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BOSTON UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC THEORIES OF JOHN RUSKIN

Submitted by

Elsie Wood Cart

(A.B. Simpson, 1925)

In partial fulfillment of requirements

for the degree of Master of Arts

1929

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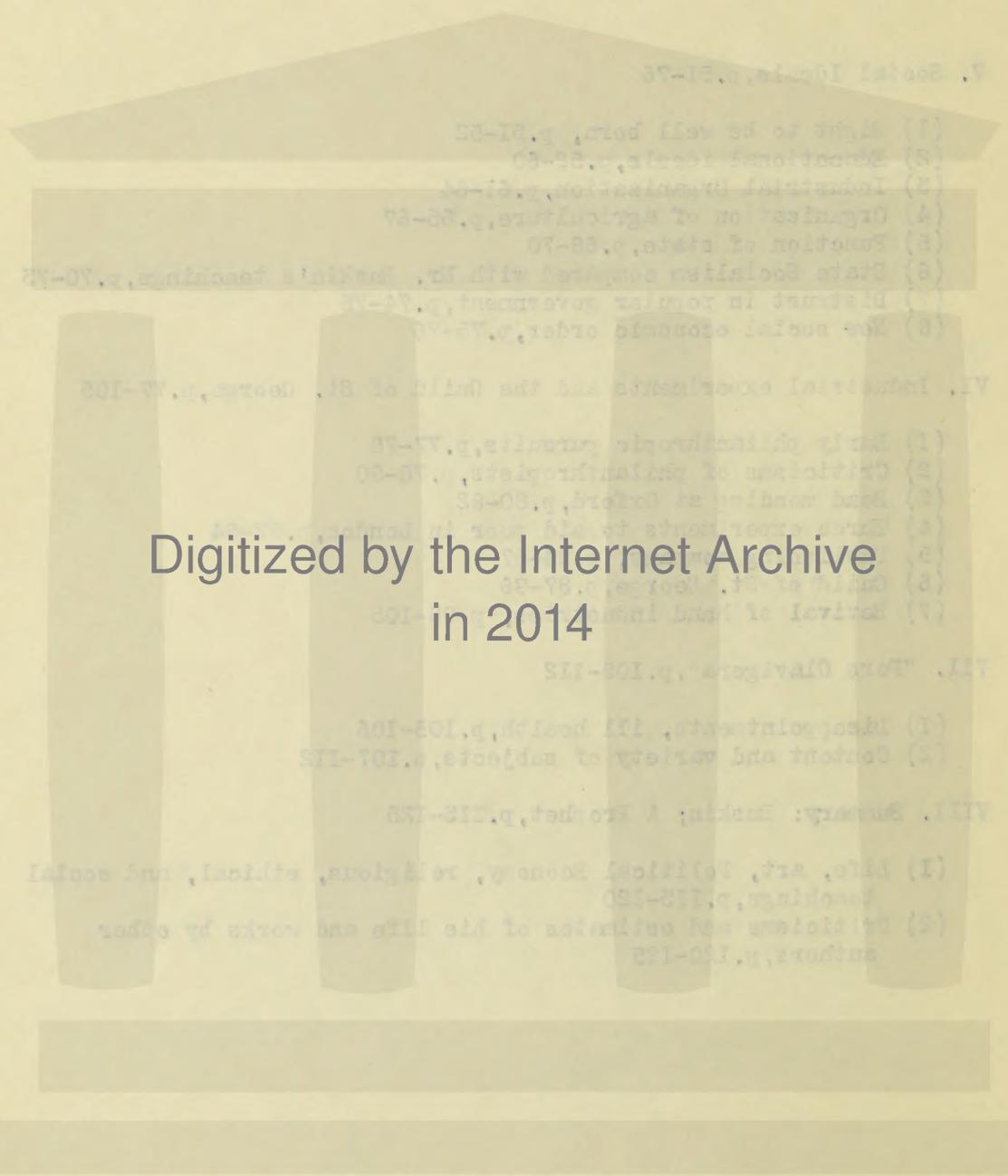
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Significant Facts and Influences in the Early Life of John Ruskin

John Ruskin's autobiography, "Praeterita", has given us such an interesting account of his early life, in all its intimate details, and told, as it is, with such curious simplicity and subtle humor, that it is hard to attempt any summary, and one would like to quote the whole of it verbatim. W. G. Collingwood's two volumes, "The Life of John Ruskin", are perhaps the most authoritative biography. As a friend of Ruskin's, he gives much first-hand information, particularly on Mr. Ruskin's later life, supplementing, as it were, Ruskin's own biography, which though written at the age of sixty-six, gives but little of his later life. The numerous writers and authorities of Ruskin are so divided in their opinions as to an estimate of his influence as a social philosopher and teacher, that it will be impossible to give much of the controversial material that can be found on the subject. But, it seems, in attempting a study of his teachings, that it will be essential to understand a little of his life to get a sympathetic background for his teachings.

J. A. Hobson, Frederick Harrison, Arthur C. Benson Edward T. Cook, and many other eminent authorities on Ruskin, all give very vivid pictures of the life of this precocious child with many of their own speculations in attempting to trace the development of his brilliant but unusual career, and how and why he formulated his own philosophy of life and his teachings.

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Significant Parts and Influences in the Early Life of John Dewey

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There is an attempt at present to take a psychological approach

to his life and define his success in terms of early training and environment; or again, an attempt to explain his philosophy and genius as results of unhappy childhood experiences, as illustrated by the article in Mental Hygiene, "Why John Ruskin Never Learned How to Live".^I

Whatever the approach or conclusions, no one has given a more interesting psychological study than the "Praeterita", these reminiscences of an old man reflecting upon his boyhood.

Though born in London, and living all his life near London, first at Herne Hill, and later in 1843, at a more spacious home at Denmark Hill, this only son was a "Scot of the Scotsman".² His parents, friends, teachers, and the standards and influences of his early life were chiefly Scottish. Even the writers whose influence he first felt were Scotch.³ In "Praeterita", he describes his father as "an entirely honest sherry merchant".⁴ "My father began business as a wine-merchant, with no capital, and a considerable amount of debts bequeathed by my grandfather. He accepted the bequest, and paid them all before he began to lay up anything for himself".⁵ He also describes his father as a "violent Tory of the old school, (Walter Scott's, that is to say, and Homer's) I name these two out of the numberless great Tory writers, because

I Mental Hygiene, Oct. 1927, p.579

2 W. G. Collingwood, Life of John Ruskin, v.I, p.I

3 W. G. Collingwood, Life of John Ruskin, v.I, p. 3

4 Praeterita, v.I, p.15

5 Praeterita, v.I, p.15

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Whatever the approach or conclusions, no one has given a more interesting psychological study than the "Portrait", these various facets of an old man reflecting upon his boyhood.

Though born in London, and living all his life near London first at Kew and Hill, and later in 1863 at a more exclusive home at Hamstead Hill, this only son was a "boy of the gentleman". His parents, friends, teachers, and the standards and influences of his early life were chiefly Scottish. Even the writers whom he imitated in his first years were Scottish. In "Portrait", he describes his father as "an entirely honest shabby merchant". The father began business as a wine-merchant, with no capital, and a considerable amount of debt guaranteed by my grandfather. He accepted the demand, and sold them all before he began to lay up anything for himself." He also describes his father as a "violent Tory of the old school." (Walter Scott's, that is to say, and Hamstead) I read these two out of the number of great Tory writers, because

1 Harvard Magazine, Oct. 1917, p. 272
 2 W. G. Collingwood, Life of John Ruskin, v. 1, p. 1
 3 W. G. Collingwood, Life of John Ruskin, v. 1, p. 2
 4 Portrait, v. 1, p. 13
 5 Portrait, v. 1, p. 13

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they were my own two masters". His father loved beautiful pictures and made it possible for his son to see only the best in art, Mr. Ruskin says that his father never allowed him to look at a cheap, or unwholesome, or crude picture. His gives this as the cause for his own devotion to art. "It happened that my father had a rare love of pictures, which was the real cause of the bias of my after life.... Accordingly, whenever there was a gallery to be seen, we stopped at the nearest town for the night; in reverentest manner, I thus saw nearly all of the noblemen's houses in England; not indeed myself at that time caring for the pictures, but much for castles and ruins, feeling more and more, as I grew older, the healthy delight of un-covetous admiration, and perceiving, as soon as I could perceive any political truth at all, that it was probably much happier to live in a small house, and have Warwick Castle to be astonished at, than² to live in Warwick Castle, and have nothing to be astonished at".

He describes his mother as being very exemplary. Of his mother's history, he merely states that her father died when she was about seven and that she attended a fashionable day school, Mrs. Rice's, "Where she was taught evangelical principles, and became the pattern girl and the best needlewoman in the school ...being a girl of great power, with not a little pride, grew more and more exemplary in her entirely conscientious career At last, my mother formed into a

1 Praeterita, v. I, p. 16

2 Praeterita, v. I, p. 17

1

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 with not a little pride, grew more and more exemplary in her ex-
 tremely conscientious career. . . . At last, my mother turned into a

1 Præterea, v. 1, p. 18
 2 Præterea, v. 1, p. 17

consummate housewife, was sent for to Scotland to take care of my paternal grandfather's house; who was gradually ruining himself; and who at last effectually ruined, killed himself. My father went to London; was a clerk in a merchant's house for nine years, without a holiday; then began business on his own account; paid off his father's debts; and married his exemplary Greydon cousin".^I

Collingwood traces the Ruskin ancestry back to many outstanding and powerful men and women, however, Mr. Ruskin very modestly writes that he knows but little of his own family ancestral tree and most of the members he mentions were worthy but obscure characters. But at any rate, those who wish to trace the heredity of this remarkable man and to see what strains have influenced it, have, it would seem, unusual ground for doing so. Being an only son of first cousins, who were of set character and no longer young, and living almost continuously with them until their deaths, at the ages respectively of seventy-nine and ninety, it is small wonder that he would be unusually influenced by his folks, "who devoted their whole lives to making the most of their wonderful child, according to their own lights".² "No man was ever more carefully formed by deliberate training and prearranged education; and few men have more conscientiously and effectually carried out their parents' plan."³

Of his early life, he says, "I lived until I was four years old in Hunter street, Brunswick Square, the greater part of the year; for

¹ *Praeterita*, v. I, p. 17

² Frederick Harrison, *John Ruskin*, p. 8

³ W. G. Collingwood, *Life of John Ruskin*, v. I, p. 14

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1. Frederick, v. 1, p. 17
 2. Frederick, v. 1, p. 17
 3. W.C. Collingwood, Life of John Mackin, v. 1, p. 14

a few weeks in the summer breathing country air by taking lodgings in small cottages either about Hampstead, or at Dulwich....".^I

"My mother's general principles of first treatment were, to guard me with steady watchfulness from all avoidable pain or danger; and, for the rest, to let me amuse myself as I liked, provided I was neither fretful nor troublesome. But the law was, that I should find my own amusement. No toys of any kind were at first allowed nor did I painfully wish, what I was never permitted for an instant to hope, or even imagine, the possession of such things as one saw in toy-shops. I had a bunch of keys to play with, as long as I was capable only of pleasure in what glittered and jingled; as I grew older, I had a cart, and a ball; and when I was five or six years old, two boxes of well cut wooden bricks. With these modest, but, I still think sufficient possessions, and being summarily whipped if I cried, did not do as I was bid, or stumbled on the stairs, I soon attained serene and secure methods of life and motion; and could pass my days contentedly in tracing the squares and comparing the colors of my carpet;- examining the knots in the wood of the floor, or counting the bricks in the opposite houses; with rapturous intervals of excitement during the filling of the water-cart...".²

He very humorously describes the way he looked when he had his portrait painted at three and a half. "The portrait in question

¹ Praeterita, p. 18

² Praeterita, p. 20

represents a very pretty child with yellow hair, dressed in a white frock like a girl, with a broad light-blue sash and blue shoes to match; the feet of the child wholesomely large in proportion to its body; and the shoes still more wholesomely large in proportion to the feet." ^I

If John Ruskin's early training was unusually rigid and exacting it merely reflects the personality of his mother, "who could ride all day without leaning back in the carriage" ² However, young John was no ordinary child. He describes his method of learning to read by learning words in their collective aspect, an entirely unusual method at that time. "I absolutely refused to learn to read by syllables; but would get an entire sentence by heart with great facility, and point with accuracy to every word in the page as I repeated it..... I went on in my own way learnt whole words at a time, as I did patterns; and at five years old was sending for my 'second volumes' to the circulating library." ³

His folks had intended to make a clergyman of him. He says that his mother had "solemnly devoted me to God before I was born; in imitation of Hannah". ⁴ This meant "that she would try to send me to college, and make a clergyman of me; and I was accordingly bred for 'the Church'". ⁵ While his father in later years used to lament ⁶ the fact (with tears in his eyes) "he would have been a Bishop".

1 Praeterita, 1p.20

2 Praeterita, 1p.21

3 Praeterita, 1p.22

4 Praeterita, 1p.22

5. Praeterita 4p.23

Possibly, his mother's duty in regard to John's manner of spending the Sabbath had some influence in his decision not to become a Bishop. "The horror of Sunday used to cast its prescient gloom as far back in the week as Friday - and all the glory of Monday, with church seven days removed again, was no equivalent to it."¹

Mr. Ruskin's timidity and withdrawal from most social life was also the result of his early training. His folks were of the middle class, but with more wealth than the majority of middle class families possessed, but because of pride, his mother would not court those above her in worldly rank, "and she was not easily approached except by people fully equal to her in strength of character, of whom there could never be many."² Ruskin describes this phase of his home life in his autobiography as follows, "Weseldom had company, even on week days; and I was never allowed to come down to dessert, until much later in life - when I was able to crack nuts neatly. I was then permitted to come down to crack other people's nuts for them - but never to have any myself, not anything else of dainty kind, either then or at other times."³

Around the Ruskin home at Herne Hill was a very beautiful garden which was Paradise to the boy it differed only from the garden of Eden, that, "in this one, all the fruits were forbidden; and there were

¹ Praeterita, v. I, p 26

² W. C. Collingwood, Life of John Ruskin, v. I, p. 13

³ Praeterita, v. I, p 28

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times
 found the Mackin home at Haines Hill was a very beautiful gar-
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1. Mackin, v. 1, p. 26
 2. W. B. Gallows, Life of John Mackin, v. 1, p. 12
 3. Mackin, v. 1, p. 26

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no companionable beasts".¹

The affects of his early training are shown in this description which Mr. Ruskin gives of himself at the age of seven, "On the whole, by the time I was seven years old, I was already getting too independent, mentally, even of my father and mother; and, having nobody else to be dependent upon, began to lead a very small, perky, contented, conceited, Cock-Robinson-Crusoe sort of life, in the central point which it appeared to me, that I occupied in the universe".²

Probably no other child ever had a more thorough training in the use and study of the Bible. In his autobiography, he says that he and his mother began reading the Bible together as soon as he was able to read, and by the time he was twelve years of age, she had taken him through it six times, from Genesis to Revelation, hard names, genealogies and all, even including the Apocalypse. At the age of three, he could repeat the whole of the one hundred and nineteenth Psalm, and by the time he entered Oxford he had committed about thirty Psalms and chapters from the Bible, in most cases learning the whole of them. To this persistent and thorough study of the Bible, he attributes his power of his use of the English language.²

Of the virtues, that such childhood training developed in him, he says that he had acquired at a very early age a "perfect meaning of Peace, in thought, act, and word."³ In addition, a "perfect under-

¹ Praeterita, v. I, p 33

² Praeterita, v. I, p. 35

³ Praeterita, v. I, p. 36

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1. Expository, v. 1, p. 33
2. Expository, v. 1, p. 33
3. Expository, v. 1, p. 33

standing of Obedience and Faith and lastly, I had received, an
 extreme perfection in palate and all other bodily senses." ^I

The faults of his training were that he had nothing to love and nothing to endure. He loved his parents in a distant, reverent way, and they were a part of his life, but he was not intimate with them. "I had nothing to endure my strength was never exercised, my patience never tried, ... my courage never fortified. Thirdly, I was taught no precision and etiquette of manners; it were enough if, in the little society we saw, I remained unobtrusive... and lastly, and chief of evils, my judgment of right and wrong, and powers of independent action, were left entirely undeveloped; because the bridle and blinkers were never taken off me." ²

Nevertheless, this sheltered simple life continued into manhood. His parents took him to Switzerland, in the same leisurely way that they had travelled over the whole of the British Isles. He also saw France and Italy with them. In this way, he had an opportunity to see the Alps, the glory of the scenery of Lake Geneva and of Switzerland. He says that he pities those who are obliged to see these countries by the aid of steam, in the hurry and bustle of modern travel. His unusual and passionate love of nature, was in

¹ Praeterita, v. I, p.39

² Praeterita, v. I, p.40

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see these countries by the aid of a crowd, in the hurry and bustle of
modern travel. His unusual and passionate love of nature, was in

1 Prescriptions, v. 1, p. 39
2 Prescriptions, v. 1, p. 40

this way developed, until the dominate force of his early life. Critics unite in their opinion that he has taught us to appreciate the sublime in nature, the Alps, the forests, the sunrises, and the sunsets. "And as a man rarely convinces unless he is convinced, so Ruskin's mission of Mountain worship has been an outcome of a passion besides which other interests and occupations of this youth were only toys."¹

Ruskin's pedagogic training was rather incomplete and spasmodic. His mother was his tutor in Bible work; his father, in the study of certain favorite authors, and in the study of art and architecture. He probably spent but about two consecutive years in school up to the age of seventeen when he matriculated in Oxford. He had studied some Latin, a bit of French, and some geometry but "no doubt, his general education was scanty".² But in every way, Ruskin's parents maintained the ease, the quiet, and the luxury of his home atmosphere even after he reached manhood. Thus when he went to Oxford, his mother took rooms in Oxford to be near him, and he spent most of his evenings with her, his father coming down for Sunday.³ This ease and quiet was in striking contrast to Carlyle's trials and struggles, and yet Ruskin and Carlyle arrived at practically the same views of life, even though they went over entirely different roads.

1 W.C.Collingwood, v. I, p.42 (Life of Ruskin)

2 Frederick Harrison, Life of Ruskin, p. 16

3 Ward, Mary Alden, Prophets of the Nineteenth Century, p.89

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 sion which other interests and occupations of his youth were
 only toys."

Ruskin's pedagogic training was rather incomplete and sporadic.
 His father was his tutor in Bible work; his father, in the study of
 certain favorite authors, and in the study of art and architecture.
 He probably spent but about two consecutive years in school up to
 the age of seventeen when he matriculated in Oxford. He had studied
 some Latin, a bit of French, and some geometry but his school life
 general education was scanty. But in every way, Ruskin's parents
 maintained the pace, the pace, and the luxury of his home elsewhere
 even after he reached Oxford. Thus when he went to Oxford, his
 father took rooms in Oxford he he near him, and he spent most of his
 evenings with her, his father coming down for Sunday. This was
 and quiet was in striking contrast to Carlyle's trials and struggles,
 and yet Ruskin and Carlyle arrived at practically the same view of
 life, even though they went over entirely different roads.

1 W. G. Collingwood, Life of Ruskin, v. 1, p. 43.
 2 Richard Latham, Life of Ruskin, p. 18.
 3 Ward, Mary Allen, Portrait of the Master, p. 10.

Ruskin had unusual talent in three directions, in art, in poetry, and, in science. Even before his college days, he had written an article for an architectural magazine which had attracted a great deal of attention. He also had written a series on geology for a magazine of Natural History, and had become a regular contributor to "Friendship's Offering", writing poems on the Battle of Waterloo, the Day of Judgment, and similar topics. The editor spoke of him as "Our ^I gifted contributor". It was, however, a sort of an accident which finally determined in what line he would express himself. At thirteen, "My father's partner, Mr. Henry Telford, gave me Rogers' "Italy" and determined the tenor of my life". ² It happened that Rogers' "Italy" was filled with Turner's illustrations, and from that time on he became an ardent disciple of Turner.

