

Title	An economic interpretation of the socialistic movements in the United States. I.
Sub Title	
Author	Takagi, Senjiro
Publisher	慶應義塾理財学会
Publication year	1919
Jtitle	三田学会雑誌 (Keio journal of economics). Vol.13, No.3 (1919. 3) ,p.343(67)- 372(96)
JaLC DOI	
Abstract	
Notes	論説
Genre	Journal Article
URL	<a href="https://koara.lib.keio.ac.jp/xoonips/modules/xoonips/detail.php?koara_id=AN00234610-19190301-0067">https://koara.lib.keio.ac.jp/xoonips/modules/xoonips/detail.php?koara_id=AN00234610-19190301-0067</a>

慶應義塾大学学術情報リポジトリ(KOARA)に掲載されているコンテンツの著作権は、それぞれの著作者、学会または出版社/発行者に帰属し、その権利は著作権法によって保護されています。引用にあたっては、著作権法を遵守してご利用ください。

The copyrights of content available on the KeiO Associated Repository of Academic resources (KOARA) belong to the respective authors, academic societies, or publishers/issuers, and these rights are protected by the Japanese Copyright Act. When quoting the content, please follow the Japanese copyright act.

18) 次で二十一志に減せられ (7 and 8. William III. c. 19. § 12.) 更に Newton の献策に據り  
 1) (Representations of Sir Isaac Newton on the Subject of Money. 1712-1717, in A Select Collection of  
 Scarce and Valuable Tracts on Money. 1856. 参照) キニー貨は二十一志に低下せしめられ  
 たるも尙銀貨輸出の勢を止めず。終に一千七百七十四年銀貨は二十五磅以上の  
 高に對し個數を以て法貨たることを廢し (14 George III. c. 42. § 2.) 旋て一千八百十  
 六年を以て全然補助貨幣の地位に下り、金は法貨に對する唯一の本位たるに至れ  
 り (前掲 Cunningham. pp. 436-439. 及び Note on the Re-Coinage of 1696-99. pp. 261-265. in A  
 Select Collection. 参照)。 (一九一八年二月十九日夜稿了)

AN ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF THE  
 SOCIALISTIC MOVEMENTS IN THE  
 UNITED STATES. I.

SEIJIRO TAKAGI.

[ This is, not a history, but an interpretation of the history, of Socialism in the United States. A more detailed  
 description of the various theories and schemes than given in the paper may be desirable, but, in order to confine  
 the essay within a reasonable compass, the description has been cut as short as practicable. Primarily, the paper is  
 addressed to those whose previous knowledge of the history of Socialism, in its outlines, is presumed. ]

Contents

- I. Introduction.
- II. Utopian Socialism.
  - A. Religious Communities.
  - B. Owenite Communities.
  - C. Fourierite Communities.
  - D. Icarian Communities.
- III. Modern Socialism.

### I. Introduction.

There are as many definitions of the word Socialism as there are persons who discuss the subject. Roscher, for instance, includes under this term "those tendencies which demand a greater regard for the common weal than consists with human nature." Adolf Held maintains, on the other hand, that "we may define as socialistic every tendency which demands the subordination of the individual will to the community." Von Sheel defines Socialism as the "economic philosophy of the suffering classes", while Kirkup interprets it as "a general name for the strong reaction that has set in against overstrained individualism and one-sided freedom which dates from the end of the eighteenth century." Again, there are others who refuse to understand by Socialism anything but what is violent, unconventional and impracticable.

Yet, underlying all these different definitions and conceptions of Socialism, there is a fundamental principle on which all agree. It is the ever-growing spirit or movement of opposition to the economic organization of society. But, like every other social movement, the opposition to the present economic organization of society has had several parallel and cross currents, which should not be confounded with the movement of the main flow. The disagreement of many as to the meaning of Socialism arises from the fact that, in discussing the problem, some emphasize one phase of the

movement, others another and so on. Throughout this paper, however, the simple and broad conception of Socialism above referred to, i. e., the spirit or movement of opposition to the present economic organization of society, will be maintained.

