891 were made to rise one per cent. above the level in 1873.

To cut short the criticism, in order to get at the facts reported, it is necessary to throw away the work done by the committee's experts, and return to the original reports made by the employers" (16).\*

---

\* It is by methods thus exposed that men like Mr. Carroll D. Wright, whom some people suppose to be a reliable authority, undertake statistical demonstrations. Mr. H. L. Bliss, an expert statistician, and contributor of statistical papers to the *American Journal of Sociology* and the *Journal of Political Economy*, does not hesitate to call Mr. Wright a very serious name. In his pamphlet on plutocratic statistics, Mr. Bliss writes: "To Prof. Small's severe criticism Col. Wright has attempted no reply except in a personal letter, to the publication of which he refuses his consent. Yet Col. Wright owes it to the public, if not to himself, to answer criticisms that tend to destroy confidence in our official statistics and statis-

§ 177.— In his diagnosis of the situation here sketched, the socialist lays down the proposition that the power of the upper class depends mainly upon the ownership and monopoly of capital. We have pointed out the considerations that part us from the disciples of Henry George; and we shall now call attention to those that distinguish us from the socialists.

The disciple of socialism correctly pictures the upper class enjoying a monopoly of all, or most, of the material capital in society — the factory buildings, and machines, and tools, and appliances of all kinds. He then claims that low wages and the industrial struggle for existence are due to the fact that the members of the lower class, possessing little or no material capital, are forced to compete with and bid against each other for an opportunity to labor in these factories and use these tools and machines in support of life. According to the socialist, the last word and final summation of private capitalism is the Trust. “What is the Trust?” asks Mr. Daniel DeLeon, a New York socialist. And then he replies: “The Trust is essentially a tool of production. The difference between the trust and the oldest style of privately owned tool, seen now only in museums, is a difference, not of kind, but of degree” (17). The diagnosis and program of socialism are attractive and very dramatic. The upper classes own the capital without which the masses cannot dig a living from the earth. The lower classes, continually increasing in number, bid against each other and force wages down to

---

ticians. Col. Wright attempts no answer because no other answer is possible than the admission that he is the official liar of the plutocratic class, and has faithfully discharged the duties of that office. The writer sincerely regrets the necessity of using the harsh term ‘liar,’ but there is no other word applicable to the case” (BLISS, *Plutocracy’s Statistics*, Chicago, Chas. H. Kerr and Co., p. 9). The same writer, in a recent pamphlet entitled “Our Juggled Census,” has exposed the fallacious methods adopted in connection with the census of 1900 for the purpose of misleading the public (The Purdy Publishing Co., Madison St., Chicago).

the lowest level at which they can live and reproduce. *Ergo*, society in its corporate capacity must seize the capitalistic plant. In other words, the socialist wants the State, the people in their collective capacity, to assume and operate factories, machines, tools, and appliances of all kinds. Would he have the State seize the land? Oh, yes; of course. We shall need land. The land question, he remarks incidentally, is quite important in its way. But the private monopoly of capital is the great underlying cause, and public ownership the great cure, of the social problem. Why talk about land? Anybody can get land now! Why, you can get farm land for a few dollars an acre.

§ 178.—Let us inquire how far Mr. DeLeon and the socialists are right in their identification of the Trust — “the last word of private capitalism” — with material tools. The Trust, if Mr. DeLeon is right, differs only in *degree*, not in *kind*, from the tools of the Rough Stone Age. Let us see how far he is right.

The great steel trust is capitalized on a basis of one billion, four hundred million dollars (\$1,400,000,000). According to an affidavit filed in the court of chancery of New Jersey by Mr. Charles M. Schwab, president of the trust, the earnings for the preceding year were one hundred and forty million dollars (\$140, 000,000). This is an interest of 10 per cent on the figures given above; so that a capitalization of one billion, four hundred million dollars is very moderate.

But let us see how much of this is real material capital. In the affidavit mentioned, Mr. Schwab gives an official schedule of the steel trust's assets. From this official schedule it is evident that something more than capital contributes to the power of the steel trust. That factor is land monopoly. The assets of the steel trust, like the assets of the upper economic class in general, consist not only of actual capital, but of large and exclusive landed privileges. The schedule by Mr. Schwab consists of eight items. The items into which the factor of capital princi-

pally enters are as below; but it should be premised that even in these the element of land monopoly is powerful. We italicize the factor of exclusive landed privileges, as far as possible, in the items following:

#### STEEL TRUST CAPITAL.

(a) Plants, mills, fixtures, machinery, equipment, tools and real estate .....	\$300,000,000
(b) Transportation properties, <i>including railroads</i> , (1,467 miles), <i>terminals, docks</i> , ships (112), equipment (23,185 cars and 428 locomotives), etc.....	80,000,000
(c) Blast furnaces .....	48,000,000
(d) Cash and cash assets .....	148,000,000

From which must be deducted, on a very conservative estimate, at least the following items:

(e) Real estate (estimated from item "a" above).....	50,000,000
(f) Exclusive land privileges implied in the articles "1,467 miles of railroads; terminals; docks" in item "b" above .....	25,000,000
Leaving in round numbers an actual capital of about.....	\$500,000,000