During these years Turner was receiving a great deal of criticism, especially from "Blackwood's Magazine". After a particularly offensive article which had appeared in the magazine making fun of Turner's works, Ruskin rushed to the defense of the artist by a magazine article, which soon grew so that he decided to make a pamphlet out of it. Finally it outgrew the proportions of a good sized

¹ M.A. Ward, Prophets of the Nineteenth Century, p.91

² Praeterita, v.I, p.139

Martin had unusual talent in three directions, in art, in poetry,
 and in science. Even before his college days, he had written an
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pamphlet, so he finally made it into a book, which became the First Volume of Modern Painters, as we have it now. He had not made his defense of Turner without a careful study of the artist's paintings. It so happened that Mr. Windus, a retired coach-maker, had the finest collection of Turner's works then in existence. These he systematically and thoroughly studied.¹ From that time he, himself, began collecting Turner paintings and by 1844 already had a collection of which he could well be proud.² The first volume of Modern Painters was published in 1843, when the author was twenty-four years of age. Lest his youth detract, he merely signed it, "An Oxford Graduate". He continued to work on Modern Painters, until it grew to five volumes, and represented twenty years of work. It created a storm of ridicule and criticism but Ruskin was quite prepared for such attacks, and when the author of "Blackwood" said "his style might be excusable in a young country curate in his first year of probation",³ it seemed to make no impression upon him, but he went on calmly writing the second volume and by the time the second volume was finished, his position as art critic was assured.⁴

At the end of the first volume of Modern Painters, he asks the young artists of England to "go to Nature in all singleness of heart, and walk with her laboriously, and trustingly, having no other thought but how to best penetrate her meaning; rejecting nothing, neglecting nothing, and scorning nothing".⁵

1 M. Ethel Jameson, A Bibliographical Contribution, p.3

2 M. Ethel Jameson, A Bibliographical Contribution, p.4

3 M.A. Ward, Prophets of the Nineteenth Century, p. 94

4 W.G. Collingwood, Life of Ruskin, v. I, p. 129

5 W.G. Collingwood, Life of Ruskin, v. I, p. 180

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 nothing, and copying nothing".

1. M. Ethel Jamson, A Bibliographical Description, p. 2.
 2. M. Ethel Jamson, A Bibliographical Description, p. 2.
 3. M. A. Wain, Principles of the Nineteenth Century, p. 24.
 4. W. C. Collingwood, Life of Burke, v. 1, p. 127.
 5. W. C. Collingwood, Life of Burke, v. 1, p. 127.

A certain group of young artists had formed what was called the "Pre-Raphaelite" school of art. Chief among its founders were Holman Hunt, J. E. Millais, and Dante Rossetti. Mr. Ruskin knew the two first mentioned well, but he had never met Rossetti. At last, a meeting was arranged and he was so pleased with Rossetti's works that he agreed to buy from the struggling young artist all of his pictures presented to him, at market value up to a certain stipulated sum. But his generosity did not cease there, when Rossetti's poems were refused by the publishers, Ruskin stood the expense of getting them published. And in the next volume of Modern Painters, in which he had defended the "Pre-Raphaelites", he published Rossetti's name in connection with Millais and Hunt. He finally wrote a series of articles to the "Times" and published a pamphlet on "Pre-Raphaelitism", explaining the aim of this new school of artists, and their sincerity. At last, he won recognition for them. Thus he became the recognized leader of a new field of art, whose aim was nature before conventionality, sincerity, and delicacy. Thus he finally developed his theory of what true art consists. The basis of which was, as stated before, that art must be based upon fact and must serve humanity by presenting noble ideals. Thus as he himself states it, "The life of art is in religion; secondly, its food is

Faint, illegible text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. The text is mirrored and difficult to decipher.

in the passionate love of nature; thirdly, its health is in the hu-
 mility of the artist."¹

During these years of popularity when it seemed his success was at its highest, Ruskin had his share of disappointments and unhappiness. He says in Praeterita, that the evil effects of his training were not "as might be expected that I grew up selfish and unaffectionate; but that, when affection did come, it came with violence utterly unmanageable, at least by me, who never before had anything to manage."² His first great disappointment was a love affair, which began at the age of seventeen and continued for years to a hopeless end. His father's partner, Mr. Domecq, brought his four Spanish daughters to visit the Ruskins. All were particularly charming girls, but one, Adele, particularly appealed to young John. He was shy, awkward, and was incapable of in any degree appearing a graceful lover, as this Spanish beauty was accustomed to. He wrote poems, stories, plays, to her, and succeeded in getting them published in "Friendship's Offering" all to no avail. Even after she left, he continued his suit, showering upon her his tributes of love, even though he did not receive a word of encouragement. At last, he heard that she was married to a French nobleman. He concluded his correspondence by writing a poem, "Farewell", which told

"The grief my words were weak to tell,
 And thine unable to console."³

¹ Bliss, Encyclopedia of Social Reform, p.1209

² v.I, p.39

³ Frederick Harrison, p.33

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 were not so slight as expected that I grew up selfish and egotistic
 and; but that when afflicted with grief, it came with violence and
 dramatic, at least by me, the latter before had anything to do
 with it." His first great disappointment was a love affair, which began
 at the age of seventeen and continued for years to a late age.
 His father's error, Mr. Tolson, brought his love affair to a
 close. All were particularly charming girls, but one
 alone, particularly appealed to his heart. He was very serious, and
 was incapable of in any way expressing a grateful love, as this
 peculiar beauty was unapproachable. He wrote poetry, stories, plays, and
 her, and succeeded in getting her published in "Literary Digest" after
 long and so on. After she left, he continued his work,
 showing upon her his tributes of love, even though he did not re-
 ceive a word of acknowledgment. At last he heard that she was married
 to a young soldier. He concluded his correspondence by writing a
 note, "Dear Mrs. Tolson," which said:

"Dear Mrs. Tolson, I have just read your letter to me.
 And I am glad to hear of it."

I have, Journal, 1890.
 2 v. 1, p. 22
 2 Journal, 1890.

Although he rather jokingly refers in his Autobiography to this first love affair, it was but a fortnight later that he fell seriously ill, and was pronounced consumptive. Just whether his unfortunate love affair had been the direct cause or not is hard to determine, but many authors today are of the opinion that it was. (See Cellingwood, Harrison, Ward, and Cook). At any rate, he was forced to leave Oxford and travel and rest for a year and a half, giving up all hope of the honors that he had hoped to receive. However on third trial he won the Newdigate Verse Prize, with one of his poems. He eventually went back to Oxford and received his degree in 1842, and a year later received his Master's degree.

It was during his convalescence that that he was thrown with a beautiful Scotch girl, who was a favorite with his parents. They thought that it would be best for him to be surrounded by young women that he might forget his former love. A few years later, because his folks desired it, he proposed and was accepted. The girl's parents were as eager for the marriage as was the Ruskin's, for the wealth and position that it would bring to their daughter. The girl was brilliant, gay, fond of pleasure, the dance, and all of social life, while Mr. Ruskin was quite the opposite in every respect. She had no interest in his work and at one time dared him to write a fairy tale which she felt that he was unable to do. For her amuse-

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 parents were as eager for the marriage as was the Rankin's, for the
 wealth and position that it would bring to their daughter. The girl
 was brilliant, gay, fond of pleasure, the dance, and all of social
 life, while Mr. Rankin was quite the opposite in every respect. She
 had no interest in his work and at one time dared him to write a
 lousy tale which she felt that he was unable to do. For her a was-

ment he wrote his well known tale, "The King of the Golden River", but even such a success did not win the sympathy, the understanding, or the affection of his beautiful wife. ^I After six years, his wife astonished everyone by leaving him. He, however, continued with his writings taking without any sort of defence the criticism that was hurled at him. His friends took his part and could find nothing to blame in his treatment of her, but scandal continued and finally reached a climax when Mrs. Ruskin married, Millais, the painter, who had been one of Mr. Ruskin's closest friends, and one that he had so ably defended in his pamphlet, "Pre-Raphaelitism". ²

To understand a little of what Ruskin had been doing up to this time, I wish to give the works that had already been published of his writings. His Modern Painters had had the third and fourth volumes added by 1855; the fifth, in 1858. "The Seven Lamps of Architecture" came out in 1849; In 1850, a volume of his poems were published by his father; while the "Stones of Venice" was published in 1851. Besides this work Mr. Ruskin had been interested in various forms of philanthropy, one of which was his interest in the Working Men's college which took the form of teaching drawing on every Thursday evening. He accepted the Slade Professorship at Oxford and kept it for nine years resigning because of ill health. By way of relaxation

1 M.A. Ward, Prophets of the Nineteenth Century, p. 100
 2 W.G. Collingwood, Life of John Ruskin, p. 210

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I M. A. Yard, Portrait of the Nineteenth Century, p. 100
S. G. Colledge, Life of John Ruskin, p. 210

after hard study or lecture tours, Ruskin turned to minerealogy, and wrote several articles for the "Geological Magazine".¹ His lectures were quite a success. Collingwood says of Ruskin, "As a lecturer Mr. Ruskin was most engaging."²

For twenty years Ruskin had been writing or lecturing almost continuously on art. He was recognized as the foremost art critic of England. "At forty, he stood at the summit of his power and fame... an interpreter in art and nature as England had not hitherto produced."³ So much was his judgment respected that the London Punch represented a member of the Royal Academy complaining:-

"I paints and paints
Hears no complaints,
And sells before I'm dry;
Till savage Ruskin
Sticks his tusk in,⁴
And nobody will buy."

Wrapped up as he had been in art for the past twenty years, with an enviable reputation, it had seemed impossible that he was one of the most dissatisfied men of his age. Gradually he had begun to feel that all that he had done had been trivial and useless. He was disappointed with his philanthropic adventures and felt that they were merely giving a little immediate relief but were getting at no great cause of all the sorrow and grief in the world. "He had created a department of literature all his own, adorning it with works of which

1 M.E. Jameson, A Bibliographical Contribution, p.15

2 W.G. Collingwood, Life of John Ruskin, v.I, p.218

3 F.W. Roe, Social Philosophy of Carlyle and Ruskin, p.135

4 W.G. Collingwood, Life of John Ruskin, v.I, p.230

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I. B. Baskin, A Bibliographical Description, p. 33
I. B. Baskin, Life of John Baskin, v. 1, p. 33
I. B. Baskin, Social Anthropology of Baskin and Paris, p. 120
I. B. Baskin, Life of John Baskin, v. 1, p. 33

the like had never been seen. He had enriched the art of England with examples of a new and beautiful draughtsman ship, and the language with passages of poetic description and eloquent declamation, quite unrivalled in their own way. As a philosopher, he had built up a theory of art, as yet uncontested, and treated both its abstract nature and its relations to human conduct and policy. As a historian, he had thrown new light on the Middle Ages and Renaissance, illustrating, in a way, then novel, their chronicles by their remains. He had beaten down all opposition, risen above all detraction, and won the prize of honor - only to realize, as he received it, that the fight had been but a pastime tournament, after all; and to hear, through the applause, the enemy's trumpet sounding to battle. For now, without the battle, there were no realities to face; as to art - "The best in this kind are but shadows."

As suddenly as he changed his interest from art to humanity, did this popular writer of England lose his fame as a writer. He had gone to Switzerland for a rest when he finished his fifth volume of "Modern Painters", there it was that he began his first essays on social reform. He says of this, in his autobiography, "In the valley of Chamoui I gave up my art work and wrote this little volume (Unto This Last), the beginning of my days of reprobation."

1 C.W. Collingwood, Life of John Ruskin, v.I, p.259
 2 Praeterita, v.I, p.352

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1 U. S. Collingwood, Life of John Ruskin, v. 1, p. 233
 2 Ruskin, v. 1, p. 233

As early as 1847, during a tour in Scotland, he was distressed at the conditions of working people of the day. He saw a group of fishermen at Dunbar and he writes about them thusly, "I cannot understand why you merry people can smile through the world as you do. It seems to me a sad one - more suffering than pleasure in it, and less of hope than either - at least if the interpretations set by the pious people of the Bible be true and, if not, still worse. But it is woeful to see those poor fishermen toiling all night and bringing in a few casks of herring each twice a week or so, and lying watching their nets dry on the cliffs all day; their wives and children abused and dirty -scolding, fighting, and roaring through their un-
" I
varying lives.

As he saw misery and luxury developing side by side he began to feel that his interest in art was selfish. The question became predominant in his mind, "What is the object of my life?" Under this new impulse he began to write on the Political Economy of Art, trying to find the best method of employing artists, of educating workmen,
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and of elevating public taste. He stressed the necessity of preserving ancient monuments, of teaching drawing and art in the schools not as a means of developing more artists, but to teach everyone a true appreciation of true art and the joy that comes from such

1 E.T.Cook, Life of Ruskin, v. I. p. 214

2 M.A.Ward, Prophets of the Nineteenth Century, p. 109

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a study and to try to develop in the patrons and critics of art a right taste and appreciation of the best in art. In this he thought the state had a very clear and direct duty. It was already going beyond the belief of the time, and there were few to support him in his new theory. His study of architecture drew him more and more into the study of the problems of humanity, and in his book "Stones of Venice" he really gave the basis of what later became the soul of his social philosophy. ^I What he saw must be true of art and architecture gradually grew in his mind until it took in the whole of the problems of struggling humanity. To him Gothic architecture expressed what was best in architecture because he felt that it sprang from a sound and noble existence. "He felt that beauty if it would be a joy forever must be a joy for all." ² Of this he says, "We shall never make our houses for the rich, beautiful, until we have begun by making our houses for the poor, beautiful. As it is a common and diffused pride, so it is a common and diffused delight on which alone our future arts can be founded... Our cities are a wilderness of spinning wheel instead of palaces; yet the people have not clothes. We have blackened every leaf of English greenwood with ashes and the people die of cold, our harbours are a forest of merchant ships and the people die of hunger." ³

¹ Bliss, Encyclopedia of Social Reform, p. 1209

² Ruskin's Works, v. XVIII, p. 502

³ Ibid, v. XVIII, p. 502

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¹ Stones of Venice, Vol. I, p. 120
² Stones of Venice, Vol. I, p. 120
³ Stones of Venice, Vol. I, p. 120

In a passage from "Stones of Venice", we can see the forecast of his wider vision of art and architecture, here, although the history of Venice was his text he includes in his theme the wider applications of national welfare and the elements of what is the "supreme good"¹ in the nation. "Great nations write their autobiographies in three manuscripts: the book of their deeds, the book of their words, and the book of their Art. Not one of these books can be understood unless we read the other two; but of the three, the only one quite trustworthy is the last"².

Again, in volume two of "Stones of Venice" he gives a summary of his social doctrine. "We have much studied and much perfected, of late, the great civilized invention of the division of labour; only we give it a false name. It is not, truly speaking, the labour that is divided; but the men:- Divided into mere segments of men - broken into small fragments and crumbs of life; so that all the little intelligence that is left in a man is not enough to make a pin, or a nail, but exhausts itself in making the point of a pin or the head of a nail....And the great cry that arises from all our manufacturing cities, louder than their furnace blast, is all in very deed for this,- that we manufacture everything there except men"³.

¹ This expression, "supreme good" is used by Ruskin in many illustrations, see Sesame and Lilies, Crown of Wild Olive, Unto This Last, and Munera Pulveris

² W. H. Shaw, John Ruskin, p.33

³ Ibid, p.39

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head of a nail.... And the great art that arises from all our man-
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I think especially, "express good" is used by Ruskin in many instances
to mean, see Stones of Venice, Volume of the Stones, Stones of Venice,
and Stones of Venice
Stones of Venice, Vol. 2, p. 103
Stones of Venice, Vol. 2, p. 103

Characteristic Changes in Ruskin's Attitude during The Transition Period

Gradually Ruskin formulated the idea he expresses in the following: "To brighten, to strengthen, to refine, or to form a single living spirit, never enters into our estimate of advantages. And all the evil to which that cry is urging our myriads can be met only in one way: not by teaching or preaching, for to teach and preach them is but to show them their misery and to mock at it. It can be met only by a right understanding, on the part of all classes, of what kinds of labour are good for men, raising them, and making them happy; by a determined sacrifice of such convenience, or beauty, or cheapness as is to be got only by the degradation of the workman."^I

Collingwood says of these earlier works of Ruskin, "They lead to his final conclusions, but they do not express them. What the juvenile poems are to these works, they are to the later works,- seedlings and saplings, so like and so unlike the full-grown plant."²

Ruskin had come to be looked upon as a master of English prose. Time and again he had received tributes to his style of writing. Ruskin himself gives credit for this success to his unique training in the Bible. "Once knowing the Thirty-second chapter of Deuteronomy, the 119th Psalm, the Sermon on the Mount every syllable by heart, it was not possible for me, even in the foolishlest times of youth to write entirely superficial or formal English."³

¹ W. H. Shaw, John Ruskin, p.40

² C. W. Collingwood, Life of John Ruskin, v.II, p.264

³ Praeterita, v.I, p.37

Characteristics Changes in Sweden's Attitude during the Transition Period

Gradually Britain formulated the idea in exercises in the follow-
 ing: "To brighten, to strengthen, to refine, or to form a single liv-
 ing spirit, never enters into our estimate of advantage. And all the
 evil to which they are subject our efforts can be set only in one
 way: not by teaching or preaching, for to teach and preach them is but
 to show them their misery and to mock at it. It can be set only by a
 right understanding on the part of all classes, of what kind of in-
 dent are good for men, raising them, and setting them on a so-
 berated position of such convenience, or beauty, or elegance as is
 to be got only by the degradation of the workman."

1

Goldingwood says of these earlier works of Sweden, "They lead to
 his final conclusions, but they do not express them. That the juvenile
 poems are to these works, they are to the later works, - teaching and
 exhorting, so like and so unlike the full-blown plants."

2

Sweden had come to be looked upon as a master of English prose.
 Time and again he had received tribute as his style of writing. His-
 torians give credit for this success to his unique training in
 the Bible. "Once knowing the Bible's second chapter of Deuteronomy,
 the 15th Psalm, the Gerson on the Mount, . . . every syllable by
 heart, it was not possible for me, even in the feeblest lines of
 youth to write entirely superficial or formal English."

3

1 W. H. Shaw, *John Sweden*, p. 60
 2 C. W. Goldingwood, *Life of John Sweden*, v. 1, p. 254
 3 *Swedenborg*, v. 1, p. 27

George Eliot wrote of Ruskin's style of writing, "The last two volumes of 'Modern Painters' contain, I think, some of the finest writing of the age. He is strongly akin to the sublimest part of Wordsworth".¹ The National Address of 1865, tribute was paid to Ruskin, "We are gratefully united in the conviction that your genius has been a great gift, nobly used by you for the benefit of your country and the world, and that your writings have proved and will increasingly prove a source of strength and joy to the English-speaking race."² "The world has long been of one mind as to the beauty of Ruskin's writings, but I venture to think that even as yet full justice has not been rendered to his consummate mastery over our English tongue: that it has not been put high enough, and some of its unique qualities have not been perceived. Now I hold that in certain ways, and in certain rarer passages of his, Ruskin not only surpasses every contemporary writer of prose (which, indeed, is obvious enough) but he calls out of our glorious English tongue notes more strangely beautiful and inspiring than any has ever yet issued from that instrument."³

It was the belief of Ruskin during the beginning of this transitional period that people read his works merely for the beauty of expression and not for the thought. "It was the misery

¹ W.H. Shaw, John Ruskin, p. II

² Ibid, p. 12

³ Ibid, p. II

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¹ W.H. Shaw, John Ruskin, p. 11
² Ibid., p. 12
³ Ibid., p. 11

of Ruskin to be termed 'word painter' instead of a thinker. He bewailed his punishment 'for setting words prettily together', being read for his style, and not for his meaning. He always reprobated mere 'descriptions'.^I Because of this feeling he allowed his earlier works to run out of print. "But the youthful works were still read; high prices were paid for them, or they were smuggled in from America. And since the epoch of 'Fors' has passed, he has agreed to the reprinting of all that early material."²

Where before he had talked on art, now if he talked on art it was always in its relation to ethics.¹ Where before he was a philanthropist, giving much time to The Workingmen's College" and such experiments, he began to be doubtful as to their value and turned to planning a reconstruction on a larger scale. "Until forty he was a believer in English Protestantism; afterwards he could not reconcile current beliefs with the facts of life as he saw them, and had to reconstruct his creed from the foundations".³

One of the most marked changes during this period, was his loneliness. Where before he had been "Lionized" and had become a popular art critic, with everyone awaiting his review of the new pictures exhibited at the art exhibits, now his admiring followers deserted him.³ His parents were no longer the guides and companions that they had been, they could not understand his new attitude.

