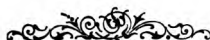


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1649. 1792. ? ? ?

(Translated by J. L. Joynes from the German of Heinrich Heine.)

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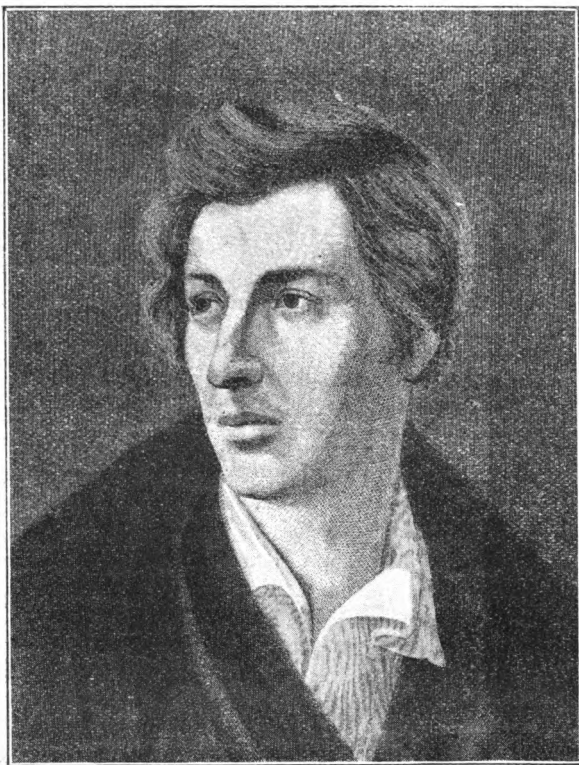
The Britons' behaviour was hardly the thing  
That it ought to have been, when they killed their king.  
Not a wink of sleep could his majesty get  
On the night ere he paid his final debt;  
For still through the window there rang in his ears,  
The noise at his scaffold, the taunts and the jeers.

And even the Frenchmen were scarce more polite :  
In a four-wheel cab and a pitiful plight  
They carried king Capet to meet his fate,  
And allowed him no coachman or carriage of state,  
Which a king by the rules of the old etiquette,  
Whene'er he goes driving, ought always to get.

But a still more unqueenly, undignified part  
Had the fair Antoinette, for she rode in a cart ;  
And in place of her ladies-in-waiting she got  
For her only companion a rough Sansculotte.  
The widow of Capet thrust out in her scorn  
The thick lip with which ladies of Hapsburg are born.

But Frenchmen and Britons have never been blessed  
With a scrap of good-nature : good-nature's possessed  
By the German alone, who good-natured remains  
When the worst and the reddest of Terrors reigns.  
The German would always his Majesty treat  
With the utmost respect, as is proper and meet.

In the grandest and royallest chariot-and-six,  
Whereto the sad servants black trappings affix,  
With the coachman flooding the box with his tears,  
Will a German monarch one of these years  
From all that might ruffle his feelings be screened,  
And with loyal politeness be guillotined.



HEINRICH HEINE.

# THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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VOL. II., No. 1. JANUARY, 1898.

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## HEINRICH HEINE.

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SELDOM has a great, a representative, and a national poet been so variously estimated as Heinrich Heine. Praise and blame have been unsparingly bestowed on him, his place in German literature called in question, and it has been asked if he ever achieved anything that has contributed in any appreciable degree to social development. Carlyle calls him "that black-guard." He is the Don Quixote of literature, the first realist, a mere pantomimist, the wittiest Frenchman since Voltaire, the freest German since Goethe, a man in whom every emotion was feigned, who did not love Germany, but loved to pose as a martyr for her sake, a man "strange, sad, significant, who tore up treaties, quizzed Kaiser and Fatherland, parodied the songs of Israel by the waters of the Seine," renounced the faith of his fathers, and performed a public act of apostacy in order to hold office in Prussia.

The years that closed the eighteenth and ushered in the nineteenth centuries were years of political and social unrest. The standard of revolt was raised almost throughout the whole length and breadth of Europe. France had had her revolution, with its declaration of the rights of man, a king and a queen had died on the scaffold, the Irish had risen in arms against English rule, Poland had revolted under Kosciusko and had been blotted out from among the nations of Europe, the Tyrolese had risen against the French, and Andreas Hofer had been shot at Mantua. The patriot Fichte had sent forth his "Speeches to the German Nation" which first stirred his countrymen to rebel against the rule of the stranger, the Ministry of all the talents had abolished the African slave trade, and the slaves themselves had rebelled in San Domingo. In the literature of all countries we see growing slowly but surely a recognition of the solidarity of the human race—there was "one nation, the nation of man; one family, the family of man."

Heinrich Heine was born at Düsseldorf, December 13, 1799, of Jewish parents, and though educated in a Jesuit monastery, he was brought up strictly in the Jewish religion. Two years before his death Heine wrote:

"My ancestors belonged to the Jewish religion, but I was never very proud of this descent." It is evident that he felt most keenly the degraded and oppressed condition of his unhappy nation. One can readily imagine the effect on his sensitive, ardent, artist soul, of that gloomy squalid Judengasse, where his brethren were locked in every Sunday afternoon. The name Jew was synonymous with pariah, for centuries his nation had suffered cruel persecution; they had been robbed, insulted, ill-treated, and, as Heine himself said, the most tragic part of the tragic story was that if you wrote it, it would only be laughed at.

As the medical profession was the only one open to Jews, it was decided that Heinrich should go into business and become a banker. He went accordingly into the office of his uncle, Solomon Heine, but it was soon discovered that the "fool of a boy" had no capacity for the life. After two attempts the scheme was abandoned, and the overthrow of Napoleon put an end to the hopes his mother had once entertained for him of military service. In his childhood the French troops had occupied Düsseldorf, and Heine had a great admiration (which he never entirely lost) for the conqueror of Europe.

Heine now resolved to devote himself to the study of law, for which purpose he went to Bonn, and from thence to Göttingen, his uncle Solomon defraying his expenses. In spite of the vagaries and erratic behaviour of his nephew, of which he so disapproved, the wealthy, respectable Solomon Heine treated the young man with considerable kindness. In consequence of a duel Heinrich had to leave Göttingen, and he then went to Berlin, where he became acquainted with Gaus, and through him with Hegel, (whose works he studied), Fouqué, and others. While in Berlin he joined a "Society for the Culture of Jews."

In 1825 he was baptised by the names of Johann Christian Heinrich. To this his family did not object, but Heine felt it as an indignity. It is probable that he hoped by this step to be enabled to fight for the rights of his own people, for he was ever ardent in the cause of civil liberty for the Jews. He then took his degree at Göttingen. To the end of his life Heine regretted having renounced his birthright, for both Jew and Christian hated him.

He expresses himself as an inveterate antagonist of Christianity, and says, moreover, that he was a born enemy of all positive religions. In 1827 appeared his "Book of Songs," which was received with enthusiasm. With the July Revolution of 1830 he warmly sympathised, and the following year occurred what may be called the crisis in his career—he went to Paris, and took up his residence there. The German Government interdicted all his writings in 1835, and certainly the third volume of the "Reisebilder" could only have intensified the hatred with which he was regarded in his own country. In straitened circumstances, Heine applied for and obtained from the French Government a pension out of a fund to "assist those who had compromised themselves in the cause of Revolution;" he refused, however, to take the oath of naturalisation, so as not to forfeit the right to be called a German poet.

In 1844 Solomon Heine died, and his son Karl informed Heinrich that he must expect no further assistance. The poet had for some time received a regular allowance from his uncle, and had also understood that some permanent provision had been made for him. He was now married, and knew that in the event of his death his wife would be penniless. Ferdinand Lassalle and other friends used their influence in this matter, and ultimately Karl was induced to pay over to Heine the sum he had been led to expect he should receive on his uncle's death.

The last ten years of the poet's life were years of the most terrible suffering, but he uttered no complaint, nor would he allow his old mother to know what he endured. His wife was the Grisette Mathilde, the heroine of his "Romanceros," a simple, uneducated, affectionate girl, and whom, notwithstanding the "Camille Selden" episode, he loved warmly and sincerely for more than twenty years. They lived together happily for some time, and he only made her his wife in law as well as in name in order that she might be provided for in case of his death. In his will he desired to be buried with no religious ceremony, and said that though he called himself a Lutheran, no Lutheran minister was to be present. He was buried in the cemetery at Montmartre.

The Germans have accused Heine of being frivolous and French, of being not only an exile from his native land, but a traitor to her. It is doubtful whether any one, Goethe, Carlyle, Lytton, Matthew Arnold, and others who have written about Heine, understood that many-sided complex character. He might have exclaimed with Hegel, "There is only one man who understands me—and he does not." He said Byron was the only man to whom he felt himself related.

Reckless, witty, sarcastic, inconsequent often, iconoclast always, consumed with a hatred of priestcraft, and a passionate love of freedom, deeply imbued with the doctrines of St. Simon, Heine was, above all, an artist and a poet, the singer of the sweetest and most musical of songs, the writer of those fascinating verses, now passionate, tender, fantastic, pathetic, or weird, and anon striking a note of defiance, or sounding a battle cry of emancipation and revolt.

Perhaps the verdict of his contemporary, and sometime friend, Ludwig Börne, was the truest. He was an artist and a poet, and because he wished to be other than a poet he went wrong.

KATIE J. KIRKMANN.





## **"THE IMPENITENT THIEF."**

---

DIMAS or Gestas, Gestas or Dimas, who can say which, when monkish legends disagree ?

At any rate, one of the two died game.

Passion o' me, I hate your penitents.

Live out your life, drink, women, dice, murder, adultery, meanness, oppression, snobbery (by which sin the English fall), be lavish of others' money and get thereby a name for generosity. Bow down to wealth alone, discerning talent, beauty, humour (the most pathetic of all qualities), wit, pathos, and courage, only in gilded fools.

Keep on whilst still digestion waits on appetite and at the first advance of age, at the first tinge of gout, sciatica, at the first wrinkle, crow's-foot, when the hair grows thin upon the temples, the knees get "schaucle," when the fresh horse seems wild, the jolting of the express crossing the facing points makes you contract your muscles, and when all life seems to grow flat, stale, and unprofitable outside the library, to forsake your former naughty life and straight turn traitor on yourself, your friends, ideas, beliefs, and prejudices, and stand confessed apostate (for the mere bettering of your spiritual fortunes leaves you still a turncoat) that is mean, unreasonable, and shows a caitiff spirit, or impaired intellect in the poor penitent who, to save his paltzy soul, denies his life.

Dimas or Gestas, whiche'er it was, no doubt some unambitious Oriental thief a misappropriator of some poor bag of almonds, sack of grain, bundle of canes, some frail of fruit, camel's hair picket rope, or other too well considered trifle, the theft of which the economic state of Eastern lands makes capital, had given him brevet rank amongst the world's best renowned criminals, set up on high to testify that human nature, even beside a coward and a God, is still supreme.

Perhaps again some sordid knave, whipped from the markets, an eye put out, finger lopped off, nose slit, ears cropped, and hoisted up to starve upon his cross as an example of the folly of the law, crassness of reason, to appease the terrors of the rich, or, perhaps, but to exemplify that Rome had a far-reaching arm, thick head, and owned a conscience like to that enjoyed by Rome's successor in the empire of the world.

Dimas or Gestas, perhaps some cattle thief from the Huran, some tribesman sent for judgment to Jerusalem, black bearded, olive in colour, his limbs like an Arab's, or a Kioway's twisted in his agony, his whole frame wracked with pain, his brain confused, but yet feeling, somehow, in some vague way that he, too, suffered for humanity to the full as much as did his great companion, who to him, of course, was but a Jewish Thaumaturgist, as his adjuration, "If thou be the Son of God, save us and thyself," so plainly shows.

And still, perhaps, impenitent Gestas (or Dimas) was most human of the three, a thief, and not ashamed of having exercised his trade. How much more dignified than some cold-hearted scoundrel who as solicitor, banker, or confidential agent swindles for years, and in the dock recants, calls on his God to pardon him, either because he is a cur at heart, or else because he knows the sodden public always compassionates a coward, feeling, perhaps, a fellow-feeling, and being therefore kind.

I like the story of the Indian who, finding his birch canoe caught in the current, and drifted hopelessly towards Niagara, ceased all his paddling when he found his efforts vain, lighted his pipe, and went it, on a lone hand, peacefully smoking as the spectators watched him through their opera glasses.

And so perhaps this stony-hearted knave, whom foolish painters bereft of all imagination, have delighted to revile in paint, making him villainous in face, humpbacked, blind of one eye, and all of them drawing the wretched man with devils waiting for his poor pain-wracked soul, as if the cross was not a hell enough for any act of man, may have wished to repent (of his poor unsuccessful villanies) long years ago, but found no opportunity, and being caught red handed and condemned to die, made up his mind to cease his useless paddling and die after the fashion he had lived. This may have been and yet, perhaps again, this tribesman (for now I feel he was one) as night stole on, the flowers, the trees, the water, and the stones, all sleeping, sheep folded, oxen in their stalls, horses securely hobbled in their courtyards after the Eastern fashion, the camels resting on their hardened knees, and men all wrapped in sleep upon their rugs or their divans upon the ground under the trees and no one waking but himself and the two figures on his either hand that, in the agony of the long hours when jackals howl, hyenas grunt, and when, from Golgotha, the city looked like a city of the dead in the bright moonlight, and all was hushed except the rustling of the palm leaves, as the breeze stirred them to and fro, his mind carried him back to his "douar" on the plains and, in his tent, he saw his wives sit moaning heard outside his horse stamping and looking for him and, casting up his life, saw nothing worthy of repentance, having lived according to his lights. And so the night wore on till the tenth hour, and what annoyed him most was the continual plaint of Dimas (or Gestas) and his appeals for mercy, and no wonder at the last that he, filled with contempt and sick with pain, turned and reviled him. Repentance, retrospection and remorse, the furies which beset mankind, making them sure of nothing, conscious of actions, feeling they are eternal and that no miracle can wipe them out; knowing they forge and carry their own hell about with them; too weak to sin and fear not and too irrational to think a minute of repentance cannot blot out the actions of a life; remorse and retrospection with repentance, what need to conjure up a devil, invent a place of torment, when these three were ready to our hands, born in the weakness (or the goodness) of ourselves, never to leave us all our lives, bone of our bone, fibre of our fibres, man's own invention, nature's revenge for outrages we heap upon her, reason's despair, and still religion's eagerest advocate, what greater evils have we in the

whole pack with which we live, than these three devils, call them repentance, retrospection, and remorse ?

But, when I think of it, the penitent upon the other side was human too. Most likely, not less wicked in his futile villainy than his brother whom history has gone out, like one bereft of criticism, to vilify and to hold up as execrable, because, forsooth, he did not recognise a god in one whom he had never seen before that day and then seen, even as himself in pain, in tears, and, even as it seemed, less fit to bear his suffering than himself. Yes, it is human to repent, a sort of fire insurance, hedging or what you will, an endeavour to be all things to all men and to all gods. Humanity in deshabelle with the smug mask of virtue clean stripped off, the vizor of consistency drawn up, and the whole entity in its most favourite Janus attitude, looking both ways at once.

Therefore I take it that the penitent whom painters have depicted as a fair young man, with crisp curly hair, well rounded limbs, tears of contrition falling from his eyes, and angels hovering round his head to carry off his soul to bliss, whom writers have held up for generations as a bright instance of redeeming faith, was to the outward eye much as his brother. Perhaps a camel driver, who entrusted with a bag of gold, took it, and came into Jerusalem showing some self-inflicted wounds, and called upon Jehovah or Allah to witness that he had received them guarding the money against thieves. That which he said upon the cross he may have thought was true, he may have recognised some magnetism in his companion, which attracted him, or, yet again, he may have, in his agony, defied the Jews by testifying that the hated one was king.

Of one thing I am sure, that is, that he who, in Italian quattrocentisti pictures is always represented on the highest cross even although he promised paradise to his belated worshipper, must, as he died, have looked approvingly at him, who fought it out as he himself did, all alone. Of that I feel secure, when, as Marco Basaiti so clearly saw, the tragedy completed, that two fat chubby angels soon would sit, one at the head, another at the feet of the recumbent central figure, and take the crown of thorns over one dimpled arm and bend the dead great toe between their fingers, looking as stolid and unconcerned the while as Iceland ponies, that they would not forget to look compassionately at the dead crucified impenitent—Gestas or Dimas.

R. B. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM.



## THE FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS.

RECENT events have forced upon trade unionists the consideration of the question of a federation of the different trade unions. Messrs Blatchford and King were happy in seizing the psychological moment for issuing their pamphlet on "Trades Federation," and there is no doubt that, although at another time the brochure may have fallen completely flat, and produced no effect whatever, at the present time it has done much to call attention to the question, and to stir some of those interested to take action. The promulgation of this scheme had unquestionably a good deal to do with the bringing forward of the various resolutions in favour of federation which came before the last Trade Union Congress. The result of these resolutions was the appointment of a committee to draft a scheme of federation on behalf of the Parliamentary Committee. That scheme, I understand, has now been drawn up, and will shortly be submitted for adoption. The protracted lock-out of the engineers, and the consequent necessity of appeals for help to other unions, has done very much to strengthen the feeling in favour of a combination among all unions, and in the near future we may expect some definite practical steps to be taken in this direction.

That it is necessary that some federation should be established, should by this time be abundantly clear to all. The accumulation of huge capitals, the growth of trusts and combines, and the increasing combination and federation among the employing class make it imperative, if trade unions are to hold their own at all, that they should draw more closely together, and so strengthen their own ranks. As I pointed out in *JUSTICE* in a review of the *Clarion* scheme, there are precisely the same reasons for unions federating as there are for men joining a union. Economic necessity forces men into union, and the same forces make the federation of unions necessary. But while there are the same reasons for the formation of a federation as for the existence of a union, there are also the same drawbacks, difficulties, and limitations. As much harm is likely to arise from ignoring this fact as from failing to recognise the use and advantage of federation altogether. Therefore it is necessary to bear these drawbacks and difficulties in mind, and always to recognise these limitations. No combination of workmen, however widespread and powerful, can be so powerful as the combination of the capitalists. While a class owns the means of production that class will be the dominant one. The employers are necessarily the final arbiters in any labour dispute; it always rests with them to decide whether and when there shall be a strike or lock-out, and when it shall close. The most that a trade union, or combination of trade unions, can do, is to make it worth the masters' while, for fear of the injury that might be inflicted upon them by the joint action of all the workmen, to agree to terms which, without such combination, they would certainly not accept. A man is able to command better terms by being in, and having the protection of, a union, and

the union is stronger for having the co-operation and support by federation of other unions, but neither the union nor federation places the men on an equality with the masters. In other words, while the masters are the masters they will be the masters, and they remain the masters so long as the men can only work and live by their permission. The power of working-class organisation is limited by the possession of the means of production by the master class.

There is in many quarters an extraordinarily exaggerated idea of the power and importance of federation. For instance, in a circular recently issued by a committee formed in the London printing trade unions, it is stated that : "At present a long dispute invariably empties the coffers of the affected union, and encroaches upon the funds of other societies. National Federation would meet all financial demands without diminishing the funds of the various unions." By what course of reasoning such a conclusion is arrived at, I am at a loss to understand. The only sources of supply a national federation would possess would be the funds of the various unions federated. Federation is not a kind of philosopher's stone by which gold can be created at will, or strike funds extracted from the circumambient air. The totality of its financial strength is the aggregate of the funds of all the federated unions. How, then, are all financial demands to be met "without diminishing the funds of the various unions?" If it is said, in reply to this, that the members would be levied to meet the cost of a strike, or a lock-out, and so the funds of the unions be kept intact, I can only point out that the unions have power to levy their members now, and the prospect of added levies as the chief advantage of federation is certainly not calculated to commend it to the majority of trade unionists. Again, the same circular states : "The most powerful weapon of the employers is starvation, and under a federated trades union starvation would be impossible. Whereas at the present time the fluctuating humour of public charity has to be depended upon as the chief support of a trade union in the event of a great struggle, under a scheme of National Federation there would be immediately available a practically exhaustless fund, upon which the union subject to attack could depend as a right and rely upon as an effectual defence." Where, I should like to ask, is this "exhaustless fund?" If only a small number of men were locked-out, or on strike, it would, of course, be easy for the federation to support them, but with a larger number the matter would not be so easy. How many unions are there with funds sufficient to pay strike pay to the whole of their members for six months, or even three? Only about a fourth of the members of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, one of the wealthiest and best organised unions in the kingdom, have been out for six months, yet the strike funds are depleted, and the rest of its members are paying a levy of three or four shillings a week. There are not more than two million trade unionists in the kingdom. Even if all were federated starvation would not be impossible. The strike or lock-out of half a million of men—and we approximated to that number in the miners' lock-out of 1893-94—would be a severe tax on the resources of the federation. But suppose the employers, finding



the half million were being supported, locked-out the remaining million and half, there would be sheer starvation facing the whole of them. This is by no means an impossible contingency, seeing that the trade unionists are but a fraction of the workers, and there would be quite enough left to do all that was necessary to save the well-to-do classes from suffering any want in the meantime. Federation is good, undoubtedly, as all organisation is good, but it is foolish to suppose it will achieve the impossible. The larger the army the greater the probability of victory, but the greater the destruction also, and the more terrible the defeat, if victory should not be achieved. ✓

The drawbacks and difficulties of federation, as of any trade union combination, lie in the essential characteristics of trade unionism. The late Professor Rogers once said that Socialism was selfishness, while trade unionism was self-sacrifice. This is not only not true, it is the very opposite of the truth. Certainly there are exceptions, but in the main it is to serve himself, and not to serve his fellows, that a man joins a trade union. ✓ Precisely the same reasons operate as induce him to join a friendly society or to effect an insurance on his goods. A trade union is for the workman a kind of savings bank, and, to some extent, an insurance against loss of wages. Most of the more powerful unions combine the functions of a friendly society with those of a trade union, and there is no doubt whatever that the sick benefits and burial funds of these societies have as much to do with the retention of their members as any other consideration. There is, then, this inducement for a workman to join a trade union, that the union takes part of his wages and saves it for him, and it gives him a lien on the accumulated savings of his fellows. In many cases, but for the union, he would spend the part of his wages which he pays into its funds, and in a time of difficulty he would have nothing. In any case, he would have no claim on the savings of others. Now, how does this operate as regards federation? The existence of his union, as we have seen, practically enhances a man's possessions; the existence of a federation does not enhance the possessions of the unions federated unless the contributions of the members are increased. Here, then, there is not precisely the same inducement for a union to federate as there is for a man to join a trade union. On the other hand, there is in both cases the claim on the joint funds, which is, frequently, the stronger inducement of the two. A man may save part of his own wages, but without the union he has no claim for assistance from the joint savings of others. So, too, a union may husband its own resources, but without federation it has no claim on those of others. But, in order that this claim should be good, it is necessary that the federation should be possessed of sufficient funds to meet a claim. A federation with no central funds and no executive power is a federation only in name. At the first sign of a danger which threatened to deplete their funds, many of the unions, actuated by the same reasons as induced them to join it, would immediately withdraw from the federation. This is not a mere hypothetical view, it is based upon experience of attempts at federation with which I have been connected. Again, it is my experience that there is always a tendency on the part of the more

powerful, or more successful, or more prudent, unions to withdraw from a combination in which they may be called upon to assist those weaker, less fortunate, or more reckless than themselves. It is necessary, therefore, in order to retain these, that there should be a sufficient joint stock fund at the centre, to make it worth their while to stay. But trade unions are very jealous of creating any such central executive as would be necessary, or to invest it with the power which the control of such a joint stock fund would give it. Federation unquestionably involves the surrender of some of their individual liberty of action on the part of the unions, just as the membership of a union involves a similar surrender on the part of the individual workman; and unless the unions are prepared to recognise this it is no use talking of federation.

If these difficulties are to be met and overcome, each union must be prepared to pay an equal sum per member as a regular contribution into the central federation fund, and be entitled to equal assistance per member from that fund. It is not sufficient for each union to pay to any union in difficulties the same amount as that union would in its turn be called upon to pay, as is suggested in the *Clarion* scheme. There must be a regular and equal contribution per member. The scheme drafted by the committee of the Trades Congress provides, I understand, for two scales of contribution and benefits. This, in my opinion, is a mistake. There should be a uniform contribution, say, of a penny per member per week, and a uniform benefit from the federation of, say, ten shillings a week. Any union would, of course, be at liberty to augment this benefit as it thought fit, and to fix the contributions of its own members. The central fund of the federation should not be allowed to fall below a certain minimum, and whenever the minimum was reached, or the existence of a dispute made it necessary, the executive of the federation should have power to impose a levy on all the federated unions. It should, however, be at the discretion of each union whether it levied its members or paid the levy from its funds. The federation would have nothing whatever to do with the internal working of the unions, nor with any sick or funeral funds of any union. It would exist for trade protection purposes only, and would act only in case of a strike or lock-out.

A national federation of trades would need national and district executive councils. It would be a mistake to unnecessarily increase or duplicate existing machinery. The Trades Councils would serve admirably for the district centres of the federation. Matters of purely local interest would be settled by the district executive. Any local strike undertaken with the consent of the district executive should have the support of the whole federation; any strike which was of national importance, or likely to produce any serious effect outside the district, should be referred for sanction to the national executive. The federation should accept no responsibility for any strike undertaken without the sanction of the district or national executive, as the case might be, or for any lock-out which was provoked by the action of a trade union not so sanctioned. This would not

prevent any union acting independently, but it would have a deterrent effect upon isolated action.

A federation of trade unions on some such lines as those suggested here would be of immense benefit to the trade union movement, and would contain the possibilities of higher and fuller developments. I have not thought it well to put forward any definite scheme, because I believe, that when there is a desire and a determination to federate, there will be no difficulty in devising a scheme—in itself it is a very simple matter, and the simpler the scheme the better. If anybody thinks that by any scheme of federation it is possible to get something out of nothing, or to bring miraculously into existence a “practically exhaustless fund,” he makes a mistake. The federation will be just as strong as the unions federating like to make it, and no stronger. I have set down here the reasons for federation, and some of the considerations which tell against it. To unduly exaggerate the importance or the power of federation is as bad as to belittle it. Federation will strengthen the power of the workers to get some better conditions of life. It will not place them on equal terms with their employers. That can never be while a class owns the means of production, nor until the workers are masters of their own lives. ✓

H. QUELCH.





## THE SOCIALIST RÉGIME.

THE PRINCIPLES OF ITS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANISATION.

### PART I.

UNDER the above heading, our esteemed comrade, Georges Renard, has lately commenced, in the pages of *La Revue Socialiste*, an exhaustive and valuable study of the social question, a brief *resumé* of which we purpose to lay before our readers

The first chapter is devoted to the consideration of general principles :— Man is governed by two forces. In the first place, he tends to live his life to the full, and aspires to the complete exercise of his intellectual, physical, and moral faculties. On the other hand, he is a social animal, living in society, and compelled so to live, his individuality being modified by his sympathies and associations with his fellows. It thus follows that society has a dual composition — *i.e.*, competition between its members for the complete expansion of each individual, solidarity between them for the well-being of all and of each. Between these two motives of action all social life necessarily oscillates ; it is neither possible nor desirable to suppress either of them. The first is a stimulant of energy, initiative, and personal perfection ; the second is a means of enlarging the hearts and intelligences of men, and at the same time of multiplying material enjoyments. Both combined are the instruments of human progress.

Again, the very existence of society produces a new series of relations between each individual and the whole, for it is obvious that individual interests are not always in accord with the general interest.

The Social Question, then, in its entirety, consists in the combining and harmonising of these two series of relations, or, in other words, of finding a form of social organisation in which each human being can develop himself as fully and as freely as possible, and at the same time aid in the development of others and of society.

The two essential elements of the problem are, then : — (1) To obtain the maximum of justice in deciding what belongs to each individual, to society, or to its different groups ; (2) to obtain a maximum of utility in deciding what concerns the well-being of all and of each.

(1) The individuals who compose society are at the same time diverse and alike. They are unequal in height, vigour, beauty, intelligence, will, &c. ; they differ in tastes, temperament, and character ; they are equivalent as human beings, capable of reason, of speech, of following abstract ideas, as moral persons, as units composing the social body. From this natural inequality and equivalence flows the necessity of assuring to each of the members of society the equal opportunity of a full development. And society must maintain, side by side with the inequalities and diversities of functions of its members, the principle of equal rights and equal duties for all. The principles which dominate the problem of justice are : To each the same social possibility of development, to each that which is due to each—reciprocity of services and equality of obligations of all toward each and of each toward all.

(2) In dealing with the problem of utility we must distinguish between individual and social utility.

The maximum of utility for the individual is the liberty to satisfy

needs. These he alone can determine, reduce or increase—society has only to furnish him in a just measure with the necessary means for their satisfaction. The maximum of utility for society depends upon conditions more numerous and complex.