Setting down the value of the landed privileges mentioned above, and adding the remaining four items of Mr. Schwab's official schedule, we have:

#### STEEL TRUST LAND VALUES.

(a) Land values transferred from items "a" and "b" above, as per items "e" and "f".....	\$75,000,000
(b) Iron and Bessemer ore properties.....	700,000,000
(c) Coal and coke fields .....	100,000,000
(d) Natural gas fields .....	20,000,000
(e) Limestone properties .....	4,000,000
Making in round numbers a total figure for land values of about .....	\$900,000,000

Thus we see that out of this enormous capitalization, representing one billion, four hundred million dollars (\$1,400,000,000), the element of land monopoly is worth at least nine hundred million (\$900,000,000). The actual material capital, although large and impressive in itself,

is small in comparison with the extent and value of the landed privileges.

But this is not all. The land monopoly basis of the steel trust is not only internal to it, and connected with its own properties, but external to it as well. The Interstate Commerce Commission of the United States has shown that the trusts derive much of their power from special favors and rebates from railroads. In 1898 the Commission said: "The situation has become intolerable, both from the standpoint of the public and the carriers. . . . Tariffs are disregarded, discriminations constantly occur, and the price at which transportation can be obtained is fluctuating and uncertain. Railroad managers are distrustful of each other, and shippers all the while in doubt as to the rates secured by their competitors." Now the value of railroads consists not only of the material capital in the cars, tracks, depots, roadbed improvements, etc; it consists even more largely in the state-granted privilege of occupying strips of land running for many thousand miles through country and city. Railroads are simply a special kind of improved public highway, or street. This is recognized almost universally by courts of law. The United States Supreme Court, for instance, in the case of *Alcott v. Supervisors*, uttered the following through Justice Strong:

"That railroads, though constructed by private corporations and owned by them, are public highways, has been the doctrine of nearly all the courts since such conveniences for passage and transportation have had any existence" (18). Of the aggregate capital value of railroad bonds and stocks in prosperous times, it has been shown that about one-half represents the franchise value, or special privilege of running over long strips of land. The report of the Interstate Commerce Commission for 1897 shows that on June 30, 1896, outstanding American railroad bonds and stocks aggregated about ten billion, five hundred million dollars (\$10,500,000,000), this being divided about equally between stocks and bonds. The sta-

tistical report of this Commission for 1890 had said "that in a rough way bonds represent the certain or rock-bottom value of railway property, while stocks represent their speculative value" (19). Thus we see that when the steel trust and other trusts get special favors and rebates from railroads, their power is to this extent based on land monopoly.

But this, too, is not all; for, besides their monopolization of natural resources and special railroad favors, many of the trusts are sheltered by tariff laws. These laws impose taxes upon the species of goods made by the trust, and in this way either stifle competition by excluding foreign goods of that description, or increase their price to the domestic consumer, and consequently raise the price of the goods made by the trust.

And what, now, has become of the socialist claim that the Trust is only a tool, differing in *degree* but not in *kind* from the tools of the Rough Stone Age? How far is Mr. DeLeon's proposition sustained by an appeal to the facts?

In opposition to the socialist, the single taxer claims that the power of the trust, and of the upper economic class in general, rests, not upon private capital, but mainly upon private property in franchises to the exclusive enjoyment of landed rights, including vast unimproved natural resources and railroad franchises. The evolutionary single taxer claims that private capital is an effect, not a cause, of cleavage. The conventional socialistic treatment of private capitalism deals thus with effects rather than with causes.

§ 179.— In attempting to deal with the modern social problem, socialism proposes:

Governmentalize everything: factories, fields, mines, machines, tools, and railroads.

On the other hand, the evolutionary single taxer says, partly in harmony with Henry George, and partly not:

Society is a collectivism, or socialism, developing under the forms of individualism. Capital is almost entirely a social product of past and present generations, and its

value should accrue to society in the largest possible degree.— But by what means?

At present the lower classes are plainly exploited by capitalists; and the larger capitalists, at least, are building palaces and living in luxury, while poverty is increasing among the masses.

But the hurtful power of the upper class does not rest upon the monopoly of capital, for, in spite of claims to the contrary, capital is not naturally monopolistic. There is, indeed, a vast amount of capital in society. Without the material and intangible forms of capital, society would fall apart, and revert to the primitive struggle for existence, in which men were scattered about in small groups, depending for food upon a precarious natural supply, and fighting with the lower animals and with their own kind for the means of life. But although there is a tremendous amount of social capital, it is not, and cannot be, in its character as capital, aggregated in one or a few monopolistic masses. Enthusiasts claim that the larger and larger the mass of aggregated capital, the more and more efficient it is from every standpoint. This law, however, holds only up to a certain point beyond which the greater law of diminishing returns limits the efficiency of capitalistic aggregates. The largest possible efficient aggregates of capital in society are small in comparison with the total mass of capital. This total capital exists (first) in the form of widely distributed material plants, machines, and tools of all descriptions; and (second) in the form of a vast amount of technical knowledge and training in the minds and bodies of many experts.