Socialism, as we understand by the term, is essentially a European product, and may be pointed out to be an indirect outgrowth of the circumnavigation of the Cape of Good Hope and the discovery of the New World, two of the most significant events in the history of civilization. The former opened the portals of the East rich in the treasures of a quaint civilization, which allured the hardy sons of Europe to brave the dangers of the deep and the ices of the wind. The governments of the various maritime nations also saw a rare opportunity for replenishing their depleted war-chests and encouraged their subjects in their trade with the Eastern peoples. The discovery of the New World was even more significant, for here was a vast territory of land rich in resources but without a master. The European nations naturally vied with one another in colonizing or otherwise exploiting whatever portions of land that had come into their possession.

One of the results of these European activities was the transformation of the small intra-European trade into a great world commerce, with its consequent stimulation of industry. The guild system, a survival of the feudalism, was no longer able to resist the powerful onslaught of the demands of

the world market and was superseded by the factory. But it was not until the second half of the eighteenth century that industry underwent a complete revolution. During that half-century, which witnessed more of the important human events than any period of the same length in the whole previous history of mankind, machinery after machinery was invented, coal began to be used as fuel instead of wood, and power-loom was substituted for hand-loom, increasing man's productive efficiency more than all the previous inventions and discoveries put together had done.

Yet all these improvements and the material progress that accompanied them were not without their evil results. Among these evils were the concentration of capital and the creation of a permanent wage-earning class. Piteful stories of poverty and misery that rent the heart of the listener were recited and there gradually developed a class feeling among the lower strata of society against the rich. The caste-strifes of the former times were now superseded by more bitter class-struggles.

But, meanwhile, sympathizers and reformers were busying themselves, and many theories and schemes of the amelioration of the conditions of the proletariat, as the laboring class is sometimes called, came into existence in the different countries of Europe, and some of these have been imported into the United States. Although, owing to the lack of experimental ground for the schemes of social reform and to the strong opposition on the part of the ruling class against theories of social recon-

struction, they have not had a fair trial in Europe, they have had in the United States an unparalleled opportunity for thorough experiments and natural growth, for here they found abundant cheap land available for the purpose and no organized opposition against them as in the country of their origin. It is the purpose of this paper to attempt to show how some of them succeeded and how others failed.

The plans and theories of social reform that have been introduced into the United States are usually grouped under two heads: Utopian Socialism and Modern Socialism. Utopian Socialism is a general name for the schemes of well-meaning but more or less misguided persons to carry on an independent social existence of their own, in which there is usually a common ownership of land and means of production, and in which the modes of daily life are more or less prescribed for the members. Modern Socialism, on the other hand, is based on the theory of Karl Marx that class-struggle is inevitable and the proletariat should organize and take control of the government for its own benefits. The former of these two branches of Socialism comprises several communistic experiments, while the latter has manifested itself in various political movements in recent years. Some of the more important of these experiments and movements will be discussed in their proper place.

## II. UTOPIAN SOCIALISM.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, many theories and schemes were devised to

ameliorate the conditions of society in Europe. Some of these theories and schemes were introduced, in most cases by Europeans, into the United States and experimented on. Those who were interested in these undertakings have been generally called "Utopians," and have met varying degrees of success or failure. These experiments may be grouped under the four heads: the Religious Communities, the Owenite Communities, the Fourierite Communities, and the Icarian Communities.

#### A. The Religious Communities.

These are the most successful of all the experiments tried in the United States and some of them have continued their existence until the present time. Of these communities, the following are worthy of notice:

##### THE EPHRATA COMMUNITY.

This Community at Ephrata in the county of Lancaster, Penn., was established by Conrad Beissel, a Dunker, in 1732. He was a man of eccentric habits and led the life of a recluse. But he had his admirers and sympathizers, with whom he lived in seclusion from the outside world. At one time, the number of his devotees is said to have been about three hundred,<sup>1</sup> but, after his death,

<sup>1</sup> Hinds: American Communities, p. 13.

which occurred in 1786, the membership of the community rapidly decreased, and the prosperity which the community enjoyed under the management of its founder came soon to an end. But the little community still continued its lingering existence and, in 1900, had seventeen members.

##### THE SOCIETY OF SHAKERS.

"Mother" Ann Lee, an ignorant English woman, migrated to the United States with her followers in 1774, and, two years later, established a Community at Watervliet near Troy, N. Y. She had had an unfortunate experience in marriage and become a confirmed believer in celibacy. In the Community she established and others that followed, there has been an absolute prohibition of marriage. Members of these communities have been called Shakers on account of violent gestures they make when they meet strangers. These communities, or societies, as they are also called, have been very prosperous and, at one time, their membership rose to five thousand. In 1903, there were fifteen of these societies scattered in nine different States in the East and their total membership was about one thousand. The land they possessed in the same year amounted to over 100,000 acres and their aggregate wealth was estimated in millions.