The first condition is justice, no privilege, no favours to any individual or group of individuals. Other conditions which follow the observation of justice are of diverse nature, and will be determined by experimental science, *i.e.*, how to increase the production of necessities of life, the best means to distribute wealth, and so forth, the object of all being to leave to the individual the fullest possible liberty for the satisfaction of his needs; and to control, by the most just and scientific social organisation possible, the relations of individuals between themselves and with society. This being so, it follows that the social question consists of, and must be approached from, two sides. First, the relations of individuals to individuals; and, second, the relations of individuals to society; and our author devotes the second chapter of his article to the delineation of these two sides of the question, which he describes respectively political and economic:

“I call politics (extending the meaning of the word beyond its vulgar acceptance) the social relations which remain purely personal.”

“I call economics the social relations also personal, but where it is more the question of commodities.”

Continuing, M. Renard points out that both individual liberty and individual ownership of property must and ought to be limited, that on the one hand absolute individual liberty is as absurd as absolute slavery, and on the other hand that private ownership of wealth is an effectual barrier against the attainment of the maximum of liberty for all, and concludes: “Consequently, the minimum of authority, the maximum of collective property, or, in other words, maximum of liberty and minimum of individual property, such is the double ideal towards which we must direct the social organism.” “We cannot study separately the political and the economic organisation of a society, both should be in harmony one with the other, and the social evil comes in a large part from the contradictions which often exist between the one and the other. Do we not see, for example, at the present moment, in the most democratic countries, the great contrast of the same man, at once free and sovereign individual, and helpless wage-slave?” To the principles whose recognition would secure this economic and political harmony among individuals and in society our attention is directed in the third chapter.

“What are the rights and the duties of individuals? What are the rights and the duties of society? In these consists the problem we have to solve.” Dealing in the first place, for the sake of clearness, with the political side, it must be admitted that the incontestable right of the individual is to live and to develop himself as fully as possible. Two restrictions are possible to this right. It may be in conflict with an equal right of another individual, or with a collective right. In either case it is subject to a necessary and legitimate restriction.

Corresponding to the rights of each individual there arises a double obligation which the individual has towards society, namely, the obligation to work in times of peace, and to military service in case of exterior danger. The right of society consists in compelling the observation of these obligations and of the other duties of the individual until the future shall have rendered possible the substitution of individual autonomy and the abolition of all rule imposed from without.

Concerning the economic domain we must commence with the moral

axiom : "To live by one's own labour is legitimate ; to live by the labour of others is unjust, excepting, of course, those who are unable to work."

That stated, the principle which dominates here is "To each according to his work," corrected and completed by this other, "To each according to his needs."

Society being essentially a co-operation of life, it is just to establish a direct relation between the effort and enjoyments of each. And, moreover, this would act in stimulating individual initiative, and at the same time further the general prosperity. This double formula, to each according to his work and to each according to his essential needs, has no pretence to mathematical precision, because men are not figures, and a certain amount of elasticity must be accorded to the relation of human beings. But it is an approximation of justice sufficient to guide us in the labyrinth of complicated questions which we have to penetrate.

We have now to consider three problems of distribution.

1. How property in things ought to be distributed between society and the individual.

2. How wealth, as much individual as collective, ought to be distributed between individuals.

3. How labour, producer of all wealth, ought to be distributed between the members of society.

#### THE PROBLEM OF PROPERTY.

There exists in any society three kinds of wealth. Two of these are natural, *i.e.*, the earth (surface, subsoil, rivers, waterfalls), &c., and the labour-power of man. The other is artificial—the product of the combination of the two former (houses, harvests, workshops, tools, &c.).

Should the wealth which results from these things belong to society or to the individual ?

Let us accept and apply the very simple theory which the political economists have taken so much pains to prove, namely, that "the right to individual property is based on labour."

The land being the work of no one, can belong individually to no one. Since the human race is the only species who know how to make the earth productive, it can be considered as the common domain of the totality of human beings, and since the human race is divided into nations each country occupied by a nation should be a national or collective property.

On the other hand, each individual has the right to dispose of his labour power, and, consequently, of what it produces. Thus is each one the legitimate proprietor of the products of his own labour, or its equivalent.

As regards artificial wealth, it will belong to those who really created it—either to the individual, to society, or to groups or sections of society. The individual can possess what he has himself made or what he has received in exchange for his personal labour (furniture, horses, pictures, &c.), the remainder is collective property. We may pursue it another way. Man has the right to serve himself with those things which nature furnishes. This right is equal for all, and an individual may only appropriate to himself any portion of these things on condition that they are necessary to him in order that he may gain his living by work. Private property in consumable things and in the instruments of labour is thus admissible.

It is necessary for us to bear in mind the great difference which exists between individual and collective property. Individual property is exclusive and absolute, property of an individual implies expropriation from all others. The thing possessed can be consumed by whoever possesses it. He has the power to dispose of it, according to his whims, either for his needs or his

pleasures. He has the right to use it, or to abuse it. Collective property, on the contrary, is relative and incomplete. It is indivisible, and cannot be monopolised by one or more members of society to the detriment of the others. No one of those who participate in its use has the authority to deteriorate, alienate, or reserve to himself that which belongs to all. All have the right to use, none to abuse.

This brings us to the question of inheritance. When an individual dies, to whom should go the goods which he may have amassed? They cannot become the property of another individual, since that individual would then possess things which he had not gained by his labour. It is, then, necessary that they should return to the collectivity, which would thus become the universal heir; and this is just, not only because the right of individual property is based upon labour, but because the individual will in this way repay society for the innumerable services he receives and would have received in a *régime* organised on a basis of reason, justice, and science.

M. Renard next deals in a masterly fashion with the many objections which may be urged against the Socialist conception of property, through which we have not space to follow him, and concludes: "In principle, then, the Socialist *régime* not only conforms to justice, but fills all the conditions that we have recognised as necessary, either for the well-being of a society, or for the full development of all its members."

#### PROBLEMS OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF LABOUR AND OF THE PRODUCTS OF LABOUR.

The fundamental question, upon which all others in the economic domain depends, is the question of the ownership of things; whether, and to what extent, they shall be the property, either of the individual, or of the community.

At the present moment it is necessary only that we seek the principles which must govern its solution.

"To each according to his labour" is evidently the principle which gives satisfaction to individual rights, allowance being made for those unable to work. But as it is as impossible as it is undesirable that each should produce the necessity for his existence, it is necessary that each must receive a value equal to the labour that he has accomplished; and, consequently, it will be imperative to find a unit of measure between things of different nature, but having this common character of satisfying a need, and containing a certain quantity of human labour. The determination of these equivalents is a subject of great delicacy and importance.

A theory of value on the basis of equal remuneration for equal labour must be constructed. This, however, we shall not attempt at the present moment, but will only say that the equivalence sought ought, so to speak, to determine itself by a kind of automatic mechanism of comparison between the things necessary to value, and not by an arbitrary estimation. A difficulty equally serious is the distribution of labour between individuals. Two conditions, apparently contradictory, must be filled. Labour must be at once obligatory and free. That is to say, each must work and each must, as far as possible, have the faculty to choose his own kind of employment. However, we do not purpose to deal with this difficulty at the present moment, but will observe that the choice of his occupation must not be imposed upon the individual by an arbitrary authority, but that the entrance of the workers in the various branches of industry must be regulated, as it were, automatically, without privilege and without other considerations than their capacity or desire.

A. E. L.

## PAYMENT OF MEMBERS, AT HOME AND ABROAD.

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THE *Westminster Review* has an article on this subject by W. Miller, which contains much interesting information. England and Spain are now the only two countries in Europe that give their Parliamentary representatives no remuneration whatever; in Italy the Senators and Deputies are not paid, but they have a right to travel gratis by steam or rail. Portugal has practically abolished payment to reduce expenditure, but if delegates really need the money municipalities have the power to pay them; all deputies have free passes to travel. Belgium has had paid members ever since it has existed as an independent State. In Denmark the representatives are also entitled to a free seat in the Royal Theatre. In Germany, the Reichstag is unsalaried, but free passes are granted on railways. Prussia does not pay the Upper House, but the Lower House is salaried, and both can travel free. Württemberg has paid its members for more than seven years; in Norway, they are also entitled to "nursing, medical treatment, and burial expenses," and can send their letters free of charge.

Japan has not found the system altogether a success, for creditors are anxious to see certain candidates elected in order to secure their salaries. Egypt, Mexico, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Newfoundland, Cape Colony, Tasmania, and New Zealand all have a system of paid members. In the Orange Free State £2 a day is the fixed amount, and it is now proposed to raise this to £1,200 a year. The custom is of the greatest antiquity in the United States, the first Act of Congress making provision for this. Western Australia is the only Australian colony that gives no remuneration to its representatives, but they are allowed to travel free on all Government, and, by courtesy, on all private, lines. Victoria set the example to the other colonies, and money scandals have not occurred since in the Victorian Parliament.

The custom of remunerating the representatives of the people in this country came to an end at the close of the seventeenth century, having existed for four hundred years. "In 1780 an election committee of Westminster electors, of which Charles James Fox was chairman, recommended payment of Members," but the French revolution put a stop to any progress in the matter.

During the past sixty or seventy years the question has been brought before the public from time to time. In 1830 by the Marquis of Blandford. It formed one of the clauses in the "People's Charter"; in 1870 P. A. Taylor raised the question in a motion in the House of Commons; 1885 saw it part of the Radical programme, and a Bill to that effect was drawn up the next year, but it was dropped. Mr. Fenwick next took it up, and in 1893 a majority of 47 voted in favour of the principle, and in 1895 a majority of 18; however, neither Mr. Gladstone nor Lord Rosebery moved any further.

The writer of the article is of opinion that if members of Parliament are paid, a number of "professional politicians" will thereby be created. He is convinced that a change will come, and thinks it is well to see how the system works in other countries. Perhaps one reason why England still believes in voluntary public service is that she possesses "a leisured class such as hardly exists to the same extent in any other country."



## THE JEWISH WORKMAN.

IN the current number of the *Contemporary* John A. Dyche defends his co-religionists against the charges made against them, not only by the British but by responsible statesmen, who, he says, ought to know better. His article is caustic, and perhaps not very polite either to the "true-born Briton" and his work or to our climate. John Dyche is "a typical alien immigrant;" he came to London with threepence in his pocket, and learned the trade of a tailor's machinist. He says the number of alien immigrants is exaggerated, and is decreasing. It has fallen from twelve thousand in 1891 to six thousand in 1893, and of those who arrive not all are permanent settlers. He admits it is not surprising that with so many Jews employed here the "uninformed British public" should think it is the alien Jew who takes the work out of the hands of the British workman.

Jew aliens are accused in England of being satisfied with a lower standard of comfort, and therefore of working for lower wages and thus displacing the British workman. They are accused of being an inferior race, dirty, vicious, and immoral, degrading to the people among whom they live. (It is strange that in Russia they are accused of never being contented.) He then argues that as a matter of fact the "standard of comfort" among Jews is higher than among English workmen. The wives are fond of dress and jewellery, have hired help to do the housework and the washing, are wasteful and extravagant, and waste their time in "small talk." Furthermore, the husband is the sole bread-winner, it being the custom for a girl when she marries to leave the factory or workshop. Out of 171 Jewesses employed in one trade only one was married. The Jew, too, pays for his children's education more often than not. They do not work for lower wages, but receive more than an Englishman in the same trade. At the Co-operative Wholesale Society's clothing factory at Leeds, the Jew workman earns £2 per week of 50 hours. Miss Collett, Labour Correspondent to Board of Trade, says: "In the mantle trade the Jews may be regarded as the introducers of a better article and a better system of organisation. According to information supplied by three London firms, they are really making an opening for a successful competition with Germany."

An article in a German paper laments the decline of trade in ladies' mantles; the Jews "have emancipated the English market from foreign goods," Dyche says that when he was in Berlin he was offered only half the wages he had received in England. In Jewish workshops infinitely more comfortable conditions are the rule than in those belonging to Englishmen; the men are allowed more liberty, talk, smoke, and have dinner in the employers' time.

Now, as to Jewish inferiority as a race, schoolmasters testify to the aptitude and quickness of Jewish pupils, and say how easy they are to teach. Owing to the cleanly way in which their food is prepared they are freer from cholera and other epidemic diseases. At the time when the Black Death devastated Europe, Mr. Dyche declares that *not one Jew* fell a victim to that terrible scourge. Jews form a very small proportion of the criminal classes. They are "sober, peaceful, industrious, but poor—an unpardonable offence in England, especially for a foreigner." It is often made a cause of complaint against the Jews that they do not inter-marry in England, and become naturalised. In reply to this the writer of the article says that the only swearing, drunken, Jewish woman he ever knew was one who had

married a British workman! The Jew is smaller in stature and chest measurement than Englishmen, but has a proportionally larger skull; he is therefore better suited for labour in which brain-work is more requisite than muscular force.

What is really at the bottom of all the antagonism to Jews is "race-hatred, and that instinct so peculiar to Englishmen, which impels them to glorify the powerful and strong, and to deride and persecute the poorer and weaker peoples who might need their sympathy."

## THE PARTITION OF CHINA.

"WHAT should be the policy of the United Kingdom in relation to the above?" asks Holt Hallett, in the *Nineteenth Century* for this month. "If we wish to save China from bankruptcy, and consequent disruption, we should insist that the whole country be thrown open to trade, and its rivers to steam navigation, and that no taxes or squeezes shall be levied on trade except at the ports of entrance to and exit from the country, and then only such as are sanctioned by our treaties."

Holt Hallett likens our position in China to-day to that on the West Coast of Africa before it was lost to us. "We want a policy for the Far East . . . and a statesman who will carry it out." He does not think it will be of much use to try and bolster up the Empire of China; the Manchu dynasty, always unpopular, appears to be powerless; the country is permeated by secret societies that will ultimately destroy it. One of these is the "Heaven and Earth Society," also known as the "Triad"; another is the "Society of the Elder Brother." The "Triad" associated itself with the Tai-ping, and it is probable that the word originated from that of their lodges, which were called "Tai-ping-Ti," or "Land where all are Equal." It was this society that stormed Shanghai in the Tai-ping rebellion, and is now terrorising South East China.

The Chinese are dissatisfied owing to increased taxation on trade, and not one-third of the taxes ever finds its way into the Treasury. The people are poor and ready to join the secret societies. The natural resources of China are great, but roads, waterways, and railroads are required. With regard to English trade with China, Hallett points out that by wars and by treaties we obtained the right "to import goods into the country on payment of a tariff duty of 5 per cent. *ad valorem*;" but two years afterwards it was stated that the goods imported were "liable to bear whatever taxes or duties the Chinese Administration might see fit to levy on them," and Lord Salisbury, when he might have rectified matters, failed to do so.

"It is an axiom with the British manufacturer that greater cheapness means greater trade, and in no part of the world is this more true than in China, where for one man who could pay a shilling for a piece of cotton cloth, a hundred or more could purchase it if its price were lowered to six-pence." The Chinaman is a good customer, the Chinese population is one-fourth of the entire world, and under our sway they are prosperous.

Unpopular though it be, "the Manchu dynasty is the cement that holds the heterogeneous components of the Chinese Empire together." The Administration is corrupt. Germany is disappointed with her annexations in Africa and New Guinea, and would gladly extend her sphere of influence. We are pitted against rival nations, and all but ourselves have a Protectionist policy. What we have to do, in fine, is to "come to an amicable arrangement with Russia, France, and Japan, for the division of the spoil."

## STATE ADOPTION OF STREET ARABS.

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MRS. A. SAMUELS contributes to the *Fortnightly* a paper in which she pleads very strongly for State Maintenance for the parentless and homeless little waifs of our streets. Up to the present, she points out, the State has only legislated for reform. Philanthropy alone has striven to prevent. In answer to those who complain that such a step would be an infringement of the liberties of the British subject, she says the Lunacy Acts, various Sanitary Acts, &c., &c., are equally infringements of the liberty of the subject, and "what greater infringement of liberty can there be than to consign a man to prison?" "Why," she asks, "should a portion of the great sums of money paid by the British taxpayer not be devoted to the institution of real places of safety in our midst for these homeless children . . . State schools? Why should not the State become the father of the fatherless?" These schools, Mrs. Samuels continues, could be self-supporting, the children—boys and girls—be trained in manual work only, and therefore "reading, writing, and arithmetic should be the limit of their curriculum." They should be trained as domestic servants, soldiers and sailors, these being the three classes in which there is, and is likely to be, a continual deficiency under existing circumstances. The various Industrial Schools already established are unable, from different causes, to cope fully with the evil.

Altogether, apart from the condition of the children on whose behalf she speaks, Mrs. Samuels evidently feels very keenly the misdeeds of the domestic servant. "By whom," she pathetically exclaims, "is the future household work of our country to be done? Already our homes are often miserable, our lives are spoiled, our peace of mind is gone with the ceaseless worry of our domestics, who live by us, and on us, who by their waste and extravagance blast many a career. . . and are but too often hindrances to our happiness and our advancement." Mrs. Samuels sees no alternative but the Chinaman for a household drudge, unless the street arab can be taught the business.

All these State-adopted children, however, will not be soldiers, sailors, or servants; and for the others she suggests a scheme of "State-aided colonisation, unattempted as yet." Let numbers of them be sent to "found communities" in various parts of the Empire of Great Britain. These colonies would be self-supporting, and they would be where the wicked cease from troubling, or, as Mrs. Samuels expresses it, "where the rivalries and jealousies of trade unions could place no hindrance in the way of their industries." She does not say if the capitalist will also be excluded; if not these "communists," besides being "self supporting," may find it necessary to become "capitalist-supporting" as well, and then, who knows, that wily serpent, the trade unionist, might find his way into the new paradise.

"The age of progress," she says, is the age of strikes and trade unions, and an inordinate longing for wealth." Exactly so, but Mrs. Samuels should have placed the cause first, and the effects last.



## THE DECLINE OF THE POLITICIAN.

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IN the pages of the *New Review* James Annand laments the decline of the politician, who, he says, "is often, in the very nature of things, a disturber of the peace, and consequently is, to the tranquil-minded, as a heathen man or a Pharisee! In all this he suffers some injustice, for he has often been—I might almost say usually is—among the most public-spirited and least selfish of our citizens; but just now in this country he is not living up to his best reputation."

"Toryism and Conservatism have alike disappeared . . . and Liberalism temporarily distracted and permanently disabled." Nowadays a "programme" and a "policy" are sought for that will attract public attention and secure votes at the poll. The politician does not think of benefitting his country, but of benefitting himself; a seat in Parliament confers social distinctions, and the great thing is to catch the workman's vote. Look at the Compensation Act; it was "passed by men in both Houses who wrecked Mr. Asquith's Bill on the same subject. In principle the measure is revolutionary; it lays a heavy burden on the employers, and it was passed by a House of Commons consisting mainly of employers of labour, and by a House of Lords consisting of aristocrats. Why did they do so? Do they present the "sublimest spectacle of unselfishness" the country has ever seen? or were they "acting throughout against their convictions, and in obedience to political pressure and party necessities, hoping for relief out of wages, or for some other way of taking back with one hand what was given by the other." Mr. Annand thinks that hardly anyone will hesitate to accept the latter as the true reason. This Act, unlike Catholic Emancipation or Free Trade, had never been discussed on public platforms, or demanded by popular clamour or public requirements. Turn from legislation to administration. "The politician has grafted a Labour Department on the Board of Trade, a purely class institution, established at the behest of trade unions, worked largely in co-operation with them, the mere setting up of which spread the belief that it would in all disputes take the side of the workmen, whether they were right or wrong. The politician introduced the eight hours' day into certain Government factories, not because of any sound economic, social, or ameliorative reasons," he has "elevated trade unionism into a standard for regulating the actions of Government, and invested it with something like State authority. The "most striking object-lesson" is the dispute in the engineering trade. "It is really the outcome of the agitation for an eight hours' day . . . Employers have been compelled to make a stand." The employer is in a parlous state, according to the writer of the article, he has to fight statesmen, Governments, politicians, newspaper editors, and workmen.

But to return to, and conclude with "the politician," whose fall from his high estate is treated of by Mr. Annand. Those politicians, Tory or Liberal, who have held such lofty conceptions of the inviolable sacredness of their own convictions, and who have dared to act in strict accordance therewith, and without fear of electors, and without any thought of personal profit or aggrandisement, might, and surely Mr Annand would acknowledge it, be reckoned on our fingers. Most politicians might quote with slight alteration the saying of the Eastern Prince whom the writer mentions, "I am of that religion that will give me a sceptre." As for the high-souled politician, were it not for the few exceptions alluded to, one feels tempted to apply to him the now historical definition of the dodo: "An extinct bird that never existed."

## HOW WILL THE FUTURE AFFECT GREAT CITIES?

JOSIAH STRONG, D.D., in the *North American Review*, New York, says : There is a gregarious instinct in men which has always made the city as large as it could well be ; and this instinct [has been] liberated and emphasised during this century. As this instinct and these causes are all permanent, it is obvious that this tendency will prove permanent. Some have imagined that the pressure upon the city might be relieved, and the miseries of the slum modified, by removing families to unoccupied lands and teaching them to engage in agriculture, and steps have been taken in this direction. But those who expect to solve, or even to simplify the problem by this method, fail to appreciate the profound change which has come over the world's industry during this century, by which it has ceased to be individual, and has become organised ; a change which is destined to exert more influence on material conditions, and on the social, intellectual, moral, and spiritual life of man, than did the discovery of America, the invention of gunpowder, or the art of printing. In the age of homespun, which, for most of our population, reached well on toward the middle of this century, the typical farmer could not only till his own soil, but build his own house, make his own furniture and many of his own tools. His wife could take the wool as it came from the sheep's back, dye, card, spin, and weave it, and then make it into a coat for her husband. They were practically independent of the whole world. The organisation of industry has changed all this. There has resulted a manifold multiplication of the products of labour, which has powerfully stimulated wants and greatly elevated the standard of living ; and, further, we have become dependent on well-nigh all the world.

When the farmer could directly provide for himself the necessities of life, and patronised the tradesmen for little more than its luxuries, the number of farmers might have been indefinitely multiplied so long as unoccupied land remained ; and if we could reverse the motion of the earth, and roll it back into the age of homespun, we might relieve the pressure upon the city by planting families on unoccupied land, but with the division of labour this became impossible. The farmer can now do but one thing, and that is to farm. He can supply the many wants of his family only by turning his produce into money, which means that he must farm for the market. This fact makes him dependent on the demand and supply of the world. Now, it should be observed that the world's demand for food must necessarily be limited, and that the food supply to-day is equal to the demands of the civilised world to-day. It is true there is want even to starvation, but that is due to the lack of distribution, not to any lack of production. There are already more persons engaged in farming than are needed, with the improved agricultural implements of recent years, to supply the world's demands for food, and that accounts for the general depression of agriculture in Europe and America during recent years. But American competition, after first causing great depression, has at length created a remarkable agricultural revival in Europe. Governments have afforded powerful aid through the departments or ministries of agriculture. Subsidies have been granted, prizes offered, agricultural academies and colleges founded, and free lecture courses established. By every means the

people are being instructed and encouraged, and their new activity is manifested in the co-operative agricultural societies which are rapidly multiplying on the Continent. Some 6,500 such societies have been formed in France and 7,200 in Prussia. It is said that in Denmark there is now a co-operative dairy in every parish. Our American agriculture must certainly be more intelligent if it is to retain its markets, but the attempt to stop the exodus from the country by better farming will prove worse than futile.

It has been pointed out that the world's demand for food is necessarily limited. Dr. Engel, formerly head of the Prussian statistical bureau, tells us that the percentage of outlay for subsistence grows smaller as the income grows larger; that the percentage of outlay for rent, fuel, light, and clothing remains the same, or approximately the same, whatever the income; and that the percentage of outlay for sundries becomes greater as income increases. From all this it follows that, as population and wealth increase, an ever-enlarging proportion of men must get their living by means of the mechanical and the fine arts; or, in other words, an ever-increasing proportion of population must live in cities.

Our free institutions are based on two fundamental principles—viz., local self-government and federation. These are alike necessary, the former to the exercise of our liberties, the latter to their preservation. The principle of federation was imperilled a generation ago, and the nation poured out blood and treasure to save it. To-day, south and north alike agree that this principle is to stand in its integrity. But while patriotism was at the front defending the union, the other fundamental principle was being quietly subverted at home. Selfish men gained control of municipal governments for personal ends. Conditions made it easy for the political boss to compact his power and to perfect his machine. The inevitable result was the development of bottomless corruption and unblushing outrage upon the rights and liberties of the people; and, as a rule, the larger the city the more completely did it become boss-ridden. Professor Bryce declares that the one conspicuous failure of American institutions is the government of our great cities, which every intelligent man knows to be true. The State limits the liberties of its cities. It does not dare to trust them with full autonomy. We have for years relied upon the country vote to hold the cities in check, but the time is soon coming when the cities will take matters into their own hands. If the rate of growth from 1880 to 1890 continues, in 1920 the cities of the United States will contain 10,000,000 more than one-half of the population. The city will then control State and nation. What if the city is then incapable of self-government?

The greater part of our population must live in cities—cities much greater than the world has yet seen—cities which by their preponderance of numbers and of wealth must inevitably control civilisation and destiny; and we must learn—though we have not yet learned—to live in cities with safety to our health, our morals, and our liberties. The problem of the twentieth century city, therefore, demands for its solution a higher type of citizenship, for which we must look chiefly to those who direct the education of the young. Evidently our public schools must give to the children and youth of to-day such instruction in the duties and principles of good citizenship as earlier generations did not have. Literature dealing with American citizenship, adapted to all ages, from the high school down to the kindergarten, should be absorbed by the scholars until an intelligent civic patriotism becomes a matter of course.—*Public Opinion* (New York).

## THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY AND THE UNEMPLOYED.

WHAT promised a few years ago to become a reality appears to have lost much of its importance in the light of greater evils than existed when the eight hour workday was first agitated. If there were reason for the workmen of the country demanding a workday of shorter hours the reason has become intensified by the occurrences of the past few years, that have deprived thousands of employees of the power to remain self-sustaining through their efforts as producers. A complication of affairs has decreased the number of men employed, and, further, it has almost destroyed the possibility of their again securing employment. Under these conditions the necessity for adopting every method of giving employment should be earnestly advocated, that the number of the unemployed may be decreased and the destitution existing among thousands of workers be removed. Every little helps, and if a universal eight-hour day were adopted it would materially lessen the number of the hopelessly destitute far into the thousands, and furnish employment for more than one-half of the unemployed.

The employers of labour are, very naturally, opposed to any such agitation as will shorten the working time, and in too many instances they are supported by their employees, who forget that there are others demanding their portion of a livelihood. Where the employees are so blind to their danger as to insist that the working day should be lengthened, or at least be not shortened, there is found a degree of cupidity and ignorance that is pitiable in the extreme. The desire to earn all that can be earned is largely responsible for the oppressive condition that exists among so many of the trades. Then, again, there is the blessed law of private contract, that holy inspiration that is lauded to the skies as the especial privilege of a free people, that permits workmen anxious to outwork their co-workers to go ahead with overwork and deprive their fellows of that much employment. And, again, it appears as if the efforts of the larger employers have gone far to suppress what agitation there was in favour of the shorter workday. No premeditated conspiracy could have gone further to break the spirit of the working men than the continued practice of discontinuing business for several stated periods during the year. Suspension until the employees were destitute, followed by resumption until they had about settled their indebtedness, and then suspension, was discouraging. Men who have worked all their lives, who have been self-supporting, who have gloried in their manhood and the ability to pay their debts, cannot down the idea that every dollar must be raked and scraped together to meet the demands made upon them for their necessary expenses. These men, who have been compelled to suffer because of short hours and small pay, are too much broken in spirit to demand anything that will cause friction between their employers and themselves.

But a problem is gradually coming to the front that demands its share of attention, and, dislike it as he may, the capitalist must admit that the question of whether the capitalists are bigger than the country and its people will be surely decided in the negative. We have no disposition to pose as an alarmist, but there is no need to remain blind to existing conditions for the mere sake of courting popular favour. Forces, seen and unseen, are contributing their share toward a hasty presentation of this question, and the divine right of a man who has a dollar to make every man who hasn't a dollar bend to his will is, sooner or later, to be severely questioned. Aside

from this serious aspect of the necessity for a shorter workday, there is the conceded necessity of protecting the health, morals, and education of the working people. The protection of the employing classes depends on the working classes, but the employers, in temporary security, too often forget the necessity of maintaining the intelligence of their workmen. And now, with the understanding that there is a necessity for providing the means for every man who wishes work to secure employment at living wages, and with the understanding that the shorter workday will contribute its share toward alleviating the distress, let the work of pushing forward the demand of the eight-hour day for recognition and final adoption be taken up afresh. We do not say that it will settle the question of the unemployed, but we maintain that it will help toward a solution of the problem.—*Railroad Trainmen's Journal*.