The socially hurtful monopoly enjoyed by capitalists is due to the vast empire of landed privileges associated with capital. Three or four huge capitalistic establishments, five hundred miles apart, cannot form a natural monopoly in the absence of special landed privileges. But connect them by long strips of land over which they possess exclusive rights of way; extend these rights of way here and there all through the social mass; give their

holders exclusive possession of natural sources of supply in the earth, so that they can, while working a small corner of a great field, prevent competition from developing any part of the rest; — give capitalists all these government-protected privileges; make the situation here described universal; and it will truly seem as if capital were a natural monopoly. There is nothing to prove the socialistic doctrine of the natural monopoly of private capitalism, for private capital has never yet stood on its feet in human society without having its feet planted on some form of special privilege.

Therefore, preserve the individualistic psychology of society. Let individuals, under the spur of immediate self-interest, acting singly and in voluntary associations as large as can successfully be formed, — let individuals retain the ownership and proprietorship of capital as a matter of present social expediency; but —

Remove taxation from capital and all other forms of labor products. Concentrate it upon the value of both used and unused land, collecting for public purposes part or all of the rent of occupied ground, and throwing unimproved land everywhere in country and city open to capital at one charge, instead of two, as at present. At the same time, tax railroads on the full value of their special and exclusive highway rights; and for their bare value as material capital compensate their present owners, raising the railway system to the plane of public ownership and operation like other public highways. In the same way, socialize the other industries, like the telegraph, street railroad, telephone, street lighting, etc., which depend for vitality upon government-protected privileges of laying tracks and stretching wires over long strips of land. Let society in its corporate capacity, acting through government, hold open impartially to all comers the great public lines of travel, transportation, and communication, permitting no speculation in the resources of nature — no corner in the vast empire of unused building, farming, and mining land.

If these measures are judiciously introduced, there seems to be nothing unreasonable about them. We have seen the steps taken in several places toward the single tax on land values; while the social ownership and operation of railroads, as well as other public utilities depending upon landed privileges, is a common and successful policy in many of the most civilized communities, like Germany and Australia. In order to effect a consistent social reform, however, the entire program should be instituted. One part without the other is incomplete.

With reference to railroads, etc., Justice Brown, of the United States Supreme Court, says: "If the government may be safely entrusted with the transmission of our letters and papers, I see no reason why it may not also be trusted with the transmission of our telegrams and parcels, as is almost universally the case in Europe, or of our passengers and freight through a state ownership of railways, as in Germany, France, Austria, Sweden, and Norway. If the state owns its highways, why may it not also own its railways?" (20).

By some people the example of the United States Post Office Department is made a matter of objection against the governmental ownership and operation of railways in America. The Post Office Department shows a deficit which has to be made up from general taxation each year. Here, it is claimed, is a fact which tells very strongly against the governmental operation of railroads. But how many such people know that the railways charge the government enough annual rent for the mail cars that it uses to pay the cost of each car outright? Postmaster-General Vilas called attention to this in his report of 1887. He showed that the 432 cars then in use could be purchased in open market, or duplicated manufactured, for about \$1,600,000; and that the government was then paying the railways \$1,880,000 annual rent for these cars. He recommended government ownership of mail cars; but his recommendation was not acted upon. In addition to this exorbitant rent for cars, the railways also make an enor-

mous overcharge for transportation of the mails. There has been a postal deficit each year since Postmaster-General Vilas made the report mentioned above. After making a careful inquiry, the *New York World*, on February 2, 1897, said: "The railroads of the United States are defrauding and overcharging the government to the extent of \$10,000,000 per annum, and this public plunder is going on while statesmen and debaters at Washington are vacantly going about for means whereby they may avoid a deficit of \$8,000,000 per annum in running the post office department" (21). Honest administration, based on the law of reciprocal service, would convert the American Post Office into a paying institution; and the present mail rates could even be reduced.

§ 180.— If the single taxer is right, the effect of his program will be to cut the claws of monopoly. In order to picture the effect of his measures, it will be well to recur to the diagram above.

We see masses of material capital, money, technical knowledge and training scattered over one end of a huge field which represents natural resources. The application of the heavy tax upon land values, and the removal of taxes from capital, making it much easier to invest capital than under the present system, is supposed to stimulate men to invest their own and borrowed capital with more freedom than at present in all kinds of enterprise—farms, mines, dwelling houses, business blocks, factories, etc.

This, in turn, increases the supply of work, and absorbs the artificial "surplus" of labor which is now either idle during industrial depressions, or employed at low wages during prosperous times. Where the artificially decreased supply of work formerly raised the price of work, increasing the amount of labor which the workman must pay for the opportunity to work, the case is now reversed. The increased supply of work on the "job market" naturally forces down the price of "jobs;" and the workman gives less labor for the same compensation, or,

what is the same thing, receives higher wages for the same work. There are no unemployed, or partially employed, laborers to bid against each other for a chance to work at small wages.