##### THE HARMONY SOCIETY.

In 1804, a leader of Separatists in Wurtemberg, George Rapp by name, went to the United



States with six hundred adherents and established a Community in Lycoming County, Penn. In 1814, they moved to Posey County, Indiana, where they were prosperous and, in 1824, numbered one thousand. In the latter year, however, ostensibly to escape from the ravages of a fever that had broken out in the community, they sold their property to Robert Owen and moved back to Pennsylvania and settled down at Economy where the community continued its existence, although the village had, in 1907, no more than one hundred families.

#### THE ZOARITES OR BÄUMELERS.

Joseph Bäumeler, also a Separatist, migrated to the United States from Germany in 1817 with his two hundred followers and established a Community in Tuscarawas County, Ohio. The Community was called "Zoar" and at the time of its highest development, had five hundred members. In 1874, the membership was about three hundred. It was, however, dissolved in 1898 on account of a quarrel over the considerable amount of wealth which it had accumulated.

#### THE AMANA SOCIETY.

In 1842, a member of "The True Inspiration Society" of Germany went to the United States with four other members and, in 1855, bought twenty thousand acres of land near Davenport in the State of Iowa. Here they established a Community which has since prospered and been extended.

The society, in 1907, comprised the communities at Amana, East Amana, West Amana, South Amana, High Amana and Homestead, all near the centre of the Hawkeye State. In 1861, the society had 572 members; in 1871, 1466; in 1881, 1521; in 1891, 1691<sup>1</sup>; and in 1902, between 1700 and 1800.<sup>2</sup> As to its success, it is said that "the German Inspiration Community which has never boasted of the learning of its members, and which cannot point to great authors nor to splendid lineages among its historic treasures, has succeeded, partly because it possessed, not the elements of outward display, but others more essential to success.... industry, frugality and perseverance."<sup>3</sup>

#### BETHEL.

William Keil, a native of Nordhausen, Germany, acquired about four thousand acres of land, about 1844, in Shelby County Missouri, and established a Community with some other Germans and "Pennsylvania Dutch" and called it Bethel. At one time the members numbered no less than one thousand.<sup>4</sup> But, in 1877, the founder died and the existence of the community came to an end in 1880.

<sup>1</sup> Perkins and Wick: History of the Amana Society, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup>Hinds: American Communities, p. 263.

<sup>3</sup> Perkins and Wick: History of the Amana Society, p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> Hillquit: History of Socialism in the United States, p. 44.

THE ONEIDA COMMUNITY.

John Humphrey Noyes, the founder of the Oneida Community, was born in Brattleboro, Vt., in 1811. He graduated from Dartmouth College and studied theology at the Andover Theological Seminary and later also at the Yale Divinity School. He received an "inspiration" and founded a sect which he called "Perfectionism." In 1848, with a small number of adherents, he established a Community at Oneida, N. Y. The society was fairly prosperous and its membership increased to three hundred persons in 1874.<sup>1</sup> Six years later, the Community ceased to exist as such, being converted into a joint stock company.

AURORA.

This Community was located in Marion County, Oregon, and established in 1856 by William Keil, who had twelve years before founded the Bethel Community. The newer community was larger and more prosperous than its sister Community and had between three and four hundred members.<sup>2</sup> But, after the death of its founder and President in 1877, the society met the same fate in 1881 as the other one.

<sup>1</sup> Hinds : *American Communities*, p. 293.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 294.

CONCLUSION.

All these communities have had an existence much longer than any of the communities of the other classes to be later discussed except some of the Icarian Communities. Their life ranges from twenty-four years in the case of Aurora to more than one hundred fifty years in the case of Ephrata, while the Society of Shakers has been in existence since 1794 and the Amana Society since 1844.

Among the causes of the comparative success of these religious communities may be mentioned the personality and ability of the founder, the community of feeling among the members and the smallness of membership. "Mother" Ann Lee, John H. Noyes, George Rapp, Joseph Bäuneler and the other founders were born leaders of men and women and were more or less worshipped by their followers. Indeed, much of the success of each community depended on the presence of its founder. Ephrata, for instance, never, after the death of its founder, had the prosperity it had enjoyed during his lifetime. Bethel and Aurora went to pieces a few years after their founder died.