I W. H. Shaw, John Ruskin, p.13
 2 C. W. Collingwood, v.II,p.265
 3 Ibid, v.II,p.266

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1. W. M. Shaw, John Ruskin, p. 11
 2. W. M. Colledge, p. 11, p. 112
 3. Ibid, p. 11, p. 112

A Brief Resume of the Social Conditions of England

At the beginning of this new period he stood alone. No small wonder that he termed it "the beginning of his days of reprobation." Although, no doubt, he had read Carlyle by 1860, he was not as yet the warm friend of his that he later became. So at the outset of this new period, when Ruskin had reached the peak of intellectual attainment, he started out alone to face the problems of all humanity as he had faced these of art and architecture.

As a connecting link, it seems well to very briefly sketch what kind of conditions Ruskin saw as he began the study of the social conditions of England. England had just passed into a new age,- the age of the Industrial Revolution. In the fifty years prior to his birth, England had changed from an agricultural nation with all of the peace and quiet of that age, into an Industrial nation, with all of the hastily constructed factories, child labor, skilled workmen out of work by the change of the conditions and the coming of the great factories. Unsanitary, uninspected, hastily constructed factories, with unprotected machinery, enclosures of the common land plots, inability of mature men and heads of families to fit into the new conditions as well as the women and children who could be secured for half the price, and with scarcely no or-

ganized labor or power of collective bargaining up to 1820.

The factory conditions were scarcely worse than the home conditions. Quoting Engels, "The endless range of houses along unpaved and unsewered streets of the industrial centers, where rickety hovels, not only filthy and over-crowded, but where the common decencies of life were scarcely known, where drunkenness, crime, and poverty flourished in their natural habitat and throve as weeds thrive in a neglected barn-yard". (

Ignorant, with no power to vote, the workman had but small chance to compete with the captains of industry who had political power, education, the law of the courts, the prestige of wealth, and the power of public opinion back of them. Worse than any of these, the political and economic doctrines of the times were decidedly against the workingman. Against the well-nigh absolute government control of industry during the eighteenth century, the heralds of the new order in the nineteenth taught individual freedom and non-interference from the state. Adam Smith, the father of political economy, advocated non-interference, or the laissez-faire method; while Bentham advocated "unrestricted competition". Then came Malthus with his law of diminishing returns which set the price of labor at bare existence for fear of the increase of

1 Conditions of the Working Class, p.36

2 F.W.Ree, Social Philosophy of Carlyle and Ruskin, p.28 ff.

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¹ Conditions of the Working Class, p. 36
 S. F. V. Noe, Social Philosophy of Carlyle and Ruskin, p. 28 ff.

population,' popularized by Ricardo this law for the workingman
 gave him small chance for relief from Parliament.¹

However a little improvement had been made in conditions before Ruskin began his first work on social reform. He had been sheltered from all of these struggles of the workingman and says that as far as politics were concerned he was a "Tory of the Tories"² but much of the workingman's struggles had occurred during the earlier period of Ruskin's life when he had been steeped heart and soul in art. The factory laws of 1802, 1819, 1833 were passed, and the combination laws had been repealed in 1824. Thus the right of collective bargaining and the power to withhold labor from the market by concerted action was for the first time established.³ Though these reforms had not brought the relief hoped for they were a decided victory for the workingman.

Carlyle had stood out almost alone against the conditions that existed in England. His struggle from the worst conditions of poverty to success, had made him cynical, defiant, and grim in his attacks. By 1860, the time of Ruskin's new social interest, Carlyle was steeped in his "History of Frederick the Great", and wrote but little after this time in the way of combating the social conditions of the time. He finished his "Latter-Day Pamphlet" in

1 F. W. Roe, Social Philosophy of Carlyle and Ruskin, p.31

2 See page two of this paper

3 F. W. Roe, Ibid, p.39

1850, and not before the second reform bill of 1867, did he write again on the subject, and this was his final pamphlet, entitled "Shooting Niagara and After".¹ However by 1869, Carlyle and Ruskin were close friends and Carlyle had felt that he had left a disciple to carry on his work, even as Ruskin always looked to Carlyle for guidance. The two following extracts will show how fine that relationship had become by 1869.

"The one soul now in the world who seems to feel as I do on the highest matters, and speaks... exactly what I wanted to hear."²

- Carlyle (Letter to Ruskin, 1869)

"The only one man in England - Thomas Carlyle - to whom I can look for steady guidance..."³ -Ruskin

1 F.W. Roe, Social Philosophy of Carlyle and Ruskin, p.128 ff.
2 and 3, Ibid, p.128

1 Works, VII, 512

2 Works, VII, in the letter from John Ruskin's father.

3 Frederick Harrison, John Ruskin, p. 95

4 Frederick Harrison, Ibid, p 95

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can look for steady guidance... - Ruskin

Mr. Ruskin's Attacks on Political Economy

Mr. Ruskin began his essays on social reform, while he was spending a few months in the Alps, resting, after finishing his "Modern Painters". He says of this, "In the valley of Chamoui, I gave up my art work and wrote this little volume (Unto This Last), the beginning of my days of reprobation." He began the essays for the "Cornhill Magazine", of which Thackeray was the editor. These aroused such a storm of protest from the readers that after the third article, Thackeray was obliged to write and tell him to discontinue the articles. Thackeray wrote, "I would not be answerable for opinions so directly opposed to Malthus, and the "Times", and the city of Manchester." Frederick Harrison's views of "Unto This Last" as they appeared were quite in contrast with the protests made from the readers of "Cornhill". "I had flung myself into the scathing criticism of "Unto This Last" with hearty enthusiasm, I thought then, as I still think, 'the most serviceable thing' that Ruskin ever gave to the world." Over a year later another series of essays appeared under the title, "Munera Pulveris", these two series form his attacks and theories of Political Economy.

Ruskin's assault on the doctrine of the day was not entirely original. Not only had Carlyle influenced him, but Maurice and

1 Works, XXII, 512

2 Works, XVII, In the letter from John Ruskin's father.

3 Frederick Harrison, John Ruskin, p. 92

4 Frederick Harrison, Ibid, p 96

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timely original. Not only had Carlyle advanced his views and

I Works, XII, 212
 Works, XVII, in the letter from John Ruskin's father.
 Frederick Harrison, John Ruskin, p. 92
 Frederick Harrison, Ibid, p. 92

the Christian Socialists were full of indignation with the plutonomy of the orthodox economists from whom John Stuart Mill had to a great extent disassociated himself.¹ However, Frederick Harrison contends that Ruskin was not familiar with the Positive Philosophy of Mill and Comte or even familiar with Comte's, "Polity", and that he never did know of their attitude; but, that he was in close sympathy and contact with Carlyle and with Maurice and his friends, also that he was in touch with the revolutionists and socialists whom the European affairs between 1848 and 1860 had brought into prominence.² Just in how far this is true, it seems difficult to find material, Collingwood does not state whether Ruskin was influenced by Mill and Comte, or whether he knew of their works, neither does A. B. Hobson, while other authors I have quoted previously seem to be silent on the subject. If we can accept Mr. Harrison's statement as authentic, Mr. Ruskin may have had access to other writings directly opposed to the existing Political Economy besides these of Carlyle. However, whatever may be the facts of the matter, all authors agree that he was the first author to put these sentiments in such a way, that the public became fearful, and protested his attacks. At least, he certainly did for social reform in Political Economy what he had done before for art, he raised a storm of protest.

1 Frederick Harrison, John Ruskin, p.96

2 Frederick Harrison, Ibid, p.97

The first four essays are entitled,- "The Roots of Honour", "The Veins of Wealth", "Qui judicatis Terram", "Ad valorem", which make up "Unto This Last". They open with this cutting criticism,

" Among the delusions which at different periods have possessed themselves of the minds of the large masses of the human race, perhaps the most curious - certainly the least creditable - is the modern 'sol-disant' science of political economy, based on the idea that an advantageous code of social action may be determined ir-
I
respectively of the influence of social affection."

The aim of Political economy should be the "multiplication of
2
life at its highest standard". Certain things in the world are useful and lead to life; certain other things are harmful and lead to death. "Give a man corn and he will live; give him nightshade and he will die. It follows, therefore, that the essential work of the political economist is to determine what are in reality useful and life-giving things, and by what degrees and kinds of labor they are attainable and distributable. This investigation divides itself into three great heads:- the studies, namely, of the phenomena, first, of Wealth; secondly, of Money; and thirdly, of Riches.... The study of Wealth is a province of natural science:- it deals with the essential properties of things. The study of Money is a province of commercial science:- it deals with conditions of engagement and

1 Unto This Last, p.3

2 Unto This Last, p.9

and exchange. The study of Riches is a province of moral science:-
 it deals with the due relations of men to each other in regard to
 material possessions; and with the just laws of their association
 for purposes of labor".¹

He enlarges on what he defines as Money. He says, "Money
 has been inaccurately spoken of as merely a means of exchange.
 But it is far more than that. It is a documentary expression
 of legal claim. It is not wealth, but a documentary claim to
 wealth, being the sign of the relative qualities of it, or of the
 labor producing it, to which at a given time, persons, or societies
 are entitled."² Of Wealth, he felt that what was most important
 was to show that wealth was possible only under moral conditions
 of society. "In a community regulated by laws of supply and de-
 mand, but protected from open violence, the persons who become
 rich are generally speaking, industrious, resolute, proud, covetous,
 prompt, methodical, sensible, unimaginative, insensitive, and ig-
 norant. The persons who remain poor are entirely foolish, the
 idle, the reckless, the humble, the thoughtful, the dull, the
 imaginative, the sensitive, the well-formed, the improvident,
 the irregularly and the impulsively wicked, and the clumsy, and

¹ Unto This Last, p.3

² Unto This Last, p.9

knave, the open thief, and the entirely merciful, just, and godly person. . . There is no wealth but LIFE - life, including all its powers of love, of joy, of admiration. That country is the richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings.^I

This is the gospel of Ruskin! This was his Political Economy, his religion, and the very basis of all of his concluding works. If a prophet may have one theme expressed in all manner of practical ways and stick merely to one theme, this must have been Ruskin's. After establishing such a basis of wealth, it is no wonder that the Political Economists of the day protested. This was indeed a new field for Political Economy, - particularly of the kind of the nineteenth century, - the Adam Smith, laissez-faire method, the Ricardo, Bentham, and Malthus type. This broadened the field of Political Economy to include the larger fields of ethics and society. He continued to define Wealth by saying, it "consists of things essentially valuable".² And Value to him meant, "the life-giving power of anything."³ It is both "intrinsic and effectual;" intrinsic value is the absolute power of anything to support life; effectual value is intrinsic value plus acceptant capacity. The production of effectual value, therefore, always involves two needs:

¹ Frederick Harrison, John Ruskin, p. 100

² Works, XVII, 19

³ Ibid, XVII, p. 154

know, the open chief, and the entirely material, just, and bodily
 person. . . There is no wealth but life - life, including all its
 powers of love, of joy, of admiration. That country is the richest
 which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings."
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1 Frederick Harrison, Leisure, p. 100
 2 Works, VIII, 19
 3 Idem, XVII, p. 154

first, the production of a thing essentially useful; then, the production of the capacity to use it!"¹

A man's possessions, or his wealth, as wealth is ordinarily understood, Ruskin called "Riches". Riches to him meant power over men, since no one who accumulates riches can do so without the aid of others. This power depends upon how it is used to determine whether it is good or bad.² Thus the problem of riches must also include a problem of wages, or just payment for labor, - a matter of capital importance, as Ruskin was well aware.³ This involved most of the large social problems over which he had been so much disturbed, "relations between employers and their men, conditions of employment and kind of work, and scores of other matters hardly less pressing today than in the period of 1860 - 1870."⁴ One of his main contentions was for a just wage, since a just wage would tend to distribute money in the hands of the majority making it easier for advancement of the laborer. "In opposition to the dogma that wages were measured only by competition, Ruskin at the outset boldly advocated a fixed wage for definite periods, irrespective of demand for labor. To provide

1 Works, XVII, p. 154

2 F. W. Roe, Social Philosophy of Carlyle and Ruskin, p. 192

3 Roe, Ibid, p. 192

4 Roe, Ibid, p. 192

against casual employment he further urged the maintenance of "constant numbers of workmen, whatever may be the accidental demand for the article they produce." He visualized an organization of labor that should provide for the steady of employment of all men at something at which they would be content at all time. Just how this just wage for all people was to be was rather indefinite in Ruskin's own mind. He attempts to work out a rather fantastical manner of reducing all labor to a common denominator and determining the relation between different types of labor at the same time trying to give just regard for rank, education, and position. Although most people feel that this was indeed an impractical scheme and that he did not realize the problems of labor as he presents it, nevertheless, he did much to give a new thought to the working class in giving them the hope that there might be a just wage and that labor organization was necessary. He could not possibly determine fixed standards for labor as he had done for art. Mr. Roe in this criticism of Ruskin's theory says, "He allowed too much for the stability of class differences and too little for the instability of human tastes and the wide variations in human ability; and he likewise left out of account the principles of evolution as ap-

plied to human progress, whereby the values of things change with the changing environment and ideals of men. On the lines he followed there would seem to be no way of reducing to a common denominator the various kinds of labor. The cost of a surgeon's operation and the cost of a cobbler's repairing are incommensurables."¹

However, he hit upon many of the vital points of inadequacy in the Political Economy of the day. He attacked the old notion that the luxury of the lord in his palace was benefit to the poor, the denied that such a society built upon competition and the cunning and selfishness of man could exist or be beneficial. W.H. Shaw says, "His Political Economy has only one thing in its favour, it is fundamentally Christian."² He continues to say that Ruskin's main theme was "Modern Civilization, its cause and cure".³ A.B. Hobson gives Mr. Ruskin's attacks on Political Economy a higher value than most writers of fifteen years ago, have done. He says, "Ruskin's first claim to being a Social reformer is that he reformed Political Economy."⁴

His whole attack was founded upon a new principle that at the heart and basis of Political Economy was the welfare of man and that the big test of any theory or doctrine was its ef-

1 John Ruskin's and Carlyle's Social Philosophy, p.196

2 University Extension Lectures, John Ruskin, p.43

3 W.H.Shaw, Ibid, p.42

4 A.B.Hobson, John Ruskin, Social Reformer p.

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1 John Ruskin's and Carlyle's Social Philosophy, p. 198
 2 University Extension Lectures, John Ruskin, p. 43
 3 W.H. Shaw, Ibid, p. 42
 4 A.B. Hepson, John Ruskin, Social Reformer, p.

fect upon life, and that human life "can be altered by human forethought".¹ "All effort is paralyzed", he said, because no one has been bold enough or clear sighted enough to press home this radical question: "What is indeed the noblest tone and reach of life for men; and how can the possibility of it be extended to the greatest numbers?"² Firm in his conviction that this should be the basis for any true study of Political Economy, he proceeded to define it, not only as a science of getting but as a science of spending; since the real tests of production include³ right distribution and consumption.

Human life, love, justice was the basis for his new reforms. Of the worker he demanded honesty, industry, and frugality. "Do good work, like a soldier at his post, whether you live or die. Have an interest in being something as well as getting something. Be less anxious to rise out of your station than to perfect yourself in it. Remember that no political arrangements nor privileges can lift up loafers and drunkards, lechers and brutes".⁴ It was not always best, contended Mr. Ruskin to buy at the cheapest market and to sell at the highest, it might mean destruction of the right kind of workmanship, the right

1 F.W. Roe, Social Philosophy of Carlyle and Ruskin, p.198

2 F.W.Roe, Ibid, p.199

3 Works, VII, p.430

4 Works, X, p.196

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Human life, love, justice was the basis for his new re-
 forms. Of the worker he demanded honesty, industry, and firm-
 ness. "Do good work, like a soldier at his post, whether you
 live or die. Have an interest in being something as well as get-
 ting something. Be less anxious to rise out of your station than
 to perfect yourself in it. Remember that no political arrangements
 nor privileges can ever lift up loafers and drunkards, lechers
 and brutes." It was not always best, contended Mr. Ruskin
 to buy at the cheapest market and to sell at the highest, it
 might mean destruction of the right kind of workmanship, the right

1 F. W. How, Social Philosophy of Carlyle and Ruskin, p. 192
 2 F. W. How, *Ibid.*, p. 192
 3 Works, VII, p. 430
 4 Works, X, p. 192

right kind of service, or a just wage. One should only buy from those who produced their goods at the highest standards. Price was not the main thought but working conditions, just wage, and right raw materials. All these contributed to human happiness and life at its fullest, all other contributed to unhappiness and misery which was in itself, death.

He struck a keynote when he says that one of the biggest factors in contributing to a reform of any sort will be Co-operation. He felt that many people were conscientious in trying to improve the terrible conditions of the age, but they were working against each other because they did not understand conditions and worked upon different principles. And men were pulling in opposite directions themselves. They would conduct their business on the selfish plan of competition and death to their competitor, while in their private life they showed almost unequalled examples of unselfishness. He thought philanthropy by selfish business men who had acquired their wealth through the destruction of the highest happiness of their workers was pure folly, and yet they could not be blamed because they were taught that competition and laissez-faire was the life of industry and trade. He sums up this theory of true Political

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Economy thus: "Life without industry is guilt,- and industry without art is brutality.... The real science of Political Economy, which has yet to be distinguished from the bastard science, as medicine from witchcraft, and astronomy from astrology, is that which teaches nations to desire and labor for the things that lead to life." ^I Again, "All our hearts have been betrayed by the plausible impiety of the modern economist telling us, that, to do the best for ourselves, is finally to do the best for all." ²

The whole fundamental principle is the brotherhood of man. W.H.Shaw has well expressed it when he says, "The reform he fought for was Social Justice, applied Christianity." ² He continues, "Ruskin's main position was that our present social and industrial organization is a negative of Christian ethics." ³ Mr. J.A.Hobson expresses his opinion of Ruskin's effect on Political Economy thus, "The work of Mr. Ruskin then consists in this, that he has 'humanized' Political Economy." ⁴

Many authors have contended that Ruskin was making sentimentalism the basis of what should really be a science. Mr. Hobson says of this, "It is true that in his proposals for a wider "Political Economy" he himself was more directly concerned with the art than with the science. But for all that it must not be supposed that he ignored the need of scientific basis. Doubtless the claim

¹ Unto This Last, p.47

² Ibid, p.54

³ John Ruskin, p.43

⁴ John Ruskin, Social Reformer, p.95

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1 Intro this book, p. 47
 2 Ibid, p. 50
 3 John Baskin, p. 43
 4 John Baskin, Social Reformer, p. 92

which he himself preferred was to have laid an ethical basis of the art of social life rather than a scientific basis. He would probably have repudiated a "science of ethics". But in the stress laid upon the basis of economic conduct, we may not ignore the testimony which modern sociology accords to the scientific nature of his work. Mr. Ruskin's statement of the end of "economic" activity as the production of "life", "souls of a good quality", furnishes the necessary hypothetical end or goal required to give meaning to Sociology as a science and to Social Progress as an art."

