

dowments, however godlike, merely fix the measure of his duty."¹⁸

In short, each person receives the same income, regardless of his contribution. Greater ability only denotes greater responsibility to contribute to the general well-being. We have developed a variety of devices, notably the progressive income tax, for achieving this ideal.

Many other similar examples are given. There is no longer anything which could be called charity. Each person receives an income by virtue of his being a person, and this income is conceived of as his by right. They spend their surplus on public works, "pleasures in which all share, upon public halls and buildings, art galleries, bridges, statuary, means of transit, and the conveniences of our cities, great musical and theatrical exhibitions, and in providing on a vast scale for the recreations of the people."¹⁹ (It could be that John Kenneth Galbraith's recommendations for spending on the "public sector" were not as original as has been supposed.) Children are no longer dependent upon parents for their livelihood, and the only family bonds are affectional. State governments have disappeared,

and such power as remains has been centralized in Washington. World peace is maintained by "a loose form of federal union of world-wide extent. An international council regulates the mutual intercourse and commerce of the members of the union, and their joint policy toward the more backward races, which are gradually being educated up to civilized institutions."²⁰

Of course, Bellamy was not forecasting; he was dreaming. He was dreaming a dream which evoked or reinforced a vision which had already begun to take shape in the minds of many reformist intellectuals. He made socialism so vague as to how it was to be achieved and so bright as to the future it would bring that many began to lose their misgiv-

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 140. Bellamy provided something else, too, a distorted version of history in the latter part of the nineteenth century, which many a history textbook still carries. Note this description of competition. "The next of the great wastes was that from competition. The field of industry was a battlefield as wide as the world, in which the workers wasted, in assailing one another, energies which, if expended in concerted effort... would have enriched all. As for mercy or quarter in this warfare, there was absolutely no suggestion of it. To deliberately enter a field of business and destroy the enterprises of those who had occupied it previously... was an achievement which never failed to command popular admiration. Nor is there any stretch of fancy in comparing this... with actual warfare."
Ibid., pp. 230-31.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

ings about it. Above all, he domesticated and "Americanized" socialism and contributed greatly to sowing the seeds which have produced a plant that comes nearer and nearer to being An American Dream. By 1964, Democrats in convention could evoke many of the attributes of Bellamy's utopia as recent accomplishments or things to come in the future unabashedly. They could do this, just as Bellamy could, without reference to the compulsion, intervention, loss of vitality in human relations, power in the hands of politicians, spreading delinquency, international disorder, and terror and violence let loose in the world. In short, many people have now flown far enough from reality that they no longer distinguish between utopian fancies and the realities of the world in which they live.

This did not come about overnight, however. Some intellectuals, artists, politicians, and unwary readers may have taken up Bellamy's dream as their own in the 1890's, but most Americans did not. The indications are that a great preponderance of Americans who thought about it in those years would have agreed with Andrew Carnegie, who wrote in 1889:

...To those who propose to substitute Communism for... Individualism the answer, therefore, is: The race has tried that. All progress from that barbarous day to the present time has resulted from its displacement.... It necessitates the changing of human nature itself.... We might as well urge the destruction of the highest existing type of man because he failed to reach our ideal as to favor the destruction of Individualism, Private Property, the Law of Accumulation of Wealth, and the Law of Competition; for these are the highest results of human experience....²¹

At any rate, American voters turned back populism at the polls, rejected Bryan and his more moderate reformism, turned down the Socialist Party in election after election, and would accept only bits and pieces of reformism for many years.

Before Americans would be drawn into the orbit of the vision, their eyes had to be drawn away from viewing human nature, laws in the universe, absolutes and principles, and the record of history. A new outlook had to precede the general acceptance of the dream. The flight from reality had to be extended. ♦

²¹ Andrew Carnegie, "Wealth," *Democracy and the Gospel of Wealth*, Gail Kennedy, ed. (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1949), p. 3.

The next article in this series will concern "The Pragmatic Sanction of Flux."