With the exception of the Oneida Community, all the Religious Communities mentioned above were founded by foreigners and, with the exception of the same community and the Society of Shakers, the membership of every Community consisted chiefly of Germans. The language spoken in these Communities was also almost exclusively German. Such homogeneity cannot but have had

a strong cohesive power among the members who had little common interest or thought with the people inhabiting neighboring villages or towns, and contributed to their success.

During the period of its greatest prosperity, none of the Communities, except the Harmony Society, had more than five hundred members. It is true that the Society of Shakers and the Amara Society had more than one thousand members. But, as the former was divided into fifteen different communities and the latter into seven, each of these component communities had not more than three hundred on the average.

These are, then, some of the things that contributed to the comparative success of the Religious Communities. But these very causes of success seem, on the other hand, to have stood in the way of attaining a greater success. For, in the first place, it is impossible to secure an immortal founder. Secondly, in the United States at least, the homogeneity of membership is impossible in any undertaking of national proportions. And, lastly, if a small membership is prerequisite for the success of such undertaking, it *per se* constitutes a cause for its small usefulness.

### B. The Owenite Communities.

In 1824, Robert Owen, the famous English reformer, went to the United States and was everywhere received with enthusiasm. In the following year, he established a Community at Harmony,

the former site of the Rappist Community, on the banks of the Wabash river in the State of Indiana. This was followed by nine others established by different persons and in different States. Two of these were in Indiana, three in New York, two in Ohio and one each in Pennsylvania and Tennessee. Their alphabetical list, including the one established by Robert Owen himself, is as follows: <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Noyes : History of American Socialism, p. 15.

COMMUNITY	STATE IN WHICH LOCATED	DATE OF ESTABLISHMENT	LENGTH OF EXISTENCE	MEMBERSHIP	LAND OWNED (IN ACRES)
Blue Spring Community	Indiana	1826-7	Short time	Not known	Not known
Coöperation Society	Peun.	1825			
Coxsackie Community	New York	1826-7	Between one and two Years	Over 60	325
Forrestville Community	Indiana	1825	More than one Year		
Fraulin Community	New York	1826		80	120
Hairstraw Community	New York	1826	5 mos.	200	200
Kendal Community	Ohio	1826	2 years	900	30,000
New Harmony	Indiana	1825	3 years	15	2,000
Nashoba	Tenn.	1825	3 years		
Yellow Springs Community	Ohio	1827	6 mos.	75 to 100 families	



#### THE FORRETVILLE COMMUNITY.<sup>1</sup>

This Community was founded on the 16th day of December, 1825, and existed only a little more than a year. The membership was at first thirty-two but increased to over sixty during its life-time. "They occupied 325 acres of land, two saw-mills, and carried on wagon-making, shoe-making, black-smithing, coopering, agriculture, etc."

#### THE HAVERSTRAW COMMUNITY.

This was established in 1826 and lasted only five months. The founder was one Fay, a New York lawyer, and was associated with several other New Yorkers and Philadelphians of means and culture. They occupied 120 acres of land at Haverstraw on the Hudson about thirty miles from New York City and their number was at one time estimated at eighty. This Community met the usual fate of dissolution due to mismanagement.

#### THE KENDAL COMMUNITY.

This Community was located near Canton, Ohio, and was founded towards the close of 1826. Its beginning was very promising and it had one hundred fifty members. But, in the summer of

<sup>1</sup> Noyes : History of American Socialism, p. 74.

1828, a fever broke out and carried away many of its useful members. This disaster soon compelled the Community to dissolve.

#### NEW HARMONY.

In 1825 Robert Owen bought the land and buildings of the Rappist Community at Harmony on the Wabash river in the State of Indiana and established a new Community, which was called New Harmony. There was 30,000 acres of cultivated land and the members, who numbered nine hundred, were not required to do any pioneer work as most of the other Communists were compelled to do. But religious dissensions as well as other difficulties arose in the Community and its life was anything but smooth, many of the members seceding and establishing independent villages in the neighborhood. The Community was finally dissolved towards the close of 1827 after an existence of nearly three years. In regard to the character of the members of the New Harmony Community, Frank Podmore, the biographer of Robert Owen, says that many of them were industrious men but some were "sharpers", "unsuccessful speculators" and "amiable visionaries." The causes of the failure of the Community are, according to the same writer, the differences of sect, race and social rank among the members and also Owen's absence for a time from the Community.