Mr. Hobson shows how Mr. Ruskin in his criticism of Political Economy really gave the basis of Sociology,- not a well worked out system of sociology but that he planted the ideas for such a system. "Not only the practical reformer, but the student of social movements, must posit some such end as that which Mr. Ruskin sets before us in asserting the aim of "Political Economy" to be 'the multiplication of human life at its highest standard'... Our claim is not that Mr. Ruskin has formed a system of sociology or that he has advanced far towards such a system, but that he has pointed the way to such a science, and has laid down certain hypothesis of fact and terminology such as are consistent with advances made independently by other scientific men, By, insisting up-

on the reduction of all economic terms, such as value, cost, utility, etc., to terms of "vitality", by insisting upon the organic integrity and unity of all human activities, and the organic nature of the co-operation of the social units, and finally by furnishing a social ideal of reasonable humanity, Mr. Ruskin has amply justified his claim as a pioneer in the theory of Social Economics.¹

His criticisms were not wholly destructive, there is always present that feeling, What are we going to do about it? However, in no one of his books do we find a clear, full, and consistent statement of his social principles. "Munera Pulveris" is the most systematic of all of his books.² At the opening of the book we have a full definition of what his work consists. "The essential work of the political economist is to determine what are in reality useful or life-giving things, and by what degrees and kinds of labour they are attainable and distributable."³ Thus one of his biggest condemnations of the political economists of the day were that they looked more to the products of production and not enough at the processes, rating the prosperity of a country by the amount of material wealth, without considering

¹ John Ruskin, Social Reformer, p. 102

² Ibid, p. 105

³ Munera Pulveris, p. 20

how much it cost in human life and happiness and how much was gotten out of the goods. These were the true tests of the wealth of a nation. Mr. Ruskin contended that material wealth was not wealth if it meant increased monotony in labor, longer hours, less pay, or poorer working conditions, it meant instead an increase of poverty. ¹ "Political Economy is neither an art nor a science; but a system of conduct and legislature, founded upon the sciences, directing the arts, and impossible, except under certain moral conditions of moral culture." ²

After, thus dealing with the definitions and general purpose of Political Economy, in both "Unto This Last", and "Munera Pulveris" we find rather disconnected criticism of the flaws in modern industry. In "Munera Pulveris" he divides his essays into six general heads; definitions, store-keeping, coin-keeping, commerce, government, and mastership.

"A horse is no wealth to us if we cannot ride, nor a picture if we cannot see, nor can anything be wealth that is noble except to a noble person". ³

1 Munera Pulveris, p. 10 ff.

2 Ibid, p. 19

3 Ibid, p. 14

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1 Munera Privata, p. 10 ff.
 2 Ibid, p. 19
 3 Ibid, p. 14

One of his biggest criticisms of commercial economy is that capital is an end in itself, instead of a means to an end. Capital he contends cannot be an end, but must be a means and that it is not justifiable except as it is made a means to an end or, in other words, becomes productive. It must produce something different from itself which can and will be consumed, it must not mean a mere production of just a little more of itself. One of his memorable passages is written on this criticism. "It is a root which does not enter into vital function till it produces something else than a root, namely, fruit. That fruit will in time again produce roots; and so all living capital issues in reproduction of capital; but capital which produces nothing but capital is only root producing root; bulb issuing bulb, never in tulip; seed issuing seed, never in bread. The Political Economy of Europe has hitherto devoted itself wholly to the multiplication, or (less even) the aggregation of bulbs. It never saw or conceived such a thing as a tulip."^I

Of currency, he gives his best summarized treatment in

^I Unto This Last, p. 145

² Ibid., p. 63

³ Ibid., p. 65

⁴ John Ruskin, Social Reform, p. 140

the chapter in "Munera Pulveris" on coin-keeping, which I mentioned above. He defines currency: "The currency of any country consists of every document acknowledging debt which is transferable in the country." ^I The true purposes of a national currency require (1) that a more stable standard of exchange-values than gold and silver should be found, for "the right of debt ought not to rest upon a basis of imagination, nor should the frame of a national currency vibrate with every miser's panic and every merchant's imprudence." ² We ought, therefore, to base our currency upon several substances, not one, and upon "substances of true intrinsic value." ³ Mr. Hobson says of Mr. Ruskin's contribution in his denunciation of the present system of currency, "Mr. Ruskin lays his finger upon the chief source of our instability of values and our financial crises when he denounces speculation. His further treatment of the subject in "Fors" proves his keen apprehension of the truth that speculation permeates the entire system of private credit in modern commerce, that such credit, though highly serviceable to the individual trader, is of doubtful benefit to society." ⁴

1 Munera Pulveris, p.59

2 Ibid, p.63

3 Ibid, p.65

4 John Ruskin, Social Reformer, p.140

Mr. Ruskin's attacks on competition were the most severe of his utterances. There was no compromise on this subject for him. All of his later works abound with passages on the immorality of the competitive system. But perhaps no other statement of his expresses his attitude on competition more concisely and adequately than the quotation I have mentioned above, "Government and Cooperation are in all things the Laws of Life; Anarchy and Competition the Laws of Death."^I Mr. Adam Smith's teaching that in following his own gain every man was conducting his business in a manner that contributed to the highest welfare of society, was the basis of this anti-social doctrine. Mr. Smith's doctrine was at the height of its popularity, so it is no wonder (as mentioned above) that Thackeray was compelled to write to Ruskin and tell him to discontinue his essays since they were too directly opposed to the doctrines of the day. Mr. Ruskin contended that a system which concentrates all thought upon profit, instead of upon the quality of the work or the "excellence of its achievement, inevitably damages the character of the work, and does not secure the utility which it professes to serve. Good work can only be the result of a conscious effort to work well. A sense of enjoyment accompanies all

^I Unto This Last, p.102

true effort of the artist; no worthy art-work is produced for pay. In every process of art or industry, just in proportion as the work and its results are not valued for themselves, and are by their own conditions incapable of such valuation, will the product be base." ^I Mr. Ruskin does not deny that competition may cause an improvement of quality in a piece of goods at a lower price, but he rightly contends that there is a false cheapness, which the inexperienced and ignorant buyer is always fooled on. And that cheapness is usually a sacrifice of something more essential. Most authors believe that Ruskin painted too dark a picture of the bad results of competition and that he painted all merchants as merely "raising tulip bulbs to get more tulip bulbs", but at the same time there is much truth in his contention and he surely points out the glaring discrepancies in the present competitive system and the higher teaching of Christ's ethics. ² His true statement of the working of the laws of supply and demand cannot be questioned. "In practice, according to the laws of supply and demand, when two men are ready to do the work, and only one man wants to have it done, the two men underbid each other for it; and the one who gets it is underpaid. But when two men want the

¹ A.B. Hobson, John Ruskin, Social Philosopher, p. 144

² F.W. Roe, Social Philosophy of Carlyle and Ruskin, p. 202; also, A.B. Hobson, John Ruskin, p. 150; also, C.W. Cologwood, John Ruskin v. 2, p. 286

work done, and there is only one man ready to do it, the two men
 who want it done overbid each other and the work is overpaid." ^I

In exchange Mr. Ruskin contends that force lies at the
 root of all bargaining, and that it is merely a matter of "robbing
 the poor because he is poor". ² Of this he says, "There are
 two main fallacies of the world today which the rascals rejoice in
 making its fools proclaim: the first, that by continually exchanging
 and cheating each other in exchange, two exchanging persons out of
 the one pot, alternating with one kettle, can make their two for-
 tunes. This is the principle of Trade. The second, that Judas's
 bag has become a juggler's, in which, if Mr. P. deposits his pot,
 and waits a while, there will come out two pots, both full of broth;
 and if Mr. K. deposits his kettle, and waits awhile, there will come
 out two kettles, both full of fish! That is the principle of In-
 terest!" ³ Mr. Hobson believes that Mr. Ruskin's real conviction
 of illegitimacy of interest belongs to his later period, that is,
 the writing of "Fors Clavigera", and that gradually as he wrote the
 book his doubts increased until he was convinced at its close that
 all types of interest were wrong. ⁴

¹ Unto This Last, p.82

² A. B. Hobson, John Ruskin, Social Reformer, p.151

³ Fors Clavigera, p.435

⁴ A. B. Hobson, John Ruskin, Social Reformer, p.158

However, we will see more of Mr. Ruskin's views on interest as we understand his social order as given in "Fors". His first two works "Unto This Last" and "Manera Fulveris" are not as revolutionary in character as his later works. His real dealing with Political Economy was considered by himself as just begun. Mr. Collingwood says that the real value of these works is that he shows as others have since shown more fully and developed more completely that the old existing doctrines of Political Economy did not take in the whole case or show all of the facts, as a true science should do. If he did not give us coherent, organized treatises on Political Economy it was, "the morbid excitement under which he labored, which often obscured the lucidity of his exposition and the conclusiveness of his reasoning, leading him to speak, like one of the prophets of old, in a trance; not, like a wise diplomatist, . . . but holding only the skirts of the spirit that carried him whither he hardly knew, and assuredly would not willingly have gone."² His work is incomplete and illogical.¹ Mr. Hobson sums up the criticisms of his work as follows: first, one of his radical reforms consisted in breaking down the barrier between marketable and non-marketable goods,

¹ John Ruskin, v.II,p.286

² Ibid, v.II,p.288

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 follows: First, one of his radical reforms consisted in breaking
 down the barrier between material and non-material goods,

1 *The New Deal*, v. II, p. 288
 2 *ibid.*, v. II, p. 288

but nowhere has he attempted even to mark its outlines in social theory, although through many of his later experiments he offers many wise suggestions. Secondly, through his refusal to accept the teaching of evolution in human life, he "has been led to impart too statical a character to his Political Economy, and too uniform a type to his ideal society."¹ Although he does not deny this necessity of continuous growth, yet he shows in his criticisms that the injustice, waste, and other evils of society if properly treated would restore society to its proper health. "Social health presented itself to him rather as an accomplished order than as a means of progress."² However, he laid a solid foundation of social economies as the science of the relations of efforts and satisfactions in a society.³ In his insistence upon the value of all things as they related to Life, he broadened the scope and nature of Political Economy and laid the basis for certain general principles which have been developed more fully by his successors. The failure of the old orthodox Political Economy to give any emphasis or consideration of the social and industrial problems showed that there was a need for a more humanizing

1 A. B. Hobson, John Ruskin, Social Reformer, p.119

2 Ibid, p.119

3 Ibid, p.120

consideration of this subject. Mr. Collingwood says that "what he had done for Turner, he did for Carlyle: he analyzed the principles of these two great men, and laid the foundations of a new system, in the first case of an art theory, in the second case of a **social** theory, which they had illustrated in concrete examples." I

"Let me inscribe the second (volume) to the friend and guide who has urged me to all chief labour, Thomas Carlyle..... I would that there were some other means in my power of showing reverence to the man who alone, of all our masters of literature has written without thought of himself the Solitary Teacher who has asked her (England) to be brave for the help of Man, and just, for the love of God". - John Ruskin, Preface to "Munera Pulveris", p.18.

I The Life of John Ruskin, v. II, p. 285

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 Lilies", p. 18.

Mr. Ruskin's Social Ideals

In "Time and Tide" and "Fers Clavigera" he gives those ideals necessary to establish a sound society upon right industrial and social principles. He lays down several things necessary if a society is going to try to regulate its members as to maintain the largest number of happy and noble human beings. The first thing he insisted upon was the right of every child to be well born. He looked forward to the time when marriages would be regulated. He thought that, at least, as much forethought should be taken in the conditions affecting birth of the human race as had been taken in developing the best classes of animals. He believed that a young couple should make a public attestation of the fact that they had lived rightly and that they had "attained enough skill in their proper handicraft and in the arts of household economy as to insure good hope that they would be able to maintain and teach their children." Purity of birth was necessary. No great development individually or socially could be attained without this fundamental and important truth. If after a couple had measured up to these requirements and then because of the un-

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 maintain and teach their children. "Worthy of birth was necessary."
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 without this fundamental and important truth. If after a couple
 had mastered up to these requirements and then because of the un-

settled industrial and social conditions they were unable to support and educate their children, they should be given employment or aid from the state. Before any type of education would be effective, a state must insure that its children were to be well born. Even though this was considered radical at the time and Mr. Ruskin was scoffed at because of some of his fantastical ideas as to how state regulation should take place, and how provisions be made for the insurance that every child have this right to be well- born, perhaps no other single teaching of Ruskin's has been so emphasized within the past few years since the world war. Although new phases have been added and considered in attempting to put such a principle in practice, nevertheless, an enlightened people of the twentieth century are trying to take the question of the rights of the unborn child out from under their dark covers of prudery and prejudice and do no other than Ruskin suggests,- try to raise the standard of present day civilization by attempting to assure every child of a good body, a clean mind, and enough material blessings so that they "shall be well housed, clothed, fed, and educated under they attain years of discretion." I

After provision for good birth comes the need of good education. Ruskin realized that the only hope of bringing in a better social

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After provision for good birth comes the need of good education. Maslin realized that the only hope of bringing in a better social

order was through the proper education of the future generations.

"There is only one cure for public distress, and that is public education, directed to make men thoughtful, merciful, and just." ^I

"All education must be moral first; intellectual secondarily." ²

"I take Wordsworth's single line, ' We live by admiration, hope, and love,' for my literal guide, in all education." ³ He understood the possibilities of the right kind of childhood education and its power in the developing of the right kind of individuals.

He says, "The human soul in youth, is not a machine of which you can polish the cogs with any help or brick dust near at hand; and, having gotten it into working order, and good, empty, and oiled serviceableness, start your immortal locomotive, at twenty five years old or thirty, express from the Strait Gate, on the Narrow Road. The whole period of youth is one essentially of formation, edification, instruction; I use the words with their weight in them; intaking of stores, establishment of vital habits, hopes, and faiths. There is not an hour of it but is trembling with destinies,- not a moment of which once past, the appointed

¹ Works, XVIII, p. 107

² Fors Clavigera, V. III, p. 97

³ Ibid, v. II, p. 107

work can ever be done again, or the neglected blow struck on cold iron." ¹ Merely pouring in facts into the mind of a child did not mean education to Mr. Ruskin. The facts had to be made to make the child conduct himself in accordance with those facts. Thus all of education must consist of more than facts it must be based on ethical ideals that would make for better living. "Getting knowledge should mean getting the right kind of knowledge; reading books, the right books; learning a trade, learning to do something not only consistent with one's health and capacity but also "serviceable to other creatures".² Usefulness in life depends, taught Ruskin, not alone on the skill of a person or on his intellectual capacity but upon a person's attitude toward society and what he considers his place in society. He summarizes his teaching on education in the following beautiful passage: "The entire object of a true education is to make people not merely do the right things, but enjoy doing the right things: - not merely industrious, but to love industry - not merely learned, but to love knowledge - not merely pure, but to love purity -³ not merely just, but to hunger and thirst after justice."

¹ Works, V.VI, p. 485

² F.W.Ree, Social Philosophy of Ruskin and Carlyle, p.206

³ Works, XVIII, p.435

There would be none of the false education, as he called it, in his true social order. "False education is a delightful thing, and warms you, and makes you every day think more of yourself. And true education is a deadly cold thing, with a Gorgon's head on her shield, and makes you every day think worse of yourself. Worse in two ways, also more's the pity. It is perpetually increasing the personal sense of ignorance and the personal sense of fault."^I

Education must also be more than moral it must serve the purpose of selecting men out and fitting them in the capacity to which they are most suited since men born under the same conditions are fitted for entirely different types and grades of work. Thus he argued that men must be taught to be content in their own field and not primarily attempting to struggle from one field to another but to perfect themselves in their own line, since perfection in one's station regardless of where that station is, is education in itself and is advancement. However, we should not infer that Ruskin did not want all fields open so that every one should have an equal opportunity of advancement, he insisted upon

^I Time and Tide, p.101

opportunities according to natural ability, but he did not believe it right to teach men of inferior mental capacities to be discontent, in their inferior position when they did not have the mentality to fill a higher one. However there were certain elements of education which must be taught alike to rich and poor. Cleanliness, the first laws of music, obedience, mechanics, geometry, the first facts of geography and astronomy, the basic facts and outlines of history, but the rest should apply to whatever field of labor that the person was going to undertake or was fitted for.^I

"But for the rest, the efficiency of any school will be found to increase exactly in ratio of its direct adaptation to the circumstances of the children which it receives; and the quantity of knowledge to be attained in a given time being equal, its value will depend on the possibilities of its instant application. You need not teach botany to sons of fishermen, or architecture, to shepherds, or painting to colliers; still less the elegancies of grammar to children who throughout the probable course of their total lives will have, or ought to have, little to say, and nothing to write."² Does this sound so differently from the teachings of modern psychologists who are advocating trade schools and vocat

¹ F.W.Ree, Social Philosophy of Carlyle and Ruskin, p.208
² Works, XXIX, p.495

tional education? Then the children should be taught reverence, compassion, and truth, so that they would not do the cowardly or shameful or cruel thing and so that they would study and think of things as they truly are as far as it is possible for one to do so, since the truth is pure and noble, and it is only as the truth of life itself is misrepresented that evil arises.¹ How like his teaching on art! There he wanted the artists to go to nature pure and simple, rejecting nothing and portraying it simply, beautifully and truthfully.

Next, he would have a great deal of thought given to the aesthetic training of the child. He should be taught the elements of music and dancing (he never knew how to dance, see chapter one, account of his life) and the best of poetry should be taught, the child memorizing certain choice bits.² Then in keeping with this aesthetic ideal he insisted that school - houses should be neat, attractive, and well-kept, inside and out, that if possible they should be surrounded by beautiful lawns or even fields where the children could learn much from the beauty of nature. How like our own efforts today to bring beauty into

¹ Works, XVII, p.398 ff.

² Works, XVI, p.81 ff.

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 Now like his teaching on art, there he wanted the artists to go
 to nature pure and simple, rejecting nothing and partaking of
 simply, beautifully and truthfully.

Next, he would have a great deal of thought given to the
 aesthetic training of the child. He should be taught the
 elements of music and dancing (he never knew how to dance, see
 chapter one, account of his life) and the best of poetry should
 be taught, the child memorizing certain choice bits. There
 in keeping with this aesthetic ideal he insisted that school -
 houses should be neat, attractive, and well-kept, inside and out,
 that it possible they should be surrounded by beautiful lawns
 or even fields where the children could learn much from the beauty
 of nature. Now like our own efforts today to bring beauty into

1 Works, XVII, p. 206 ff.
 2 Works, XVI, p. 81 ff.

bleak, cold, unattractive school-rooms! He would have the choice bits of art and architecture in the schoolhouses of the nation, because he believed that any laborer should be taught to appreciate the best in art and architecture. It was this ideal that caused him to spend so much of his later years and so much money on his workingmen's museum. He thought it necessary to have schools to the class of child who would attend and fitted to give them practical teaching along their natural bent. Thus he would have schools for the city children teaching things applicable to their own life, schools for the country children specializing in the rural problems, and schools for the sailors' children placed along the coast and teaching them the arts of the sea. He would have less of theory in teaching and more of practice. He did not believe just because someone could read Greek or translate Latin they were educated, instead, their education depended upon what use they made of it and how well they used their education for the betterment of society and for their own happiness and contentment.^I Thus governments should provide schools for every trade in order to find out for what each pupil was best suited.

