

middleman could become a producer, it would vastly increase the store of human products, and thus contribute (with other causes) to make their cost to the consumer a mere fraction of what it is at present.

Can this dream of a social Utopia ever be realized? There are strong reasons for believing that it cannot, at least, by the program of social democracy.

1. In the first place, the cornerstone of the whole system, namely, that "labor power" of itself is the true unit of value, is defective. No such standard exists, or can ever be made to exist, so long as the same amount of labor power, when directed by one man, may be made to yield perhaps five hundred times as much as when directed by some other man. This being true, the theory that "surplus value" belongs, necessarily, to the laborer falls to pieces. The brains and the courage of the great captains of industry are a tremendous factor which the socialistic scheme has not adequately recognized.

2. To the average mind it seems as though the proposed new state, even if it were to be set up, would fall to pieces under its own weight. Among other burdens which would rest upon the bureau of management would be the responsibility of assigning to each member of the socialistic body (who would no longer be free to follow his own inclination) the particular work which he is best suited to perform—an impossible task!

3. It may be gravely questioned whether the new social state would be able to furnish its members adequate incentive and opportunity for achievement. The best minds are always a long way in advance of the crowd. But here they would be handicapped. If, for example, there had been a socialistic state when Fulton conceived the idea of his steamboat, the idea is about all that would have gotten into the current of actuality, for the whole scheme would immediately have been sunk by popu-

lar prejudice. As it happened, private brains, and push, and capital had a chance to carry the enterprise through to success in spite of the crowd.

It is to be feared that, in a socialistic community, where every new movement must be directed by the people at large, or by their representatives, most of the great achievements which have marked the progress of the race would have been slow in materializing.

4. A still graver objection against the scheme proposed by social democracy is that *it is unjust toward the most worthy*. It fails to reward skilled labor. It puts steel on an equality with pig iron. The ideal state will surround every citizen with such conditions that it will be possible for all "pig iron" to become "steel"; but it will compel every man to stand upon his own mettle, the test of his own quality. This is nature's universal law.

5. The *general aim* of the socialistic movement has much in it to command the admiration of Christendom, for it would release the weak from the tyranny of the strong. It would substitute the principle of cooperation for that of competition, helpfulness for strife. But it fails to realize that this cannot be done in a purely mechanical and arbitrary way. The value of favorable conditions is not to be ignored; but the history of civilization shows that all true growth has been from within. *All true progress must be from within out*. Before every great achievement there is a great idea; before every moral victory there is a moral purpose.

The civilization of the state is simply the general intellectual and moral average of the people who compose the state. When that general average of mental and moral force rises, then those institutions of society which hinder the movements of that larger, freer life must be swept away, or at least so modified as to give room for that life.

There are general conditions and in-