NASHOBA.

This Community was established, in 1825, by Frances Wright on the banks of the Wolf river, about thirteen miles above Memphis, in the State of Tennessee. Her principal purpose in founding the Community was "to educate negro slaves to social and economic equality with the whites." At first her experiments with her negro protegés seemed to succeed, but she had soon to leave her work in order to go to Europe for health. During her absence, the management of the establishment was entrusted to a board of trustees. When she came back, however, after a little over a year, she found the things in an utterly helpless condition. The undertaking was finally given up in June, 1828.

#### THE YELLOW SPRINGS COMMUNITY.

In 1824, seventy to one hundred families of the Swedenborgian church banded together, bought a domain at Yellow Springs about seventy-five miles north of Cincinnati, and there established a Community under the influence of Robert Owen. The members were all great enthusiasts and made many sacrifices in the beginning. For the rest of their history, we shall quote Morris Hillquit: "Their movement was not undertaken for economic or material consideration, but for spiritual and intellectual motives. They regarded their venture somewhat in the nature of a prolonged picnic, and the charm continued just about half a year. By the end of that time the aristocratic communists sobered down. The ministers soon found the sinners more manageable than the swine, the merchants

found the pitchfork not half as remunerative as the yardstick, the refined ladies tired of the coarse company of pots and kettles. One by one they returned to their homes and vocations, and Yellow Springs became a beautiful but faded dream in their memories."<sup>1</sup>

#### THE OTHER COMMUNITIES.

Little is known worth mentioning about the other Communities except that they had only a few members and were all very short-lived.

#### CONCLUSION.

In sharp contrast to the longevity of the Religious Communities, the experiments of the Owenite period were all short-lived. None of them was able to prolong its existence more than three years and some of them died before their first birthday. The average life of these Communities, as far as known, was not much over one year.

Some authors seem to be inclined to attribute the relative longevity of the Religious Communities to the moral or religious principles involved. Goldwin Smith, who visited the Oneida Community before it was dissolved, was very much impressed with its apparent success and attributed it to the

<sup>1</sup> Hillquit: *History of Socialism in the United States*, p. 68.

“Complex Marriage” principle on which the Community was founded. For he says that, in this case, we have “the two familiar and simple conditions of success, exemptions from the disuniting influence of the separate family, and the facility of the accumulation of wealth attendant on the absence or paucity of children. Communism, in fine, can be made practicable only by a standing defiance of morality and nature.”<sup>1</sup>

Semler, on the other hand, thinks that the Religious Community is likely to succeed, for its membership is composed of men of ascetic principles; whereas the secular Community is bound to fail, because it is peopled with selfish men. He claims that it is perfectly clear “warum die religiösen Communistengemeinden besser als die weltlichen gedeihen: die religiösen Communisten sind Ascetiker, die erlangen, dass alle gleichmässig von dem Genusse irdischer Güter ausgeschlossen seien, während die antireligiösen Communisten Epikuräer sind, welche erlangen, dass alle gleichmässig an dem Genusse irdischer Güter theilhaben sollen.”<sup>2</sup>

There is no doubt that *ceteris paribus* a Religious Community is likely to succeed better than a secular Community, because of the greater unity of feeling and sympathy and of the comparative

<sup>1</sup> Essays on Questions of the Day, p. 352.

<sup>2</sup> Geschichte des Socialismus und Communismus in Nordamerika, S. 392.

absence of selfishness among the members of the former than among the members of the latter. This may account partly for the moderate success of the Religious Communities mentioned above. But it does not seem to be sufficient to explain the extraordinary brevity of the existence of the Owenite undertakings.

There are, indeed, various causes assigned for the failure of these experiments. The diversity of elements, for instance, is said to have been responsible for the downfall of New Harmony. “Self-love,” on the other hand, was too strong for the Yellow Springs Community to suppress. The trustees of the Nashoba Community, in abandonirg, Miss Frances Wright’s plan of common property, are said to have acknowledged that, “without the members composing it being superior beings,” the scheme would not work. The spokesman of the Haverstraw Community also complained that the experiment lacked “men and women of skillful industry, sober and honest, with a knowledge of themselves and a disposition to command and be commanded.”