### **A COMPARISON OF LONDON AND NEW YORK POOR.**

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WE hear so much about the wrongs of labour and the miseries of the slums of New York City that one falls almost irresistibly into the habit of taking it for granted that the conditions of working people in America, and especially in great cities like New York, is not a bit better than in Europe. This is a big country, of big distances, big mountains, big rivers, big plains, big lakes, big cities, and also of big talk. In politics we do not take it for granted that candidates for office are really the nefarious villains that their opponents declare them to be. But somehow or other people fail to "discount" the horrible tales of poverty and destitution in our great cities, and very many excellent persons carry about with them a mournful impression of the social condition of things which the facts by no means justify. We do not in the least pretend that there is no poverty, no distress, no discomfort, no remediable evils, in American cities; nor would we diminish in the slightest degree the sense of responsibility for preventable evils which individuals as well as society ought to bear. But there is nothing to be gained by exaggeration; and the plain, simple, veritable fact is that the condition of the poor in the cities of America is not nearly so bad as professional agitators pretend, and, further, that it is actually better than in the cities of the old world. Recently a thoroughly competent expert has been making observations of the state of things in New York. Miss Lily Dewhurst, who is well known in London as Sister Lily, and who has been engaged for ten years past in the West London mission, of which the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes is the head, spent a week in New York when on her way to an international convention of "rescue workers" at Toronto. While in New York she made a careful inspection of what we are in the habit of calling the slums, in order to see how they would compare with the slums of London. After making this tour, she communicated her impressions to the *New York Herald*, and though she did it very modestly, declining to express any opinion based upon so superficial a glance as she had had at the streets of New York, even her first impressions represent facts which a nearer scrutiny could only have confirmed. It may be worth while, then, to consider what these impressions were. They were these:—

First—In New York the outer conditions under which the poor live do not approach the conditions of the London poor. Your streets are broader, there is more space, there is not the apparent overcrowding, nor the number of congested buildings. If I were to take a visitor through our London slums



we should have to leave the carriage and walk—some of our courts and alleys are so narrow that you might shake hands from opposite windows. And yet I read that the result of the investigations of your tenement-house committee proved that a condition of congestion and misery prevails such as even the older cities of Europe cannot parallel. These are the actual figures: "The committee found 15,726 families, numbering 67,897 persons, with an average of four and one-third persons to 284.4 square feet of floor area. Some idea of these figures can be obtained by remarking that one room, 12 by 24, contains 288 square feet in floor area." Second—That you cannot have the same kind of poverty. I most carefully observed the faces of the people. There was no hunger written upon them. Those who know our poor easily detect the lines which starvation prints upon the faces of those who are chronically underfed. Third—There is a spirit of happiness in your slums which is absent in ours. The women appear brighter. They have not the hard, beaten, haggard look that ours have. Fourth—There was an absence of rags. But one child was only partially clothed. Fifth—There was an absence of drunkenness. Though we passed many saloons, and I carefully watched everyone, I only saw one woman inside, and only one man really drunk. In many reforms you are ahead of us. May we be wise enough to follow! But a working man once uttered a speech in London which touches the true spring of highest reform. "Some say," said he, "Educate, educate, educate"; others say, "Legislate, legislate, legislate"; I say, "Regenerate, regenerate, regenerate!"

What, then, is the conclusion to be reached from all this? It seems to us that several conclusions present themselves: 1. There are plenty of evils to be removed in New York; but there is everything to encourage the humane and the charitable. When so much has been done, we may well hope to do more. Sister Lily says: "Evil exists in the individual, and not in the environment." Perhaps that is more than she intended to say, for there are bad things in the environment; but they are being notably diminished, as Sister Lily saw at the corner of Breecker and Sullivan Streets, where the munificence of one man has erected "one of the finest model tenement-blocks she had seen anywhere." 2. After all, the main work now, as always, is to direct life rather than the externals of living. If it is true, as we should say, that the chief "evil exists in the individual, not in the environment," then the great work of social reform is the elevation of the individual, which is the same as to say that moral and religious influences ought always to accompany the improvement of external conditions, or the root of the evil will remain. 3. Another curious reflection presents itself. Beyond all question the condition of the poor in America, and even in New York, is better than that of the same class in any European city; and yet there is far more discontent here than there. What is the cause of this remarkable fact? There may be more causes than one. Perhaps there is such a thing as over education, especially in the case of girls, educated beyond their station of life, and so unfitted for it, while they have no means of changing it. Perhaps our political system has something to do with it; for every demagogue who is out of office rests his hope of gain on the raising of a wave of discontent that shall bear him into place and power. The spread of Socialism may have something to do with it, and a vague belief that legislation can permanently take the place of industry, economy, and probity. And then, perhaps, the unwise sentimentalism of preachers and humanitarians may have something to do with it. They must have much to do with it if they inspire the people with a sentiment of envious hostility toward the wealthier classes.—*Church Standard* (Philadelphia).

## SIESTA.

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IN one of the elegant bachelor apartments of the Rue Castiglione a merry company sat at desert.

Signor José Francisco de Silvis was a short-legged, coal-black Portuguese, one of those who are in the habit of coming from Brazil with extraordinary wealth, who live an extraordinary life in Paris, and, above all, are remarkable for their extraordinary acquaintances.

In that small company no one knew his neighbour—with the exception of those who had come in pairs. And the host himself only knew them from having met them at a ball, a *table d'hôte*, or in the street.

Signor de Silvis laughed and talked loudly wherever he happened to be—as is the wont of rich strangers; and as he could not rise to the level of the Jockey Club, he gathered round him anyone he came across: he straightway asked for the address, and next day sent an invitation to a little dinner.

He spoke all languages, but German most easily; and one could see that he was not a little proud when he shouted across the table, "Mein lieber Herr Doctor! wie geht's Ihnen?" (My dear Doctor! How are you?)

There was actually a real German doctor among them, with an overgrowth of light-red beard, and that Sedan smile that characterises the Teuton in Paris.

The temperature of the conversation rose with the champagne; flowing French and broken French mingled with Spanish and Portuguese. The ladies lay back in their chairs laughing; one was sufficiently intimate by this time to be at one's ease; jokes and witticisms went round the table from mouth to mouth; only "der liebe Doctor" discussed earnestly with his neighbour—a French journalist, with a red ribbon in his button-hole.

And there was one other who did not join in the merriment. He was sitting on the right of Mdlle. Adèle, on whose left was her new lover, the fat Anatole, who had eaten too many truffles.

During the meal Mdlle. Adèle had tried many innocent blandishments to put life into her left-hand neighbour. But he remained quiet, answering politely but curtly, and in a low voice.

First she thought he was a Pole—one of the worst of the bores who go about playing the exile. But she soon saw she was mistaken, and that vexed Mdlle. Adèle.

For it was one of her many special qualities that she could immediately sort out any foreigner whom she met, and she maintained she could guess a man's nationality when he had spoken two words to her.

But this taciturn stranger gave her much trouble. If only he had been fair she would at once have declared him an Englishman, for he spoke like one. But he had black hair, a heavy black moustache, and a small, delicate figure. His fingers were extraordinarily long, and he had a curious way of playing with the bread and toying with his dessert fork.

"He's a musician," whispered Mdlle. Adèle to her fat friend.

"Ah!" answered M. Anatole; "I'm afraid I've eaten too many truffles."

Mdlle. Adèle whispered some good advice into his ear, at which he laughed, and looked very much in love.

Meanwhile she could not cease observing the interesting stranger. After she had tempted him to drink several glasses of champagne he became livelier and more talkative.

"Ah!" she cried, suddenly. "Your speech betrays you. You're an Englishman, after all!"

The stranger's whole face reddened, and he answered hurriedly, "No, madame."

Mdlle. Adèle laughed: "Excuse me! I know Americans are always annoyed when they're taken for Englishmen."

"I'm not an American, either," answered the stranger.

This was too much for Mdlle. Adèle. She bent over her plate and looked sulky, for she noticed that Mdlle. Louison, sitting just opposite her, was enjoying her discomfiture.

The stranger understood this, and added, in a lower voice, "I am an Irishman, madame."

"Oh!" said Mdlle. Adèle, with a grateful smile, for she was easily appeased.

"Anatole!—an Irishman!—what's that?" she whispered.

"They're the English poor," he whispered back.

"Oh!—h'm!"

Mdlle. Adèle raised her eyebrows, and cast a shy look at her left-hand neighbour. He had suddenly lost a good deal of her interest.

De Silvis' dinners were excellent. They had sat long at table, and when M. Anatole thought of the oysters, with which they had begun, it seemed to him like a beautiful dream. On the other hand, he had a constant memory of the truffles. The actual meal was over; only a hand was now and again stretched out for a glass, or played with fruit or a biscuit.

The sentimental, fair Mdlle. Louison fell a-contemplating a grape she had dropped into a glass of champagne. Tiny bright air-bubbles beaded round the brim, and then, when it was all covered with those shining white pearls, they raised the heavy grape through the wine to the surface.

"See," said Mdlle. Louison, turning her liquid black eyes towards the journalist; "see how white angels are bearing a sinner to heaven."

"Ah! charming, mademoiselle! What a sublime idea!" cried the journalist, ecstatically.

Mdlle. Louison's sublime idea went the round of the table, and was a great success. Only the frivolous Adèle whispered to her fat lover, "It would take a jolly lot of angels to bear you up, Anatole."

The journalist meantime took advantage of the opportunity in order to attract general attention. He was glad to escape from the wearisome political discussion with the German, and as he had a red ribbon and the superior newspaper tone, they all listened to him.

He held forth upon the fact that the weak, by uniting, are able to bear the heaviest burdens; and from this he passed on to the topic of the day—the great Press fund for the relief of the victims of the Spanish floods, and of the poor of Paris.

He had much to tell, and every moment he said "we," in speaking of the Press, and talked himself quite warm about "these millions of francs which we—by dint of such great sacrifices—have got together."

But each of the others also had something to relate. Innumerable small and noble traits shown in these days of pleasure, that smacked of self-sacrifice.

Mdlle. Louison's best friend—an insignificant lady, sitting at the bottom of the table—told, in spite of Louison's protest, how Louison had had three



poor seamstresses up into her own room, and had let them sew all the night before the fête at the Hippodrome. She had even given the poor girls coffee and food, besides their wages.

Mdlle. Louison suddenly became an important person at the table, and the journalist began to show her the most marked attention.

The many beautiful traits of generosity, and Louison's swimming eyes, threw the whole company into a condition of quiet content, a mood full of goodwill towards man, that harmonised with the sense of fatigue after an exhausting meal.

And then the feeling of comfort increased by many degrees as they settled down in the luxurious chairs in the cool drawing-room.

There was no light save that from the fire in the grate. The red glimmer crept over the English carpet, and along the golden threads of the tapestry, and shone on the gilt frames of the pictures and on the piano standing close to it, and here and there lighted up a face in the darkness. There was nothing else to be seen but the red tips of cigars and cigarettes.

Conversation died away—a whisper now and again, the sound of a coffee cup put on a table—all seemed inclined to give themselves up to the pleasures of digestion and this feeling of goodwill to men. Even M. Anatole forgot his truffles, as he stretched himself in the low chair close by the sofa where Mdlle. Adèle was sitting.

"Won't anyone give us a little music?" asked Signor de Silvis, from his chair. "You are always so kind, Mdlle. Adèle."

"Ah! No, no!" cried Mdlle. Adèle, "I've eaten far too much"—and she lay back on the sofa, drawing up her legs, and folding her hands across her small round silken stomach.

But the stranger—the Irishman—arose from his corner, and went towards the piano.

"Oh! you'll play us something. A thousand thanks, Mr. —h'm—."

Signor de Silvis had forgotten his name, which often happened to him with his guests.

"You see, he's a musician!" said Mdlle. Adèle to her friend.

Anatole grunted his admiration. For the rest, all of them were impressed by the way in which he sat down, and without any kind of preparation struck a few chords here and there, as if to awaken the instrument. Then he began to play; gaily, lightly, frivolously—as the situation required. Popular airs, mingled with snatches of waltzes and of songs—all the trifles Paris hums for a week—he blended in his brilliant, easy performance.

The ladies cried out in admiration, sang a few bars, and beat time with their feet. The whole company followed with the utmost interest; he had struck the right chord, and had carried them with him from the outset. Only "der liebe Doctor" listened to him with his Sedan smile; it was all too light for him.

And soon there was something to suit the German, too; he every now and then nodded with a certain amount of approbation.

There was a bit of Chopin that blended strangely with their mood—the piquant perfumes that filled the air, the light hearted ladies, these people so frank and untroubled, all strangers one to the other—hidden in the dim, elegant drawing-room, each following his own secret thoughts, carried away by the weird mysterious music, while the glimmering flames in the grate now flickering up, now fell, and touched with light any bright thing amid the darkness.

And there was yet more in store for the doctor. From time to time he turned to Silvis, and made signs to him when there were "Anklänge" of

"unser Beethoven," "unser Schumann," or actually of "unser famoser Richard."

Meantime the stranger played on, steadily, without exertion, bent slightly towards the left, as though to put more strength into the bass. It seemed as if he had twenty fingers, all of steel; he knew how to gather together the softer tones, so that the instrument gave forth but one mighty note. Without pause, without emphasising any transition, he held them spellbound by constantly introducing some new surprise, reminiscences, genial combinations, so that even the least musical could not but listen fascinated.

But imperceptibly the tone of the music changed. The artist constantly played downwards, leaning more and more to the left, and there arose a marvellous unrest in the bass. The Anabaptists from the Prophet came with heavy step; a horseman from the Damnation de Faust came riding up from the depths, in a despairing, limping, hell's gallop.

Ever greater grew the tumult in the depths, and M. Anatole began to feel his truffles again. Mdlle. Adèle half raised herself; the music would not let her lie back in quiet.

Here and there the fire lit up a pair of dark eyes staring at the artist. He had attracted them, and now they could not escape; he drew them with him—ever deeper, deeper—where there was a muffled and subdued murmur, as of threats and complaints.

"Er fuhr't 'ne famose liuke Hand" (He plays a splendid left hand), said the doctor.

But Silvis did not heed him; he, like the others, sat in breathless excitement.

A dark, oppressive terror went forth from the music, and weighed upon them all. With his left hand the artist seemed to be tying a knot that nothing could untie, while with the right he ran a light course, as of flames, up and down in the treble. It sounded as if something terrible were being prepared below in the cellar, while above there were lights and merry-making.

A sigh was heard, and a low cry from one of the ladies who felt ill—but no one took any notice of it. The artist now played entirely in the bass, working there with both hands, and the untiring fingers whirled together sounds that made a cold shiver run down all their backs.

But in the threatening, murmuring sounds in the depths below, there began an upward movement. The chords mingled one with the other, passed one the other, straining upwards, ever upwards, yet not finding the way. There followed a wild struggle to get upwards; there were swarms of small beings, tearing and pulling—passionate eagerness—feverish haste—climbing, clinging, a holding fast with hands and teeth—kicking one the other—curses, shrieks, entreaties—and all this time his hands glided upwards—so slowly, so terribly slowly.

"Anatole!" whispered Mdlle. Adèle, pale as death; "he is playing poverty."

"Oh! my truffles!" moaned Anatole, holding his stomach.

But suddenly the salon was lighted up. Two servants with lamps and candelabra entered through the *portières*, and at that moment the strange artist ended, striking with all the might of his steel-like fingers a discord so impossible, so agitating, that the whole of the company started up.

"Take away the lamps," shouted Silvis.

"No, no!" shrieked Mdlle. Adèle. "Bring in the lights. I daren't be in the dark. Oh!—the dreadful man!"

Who was it—yes, who was it? Involuntarily all gathered round their host, and no one noticed that the stranger slipped out behind the servants.

De Silvis tried to laugh.

"I think it was the devil himself. Come! Let's go to the opera."

"The opera! Not at any price," cried Mdlle. Louison. "I don't want to hear any music for a fortnight—and then the crush on the opera staircase."

"Oh! my truffles!" groaned Anatole."

The company broke up. They had all suddenly awakened to the fact that they were strangers in a strange place, and all felt a desire to return to their own home.

As the journalist took Mdlle. Louison to her carriage, he said:

"You see this comes of letting oneself be talked over into visiting semi-barbarians. One is never sure whom one is likely to meet."

"No, indeed! He quite played away my cheerful mood," said Mdlle. Louison, sadly, turning her liquid eyes to him. "Will you come with me to the Trinité? There's to be low mass at twelve."

The journalist bowed and got in with her. But as Mdlle. Adèle and M. Anatole were driving past the English chemist's in the Rue de la Paix he called out to the coachman and said apologetically to her:

"I think I must stop and get something for my truffles. You won't be angry? The music—you know—"

"Don't mind me, my dear. Frankly, I don't think we're either of us inclined to do more this evening than say 'Good night'—till to-morrow."

She leant back in the carriage—glad to be alone, and the light-hearted creature fancied she had been struck by a whip, as she was driving home.

Anatole was certainly anxious about his truffles, but still he thought he felt better as her carriage rolled away.

Since they had made each other's acquaintance they had never been so satisfied with one another as at this moment when they parted.

He who had the best of it was the "Lieber Doctor," for in his capacity of German he was music-hardened. All the same, he determined to walk to the Brasserie Müller in the Rue Richelieu to get a good drink of beer, and perhaps just a bit of ham along with it.

*(From the Norwegian of Alexander Kielland, by ELEANOR MARX AVELING.)*



## A RECRUITING SONG.

AIR: "*The Garb of Old Gaul.*"

WHEN the Beacon-light of Liberty is flaming o'er the earth ;  
When the Resurrection Morning of the toiler has its birth ;  
When broken are the idols in the Brute-God Mammon's shrine ;  
And when Freedom stamps Humanity with marks of the Divine ;  
    Will we pride ourselves, my brothers, on the deeds we will have done  
    'Gainst the meanest rule that ever wrought oppression 'neath the sun ?  
    Or Conscience stain us fouler than the old-time Pharisee  
    For our cowardice while Labour was a-struggling to be free ?

We have seen the fight for Freedom waged by valiant men, though few ;  
Have our hands been stretched to aid them, they, the good and staunch and  
    true ?

Or midst Moloch-Mammon's minions—in his infamy enrolled—  
Have we stoned the prophet-rebels 'gainst the rule of greed and gold ?

    Oh ! The day draws ever nearer ; nay, 'tis even drawing nigh,  
    When righteous rage at slavery may rend the earth and sky ;  
    And that day brings retribution or reward to you and me  
    For our attitude while Labour was a-striving to be free.

'Twas the demi-gods of Liberty dyed Freedom's banner Red,  
And its glare makes sleeping Samson turn him slowly on his bed ;  
But beware his dread awaking—when he full defiance flings  
In your faces, ye who drugged him. Ye caricatures of kings.

    To undo your work unholy, comes the linking of the Lands  
    By the leaguings of the lowly and the workers joining hands ;  
    As your frontiers are forgotten, so your gods will trampled be,  
    When the giant starts from slumber, full determined to be free.

By the child who ne'er knew childhood ; by the woman on the street ;  
By emasculated manhood ; blistered fingers ; bleeding feet ;  
By the agony and insult still must Honesty endure ;  
By the reeking, hideous squalor in the hovels of the poor ;  
    Oh ! Ye working men of England, close the compromise with crime ;  
    For the broad high-way of Freedom leave the trader's track of slime ;  
    And the shout of your battalions to your comrades o'er the sea  
    Will tell the day has come at last when Labour will be free.

J. LESLIE.



ALPHONSE DAUDET.

# THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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## ALPHONSE DAUDET.

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ALPHONSE DAUDET, who died suddenly in Paris on December 16th of last year, was one of the most brilliant, original, imaginative, observant, and fascinating of modern French writers. He was born at Nîmes in May, 1840, and his parents were so poor that they were unable to afford him more than the rudiments of education. He devoured omnivorously whatever books came in his way, and by the time that he was fourteen years of age was familiar with the works of many of the best French authors, and had studied also, in translation, some of the great books in English and German literature. With the aid of friends, he was sent then to the *lycée* at Lyons, and distinguished himself there in certain branches of study. After returning home, finding it necessary to do something for himself, he sought and obtained at Alais, a dismal manufacturing town twenty miles from Nîmes, a situation as assistant teacher in one of the schools, largely attended by the children of workmen in the factories. There he had a cruel experience. He rarely had sufficient food, he was ill-clad, and fared badly in every way. His health suffered from constant deprivation. Before long his surroundings, doubly distressful to a delicate nature and ardent imagination, became unendurable, and at seventeen years of age he and his brother, between whom there was always a strong attachment, resolved to seek their fortunes in Paris. Alphonse at once set to work, and in less than a year produced a volume of love poems, "*Les Amoureuses*." From that moment fortune began to smile upon him. His verses naturally were immature, but the fire of genius glowed in them and attracted attention. Before long he was welcomed as a contributor by the *Figaro* and other prominent journals, and his poems excited the admiration of the Duc de Morny, who offered him the position of private secretary. He remained for five years with M. de Morny, whose cabinet provided an excellent post of observation for the study of Parisian life in all its phases. During these five years he published four volumes of poems and the series of articles to the *Figaro* entitled "*Les Gueux de Provence*," which set forth in such vivid terms the degradation and sufferings of country schoolmasters. About this time, too, he began to write for the stage, and produced a number of more or less successful plays, among which may be named "*La Dernière Idole*," "*L'Éillet Blanc*"



(played at the Française in 1865), "Le Frère Aîné," "La Sacrifice," "Lise Tavernier," and "L'Arlésienne."

It was not, however, as a playwright that he was to win his chief fame, but in the realm of realistic fiction. It was in 1869 that he published "Les Lettres de mon Moulin," which were followed in quick succession by "Lettres à un Absent," "Les Contes de Lundi," and "Robert Helmont." Then in 1872 came the delightful "Aventures Merveilleuses de Tartarin de Tarascon," the popularity of which soon became world-wide, and in 1874 "Fromont Jeune et Risler Aîné" added still more to his fame and prosperity. "Jack," which was published in 1876, was translated into half-a-dozen languages, and had a tremendous circulation, and then came "Le Nabab," with its keen satire of life and personages under the second empire, which, perhaps, was discussed more widely than any of its predecessors.

Next to his "Tartarin," or perhaps even before it in fascinating brilliancy, ranks "Sappho," but at this period of his life he was practically indefatigable, and many were the volumes produced by his pen. Among them were the charming "Rois en Exil," "Numa Roumestan," supposed to be Gambetta; "L'Evangéliste," "Les Cigognes," "Les Femmes des Artistes," "Tartarin sur les Alpes," "La Belle Nivernaise," "L'Immortel," the book which caused his exclusion from the wrathful ranks of the Academy; "Trent ans de Paris," "Souvenirs d'un Homme de Lettres," "Port Tarascon," which completed the Tartarin trilogy. It should be added that most of these works were adapted for the stage, and that some of the plays proved exceedingly successful and remunerative.

Daudet was probably known and appreciated by a larger circle of American and British readers than any other French writer since Victor Hugo. There is little doubt that this remarkable popularity was due largely to his humour, but his style had an added charm in its poetical vein. His first published writings were poetry, and although he wrote no verse after he was twenty-five, he was still poetic in temperament. Augustin Filon, writing in Charles Dudley Warner's "Library of the World's Best Literature," says of him:—

"Daudet is an artist, not a scientist. He is a poet in the primitive sense of the word, or, as he styled himself in one of his books, a 'trouvère.' He has creative power, but he has at the same time his share of the minor gift of observation. He had to write for a public of strongly realistic tendencies, who understood and desired nothing better than the faithful, accurate, and most scientific description of life. Daudet could supply the demand, but as he was not born a realist, whatever social influence he had been subjected to, he remained free from the faults and excesses of the school. He borrowed from it all that was good and sound; he accepted realism as a practical method, not as an ultimate result and a consummation. Again, he was preserved from the danger of going down too deep and too low into the unclean mysteries of modern humanity, not so much perhaps by moral delicacy as by an artistic distaste for all that is repulsive and unseemly."

Henry James, in 1882, wrote of him as follows:

"Daudet is a passionate observer—an observer not perhaps of the deepest things in life, but of the whole realm of the immediate, the expressive, the actual. This faculty, enriched by the most abundant exercise and united with the feeling of the poet who sees all the finer relations of things and never relinquishes the attempt to charm, is what we look for in the happiest novelist of our days. Ah, the things he sees—the various, fleeting, lurking, delicate, nameless, human things! This beautiful vivacity finds itself most complete in '*Les Rois en Exil*,' a book that could have been produced only in one of these later years of grace. Such a book is intensely modern, and the author is in every way an essentially modern genius. With the light, warm, frank Provençal element in him, he is, in his completeness, a product of the great French city. He has the nervous tension, the intellectual eagerness, the quick and exaggerated sensibility, the complicated, sophisticated judgment, which the friction, the contagion, the emulation, the whole spectacle, at once exciting and depressing, of our civilisation at its highest, produces in susceptible natures. There are tears in his laughter, and there is a strain of laughter in his tears; and in both there is a note of music."

Daudet's obligation to Dickens has been the subject of much comment. Daudet denied that he was influenced by the English novelist, and, indeed, fought a harmless duel over the accusation. Most of his critics, however, find a resemblance, although few of them go so far as to call it imitation.

Daudet was not a member of the French Academy, although often spoken of as a candidate. It is said that he refused to become a candidate for a chair in the Academy. Others, however, say that the Academy repulsed him. His feeling toward the Academy is not in doubt, for in "*L'Immortel*" he satirised that dignified body so cuttingly that all his chances of becoming an "Immortal" were destroyed.

Daudet may be said to have served his apprenticeship with the Goncourts, with Zola, and Turgeneff. Zola was doubtless his greatest rival for the favour of the reading public outside of France. In England Zola is probably much better known than Daudet.

At the very time of his death Daudet's new story, "*Soutien de Famille*" ("*The Prop of the Family*") made its first appearance as a serial in *L'Illustration*, Paris. Conversing about the story with Robert Sherard only a few days before, Daudet remarked: "Not a soul knows of its existence." Mr. Sherard gives the following interesting account of the genesis of the story:

"In 1884 there lived in the Marais quarter an excellent lady, of charitable disposition; who had as one of her tenants a worthy dealer in bronzes, whose affairs were in a very bad way—so bad, indeed, that he could not pay any rent. The landlady bore with him because she knew that he was a man of excellent intentions, and because she had a real attachment for his wife and children. When she died, in the same year—1884—the house went by her will to her nephew, who was one of the Under-Secretaries of State. This Under-Secretary of State was pre-eminently a business man, and wished to hear



nothing about worthy tenants, who had excellent intentions, but did not pay their rent. So the dealer in bronzes received peremptory notice to quit. He quitted in the most effective fashion that he could devise ; that is to say, he went and drowned himself in the neighbouring Canal, Saint-Martin. He, too, left a will, by which he bequeathed his two children to a friend of his, a novelist, who lived in the same Marais quarter, and whose name was Alphonse Daudet. On receipt of his friend's letter Daudet rushed off to his house, found that the wretched man had carried out his intention of committing suicide, took the two orphans by the hand, and hurried to the house of the Under-Secretary of State, M. Félix Faure. M. Faure was dining peacefully when the fiery Meridional arrived, and was terribly distressed at the news of what his late tenant had done, and at the way in which it was imparted. There was a scene in the full acceptance of the word. M. Faure promised that everything that was in his power should be done for the unfortunate children, and very loyally kept his word, for they were educated at his cost. And Alphonse Daudet also kept his word, the word which was '*le mot de la fin*' of the scene in M. Faure's hall : '*Le romancier n'oubliera jamais*.' The novelist has not forgotten, and the opening chapters of '*Soutien de Famille*,' which nobody is reading [because of the public absorption in the Dreyfus matter] except, perhaps, the people at the *Elisée*, contain the story of M. Faure's unfortunate tenant and his children."

Daudet suffered from locomotor ataxy. Writing to his family after the famous novelist's death, Zola says :

"Even the atrocious and continuous suffering of the last ten years did not weaken the activity of this mind, so potent in its charm. A frightful malady invaded his person, virtually depriving of the power of movement one who was free caprice itself ; yet before the threat of the ever approaching stroke he was superb, showing a firmness and serenity that filled us all with admiration. Reflect upon the cruelty of this fate, in the height of his energy and glory. What a frightful ruin of the future, of the hope of long life, the works to finish, the rest to enjoy, after the triumphant harvest. And he had the great courage to still work, still live.