F. W. Roe says, "Ruskin's whole conception of education was thus shot through with the conviction that training must have constant regard for social ends. This was a pioneer and iconoclastic conception for the England of his time. ... In short, he demanded for every youth a full and harmonious co-ordination of his life with the life of the community in which he was destined to live, such as no system of education has realized even to the present day." ^I Ruskin was not merely a theorist in his principles of education, he had taken a definite interest in this work for years. He has taught one evening a week for years in the Workingmen's College, probably the hardest form of social work; he had also taken a great interest in school festivals, such as, the May festival which he introduced at Whitelands college and gave a big prize to the May Queen and the favorites, whom she chose; also in his interest in the school for girls at Winnington Hall, Cheshire, and his interest in the school at Coniston, besides his work as Slade Professor of Fine Arts at Oxford. ² Drawing, Health Education, music in the public schools, laboratory work, and religious education would all be included in a Ruskinian system of education. Many of these reforms are only

1 F. W. Roe, Social Philosophy of Carlyle and Ruskin, p.210

2 E. T. Cook, Studies in Ruskin, p.133 ff.

now being considered important in our public schools. The public as a whole are not yet educated to the need of trade schools, or religious education in the training of the child. But the Health, religious education, and trade schools of today are only a beacon to what the next twenty-five years will bring forth. At last, Ruskin's educational ideals are being given the emphasis they deserve. What was rejected as radical and Utopian in one century bore fruit in the next. What proof of the progress of humanity!!

.....

"Today official recognition is given to the principles Ruskin expounded. Codes have been widened, and although much progress has yet to be made in connection with our whole system of national education, that which has taken place has been precisely on the lines which Ruskin laid down". - John Howard Whitehouse, Centenary Addresses, p.50 (1919).

Industrial Organization in His Social Ideals.

At times one is lead to believe that Mr. Ruskin was in favor of a new type of Feudalism, in which class distinctions would be strictly observed, but all through his teaching there is the distinction that anyone with a special aptitude should be trained to develop it, regardless of the condition of life in which he happens to be born.¹ While admitting this, "Mr. Ruskin bases this order of industrial and social life upon what he calls, 'unconquerable differences in the clay of human nature'....His conviction of the utility of keeping class distinctions both in work and life is so strongly marked, and plays so prominent a part in his scheme of society, that it appears certain that he thought the transference from one grade to another would be confined to a few exceptional cases."²

In his treatment of the industrial organization, voluntary co-operation formed the basis. "Those members of any trade who favored order and honesty should constitute themselves into a guild, electing their officers, regulating methods of production, qualities,³ of goods, and prices."

1 J.A.Hobson, John Ruskin, Social Reformer, p.174

2 J.A.Hobson, Ibid, p.175

3 J.A.Hobson, Ibid, p.178

The central feature of the system is the joint responsibility provided by the guild for the quality of wares made by its members, which would be secured by a method of warranty. This warrant would only apply to certain common standard forms of a commodity. Advisable improvements and varieties would be examined and accepted by the trade guild, and when accepted would be announced to the public through public reports, and all "puffery and self-proclamation on the part of the tradesman absolutely forbidden".¹ For all the warranted articles, prices, wages, and consequently profits would be annually fixed. The state of affairs would be annually reported to the guild and its books laid open to inspection for guidance in the regulation of prices in the subsequent year; and any firm whose liabilities exceeded its assets by a hundred pounds should forthwith be declared bankrupt.²

Membership in the guild were to be entirely optional, no monopoly or official position was to be assigned to them, outsiders could compete among themselves and with the guild for the custom of consumers, as they now compete. If persons preferred

¹ Fors Clavigera, Letter LXXXIX, p.299

² Fors Clavigera, Letter LXXXIX, p.299-303

to buy from outsiders they could do so at their own peril and risk. The guilds of producers were also able to control the retail trade, employing retail dealers as their salaried officers, though there, outside competition is presumably permissible.¹

He would have society change its attitude toward many of the menial forms of labor, and elevate them to positions of dignity, making any necessary work noble, and give full credit to the loyal worker. He would lighten the toil of the miner by an increased wage and by some sort of merit badge of service or distinction, just as merit badges are given to soldiers for bravery. And by the formation of Guilds, he would reduce competition to the minimum. He was opposed to all kinds of machinery because of its monotony and because he thought that it was really servile, making a slave out of the worker, and because it put mechanism in the place of skill.²

He does not give us a fully worked out system regarding his Guild system, perhaps it was not exactly clear in his own mind,

1 J.A.Hobson, John Ruskin, Social Reformer, p.179

2 F.W.Ree, Social Philosophy of Carlyle and Ruskin, p .330

for in his early writings, that is, "Unto This Last", and "Fors
 Clavigera", he seems to have been inclined to have the state con-
 duct industrial organizations very similar to those of his Guilds,
 and not interfering with private enterprises. ^I " There should
 be established .. entirely under government regulation .. manufac-
 tories and workshops for the production and sale of every necessary
 of life, and for the exercise of every useful art, interfering ne
 whit with private enterprise, nor setting any restraint or tax on
 private trade, but leaving both to do their best to beat the gov-
 ernment if they could; there should, at these government manufac-
 tories and shops, be authoritatively good and exemplary work done,
 and pure and true substance sold; so that a man could be sure, if
 he chose to pay the government price, that he got for his money,
 bread that was bread, ale that was ale, and work that was work." ²

By considering Mr. Ruskin's ideas of what should be the
 functions of a good government, we can see better how he never worked
 out a complete scheme of voluntary cooperation, and still had
 some ideas of the need of some form of limited State Socialism. ³

¹ A.B. Hobson, John Ruskin, Social Reformer, p. 178

² A.B. Hobson, Ibid, p. 182

³ A.B. Hobson, Ibid, p. 183

In the early part of the year, the weather was very
 warm, and the crops were doing well. The
 weather was very much improved in the latter
 part of the year, and the crops were
 doing well. The weather was very much
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I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
 J. B. Johnson, Esq.
 No. 12, Broad Street, London.

Mr. Ruskin's Organization of Agriculture

The organization of agriculture was a source of particular solicitude to him. He first insisted upon fixity of rents for the tenants and the security of improvements. Of the latter, he says, "The tenant improves the land and then the landlord from the increase of the value that the tenant has given him, increases his rent as a form of reward." ^I The landlord must voluntarily fix his income and live within it and put "his soul into the right employment of the rest for the bettering of his estates, in ways in which the farmers for their own use could not or would not", since the holders under the existing system were "mere receivers of rent, gathering the products of other's labors and spending them for luxury; able bodied paupers, reaping where they have not sowed." ² He felt unless some similar land reforms were made that the majority of people of England would unite and force through a division of land, and probably the establishment of a Republic. The struggles in Europe had been too vivid in the mind of Ruskin not to have had its effect, and no doubt, he was greatly fearing the results of any type of political struggle for England, and yet

¹ F. W. Roe, Social Philosophy of Carlyle and Ruskin, p. 226

² F. W. Roe, Ibid, p. 225

Mr. Mackin's Organization of Agriculture

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1 P. 7. See, Social Philosophy of Capital and Socialism, p. 232
 2 P. 7. See, Ibid., p. 232

seeing the distress and inequality of the land problem, he feared that a struggle would be bound to arise. He did not think that land should be monopolized by a few, "hereditary sacred persons to whom the earth, air, and water of the world belong as personal property".¹ The state should secure various portions of it to those who could use it properly, and for the most part letting them have free management of it. Possession of land was to imply the duty of living on and by it, if there were enough, and if there were more than enough, the duty also of making it fruitful and beautiful for all that it could support. He urged trade-unions and co-operative societies to acquire land and to make the most of it for the common purpose of their organization, subject to the laws of the state. A gradual redistribution of the land by peaceful means was what he hoped for. But he desired this redistribution to be absolutely in accordance with the law, there should be no struggle politically if this could be accomplished.²

¹ Works, XXVIII, p. 152

² F. W. Roe, Social Philosophy of Carlyle and Ruskin, p. 227ff.

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 plished.

I hope, K. W. W. Co., Social Philosophy of Capital and Labor, p. 122.

Thus in an ideal social state he favored a system of limited State Socialism, as mentioned above. However, he did not approve of land nationalization and equal division of property. He claims to be a communist, "A Communist of the old school, the reddest of the red".¹ This meant that, to Ruskin, that everyone should work in common for his living; but not that everybody should own lands, houses, and personal property in common. "Any attempts to communize", he said, "have always ended, and always will end in ruin and shame."²

He would have the captains of industry like the landlords incomes fixed by law, and would have both classes paid not for ownership of capital but for stewardship of property and superintendence of labor. And all retail merchants and middlemen should also have fixed salaries, much like officers of the state. Thus his aristocracy would not be separated by the rest of the people from greater degrees of wealth but according to greater degrees of service.³

.....

¹ Bliss, Encyclopedis of Social Reform, p. 1207

² F.W. Roe, Social Philosophy of Carlyle and Ruskin, p. 228

³ F.W. Roe, Ibid, p. 224

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I Bias, Encyclopedia of Social Reform, p. 1207
 E. F. Ross, Social Philosophy of Darwin and Spencer, p. 122
 C. E. Ross, Ibid., p. 122A

The Function of the State

In Ruskin's visions for better social conditions and greater happiness for all, he visualized the state as having a very important part, just how important it is hard at all points to estimate since his own writings do not at all points agree. But as we have seen above, the state was to regulate marriage, and should supply a universal and democratic school system, and should provide employment for those out of work and also should compel prisons and criminals to do the meanest types of menial labor as retribution for their crime. There should be no idle, not even an idle rich class. This the state would eliminate by enforcing laws providing for enforced labor for idle classes. The state should also, in time, and Ruskin would have this very gradual, make a change in land tenure for the benefit of the unlanded multitude. Incomes for landlords and marchants, captains of industry, and all other public servants should be fixed in accordance with how well they fulfilled their duties as stewards of property and supervisors of labor. These salaries should be paid in much the same manner as soldiers are now paid. At some places in his works, he advises the State to establish and control workshops

*J. A. B. Brown, John Ruskin, p. 117.
 J. A. B. Brown, Social Philosophy of Ruskin, p. 249.
 J. A. B. Brown, 1914, p. 249 (Footnote).*

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but not interfering or prohibiting private enterprises. ^I

Among other state reforms, in which the state would have control, were old age pensions, and government control of railroads. Of this he says, "Neither the roads nor the railroads should belong to any private persons". ² He would not have them pay dividends but merely working expenses for railroads. "Had the money spent in local mistakes and private litigation, on the railroads of England, been laid out instead, under proper government restraint, on really useful railroad work, and had no absurd expense been incurred in ornamenting stations, we might really already have had,- what ultimately it will be found we must have,- quadruple rails, two for passengers, and two for traffic, on every line; and we might have been carried in swift safety, and watched and warded by well-paid pointsmen for half the present fares." ²

There were other public utilities that he would have the state control, if, in fact, not really own them. They included gasworks, waterworks, mining operations, canals, post-offices, telegraphs, expresses, and medical assistance. ³ Besides these he was in favor of the state making sure that all its people were fed, clothed, and housed. He referred to these three essentials

¹ A.B.Hobson, John Ruskin, p.182 ff.

² F.W.Roe, Social Philosophy of Carlyle and Ruskin, p.242

³ F.W.Roe, Ibid, p.242 (footnote)

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I. A. S. Hobson, John Ruskin, p. 108 ff.
E. P. R. Ho, Social Principles of Darwin and Ruskin, p. 242
E. P. R. Ho, John Ruskin (London)

again and again in his writings. Whatever was necessary the state should have power to see that all its people were thus taken care of.

Mr. Ree says that this paternalistic attitude of the government's power, was "state socialism pure and simple." In the sense that he regarded society as an organic whole, composed of mutually dependent units, acting together in harmony for common ends, under state control, he was a socialist. He was a socialist, too, in his burning protests against the senseless extravagances and irresponsibility of the upper classes; and in his demand for a reduction of the inequalities of wealth, upon the principle that property and land and tools alike belong to those who can use them. Moreover in his stern insistence that economists in the future should give the same attention to problems of distribution as, in the past, they had given to production, was..... a cardinal principle of the progressive thinkers from his day to ours. .. He was a good deal nearer the Marxian stripe, not only in his prophecy that crimes and follies of the capitalistic classes would precipitate power in the hands of the lower orders, but also in his bold denunciation of the whole competitive system of industry. Like the

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Marxists, Ruskin demanded the right of work for all, and theoretically, adopted... the Marxian principle that the quantity of labor should determine the price. More than all else he was socialistic in the spirit and tendency of much of his program for social reform." I

Mr. Hobson's estimate of how far Mr. Ruskin was a socialist is summed up thus, "He favours the largest substitution of public for private enterprise, and a public superintendence and control of the details of individual life by the state... Large sections of industrial work are to be directly ordered and managed by state officials... The guild system, though in some places treated as a voluntary co-operative movement, is in effect, to be a public institution... In this general sense, as approving the increased ownership and control of industry by the state, Mr. Ruskin, then will also rank as a socialist... Not only is Mr. Ruskin a Socialist in his criticism of competition and profitmongers: he also adopts the cornerstone of the constructive economic theory of Marx and his followers, quantity of labor as the basis of exchange for commodities. ... The right to labour and the correspondent duty of the state to furnish work and wages in public workshops to all unemployed ... all..place Mr. Ruskin's teaching in close sympathy with the tenets

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all... place Mr. Bakin's teaching in close sympathy with the tenets

of revolutionary Socialism.¹"

In his criticism of society Mr. Hobson says that Mr. Ruskin is closely allied with Marxian Socialism. He was ever denouncing the inequalities of wealth, the extravagances of the one hand and the extreme poverty on the other. He always insisted that large fortunes could not be made by the labor of one's own hands. He came to look upon most charity as a substitute for justice, and looked upon it with contempt. He also demanded that property be put upon a sound basis that the right of ownership depended upon its use. He clearly states this in his letter to the "Pall Mall Gazette" in 1873, which contained this statement: "These are the facts. The laborious poor produce the means of life by their labour. Rich persons possess themselves by various expedients of a right to dispense those 'means of life', and keeping as much means as they want of it for themselves, dispense the rest, usually only in return for more labour from the poor, expended in producing various delights for the rich dispenser."²

In his treatment of the land question he does not follow Marxian Socialism so closely. He insisted that the quantity of

¹ J. A. Hobson, John Ruskin, Social Reformer, p.193

² J. A. Hobson, Ibid, p.194

of land to be held is to be limited by the capacity to use it, and the king and the state overseers are to exercise a general power of superintendence and control, while a rent or tax is to be paid to the state, but what he actually advocated was free ownership with "hereditary tenure" and this is antagonistic to the teachings of all true Socialists, since they advocate "Land Nationalization".

His emphasis upon agriculture as the best basis for a happy life is also opposed to Socialism and their emphasis upon town life and subdivided life under machinery. While Mr. Ruskin was also opposed to machinery and desired that civilization as far as possible get away from the use of the slave-binding machinery. But the most important and radical difference between Mr. Ruskin's teachings and Marxian Socialism is that he proposed a Guild system, the principles of which I gave above, and which in its voluntary membership and self-governing elements was directly opposed in economic policy to Socialism.

In the religious emphasis which he gives to his teachings, he resembles the Christian Socialists, but he has a more intellectual basis for his treatment, relying upon intellect instead of sentiment as the Christian Socialists, in main, do. To Mr. Ruskin, his reforms were mainly economic, even though he had been criticised as

1 J.A.Hobson, John Ruskin, Social Reformer, p.198

2 J.A.Hobson, Ibid, p.198

as being sentimental. Mr. Shaw sums up Mr. Ruskin's position when he says that his Political Economy was "fundamentally Christian".^I These who feel that Christainity is charity may interpret Mr. Ruskin's theory as sentiment, but those who feel that Christainity is justice, will give Mr. Ruskin's teachings more of the emphasis that he desired. His whole social experiment St. George's Guild denies the attack that his main emphasis is sentiment. In whatever ways the Guild failed, it was not purely because they were based upon sentiment, for Mr. Ruskin stresses one thing more than anything else in this experiment, and that is, the futility of charity and instead the need for Social Justice. There was no charity among the Guild members, it was merely giving each a square deal and the fruits of his labor.

His distrust in popular government was what really separated him from the liberal and radical group of his time. Democracy to him meant the overthrow of government and the rule of the mob. This seemed to be about the worst thing that could happen to any country to him. He calls himself "a violent Tory of the old school."

He also calls himself "a conservative, bred in the bone and dyed
 I
 in the wool." Although he wanted the most servile of the
 nation to be educated he felt they were incapable of doing much
 in government and politics. He would have as the head of the
 nation the most outstanding man who had the interests of all at
 heart. He did not however offer very practical suggestions as
 to how this man would be picked out, but he was not at all con-
 cerned about the form of government just so it had the elements of
 2
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"He is a prophet of the Socialist movement; he taught its
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"Time and Tide" and "Fors" are full of suggestions keenly
 prophetic of the new social-economic order which is now pressing
 through the broken shell of the nineteenth-century individualism.
 Skilled manual labor, with the apparent exception of agriculture
 he relegates to a guild system not very different from the Guild
 Socialism which today appears in many quarters to be displacing

1 Praeterita, v/I p. 5

2 J.W. Mackail, Addresses, p.14

3 J.A. Hobson, John Ruskin, p.92 ff.

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1 Pragmatism, Vol. 2
 2 J. V. MacCall, Address, p. 14
 3 J. A. Hobson, John Ruskin, p. 117

Industrial Experiments and the Mills of St. George

both the traditional Trade Unionism and the State Socialism of the last century.... In economic, as in educational reform, he was no barren prophet of denunciation, but a true leader toward a land of promise."

.....

I J.A. Hebsen, John-Ruskin, p.94

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last century.... in economic, as in educational reform, he was
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.....

Industrial Experiments and the Guild of St. George

One of the best tests of a man's philosophy of life is his life. Although John Ruskin's theories of social reform were much jeered at, there is no better evidence of his sincerity than his own life. (He had inherited from his father a fortune of two hundred thousand pounds, or about a million dollars.) With the exception of his beautiful home nothing was left at his death. The only income he used was what he received from his writings. His first act upon coming into possession of this large fortune, was to settle several thousand pounds upon relatives who were less fortunate than he. When he received his fortune at the death of his father, he announced that he would carefully study as to how he could give it all away.¹

He had always been interested in certain philanthropic enterprises, as mentioned above, he had taken a great interest in Rossetti and to insure his success bought up a large quantity of his pictures each year as well as having Rossetti's poems published at his expense when publishers refused them.²

When professor at Oxford he spent immense sums on the Univer-

¹ James Fuchs, Ruskin's Views of Social Justice, p.21

² C. W. Collingwood, Life of John Ruskin, v.I, p.215

sity, in an effort to equip the drawing school as he desired it to be equipped. Museums, poor people's homes, and schools were the chief objects of his generosity. His father had also been very generous in philanthropic enterprises, particularly some girls schools and a couple old people's homes. The burden of aiding in the support of these fell to his son and much time was spent in interviews and visits to these institutions. ^I However, he began to feel in his later period of life that all such philanthropic work was really futile and that more lasting and constructive work should be launched. In "Sesame and Lilies", probably one of his most popular if not the most popular of all of his works we already ² see his condemnation of charity.