These peculiarities of the character of the Communist membership no doubt contributed to the final catastrophe of most of the Communities of the Owenite period and even were the immediate causes of the undoing of some of them. But are they not, after all, ordinary human weaknesses ever present in every group of men and women? New Harmony, indeed, might have been blessed with a less diversity of elements than it had and might have had a greater opportunity for success.

But to compensate for the lack of homogeneity among its members, the favorite community of Robert Owen had a surfeit of talents and brains. In no other human society of the equal size, was there ever a greater galaxy of brilliant men and women than that gathered around the founder of New Harmony. William Maclure, later the founder and first President of the famous Philadelphia Academy of Science, was for some time a hearty sympathizer and zealous co-worker in the new experiment. Thomas Say, one of the foremost geologists of his time, taught history in the school of the Community. Charles Lesneur, a French naturalist and draughtsman, was also interested in the educational department of the colony and took a hand in teaching the art of drawing. Gerard Troost, a distinguished chemist and geologist, was engaged in educational work in connection with the teaching of chemistry. On the practical side of the enterprise, William and Robert Dale Owen, the two sons of the founder of the Community, who later became distinguished citizens of the United States through their public service, were untiring workers for the success of the undertaking. But all was in vain.

Nor does it seem possible to gather a large number of men and women for such purposes who are devoid of "self-love," which has been ingrained in human nature by the long process of evolution. It is also hopeless to expect to find even a few, if any, "supernatural beings" among the men and

women of the present time.

Yet, on the other hand, it does not appear at all that the members of these communities were any worse than the average man and woman found in any society. Indeed, many were said to be industrious and intelligent and willing to make initial sacrifices for the sake of final success. What was, then, the fundamental cause of the failure of these communities?

In the first place, they were not established, as the Religious Communities were, for the definite purpose of conducting a particular worship or practising a new code of morals without the molestation of the outside world, but were founded to improve the economic and social conditions of members. In this, then, lies the explanation of the comparative success of one class of communities and of the utter failure of the other. For, in the one, the members having peculiar religious ideas and moral consciousness, sought and found their satisfaction, while, in the other, the members who had been invited to enjoy the social equality, short hours of work, the attractiveness of life and labor, were grievously disappointed. Not that the life of these secular Communists was wretched in the new quarters but that they found less opportunity in the Community for their material satisfaction than they might have done in the world at large. If the United States was then in a wretched economic condition, people would have been glad to find asylum in a Communistic village or town



and stayed there more or less permanently. But, in 1824, when Robert Owen first went to the United States, the country was already recovering from the doleful effects of the crisis of 1819. It is true that the years 1823 and 1824 were not very bright years and the stout fight that the West made for the passage of the tariff bill of 1824 was one of the indications of the temporary economic distress of that section of the country. But, meanwhile, the wave of prosperity and financial buoyancy was beginning to sweep over the entire country. In 1823, the receipts from the sale of public lands amounted to only \$ 916,000, and, in the following year, to \$ 984,000. But, in 1825, the revenue from the same source was no less than \$ 1,216,000 and, in 1826, it rose to \$ 1,393,000.

Moreover, the decade of 1820-30 was one of the most expansive and prosperous periods that the United States has ever enjoyed in her history. In the heart of that great continent there was a vast territory of fertile land that had patiently waited for the enterprising hand of the American to develop its resources. "Altogether," says a historian, "the area of the United States in 1829, leaving Oregon out of account, aggregated 1,793,400 square miles. All of the most fertile portion of the continent, between the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes on the north, the Gulf of Mexico on the south, the Atlantic Ocean on the east, and the Rocky Mountain on the west, was under American jurisdiction. No country was better fitted, by geographical position, climate, soil and

natural resources, to become the home of a great industrial nation."<sup>1</sup>

It was also during this period that great internal improvements were being made for the economic development of the country. By 1830, no less than four hundred miles of canals had been constructed and five hundred more projected in the State of Pennsylvania alone. Moreover, by 1825, in the Empire State, the richest state of the Union, "the great canal system, reaching by way of Lake Champlain to the St. Lawrence, and by way of the Mohawk and the lakes of central New York to Lake Erie, was opened for traffic throughout the whole length. The decrease in transportation charges brought prosperity and a tide of population into western New York; villages sprang up along the whole line of the canal; the water-power was utilized for manufactures; the land values in the western part of the state doubled and in many cases quadrupled, farm produce more than doubled in value. Buffalo and Rochester became cities. The raw products of the disappearing forests of New York—lumber, staves, pot and pearl ashes, etc., and the growing surplus of agricultural products, began to flow in increasing volume down this greater Hudson River to New York City. The farther west was also turning its streams of commerce into this channel."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Macdonald: Jackson Democracy, chap. I, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Turner: Rise of the New West, chap. I, p. 33-4.