"Goncourt said with truth that his intelligence seemed to enlarge. This lover of the sun, of long, wandering strolls, remained alone, face to face with his own heart and his own brain, when disease tied him to his study table. And there he freed himself from many miseries ; he liberated his ideas ; so severely did he suffer that he learned to know and pity suffering. Every time that I saw him I found him more tolerant, more human, reading others with a pitying clairvoyance, gained at last to divine forgiveness. Thus we have talked for hours, I watching his thin hands tremble, his emaciated face—the face of Christ—pale with emotion ; and I always went away shuddering and upset to think that this man in pain could speak so tenderly of human suffering.

"Think of what he had conquered, of what he leaves, at the age of fifty-seven, when still producing with the same fertility. Still, it is nothing that his literary work is interrupted ; it is sufficiently complete, sufficiently lofty, to be beyond the reach of destruction."

## LESSONS OF THE LOCK-OUT.

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AFTER seven months' resistance, the engineers have had to give way, and the strike and lock-out end in complete defeat for the men. Not only have they been compelled to withdraw the original demand for an eight hours' day in the London workshops, but the employers have completely turned the tables on them by insisting upon the acceptance of conditions which have been over and over again described as being absolutely destructive of all the safeguards of trade unionism. It is true that the form of these conditions has been somewhat modified since they were first submitted, but in spirit and in substance they are precisely the same. Briefly, these conditions may be stated as follows :

1. The employers claim complete liberty in the management of their business, and the right to introduce into any workshop any conditions of labour under which any members of the trade unions concerned may have been working in any other workshop.

2. The right to introduce piecework into any workshop.

3. Overtime to be nominally limited to forty hours per week, after allowance has been made for lost time. This restriction not to apply to breakdowns, or general repairs, and all other restrictions on overtime to be removed.

- 4 Employers are to be free to employ men at rates of wages mutually satisfactory. They do not object to the unions, or any other body of workmen, arranging among themselves the rates at which they will accept work [how could they ?], but they decline to enforce any rule as to wages, and the unions are not to interfere in any way with the wages of men outside their unions.

5. There shall be no limitation of the number of apprentices.

- 6 The employers are to have perfect liberty in the selection of men to work their machine tools, and to pay them according to their ability.

It will be seen that these conditions practically abrogate the functions of the trade unions, so far as they affect rates of wages, conditions of work, limitation of apprentices, rating for machine work, and enforcement of membership of a union upon all men engaged in certain classes of work. Thus, for instance, an employer may take a smart youth, earning less than a pound a week, and giving him another four or five shillings a week as a bribe, set him to work a machine for working which hitherto an engineer has been receiving 38s. a week, and the union will have no right of objection. It is true that arrangements have been made for the principle of what is called "collective bargaining" in the settlement of a dispute, and that it is understood that normal hours of work and rates of remuneration are not to be interfered with. But only the workmen concerned can deal with the individual employer ; union intervention can only deal with the associations of employers ; and in no case will the unions have any *locus standi* with regard to men who are not members of these

unions, or work upon which such men may be employed. Moreover, with the continual changes and improvements in machine tools, new conditions will be constantly introduced, in which the stipulations as to normal rates of remuneration will in no way apply.

It was clearly seen, months ago, and long before the men's chances appeared hopeless, that the real fight, so far as the employers were concerned, was for the enforcement of these conditions. The original ostensible cause of dispute—the demand for an eight hours' day in London—was thrust into the background by this more immediately important question, and was, indeed, spoken of by the employers as a mere bagatelle in comparison. It is said that it was well known beforehand by the men that in the event of any dispute the real question to be fought out would be this of management and rating of machine work, and that the employers were only too anxious to have this question raised and forced to an issue. If that was really the case, and there appears little doubt on that head, it was certainly a mistake for the men to provoke a dispute on any question whatever at such a time if they could possibly avoid it. An examination of the circumstances will, however, probably show that they could scarcely help themselves. If that be so it only affords another illustration of the fact that it is the employers and not the men who really decree a strike, and that, generally speaking, they arrange that all such disputes shall be fought out at the time most convenient to themselves. Briefly, the circumstances which led to the strike were these: The men in the London district demanded an eight hours' day, or a forty-eight hours' week. This demand was acceded to by a large number of the employers, but refused by others. It then became necessary for the union to enforce compliance on the part of these employers, or to abandon their demand and to go back to nine hours in those shops where the concession had been made. Now, it is perfectly obvious that if the employers, as a whole, had not wished for any disturbance, they would have left the recalcitrants to settle the matter themselves. In that case the men might have been speedily successful, or, if the dispute had gone on for any length of time, it would have created no great difficulty for them. Further, had the employers been *anxious* to prevent any disturbance they would have found means to bring pressure to bear on the few who refused the concession to the men and made them give way. As, instead of taking either of these courses they vigorously sided with these firms, it is clear that the employers had decided upon a fight, and were determined to extend it. It is equally clear that the original demand was not an impossible one, or it could not have been so readily granted in a number of instances, as was the case.

That the best tact and generalship were displayed on behalf of the men, either in the inception or the carrying through of the dispute, cannot be said; that mistakes and grave blunders have been made, it is impossible to deny; to agree to accept the employers' proposals in return for a slight concession in the matter of hours was a fatal blunder; to withdraw the demand for shorter hours, without first consulting the men, and without attempting to get any sort of *quid pro quo* from the employers was even

more culpable. But it is easy to find fault, and only those who have had the responsibility of the business on their hands know the difficulties they have had to deal with. At any rate, it is little good now to indulge in recrimination. It is much more important to consider what lessons may be drawn from what has taken place, and how far these may serve to compensate for the loss which has been incurred and to prevent similar disasters in the future. The first of these lessons, as already suggested, is that it is the employers who decide when such disputes shall be fought out; they are the arbiters, and this should teach the absolute helplessness of the men against a determined combination of the employers, and the inevitability of such disputes under present circumstances. Strikes and lock-outs are inevitable under present circumstances, and take place—as a rule—when the employers determine. Present circumstances, the conditions under which wealth is produced and distributed to-day, involve the production of a surplus, and the constant development of production and of productivity. The production of this surplus, and the growth and development of production, make a glut in the markets inevitable, and occasion disturbances in the labour market. Stoppages of work, working short time, strikes and lock-outs, are thus rendered inevitable. It has been suggested that these might be avoided by arbitration and conciliation. But no arbitration could be effectual which was not compulsory, and it is scarcely necessary to point out that the workmen are as frequently opposed to arbitration as the employers; and, in the conditions upon which the arbitrator would have to adjudge, the case would as often as not go against them. Strikes may be evils, but to surrender the right to strike is to give up all liberty of action. Compulsory arbitration would operate like the sliding scale of wages, and the employers could always make out a good case for their side.

Then, again, it is suggested that a federation of all the unions might prevent strikes and lock-outs, or render the men invincible in such disputes. No such combination of the men could be so strong as a similar combination on the part of the employers. The unions federated would be stronger than the unions isolated, but mere federation would not make them omnipotent. The strength of a federation would rest in the combined support which would be given to any section which was attacked, but its power would be speedily exhausted if a combined attack were made along the whole line. If, for instance, in the recent dispute the engineers had had the whole funds of all the unions to draw upon they might have gone on for an indefinite period; but if the employers had also been federated, and colliery-owners, mill-owners, builders, and manufacturers had all locked out their hands, these would have all been starving together in a month, and the employers all round, who would not have starved at all in the meantime, could have enforced their own terms.

The obvious moral to be drawn from this conclusion is that, as strikes and lock-outs are inevitable, and are generally provoked and determined by the employers, they are not in the interest of the workers, and should, as far as possible, be avoided by them. Strikes and lock-outs, being inevitable

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under present conditions, can only be got rid of by changing the conditions-- by getting rid of the antagonism between producer and product which is the necessary outcome of the class ownership of the means of production and competitive production for profit. The only remedy, therefore, is the socialisation of all the great means of production.

In the meantime, however, the workers might do much to make these disturbances less frequent, and to mitigate their force, if they directed their organised efforts to using what political power they possess for securing such social changes and reforms as changing economic conditions render desirable and necessary. If, for instance, the engineers, and all those who have sympathised with them and assisted them, were really in earnest about an eight hours' day--and the fact that in a vain effort to secure this concession for a small section of their number they have spent something like a million of money, suggests that they were--they might have secured that reform, not for a small section, but for the whole body of the workers, at infinitely less cost, by working for it politically. This might not, and probably would not, have prevented a strike or lock-out, on account of some of the other matters at issue; but it would have removed this, the original cause of the dispute, out of the "sphere of influence."

This has been pointed out so many times during the course of the dispute that it might appear almost unnecessary to insist upon it now. But it is one of the most important lessons of the lock-out, and is of such moment that it cannot be too often or too strongly urged. It is particularly important to press this point at the present time, too, because attempts have been made on the part of the employers to make Socialists and Socialism responsible for the recent dispute. These attempts have received some justification from the language and actions of injudicious friends of the men, and are calculated to injure those Socialists who have been forced by their official position into taking an active part in the dispute. It cannot be too often pointed out, therefore, that, however much Socialists may sympathise with any body of men in their efforts to get shorter hours of labour, or better conditions, a strike for eight hours for a small privileged section is not only not in accord with the advice of Socialists, but is diametrically opposed to what they have taught and advocated for the past sixteen years. Social-Democrats were the first advocates of eight hours, it is true, and it is to them that the "cry" owes its present popularity. But it was the legislative limitation of the hours of labour, they demanded, for all workers, not eight hours merely for such workmen as were strong enough to enforce it for themselves. If the failure of the men in the recent dispute has had the effect of bringing any considerable number of them to recognise the soundness of our views on this matter, the struggle will not have been absolutely in vain.

One other point, among many which cannot be dealt with in the limits of this article, might be touched upon as affording a lesson. The engineers, and others of the aristocracy of labour, should learn from the present failure that the time has passed for the maintenance of that exclusiveness which



has been the characteristic of English trade unionism in the past. The significant fact of the lock-out is that machinery is breaking down the barriers which have too long existed between different sections of workers, skilled and unskilled. Education—technical and other—will extinguish the “unskilled” worker, and, together with improved mechanical appliances, will destroy the monopoly of the skilled. Thus capitalism—which, while it thrives on antagonism, of man against man, race against race, nation against nation, is working out its own destruction by national and international combination, by boring through mountains, tunnelling under rivers, erasing landmarks and eliminating frontiers—is still further digging its own grave by destroying the divisions among the workers which alone make them its slaves.

H. QUELCH.

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### THE PERMANENT PACIFICATION OF THE INDIAN FRONTIER.

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In the *Nineteenth Century*, Major G. J. Younghusband advocates the complete disarmament of the Afridis and other frontier tribes as a means of permanent pacification. He says: “A firearm, and more especially a breech-loader of European manufacture, has reached a fictitious value among the tribesmen. A Government Martini-Henry rifle, worth at Government rates about £3, is valued at, and will fetch, as much as 500 rupees, or say £30, in times of popular excitement among these people. To facilitate, and as a part of a policy of ultimate disarmament, these arms should be cheapened down till they reach normal figures. As an example of what may be done in this line, it is only necessary to quote the case of Japan. Here for centuries the mark of a gentleman and a man of blood was the wearing of two swords stuck through the belt. These swords were handed down from generation to generation, and were in some cases, not only from historical associations, but intrinsically, worth immense sums. The edict went forth that from a certain date the whole population was to be disarmed—a stroke aimed at the most powerful aristocracy that has existed in modern times. The measures for carrying out the disarmament were complete and successful, but the lesson useful to us is that arms which at one time were priceless may now be bought anywhere in the country for a dollar or two.”

“The value of the Afidi’s rifle is great, because he has to hold his own against the Orakzai or the Mohmand. But if neither Afridi, nor Orakzai, nor Mohmand is allowed to carry arms, the value of a rifle will become no greater than that of a walking stick. A system of disarmament, therefore, must not be piecemeal, but collective.”



## THE SOCIALIST RÉGIME.

THE PRINCIPLES OF ITS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANISATION.

(Continued.)

### PART II.

#### POLITICAL ORGANISATION.

IN studying the political organisation of Socialist society, it must not be forgotten that it is with Socialist society, and not with any other form of society, that we deal; because a Socialist régime will render possible or necessary certain things which would be inapplicable or pernicious under any other economic conditions.

To deal, in the first place, with the necessary liberties of the individual. They may be summarised as follows:

Freedom of movement. Immunity of the individual from arrest, unless he be a danger to others. Right of indemnification for improper arrest. Protection from arbitrary detention. Respect of domicile and of correspondence. Full liberty of association.

Full liberty of dress according to one's taste, within the bounds of decency; liberty to possess and to carry arms for legitimate defence.

Full liberty to express and manifest one's thoughts by words, writing, insignia, emblems, and so forth, providing that others are not insulted or hindered in the manifestation of their equal right.

The law has nothing to do with literary, artistic, or scientific doctrines. All schools and all ideas have an equal right to the light. There is no official truth or beauty.

What applies to science and art applies equally to religion and philosophy. The social authority has no solution to impose, or even to propose, on the origin of the world, the condition of man after death, &c. That remains entirely an individual matter.

Again, it is also both desirable and possible to separate almost entirely the connection between the law and the union of the sexes. Legal intervention will have its *raison d'être* so long as marriage means the union, not only of two human beings, but also of two fortunes. But under the Socialist régime marriage can alone repose on love, esteem, and mutual sympathy.

#### THE FUNCTIONS OF SOCIETY.

The domain of individual action, being thus provisionally determined, it is necessary to find what are the functions which remain to society. These functions appear to reduce themselves to five. Society has the duty and the right to organise:

1. The economic system.
  2. The national defence.
  3. The relations with foreign countries.
  4. The services of order, comprehending justice, police, hygiene, &c.
  5. The public education.
1. Every function which devolves upon society must be judged from a double aspect.

(a) Is it of universal interest ?

(b) Is it a means of protecting the security and the liberty of the members of society ?

From these two points of view it is easy to show the necessity of society exercising the economic function. In the first place, as mistress of the earth, and of the instruments of production, society will work for all in seeing that the public fortune is administered in such a way that property, wealth, and physical and mental enjoyments become universalised ; it will deal not only with the general prosperity, but with the life and well-being of each individual. Again, if it is true that each member of society has the right to live by working, the social authority will only be guaranteeing this right to all by hindering anyone monopolising the instruments of labour, and by assuring to each a portion of the products corresponding to his efforts.

It would be impossible to leave the organisation of labour, exchange, and distribution to individual initiative, because the unregulated production of wealth would quickly result in under and over-production, each equally disastrous. There would be no guarantee that certain necessary but disagreeable works would be accomplished. Some trades would be encumbered, others deserted. There would be no guarantee against the exploitation of man by man.

Again, the very existence of collective labour implies discipline—a co-ordination and even a subordination of efforts.

The organisation of exchange is equally indispensable. Can we imagine a worker, having finished his product, hawking it from door to door, and exchanging it in pieces for bread, meat, clothes, &c. ? It is essential to find a common measure between the different forms and different results of human labour.

2. The defence of national territory would, no more than the production, circulation, and distribution of collective wealth, be left to the disorganised and intermittent emotions of individual will. It is palpably the business of the whole of society, since all its members are without exception concerned to shelter the lives, goods, and independence of those members from the danger of foreign intrusion and exterior domination. It is the business of all to combat what is a mortal danger for all. Solidarity against exterior destructive forces is the first condition of existence, for every social body as for every living being ; and whilst ever keeping before our eyes, and working for the Socialist ideal of international solidarity and universal peace, we must not lose sight of the fact that the establishment of a Socialist régime will not at once cause the sword to be turned into a ploughshare and the arts and practices of war to be immediately forgotten.

3. The third function of society, *i.e.*, the regulation of the relations with exterior countries, appears to scarcely need any justification whatever. It is evident that so long as the division into nations exists the different national units can have relation one with another only as collectivity to collectivity.

A treaty, whether of commerce or alliance, cannot be concluded between any number of individuals apart from the whole, without detracting from that solidarity of interests which constitutes the nation itself.

This principle is admitted to-day in every country, only another principle which ought also to be admitted, but which is not, must be added to it, namely, that the same rules of justice and fraternity which apply between individuals of the same nation must also apply between nations in their relations one to another.

4. If we leave the domain of exterior relations for that of interior affairs, we find it to be the duty of society to assure liberty and security to

all its members. It therefore becomes the organiser of two great public services—justice and police.

*Justice.*—The social authority has here two functions: One is to substitute its pacific action in the place of individual force in case of conflict between two interests—civil justice. The other is to punish any attack upon the liberty, the goods, or the person of others—penal justice.

(5.) *Public Education.*—Instruction in a Socialist society must, like work, be at once compulsory and free. The obligation is imposed in the name of the right of the individual, and in the name of the rights of the collectivity. It is evidently in the interest of each child to have access to all the means of physical, intellectual and moral culture which are at the disposal of society in its country and in its time; it has the right to the fullest education that is possible in the State where it is born. It is the duty of society to assure this right, and none can legitimately oppose it. The child, in its course of development, ought no more than formerly to be considered as being the property of its parents. The power of the father or of the mother is justified, as all authority exercised over human beings is justified, only when it is the creator of liberty and not of oppression, and the family whose *raison d'être* is to facilitate the development of the child would be acting contrary to its proper object in hindering the satisfaction of the child's need for training and instruction.

On the other hand, in a civilised society the existence of members who had not risen above a condition of primitive barbarism would have the most grave inconveniences. For, as a carriage driving at night without lights through a thoroughfare is a peril for the passers-by, so is an ignorant citizen a permanent danger for others. Not only does he not contribute to the common work all that could be expected of him, but there is the risk that he may trouble and wrong those who surround him not only by ignorance but also by the savageness of his nature. It is the business of all to see that each human being develops, in the fullest measure of his capacities, an open intelligence and a just conscience.

#### THE MACHINERY OF POLITICAL ORGANISATION.

(1) *The Two Bases of Political Organisation.*—Independent of the general solidarity which unites them, the members of society are bound together by numerous interests and affinities. They can associate for the most diverse objects—to sing, play, travel, worship, common living, &c. They can thus form an indefinite number of groups.

These groups would be, of course, perfectly free, and would be controlled exactly as the members composing them desired, providing they did no wrong to other individuals or to other groups. But two groupments of individuals appear to be indispensable to the existence of society, and would be obligatory for all its members, and would be endowed with special characters.

It is evident, on the one hand, that the inhabitants of a village, town, county, or of a more or less large region, have interests in common as inhabitants of these localities distinct from their common interests with the rest of the inhabitants of the whole country.

On the other hand, it is evident that the workers in the same trade have common interests as craftsmen exercising the same craft distinct from their common interests with the rest of the workers of the country.

The principle of a good administration is undoubtedly that the different groups of interests shall be administered by the groups of persons interested.

From which it follows that political organisation must be based upon two distinct foundations—the one territorial, the other professional. The bases of territorial organisation would then be, to the locality the care of the local interests, to the nation the care of the national interests.

This grouping by territory would of itself be insufficient, as it would tend to narrow the views and action of the individual; it must be completed by the grouping by profession.

The trade unions are the commencement of this organisation, which will pass without difficulty from the economical to the political domain, and will establish a direct correlation between them. Under the Socialist régime alone will they be able to develop, and each body of workers representing a group of special interests will be transformed without difficulty into an electoral college, and even into a little independent administration, united, however, with the whole of society by the ties which the division of labour creates between all the workers.

(2) *The Legislative Power.*—Having thus determined the form which the division of society will probably take, we are brought to the question of by whom and in what way the law will be made.

In the first place, Universal Suffrage is essential. Every man and woman, not a lunatic or a criminal, has the right to participate on an equality with all in the affairs which concern the whole community.

We are here met with the question of how this equal suffrage is to be exercised. Whatever objections may be offered against the principle of representation by delegates or deputies, it seems—so long as there is any business of a collective kind to be transacted—to be the only possible way whereby the real opinions and desires of the whole people can be known and realised. But, keeping in view that the ideal of democracy is direct legislation by the people, the system of representation would of necessity be made to embrace popular initiative, the referendum, and proportional representation.

(3) *The Executive Power.*—Arrangements having been thus completed for the making of the law, it will be necessary to take measures to ensure its proper execution.

In reality, the principles of government of the people by the people is impossible of attainment, because, whilst all can take part equally in deliberating and deciding what the law shall be, all cannot administer and maintain it, so that it will be necessary to have in society persons whose business it will be to see that the law is observed, and to administer the collective interests. They will be by the force of circumstances trustees of a portion of the social authority, and the problem for society will consist in seeing that this authority is used for the good of all without power to abuse it for the private profit of themselves, their family, friends, or class. When this problem has been solved the social authority will cease to be hated and attacked, because it will then have become the means of assuring liberty, security, and the satisfaction of common needs to all the members of society.

A. E. L.

## **"SOCIALISM AND THE FUTURE OF ENGLAND."**

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UNDER the above title, our comrade H. M. Hyndman has an article in the January number of *Cosmopolis*, a short summary of which would, we think, be of general interest. He says :

"In dealing with the great Socialist movement of the end of the nineteenth century, even the most superficial observer must be struck with its increasingly international character." In every civilised country there exists a growing Socialist party. "All these organised Socialist national parties hold the same opinions. They have a clearly defined and generally accepted theory as to the past, the present, and the probable future of human society taken as a whole."

The disposition of those in authority and their hangers-on to scoff at Socialism as a popular delusion is giving way to a feeling of fear that perhaps, after all, the Socialists are right.

The theories that are gaining ground among the working people the world over are not based upon any preconceived ideas. So-called utopian Socialism has to-day no influence, and carefully conceived schemes for social amelioration meet with no support from modern Socialists, who are endeavouring to influence and control the whole sweep of society, not by getting out of it, but by living in it.

"Hence there are two sides to our view of sociology : The historic side, which treats of the growth of man in society through ages past up to our capitalist system of to-day ; and the practical side, which takes account of the facts of our own time, arising out of the general unconscious development of society, and endeavours to handle them, through an educated and disciplined democracy, to the general advantage of coming generations."

The writer then traces the course of the historic development of society, shows how the enslavement of captives took place only when they were found to be able to produce more than their keep, how the private ownership of cattle and land split up collective property and the ancient communities, and in the course of ages substituted property relations for those of kinships, developing eventually into the great slave supported civilisations of antiquity, and how at a much later period came the breakdown of the Roman Empire, and later still the development and decline of Feudalism and the growth of Capitalism. In each case the result of economic as contradistinct to moral or religious causes. "The methods of production being modified below, the whole of society, including its laws and religion, necessarily underwent a corresponding though gradual change above."

"And now once more this great capitalist period, as we contend, is coming to an end ; not by reason of the disgust of mankind at large with its ethical wrong-doing, or class injustice, but because, like all the old systems of production which have preceded it, it blocks the path of further progress, and is, therefore, now engaged in digging its own grave."

Free competition is being swept away by stupendous national and international companies. The manifold antagonisms of modern life are becoming merged in the one crucial antagonism between the wage-earners as a class and the capitalists as a class. The workers on the one hand and the capitalists on the other are combining more and more closely every day. Above these two combatants the State is being compelled, by the force of



circumstances, to protect the lives and health of the workers, and, with the municipalities, is being driven more and more to assume control of the great public services.

So far the evolution has been wholly unconscious. Man has drifted into his present industrial chaos without having had the power of intelligent resistance. But now, with our knowledge of past conditions, we can grapple with the developments that are going on around us, and prepare, as sentient beings, for the changes which we see coming upon us. And all Social-Democrats are agreed, not only upon the outcome of this social transformation, but also upon the palliative measures, rendered necessary by economic causes, whose enactment cannot but hasten the final victory of our principles.

"Such theories of material historic development, such proposals for immediate practical reform, such growing power for political, and, even in case of unbearable oppression from above, for forcible action, held, advocated and attained by the Socialist party of the world, can scarcely fail to produce a cumulative effect on modern society as time goes on."

The progress of Socialism, being thus widespread, it would naturally be expected that Great Britain, from whose economical development the Socialist movement received its impetus, would be in the forefront of this movement; but, whatever may be the cause, it is an undeniable fact that this is not so. For, whilst in most of the European Parliaments there is a strong body of Socialist members, in the House of Commons there is not a single Socialist, nor do the working classes show any disposition to send them there, even in constituencies like Barnsley and Middleton, where they have full power to return whoever they choose. It certainly cannot be contended that the social conditions of this country are so happy that the agitation of Socialists is not required, for, however much the condition of the better-paid workers may have improved, it is most true that this is more than counterbalanced by the terrible misery in which vast masses of our city populations exist, as is evidenced by the statistics furnished by the governing classes themselves. So that we are compelled to look to the following reasons as accounting for our lack of rapid success:—

(1) The apathy into which three generations of capitalism have thrown the workers, bringing them now to regard themselves as mere wage earners and nothing more.

(2) Inferior education, which has left the mass of Englishmen incapable of the mental vigour and alertness which are necessary to understand and apply the principles of Socialism.

(3) The political economy as taught in the public schools.

(4) Religious organisations and teachings, which have resolutely kept in view the subordination of the workers to their superiors in the matter of wealth.

(5) The apathy and indifference which have resulted from the excessive poverty and misery of the working-class.

(6) The reactionary influence which the trade union organisations have exercised until a quite recent date.

(7) The backwardness of our political forms.

(8) The astuteness of our governing classes in general.

(9) The craftiness of the capitalist press.

That Socialism should have been able to make any progress at all against these odds is in a large measure proof of the soundness of its principles, for it has progressed in every direction, and to such an extent that, as our author says: "Though the evidence of the spread of Socialism in England does



not as yet appear to the extent which might reasonably be expected in the ballot boxes, either at parliamentary or municipal elections, it cannot be disputed that the whole of English society is permeated with Socialist ideas, and that the liquified theories, so to say, might at any moment crystallise into a really powerful Socialist Party in response to a shock from without."

In the meantime, the unconscious development which, as we contend, must bring us to Socialism, whether we like it or no, is proceeding apace. The "trustification" of industry, the growth of monopoly and the consequent reduction of competition, have become here, as in the United States, the phenomena of our time. On our railways, whose power has been encouraged by the State in allowing their acquisition of the canals, competition both for passengers and freight has been quite given up. In nearly all the great industries the principle of combination against the public demand is steadily developing, and is affecting the public, not only in their capacity as consumers, but, as we have seen in the engineering strike, in their capacity as workers also. "Strikes henceforth are as hopeless as they have always been ruinous. Yet the complete domination of the masters cannot be beneficial."

The dangers of these developments seem to be beginning to dawn upon our population, and attempts are being made both by the State and by the municipalities, urged on by necessity and Socialist agitation, to protect our workers against the callous irresponsibility of boards of directors and shareholders, but "the danger, so far as Great Britain is concerned, is that causes from without or within may bring about the downfall of the present industrial system before the people at large have been educated sufficiently to appreciate what is taking place around them, and to organise their methods of production and distribution on a new basis."

"In England, consequently, the first duty of all Socialists is to check the physical degeneration which is going on, especially in our great cities, to improve the whole system of public education and to completely democratise our national municipal and other institutions. To check the physical, and consequently moral and intellectual deterioration, the following steps are absolutely necessary to begin with:—

"(1) State maintenance of the children in all Board Schools up to the age of sixteen, and the removal of the schools, as far as possible, into the country.

"(2) The suppression by law of all half-time work, or work for wages by children up to the age of sixteen.

"(3) Improved homes for the people built at public cost, outside the present city areas, with plenty of air, parks, gardens, and pleasure grounds.

"(4) Improved education."

Our comrade goes on to deal with the great public services. At the present time the State, although by far the greatest employer of labour, is little better than the average greedy capitalist in the treatment of its employees: "Against this we Socialists strongly protest. The public services ought to be regarded not as a portion of the great capitalist sweating machine, but as national agencies for the organisation of each department for the common good. There is absolutely no reason why the Post Office, dockyards, &c., should not form the nucleus of a great co-operative organisation, in which the two main considerations should be the general well-being of the employed, and the efficiency of the services themselves.' The next step will be the acquisition of the railways by the State, and the working of them for the benefit of the whole community, instead of merely swelling the private fortunes of idle shareholders. In the same way would

the coal mines be transferred from an injurious monopoly into an integral part of the national property. The cotton, iron, wool, silk, and other industries would gradually be transferred in the same manner. The economic development which is everywhere expropriating the small masters, and substituting in their place the company and trust, is rapidly clearing away the economic difficulties of this transference to Socialism, and is even making it absolutely necessary. The agricultural question presents a much more difficult problem than any of the other industries in the country. Here again the only solution of the question is to be found in Socialism, none of the nostrums hitherto put forward by any party having touched even the fringe of the question. "Every measure, therefore, which is advocated or adopted in modification of our existing system should be in the direction of the national absorption of monopolies, and the organisation of co-operative production and distribution throughout the country. Anything short of this simply means reaction in disguise."