" 'Why would witness not go into the workhouses'? You ask. Well, the poor seem to have a prejudice against the workhouse which the rich have not; for of course everyone who takes a pension from the government goes into the workhouse on a grand scale: only the workhouses for the rich do not involve the idea of work, and should be called play-houses. But the poor like to die independently, it appears; perhaps if we made the play-houses for them pretty and

¹ C. W. Collingwood, The Life of John Ruskin, v. II, p. 305

² C. W. Collingwood, Ibid, p. 311

and pleasant enough, or gave them their pensions at home, and allowed them a little introductory speculation with the public money, their minds might be reconciled to it. Meantime, here are the facts: we make our belief either so insulting to them, or so painful, that they rather die than take it at our hands; or, for third alternative, we leave them so untaught and foolish that they starve like brute creatures, wild and dumb, not knowing what to do, or what to ask.^I"

He directed one ironic thrust after another at the way in which captains of industry kept their workers down by poor wages, long hours, and poor working conditions and then made it up in part by becoming "Santa Claus" and contributing to philanthropic enterprises for their help. He repeatedly condemned this type of charity and pleaded for justice to the working masses and then philanthropy would not be so much in demand.² On this subject of low wages and need of philanthropy, I wish to quote one of his much quoted cutting denunciations. "It is proposed to better the condition of the laborer by giving him higher wages. 'Nay', say the economists, 'If you raise his wages he will either drink himself to death or

¹ James Fuchs, Ruskin's Views of Social Justice, p.179

² F. W. Roe, Social Philosophy of Carlyle and Ruskin, p.193 ff.

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I have quoted, Justice's View of Social Justice, p. 177
 S. W. W. Soc., Social Philosophy of Capital and Justice, p. 177 ff.

will down people to the point at which you found him. Suppose it was your son of whom you spoke declaring that you would not take him into the firm nor even give him his just laborers hire because if you did he would die of drunkenness and leave half a score of children on the parish. Has he them by inheritance or by education? By one or the other they must come; and as in him also in the poor." ^I

Some of his first attempts at reforms, other than pure philanthropy, included an attempt at road-mending at Oxford. There was a stretch of road, badly in need of repair, on which Ruskin got permission to begin mending. He wanted Oxford students who lived in a world so different from actual life of the working classes to get a little experience. He called it the "Human Pathway" and he superintended the construction work himself. "Thus when I had to direct road-mending at Oxford, I sate, myself, with an iron-masked stone breaker, on his heap, to break stones beside the London road, just under Iffley hill, till I knew how to advise my too impetuous students to effect their purpose in that matter, instead of

breaking the heads of their hammers off (a serious item in our daily expenses)."¹ Ruskin made some remarks while digging to his students "about the waste of time he noticed in the Oxford world of athletics. He could not but believe that the same training of muscles might be turned to better account, if on y the young men, as they labored to increase the muscles of their biceps and forearms, would try to help others round them to a happier life."²

Immediately John Ruskin became the object of all kinds of jokes, people from the village scoffed at him, and came to laugh as he worked, and Oxford students as well as professors laughed at his attempts. However some students did join him and the road was started. "A mile or so of road was laid out, it led nowhere in particular, unless it had been intended to lead to a comely farm on the hillside; and even that it did not reach. When I saw the road about a year after, it showed obvious signs of decay. No prudent farmer would have brought his carts over it; he would have stuck to the turf of the open meadow."³ Ruskin himself called it "the worst road in three kingdoms."⁴ But the work was not wholly without its rewards, several students fell under his in-

¹ Works, XXXV, p.427

² Atlantic Monthly, V. 85, p.573 (Article is unsigned).

³ F.W.Roe, Social Philosophy of Carlyle and Ruskin, p.264 (Mr. Roe gives the above quotation from Dean Kitchin, Ruskin in Oxford)

⁴ F.W.Roe, Ibid, p.264

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1 Verne, XXV, p. 437
 2 Scientific Monthly, V, 65, p. 677 (Article is unnumbered).
 3 P. V. Bee, Social Physiology of Darwin and Wallace, p. 264 (P. V. Bee
 gives the above quotation from Darwin, Wallace in letters)
 4 P. V. Bee, Ibid, p. 264

fluence, one of which was Arnold Toynbee. There is but little doubt but that Ruskin's influence on Toynbee did much in influencing his work both among the poor people of East London and as a lecturer on economic questions.¹

To show what could be done for the poor in London he tried three experiments. The first was that of street cleaning, "without leaving so much as an egg-shell or an orange peel in the gutters."² In January, 1872, he gathered together a group of street sweepers, with one of his gardeners as foremen, and with his own broom the experiment began. "I learned from an Irish street crossing sweeper what he could teach me about sweeping; but found myself in that matter nearly his match, from my boy-gardening; and again and again I swept bits of St. Giles' foot-pavement, showing my corps of subordinates how to finish into depths of gutter."³ "I failed," said Ruskin, "partly because I chose too difficult a district to begin with (the contributions of transitional mud being constant, and the inhabitants being passive), but chiefly because I could no more be on the spot myself to give spirit to the men, when I

¹ E.T. Cook, The Life of Ruskin, v. II, p. 190

² Works, XXVIII, p. 204

³ Works, XXV, 427

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left Denmark Hill for Conisten".

In 1874 he attempted another experiment for the poor of East London, this time it was a tea-shop at Paddington, St. Marlebone. He gives the object of this tea-room to "supply the poor in that neighborhood with pure tea, in packets as small as they chose to buy, without making a profit on the subdivision."² An attractive sign was painted by Mr. Arthur Severn and hung over the door, bearing the words, "Mr. Ruskin's Tea Shop". He decorated the place with beautiful old china, and left two of his mother's servants in charge. However the business did not prosper as he had hoped and he realized long before it closed that he could not compete with the more highly decorated and brilliantly lighted shops. At the death of one of the servants in charge, he gave up this experiment.³

The next and wisest of these experiments was an attempt to better the living conditions of some of the bad tenement districts of East London. He had inherited from his father some small tenements and then he added to, by buying a few more. He left this experiment

I Works, XXVIII, p.204
2 Ibid, XVIII, p.204
3 Ibid, XVIII, 205 ff.

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I have, XXVIII, p. 204
 2 This, XXVIII, p. 204
 3 This, XXVIII, p. 204

in charge of Miss Octavia Hill, a young woman who had been in his classes and was very enthusiastic for service in social work. He tried to supply many new comforts for the tenants, and find out their needs, and at the same time taking only a just rent but "that firmly". Miss Hill was very successful in carrying out these reforms, and the tenants responded wholeheartedly to their bettered conditions. Much of the credit goes to Miss Hill's hard work. She worked without pay and tried to keep in touch with the tenants, personally. Profits were spent on improvements, and overcrowding was reduced, and decency and cleanliness was the main aim. Miss Hill managed these experiments for Mr. Ruskin for years, but due to a misunderstanding between the two, Mr. Ruskin sold these tenements to Miss Hill. He hoped because of their success that other landlords would follow his example. However, he was under no delusion that much could be done in this way unless the source of poverty and misery was reached and overcome.^I

His next experiment was a Printing and Publishing Company.

On January 1, 1871, he issued a small pamphlet, headed "Fors Clavigera"

I Works, XVII, 437 ff.

It was a letter to workmen and laborers of England. This pamphlet was not published in the usual manner, but sold by the author's engraver, Mr. George Allen, at Heathfield Cottage, Keston, Kent.¹ It was not advertised, however, copies were sent to the leading papers. "Strangers, who heard of this curious proceeding, spread the report that in order to get Mr. Ruskin's latest you had to travel in the country, with your sevenpence in your hand, and transact your business among Mr. Allen's beehives".² This plan begun by Mr. Ruskin for "Fors" soon began to be used for all of his later works. At first he turned over the enterprise to Smith, Elder, and Co. who had been his old publishers, with the help of Mr. Allen, one of his pupils from the Working Men's College. But by 1873, the whole enterprise was turned over to Mr. Allen, who set up business at Orpington, Kent, just twelve miles out of London. The printing was also done in the country by³ Hazell, Watson, and Viney Co.

Mr. Ruskin's aim was to establish a happy little village industry, where books would be supplied at a fixed price to all

¹ C.V. Collingwood, Life of John Ruskin, v. II, p. 399

² C.V. Collingwood, Ibid

³ F.W. Roe, Social Philosophy of Carlyle and Ruskin, p. 269

It was a letter to workmen and laborers of England. This pamphlet was not published in the usual manner, but sold by the author's employer, Mr. George Allen, at Hestonfield Cottage, Heston, Kent. It was not advertised, however, copies were sent to the leading papers. "Strangers," who heard of this curious proceeding, spread the report that in order to get Mr. Maxin's letter you had to travel in the country, with your satchel in your hand, and transact your business among Mr. Allen's disciples. His plan began by Mr. Maxin for "Tears" soon began to be read far off of his later works. At first he turned over the enterprise to Smith, Rider, and Co., who had been his old publishers, with the help of Mr. Allen, one of his pupils from the Working Men's College. But by 1873, the whole enterprise was turned over to Mr. Allen, who set up business at Gillingham, Kent, just twelve miles out of London. The printing was also done in the country by Hazel, Weston, and Vinny Co.

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1 E. V. Collingwood, Life of John Ruskin, v. 11, p. 139
 2 E. V. Collingwood, ibid.
 3 E. V. Collingwood, ibid., p. 139

purchasers, the producer attempting to give the best quality, "paper, binding, eloquence, and all", and the retailer charging "what he ought to charge openly".¹ Booksellers opposed the plan so bitterly that they attempted to boycott Ruskin's books. In 1882, Ruskin modified the plan, by establishing a fixed price at which the work should sell to the public and allowed the booksellers a fixed discount. Thus he introduced the "net book system".² The business prospered under Mr. Allen's management, and in 1886 he paid Mr. Ruskin a profit of 4000 pounds. The best materials were used in the books, the work was all hand done, instead of stitched, and the public received guaranteed products for a fair price, produced under happy and healthful conditions.³ This was a real success for Mr. Ruskin, although much credit need be given to Mr. Allen's efficient management. Again, it was Mr. Ruskin's ideas, but he needed someone more practical, efficient, and less under the strain of poor health and hard work to put it into successful practice. Eventually the Publishing Company of Mr. Allen was moved to London and ordinary use of advertisement was added. This increased the sale of Mr. Ruskin's

¹ J.A.Hobson, John Ruskin, Social Reformer, p.301

² F.W.Roe, Social Philosophy of Carlyle and Ruskin, p.269

³ F.W.Roe, Ibid, p. 270

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1 J. A. Hobson, The Rankin Social Reform, p. 301
 2 R. V. Lee, Social Philosophy of Carlyle and Rankin, p. 282
 3 R. V. Lee, Ibid., p. 270

books greatly increased, but it is not certain how far these departures from his original plan, pleased Mr. Ruskin. His failing health, at any rate, made it impossible to do much in the way of personal attention.

He undertook a few other enterprises, mostly ways of relief to the poor. He became interested in an irrigation project to build reservoirs on the upper parts of the Alps in Italy, for use in the prevention of floods and for irrigating the barren sides of the mountain, although his plans were translated in Italian language, the undertaking was never begun.

The greatest of his experiments and the one which he gave nearly the whole of his last years in developing was the St. George Guild. This Guild was directly connected with his letters to the workingmen, "Ters Clavigera". In fact, the real purpose of the book, at first, seems to have been the putting across of his plan to the public. In the first letter of "Ters" he suggests that he wants to try to help eliminate the material distress about him in some practical way. In his fifth letter, he gives an account of some of the plans of his scheme. He had insisted for years that food can only be gotten out of the ground and that hap-

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piness depended upon honesty . As seen before, he gave unusual stress upon the organization of agriculture. This was because he saw the evils of large estates run by the poor peasants for the benefit of the landlords. He always desired that England be divided into small plots of land, sufficient for all to make a living, with as few large cities as possible and more small village industries. He thought this would do away with the evils of the factory system, the tenement sections, and the poor conditions, both sanitary and otherwise that existed in the large cities. He organized the St. George's Co. which was to have charge of the buying of a tract of land where those interested in honest work could establish their homes, educate their children in the correct way (The Ruskinian educational ideas were to be developed) and be assured a happy and contented home life. He started the work of the company by contributing ten thousand pounds or one-tenth of his income. He appealed to the wealthy of England to do likewise that one tenth of their annual income might go for the betterment of social conditions, but England did not respond as he desired that it would and he complained that only a few friends

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out of love for him had contributed small sums. After a three years appeal he had obtained "upwards of two hundred pounds".^I He adds the rather cutting remark, "Had I been a swindler the British public would delightedly have given me two hundred thousand pounds instead of two hundred, of which I might have returned them, by this time, say, the quarter in dividends; spent a hundred and fifty thousand pleasantly, myself, at the rate of fifty thousand a year; and announced, in this month's report, with regret, the failure of my project, owing to the unprecedented state of commercial affairs induced by strikes, unions, and other illegitimate combinations among the workers."²

Every companion of the Guild was called upon to sign the following important document, which gives much of Ruskin's purpose and aim of the organization:

" I. I trust in God, Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and earth, and of all things and creatures, visible and invisible.

"I trust in the kindness of His law, and the goodness of His work.

"And I will strive to love him, and keep His law, and see His work while I live.

" 2. I will trust in the nobleness of human nature in the

¹ Fors Clavigera, Letter xxxvi, p. 261

² Ibid

majesty of its faculties, the fullness of its mercy, and the joy of its love.

" And I will strive to love my neighbour as myself, and, even when I cannot, will act as if I did.

"III. I will labour, with such strength and opportunity as God gives me, for my own daily bread; and all that my hands finds to do, I will do with all my might.

" IV. I will not deceive, or cause to be deceived, any human being for my gain or pleasure; nor hurt, or cause to hurt, any human being for my gain or pleasure; nor rob, or cause to be robbed, any human being for my gain or pleasure.

" V. I will not hurt or kill any living creature needlessly, nor destroy any beautiful thing; but will strive to save and comfort all gentle life, and guard and perfect all natural beauty, upon the earth.

" VI. I will strive to raise my own body and soul daily into all the higher powers of duty and happiness; not in rivalry or contention with others, but for the help, delight, and honour of others, and for the joy and peace of my own life.

VII. I will obey all the laws of my country faithfully, and the or-

majesty of the faculties, the fulness of its mercy, and the
joy of its love.

And I will strive to love my neighbour as myself, and even

when I cannot, will not as if I did.

III. I will labour, with such strength and opportunity as God gives

me, for my own daily bread; and all that my hands find to do,

I will do with all my might.

IV. I will not deceive, or cause to be deceived, any human

being for my gain or pleasure; nor hurt, or cause to hurt, any

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V. I will not hurt or kill any living creature needlessly, nor

destroy any beautiful thing; but will strive to save and comfort

all gentle life, and guard and protect all natural beauty, upon

the earth.

VI. I will strive to raise my soul and body and soul daily into

all the higher powers of duty and happiness; not in rivalry or

competition with others, but for the help, delight, and honour of

others, and for the joy and peace of my own life.

VII. I will obey all the laws of my country faithfully, and the or-

ders of its monarch, and any persons appointed to be in authority under its monarch, so far as such laws or commands are consistent with what I suppose to be the Law of God; and when they are not, or seem in any wise to need change, I will oppose them loyally and deliberately, not with malicious, concealed or disorderly violence.

"VIII. And with the same faithfulness, and under the limits of the same obedience, which I render to the laws of my country, and the commands of its rulers, I will obey the laws of the Society, called St. George, into which I am this day received; and the orders of its masters, and of all persons appointed to be in authority under its masters, so long as I remain a Companion, called of St. ^I George."

Cottages, comfortable, and artistic were built, adding a new window when a baby was born, or a new room as the children got bigger. Faultless sanitary conditions were installed. The main aim was to anticipate every need of the tenant without an increase of rent. They were to occupy land under a long lease at a fixed rent with the privilege of purchasing their holdings, if they chose.

Rent was to be lowered according to every improvement made by the tenant himself. All money accumulated from the Guild was to be put back into the land that needed it most. Small schools and museums were to be established that were to be of highest service in meeting the individual needs of the community where they were to be established.

Some small pieces of land were turned over to the Guild. In 1877, Mr. George Baker, then Mayor of Birmingham, gave twenty acres of land in a very pretty part of Worcestershire. A little later, the Guild also obtained possession of a little estate, Cloughton, near Scarborough, consisting of a couple of acres and a cottage. Unfortunately none of these pieces of land were really suited to the building of a real agricultural community. No solidarity was ever attained within any of the groups which were begun. The land was unsuitable and the people who volunteered to live on the land did not possess the ideals that Ruskin had, nor did they have the sincere desire to carry out his plans. The Guild trustees tried to take charge of the little groups formed and tried to get the people to respond but to no great avail. Added

to this was Mr. Ruskin's continued spells of ill health, which made it impossible for him to give much effort to the enterprise. He realized that he would not have the strength to carry out the struggle that such an enterprise would need, but he always hoped that if he started it some one member of the Guild would become interested enough to carry on the work. But the large amount of money and land that would have been necessary to make a real success was not forthcoming, and although the Guild still owns these tracts of land, which are under the charge of two trustees, not much has been done with it.

However, at least, one good result was left. This was the workingmen's museum established by Mr. Ruskin at Sheffield. This was indeed a unique experiment. His main aim was to teach the workingmen, in their leisure hours, through practical demonstrations, a true appreciation of the finest arts, architecture, and geological and botanical specimens. He believed that that was the only way they would get a higher appreciation of the beauty of life and the joy of living. Instead of the ale houses he wished

I J.A. Hobson, John Ruskin, Social Reformer, p.309 ff.

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wished to give the workmen a chance at the higher things of life, and do it in an interesting way that would appeal to all, and be comprehensive, in a way, at least, to even the most illiterate.

To accomplish this he hired photographers to copy the best in Italian and French art and Architecture, the old Cathedrals, the beautiful church windows, the beautiful public buildings, and the like. He himself contributed much time and effort as well as money in collecting geological specimens, pictures, and etc. He arranged them systematically and so they would not be confusing to the untrained. He added much of his own original handwork in giving diagrams and the like. Besides this he contributed many of his own pictures of the great artists that he had collected besides some of his own. He had but a limited fund from the Guild to work with, but he added much of his own income in carrying the work to a fuller realization. The museum was located at Sheffield, in a little cottage overlooking a beautiful river at its base, but later through the persuasion of some private citizens and their private contributions of five hundred thousand pounds, it was removed to a more accessible place at the

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public park at Heeley. Mr. White who became the new curator of the Ruskin Museum worked for years trying very carefully to follow out the original ideas of Mr. Ruskin in every respect. No collections have been added merely because they were rare and unusual. The collections have been added to convey a fuller purpose of the authors aim. Although the funds have been limited several worthwhile contributions have been made from time to time. The walls are decorated by illustrated portions from Mr. Ruskin's books, trying to drive home some big truths to the public as they enjoy and understand the collections, as for example, "All judgment of art is founded in Nature."²

Ruskin worked untiringly up until the closing months of his life in arranging, explaining and collecting specimens for the Museum which he thought would serve his purpose. There is no doubt that Ruskin received a great deal of enjoyment out of these collections, as well as a little satisfaction that all of his work was not in vain. If he could not get over his disappointments in regard to the rest of the failures of the Guild, at least his museum, and the praise that it called forth had some

1 E.T.Cook, Studies in Ruskin, p.156 ff.

2 J.A.Hobson, John Ruskin, Social Reformer, p.311

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all of his work was not in vain. If he could not get over his
disappointments in regard to the failure of the world,
at least his museum, and the purpose that it called forth had been

1 E. T. Cook, Studying in Mackin, p. 158 ff.
2 J. A. Hanson, The Mackin Social Museum, p. 511

compensations. Mr. Ruskin had always desired that skill in work should be one of the primary ends, since it would make for happiness of work and achievement. He also wanted humane and wholesome working conditions in all factories, and he hoped the public would become educated to using the best of good materials instead of cheap shoddy materials so popular. With these aims in mind he hoped to bring about some practical industrial reforms in the revival of hand-weaving, hand-carving, and other home and small industries. On the Isle of Man there was a decaying hand-industry in spinning and weaving cloth. Mr. Ruskin learning of this decaying industry devoted time and money and with the help of Mr. Rydings, he completed an organization and established a new market, had a water mill built at Laxey (on the Isle of Man) to which the farmers brought their wool and were paid in yarn and cloth. All the processes of carding, weaving, and spinning were carried on and home knitting as well as home weaving was encouraged besides the regular work at the factory. It was called the St. George's mill and the work was done under the very best conditions. The products were also said to be the very best, guaranteed not to shrink, change

compensation.