This prosperous period also saw the beginning of that great overland migration of people from the Eastern shores into the unknown wilderness of the West, which is one of the most thrilling events in the history of the New World. In the words of an authority on the subject, "The existence of a great body of land, offered at so low a price as to be practically free, inevitably drew population towards the West. When wild lands sold for two dollars an acre, and, indeed, could be occupied by squatters almost without molestation, it was certain that settlers would seek them instead of paying twenty to fifty dollars an acre for farms that lay not much farther to the east... particularly when the western lands were more fertile."<sup>1</sup>

To buy this cheap but fertile land, to work whenever they pleased and as much as they pleased, and to enjoy the fruits of their own free labor, a long unbroken procession of people moved into this western land of youth and promise. "From all the older sections," says the same author, "but especially from the south and its colonies in Kentucky and Tennessee, a flood of colonists was spreading along the waters of the West. In the Mississippi valley the forests were falling before the blows of the pioneers, cities were developing where clearings had just let in the light

<sup>1</sup> Turner : Rise of the New West, chap. v. p. 73.

of day, and new commonwealths were seeking outlets for their surplus and rising to industrial and political power."<sup>1</sup>

This romantic rise of the great West was no adventure of a handful of pioneers, but the settlement of this fertile land had begun in earnest and the increase of population in the new regions was rapid and enormous. To quote the words of the same writer, "Between 1812 and 1821 six new western commonwealths were added to the Union : Louisiana (1812), Indiana (1816), Mississippi (1817), Illinois (1818), Alabama (1819), and Missouri (1821). In the decade from 1820 to 1830, these states, with the older sisters, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio, increased population from 2,217,000 to nearly 3,700,000, a gain of about a million and a half in the decade. The percentage of increase in these new commonwealths tells a striking story. Even the older states of the group grew steadily. Kentucky, with 22 per cent, Louisiana, with 41, and Tennessee and Ohio, each with 61, were increasing much faster than New England and the south, outside of Maine and Georgia. But for the new commonwealths the percentages of gain are still more significant : Mississippi, 81 per cent, Alabama, 142 ; Indiana, 133 ; and Illinois, 185."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Turner : Rise of the New West, chap. 1, p. 4-5.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., chap. v, p. 70.

Yet, this great increase did not cause any hardship among the settlers, for there was no crowding in these regions. In 1820, in the nine states mentioned above, the average density of population was only six persons per square mile. Ten years later, with the great increase of population referred to above, the average density in those states was still less than ten persons per square mile. Nor in any other part of the country was there any crowding of people. The most densely populated section of the country in 1830 was the North Atlantic States but its average density of population was only 26.9, which is one person less than the average density of population of the entire country in 1900. The average density of the Union, moreover, in the years under consideration, was very much less than that of the North Atlantic States. In 1820, it was only 4.8 and, a decade later, it was still only 6.4. Inhabiting such a country as fertile as any country under the sun, and as rich in resources as any land that man has ever lived on, and yet as sparsely populated as though it were a barren and inhospitable soil, the fortunate men and women of the United States enjoyed the greatest freedom and prosperity that man had ever been blessed with in the history of mankind. De Toqueville, who went to that country in 1831 and studied the social conditions, was no doubt right when he wrote that there he saw "the freest and most enlightened men placed in the happiest

circumstances which the world affords."<sup>1</sup>

It is of course a great mistake to assume that all men and women were prosperous and there were no poor people among the Americans of that time. As in every other country, on the contrary, there were many men and women who were not blessed with as many worldly effects as they wished they were. Indeed, these are the very persons who left their Eastern home and migrated westward in search of a newer home and better fortune. But a poor man in the United States at that time was quite a different person from what a poor man was in Europe, which was already thickly populated. England in 1831, for instance, was twice as densely populated as the North Atlantic section of the United States is to-day. As long as the American poor man was capable of exertion and willing to work, opportunities were found to his right and left. He was not doomed to that permanent poverty which has been the fate of the less fortunate in the various countries of Europe, and was cheerful and courageous even in his rags and desolate logcabin. The famous French traveler had no doubt this in mind when he wrote that he "never met in America with any citizen so poor not to cast a glance of hope and envy on the enjoyments of the rich, or whose imagination did not possess itself by anticipation of these good things