At the same time, taxation being now adjusted according to site value, there is no shifting of tax burdens from the larger to the smaller owners and borrowers of capital, as at present. We have seen that under the present system farmers pay far more in proportion than do city people, and smaller holders everywhere more in proportion than larger holders. This reform in the collection of government revenue would therefore mean that borrowed capital could be more quickly acquired in ownership than under the present system. Farmers and small property holders would pay less to the State under the single tax than they now pay.

At the same time, also, the increased amount of labor products and money in the hands of the laboring people would make them less keen for "low prices" in the retail stores, thus relaxing the jug-handled competition of retail traders, and consequently of jobbers. Under the present system, the retailer must resort to "sales," and adulteration, and handle poor goods, etc. Likewise the manufacturer and jobber. Everybody knows how difficult it is to procure good articles of certain kinds; but everybody says, "What are you going to do about it?" If the masses of the working people had more labor products and money in their hands, they would refuse to buy poor goods; and manufacturers would have to make better goods.

After the inauguration of the single tax program, capital could be combined into the largest efficient masses; but throughout the community at large there would be no means by which all or a majority of capitalists could combine to push prices up and push wages down. There could be no secret rebates and special favors from railroads, whereby a ring of shippers could combine and undersell independent shippers; for the railroads, as is now the case in many civilized countries, would then be treated as im-

proved public highways over which all must pay the same toll. There could be no monopolizing of natural resources, whereby only a small portion of nature is developed by a ring of capitalists and the remainder of nature is fenced away from other capitalists and laborers. Capitalists who were developing, say, the one thousandth part of a great coal field could not raise the price above a certain figure without attracting other capital into the *un-monopolized* fields. At present, the occupying coal company, or all occupying companies together, hold an enormous amount of coal territory, work a small part of it, pay little or no tax on the unused coal deposits, — yet hold these vacant deposits against other capitalists at a high price. If others choose to pay the price, these other capitalists know that they must then submit to heavy taxation on the property which they improve and develop. Under the land value tax, the present holders and monopolizers could not afford to retain the unused property; and other capitalists could open new mines at half or less than half the present initial expense. This opening of land, it must be remembered, would be universal under the proposed reform.

The situation can be condensed into even fewer words as follows: Our present system of property and of taxation operates unconsciously to establish everywhere in civilized society an informal Earth Trust. It is the Earth Trust that lies unperceived at the heart of the present industrial problem. It is the Earth Trust that gives vitality to capitalistic trusts. If the Earth Trust were abolished, capitalists could not combine from one end of a country to another for purposes of extortion. The self-interest of capitalists would be turned against itself, and forced to compete for the public good.

Probably it would not be necessary to tax land up to its full value in order to collect sufficient revenue for government.

There is no present need for discussing the problems that would arise in a single tax community. There will never be a time in human history when there will not be

problems of some kind; and we are here viewing the single tax program as a step in the conscious evolution of society.\*

§181.— The state of the public mind with reference to current problems is one of confusion. Perhaps there has never been a more discordant medley of opinions. Throughout a large part of western civilization the increasing social stress has forced a further political development. We have seen that the Clan State passed long ago into the State based on property regardless of descent. The nineteenth century witnessed the establishment of manhood suffrage. Doubtless the twentieth century will see womanhood suffrage likewise. This practical enfranchisement of the lower economic class is a result of the blind struggles of that class against the evils which, along with the growth of every civilization, issue in luxury at one extreme of the social scale and poverty at the other. The social problem no longer finds expression in theological terms. Church and State are either legally or practically divorced throughout the larger part of western civilization — since disestablishment and the tolera-

---

\* If the single tax is a wise program, it excludes all compensation to landowners. In order to compensate landowners, it would be necessary to issue bonds equal to the value of all the improved and vacant land now held by private persons. It would then be necessary to pay annual interest on these bonds equal to the present annual value of the land. The usual amount of revenue for governmental purposes would have to be raised also; and society would thus fare worse than at present. We do not deny that the single tax would at first perhaps tend to make a breach in the present ethical sense of society; but it is becoming apparent that the present ethical sense of society is based on very insecure foundations. The earlier single tax advocate said that his program would conserve the present ethical sense. He said that no compensation should be given for land because "the value of land is due to no individual exertions or labors, but to nature and society." The single tax argument shows that capital ought to be left in private hands at present (and perhaps always), as a matter of expediency; but capital, as our inquiry shows, is due as much to forces outside the individual as land values are. Conduct on the part of individuals or society is right because it is good; not good because right.