In the concluding portion of his article Hyndman deals with the policy which Socialists would pursue both as regards our external interests and the administration of our empire, and concludes: "To-day millions of men and women in every civilised country are shut out from doing the work for society which they are most competent to do, and live a life of perpetual penal servitude, by reason of the squalid necessity, imposed by conditions inherited from the past, of performing exhaustive labour, day after day, in order that they may merely continue to exist. They remain overmastered by the very power of the engines which they tend: to produce wealth and the pleasures of living, for the mere enjoyment of life remain unknown to them, because the conception of what they themselves might achieve as a portion of an ordered society has not yet burst in upon their minds. But the economic forms are all ready, the ideas are spreading from man to man the combinations entered upon for repression are preparing the way to enfranchisement. Even under the pressure of class domination, and amid the hurly-burly of class struggles, the greatest and best work that has ever been done in the world has been done for the family, the clan, the tribe, the city, the nation. Those deeds which have elevated and enlightened mankind in every department of human knowledge and effort have never been done for greed of gain. They have been achieved by individuals, who have deliberately devoted their highest powers, and have given up the most precious years of their life, to secure better and more beautiful conditions of existence for those among whom their life was spent. The social forces of the near future will give a yet more powerful stimulus to this higher side of our common human nature on a still more exalted level; and I for one can imagine no nobler mission for England than that she should bear her full share in the conscious endeavour to transform the chaotic conditions of to-day into the ordered and happy harmony of to-morrow."

A. E. L.



## ENGLAND AT WAR.

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IN an article under the above title in the *Nineteenth Century*, Mr. Frederick Greenwood reviews the present position in the Far East, and the circumstances which have created it. This review brings him to the conclusion that "an actual state of war against England began some time ago. War has long been organised and in progress upon military lines." This war is due to a desire on the part of the other Powers to prevent England obtaining any more of this world's goods or markets.

"It is now known," says Mr. Greenwood, "and soon will be universally acknowledged, that commerce, that industrialism which was to have been the agent of peace throughout the world, is not that at all; it turns out to be an insidious and dangerous procuress of war. The sixth decade of the century, which had so much reason to fear that science would destroy Christianity, was solaced by the thought that here was another religion just in time. According to the habit of Progress—agreeably, too, with the law of demand and supply—we were not to be left without a gospel of peace because Darwinism and modern thought had put the Christian religion out of date. Commerce was rising to perfection, and by the mere side winds and accidents of its advance would spread the love of peace with far greater speed and certainty than under the previous dispensation. Long ago these bright visions were all laid in ruins, and now, when we view the disturbance with which the whole world is either menaced or actually racked, we see that it has one and the same origin—Trade."

"These rising conflicts in the East," says Mr. Greenwood, further, "are all for trade; and if European nations seek alliance with hordes of bloody-minded Asiatics, themselves on the warpath for trade, trade is the good reason and the full excuse. If Europe is breeding in Africa wars of expulsion the most certain and savage, and, if, meanwhile, the dark continent is harried by French, German, Belgian, and other fighting, the behest of Commerce makes it righteous 'down to the ground.'" So far, Mr. Greenwood contends, from industrialism and militarism being opposed to each other, the latter is but the "mailed fist" of the former. "Militarism calls upon Industry to supply its enormous needs; Industry, believing that trade follows the flag, calls upon Government to find or make new markets; Socialism sends a constant warning that unless the factories are filled down all Government will go. . . . In such a state of things it would be strange if the Governments of 'awakened' Europe had not a Socialist dream of their own, figuring forth, as the only or the short way to prosperity in peace, a more reasonable distribution of the whole bulk of trade, its strongholds and opportunities."

This purpose, according to Mr. Greenwood, is responsible for certain operations, and of movements of troops and ships, which are not merely warlike but amount to actual war. "It is no objection to this statement that not so much as a broken head justifies it; . . . bloodshed is not the object of war, but only the most effective way commonly of achieving it. The object of war is conquest, and conquest is achieved by surrender. The most splendid operation of war is a disposition of forces so effective as to compel submission without a stroke. It is warfare of this kind that is and has been going on against England; and as long as the allies of Russia can be properly restrained by Russian wisdom, it is unlikely to change its character."

"Thus is explained the apparent paradox that though the continental syndicate deliberately excludes from its plans a fire and sword attack upon England . . . an actual state of war against this country has begun and proceeds upon military lines." The writer thinks, however, that "if England springs in with armed interference, the state of war described above will probably change at once into something sharper and noisier; the ultimate purpose of that long Russian march to the Indian frontier will then find its hour." The responsibility of England for the present state of things lies, in Mr. Greenwood's opinion, in the Government's rejection of the Czar's overtures in 1895 and in "shaking hands with the Yellow Spectre." He concludes that "the price of our policy of no alliances must be paid; a policy which would be ridiculous, and even scandalous, if it ended in an anti-European alliance with the Japanese. Does it follow that we are quite done? Not at all. With patience, watchfulness, courage, we may yet be redeemed from isolation—the one thing to look to."



### THE GOLDFIELDS OF THE KLONDYKE.

THE United States Consul at Victoria (British Columbia), in a report to his Government dated November 23 last, states that all the advices that reach that city indicate that the rush in 1849 to California, and, later, to South Africa, will be eclipsed by the rush of gold seekers headed for the Yukon in the early months of 1898. The crowd is coming not only from the American continent, but from the Old World and the antipodes. The steamship "Warrimoo," a few weeks ago, brought nearly a hundred from Australia to Victoria on their way to the New Eldorado. Agents from England have been and are now making contracts for housing three or four thousand gold seekers, and every hotel in Victoria has contracts for all its rooms for portions of several months.

The Consul goes on to say that, having met several who have spent some time in the newly-discovered goldfields, perhaps it might be well to give a synopsis of the views given by two of the most prominent and intelligent men on Vancouver Island. A prominent citizen of Nanaimo, who spent some months on the ground, has given a most interesting statement of the condition of the country. He says that the Klondyke mining country is covered with snow most of the year. During the months of July and August, however, it is quite hot, the thermometer showing 85 deg. to 90 deg., and then men must wear protectors for the face and hands to keep off the mosquitoes. Last year, though so hot, the sun did not thaw the ground, which is protected by a thick moss under the snow, which neutralises the sun's rays. This moss is now cut off with the shovel. The miner then builds a fire, thaws out the ground for two or three inches, and digs, and so on, by relays. Every foot of ground has to be thawed out in this way. The ground is frozen 35 feet, down to bed rock, and it is impossible to dig or work a pick therein.

A well-known citizen of Victoria, who obtained 130,000 dols. in addition to an interest in some fifteen rich claims, as a result of two years' labour in the North West region, says that, contrary to the general impression, the best time for mining is in the winter, as then the surface water does not inconvenience the miner. The large paying mines are worked in the winter, and the wash up is in the spring and summer. However, in the hot weather enough gold can be dug out of the bars and banks on the various

rivers and creeks by a poor man to enable him to purchase a good claim in the fall. In the Canadian gold region the land is extremely flat, and the best way to work it, except the river bar claims, is to dig a hole 6 feet long by 4 feet wide, or thereabouts, and build a hot fire to thaw the ground, so as to be able to shovel it out. In the summer the sun has sufficient heat to thaw the sides of the hole, but there being no grade the water runs down into the hole and extinguishes the fire, thus stopping the work. In the winter, of course, there is no such obstacle, the ground being thawed only by the miner's fire. The thawed dirt is removed by pick and shovel, piled by the side of the hole, and the thawing process repeated. When the hole becomes deep enough, a windlass is rigged and the dirt hauled up in baskets. At intervals of a few days a pan of dirt is washed to ascertain its yield. No attempt is made during the winter to wash more than is necessary to test the yield of ore. This accounts for the big strikes reported last summer—they were the results of six months' previous hard work. It is also stated that in Alaskan diggings summer work is more profitable than in Canada. The auriferous earth in Alaska is nearer the surface than in Canada, and in about the same amount. Alaska is probably a more profitable place for miners than Canada owing to the excessive royalty charged by the Dominion Government, and which, it seems, there is no expectation of having repealed. The miners in Alaska make their own laws. There is no tax upon them, and no questions of nationality are asked any more than in the Klondyke region. The temperature in winter goes to 70 degs. below zero, but the air is still and dry, and is really no harder to endure than 35 deg. below in Montana. The Consul states that the gentleman who gave him the above information has since sold part of his claims in that gold region for 300,000 dols., of which 10 per cent. was paid cash down. He will return in the spring to deliver what he has sold and prospect for more.—*Board of Trade Journal*.

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### THE MANCHESTER SCHOOL AND TO-DAY.

Writing in the *Nineteenth Century*, on the "Manchester School and To-Day" Mr. Andrew Carnegie says:—"So far from the sources of nations being generally meagre and unsuitable for manufacture, or their people incapable, as the Manchester school assumed, the success of their manufacturing efforts, generally speaking, has been surprising. Germany has become one of the largest manufacturing countries. France and Switzerland have almost monopolised the silk manufacture in Europe. Russia is engaged in building steel and engineering works, under the supervision of the most skilled American constructors; two of these establishments, now well forward, rival the best works of America, after which they are copied. Japan and China are building factories of the latest and most approved character, always with British machinery, and generally under British direction. Mexico is weaving cotton cloth, manufacturing paper, and two bicycle factories are now under construction there. The jute and cotton mills of India are numerous and increasing, and Bombay is establishing an engineering works. It is stated that one British manufacturing concern sends abroad the complete machinery for a new mill every week."

"Automatic machinery is to be credited as the most potent factor in rendering non-essential to successful manufacturing a mass of educated mechanical labour, such as that of Britain or America, and thus making it possible to create manufacturing centres in lands which, until recent years, seemed destined to remain only producers of raw materials."



## THE CAUSES OF POVERTY.

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I SHALL not weary the reader by continuing the list of explanations which have been given of the prevalence of poverty, and the remedies that have been offered for the relief of this general misery. In all these cases we have the invariable phenomenon of a single cause and a simpler cure. This is thoroughly characteristic of the social reformer. The weakness, for all the purposes of popular effect, which attaches to my own view of poverty is that I have been unable to discover any one cause which is sufficient to account for this almost universal evil, and cannot even cheat myself into the belief that I have invented any cure at all for it.

In the first place, I should without hesitation say that easily chief among the causes of poverty is the hard condition of the human lot as by nature established. The prime reason why bread must be so dear, and flesh and blood so cheap, is that the ratio of exchange between the two has been fixed in the constitution of the earth, much to the disadvantage of the latter. There are, indeed, regions where the earth spontaneously brings forth fruit enough for a small population, and where a moderate effort will largely increase that product, while the climate is so benign that life is easily protected from exposure. But these are not the regions where man ever has, or seemingly ever can, become a noble being. Throughout all the regions inhabited by our own race life is a terribly close and grinding struggle. If, then, you complain of poverty, make your complaint manfully and squarely against the Maker of the earth, for poverty is largely His work. The Socialist is simply dishonest when he charges human misery upon society. Society has done vastly more to relieve misery than to create it.

Secondly, in the heroic struggle which mankind have made to escape out of the hard and narrow conditions of their natural lot and to add something to the meagre fare provided for them, society has resorted to the division of labour, and by a multitude of cunning inventions and devices has marvellously increased its productive power. Men have seized this tyrant by the throat, and after many a hard fall and many a sore wound have mastered and bound him. Yet, in the very act and part of winning this great victory over nature, there has been incurred the liability to far-reaching loss and injury. The poverty of our day is largely the price which men pay for the greater power they have achieved. The division of labour, the diversification and localisation of industries, the use of machinery and the application of steam, have brought about a secondary poverty, far less in extent, far less intense in degree, than that which wore down the primitive races of man, yet bad enough—too bad if there be any way of escape out of it. Under the system by which alone great production is possible, mankind have not yet learned to avoid the alternative of highly stimulated and deeply depressed industry. Production gathers itself into great waves, periods of intense activity being separated by intervals of stagnation; markets at times are glutted with products, and shops and factories have to be closed to allow the surplus stock to be cleared off. Meanwhile, those unfortunate beings who in great numbers, have committed themselves irrevocably to a trade and a place, necessarily suffer, and suffer deeply. This is the real industrial problem of our time. That problem, we may believe, will yet be in great part solved; but we may not believe that it will be solved by turning around in the path of progress and going back to nationalism, Socialism, or any other barbarian form of life. More than all which statesmen, philanthropists,



and economists can effect will probably be done by the two classes most directly concerned—by the employers of labour and the organisers of industry, on the one hand, through a better understanding of the conditions of their work, and perhaps, also, through a better understanding among themselves; and, on the other hand, by the working classes demanding for their children a thorough education, general, technical, and political, which will qualify them more readily to meet the exigencies of a varying and fluctuating production.

The third cause of poverty which I will mention is the existence of the great social and industrial law, "Unto every one that hath shall be given . . . but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath." Nothing succeeds like success, while the destruction of the poor is their poverty. It is not society which has established this law. It stands out not more clearly on the pages of the Holy Word than on the constitution of the world. Here, again, is a problem for the statesmanship of our day.

The fourth and the last of the causes of poverty which I shall adduce is found in improvidence, lack of thrift, or positively bad habits on the part of the working classes. One would not speak harshly of even the failings and the faults of those who are condemned by prevailing social and industrial conditions to live meanly at the best, and too often amid surroundings that are disagreeable and odious. The only matter of wonder is that these people bear their hard lot so well, with so much of native dignity, of fortitude, and of virtue. Yet, if we are inquiring why it is that the means of comfortable subsistence for the many are so small, candour requires us to say that one reason is that so much of what goes to wages is wasted, or worse than wasted, in the using. Professor Alfred Marshal, of Cambridge, states that not less than one hundred million pounds are annually spent by the working classes of England "in ways that do little or nothing towards making life nobler or truly happier." When it is remembered that such a sum would suffice to build each year half a million of rural cottages or of city apartments which should be decent, comfortable, and healthful, it will be seen that in some degree the working classes have themselves to blame that their condition is not more tolerable. In former times, before social and political agitation had wrought its great work, the state of things in this respect was much worse. We have to thank "woman's rights," chartism, the extension of the suffrage, public discussion, and even distinct socialistic agitation, for no small part of the improvement in these respects which has taken place, and the good work of public discussion and social agitation in this direction is not yet finished.

We must strain out of the blood of the race more of the taint inherited from a bad and vicious pool before we can eliminate poverty, much more pauperism, from our social life. This scientific treatment, which is applied to physical disease, must be extended to mental and moral disease, and a wholesome surgery and cautery must be enforced by the whole power of the State for the good of all. Popular education must be made more sensible, practical, and useful. The housewifely arts must be taught to girls in the schools, and there the boys must learn to use hand and eye and brain in a close and vital co-operation and co-ordination. Yet still we shall have to await with patience the slow, sure action of time, the all-healer. The balance of social forces has definitively turned to the side of the less fortunate classes, and the course of events now runs in their favour and no longer against them. Meanwhile, let philanthropy continue its noble work in alleviating the afflictions which cannot be wholly cured, and in binding together rich and poor in ties of sympathy and mutual regard.—The late FRANCIS A. WALKER, in the *Century*, New York.

## EUROPE'S DECREASING BIRTH-RATE.

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THE other day mention was made of the fact that in forty years the number of births to each thousand of our population has pretty steadily declined. This is a fact observed elsewhere; and the French economist, Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, shows by many comparisons that the birth-rate in the northern and western countries of Europe has declined as steadily, and in some countries more considerably, in the past half-century, and particularly in the twenty years preceding 1896. He ascribes this decrease to an increase in general comfort among the people, and to the spread of democratic civilisation. Other special causes mentioned by Secretan in Switzerland, Bodio in Italy, and Marshall in England, are: 1, "Feminism," or the general tendency toward a more independent life for women; 2, compulsory education, and its adjunct, the laws forbidding the employment of young children, thus rendering the support of children more costly to the parents; 3, social ambition, which, as countries become more democratic, inspires families to rise higher in the social scale—which, again, makes a small number of children more desirable than a swarm; finally, as a corollary on 2 and 3, the growth of trade unions, which have made the English working man sensible that his "living wage" is incompatible with the support of a very large family. These are social causes, there are also causes, physiological and moral, which more or less affect the birth-rate, but need not here be dwelt upon.

Russia, and in general the Slavonic races, have now the highest birth-rate among Europeans; in Russia there are from forty-eight to fifty births to the thousand; in Roumania and Servia, forty-four to forty five; in Hungary, forty to forty-two. At the other end of the scale is France, with its still declining birth-rate of only twenty-two to the thousand—less than half that of its ally, Russia. Of course, where the births are many there is a large infant mortality, so that the difference between the two allies is not so great ten years after the births of any selected year. The other nations of Europe and our own country stand intermediate between the Gallic and Slavonic races. In Germany, which gains population fast, the birth-rate oscillates around thirty-seven to the thousand; twenty-five years ago it was nearly thirty-nine, rose to forty after the Franco-German war, but has now sunk below thirty-eight. In Italy it is below thirty-eight, with a tendency to fall below thirty-seven; in Spain, from thirty-six to thirty-five, and in Portugal below thirty-five; in Greece, above thirty-five; all these southern countries have a steady birth-rate compared with Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, and Great Britain. In Holland the rate has fallen from thirty-six and one half in 1874 to thirty-three since 1890; in Belgium, the most densely peopled land in Europe, from thirty-three in 1840 to twenty-nine for the past ten years; in Switzerland, from thirty-one in 1874-79 to twenty-eight in 1886-94. England and Scotland, which had nearly thirty-six to the thousand twenty years ago, now have less than thirty; and Ireland, with its incessant emigration of the young, has a birth rate not much above that of France.

Among the physiological causes for this change in birth rates, the increasing "nervosity" and mental toil have been mentioned; on this, Dr. Secretan in Switzerland makes these remarks:—"As this nervosity chiefly

affects a single class, the educated (always in a minority), its action must be limited ; moreover, sterility is not found chiefly among the opulent, but in France, for example, there are as many or more children of the *noblesse* and the upper middle class as among the bourgeoisie, the peasants, artisans, &c." He rather ascribes the change to advancing civilisation, and regards it as a guarantee against over population. At present he estimates there are one thousand five hundred millions of men on earth ; we might possibly have room for ten thousand millions, but Europe will not furnish that increment, he says.—*Springfield (U.S.A.) Republic.*

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## THE COUNTY COUNCIL ELECTION.

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Mr. H. L. W. LAWSON, writing in the *Fortnightly* on this subject, says :—  
 "Both the municipal parties, which are not wholly identical with our political parties, are putting forth all their strength in the struggle. . . . 'A large portion of the duties,' to use the Prime Minister's phrase, are to be transferred to 'other smaller municipalities.' In other words, the County Council is to be 'stripped,' to adopt the forcible, if curious, metaphor applied to the governing body of the County of London by Lord George Hamilton, at the meeting of the municipal society."

"Ireland has often been described as the shuttlecock of parties ; it is to be earnestly hoped that a spirit of reckless and uninformed prejudice may not reduce London to the same wretched plight."

"All classes and all interests have their spokesmen, and with very few exceptions the members are London men living on and in London. Three-quarters of them are actively engaged in commercial or professional business, and several are verily 'captains of industry' in their particular line. . . . Many among those who are classed as 'retired' are directors of important companies. . . ."

"It is admitted that the small dealer is almost borne down by the weight of taxation. . . . The working classes, using the term in a broad way, to include mechanics, artisans, and labourers, pay, in reality, the bulk of the rates, in sum total. It is quite true that their names do not appear on the rate book of the parish, for they live increasingly in the central districts, in tenements forming part of a block or house, or in lodgings where the landlord is resident, on the rents of weekly or monthly occupancy, but, in their case the rack-rent that they pay includes the proportion of rates and taxes payable on their portion of the building. It is only fair that those who are somewhat misleadingly called 'direct representatives of labour' should find their place in Spring Gardens. In the present Council there are Mr. J. Burns, of the engineers ; Mr. B. Cooper, of the cigar makers ; Mr. Taylor, of the bricklayers ; Mr. Freak, of the bootmakers ; Mr. Crooks, of the general labourers ; and Mr. Steadman, of the bargemen—neither a disproportionate nor an inadequate number for a labour bench. Doctors, lawyers, and ministers of religion are there in force."

The article, in the main, is a criticism of the idea to divide the London County Council into district municipalities, and an answer to the Prime Minister's criticism of the past activity of the Council.

## ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE ENGINEERS' DISPUTE.

IN an article on this subject, the *British Trade Review* remarks that "never in the history of the engineering trade has there been such progress in the construction of machine tools as during recent years, but until the last few months there has been the usual British conservatism against discarding older patterns for the newer types. Our manufacturers do not move so rapidly in these matters as their American competitors where mechanical novelties catch on quicker than at home. As an instance of the enterprise of American makers in this respect, it is interesting to note that quite recently one large firm, possessing what was considered one of the best plants in the country, recently broke up good tools valued at 40,000 dollars in order to find room for new ones of the latest pattern. It is no wonder that the Americans are able to produce machinery of all sorts at a greater rate and more economically than other nations. Nobody realises the truth of this statement more keenly than the British manufacturer of agricultural implements. Necessity has at length compelled British engineers to turn increased attention to the advantages of modern inventions. Thus we find that in not a few workshops in the country where one tool has been manipulated, or, it should be said, attended, by one man, that man is now able, by reason of recent improvements, to attend to several tools at once. Moreover, with the adoption of a superior tool, the masters are discovering that comparatively unskilled workmen are able to control machines which previously would have been entrusted to only high-paid skilled labour.

"The duties of the attendants have been so simplified that results under the new system are, it is stated, quite as satisfactory as if experienced hands did the work, which is now performed in many instances by those who are little more than novices. If workmen who are so ready to entrust their interests to trade union officials would bear in mind that in no department of engineering science is there a greater rate of progress than in the construction of machine tools they would probably think twice before they played so completely into the hands of the masters, as they most assuredly have in this case. When it is remembered that there are some types of tools of which as many as ten can be controlled by one unskilled workman, it will be seen that a strong temptation is now presented to the masters of resorting to and depending upon automatic assistance in lieu of fickle-minded members of trade unions. If the present dispute demonstrates that a large proportion of the so-called 'skilled' labour in our engineering establishments is nothing more than mere attendance upon machines, and such as can very well be done by an ordinary workman, the struggle will have important bearings upon workshop economy. The six months, or thereabouts, during which time the dispute has lasted, is a sufficiently long period to afford the masters ample opportunity of experimenting with machinery, and if they find such experiments the means of saving labour, and at the same time increasing their output, they cannot resist the temptation to continue the system.

"Whatever may be the merits or demerits of the existing struggle, the employers must make a firm stand in continuing the progressive policy of using the best and most approved mechanical aids. The existence of our life as a manufacturing nation depends upon the masters' attitude in this direction. Labour will defeat its own ends if it attempts to restrict the use of the newest appliances. Labour has always been defeated when it has chosen this side for attack. It is the old story, and history is but repeating

itself. Similar opposition was manifested at the introduction of cotton spinning machinery and American boot and shoe appliances into this country, and just as inventive skill triumphed then so it must conquer now, if we are to maintain with credit our struggle for supremacy. Is labour, as at present constituted in this country, so blind or so obstinate," concludes the writer, "that it cannot see that if our manufacturers are prevented from turning out work as cheaply and efficiently as competing countries, there will be defeat all round, whereby we shall demonstrate to the world our incapacity as a manufacturing nation?"

## THE NATIONAL LIBERAL FEDERATION.

A "MODERATE RADICAL," writing in the *The Contemporary Review* on the above subject, says: "The Liberal Party, according to its enemies, and to some of its friends, is in a parlous state. . . . Its fall was admittedly caused by seeking too much, alienating too many classes at once, and losing force by covering too large a field. Yet it has learned nothing, and instead of concentrating its meagre energies on definite and sensible objects, it is speculating widely on immense changes in the electorate, and even coquetting with the ridiculous notion of giving the suffrage to women—and to all women. No one knows whether it still really aims at Home Rule, or at Local Veto, or not. . . ."

"Strangely enough, the party which is in this deplorable state of decline is extremely cheerful. There are diseases under which the hopefulness of the patient rises with the decay of his frame; and possibly the buoyance of the Liberals may be a sign of a galloping consumption.

"Whatever accidental causes may be assigned for the great defeat—internal divisions, the loss of a great chieftain, mismanagement—there is a deeper cause than all in the condition of the nation, which, to careful observers, has shown signs of an exhaustion of moral energy, a depression of public spirit, a readiness to put up with any injustice, any loss of honour, rather than rouse itself from an easy life and the pursuit of pleasure and money."

" . . . What is its great organisation doing to be spinning programmes, and calling meetings from all the country over to tabulate legislative work for Parliament?

"The answer is that it is doing nothing of the kind. Liberals are always, in and out of season, discussing reforms. To do so is their constant occupation. . . . But to discuss reforms, to prepare the way for future movement, is not to be formulating a programme. . . ."

"What is it that the National Liberal Federation has been doing? . . . It is foolishly making impossible programmes on the one hand, and on the other it is by its machinery, by its very existence, keeping down all Liberal movement and damping enthusiasm. . . ."

After a description of the machinery and organisation of the National Liberal Federation, the article finishes as follows:

"The business of the Liberal Party is to forward Liberal measures, and whether this or that item of a once formulated policy is the more pressing at the moment, or the more likely to survive the hazards of Parliamentary struggle, is a question which it must always be left for the responsible fighting chiefs of a living and responsive party to determine. It is by principle rather than by programme, by vital force rather than dogma, that the Liberal Party lives and moves."



## ALMOST PERSUADED—TO BE A BLACKLEG.

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"If you take my advice, lads, you'll just keep at work. I don't believe you will do any good by a strike just now, and I hope you won't strike."

There were murmurs among the others at this, and one, bolder than the rest, exclaimed :

"It's all very well for you, Harvey. You've got a good job, and so you don't care ; but the rest of us poor devils ain't so well off. We know where the shoe pinches, and my tip is that we all chuck it and stop out on Monday morning. You'll soon see whether a strike's no good."

The men applauded this, and Harvey recognised, as he looked round the room, that they had made up their minds to strike, and that anything he said would avail little to dissuade them from it. But he would try :

"I am surprised at you, Jim Marshall," he said, turning to the young man who had just spoken ; "I should have thought you would have known better. Haven't I always been ready to stand by the rest of you ? You can't say I've ever put myself before any of you. Haven't I helped you to get what little advantages you have been able to get, and wasn't it by my advice and help that you formed this union ? Why, then, should I want to persuade you not to strike now, if I didn't believe my advice was in your interests ?"

"That's all very well, Harvey, and true enough for that matter," said another, older man. "We know what you have done, and I, for my part, ain't got a word to say against you, but you can't be expected to look at it quite the same as we do. You are better off than we are. We are tired of this dragging along ; asking for a bit here and a bit there, and my vote is that we strike at once."

"I am very sorry," replied Harvey. "If you have made up your minds to strike, it is not much use my saying anything, but I wish you would reconsider it. You may be quite sure that if you come out now, at this time of year, with so many out of work, they will fill your places up in no time, and you'll be left out on the stones. Remember you are not mechanics. Yours is work that anybody can do, and, although it may be hard and disagreeable, there are thousands outside who'd be glad of the chance of taking your job."

Some of his hearers sneered at this, and one said :—

"That's always the way with you 'superior' workmen. You all think yourselves a mighty sight better than anyone else. Don't you make any mistake ; ours is not such a grand job that people will rush to take it, I can tell you ! They'll have some trouble to get anybody else to stick to it, as we have done. I daresay you think it's very simple because it's supposed to be unskilled labour. You'd find it wasn't so easy if you had to do it. What's the good of having the union if we can't strike, I should like to know !"

"The use of having the union," said Harvey, "is, by having the power to strike, to make strikes unnecessary. You must remember that your union, even now, is not very strong ; that in a few weeks, at the outside, the funds will be completely exhausted. The power of the union is very limited, and it is no use attempting what is impossible."

"Well, I propose we strike," retorted the other, "I think we have gone on long enough, so I propose we send a deputation to the manager to-morrow



morning, and if he don't agree to our terms we all stop out on Monday morning."

The proposition was received with acclamation, and voted almost unanimously.

Harvey, who had always taken a leading part among the men, was prevailed upon to head the deputation. The manager received them courteously, but absolutely refused to accede to the demands submitted.

"It is quite out of the question," he said, "for us to do what you ask and pay the wages you demand. We are now employing men to do work which is done by boys in many firms, and if you don't like to go on at your present rates you had better leave, and we will fill your places with boys."

"We have made up our minds to strike if you won't make any concession," said one of the men.

"Strike!" repeated the manager. "You can call it a strike if you like, but if you are fools enough to leave your work we shall simply fill your places, and there will be an end of it."

With this he rose from his seat and opened the door to signify that the interview was at an end. As the men were walking out he called Harvey back.