Mr. Harkin had always desired that skill in work should be one of the primary ends, since it would make for happiness of work and achievement. He also wanted humane and wholesome working conditions in all factories, and he hoped the public would become educated to using the best of good materials instead of cheap shoddy materials as popular. With these aims in mind he had been bringing about some practical industrial reforms in the revival of hand-weaving, hand-carving, and other home and small industries. On the Isle of Man there was a decaying hand-industry in spinning and weaving cloth. Mr. Harkin learning of this decaying industry devoted time and money and with the help of Mr. Lyding, he completed an organization and established a new market, had a water mill built at Laxey (on the Isle of Man) to which the farmers brought their wool and were paid in yarn and cloth. All the processes of carding, weaving, and spinning were carried on and some knitting as well as home weaving was encouraged besides the regular work at the factory. It was called the St. George's mill and the work was done under the very best conditions. The products were also said to be the very best, guaranteed not to shrink, change

I

color, and to last a lifetime. There became quite a demand for these hand-made woolens and St. George's mill prospered. Mr. Ruskin had given much time to its organization and management, but as his health became worse he turned the project over to a Mr. Thomson who was in sympathy with Mr. Ruskin's undertaking and who in many ways was a follower of most of his social teachings. He has applied Ruskin's ideas to his woolen and worsted business at Huddersfield, attempting to form the breach between labor and capital by selling shares in the industry to the laborers, and by dividing profits between the producers and consumers. His factory thus became a cooperative organization and practically all of its retail organizations are also cooperative. It has incorporated many of the Rochdale cooperative ideas in it and has in many ways added unique ones of its own.

2

Another of his experiments was a revival of the spinning industry in Westmoreland, where the best of hand made linens were produced. This was begun in 1883 by the aid of Mr. Fleming

1 J. A. Hobson, John Ruskin, Social Reformer, p.318

2 J. A. Hobson, Ibid, p.319

color, and to last a lifetime. These became quite a demand for these hand-made woollens and Mr. Gorman's mill prospered. Mr. Gorman had given much time to the organization and management, but as his health became worse he turned the project over to a Mr. Thompson who was in sympathy with Mr. Gorman's undertaking and who in many ways was a follower of most of his social teachings. He was allied Gorman's plan to his work and worked business at his own risk, attempting to form the union between labor and capital by selling shares in the industry to the laborers, and by dividing profits between the producers and consumers. His factory thus became a cooperative organization and practically all of its raw materials and operations are also cooperative. It has incorporated many of the Rochdale cooperative ideas in it and has in many ways added unique ones of its own.

Another of his experiments was a revival of the spinning industry in Westport, where the best of Irish made linen were produced. This was begun in 1898 by the aid of Mr. Manning

I. L. G. Larkin, John Gorman, Social Reform, p. 218
 S. L. G. Larkin, John Gorman, Social Reform, p. 218

who was particularly interested in the revival of this dead industry. It was hard to get spinning wheels but new ones were constructed by the old patterns, and at length a loom was made by looking at an old loom that had fallen into a dozen pieces and "by the aid a photograph of Giotto's Campanile".^I The women came to the village and learned how to spin and finally how to weave and some how to embroider and at length the spinning industry was begun and fine hand made and hand embroidered linens were produced. Ruskin had in mind employing only the old ladies who were unable to do much else and that all the work should be done around the home fireside.²

Mr. Cook records an interesting account given of this industry, given by Mr. Fleming himself. "I read various treatises on bleaching, and discovered that all of the processes were more or less injurious to the workmen and to the stuff; so, as Giotto fixed our loom for us, Homer taught us the true principle of bleaching, and we adopted the simple method described in "Odyssey".³ Sun, air and dew were our only chemicals: potent magicians, they, changing by their sweet alchemy our coarse brown stuff into soft

¹ E. T. Cook, Studies in Ruskin, p.170

² E. T. Cook, Ibid, p.171

who was particularly interested in the revival of this dead in-
 dustry. It was hard to get spinning wheels but new ones were
 constructed by the old pattern, and at length a loom was made
 by looking at an old loom that had fallen into a corner place
 and by the aid a photograph of Blotto's "Invention".
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 who were unable to be made also and that all the work should be
 done around the home (L. 1000).

Mr. Cook records in his report of account given to the ladies
 given by Mr. Francis Nichols. "I read various treatises
 on bleaching, and discovered that all of the processes were more
 or less injurious to the weaver and to the stuff; so, as I
 fixed our loom for me, he or taught us the true outside of
 bleaching, and we adopted the simple method described in "Dyers"
 Our air and her were our only chemical; potash, soda, lime,
 changed by their heat which was course from alkali into salt

1. Mr. F. Cook, Woolen in Wash, p. 210
 2. Mr. F. Cook, Ibid., p. 131

white linen. ... Orders and inquiries came from all parts of England. Fashion helped us, too, for our linen was eagerly sought after for embroidery, for curtains, portieres, chair-backs, tea-cloths, and a dozen other elegant inutilities; so then, to quote the "Spectator", 'I took the laudable mystery of embroidery into my serious consideration', and enrolled a staff of forty poor ladies, who were experienced workers, and for whose work we had a ready sale.... We have two looms going, and about thirty women at work. The old weaver gets a fixed wage of sixteen shillings a week and a good cottage rent free. The best of our spinners earn about six shillings a week. We make seventeen different kinds of linen, varying in price from two shillings to six shillings a yard. The widest linen is 44 inches wide, and its price around five shillings.... All money produced by its sale is paid into the bank, and the profits will be divided among the workers at the end of the year. If any nice old-fashioned people want any of our linen, or care to know more about it, let them write me, at Neaun, Langdale, Ambleside." ^I From this interesting account we can get much of what they were doing. I have tried

to find some accounts as to whether these hand industries are still in existence. The last report that seems to be available in our libraries is that of Mr. E.T. Cook's which was made in 1907. He says, "It has spread (hand industries) in many directions and there are branches in London and in many parts of the country; but the original industry still flourishes now at Coniston." ^I

John V. Graham's book, published in 1920, and Mr. James Fuchs' published in 1926, seem to be silent on the modern state of these industries. Mr. Ree, infers that the St. George's Mill of the Isle of Man, taken over by Mr. Thomson at Scuddersfield, still exists. "The new plan rested upon co-partnership. It provided a "sick pay and pension fund" and adopted the eight-hour day, with fixed wages for all. Half of the net profits went to the workers, half to the consumers." ²

"The Home Arts and Industries Association, which holds an exhibition every year, and issues a report, is evidence of the great influence which Mr. Ruskin's teaching and example has exercised upon this movement in different parts of Great Britain and Ireland... Classes organised in various places, largely by

1 F.W. Ree, Social Philosophy of Carlyle and Ruskin, p.286
 2 F.W. Ree, Ibid, p.286 (footnote)

to find some accounts as to whether these hand industries are still in existence. The last report that seems to be available in our libraries is that of Mr. E.T. Geok's which was made in 1907. He says, "It has spread (hand industries) in many directions and there are branches in London and in many parts of the country; but the original industry still flourishes not at Colchester." John W. Graham's book, published in 1920, and Mr. James Turner's published in 1928, seem to be silent on the modern state of these industries. Mr. Lee, infers that the St. George's Hill of the late of War, taken over by Mr. Thomson at Southwark, still exists. "The new plan rested upon co-partnership. It provided a "sick pay and pension fund" and adopted the eight-hour day, with fixed wages for all. Half of the net profits went to the workers, half to the consumers."

The Home Arts and Industries Association, which holds an exhibition every year, and issues a report, is evidence of the great influence which Mr. Ruskin's teaching and example has exercised upon this movement in different parts of Great Britain and Ireland. Classes organised in various places, largely by

J. W. Lee, Social Efficiency of Artistic Endeavour, p. 186
 E. T. Geok, Ibid., p. 122 (referred)

voluntary effort of unpaid teachers, are at work... In a few instances an already existing industry is organized and a market found for it, as in the hand-woven industry of South Wales. In a few other cases a new art-industry has arisen, as in the 'Della Robbia Pottery' of Birkenhead ... but in most instances ... the work is of informal nature, being more recreative and educational than professional.... The chief occupations are hand-spinning, weaving, and embroidery of different fabrics, and work in wood, metal, and clay, though a great variation of minor handicrafts are also practised, such as embossed and cut leather work, bookbinding, and basket-making.¹

Several influential men and women have contributed to starting such organizations, directly from Ruskin's influence. These have not, as Mr. Hobson points out, been protests against machinery but rather setting a reasonable limit for machine work, such as the dull, monotonous work that can be done more efficiently by machine, and leaving the more artistic to be accomplished by skilled hand workers; it is also a protest for good working conditions, and quality of material rather than mere cheapness.²

¹ J.A.Hobson, John Ruskin, Social Reformer, p.320

² J.A.Hobson, Ibid, p.323

In all these Industrial experiments, Ruskin attempted to show the public the workability of his own theories. What he sought was to deal fairly with others, as a bookseller, as a landlord, or as a buyer of goods and an employer of labor. His methods of employing laborers is explained in "Unto This Last" he did not make laborers compete and thus undercut each other. Instead, he set a fixed wage and there was no bargaining about it. This was the theory of sound wages, a fixed wage that would enable the worker to live comfortably and in good-will with his employer. In all of his dealings with his servants or with those employed in his industries, he insisted upon paying a fair wage and a fixed wage. In buying products, he insisted upon quality and then paid for that product, not the lowest he could get it for, but a price that he thought was fair to the retailer. In pictures, he did the same. It is said of him by all of his biographers, that he was especially liberal on his estimate of the price of paintings. When Rossetti brought his pictures to him every year, it was not a niggardly price at which he valued them, even though he might have easily have done so,

but this was his principle that price should not be set by unfixed competition but by a certain standard of value of the article itself. In all of his private dealings, he attempted to drive home this truth.

If most of his industrial experiments seemed to be failures, still they did have some influence, not only upon others directly but, in proving to the world the whole-hearted sincerity of his doctrines. What is a more practical test of a man's sincerity than all of these practical experiments in which he tried to work out his own theories? Ruskin's influence could not have been as great as it is, if we did not find on every hand tests of that sincerity that made him use a fortune of a million dollars for the uplift of humanity, and hours of hard work, if need be, down with the street sweeper, or the rock-crusher to realize what the working classes suffered.

Impractical though he seemed, dubbed as a "Don Quixote", the present age is just beginning to realize how practical and ethical his teachings are. W.H. Shaw says of him, "Right or wrong, possible or impossible, his social doctrine is simply applied Christianity."^I

Mr. Harrison sums up the influence of these industrial experiments as he sees it, thus:

"The ninety-six letters of "Fors" contain the tale of a long career of failures, blunders, and cruel disappointment. They contain, too, the record of that damning perversity of mind and of character which ruined Ruskin's life and neutralized his powers, the folly of presuming to recast thought of humanity 'de novo', and alone; to remould civilization by mere passion without due training or knowledge; attempting alone to hurl human society back into a wholly imaginary and fictitious past. Yet, let us remember - 'It was a grievous fault,
And grievously hath Caesar answered it'.

But there are some failures more beautiful and more useful to mankind than a thousand triumphs. It is impossible to weigh the value, or to judge the legitimacy, of a hopeless but heroic sacrifice.... Magnanimity owes no account of its acts to Prudence. No; nor to common Sense."

But, may I add, 'tis queer how much more of common sense we find in Ruskin's teachings than the past generation found. Applied Christianity, Brotherhood? Yes, perhaps these idealistic,

Mr. Harrison says of the influence of these industrial ex-

periments as he says at times:

"The ninety-six letters of 'Fors'" contain the tale of a long

career of failures, disappointments, and other disappointments. They

contain, too, the record of that burning generosity of mind

and of character which turned Fors's life and neutralized his

failures, the folly of remaining to repeat through of humanity the

'novel', and above; to remain civilization by mere genius with-

out the training or knowledge; attempting alone to build human

society back into a healthy machine and efficient part. For

let us remember - 'It was a grievous fault,

and grievously with heaven answered it!'

But there are men who are born with a gift and who are meant to

marking that a thousand tributes. It is impossible to weigh

the value, or to judge the inefficiency, of a hope but Fors's

activity... Responsibility over no account of the work he produced.

Not for the common sense.

But my I add, 'the great law which says of common sense as

kind in Fors's teaching that the best generation found. Applied

Christianity, brotherhood, yes, perhaps these idealistic

dreams will not work, perhaps they are not in keeping with
the Twentieth Century Common Sense any more than they were with
the nineteenth, but is there not a new Century coming, who can
foretell how much more like Common Sense they may seem to be?

.....

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the twentieth century common sense any more than they were with
the nineteenth, but is there not a new century coming, who can
forecast how much more like common sense they may seem to be?

.....

"Fors Clavigera"

"Fors Clavigera" and "Praeterita" were Mr. Ruskin's last works. I have dealt quite as fully with "Praeterita" as the length of this paper will allow, in the brief account of his life. However, this paper would scarcely seem complete without giving two incidents of his latter life that influenced his last works. The last forty years of his life were very lonely years, at the beginning of this period most of his old friends, deserted him because of his economic and social views so opposed to the time. As the years past, he made new friends, chief among whom, was Carlyle. The Brownings were also close friends, but with the exception of a few American friends which he met while in Switzerland, one of whom was Harriett Beecher Stowe, he had very few friends. It was during this period that he fell in love with one of his pupils, and she promised to become his wife. This seemed to point to real happiness, for Ruskin had always longed for a happy home and companionship. Sadly, as "Fors Clavigera" came out, she felt that he was an unbeliever, and being very devout she refused to marry him. It really broke her heart, and no persuasion on Mr. Ruskin's part could change her mind, and

"John Giverson"

"John Giverson" and "Treatise" were Mr. Bushkin's last works. I have dealt with an early work of "Treatise" as the length of this paper will allow, in the brief account of his life. However, this paper would scarcely seem complete without giving two incidents of his latter life that influenced his last work. The last forty years of his life were very lonely years, at the beginning of this period most of his old friends, deserted him because of his economic and social views as opposed to the time. As the years past, he had new friends, chief among whom was Harry. The friendships were also close friends, but with the exception of a few American friends which he met while in England, one of whom was Herbert Beecher Stone, he had very few friends. It was during this period that he fell in love with one of his pupils, and she promised to become his wife. This seemed to point to real happiness, for he had always longed for a happy home and companionship. Sadly, as "John Giverson" came out, she felt that he was an unbeliever, and being very devoted she refused to marry him. It really broke her heart, and she persevered on Mr. Bushkin's part could change her mind, and

still believing that he was an unbeliever she died broken-hearted. This had a great effect upon Mr. Ruskin, it seemed that when happiness seemed in view, it was snatched away because someone else did not understand him.

Practically the entire time that "Fors" was being written, Mr. Ruskin was suffering from ill health. During two years of the period, his work was interrupted by acute cerebral disease, and was irregularly continued for some time later, with diminished power. The effect of Rose La Touche's death, because she thought him an unbeliever, turned him back toward the religious faith of his childhood. A teacher of applied Christianity, and yet because of the doctrines of the Church with which he was not in sympathy, he felt himself that he was not a religious man. Yet a passage in "Praeterita" well expresses his religious faith -

"While these convictions (condemnation of all forms of monasticism) prevented me from being led into acceptance of Catholic teaching by my reverence for the Catholic art of all of the great ages,- and less, because the Catholic art of these small ages can say but little for itself,- I grew also daily more sure that the peace of God rested upon all the dutiful and kindly hearts of the

still believing that he was an unbeliever and his broken-hearted.
This had a great effect upon Mr. Mackin, it seemed that when
happiness seemed in view, it was snatched away because someone
else did not understand him.

Practically the entire time that "Pete" was being written,

Mr. Mackin was suffering from ill health. During the years of
the period, his work was interrupted by acute cerebral disease,
and was irregularly continued for some time later, with diminished
power. The effect of Rose de Troche's death, because she brought
him an unbeliever, turned his back toward the religious faith of
his childhood. A teacher of spiritual Christianity, and yet so-
cause of the destruction of the Church with which he was not in sym-
pathy, he felt himself that he was not a religious man. Yet a

passage in "Practicality" well expresses his religious faith -

"While these convictions, condemnation of all forms of material-
ism) prevented me from being led into association of Catholic
teaching by my reverence for the Catholic art of all of the great
ages - and last, because the Catholic art of those small ages was
my own little for itself. - I now also daily more sure that the
peace of God rested upon all the faithful and kindly hearts of the

of the laborious poor; and that the only constant form of pure religion was in useful work, faithful love, and stintless charity." I

After passing through this period of doubt, he remakes his childhood faith into a practical, liberal, and social gospel, "A love of man for man, a love of man for God."

"Fors Clavigera" consists of ninety-six letters, composed of his thoughts upon almost every social question of his day, in addition, he gives accounts of his social experiments, and constant appeals for people to go out and help do something practical to change the existing conditions. The work covers a period of fourteen years of his life, the fourteen that proved to be filled with his greatest disappointments, his greatest sorrows, and his greatest struggles. Part of the work seems almost unintelligible. It is so incoherent that it is hard to always find the connecting links, between certain passages and what goes before or what follows, perhaps there are no connecting links, or were not supposed to have been any. However, in taking all of the ninety-six letters, and reading them carefully, when finished one cannot help but see the purpose and main plan of the author,-

1 John Ruskin, p. 102

2 1818, p. 134

3 The life of John Ruskin, v. II, p. 400

4 1818, p. 131

of the laborious poor; and that the only consistent form of pure religion was in useful work, faithful love, and stainless charity.

After passing through this period of doubt, he renounces his

childhood faith into a practical, liberal, and social gospel.

"A love of man for man, a love of man for God."

"For England" consists of ninety-six letters, condensed

of his thoughts upon almost every practical question of his day.

In addition, he gives accounts of his social experiments, and

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However, in taking all

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one cannot help but see the purpose and main plan of the author.

The fervent hopes and dreams of a new age where many of the social ills would be cured, and mankind would live in peaceful, happy homes working honestly for their living, and no man treating another unjustly.

MR. Harrison calls "Fors" Ruskin's Hamlet. ¹ "For the yearning towards a New Society, founded on pure Air, Water, and Earth - on Admiration, Hope, and Love, for the desperate and visionary attempt to start a working model of such a new world, we may forget the follies and blunders of the prophet of "Fors". ²

Mr. Collingwood sums up the general character of the book as follows, "The general sense of the title expresses the general drift of the work; to show that life is to be bettered by each man's honest toil, and to be borne, in many things he cannot better, by his wise resignation; but above all, and through all, and in all, there works a Power outside him, to will and to do, to reward and to punish, eventually, by laws, which, if he choose, ³ and, for the remainder, may trust." Then he says, "to read ⁴ "Fors " is like being out in a thunderstorm."

¹ John Ruskin, p. 182

² Ibid, p. 194

³ The Life of John Ruskin, v. II, p. 400

⁴ Ibid, p. 401

The fervent hopes and dreams of a new age where every of the social
life would be cared, and mankind would live in peace, happy
honesty working honestly for their living, and no man treating
another unjustly.