tion of non-conformity have the same social issue. It is not necessary to set forth here the sequence of cause and effect which has led to the separation of Church and State. This is a novel fact in history. But the essential involutions of the history leading up to it reveal nothing of novelty in the working of human nature. If Church and State were still united, the present social question would, of course, take a theological form or flavor. Superficial observers, looking back on the present from the future, would then put a theological interpretation on strikes, tariff disputes, anti-trust agitations, trade unionism, etc. But since the old regime no longer obtains, there is no opportunity for the ancient interpretation. It is natural that, on the whole, the enfranchised millions should be uncertain as to the proper exercise of their newly acquired power. It is natural that the attention of the masses should at first focus upon capital rather than upon land, since capital is a more dramatic factor than land. Hence the growing popularity of socialism in Europe and America. In the meantime the great political parties, having exhausted their earlier issues, reflect by their uncertainty the confusion of the public thought. Despite the recent revelations of science, and the spread of socialism, the psychology of society is, on the whole, individualistic. There is ignorance of the essentially collectivistic nature of society. Although everybody walks about on the earth, and although everything that we use comes from the land, there seems to be a profound public unconsciousness that the social question has anything to do with land.\* From all that the psychology of

---

\* The movement for the heavy taxation of land values is numerically far behind the socialist movement. It counts among its adherents Lyman Abbott; E. Benjamin Andrews; Charles Francis Adams; Count Leo Tolstoy; Hamlin Garland; Governor Garvin, of Rhode Island; Mayor Johnson, of Cleveland, Ohio; Judge Moran, of the Chicago Bar. Two of the great English Reviews—The Fortnightly, for January, 1899, and The Westminster, for April, 1899—have published outspoken articles championing the movement.

present society reveals, one would think that history is, indeed, "a ghost-dance on a floor of clouds." As the twentieth century opens, all the characteristics of later nineteenth century thought persist; but signs are not lacking that we are about to enter a new era.

(1) — GEORGE, *Social Problems* (N. Y., 1893), pp. 40-45. Cf. BRYCE, *The American Commonwealth* (N. Y., 1891), II, p. 717f. Cf. MACKENZIE, *Introduction to Social Philosophy* (Glasgow, 1895), pp. 99-100.

(2) — Cf. *Dictionary of National Biography*, under names "Dove" and "Spence."

(3) — In an article entitled "The Single Tax: What It is, and Why We Urge it."

(4) — *The American Journal of Sociology* (Chicago), I, pp. 279-281.

(5) — BAGEHOT, *Physics and Politics*, p. 74.

(6) — We take this case, and the quotation, from Mr. G. J. Bryan's illuminating booklet, "Practical Effects of Advances in Tax Law," published by F. Vierth, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1902, pp. 12, 13.

(7) — *The National Single Taxer* (N. Y., Jan., 1900), p. 5

(8) — From *The Deutsche Volksstimme*, through the Melbourne Beacon, Australia, May 1, 1898.

(9) — Cf. Report of the Special State Revenue Commission of Colorado (Second ed.), p. 49.

(10) — *Municipal Affairs Quarterly* (N. Y., June, 1899), p. 332f.

(11) — Cf. *Financial Reform Almanack* (Liverpool, 1899).

(12) — BOOTH, *Life and Labor of the People* (London 1892-1897).

(13) — SPAHR, *The Present Distribution of Wealth* (N. Y., 1896), pp. 83, 84.

(14) — Eighth Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of Illinois (Springfield, Ill., second ed., 1896), p. 89.

(15) — *The Outlook* (N. Y.), LXVII, pp. 89, 90.

(16) — SPAHR, *Distribution of Wealth*, pp. 106, 107.

(17) — *Labor Library* (N. Y., Oct. 1902), XII, No. 10, p. 3.

(18) — *United States Supreme Court Reports* (16 Wallace), p. 678.

(19) — Statistical Report of the Interstate Commerce Commission (1890), p. 47.

(20) — *Forum* (N. Y.), XIX, p. 649.

(21) — Cf. the pamphlet "Finance and Transportation," by J. D. Miller (Oak Park, Ill., 1898). Cf. *North American Review*, June, 1902, pp. 816, 817.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY.

This list is not intended for scholars, but for those readers who desire a further systematic introduction to the general subject. It is merely suggestive; and makes no pretension to exhaustiveness. The works named can be found in public libraries, or can be purchased through booksellers. Lists, prices, etc., will be promptly furnished by Brentano's Bookstore, New York City.

A careful account of the beginnings and development of sociology will be found in SMALL AND VINCENT, *An Introduction to the Study of Society*. In connection with this the following handbooks may be taken up. SPENCER, *The Study of Sociology*. FAIRBANKS, *An Introduction to Sociology*. WARD, *Outlines of Sociology*. GIDDINGS, *The Theory of Socialization*. IDEM, *The Elements of Sociology*. No exact order can be given in which these, and books to be named below, should be taken up. The reader should not limit himself to any one work; but should use as many as possible, seeking a well rounded view. From these works the reader should pass to larger treatises: SPENCER, *The Principles of Sociology*. WARD, *Dynamic Sociology*. IDEM, *The Psychic Factors of Civilization*. ROSS, *Social Control*. On the political phase of society see, in the following order: WILSON, *The State, or Elements of Historical and Practical Politics*. WILLOUGHBY, *The Nature of the State*. BLUNT-SCHLI, *Theory of the State*. On the economic phase of society, see the introductions by ELY and by BULLOCK, and the larger works by HADLEY and by MARSHALL. On the domestic phase of society, see STARCKE, *The Primitive Family*. WESTERMARCKE, *History of Human Marriage*.

