

mony was as necessary to the common happiness as bread or meat and declined to enter the harvest-field or workshop"; "some so contrive to work as not to be distant at meal-time"; "that which produces in the world only commonplace jealousies and everyday squabbles is sufficient to destroy a community"; "every one seemed to be setting an example and trying to bring the others to it."

*The Utopian socialist sought to convince mankind by setting up model communities. One and all failed or changed their basis. They gave a stimulus to reform, however, and to the modern garden city movement.*

The Marxian socialist, believing that the downfall of capitalism was inevitable because of the working of great social forces at present operating in industry, was sometimes inclined to let things take their course. This attitude was not widespread, however, and the socialist usually tried to do his part to make his prophecies come true. The followers of Marx had no sympathy with the Utopian schemes, partly because they believed in appealing to workingmen alone, and partly because their unit of future organization was the state, not the small community.

Then came a period of plotting and secret organization, of dreams of appeal to force. Yet slowly the faith in appeal to arms grew weak. The advancing prosperity of Europe, in which the working classes shared, lessened the thirst for barricade heroics. The advance of military science gave the professional soldier ever greater advantage over the amateur revolutionist. The experiences of the Paris Commune in 1871 revealed the strength and the solid conservatism of the rural population whom the socialists had left out of their reckoning. The gradual widening of the franchise opened up easier paths to victory. The growth of the doctrine of evolution put violent and sudden changes out of court. The traditions of 1830 and 1848 died with the men who had taken active part. But more and more, except in countries like Russia where reliance of autocracy on force prompted the use of force in return, the tactics of open revolution ceased to have practical weight, and survived chiefly in rhetorical antitheses between ballots and bullets, designed to send chills up bourgeois spines.

For the past generation, socialism has relied upon political action to usher in the co-operative commonwealth. Since workingmen were the most numerous body in the state, and since in most countries the franchise was widely extended or might be made so, all that was necessary was to show the