Mr. Harr son calls "Yers" Harrin's Harrier. "For the reasoning
towards a New Society, founded on love, water, and earth - on
admiration, hope, and love, for the dejected and visionary at-
tempt to start a working model of such a new world, we may forget
the failures and blunders of the prophet of "Yers".

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as follows: "The general sense of the title expresses the general
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reward and to punish, essentially, by law, which, if he choose,
and, for the remainder, may trust." Then he says, "to read
"Yers" is like being out in a thunderstorm."

1 John Harrin, p. 182
2 Ibid, p. 182
3 The Life of John Harrin, v. 11, p. 400
4 Ibid, p. 401

Some of the passages of "Fors" certainly fell upon the people of the nineteenth century much as a thunderstorm might have fallen. An illustration of this is the following passage,

"Now, my dear religious friends, I continually hear you talk of acting God's glory, and giving God praise. Might you not, for the present, think less of praising and more of pleasing Him? He can perhaps dispense with your praise; your opinions of His character, even when they come to be held by a large body of the religious Press, are not of material importance to Him."

Or again, "I am not an unselfish person, nor an Evangelical one; I have no particular pleasure in doing good; neither do I dislike doing it so much as to expect to be rewarded for it in another world."

"Quixotism or Utopianism, that is another of the devil's pet words. Whenever you hear a man dissuading you from attempting to do well, on the ground that perfection is Utopian, beware of that man."

"Does it never occur to me," a correspondent writes, "that I may be mad myself?" Well, I am so alone now in my thoughts and ways, that if I am not mad, I should soon become so, from mere solitude, but for my work. We are in hard times, now, for all

1 C.W. Collingwood, Life of John Ruskin, p.404, v. II

2 Fors Clavigera, Letter I

3 W.H. Shaw, John Ruskin, p.p.41

Some of the passages of "Kara" certainly fall upon the
 people of the nineteenth century much as a thunderbolt might
 have fallen. An illustration of this is the following passage,
 "Now, my dear religious friends, I continually hear you talk of
 eating God's glory, and giving God praise. Right you are, for
 the present, think less of praising and more of eating Him.
 He can perhaps dispense with your praise; your opinions of His
 character, even when they come to be held by a large body of the
 religious world, are not of essential importance to Him."

Or again, "I am not an unselfish person, nor an Evangelical
 one; I have no particular pleasure in being good; neither do I
 dislike doing it so much as to expect to be rewarded for it in
 another world."

"Quintessence of Utopianism, that is another of the devil's
 pet words. Whenever you hear a man disbanding you from attending
 to do well, on the ground that he looks on as Utopian, beware of that
 man."

"Does it never occur to me? a correspondent writes, 'that
 I may be and myself?' Well, I am no one now in my thoughts and
 ways. That if I am not mad, I should soon become so, from mere
 solitude, but for my work. We are in hard times, now, for all

I. C. Co. Liverpool, wife of John Ruskin, p. 404, v. 11
 2. Kara Quiver, letter 1
 3. W. M. Shaw, John Ruskin, p. 41

men's wits, for men who know the truth are like to go mad
 from isolation.¹"

"No true luxury, wealth, or religion is possible to dirty persons; nor is it decent or human to attempt to compass any temporal prosperity whatever by the sacrifice of cleanliness. The speedy abolition of all abolishable filth is the first process of education."²

The cutting irony of the following comparison taken from "Fors" between the Hyde Park Squirrel cage and the slum sections of London, is typical of much of the work. "All this is the nidification of those Park Squirrels. This is the thing they have produced round themselves; this their work in the world. When they rest from their squirrelian revolutions, and die in the Lord, and their works do follow them, these are what follow them.... For these streets are indeed what they have built; their inhabitants the people they have chosen to educate. They took the bread and milk and meat from the people of their fields; they gave it to feed, and retain here in their service, this fermenting mass of unhappy human beings, news-mongers, novel-mongers, picture-mongers,

¹ Fors Clavigera, v. IV, p. 268

² Ibid, v. VI, p. 225

poison-drink-mongers, lust and death mongers; the whole smoking mass of it one vast dead-marine store-shed, accumulation of wreck of the Dead Sea, with every activity in it, a form of putrefaction."^I

"Fors" abounds in scriptural allusions and quotations, it contains over six hundred. It is full of schemes, plans, and suggestions, a touch of irony all the way through because of the present situation, a bit of humor as he laughs at his own and others folly, and lastly, a strong appeal, prophetic of a new and better social order.

.....

^I "Fors Clavigera", Letter xlv.

poison-drink-mongers, just and death mongers; the whole smacking
mass of it and vast dead-weight state-shed, monumental of
wreck of the dead sea, with every activity in it, a form of

I

patrolman."

"Pera" abounds in scriptural allusions and quotations, it
contains over six hundred. It is full of schemes, plans, and
suggestions, a touch of irony all the way through because of
the present situation, a bit of humor as he laughs at his own
and others folly, and lastly, a strong appeal, prophetic of a
new and better social order.

A Summary : Ruskin, A Prophet

Perhaps no word better summarizes Mr. Ruskin's influence, than the word, Prophet. Before attempting to give any criticisms or estimates of his life and works, upon which no two of his contemporaries or biographers agree, let me pick up the threads of this narrative and try to summarize, briefly, the main points of his social and economic teachings.

Born in luxury, shielded from all of the ordinary struggles of life, he grew up without much opportunity of knowing much of real life, and yet with absolute genius along at least three lines, art, poetry, and science, and with a passionate love of nature. Up to 1860, he makes art his theme, supporting Turner and winning for him a place among England's great painters. "Modern Painters", in five volumes was the monumental work that won for Ruskin the distinction of being the foremost of England's art critics. He had also won some distinction as a historian of Venice, by his work, "Stones of Venice". He was read not only for his ideas but for his beauty of expression, his power in the use of the English language. He has been called "The Primate of English Prose".

A Summary : Blake, A Prophet

Perhaps no word better summarizes Mr. Blake's influence than the word, Prophet. Before attempting to give any estimate or estimate of his life and work, even which are two of his contemporaries or disciples agree, let me pick up the threads of this narrative and try to summarize, briefly, the main points of his social and economic teachings.

Born in luxury, shielded from all of the ordinary struggles of life, he grew up without much opportunity of knowing much of real life, and yet with absolute genius along at least three lines, art, poetry, and science, and with a passionate love of nature. Up to 1780, he sat in his room, supporting himself and winning for him a place among England's great painters. "Painters," in five volumes was the monumental work that won for Blake the distinction of being the foremost of England's art critics. He had also won some distinction as a historian of Venice, by his work, "Stanzas of Venice". He was read not only for his ideas but for his beauty of expression, his power in the use of the English language. He has been called "The Urinal of English Prose".

At the age of forty, becoming dissatisfied with his success as a writer, because people read his works and did not heed his doctrine, his interest becomes centered upon humanity, as a whole, instead, of art alone. This was a more gradual change than his readers anticipated, he had given the basis of his social doctrine already in Stones of Venice,^I and Modern Painters,² but no one had interpreted it as such or had heeded it. They had been quite willing to listen to him when he talked about the "Political Economy of Art" and didn't too pointedly get a thrust in on other subjects, but when he turned his criticisms and attacks upon society as a whole, they called him a fanatic, and left him alone or took every opportunity of making fun of him. But just as he had done for art and for Turner and the Pre-Raphaelists, he continued his attacks, little heeding the severe criticism he was receiving.

The first of his works, "Unto This Last", a series of six essays on Political Economy, or what he terms so, rejected by the Thackeray, was published a year later, and received most serious criticism from the public. It consists primarily of general at-

I Stones of Venice, v. II

2 Modern Painters, VIII, In which he summarizes to purpose of art, as showing us how to live more beautifully.

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1 Discourses of Venice, v. 11.
 2 Modern Painters, VIII, in which he summarizes his progress of art,
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tacks on the existing system and the fallacies of calling the present economy, "Political Economy". "Manera Pulveris" is a follow up of "Unto This Last" and starts in with the definitions of what a true Political Economy consists. He defines Wealth in a absolutely new conception, not in terms of possessions but in terms of what leads to the great sum total of human happiness. He distinguishes between intrinsic value and the ordinary conceptions of value; he defines, capital and its uses; he attacks the present basis of wage system, that of competing unrestrictedly; he attacks the very basis of the present Industrial system by acclaiming that "Anarchy and Competition are the laws of death; and Cooperation and Industry, the laws of Life." He insists that men must do good work for their bread, and must have good bread for their work. He attacks the principle of always trying to pay the cheapest for an article, when that demands unwholesome working conditions and not a living wage to the worker. He declares that the happiness should be the main aim of labor, that laborer and capitalist should work in harmony, that we can't have an idle rich class on one hand and poverty on the other, side by side; that nothing is beautiful unless it can be made a beauty for

for all. He condemned the current use of capital because it was being used to produce more capital and that was all. He said it was like raising tulip bulbs to raise more tulip bulbs, but never raising any tulips. He defined what such be included in a true political science, and the revisions he would make would include a social economic program for political economy. His whole attack is based on the fact that the humane side of life is left out of the political economists theories, hence, it is a bastard science, including only part of the real facts of the case. His whole emphasis is upon the importance of human life and happiness. What the political economists of the nineteenth century called "Ruskin's sentimentality" is called by the twentieth "Ruskin's social emphasis". His whole attack is that the humanistic side of these facts should be included in the doctrines of the day.

But his work did not consist merely of attacks, he left many constructive facts upon which to build the new social order which he visualized. His first emphasis would be upon the right of every child to be well born. The second, the right of all children to an adequate and free education. He advocated many new educational

for all. He condemned the current use of capital because it was being used to produce more capital and that was all. He said it was like raising things to raise more things, but never raising anything. He defined what was included in a true political science and the revisions he would make would include a social economic program for political economy. His whole attack is based on the fact that the human side of life is left out of the political economists theories, hence, it is a backward science, including only part of the real facts of the case. His whole emphasis is upon the importance of human life and happiness. What the political economists of the nineteenth century called "human's sensibility" is called by the twentieth "human's social organism". His whole attack is that the humanistic side of these facts should be included in the theories of the day.

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ideas which have been incorporated in our public school systems. He emphasized training the aesthetic side of a child's life, since every child should not only learn what is right but to learn to do the right, and learn to love right doing. He would incorporate music, dancing, and physical education. He also would have the schools practical and vocational. Since the sailor's son would have little use for rhetoric or advanced English or foreign languages, give him something that would help him directly in his work. This is definitely a forerunner of the modern trade and vocational schools. He preached the necessity of making the school rooms beautiful, and doing more laboratory work, and also going to nature and studying nature first hand.

His industrial organization would be that of voluntary cooperative movements, which he chose to call Guilds. Although he does not have a definitely worked out system, it seems to be much along the line of modern day Guild Socialism.

He lays main emphasis upon a reorganization of agriculture and a redistribution of land, because he did not believe it fair for the idle rich to live off the products of the land which the poor toiled upon for them for poorly paid wages. He looked forward to the time when people would have small plots of land and live in small agricultural

communities living honestly and happily By the honest toil of their hands.

He disapproved of much of the machine work because it was monotonous and made the worker its slave, and slave to all its monotony; and, because, it prevented any skill being acquired in any line of activity. But he would have the heavy monotonous labor done by machinery.

The function of the state, according to Ruskin would in many ways be what the socialists would have it today. There should be government supervision of public utilities, if not, actual ownership. There would be new legislation, including legislation for old age pensions, and the like. He was afraid of popular government and calls himself, "A Tory of the Tories" but by his liberal attitude he did more than most anyone of his generation to bring in popular government. The French revolution had its affect in making him fear any revolt of any kind, or the ability of the people to wisely use their power in office.

He tried many interesting and some worthwhile industrial experiments. "Fors Clavigera" is full of appeals to join him in his attempts at practical reforms, and it also gives much of the history of experiments. Besides many purely philanthropic undertakings in early

life. He finally sees how futile philanthropy in itself is, he condemns the captains of industry who give of their wealth to help the poor, when they should be not giving them charity but justice, - a living wage, instead of philanthropy. With this attitude he started three experiments for the slum section of East London; the first, an experiment in street sweeping; the second, an experiment in running a tea-shop; the third, an example of model landlordism. The last was the only one that was really a success.

Besides other minor experiments he starts the St. George's Guild. In most respects it proved to be a failure, but the one outstanding phase which was a success was the Ruskin Museum at Sheffield. This is a very unique and helpful museum. He spent much of his last years planning, arranging, and collecting for the Museum.

He also tried to revive some of the old hand industries, such as the St. George's Mill on the Isle of Man, which resulted in good when turned over to Mr. Thomson of Scuddersfield, in which he incorporated many of the Rochdale cooperative features. Also the linen weaving proved quite successful. Finally, as a result the Home Arts and Industrial Association was organized and still is in existence.

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Besides "Unto This Last" and "Munera Pulveris", the other book of Ruskin's that deals mostly with the social problems, his experiments, and his social philosophy is "Fors Clavigera", - ninety-six letters to workmen upon almost every conceivable topic. Most of his religious and ethical teachings are also given in this work.

The closing years of his life were saddened by the death of Rose La Touche and by a serious disease. However, despite the disappointments that he had had all through life, he maintained his serenity, and up until the last maintained his mental power. Confined as an invalid for over a year, he died peacefully and happily near his eighty-first birthday. And the world that had been so slow to give him much credit for his later works sang praises to his memory. He gave away a million dollars for various attempts to help the unvoiced masses. He lived as a prophet, alone and without the support of those he would have desired as his friends; misunderstood, by those he loved most; and died truly as a prophet, without honor in his own generation.

This would scarcely be complete without giving some estimate of his work and influence, as given by his contemporaries and by later

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 of his work and influence, as given by his contemporaries and by later

biographers.

Mr. Collingwood gives a rather adequate summary, as follows:

"For somehow, in spite of prohibitive prices the works of John Ruskin have found their way among all classes, and his thoughts, more or less understood, and often unacknowledged, have become a part of the national mind."¹

Mary Alden Ward sums up his influence, thus, "On the roll of England's great men we find few who have been so revered and loved by that large mass of people whom we call the working classes. His was the first instance known of societies being formed for the study of his works in his own lifetime.... There are Ruskin clubs in almost every city and town of England, and these are largely composed of workingmen."

"The domains in which Ruskin's influence has been most widely felt are those of art and religion."²

Mr. Cook says of him, "The best claim to honor consists.. not so much in what he has done himself, as what he has enabled others to think, and feel, and do. The highest tribute to Mr. Ruskin's teachings is to be found in the thoughts he has inspired and in the

¹ C. W. Collingwood, The Life of John Ruskin, v.II, p.564

² M. A. Ward, Prophets of the Nineteenth Century, p.130

characters he has helped to mould. Nevertheless, many of Mr. Ruskin's own schemes have in themselves a positive value in their generation. They may serve as signposts pointing the way to social progress.¹

Mr. Benson says of him, "Perhaps the point is that, with his best unrecognized and with his secret misunderstood, yet he gained a hearing; and it may be that thus his real influence will grow and bear fruit."²

W. H. Shaw says of his teachings, "Ruskin in the main is a logical, remorseless, thoroughgoing teacher of applied Christianity."³

Mr. Hobson sums up his work and influence, "He has unwittingly deceived many and offended not a few by giving forth his art of life under the title of Political Economy, sometimes expanding that term to its utmost capacity so as to embrace the whole science and practice of social life, sometimes, for combat, contracting it within the recognized orthodox limits.

"As a social reformer he has conferred signal services both in criticism and in the construction of the theory and art of social economics. The three deepest and most destructive maladies of modern

1 E. T. Cook, Studies in Ruskin, preface vii.

2 A. C. Benson, John Ruskin, p. 313

3 W. H. Shaw, John Ruskin, p. 52

character he has failed to realize. Nevertheless, many of the
kind's own solutions have in themselves a positive value in their
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Mr. Johnson says of him, "Perhaps the point is that, with his
best understood and with his secret misinterpreted, yet he gained a
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four fold."

I. E. Shaw says of his teaching, "Heinlein in the main is a left-
and, revolutionary, thoughtful teacher of applied Christianity."
Mr. Johnson says of his work and influence, "He has unwittingly
developed many and extended not a few by giving forth his art of life
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criticism and in the construction of the theory and art of social
reconstruction. The three highest and most constructive phases of modern

I. E. Shaw, Applied Christianity, page 111.
S. C. Johnson, Left and Right, p. 212.
S. W. H. Shaw, Left and Right, p. 112.

industrial society he has exposed with more intellectual acuteness and with more convincing eloquence than any other writer. These are, the prevalent mechanisation of work and life; injustice as an economic basis of all bargaining; the definite forms of waste and injury to work and human nature arising from trade competition.

"On the constructive side he has laid a basis of a true scientific foundation of a science of art of social economics.... No one more completely grasped or subtly practised the vital as distinguished from the logico-mechanical method of teaching..... In all his writings he was definite and practical..... To clarify the vision, to elevate the aim, to humanize, and so to dignify, the ends of conduct, are the persistent endeavors of John Ruskin's teaching."^I

Mr. Roe says, "It was from 1860 onward that Ruskin's influence began to count most for social and economic reform..... It has influenced the doctrine of pure economics.... It has helped to correct the old emphasis laid on saving and given more weight to spending; from the theory of production to the theory of consumption..... It has also affected the theory and practice of politics... With all their (Carlyle and Ruskin) shortness of vision in some directions, they saw far

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and later) theories of vision in some directions, they have far

more clearly than the majority of their contemporaries, and they set forth in language of incomparable power, what was coming and what must come. They were, in truth, heralds of a better order.^I

"It is as an interpreter, not of art but of life, that he now stands. Here his influence has been, and continues to be, immense. It is perhaps greater, so far at least as England is concerned, than that of any other single thinker or writer. His social doctrine was germinal: it colors the whole movement of modern thought, and shapes the whole fabric of modern practice... Our whole social legislation and the whole attitude of mind of which legislation is the result, have since followed, haltingly and fragmentarily, the principles then asserted for the first time."²

"Ruskin's life plan includes all that is vital, all that is real, in work and life today. His influence has permeated the whole world of artistic creativeness."³

"Today official recognition is given to the principles Ruskin expounded. Codes have been widened, and although much progress has yet to be made in connection with our whole system of education

1 F. W. Roe, The Social Philosophy of Carlyle and Ruskin, p.312 ff.

2 J. W. Mackail, Addresses, p.II

3 Henry Wilson, Addresses, p.28

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that which has taken place has been in precisely the same lines which Ruskin laid down..... No teacher before Ruskin was so successful in the ultimate appeal which he made to the unlettered people. Some educational thinkers had taught some of the things Ruskin taught and before he wrote. But they made no popular appeal. Ruskin's strength, after all, came from the fact that he appealed to the conscience of the entire nation. The widest appeal came from the working classes.^I"

In his own words, let me sum up his life and the basis of his teachings. "Bred in luxury, which I perceive to have been unjust to others, and destructive to myself, vacillating, foolish, and miserably failing in all my conduct of life - blown about hopelessly by storms of passion - I, a man clothed in soft raiment,- I, a reed shaken with the wind, have yet this message to all men again entrusted to me: 'Behold, the axe is laid to the root of the trees. Whatsoever tree therefore bringeth not forth good fruit, shall be hewn down and cast into the fire.'" Bred in luxury, but champion of the poverty stricken mass! Weak, and yet he overcame his weakness! His axe was laid to the root of the social evils where not one dared cut! And today we reap the fruit of his teachings.

For, "There is no wealth but life, LIFE, including all its

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powers of love, of joy, of admiration. That country is richest which nourishes the greatest number of noble and happy human beings, that man is richest who, having perfected the functions of his own life to the utmost, has also the widest helpful influence, both personal, and by means of possessions, over the lives of others."

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