Attention to the evidences for the evolution of mankind should precede further historical study of society. For this use: CLODD, *A Primer of Evolution*. ROMANES, *Darwin and after Darwin*. CONN, *Evolution of Today*. MORRIS, *Man and His Ancestor*.

Passing to the prehistoric age of society; the following books will be found of service: CLODD, *The Story of Primitive Man*. LUBBOCK, *Prehistoric Times*. IDEM, *The Origin of Civilization*. KEARY, *The Dawn of History*. TYLOR, *The Early History of Mankind*.

Turning away from prehistoric society toward historic times, use: MORGAN, *Ancient Society*. MAINE, *Ancient Law*. IDEM, *Early History of Institutions*. IDEM, *Early Law and Custom*.

In taking up the earliest of the great historic circles of communities, the two handbooks following will be found useful: GOODSPEED, *History of the Babylonians and Assyrians*. BREASTED, *History of the Egyptians*. These should be followed by: MASPERO, *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria*. ERMAN, *Life in Ancient Egypt*. SAYCE, *Babylonians and Assyrians, Their Life and Customs*. Reverting to the more strictly historical treatment, the following larger works may now be studied: MASPERO, *The Dawn of Civilization*. IDEM, *The Struggle of the Nations*.

IDEM, *The Passing of the Empires*. ROGERS, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*.

Before taking up the study of Israel's history and religion, it is necessary to consider the origin and earlier development of religion in general. The following books will serve as a good introduction; and perhaps the order given is as good as any. ALLEN, *The Evolution of the Idea of God*. The special chapters on the religion of Israel and Christianity in this work are insufficient, and may be passed over; but the general treatment is good. FISKE, *The Idea of God*. CLODD, *The Childhood of Religions*. BRACE, *The Unknown God*. BRINTON, *The Religions of Primitive Peoples*. KEARY, *Outlines of Primitive Belief*. MENZIES, *History of Religion*. GEDEN, *Studies in Comparative Religion*. ROBERTSON SMITH, *The Religion of the Semites*. BARTON, *Semitic Origins, social and religious*.

The last two books in the preceding paragraph directly introduce the general subject of the early religion of Israel. This is further treated in: BUDDE, *The Religion of Israel to the Exile*. MONTEFIORE, *The Religion of the Ancient Hebrews*.

By way of introduction to the history of Israel, use G. A. SMITH, *Historical Geography of Palestine*. PATON, *Early History of Syria and Palestine*. FISKE, *The Myths of Israel*. RYLE, *The Early Narratives of Genesis*. GUNKEL, *The Legends of Genesis*. ROBERTSON SMITH, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*. RYLE, *The Canon of the Old Testament*. DRIVER, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*. The entire history is taken up in brief in: WELLHAUSEN, *History of Judah and Israel*. CORNIL, *History of the People of Israel*. At greater length in: KENT, *History of the Hebrew People*. IDEM, *History of the Jewish People*. MCCURDY, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*. See also G. F. MOORE, *Commentary on Judges*, for material on social conditions. H. P. SMITH, *Commentary on Samuel*. A late modern translation of the Bible should be used in connection with these works. For general reference, CHEYNE AND BLACK, *Encyclopedia Biblica*. HASTINGS, *Bible Dictionary*.

The above works will furnish an introductory view of the vital subject of prophecy in its relations to Israel's history. But a more special study of the prophets is necessary. For this, begin with CORNIL, *The Prophets of Israel*. A more detailed treatment is found in KIRKPATRICK, *The Doctrine of the Prophets*. This should be followed by ROBERTSON SMITH, *The Prophets of Israel* (Cheyne's ed.). G. A. SMITH, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*. For individual prophets: DRIVER, *Isaiah, His Life and Times*. CHEYNE, *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*. G. A. SMITH, *The Book of Isaiah*.

Turning to the classic civilization, a general view should first be obtained through handbooks on Greece and Rome: MAHAFFY, *A Survey of Greek Civilization*. BOTSFORD, *A History of Greece*. PELHAM, *Out-*

lines of Roman History. HOW AND LEIGH, A History of Rome to the Death of Cæsar. FOWLER, The City State of the Greeks and Romans. BEESLEY, The Gracchi, etc. Larger works: DUNCKER, History of Greece. CURTIUS, same title. ABBOTT, same title. MOMMSEN, History of Rome. LONG, Decline of the Roman Republic. GIBBON, Decline of the Roman Empire.

By way of preliminary to the study of Christianity in classic civilization, use: MATHEWS, History of New Testament Times in Palestine. WADY-MOSS, Malachi to Matthew. A more extensive treatment: SCHURER, The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ. GRAETZ, History of the Jews. Leading out from Israel to Christianity: TOY, Judaism and Christianity.

On the critical treatment of the Gospels, see CONE, Gospel Criticism and Historical Christianity. BACON, Introduction to the New Testament. On the life and teachings of Jesus: STEVENS, The Teaching of Jesus. CONE, The Gospel and its Earliest Interpretations. FAIRBAIRN, Studies in the Life of Christ. ROGERS, The Life and Teachings of Jesus. MATHEWS, The Social Teaching of Jesus.