"Surely you are not going to make such a fool of yourself as to join these lunatics in what they are so silly as to call a strike, are you, Harvey?" he asked.

"I shall stand by the rest, sir," replied Harvey.

"Well, then, you are a bigger fool than I thought you, that's all I can say. You are worth any three of them put together. So far as they are concerned, with one or two exceptions, we can fill their places easily. In fact, I shall be glad to get rid of them. We have only kept them on out of some consideration for their length of service; but you must know very well that with our improved plant we ought to have boys doing the work they are doing. But you are different. We shall find it difficult to fill your place, and I am willing to recognise your worth. If there is anything I can do for you I shall be very happy to do it—if it is a question of an increase of salary, or we might lighten your duties somewhat. How about that young fellow Marshall? He has been helping you lately. Couldn't you bring him along so that you could put more work on him and so get more leisure yourself? The firm is desirous of recognising your services, I can assure you, and I hope that you won't be so foolish as to leave."

"I am sure I have no wish to leave, sir," replied Harvey, "and I have not thought of asking anything for myself. But couldn't you do something for the others? I am sure they find it a hard struggle to live. How would you like to have to live on their wages, sir? If the firm couldn't afford to pay any more it would be different, but we all know that the profits are good, and there is no reason why they shouldn't pay the men better."

"Oh, and so because we are making a fair profit you think we should hand the bulk of it over to these discontented fellows. Our profits are nothing to do with them. Suppose we were losing money instead of making a profit, would they be willing to have their wages reduced? You know they would not, and we shouldn't ask them. Our profits or losses are nothing to do with them, and whether they find it hard to live on their wages or not is nothing to do with us. If they don't like them they can leave. We pay the market rate, and the wages we pay must be determined, not by our profits, but by what we can get men to work for. We can get plenty to take their places for even less money than they are getting, so if they like to go they must. But I thought you had more sense

Of course, you are to blame in getting them to form a union, and putting extravagant ideas into their heads. But as you have been a good servant we have looked over all that. We don't mind them belonging to a union, but we are not going to be dictated to, and you, of course, like the rest, must please yourself—Good morning."

"Good morning, sir," said Harvey, and went out.

The men were as good as their word, and all refused to go to work on Monday. Men and youths were advertised for, crowds swarmed to the factory gates, and neither persuasion, entreaties, nor threats could induce them to refrain from going in. Within a week the places of all those who had come out were filled, except that of Harvey. The loss of his knowledge, skill, and experience was greatly felt; much of the work being turned out was spoiled in consequence, and many were the messages sent to him by the manager to induce him to return.

The weeks passed by, the funds of the union were exhausted, many of the men were in sore need, street and workshop collections were made on their behalf; but in the cold winter weather many of them, with their wives and families, suffered great privation. Then their wives upbraided them for being so foolish as to come out on strike, and the men, in order to escape censure themselves, threw the blame on Harvey.

"He was our leader," they said. "He organised the union, and was always an agitator. But for him we should be at work now."

At first they felt half ashamed at saying this; they knew it was not true, but they repeated it so often that at length they came to believe it themselves, and they, as well as their women-folk, considered that they had been grossly misled and ill-used by this arch-enemy, the agitator Harvey.

In the meantime Harvey himself was faring badly. He had lived fairly well as a workman, and had not saved much. What little he had was soon gone, and then articles of clothing and of furniture found their way to the pawnshop. Then, for troubles never come singly, his youngest child, fair-haired, blue-eyed Elsie, fell ill. At first, he and his wife made light of it. It was nothing but a cold, which would soon be got rid of. But the child got worse, and the doctor had to be called in.

"John," said Mrs. Harvey, when her husband returned home after the doctor's second visit, "our little Elsie is very bad, the doctor says; and he says there is hardly any hope of her getting better while she is here, and we ought to get her away to some place where the air is warmer."

"Very well for him to say that," replied Harvey, "but where's the money to come from to get her away?"

"I'm sure I don't know. That's what I asked him when he told me. He said you ought to be at work, when I told him about the strike. Don't you think you could get back to work, John, now?"

"I dare say I *could* go back for that matter, but that is out of the question, my girl. The men are all out still, and I should be nothing but a rat and a renegade if I went back now."

"But it's for our little Elsie's sake, John. I wouldn't ask you for myself, but think what it would be to lose her. What shall we do, if you don't get work?"

"Don't take on so, my girl. It is no use giving way. I must try for work elsewhere; I can't turn blackleg."

"But the doctor said it was all nonsense about a strike; the strike was all over."

"That's all very well for him. It is not over for me, while the others are out. But I must get something for Elsie."

As he said this Harvey put on his coat again, and went out.

He returned without his overcoat.

"Here," said he to his wife, "are a few shillings; it was all I could get. It will help to get a few things for her."

Harvey was very much cast down by the illness of his child, and spared no effort to procure little delicacies for her. It was all in vain, however. He was unable to carry out the advice of the doctor, and send her away. No one would help him. The few fairly well-to-do people he knew were incensed against him for coming out with the other men, and told him he should help himself before asking for help. The other men who were out regarded him with suspicion and dislike, as the cause of their present evil case, and were not at all likely to assist him even if they had been able to do so. Gradually John Harvey's child sank and died. He was watching by her bedside; the cough had ceased to trouble her, her breathing was low, but in short and quick gasps, and she seemed to be asleep, as he occasionally moistened her parched lips. Then she opened her eyes and whispered:

"Kiss me. Good—bye—dad."

He leaned over to kiss her as a sigh escaped her lips with the last word. Then he started back frightened, and went to the door of the room and called his wife:

"Milly, our little Elsie—" he cried, as she hurried into the room. He could say no more.

His wife leant and passionately kissed the dead face of her child, then fell on her knees by the bedside, and burying her face in her arms, burst into an uncontrollable fit of sobbing. Harvey, with folded arms and stern set features, looked on with dry eyes.

There came a knock at the door. It was a messenger from the factory, with a note from the manager, making a very handsome offer to Harvey if he would return to work. He wrote on the back of the memorandum:

"Under the circumstances I am compelled to decline your offer. Had any terms been made with the other men I should have been glad to resume; as it is, I must seek employment elsewhere. During the past few weeks I have been sorely tempted to become a blackleg, but my child is dead, and no amount of blacklegging on my part can save her now."

"Are you going back?" asked the youth, as Harvey handed him the note.

"No," was the reply.

"Oh, I only asked because they thought you'd be sure to go back now. I know they want you bad enough, but they promised the job to young Jim Marshall if you didn't go back. He isn't much good, but he wants to know what you are going to do. So I can tell him you aint going back, eh?"

Harvey nodded, and the youth departed.

Jim Marshall got his job, and Harvey, after a while, found employment in a neighbouring town, where he was not known. No other firm in the same place would employ him, and for long after he was referred to by the workmen as "that damned agitator who brought us out on strike, and then left us to starve"; but few knew how great a temptation John Harvey had at that time to become a blackleg.

## "SEVENTY-ONE."

How memory through the lapse of years recalls the cannon's rattle  
Brings back again the time so grandly dread ;  
When Paris rose in Labour's name and gave the foem.n battle,  
And sealed her fate with hecatombs of dead.

Yes, memory loves to dwell upon the great defeat victorious  
Made holy by the life-blood of the brave,  
The sacrifice triumphant, for the peerless cause, the glorious,  
And the radiant resurrection from the grave.

The blood goes surging through the heart, we hear the loud defiance,  
The cry "To arms !" ringing over France,  
And Paris calls the working men of Europe to alliance  
And breaks the spell of twenty years of trance.

The chivalry are charging from the lowly homes of Labour,  
Hear the shock, the shout of conquest from the hill,  
When the trained assassins meet their match and fly with shivered sabres  
From the heroes of the workroom and the mill.

See spreading far to left and right the battle line extended ;  
The fury of the onset—How the green  
And blossom of the fair fresh fields becomes so darkly blended  
With the crimson dye along the banks of Seine.

The battles on the Versailles plain, we see their grim emblazon ;  
The din, the crash of combat, smoke and flame ;  
And night and day the fortress guns strike loud the diapason  
In the madness-moving music of War's game.

The two proud months ! How many times the enemy's lines were routed  
'Midst thunder from the cannon came the May,  
Yet Paris held the Red Flag high, and still defiance shouted,  
With the life-blood ebbing from her in the fray.

Fate's fearful shade grows blacker still, contracts the ring of fire,  
Though fearlessly is given blow for blow ;  
And Paris, Labour's Mecca shrine, becomes a blazing pyre,  
And nearer, ever nearer, comes the foe.

The line of battle broke at last ; in every street and alley  
Unflinchingly are crossed the bayonet blades,  
And every inch of ground is fought where Freedom still can rally  
A single man behind the barricades.

Not yet the time ! The curtain falls, and, 'midst the lurid darkness,  
Death looks on Freedom's soldiers face to face ;  
And now, the time to try men's souls in all his ghastly starkness,  
They meet him with the daring of their race.

But who can tell the story of the strife so great, Titanic ?  
Or who depict the glory of the fall ?  
That shook the globe and scattered wide the dragon's teeth volcanic  
To grow the armed crop to break the thrall ?

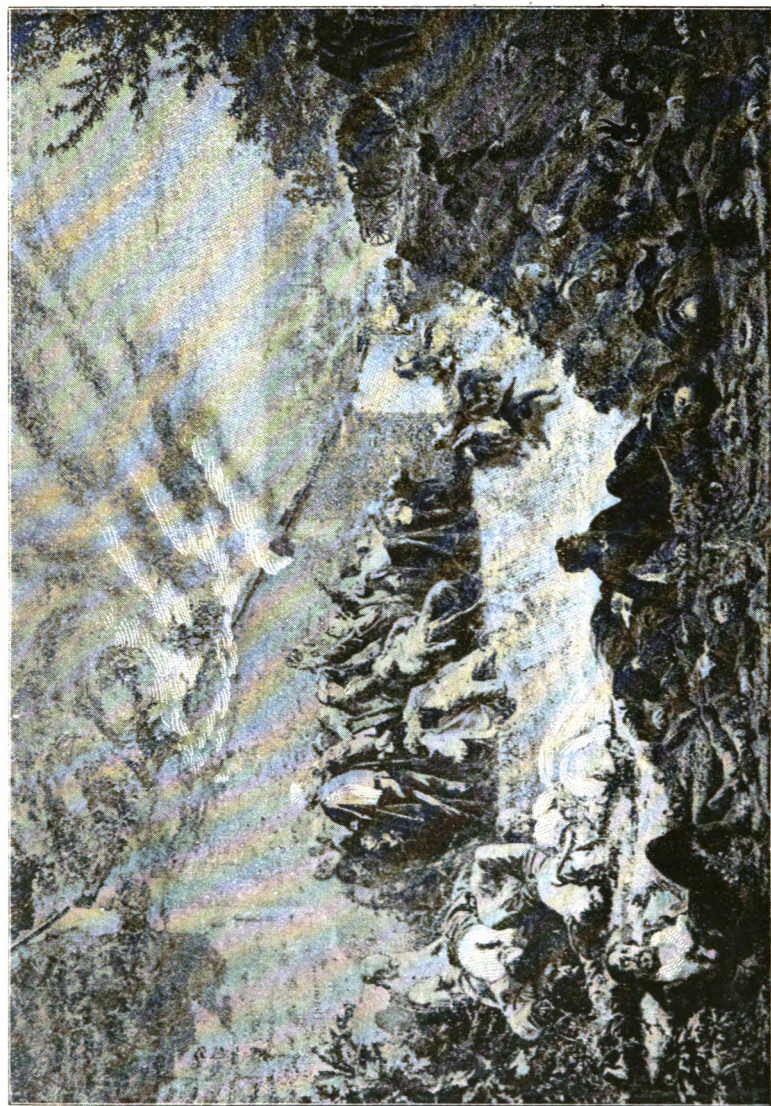
We treasure in remembrance, too, the awful week of slaughter  
When the butchers in their fury killed amain ;  
The murder of the thousands of the people's sons and daughters,  
And the mitrallades upon Satory's plain.

The glorious dead ! They left their Flag and willed us to preserve it  
As red as when from their dead hands it fell,  
To keep it free from spot and stain, and loyally to serve it,  
As they did 'gainst the powers of earth and hell.

The Blood-Red Flag of Liberty ! We'll guard it from pretenders,  
From those who its red meaning would impugn,  
And when it floats in battle breeze prove we as true defenders  
As these who fought and died in the Commune.

JOHN LESLIE.





“LE MUR DES FÉDÉRÉS”—THE “COMMUNIST WALL” IN PÈRE LACHAISE.

THE TRIUMPH OF ORDER—MAY, 1871.

# THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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VOL. II., No. 3. MARCH, 1898.

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## THE COMMUNE OF PARIS.

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THE 18th of March, the anniversary of the Paris Commune, is annually celebrated by Socialists throughout the world. The Commune of Paris is an event unique in history. It was the first working-class government that the world had ever seen. For the first time the working people had seized the reins of government, and taken into their hands the administration of a great city. No wonder the possessing classes were alarmed; no wonder all the forces of "respectability," of reaction and obscurantism, rallied to the government of the "little man," Theirs, and his gang of Imperialist mouchards and Royalist ruffians at Versailles. The revolution of the Parisian proletariat was not a mere political movement, it was a menace to all those interests which live and thrive by the enslavement, the exploitation, and the plunder of the workers. ✓

The history of this epoch-marking insurrection is an oft-told tale. Who, among Socialists, does not know of the desertion of Paris by the reactionary Assembly; of the measures for disarming the Parisian National Guards; of the attempted seizure of the guns on the heights of Montmartre in the morning of the 18th of March; how that attempt was frustrated, and how the troops sent to carry it out fraternised with the National Guards, and shot the officer who ordered them to fire upon the people?

The attempt to disarm them in the interest of reaction was followed by a general rally of the National Guards and the withdrawal of the regular troops. By the evening of the day the National Guards were masters of Paris, and the morning of the 19th of March saw the Red Flag floating on the Hôtel de Ville. The Central Committee of the National Guard provisionally took charge of the administrative powers, and with the mayors, who at first offered some difficulty, arranged for the election of a Communal Government. The election took place on Sunday, March 26, and on the following day the inauguration of the Commune was celebrated with great popular rejoicing.

From that time on, for two months the Commune, the freely elected Government of the organised workmen of Paris, was the supreme authority in the city. During that two months, as admitted by friend and foe



alike, Paris was better administered and freer from vice and crime than at any time before or since. Departments of victualling, of municipal services, of finance, of war, of public safety, of justice, of external affairs, of education, and of labour were organised, and, confronted with tremendous difficulties; harrassed by spies and dissentients within and war without, the Commune presented an admirable example of what a working class administration might accomplish. Theisz, a workman, was placed in charge of the Post Office, which he organised most efficiently; the wages of the employees being raised and their hours of work shortened. Camelinat, a bronze worker, was in charge of the mint. The crucial reforms introduced by these two men into their several departments remain as evidence of their organising ability even to this day. Jourde, clerk and accountant, was at the head of the Commission of Finance, which he administered with a sagacity as great as his modesty was remarkable.

The hospital system was entirely re-organised by other workmen. The heads of these departments received no more than their ordinary workman's wages.

But the victories of March were followed by the defeat and butchery of May. The establishment of the Commune was a menace to the existing social order, and must be crushed at all costs. The hated enemies of France, "*les Prussiens*," were welcomed as allies by the infamous Thiers and his fellow cut-throats of Versailles in the congenial work of slaughtering the proletarians of Paris. Over and over again attempts were made to effect an arrangement with the Assembly at Versailles, but the Royalist and Imperialist reactionaries there hated and feared the Commune, and nothing but the crushing of Paris, and the massacre of her sons and daughters would satisfy them. The military business of the Commune was the worst side of its administration, and the defence was never properly organised. On the 21st of May the Versaillese troops forced an entrance, and by the end of the month the Commune had perished in a perfect sea of blood and fire. For a fortnight Paris was a veritable shambles; for fully a week after the fighting was practically over, men, women and children were systematically butchered in crowds; put up against the wall and shot down with chassepot and mitrailleuse, hacked to pieces with sabres, or stabbed to death with bayonets. Altogether not less than 35,000 men, women and children were sacrificed to the vengeance and fury of the classes who saw their interests temporarily threatened by the working class revolution of the Commune of Paris.

But on the 18th of March we celebrate the victory of the Commune, not its downfall. The former stands as a beacon of hope for us—unique in history. We hope one day to be able to avenge the latter.

This year, too, the celebration of the 18th of March has a special significance. It is the fiftieth anniversary of the Revolution of 1848, and, moreover, our veteran comrade, Liebknecht, leaves his prison on that day.

## WHY IS SOCIALISM IN ENGLAND AT A DISCOUNT?

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At the present juncture, when the failure of the engineers' strike, coupled with the disgusting incidents of the York election, have produced a certain feeling of discouragement throughout the rank and file of the Socialist movement in this country, an old question naturally forces itself on our mind—a question that has often been raised, but has never yet, to my knowledge, been satisfactorily answered: How is it that Socialism has made up till now so very little progress in these islands? Seeing that it is essentially a recognition on the part of the proletariat of the antagonisms which exist between it and the property owning class, one might have supposed that the country where the early and unimpeded growth of capitalism has brought out those antagonisms to their fullest, would have proved a far more favourable ground for its rise and progress than others of a less developed industrial structure. Instead of this, as we all know, the case is quite the reverse. Whilst in Germany, in France, in Belgium, in Austria, in Italy, in Holland—in countries where capitalism, being of a posterior date, has not been successful, even so far as to drive away forms of property and methods of production belonging properly to the Middle Ages, and the proletariat accordingly still carries about in many cases the egg shell of its small bourgeois origin in the shape of peasant ideals and sympathies—whilst, I say, in those countries the ideas of Socialism are making headway every day, in England, the home of modern industry, the classic land of capitalist production, where there is scarcely a vestige left, either in the field of economic life or in the minds of the people, of former industrial stages, they are scarcely able to obtain a hearing, let alone a footing. The phenomenon is certainly striking, and, on account of its import, both theoretical and as a guidance in practical politics, it has been, and still is, the subject of ample discussion on the part of students and Socialists. It is manifest, however, that the theories usually advanced by way of explaining it, such as, for instance, the comparative well-being of the English working classes or the “inherent” conservatism of the Anglo-Saxon race, are utterly inadequate. For, as regards the first, experience has taught us by now that, far from presenting the best possible soil for assimilation of Socialist ideas, it is exactly the lower strata of the working classes—the men sunk in sloth, misery and drink, who through want of skill and employment, have lost every sense of their human dignity—that are the least accessible to noble appeals, the least capable to grasp a new idea, the least prepared for a conscious effort and unremittent struggle. Poverty and hunger have stunted their intellect, blunted their moral sense, and emaciated their physique, and, tossed to and fro by their unarticulated instincts, they join popular movements only to plunder, to rape, and to kill. It is the better paid artisan, the skilled labourer, the earnest trade unionist, who is decently clad and fed, who enjoys

a home and a friendly circle, who knows how to respect himself and be respected by others, who constitutes the really progressive element in every community; conscious of his rights and duties, used to organised life and action, possessing a mind cultivated by reading and social intercourse, he is the chief actor on the stage of politics and revolutions—the easiest convert to new doctrines and parties. And what is true of different sections of one community is true of whole countries, for it is not the impoverished Italian who leads the Socialist movement, but the comparatively well-off German; not the down-trodden Spaniard, but the highly-skilled and educated Frenchman; not the poor Austrian, but the well-paid Belgian. To say, therefore, that it is the high standard of living which insures the British working men against the Socialist virus is incorrect; whatever the causes of England's backwardness in Socialism may be, *this* certainly is not one amongst them. Nor is another the conservatism of the Anglo-Saxon race. That the English people throughout their career have shown a curious attachment to antiquated traditions and ways, a certain well-pronounced predilection for old and even obsolete forms of life and thought, no one will dispute. The whole course of their history is strewn with fossil remains of institutions, laws, and customs, which have some time served their purpose, but afterwards are long retained and cherished with an exemplary tenderness and veneration. But to assume, on the strength of this, that the English have at any time recoiled from striking out a new line of policy and action, from giving expression to, or assimilating a new idea and doctrine from moulding the old in conformity with new needs, or dismissing it altogether, would evidently be to go too far; it would leave unexplained the elementary fact of the enormous progress made by the nation during the centuries of its existence, as well as its present high position as a "culture-bearer," to use a German phrase, among the communities of Europe. Least of all can it be said that these conservative proclivities have produced in the English people a spirit of tameness and submissiveness. The men who, to mention but a few instances, sent to the scaffold one of their kings, and chased another from the country, who were the first in modern times to make an experiment in republican self-government on a large scale, and gave to the world popular movements, such as the Owenite and the Chartist, and revolutionary methods and organisations such as trade unionism, can scarcely be accused of a lack of courage and independence in the domain of politics and political thought. Conservatism with the English has never spelt reaction, and, consequently, cannot be made responsible for the failure of Socialism in their country. The real cause must be looked for elsewhere, and to this we will now turn.

It has been the singular good fortune of England to have possessed, almost from the very beginning of her national existence, a middle class sufficiently strong and organised to become a serious factor in the political life of the country. The unique geographical position of these islands, eminently calculated to promote a spirit of commerce and maritime enterprise, in conjunction with the absence of any such tendency for centralisa-

tion as had been left by Rome to the rest of her late provinces, were instrumental in bringing forth a rich burgherdom that was enabled, not only to preserve the rudiments of self-government handed over from previous ages, but also to develop them further by means of charters obtained from their lords and kings. At the time of the Norman Conquest there were already several burghs, towns, and cities in existence which enjoyed a sort of autonomy in fiscal and juridical matters, having bought, on payment of fixed dues, the right of self-assessment of taxes and exemption from the manor and other courts. It was a very shrewd and business-like set of folk—these early precursors of the modern bourgeoisie—always mindful of their property, always jealous of their privileges, they were never tired of defending them against the arbitrariness of their temporal and spiritual lords, or, as was far more frequently the case, the greed and rapaciousness of the kings. They understood their interests with a clearness that would reflect credit even on the modern British working man, and early made a common cause with the barons in the struggle for civic, personal, and property rights. We know that the very foundation of English liberties—the Magna Charta—was laid only after burgherdom had lent its helping hand; it was the revolt of the Londoners which turned the scale in favour of the aristocracy, and compelled the unlucky John, now bereft of his last hope, to sign the famous articles. And so the fight went on during the rest of this and the whole of the following century. Everywhere, it is true, we find at the head of the movement the barons; it was their landed interests that were primarily at stake; but we seldom, if ever, miss the important element of burgherdom backing up with all its might the demands for the privileges of self-taxation, of trial by one's peers, &c. This co-operation was so conspicuous and valuable that the aristocracy were soon obliged to acknowledge it, and the Earl of Montfort thought it prudent to invite to his Parliament along with two knights from each shire, also two citizens from each city, and two burgesses from each burgh. It would be too long and tedious to trace here the struggle against monarchy step by step; those who have studied their Stubbs or Hallam know what a tremendous amount of energy, patience, tenacity, courage, and shrewdness were needed to accustom the kings of England to respect their subjects' rights, to have them taught the elementary lessons in constitutional law and procedure. Every now and then the Edwards and the Henrys were ready to trample upon the charters they had themselves granted; every now and then they broke out in arbitrary demands for tolls, dues, and levies; but each time, after an obstinate fight, they were obliged to issue confirmations of the charters, to grant additional privileges, and make declarations, like the famous *de tallagio non concedendo* of 1279. And at every turning of this arduous, uphill struggle, we find by the side of the gallant baron and knight the sturdy merchant and member of the guild defending their woollen and silken wares with one hand and laying the other on the prerogatives of the crown. But the really momentous and brilliant activity of the middle classes begins with the seventeenth century. As is well known, the period between the fourteenth and the end of the fifteenth century was

one continuous process of reaction in the direction of absolutism : through the Black Death, which largely deprived the fields of their tillers, as well as through the Wars of the Roses, which decimated the ranks of the feudal lords, landed property greatly fell in value—and with it the social and political importance and power of the aristocracy. The back of the constitutional opposition was thus broken, and the English kings, especially the Tudors, were enabled to gather up the loosened strings of monarchy and to retrieve their well-nigh lost position. A series of vigorous efforts were now made to assert the prerogatives of the Crown as against the rights of Parliament, and a process kindred to that started in France by Louis XI. and accomplished by Louis XIV., might now be observed in England. But all through these dark times, in the stillness of the counting-houses and warehouses as much as in the bustle of the workshops and merchant ships, grew steadily the class of burgherdom, now the rising masters of the world's commerce. A whole chain of events, each more or less connected with the other, contributed to this effect : the discovery of America, the fall of the Italian republics, the influx of precious metals, the immigration from France and the low countries, the break-down of the sea power and colonial might of Spain, &c.—till about the reign of Elizabeth the middle classes became strong enough to take the place of the former aristocracy—now itself merging more and more into the bourgeoisie—as the leaders in the struggle for political freedom. They did not commence hostilities just at that time ; old Bess was more than a match for them, besides being to some extent their benefactress ; but as soon as she passed away the fire that lay smouldering for two centuries broke out into a blaze. The new king, James I., was a staunch believer in monarchy by the grace of God, ready to do anything to uphold his views, whilst the Parliament, which he convened early in 1603, showed by the unusually large attendance, which marked its sittings from the beginning, that it, too, was in a fighting mood, not likely to give way before the enemy. A conflict thus became inevitable. In the address to the king the Parliament gently reminded him of the existence in the land of constitutional law, and a little later issued a remarkable vindication of its various prerogatives “to be delivered to His Majesty in a form of apology and satisfaction.” This was the beginning of a fight which raged for twenty-two years with unabated force ; either side showed an equal stubbornness—the king in dissolving his Parliament, in imprisoning its members, in levying arbitrary taxes and duties, and the representatives of the nation, or rather of the middle class, in asserting their legislative and fiscal rights, and in protesting against the infringement of personal liberty. James's death put for a time a stop to the struggle, but the accession of Charles I. rekindled it again. Driven to despair, the Parliament now assumed a thoroughly revolutionary attitude. Not content with merely verbal declarations of its rights, it refused to vote the civil list for more than one year, demanded the impeachment of Buckingham and his friends, and insisted upon the immediate release of two of its members arbitrarily thrown into the Tower. Close upon this, in 1628, the Parliament issued the remarkable



Petition of Rights—a complete statement of principles of English citizenship—and the king, being in need of money, was obliged to sign it. In 1629, however, the Parliament came to an abrupt end, but the whole of the subsequent eleven years' personal rule, with its Star Chamber, Writ of Ship-money, and the rest, was powerless to subdue the opposition of the middle classes. On the contrary, it rose and gathered strength at every step, till in April, 1640, when the Short Parliament met, it broke forth in a point blank refusal to grant any money till some glaring abuses were redressed. Again it was dissolved, but only to be convened in a few months—this time to exist for thirty-nine years. That was the famous Long Parliament, which broke the back of English monarchy for ever, and lived to see the rise and fall of the Commonwealth. Under the leadership of Pym and Hampden—two of the greatest men the middle classes of England have ever had—it resumed the great fight as soon as assembled, and in the short space of one year overturned the whole fabric of despotism so carefully reared up by the Tudors and Stuarts. It impeached and executed the Earl of Strafford, threw into prison Archbishop Laud, with several others of the king's party, abolished the Star Chamber and the Ship-money, deprived the clergy of temporal jurisdiction, and passed a Bill to the effect that the Parliament cannot be dissolved without its own consent, and must be convened at least every third year. In 1641 it published the Grand Remonstrance—that audacious Act of which Cromwell said that, were it not passed, he, together with many others, would have left England on the following day. It proclaimed liberty of conscience, and declared the Ministers of the Crown to be responsible to Parliament. This was, perhaps, by far the most daring attempt ever made since the days of the Great Charter at the prerogatives of monarchy, and Charles replied to it by impeaching Pym, Hampden, and other leaders of the House, and by appearing there with a military force. That was the beginning of the final act in the great drama, and what followed needs no narrating. King Charles was executed, the House of Lords abolished, the Commonwealth proclaimed, and the country ruled first by the "Rump House," conjointly with a Council of State, and then by Oliver Cromwell. That was the dictatorship of the Radical Left of the bourgeoisie, somewhat similar to the Reign of Terror in France in 1793-1794. It had, just like the other, a very short life, the moderate sections gaining ascendancy and restoring the monarchy. But what a monarchy! It was a mere shadow of the former, leaving practically the whole business of ruling in the hands of the Parliament. In 1665 was passed the Appropriation Act; in 1679, the Habeas Corpus Act, the second of the great Charters of English liberties; and in the same year the long Parliament dispersed, having brilliantly accomplished its task. From that time the course of political and civil liberty in this country has stood firm, weathering every storm and steadily gaining ground. James II. made attempts to resist the tide, but was deposed and expelled, and in his stead was invited the Orange dynasty, in the persons of William and Mary. The first act of the new monarchy—the bourgeois monarchy—was the famous Bill of



Rights of 1689. This was the third of the great Charters which crowned the superb edifice of the English Constitution, and the numerous subsequent Statutes and Bills passed by Parliament were nothing but so many improvements on and particularisations of its clauses. In 1695 were abolished the Licensing Laws, which weighed so heavily on the freedom of speech and press ; in 1716 were constituted septennial Parliaments, in the reign of George III. fell the royal veto, in 1816 passed the second Habeas Corpus Act, in 1829 was proclaimed the Emancipation of the Catholics, and in 1832 was passed the great Reform Bill. The long struggle for liberty has ended and the nation attained complete rights in all domains—citizenship.