<sup>1</sup> De Toqueville: Democracy in America, vol. II, Second Book, chap. XIII.

which fate still obstinately withheld from him.<sup>21</sup>

Not only did the Americans enjoy the greatest prosperity that any people had ever had, but they were also free from governmental interference, the oppression or tyranny of a despot and all political injustice. The country was not engaged in almost incessant wars as most countries of Europe were. There was no formidable neighbor on her borders ready to pounce on the prey at the least opportunity to ransack its treasures. Nor were there in the country great bodies of military men to overawe the citizen. Moreover, in sharp contrast to the great prosperity of the people, their burden of government expenditures was lighter than that of any other people in the whole civilized world. In 1824, during his speech in the House of Representatives on the tariff bill of that year, Mr. Henry Clay presented the following table:

<sup>1</sup> De Toqueville: Democracy in America, vol. II, Second Book, chap. X.

COUNTRY	POPULATION	TAXES AND PUBLIC BURDEN £	£ s d	XATION PER CAPITA
Russia in Europe.....	37,000,000	18,000,000	0 9 9	0
France including Corsica.....	30,000,000	37,000,000	1 4 0	0
Great Britain exclusive of Ireland (the taxes computed according to the value of money on the Continent) ..	14,500,000	40,000,000	2 15 0	0
Great Britain & Ireland collectively..	21,500,000	44,000,000	2 0 0	0
England alone .....	11,600,000	36,000,000	3 2 0	0
Spain .....	11,000,000	6,000,000	0 11 0	0
Ireland .....	7,000,000	4,000,000	0 11 0	0
The United States of America....	10,000,000	4,500,000	0 9 0	0

The above table was produced by Mr. Clay to prove that the people of the United States were poorer than the people of any other country because their industries were not adequately protected. Whatever may have been the purpose of Mr. Clay in using the table, if it shows anything, it shows that the burden of the people of the United States was very small.

Thus, at the very time, when Owen and others were busily engaged in bringing to success their



communistic undertakings, there was a vast territory of fertile land waiting impatiently for honest settlers to come and cultivate. Some were already taking the advantage of the great opportunity offered, not for working in the interests of somebody else that they had never known before although he was now their fellow member in the Community, but for improving their own economic and social status and providing homes for their future wives and children. There was no necessity to remain poor if one was willing to work, and the burden of taxation was as slight as it was anywhere. Moreover, they lived under the freest government on earth and there was not a single thing to hinder their free and unrestricted pursuit of life and happiness. Under these circumstances, is it any wonder that the Owenite Communities were not supported with greater enthusiasm than they were? New Harmony, the most important and numerous of all the Communities of this period, had only nine hundred members. The average number of the members of the ten Communities, as far as known, was about two hundred. It is a great wonder that they drew even that number. Perhaps the novelty of the idea had attraction for some of the members, while others, who were out of work, probably sought there a temporary lodging house.

The nature of the undertaking and the time chosen for the experiment, then, seem to have been primarily responsible for the failure of the Owenite Communities.

## 藝術と經濟 (三)

(文藝復興期の經濟史的研究)

阿部 秀助

シエナに於ける資本主義的企業、少くとも十三世紀の後半期に於ける同市の企業的活動は主として同族の力によりしものと他は幾多の富豪が相結合して一種の放資團を組織せしものとあり、即ち前者の典型としてはトロメイ及ビコロミの兩者にして後者に屬するものとしてはサルムベニ、ボンシノリ、スコッチ等なりとす。

先づ前者たるトロメイ家に就きて考察するに同家は既に八世紀頃に其名を知られし由緒あるシエナの舊家にして、千七百十八年アレキサンダー三世シエナのバンヂネリ家より出でし人と同市との間に意志の疏通を欠ぐや、當時専ら之れが和解の衝に當りしものはトロメイ家のトロメオ、トロメイにして此一事を見ても