On the apostolic age, etc., the following are useful: MCGIFFERT, History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age. BARTLET, The Apostolic Age. WEIZSACKER, The Apostolic Age. CONE, Paul, the Man, Missionary and Teacher. BRUCE, Paul's Conception of Christianity. SABATIER, The Apostle Paul. RAMSAY, St. Paul, the Traveller and Roman Citizen. On the general history of the Church: FISHER, History of the Christian Church. IDEM, History of Christian Doctrine.

An excellent introductory survey of western civilization will be found in ADAMS, Civilization During the Middle Ages. Use also: EMERTON, Introduction to the Middle Ages. IDEM, Mediaeval Europe. THATCHER AND SCHWILL, Europe in the Middle Age. Although old, HALLAM, Europe During the Middle Ages, is still valuable in connection with other works.

On various countries: ADAMS, Growth of the French Nation. KITCHIN, History of France. HENDERSON, Germany in the Middle Age. IDEM, A Short History of Germany. MOTLEY, Rise of the Dutch Republic. BLOK, History of the Netherlands. GREEN, History of the English People. STUBBS, Constitutional History of England. For modern European history in general, see the excellent single volume work by SCHWILL, The History of Modern Europe, which contains useful bibliographies. For European history during the nineteenth century: ANDREWS, The Historical Development of Modern Europe. SEIGNOBOS, The Political History of Europe Since 1814.

On economic history: ASHLEY, English Economic History. ROGERS, Six Centuries of Work and Wages. CUNNINGHAM, Growth of English Industry and Commerce. GROSS, The Gild Merchant. GREEN, English Town Life in the Fifteenth Century.

On American history: brief works by THORPE, FISKE. Larger works by SCHOULER, McMASTER. See also: FORD, Rise and Growth of American Politics. JOHNSTON, History of American Politics. WILSON, Congressional Government.

On present conditions and problems in western civilization, see: DAWSON, Germany and the Germans. GOHRE, Three Months in a German Workshop. SPAHR, America's Working People. WOODS, RIIS, AND OTHERS, The Poor in Great Cities. BOSANQUET, Rich and Poor. WYCKOFF, The Workers. BRYCE, The American Commonwealth. DE ROUSSEIERS, The Labor Question in Britain. SHERARD, The White Slaves of England. BODLEY, France. DEMOLINS, Anglo-Saxon Superiority. VON HALLE, Trusts, or Industrial Combinations in the United States. HYNDMAN, The Historical Basis of Socialism in England. DAWSON, German Socialism and Lasalle. KIRKUP, History of Socialism. ELY, Socialism and Social Reform. IDEM, French and German Socialism. BLISS, Handbook of Socialism. ELY, Taxation in American States and Cities. WELLS, Theory and Practice of Taxation. SELIGMAN, Essays on Taxation. SHEARMAN, Natural Taxation. GEORGE, Progress and Poverty. IDEM, Social Problems. IDEM, The Land Question..

Leading periodicals—Sociology: "The American Journal of Sociology" (University of Chicago Press). Socialism: "The People" (New York City). Single Tax: "The Public" (Chicago).

# INDEX.

(NOTE.—The numbers refer to sections (§§) — not to pages. In order to find authors quoted, look for names in lists at end of chapters).

- Ahab, 75.  
America, settlement of, 161.  
    and cleavage, 162.  
Anarchists, 23.  
Arabia, Southern, 17.  
Armada, Spanish, 158.  
Assyrians, 103, 104.  
Australians, aboriginal, 11.  
Baalim, Canaanite, 64.  
Bridgewater, Duke of, 164.  
Canaan, pre-Israelite, 60.  
    Israelite conquest of, 61.  
Canaanites and Israelites, 64.  
Cannibalism, 10, 11.  
Capital, 22.  
    contemporary, 165.  
    increase in Middle Age, 153.  
    increase in 16th and 18th centuries, 163.  
"Capital and Land" — diagram, 172.  
Captivity, 104.  
Church, Roman Catholic, rise of, 137.  
Christianity, rise of, 126.  
    and cleavage, 131, 137.  
Cities, growth of, 33.  
Class mobility, 146.  
Classic civ., decline, 125.  
Cleavage, 16, 19, 21, 33, 34, 84.  
    and America, 162.  
    beneficent aspects, 38.  
    in the Captivity, 105, 106.  
    contemporary, 170.  
    evil aspects, 39.  
    in Israel, 62.  
    in western civ., 142f.  
    vs. individualism, 23.  
Collectivism and individualism, 83.  
Commerce, 33.  
    classic, 117, 118.  
Commercial classes, oriental, 33.  
Commutation of services for money, 154.  
Concentration, causes of, 87.  
Conduct as cosmically determined, 96, 97.  
Cyrus, 112.  
Darwin, 11.  
DeLeon, Daniel, 177, 178.  
Dreams in primitive thought, 45.  
Education, oriental, 37.  
Elijah, 76.  
Elohim, gods, the mighty, 59.  
Ethicalism, origin of prophetic, 92.  
Evolution, social, 1, 2.  
    materials for study of, 3.  
    and universal history, 4.  
Exile, 106-110.  
Fallacy, post-hoc, 99.  
Famine, pre-historic, 10.  
Fuegians, 11.  
Future life, in primitive thought, 52, 59.