Such is the great drama of which England has been the stage. It may now well be asked, what was the purpose in writing all the above? The SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT, not being an historical review, and the present writer being the last person in the world to pretend to a profound knowledge of English history, it may look as if the foregoing pages were out of place in an article headed as above. But there is a method even in madness, as Hamlet says, and the lesson in history propounded here, has its object, too. It is none other than to remind the English and other Socialists of one important fact which they too often seem to lose sight of, namely, that political and civil freedom, the greatest treasure England possesses as compared with other nations, has been won entirely by the boundless efforts and self-sacrifice of the governing classes of the country. Long before the present social antagonisms had been evolved out of the womb of Time, long before the ever active process of history had worked out the modern proletariat and raised on the horizon of material and spiritual life new forms and ideals, the bourgeoisie of England, first in co-operation with the aristocracy, and then by itself, succeeded in smashing into fragments the stronghold of despotism, and in gaining for the people the rights of self-government, of free speech and conscience, of complete security of person and chattels. It was men like De Montfort, Pym, Hampden, Knox, Cromwell, and, for aught we know, Francis Place, who built up the English democracy of to-day, and the echo of their deeds is still vibrating through the air with a force unknown from the very days of ancient Greece and Rome.

T. ROTHSTEIN.

*(To be continued.)*



## THE EVOLUTION OF THE BOOT AND SHOE TRADE.

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IN but a very limited number of industries is witnessed within one generation such a transformation as has taken place in the boot and shoe trade. The natural conservatism of the British manufacturer has had to give way before the threatened inrush of American machine-made shoes, and to day in England boot-making takes a foremost place in the evolution of trades.

The shoemaker's seat has given way to the modern factory, his few and simple tools to complex machinery, and what was a few years ago a pure handicraft, requiring great skill and furnishing full scope for individuality in make and finish, is now a mechanical process with its inevitable division and subdivision of labour.

When the first instalment of machinery that was ultimately to revolutionise the trade was put down (some fifteen years ago) I can well remember the incredulous smile upon the faces of such of the gentle craft as were privileged to inspect its working, and can still recall the explosive and facetious expletives which garnished their assurances that "they will never get machines to do *our* work."

But the impossible has again happened. Machinery has come in earnest, and come to stay.

Take the finishing department, where certainly the obstacles to be overcome seemed the greatest. A few years ago the finisher was the autocrat (as the clicker is the aristocrat) of the trade, and in busy seasons he used to lead the foremen a very pretty dance.

The system of classing the work according to quality used to furnish finishers with unlimited scope for the exercise of their peculiar power. Many a time and oft within the personal knowledge of the writer, have finishers gone home without work sooner than take a class lower than they felt themselves qualified to finish. But the scene soon changed. From the busy brain of the American had even then evolved the machines destined to remove the autocrat from his throne, and, taking advantage of the men's demand for the abolition of home work, the employers were able, despite the opposition of the Unions, to introduce the team system of machines; and it is no exaggeration to say that scores of finishers to-day are out of work in the shoe centres who will never see a job in the boot trade again. Nor is the pressure felt only by the finishers alone, although perhaps the economic change is felt more keenly by them than by any other section. Silently but swiftly is the process of evolution penetrating even to the sacred clicking board, and the preliminary failures which are such an inexhaustible source of delight to clickers are only laying the foundation to ultimate success.

From the gentle disciple of St. Crispin, with his bristles and wax, to the modern boot factory, with an output of 30,000 pairs of boots and shoes per week, seems a far cry, but the transformation was as sudden as unexpected.

The first change was wrought by the introduction of the sewing machine, and notwithstanding the efforts of the workers, who sought by strikes and threats of machine-smashing to prevent the innovation, the hand closing of uppers was superseded, and has become almost obsolete. Then came the style of make known as rivetted; rude, and, in its elementary stage, almost shapeless. This laid the foundation for a long series of inventions too numerous to detail here. Every fresh invention necessitated further division of labour, and to-day it is estimated that it takes sixty persons — men, women, and children, aided by machinery at every operation, to perform the task of making a pair of boots.

The economic result of all this change is that the same number of men are able to turn out about 25 per cent. more work. About 15 per cent. of the men are displaced, 5 per cent. permanently. By the large firms laying down complete plants of machinery, the smaller firms are becoming gradually extinct, or confining themselves to the commoner makes. The Union statements of wages, established at a tremendous cost in time and money, have become practically useless, and the last great lock-out has proved to all who have eyes to see the futility of even the Union itself when opposed to federated capital. It is true that the Union has the power to *claim* the minimum wage for its members, but the employer can discharge the employee if he does not wish to pay him the minimum, and thus evade his responsibility.

Home work is practically abolished, except in cases of old age, infirmity, or chronic illness, and work is now done in clean, healthy workshops, where good sanitary conditions prevail. Though, on the whole, this change may be said to be beneficial, the continual vibration made by the machines must be physically deteriorating, and the drain on the sick fund of the Union is greater now than it has ever been.

Bitter complaints are heard, too, from the men of the driving by the foremen, of the "hustling" of the teams by "pacemakers," and the continual cry of the employer, "We want more work, or you will have to go." Want of employment has become chronic, and great difficulty is experienced by the larger firms in getting sufficient orders to keep their "hands" employed. The struggle for existence gets keener and keener, a regular job more and more difficult to obtain.

So the Juggernaut car of progress rolls on, bringing misery where it should bring happiness. Increased uncertainty of existence instead of plenty for all. Making increased productive powers but serve to accentuate the poverty of the workers, but (blessed consolation!) also narrowing down the economic difficulties, and bringing us still nearer to the collectivist state.

A PRACTICAL BOOTMAKER.

## THE MORTALITY OF OCCUPATION.\*

EVERY Socialist who wishes to study the effect of modern industrial conditions upon the health of the workers should invest eighteenpence in this report, and he will find a pile of statistics of a most instructive character. I might say, before starting to give a few of the facts contained herein, that we Socialists do not study statistics and Blue Books as much as we ought. How many of us, for instance, have made it our work to go carefully through the reports, minutes of evidence, and appendices of the "Unemployed Committee"—books teeming with information most vital to us, careful study of which would save us from many mistakes with reference to this question? Take, again, the Aged Poor Commission, the Labour Commission, the Annual Report of the Local Government Board, &c. If we cannot purchase them ourselves, then let us get our branches to do so for us.

The above report on "Mortality of Occupation" is compiled by Dr. John Tatham, a Lancashire man, who is well up to the reputation of his county for ability to handle hard facts and figures. The report requires careful study, but with a little patience the facts and figures and method are soon mastered. The report only refers to males over fifteen years of age, and attached to the report are nineteen tables—invaluable to the student. One of the most important tables is the last, entitled "Deaths of Males in Several Occupations, Classified according to Age and Cause." Dr. Tatham divides the causes of deaths under twenty four headings. The ages are dealt with in seven periods, ranging from 15 to 65 and upwards. Thus, in ninety-nine trades, at a glance in this table, can be seen the causes of death and ages at death; "all other occupations," being classed together to make up the hundred and complete the total of deaths. The years dealt with throughout the report are 1890, 1891, 1892. During these three years 504,923 deaths of males over fifteen years of age occurred, 400,057 being classed as "occupied," and 104,866 as "unoccupied." "Unoccupied," however, includes lunatics, prisoners, and inmates of workhouses over sixty years of age. The following shows their ages at death:—

		15.	20.	25.	35.	45.	55	65 and upwards
Occupied ...	400,057	10,604	18,581	44,821	58,613	70,779	75,171	120,598
Unoccupied	104,866	7,523	2,181	3,246	4,250	5,638	14,115	67,863

In spite of the inclusion of old age paupers under the heading of "unoccupied," it is rather striking that there are 67,683 deaths above

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\* Supplement to the Fifty-Fifth Annual Report of the Registrar-General Part II. (C.—8503.) Price 1s. 6d.

sixty-five years of age out of a total of 104,866 among the "unoccupied," while the occupied only show 120,598 out of a total of 400,057. Rather curious, too, is the higher death-rate of the "unoccupied" at the ages fifteen to twenty; but what seems a tangible explanation is offered for this by Dr. Tatham on page xiv. of his report. A valuable work in the report is the comparison of mortality of occupied males in London, industrial districts (consisting of Lancashire, entire county, Wolverhampton, Birmingham, with Aston, Leicester, Nottingham, Huddersfield, Halifax, Bradford, Leeds, and Sheffield), and twenty-five counties mainly agricultural.

OCCUPIED MALES.	15 and upwards.	15.	20.	25.	35.	45.	55.	65 and upwards.
London .....	60,295	1,517	2,881	7,186	11,154	12,560	11,434	12,763
Industrial districts...	96,706	2,789	4,544	12,807	17,060	20,390	19,805	20,031
Agricultural districts	58,818	1,307	2,193	4,735	5,745	7,300	10,083	27,432

No one can fail to be struck by the large proportion of deaths at sixty-five and upwards in the agricultural districts compared with London or the industrial districts. I am not one of those who are dying to see an urban exodus "back to the land," but the above figures should stir us to spare no effort to improve the health of towns and industrial districts. The following figures also tell their tale:—

TOTAL DEATHS Above 65 and 15 upwards			TOTAL DEATHS Above 65 15 upwards		
Clergymen.....	2,283	1,339	Potters and Earthenware Workers.....	1,785	246
Physician, Surgeon, General Practitioner.....	1,391	638	Dock and Wharf Labourer...	4,666	613
Farmer, Grazier, Farmer's Son, &c.....	15,800	9,342	Printers.....	2,677	374
Farm Labourer .....	33,191	19,955	Cotton, Flax, and Linen Manufacturer (Lancashire) .....	6,111	1,208
Building Trades*.....	37,574	10,338	Engine, Machine, Boiler- maker, Fitter and Mill- wrights .....	7,209	1,318

Each one of these tables classifying deaths, according to age and cause, is made up like the following; the same being done for each of the 100 trades:—

\*It must be noted that all "occupations" include employers, managers, &c., in one general calculation.

## COTTON, FLAX, AND LINEN MANUFACTURE (LANCASHIRE).

CAUSE OF DEATH	Total 15 and upwards	15	20	25	35	45	55	65 and upw.
Influenza ... ..	171	11	14	22	37	44	29	14
Alcoholism ... ..	84	—	—	8	9	8	8	1
Rheumatic Fever ...	66	13	9	15	15	8	8	3
Gout ... ..	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Cancer ... ..	151	—	1	10	24	41	39	36
Phthisis ... ..	1,169	145	211	314	281	175	72	21
Diabetes ... ..	45	3	4	5	7	5	11	10
Diseases of Nervous System	592	19	16	42	69	105	172	169
Valvular Disease of Heart	144	10	10	16	24	25	40	19
Aneurism ... ..	8	—	—	1	1	4	1	1
Other Diseases of Circulatory System	560	17	25	26	72	119	148	153
Bronchitis ... ..	791	3	7	31	71	135	246	298
Pneumonia ... ..	797	47	59	109	174	187	184	87
Pleurisy ... ..	40	—	2	3	9	11	8	7
Other Diseases of Respiratory System	117	1	7	5	12	31	31	30
Hernia ... ..	25	—	1	2	2	2	8	10
Liver Diseases ... ..	102	—	8	3	18	24	37	17
Other Diseases of Digestive System	190	25	14	28	30	38	28	27
Bright's Disease ...	126	3	10	18	24	18	35	18
Other Diseases of Urinary System	85	7	8	7	7	11	17	28
Plumbism ... ..	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
Accident ... ..	149	19	13	32	23	23	19	20
Suicide ... ..	77	3	4	9	17	22	16	6
Other Causes ... ..	669	90	49	87	73	65	73	232
All Causes ... ..	6,111	416	467	793	950	1,102	1,175	1,208

In addition to these tables, covering all ages above fifteen, there are several tables dealing exclusively with males between twenty-five and sixty-five years, "as marking the period of life when the effects of occupation are most conspicuous," or, as Dr. Farr said in his supplement to the report of 1871, "the period in which the influence of profession is most felt." Table IV. is of very great importance. It is entitled, "Comparative Mortality of Males 25-65 Years of Age, in Different Occupations, from all Causes, and from Several Causes, 1890-1891-1892." Between the ages of twenty-five and sixty-five (*i.e.*, excluding all under twenty-five or over sixty-five) there were in the three years 277,483 deaths from various causes. For the purposes of comparison in table IV. the mortality of all males is stated at 1,000, and the various causes reduced in proportion. Table I. had previously given the death rate in each trade compared to the numbers living according to the census of 1891, and table IV. reduces all this to a comparative basis, One thousand being the index figure for all males (twenty-five to sixty-five). the comparison is made for London, the industrial districts, and the agricultural districts:—

	LONDON	INDUSTRIAL DISTRICTS	AGRICULTURAL DISTRICTS
All Males.....	1,000	1,147	687

London mortality from twenty-five to sixty-five is thus 14 per cent. above the average, the industrial districts 24 per cent., while the agricultural districts are 30 per cent. below the average. The highest mortality is that of dock and



wharf labourers, whose comparative figure is 1,829; file cutters, 1,810; lead-workers, 1,783; inn-keepers' servants, 1,725; pottery and earthenware trades, 1,706; costermongers, 1,652; publicans and inn-keepers, 1,642. Publicans in industrial districts have a mortality figure as high as 2,030, but in London it falls to 1,685, and in agricultural districts to 1,320; the average all over being 1,642. Coal-heavers stand at 1,528; cutlers and grinders, 1,516; glass manufacturers 1,487; general Sheffield trades, 1,412; print and dye workers (textile), 1,370; seamen, 1,352; cotton manufacture (Lancashire), 1,176. Shoe operatives, railway workers, miners, agricultural labourers all fall below the general average, viz, 1,000 for all males (twenty-five to sixty-five), and 953 for all *occupied* males (twenty-five to sixty-five). The comparative mortality of Durham and Northumberland miners is 774.

Let us now take a few of the facts connected with some of the principal trades, or, rather, groups of trades.

#### TEXTILE MANUFACTURE.

The number of males above fifteen was as follows, according to the census of 1891 :—

Wool, worsted manufacture .....	85,754
Silk, satin manufacture .....	14,372
Cotton linen manufacture .....	179,359
Lace manufacture .....	12,393
Rope twine manufacture .....	6,979
Carpet rug manufacture .....	8,532
Hosiery manufacture .....	17,365
Wool, cotton, and silk dyers and printworkers .....	36,570
	<hr/>
	361,324

In 1881 the numbers were 340,117, an increase of 6.2 per cent. in the ten years.

The following table shows the mortality of textile workers in 1890-92 at several groups of ages, as compared with the corresponding mortality of all occupied males, the latter being taken as 100 :—

	15	20	25	35	45	55	65 and upwards.
Occupied Males ... ..	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Textile Workers ... ..	133	116	103	99	108	126	136
Wool Worsted Manufacture ...	115	110	96	96	99	118	140
Wool Worsted Manufacture (West Riding, Yorkshire) ...	116	107	96	96	100	119	142
Silk, Satin and Crape Manufacture	133	114	95	84	94	110	127
Cotton, Linen, Flax Manufacture	139	117	98	103	119	143	155
Cotton, Linen, Flax Manufacture (Lancashire) ... ..	146	118	98	108	122	150	165
Lace Manufacture ... ..	107	100	94	48	73	84	88
Rope, Twine, Cord Maker ...	34	115	113	91	98	94	95
(Wool, Silk, and Cotton) Print Workers and Dyers ... ..	186	143	150	130	136	158	166
Carpet Rug Manufacture ...	104	82	111	63	78	113	106
Hosiery Manufacture ... ..	122	101	89	68	59	81	109
Hosiery Manufacture (Leicester-shire and Notts) ... ..	121	98	86	63	56	85	109

From the above it will be seen that 133 textile workers die between the ages of fifteen and twenty, and 116 between twenty and twenty-five, compared with 100 for all occupied males. In the Lancashire cotton trade these figures

rise to 146 between fifteen and twenty years of age, and 118 from twenty to twenty-five. Among print workers and dyers the figures are 186 and 143. Speaking of the cotton, flax, and linen manufacture, Dr. Tatham says: "At the last census male cotton and flax operatives above the age of fifteen years numbered 179,359 in the aggregate, having increased since 1881 by 11 per cent. At ages below forty-five years the mortality of cotton operatives scarcely differs from the average among textile workers, but at each group of ages above forty-five the rates are considerably in excess of that average. Compared with the standard for occupied males the death rates are excessive at all ages under twenty-five years and under forty five years. The comparative mortality figure of these workers from all causes at ages 25-65 is 1,141, considerably exceeding that of textile workers generally; while compared with that of occupied males it is in excess by 20 per cent. Cotton operatives die half as fast again as the standard from diseases of the respiratory system; their mortality also shows an excess of two-fifths from diseases of the nervous system, and of the digestive organs other than the liver, and an excess of one-fifth from circulatory diseases. They also suffer more than the average from phthisis, influenza, diabetes, and suicide, whilst, in common with textile workers generally, their mortality from alcoholism and liver disease is below, but that from rheumatic fever is above the average.

At ages below thirty-five years the death-rates of Lancashire cotton operatives scarcely differ from those of cotton operatives in the aggregate, but at all subsequent ages the rates are higher. The mortality from all causes among cotton operatives in Lancashire exceeds that prevailing in this industry generally, and so also does their mortality from diseases of the nervous and respiratory systems.

The mortality of Lancashire cotton operatives from all causes has increased considerably since the previous record; the excess, however, is entirely limited to ages over forty-five years, at which ages the death-rate has increased by nearly one-fifth. The modified figures in table IX. show that, as compared with 1881, the mortality of Lancashire cotton operatives from diseases of the circulatory, respiratory, and urinary systems, and from those of the digestive organs, other than the liver, has increased by proportions varying from 27 to 30 per cent., their mortality from phthisis has decreased by about one-seventh, and that from alcoholism and diseases of the liver together has decreased by one-fourth. Of the printers and dyers of woollen, silk, and cotton goods, Dr. Tatham says: "They number at the last census 36,570, showing an increase of less than 1 per cent. on the number returned ten years earlier. The mortality of these men is excessive at all age-groups, whether compared with that of all occupied males as a standard, with that of the entire class of textile workers, or with that of any division of the class for which separate figures are shown in this report. The comparative mortality figure at ages 25-65 is as high as 1,370, which is 44 per cent. above the standard for occupied males. The only causes of death in the tables which are less fatal to dyers than to other occupied males are

alcoholism, gout, and accident. From phthisis and liver diseases the excess is 41 per cent., and from diseases of the circulatory, respiratory and nervous systems it reaches 54, 64, and 56 per cent. respectively.

The following are the "comparative mortality" figures of various textile workers, twenty-five to sixty-five years, 1880-82, compared with 1890-92, the figures being reduced to a common basis to allow of comparison (all males 1,000, occupied males 953):—

		All causes.	Alcoholism.	Gout.	Phthisis.	Diseases of nervous system.	Diseases of circulatory system.
Wool, worsted manufacture (West Riding, Yorkshire).....	1880-2 } 1890-2 }	971 488	4 3	— 1	242 196	119 98	134 127
Cotton, flax, and linen manufacture (Lancashire).....	1880-2 } 1890-2 }	1024 1122	2 9	— 0	256 221	134 108	105 133
Hosiery manufacture (Leicester and Notts).....	1880-2 } 1890-2 }	676 732	1 9	— 4	158 166	107 78	98 138

		Diseases of respiratory system.	Liver diseases.	Other diseases of digestive system.	Urinary system.	Plumbism.	Accident.	Self-dec.	Other causes.
Wool, worsted manufacture (West Riding, Yorkshire).....	1880-2 } 1890-2 }	193 260	34 21	37 38	33 43	— 3	25 22	14 13	136 161
Cotton, flax, and linen manufacture (Lancashire).....	1880-2 } 1890-2 }	256 334	41 23	33 39	30 38	— 0	28 27	— 18	143 171
Hosiery manufacture (Leicester and Notts).....	1880-2 } 1890-2 }	109 142	15 13	22 15	40 30	— —	15 21	20 22	91 94

\* In 1880 "Suicide" was classed with diseases of nervous system.

A. G. WOLFE.

## THE PROBLEM IN THE FAR EAST.

IN the opinion of Mr. Fred. T. Jane, as expressed in an article in the *Contemporary*, the objective of the operations in the Far East is Japan rather than China. He does not think that either Germany or Russia is our enemy there, but what Russia would like to see would be a war between us and Japan, in which she would assist to destroy the power which threatens to be a thorn in her side in the future. "The real Far Eastern problem is that," says the writer, "whether we will listen to the whispered suggestions of Russia, or walk along that road she is labouring to make for us. Its first end would be the annihilation as an empire of a nation with whom at present we have no quarrel; but with whom, unless her greatness proves but a flash in the pan, we must come into collision in the course of the next hundred years. Political expediency shows clearly that to annihilate Japan, and make friends with Russia, would be our most diplomatic course; every idea of morality and sentiment is against such an action."

## THE SOCIALIST RÉGIME.

THE PRINCIPLES OF ITS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANISATION.

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### PART III.

#### ECONOMIC ORGANISATION.

WE have now reached the most difficult part of our task—namely, that of tracing the principal features of the economic organisation of the Socialist régime. Here we find ourselves almost entirely deprived of the help of useful experiences already gained, for, although it is true that the society of the future exists in embryo in the womb of present society, yet is to-morrow hidden and enveloped by to-day. We are thus thrown into the realm of the unknown, guided only by the idea of what is possible and the sentiment of what is just, revealed to us by the study of facts and their comparison with the ideal accepted by our reason.

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#### ORGANISATION OF PRODUCTION.

The nation, being the sole proprietor of the earth and the other means of production, can be considered as a single proprietor working his own domains ; consequently, the rules of good domestic economy become the rules of good public economy.

It is certain that for the whole nation, as for the head of a family, there are a certain number of needs to satisfy, and in order to do that a certain quantity of labour to accomplish. It is also certain that under such circumstances the ideal condition is that production shall be in equilibrium to consumption, so that there shall be neither too much nor too little, neither waste nor want.

It is also certain that to arrive at this result there are two problems to solve :—

(1) How to obtain the maximum of results with a minimum of effort, a problem purely economic.

(2) How to distribute between all the members of society the work which has to be done, and the products of finished labour, a problem essentially juridic, where it is necessary to aim at obtaining the greatest possible justice and liberty.

(1) *Adaptation of Production to Needs.*—What are the conditions of production, wisely regulated ?

It must, in the first place, be adapted to the needs of society and of individuals, and it must be managed in such a way as to economise effort at the same time that it augments the quantity of products. The first thing to do, then, is to determine the needs of society and its members, or, in other words, to find what it is necessary to produce.

In present society, production, abandoned to the caprice of individual interests, is only partly governed by the needs of the consumers ; the producer produces, before everything else, for the market—that is to say, to sell at a profit ; and as he does not know, and cannot know, what the demand will be, he produces by chance, sometimes guided by vague conjectures, sometimes urged by the necessity of not leaving his capital inactive. The result of this is serious miscalculations. Sometimes he finds he cannot get

rid of his commodities, and then follows the glutting of the warehouses, the ruinous chase to distant markets, sale at a loss, constraint, and often, in spite of desperate efforts, bankruptcy. The result for the workers is still more serious, as they have to face unemployment, distress, and misery. For society there is the demoralising contrast of poor families shivering with cold or dying with hunger side by side with warehouses full of clothing and food. Plethora on the one hand, insufficiency on the other, have come to be so habitual a spectacle that we have ceased to notice it. Our blunted senses accept it as quite natural that the desires of luxury and vanity should be satisfied even to nausea, when vital needs are left unattended.

A Socialist nation could not allow this anarchic and unreasonable production to continue; that is why its first task is to determine its needs. This is a complicated statistical operation, whose application, though difficult, is not at all discouraging.

(2) *Development of the Means of Production.*—Production being adopted to social needs, it is necessary so to organise it that the maximum of utility is obtained with the minimum of effort. The problem is essentially a scientific one. A vast field will be opened to the imagination and to the spirit of initiative of the workers by the new conditions in which they will have to operate. It is impossible to say to what point the national wealth could be augmented by the Socialist system, but it is possible and easy to prove that it can develop enormously.

The principal proof rests on the axiom which economists, the most hostile to Socialism, tacitly recognise—namely, that collective labour is more productive than isolated labour. In effect, when they vaunt the advantages of the division of labour, which they rightly depict as having been the most efficient agent of human progress, what is it but a declaration that division of labour, which implies collaboration, and is consequently collective, is more fecund than individual labour. And in the same way the eulogy of co-operation, which has become quite common even from the most conservative politicians, is nothing more than an avowal of the undeniable superiority, from the point of view of productivity, of the system which would make the whole nation a vast co-operative society.

In present-day society there exists a crowd of useless people—idlers, and parasites; above, men able to dispense with labour because they live upon the labour of others, transformed into rents and profits; below, vagabonds and robbers dragging out a wretched existence at the expense of the possessors whom they can despoil; among those who work a large amount of force is lost as a result of the vices of an organisation which implies the abandonment of production to private enterprises, necessitating a swarm of intermediaries between the consumer and the producer; implacable competition, making a victory for one a disaster for another, and compensating every success by a ruin; periodic crises, in which the wheels of the social mechanism grind and stop to the great detriment of the capitalist and of the workers; impossibility of scientifically regulating the employment of the instruments of production owing to the diverse interests of the proprietary class.

These hindrances to the development of production would disappear in the Socialist régime. In the first place, the number of workers is considerably increased. Interest-mongers, and idlers of all kinds are wrested from the pleasure of doing nothing. No more drones. Nothing but bees? At the same time lawyers, bankers, commercial men, and intermediaries without number, necessary to-day, but condemned for the most part to lose their *raison d'être* and to enter into the ranks of the productive class. No more



activities which neutralise themselves in being used against one another, but a harmonious co-ordination in view of a common end. An enormous simplification of the mechanism of exchange, which will make trading and the harrassing whirl of commerce a souvenir of an ugly nightmare. Lastly, and above all, a methodic organisation of national production similar to that which might reign in the model working of a private estate.

#### DISTRIBUTION OF LABOUR.

It is not enough to have shown that production in the Socialist régime satisfies the general conditions imposed upon it. It is not sufficient to calculate and consider the sum of social labour *en bloc*; but it is also necessary to ask how it will be distributed between the members of society.

To-day the persons who carry on the various trades have seldom a free choice in the matter. It is true that the rich can consult their preferences in the choice of professions, but for others, for those who are stupid enough to have been born poor, it is quite different. Some of these, thanks to remarkable abilities and happy accidents, succeed in gaining a place among the governing classes; others, by servile devotion to the interests of the powerful, succeed in gaining comfortable positions. But the majority adopt this or that method of gaining their bread, by routine of constraint even more than by vocation. Those who possess nothing are forced under pain of death to accept hard and repugnant labours.

The sons and daughters of the proletariat are, with very few exceptions, condemned from birth to labour which degrades and kills, because it is without respite, without hope of ease, and without hope of a tranquil old age. The criticism of existing conditions instructs us in what must not exist under the Socialist régime. It is essential that all the works necessary to the life of society should be accomplished. It is also necessary that everyone has the obligation and the means of working. But at the same time it is necessary that each has the choice of his work, and in the work itself the maximum of liberty compatible with the execution of indispensable works. It is also necessary that remuneration shall stimulate possible and probable idleness, and compensate the inequality of allurements offered by different professions.

To this end the following measures would be adopted:—

In the first place, each adult would be compelled to enter a particular profession.

The choice of trade would be free.

Every trade would be open, either for those desiring to enter or to leave it.

Each trade would have its own autonomous organisation, subject to the fundamental laws of society.

Remuneration, if it could not be equal for all, would be fixed on a principle determined by the whole of society, and would be the same in all the parts of the social organism.