- George, Henry, 12, 167.  
 Gideon, 65.  
 Gods, primitive, 46-49.  
 Golden Age, Israel's tradition of, 73.  
 Government, evolution of, 29, 30.  
   early functions, 31.  
 Guilds, 152.  
 Hovas, 17.  
 Hyattsville, Md., 174.  
 Idols, origin, 51.  
 Industrial revolution, 164.  
 Industry, oriental, 33.  
 India, Farther, 17.  
 Individual conduct and the social problem, 93, 94.  
 Individualism and collectivism, 83.  
 Infanticide, 11.  
   reduction of, 15.  
 Israel, 40.  
   before the Conquest, 41, 42.  
   a Semitic people, 42.  
   early religion, 53ff.  
   Canaanitish, 65.  
   Canaanitish descent neglected, 65.  
   division of, 71.  
 Israelites and Canaanites, 64.  
 Jehonadab, 78.  
 Jehu, 77.  
 Jesus, message of, 128f.  
   psychology of, 130.  
 Jewish conditions, post-Exilic, 113, 114.  
 Jezebel, 75.  
 John of Gaunt, 158.  
 Journal of Researches, Darwin's, 11.  
 Judges, age of, 63.  
 Kingship, Israelite, passes from country to city, 65.  
 Kinship ties, prehistoric, 7.  
 Kirkpatrick, Dr., 93, 94.  
 Kyaochau, 174.  
 Labor, mobility of medieval, 145.  
 Land, enclosure of American, 166.  
   problem, 168ff., 175.  
   speculation in, 84.  
 Malays, 17.  
 Manufacture, 33.  
   growth of in western civ., 150, 151.  
 Masai, 17.  
 Material progress, prehistoric, 14.  
   effects of, 15, 16.  
 Melanesia, East, 17.  
 Messianic hope, 127.  
 Micronesia, 17.  
 Middle Age, divisions of, 147.  
 Migration, prehistoric, 8.  
 Mobility of early labor, 33.  
 Monasticism, 139.  
 Moses, 56, 92.  
 Nehemiah, 114.  
 Old Testament, 43.  
 Patricians and plebeians, 121, 122,  
 Paul, 135, 136.  
 Perspective, historical, 28.  
 Politics, oriental, 29, 30.  
 Polynesia, 17.  
 Post-hoc fallacy, 99.  
 Proletariat, rise of, 156.  
 Prophet, primary meaning of the word, 40.  
 Prophets, the, 40.  
   rise of, 68.  
   and monotheism, 102.  
   primarily social preachers, 89, 90.  
   individualistic moralists, 95, 98.  
 Prophetism passes from country to city, 92.  
 Puritanism, 160.  
 Rechabites, 78.  
 Reformation, 157, 158.

- English, 158.  
     religious aspect, 159.  
 Religion, origin of, 44ff.  
 Religion, social cement, 35, 50.  
 Religious phase of oriental civ., 36.  
 Resurrection, apostolic preaching  
     of, 134.  
 Rights, human, realized through  
     their denial, 25.  
 Roman religion, 47.  
  
 Sacrifice, human, 58.  
 Schwab, Charles, 178.  
 Sinai Covenant, 56.  
 Single Tax, 172ff.  
     effects, 180.  
 Socialism, 177.  
     *vs.* evolutionary Single Tax,  
     179.  
 Society a collectivism, 24.  
 Steel trust, 178.  
  
 Tax, Single, 172ff.  
 Taxation, 32, 87.  
     Congressional report on, 174.  
     modern, 169.  
 Teraphim, 57.  
 Theology, New, rise of, 74.  
     first period of, 80.  
 Third Estate, oriental, 33.  
     in classic civ., 119.  
     in western civ., 148.  
  
 Towns and cities, growth of, 33.  
     in western civ., 149.  
 Towns, chartered, decay of, 155.  
 Trusts, 178.  
  
 Upper class, contraction of, 76, 86.  
  
 "Vine- and Fig-Tree Tradition,"  
     73.  
  
 Walker, F. A., 23.  
 War, necessary and unnecessary,  
     31.  
     prehistoric, 9.  
 Ward, Lester F., 38.  
 Watt, John, 164.  
 Wealth, modern concentration of,  
     176.  
 Wikliffe, 158.  
  
 Yahweh, the god of Israel, 54, 55.  
     rise of, 67.  
     called Baal, 90.  
     Kenitic derivation of, 56.  
     imperialization of, 101, 102.  
 Yahweh-names in Israel, 79.  
 Yahwism, partial neglect of, 63.  
     mixed with Canaanite relig-  
     ion, 64, 69.  
     and "righteousness," 91.  
  
 Zealand, New, 174.

