The concluding portion of Part III, which concludes the whole work, deals with the distribution of the fruits of labour, and the basis of value which under Socialism will govern this distribution. Space alone prevents us from giving anything approaching an adequate *résumé* of this very important chapter of the work; and in conclusion, in expressing our high appreciation of this valuable contribution to Socialist literature, we add to it our hope of shortly seeing the work in book form, translated into the English tongue.

A. E. L.

## SOCIALISM IN FRANCE.

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IN the number of *Cosmopolis* which contains comrade Hyndman's article on "Socialism and the Future of England," a digest of which appeared in the SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT for February, comrade Jaurès contributes an article dealing with the position of Socialism in France at the present time. As regards the position in France, M. Jaurès points out that, although it is quite possible that the disunion and antagonism which existed and manifested itself among the French delegates at the late International Congress may have given rise to the supposition that there was in France no real organised Socialist Party at all, yet in reality that is not so, but, on the contrary, the workers of France are better organised on Socialist lines, and are more powerful than ever before. As proof of this, we see the great growth of the co-operative movement, and, further still, the creation of the Verrerie Ouvrière (Workers' Glass Factory). The Verrerie Ouvrière offers a field of direct action to the French proletariat. By its method of organisation, not only are the workers actually engaged interested in its success, but by the shares being owned by the trade unions and federations throughout the country, and through a rule devoting 60 per cent. of the profits to a common fund for the general interest, the whole of the organised proletariat are brought directly in sympathy with the work of the organisation. "On the day of the Social Revolution all these workers' groups, all these unions, at once autonomous and federated, will have a twofold action. On the one hand, they will be the prepared means by whose central and political action the workers will become masters of power and of property, will administer the common property, and give the direction to production. On the other hand, these groups of forces, of intelligences, and of desires, disseminated and applied to production, will hinder the new *régime* from gliding into an abusive centralisation or bureaucracy. . . . The economic action of the proletariat, then, can and must develop largely; and it is with profound joy that we prove, by the increase of co-operative workers animated by the Socialist spirit, by the creation and the progress of the Verrerie Ouvrière, by the multiplication of co-operative Congresses, by the institution of the confederation of labour, and by the preparation of a workers' journal common to all their corporations, the admirable progress of this economic action."

"This progress in the economic domain would be dangerous, would be even fatal, if it gave to the workers the illusion that political action was useless. But it is not so, and we can even affirm that, in proportion as its economic action progresses, the working class attaches itself more and more passionately to political action." The working class is coming to recognise more and more clearly that it is in the political arena that the final struggle for class emancipation will have to be fought; that, so long as the powers of the State—the army, navy, police, judges, law, &c.—are vested in the hands of the capitalist class, they will be used to keep the workers in subordination as wage-slaves in perpetuity, and that mere economic action in the co-operative field, or in any other, can avail them nothing until they control the political forms whereby they can legalise their emancipation. Thus the working class is organising to combat the governing class in the electoral and political field. "Everywhere Socialist candidatures are being prepared. Everywhere the French Socialist Party propose to appeal to universal

suffrage, and to conquer a majority in the assemblies where the law is made."

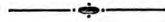
"In going thus into political action, in participating in municipal and parliamentary action, the Socialist party and the working class do not run the risk of adulterating their doctrine or of sinking their ideal. In fact, if space permitted, it would be easy to show that participation in political action by the French Socialist Party, instead of producing a diminution of Socialist thought, has, on the contrary, conducted the working class, its fighters and its representatives, to more rigorous conceptions and to more clear affirmations. In the same way as the workers' organisations look beyond economic action, the trade unionists beyond trade unions, the co-operators beyond co-operation, the Socialist Party, organised politically, looks beyond electoral action, beyond Parliament, beyond immediate programmes and partial reforms; and turns all its efforts towards the full and high idea of the social community, towards a form of property which assures to all the workers the maximum of liberty and of life. All the militants, all the wage-workers, all the Socialist representatives, have the same doctrine and the same ideal. All recognise that property, in its present form, entails an inevitable and irreducible class antagonism. All proclaim that the class war cannot be ended simply through the goodwill of the privileged or by uncertain transactions, but that the wage-workers must organise to transform property and abolish the class *régime*. All know that the means of production and exchange must cease to be the property of the capitalist class, and must become the inalienable property of the producers. All affirm that above the competition of peoples and races, above the rivalries and pseudo-national hatreds, which are a combination of antique animal combativity and of new economic rivalries, of primitive barbarism and capitalist barbarism, the proletariat of all countries must unite. At the same time, by the clearness of its general conceptions, it has chances of success that at any other time were unknown. At its accession to power it will not deliberate, it will act. Throughout the whole of a century the French Socialist movement has never had in its hands, neither with Babœuf and the conspiracy of the Equals, nor in 1848, nor in 1871, such powerful means of action and so much chance of victory."

M. Jaurès points out the causes which hindered the success of Socialism in the three great French revolutionary epochs, and prophecies that half a score of years will produce the success of Socialism in France. The economic conditions which weigh so heavily upon the proletariat, destroying their individuality and liberty, are reflecting themselves upon the portion of the middle class which has not a direct interest in the capitalist order of society. And this *élite* of the bourgeoisie, *élite* of knowledge and of thought, will find its position in the proletarian Republic, its employment in the Socialist order of society.

Again, it will require but a few years before the knowledge of Socialism among the peasantry becomes mature. To that end we are being assisted by our adversaries. In order to combat Socialism in the country districts they must agitate among them, and form them in groups. On every side the Government and the Catholics are organising associations of peasants. These associations will undoubtedly become centres of Socialist propaganda. "I believe that with ten years of propaganda in the rural world, already shaken by misery, revolt against speculation, against taxes, and against the selfishness of the great proprietors, prepared moreover by the unions and groups of all kinds with a wiser comprehension of life, Socialism will have made decisive progress."

"Lastly we have to reckon with a redoubtable obstacle which our very progress has excited. For the first time for twenty five years the bourgeois government is in accord with the Church. It is well known that from 1876 until the present legislature the Republican governmental party had opposed the Church. The Church seemed to move outside the Republic. Before the peril of Socialism the well-endowed sons of Voltaire have become reconciled with the sons of the crusaders, and Socialism finds before it the formidable coalition of the Government, the administration, the bank, the great capitalist, the great landlords, and the Church. This coalition has for effect the immediate arrestation of the apparent and visible increase and progress of Socialism in France. And it will undoubtedly require a considerable legislative and electoral struggle to discredit and break up this coalition. But this discredit is certain. It will be two-fold and reciprocal. The Church will compromise the bourgeoisie, and compromise itself at the same time. Clericalism will become exacting by reason of its services to the propertied class, will render itself odious, and, at the same time, will render odious that bourgeois power which, to save a privilege of property, will have betrayed, as far as depended upon it, the human spirit. And at the same time the Church will lose, by its avowed complicity with capitalism, all that it retains of evangelic idealism and popular force. Without doubt, it will then take care, and, when it sees that it has compromised itself for the bourgeoisie without saving itself, it will attempt a new movement; and as it abandons the monarchy to-day, and rallies to the Republic, it will attempt to abandon this to accomodate itself to the proletariat, growing with new destinies. Too late assuredly, and, in any case, the force of resistance of the old world will be decidedly disorganised and vanquished. From then the way will be entirely free, and the field wide open to Socialism in our country."

A. E. L.



## THE EFFECTS OF INDUSTRIALISM IN GERMANY.

WE hear much of Germany's general prosperity in these days, of her rapid advance in the race for industrial supremacy, and her increased activity in the world of trade. But Germany does not obtain an advantage over her competitors without cost to her people. This seems specially noticeable in the large cities. Says the *Gegenwart*, Berlin:

"Roman historians tell us that the German women strangled themselves rather than fall into the hands of the brutal Roman soldiery, and even the horrors of the Thirty Years' War did not seriously impair the morality of our cool-blooded sisters. Yet statistics show that there are 50,000 immoral women treading the asphalt of Berlin. No doubt a few thousand of these lead the life of the abandoned from choice, because they are too lazy to work, too coarse of nature to feel their shame, too thoughtless to appreciate its consequences. But the majority are victims to a policy which centres in the immoderate desire to increase our exports. Our young men have sunk to the position of coolies to the manufacturers, and cannot marry early. Our girls wait in vain for the man who will build them a home, and are forced to compete with man in his struggle for existence. Certainly, women are less pretentious than men, but it is impossible even for women to exist on the pittance they receive in sweating establishments, in factories, and as store girls. Meanwhile, the men learn to become wary and to despise

women, and when at last they are able to maintain a family, they prefer to remain bachelors. More women are forced to enter into the struggle for existence, and new victims are sacrificed at the altar of the modern Vidgliputzli.'

Another serious drawback in this increased competition is the employment of children as wage-earners. On this subject the *Frankfurter Zeitung* says:

"Statistics show that at least 215,000 children under fourteen years of age earn a living in the German Empire. Only a small fraction of these are employed in factories, 4,413 in 1896. Beneficial legislation and the societies for the protection of children have done much to lessen the evil. On the other hand, children are employed far too frequently at home, in stores, as pedlars, &c. The worst is that their work is done before and after school time, which must necessarily impair their ability to learn, since the rest needed for the concentration of their energies is not granted to them. This renders them unfit for the battle of life. The Plötzensee House of Correction shows 70 per cent. of all youthful offenders had been employed in some work which lowered their sense of moral obligation.

"What seems most necessary is the prohibition of employment of children in businesses in which they receive harmful impressions. Attending to the skittles in bowling-alleys, peddling and selling articles of any kind in the streets, employment in shows and restaurants as well as in slaughter-houses should be absolutely prohibited. Nor should they be allowed to work before school hours, or after six in the evening. Unfortunately, the Government accepts the argument of the Agrarians that the farmers cannot well get along without the services of their children, although these youngsters have to work very hard, and lighter employment, such as minding geese, sheep, or cattle, cannot be of advantage from a moral point of view. The Government will not interfere with the country population. We must, therefore, confine our efforts to the children employed in industries. In these many parents really cannot dispense with their children's services. The only way to mitigate and eventually eradicate the evil is increase of the parents' wages, and that cannot be done without strengthening the labour organisations."

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## THE IMMORALITY AND COWARDICE OF MODERN LOAN-MONGERING.

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In an article on this subject in the *Contemporary Review*, Mr. A. J. Wilson says that "Nations are not only getting divided into debtor and creditor nations, but each one of them which lays claim to be in any manner civilised has within it a subdivision of classes, becoming more and more marked, whose interests are principally those of debtor and creditor. It may not always be that the rich are growing more rich and the poor more poor, but such must be the general tendency. Taxation itself determines the fortunes of the multitude of the people now in every country, and the heavier taxation becomes the sharper tends to become the dividing line between the 'Haves' and the 'Have-nots.'"

Debt, Mr. Wilson claims, is a great determining factor in taxation. Wars and the love of warlike display are the causes of debt, which has given



the great masters of usury a deep hold on the nations. The nations are enslaved by the great "Golden International," which is not composed exclusively of Jews, as is popularly supposed, but of all men. But Mr. Wilson doubts if this great combination, with the powerful banks and bankers of the leading capitals of Europe at its head, gives sufficient attention to the dangers lying ahead. "A combined revolt against the masters in usury is a possibility of the future these leaders and pawnees of republics, kingdoms, and empires should not wholly leave out of view. It might destroy them, and with them much of what is most valuable and precious in the moral and intellectual progress of mankind."

"The ways of 'high finance'" says Mr. Wilson, are not exactly immoral, but "completely non-moral. The great loan dealers never ask whether it would be good for an applicant for money to have it. They merely look to see if they can make the operation of lending pay themselves." He goes on to detail the methods by which nations are engulfed deeper and deeper in debt, how their credit is bolstered up by hanging more millstones of indebtedness around their necks. This immoral, inhuman "high finance" is, he says, "nothing better than a ceaseless, flesh and-bloodless effort to 'make a profit' out of the follies, the ambitions, the diseased or legitimate aspirations, and, it may be, the misfortunes of nations. All motives are alike for borrowing to the world banker. Perhaps it is as well that this should be so, for in the ultimate result this system seems bound to collapse of its own unwieldiness and ruthless greed. . . . The snowball of public debt cannot be rolled up for ever and ever. Its weight must in time break the back of the strongest nation, and the longer the effective check of total bankruptcy is in coming the faster grows the speed at which Nemesis advances."

Mr. Wilson points out that England is not free from this danger; that our local debts are increasing faster than those of any other country; while in India the loan-dealer is now our master, and in all our colonies he is more or less so. Civilisation, built up on debt, is being undermined by the agent which reared it. Mr. Wilson concludes:—"Great is the development of man's power over the forces of nature, great his progress in the arts and sciences, mightier and mightier become the agents he wields to conquer and subdue; and as fast as a new element of strength is acquired it is put in pawn. So comes it that the products of human labour and ingenuity have been utilised to multiply the fetters in which men work. In some countries the weight of these fetters is even now so great that a rage to throw them off has entered the hearts of the people, a rage from whence come Anarchists, social revolutionists, class jealousies, and all those fermenting discontents whose energies have only to unite and the civilisation they now sullenly sustain, plotting against, would disappear like a midsummer night's dream."



## THE END OF THE NEW UNIONISM.

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IN an article under the above title, in the *Fortnightly*, Mr. Louis Garvin holds that the engineers' strike and lock-out were due to the Amalgamated Society of Engineers having been captured by the new unionism, and that the collapse of the engineers marks the end of that phase of the labour movement. He says: "It took half a lifetime of the old unionism to build up the reserve of the Amalgamated Engineers. Within little more than twelve months after the appointment to the general secretaryship of such a zealous and intelligent exponent of the new unionism as Mr. Barnes, the engineers find themselves bankrupt, both in resources and prestige, both for benefits and for strikes. They have formally recognised the right of the employer to confer the status of an engineer upon any competent person who may have picked up his trade without passing an apprenticeship. And, finally, the engineers have agreed to recognise the liberty, whether of the authorised or the unauthorised mechanic, not to belong to their society. That is the new unionism. The boiler-makers have kept their affairs in the experienced hands of Mr. Robert Knight, J.P.—an essentially bourgeois person, of broadcloth and ability. The boiler-makers held aloof from the recent struggle. Their union not only retains its prestige and its funds; it maintains the most absolutely rigid monopoly of their trade. No employer cares to engage a boiler-maker who does not belong to Mr. Knight's organisation. That is the old unionism. The egregious irony of the contrast is not likely to escape the attention of the engineers at the approaching elections for their executive."

All the same, Mr. Garvin is doubtful whether the struggle is for ultimate good or ill. He says:—"The Independent Labour Party was the result of a local strike at Bradford. It would be exactly in accordance with the historic idiosyncracies of the English mind if Socialism on a national scale should be suddenly established, as the result of just such a struggle as the engineering ended in just such a way. In an illogical and imperfectly self-conscious manner the new unionism was, indeed, a popular and characteristically English phase of the Socialist feeling." But the writer believes that, whatever doubt there may be about the future, there is none about one fact. The defeat of the engineers has sealed the fate of the new unionism. Whatever the struggle may have decided or left unsettled, it has certainly settled that. The movement which sprang to life with the dockers' strike of 1889 has found its debacle in the collapse of the engineers in 1898.

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## AGRICULTURAL DEPRESSION.

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IN an article in the *Contemporary Review*, Sir Edmund Verney combats the suggestion that agricultural depression is due to land being over-rented. On the contrary, he thinks it possible that it may in some measure be due to under-renting, which has had the effect of killing agricultural zeal and enterprise. He does not admit that the farmer has any claim for State protection or interference. He says: "The State interferes to protect women and children from over-work in factories, but it does not protect the owner of the factory from

being made to pay too high a rent for the land on which the factory stands." He further submits that "If it be maintained that the farmer is, for any reason, unable to protect himself against the grasping landlord, and that agriculture is an industry in which; therefore, the State is bound to interfere, let the State at least protect the weakest and the humblest. The farmer asks from the State fixity of tenure in his farm; then surely the labourer ought also to have fixity of tenure in his cottage. In the two adjoining Bucks parishes of Charndon and Poundon, the property of a single owner, the labourers, through their parish councils, have recently demanded an improved water supply. Now, in modern farming an adequate supply of pure water is essential to success. The response of the landowner has been to give notice to quit to every single labourer in both parishes; and who can gainsay him? If the farmer in his farm ought to have fixity of tenure, surely the labourer in his cottage ought to have fixity of tenure. . . . It is only reasonable to ask that the court which fixes the farmer's rent shall also fix the labourer's wage. . . . If the farmer needs protection from the greedy landlord, surely the labourer needs protection from the grinding farmer." The writer ascribes the depression in the main to the ignorance, want of enterprise, and tenacity of obsolete methods of the farmers: "The average British farmer is content to farm as his forbears farmed, and is surprised when he finds that other nations, farther advanced in scientific agricultural training, undersell him in his own markets. Take a walk with a farmer over the farm on which he was born and bred. Gather a blade in the field and ask him whether it is an annual, a biennial, or a perennial; ask its name and whether he can recognise its flower and seed . . . go with him to his dairy, and inquire what is his knowledge of bacteria as affecting milk . . . learn his views on the breeding of stock . . . does he breed for milk or for beef? . . . Does he crossbreed his sheep to compete with the wool imported from abroad? It is rare to find a farmer with a competent knowledge upon such points, who takes any interest in them, or cares either to learn them himself, or to teach anyone else." "But," says the writer further, "if the education of the farmers is so lamentably deficient, that of the labourer is almost (not quite) as bad. In most rural districts the education of the labourer is largely in the hands of the farmer, who is convinced that it cannot be good for the labourer to know what he does not know himself, and does not wish to know. . . . But no class and no party seriously wishes for advanced education. The labourer loudly protests (with Mr. Clare Sewell Read) if his boy is kept at school a single day when he might be earning wages. The farmer dreads the educated labourer, who is already treading too closely on his heels. The squire and the parson hold in holy horror the growing independence of the more educated labourer, who is beginning to make himself felt on the school board, the parish council, and even on the district council. So when education is mentioned they all, with one accord, begin to make excuse, and say 'Come and let us fiddle with the Agricultural Holdings Act.'" Sir Edmund Verney draws the conclusion, "That if agricultural education, in its widest sense, be brought within the reach of farmers and labourers alike, we may expect to reap the same remunerative results that our Continental competitors are now deriving from the application of science to agriculture."

## FORTY YEARS OF VITAL STATISTICS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

THE vital statistics of Massachusetts are the most complete of any state in the union. They cover a period of great changes in the character and density of the population, and in the employment and life of the people. We may therefore expect to find in a forty years' summary of these statistics, prepared by Dr. Samuel W. Abbott, of the State Board of Health, matters of some popular interest and concern.

Let us first bring together the marriage, birth and death rates by five-years periods beginning with and including the year 1856—the rate representing the number of persons married and the number of births and deaths per thousand of population :

	Marriage Rate.		Birth Ra e.		Death Rate.
1856-60 .....	19.62	...	29.51	...	17.94
1861-65 .....	18.66	...	25.34	...	20.71
1866-70 .....	20.96	...	26.07	...	18 19
1871-75 .....	19.73	...	27.62	...	20.83
1876-80 .....	15.66	...	24 25	...	18.84
1881-85 .....	18.54	...	25.09	...	19.82
1886-90 .....	18 62	...	25.86	...	19.41
1891-95 .....	18.50	...	25.62	...	19.83

The marriage rate has noticeably declined during the forty years. It fell off for obvious reasons during the time of the civil war, and rose above the average right afterward. In 1866 the rate was as high as twenty-two and fourteen one-hundredths, and it has never during the forty years exceeded that figure. Other considerable fluctuations have been coincident with times of industrial depression and revival, and are doubtless to be thus explained. Higher standards of living and the sharpened struggle for an ample livelihood account for the general decline in the marriage-rate. People seldom marry at the ages formerly common. Taking the whole number of persons married in the forty years whose ages were known, it appears that in the first twenty years the mean age at marriage for men was twenty-eight and eighty-five one-hundredths, and in the last twenty years twenty-nine, while the mean age for women increased from twenty-four and ninety-two one-hundredths to twenty-five and forty-one one-hundredths.

There has also been a decline in the birth rate during the forty years, and the same causes operating to increase the average age at marriage and to reduce the marriage-rate are no doubt accountable for the reduced birth-rate. The birth-rate among the native born has fallen from nineteen and forty-nine one-hundredths in 1850 to sixteen and fifty-eight one-hundredths in 1895—the period in this comparison being extended to forty-five years. On the other hand, the rate among the foreign born has remained nearly stationary at about fifty per one thousand of foreign born population, or much more than double the native rate. As the foreign born population contains a larger ratio of persons of child-bearing ages than does the native element, the fertility of the foreign is not so great comparatively as the figures indicate, but it is still, nevertheless, far greater than that of the native. And this calls attention to the rather momentous fact that the

native born population of Massachusetts to-day is not self-sustaining. A population with only two and three one-hundredths children to each married couple is not holding its own after allowing for the deaths which occur in the first five years of life. Or compare the native birth-rate of sixteen and fifty-eight one-hundredths with the native death-rate of nearly twenty, and consider where we would come out in the course of time without the infusion of a foreign element possessed of less regard for or hope of reaching an ample and luxurious livelihood. Another fact of moment in this connection is the great increase in the number of illegitimate births within the state. The statistics are very incomplete in this respect, but Dr. Abbott roughly reaches the conclusion from what is known that the ratio of illegitimate births to one thousand births has risen from below ten during the first decade of the forty years to about twenty at the present time. This would be an expected consequence of the tendency to late marriages; but in view of the large immigration, and the fact that in most countries of Europe the rate of illegitimate births to one thousand births rises as high as seventy-five and even above one hundred, other causes come into the problem.

During the forty years the population of Massachusetts has more than doubled, and nearly two-thirds of the increase has come from immigration. The additions from that source have poured largely into the cities, and in the same time the native element has been drifting urbanward. It has been a period of municipal growth extraordinary beyond comparison, and it is a well established fact that the death rate bears a close relation to population density. Hence it is that in forty years of unquestionable progress in medical science and skill, and in improved sanitation, no perceptible reduction in the death rate has been effected. Improved sanitary conditions have, in a word, very nearly overcome the unfavourable influence of increasing density of population. How far the drift of population into great manufacturing and commercial centres has affected the death rate is particularly observable in the case of infants below one year of age. The death rate here has increased to a considerable extent in the forty years, and it is noticeably high in the manufacturing cities, Fall River heading the list. It has been observed that the infantile death rate bears a direct relation to the ratio of married women employed away from their homes, and hence the higher infant mortality rate in manufacturing places, and one effect of the industrial changes of four decades on the general death rate.

But while the chances of life under one year have been lessened in forty years, those of life from one year up to forty have been increased to a marked extent. The records back to 1865 permit this comparison of death rates per one thousand living persons at specified age periods for the two years, 1865 and 1895:

	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-39
1865.....	9.63	5.14	9.63	12.58	11.68
1895.....	6.23	3.18	5.34	7.08	9.67

On the other hand, for ages above forty there has been some increase in the death-rate. Among ten principal causes of death consumption stands first now, as in 1856, but its ravages have been greatly reduced; while scarlet fever and typhoid fever, which stood high in the list in 1856, have now fallen out entirely from the list of ten chief causes of death. Dr. Abbott notes a coincidence between the decline in typhoid fever mortality and the increase in public water supplies, and he regards it as a case clearly of cause and effect. It is certainly a most interesting and striking table which follows, giving the death rate from typhoid fever per 100,000 of living



population and the percentage of population not supplied with public water :—

Years.	Typhoid death-rate.	Per cent. of population without public water.
1856-65 .....	92.9	... 75.44
1866-75 .....	28.8	... 58.94
1876-85 .....	47.4	... 31.75
1886-95 .....	36.4	... 13.93

Not less marked than the reduction in the special death rate is the astonishing extent to which the people of the state in forty years have established public water supplies.

It is, on the whole, a most satisfactory exhibit which is made in the forty years' review of these matters of life and death. Excessive immigration, great industrial changes and the breaking away of the native population from its rural moorings, have thrown upon the state social and sanitary problems of great weight and moment, but they have been met, and in these more vital issues of life it can be said that a healthful progress has been well maintained.—*Public Opinion* (New York).



## A FRENCH ENGINEER ON AMERICAN MACHINE-SHOPS.

AN expert French observer thinks that, although Americans may waste food, they certainly do not waste energy. According to a Philadelphia paper, as quoted in the *American Machinist*, a French officer of engineers gave the following account recently of what he had seen in American factories :—

"I have been in America six months, and have visited the mines and manufacturing establishments in the east, west, north, and south. I have seen the most gigantic engineering operations and the most powerful machinery in the world, but I shall report to my Government that the biggest things in America are the little things. . . . The French people are experts in domestic economy, and live comfortably by saving what your average families throw away. But Americans are, on the other hand, experts in industrial economy. You make money by saving wastage in business, and you lose some of it by wastage in your domestic economy. The attention paid to small details in your big works is amazing to me ; I have visited some establishments where I believe the profits are made, not in the manufacture proper, but in the saving of materials and labour by close attention to details that are with us unconsidered trifles. For example, I saw in your shops just now a little grindstone in operation automatically sharpening lathe and planer tools. This machine cost, probably, as much as a hundred of our ordinary grindstones cost, but I see that it automatically grinds all the tools for three hundred high-priced mechanics, and it only works a few hours each day. The skilled mechanics in our country frequently stop their regular work to grind their own tools, and then they do it imperfectly. Your tools are all accurately ground to the best shape by the machine, so that they do more and better work on this account in a given time. I believe that that machine has brains—the brains of the inventor—and it has no doubt revolutionised work of this kind in American machine-shops."

## THE INVENTOR OF THE TELEPHONE IN WANT.

PROFESSOR ELISHA GRAY, the inventor of the telephone, and the owner of a brain that has been the means of making millionaires of twenty men, is spending the evening of his life in poverty, according to the *Chicago Times-Herald*. Professor Gray is one of the three greatest inventors of the century, and at the age of sixty-three and in the very shadows of the palaces whose owners he has made rich, he is forced to live in an humble house and share his table with day-boarders at Highland Park, Ill. Professor Gray lacks the sense of thrift, and he knows it. He has been up and down, and when he had any considerable amount of money he always thought it was enough to last him his lifetime. He admits that it never occurred to him to be a scientist for money. He only wanted the fame. He spent a year in making one improvement on the telephone. It was gobbled up on sight for 50,000 dols.

He thought this was enough to last him his lifetime, so he sent his family to Europe and they spent money like water for pictures and statuary. It was soon all gone, and they came back home to live in extreme want.

Now this genius has lost all his buoyancy, has practically abandoned all his great ideas, closed his laboratory, and spent the last year working on a bicycle lamp. When it was finished he got but little for it, although it was worth thousands. His financial hard luck has about crushed his genius. It is a pathetic story.

## A MONROE DOCTRINE FOR CHINA.

"DIPLOMATICUS," writing on "A Monroe Doctrine for China," in the *Fortnightly Review*, commences his article by stating that "four years ago it was possible to speak of the Far Eastern Question as a problem reserved for our children." Indeed, even at a later day, Lord Rosebery's eye detected it only as a shadow lurking in the 'dim vistas of futurity' . . . and ascribing the "new peril" on "the field of international politics" "entirely to the Japanese," to their absence "of a sense of responsibility" . . . their "reckless diplomacy," their "wanting in political insight," and to "their barbarous instincts" being "stronger than their civilised intelligence." The author considers "the recent Kiao-Chau and Port Arthur incidents" as "direct sequels of the Chino-Japanese war." In dealing with the criticisms of Lord Salisbury's politics in connection with the facts of the Kiao-Chau and Port Arthur incidents, he calls them "a mere array of unsubstantial bogies." As to a definite policy to be taken now by England at the Far East, he sums up:—

- (1) To preserve the political *status quo* in the Far East; and
- (2) To secure the unhampered circulation of the commerce of the world throughout the markets of China.

Speaking of the Chinese nation, the author concludes his article:—"The Chinese are not a degenerate race, however corrupt their Government and administrative machinery may be. They are not fighting men turned out to grass, like the Turks, but the cultivated product of a civilisation which, in its way, is high, and capable, on its own lines, of many good things." Once China "were strong and well-governed, there would be no longer a Far Eastern Question to disturb the peace of the world."

## UPRIGHT ! UPRIGHT !

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ON Man did Nature not bestow,  
A balm for every pain ?  
A heal for every ill and woe ?  
(As Spring makes melt the Winter's snow,  
And sunshine follows rain).  
Did not She write her lesson plain  
And large for all to scan ?  
That they alone were wise and sane,  
Who shunned Life's poison and its bane,  
And lived to Nature's plan.

She wished, ye drudges, for a wage,  
To see her child grow tall,  
And gave the earth as heritage  
To him and his, through every age,  
To be enjoyed by all.  
Oh ! slaves, will ever ye recall,  
Or bring within your ken,  
The why it is you cringe and crawl  
To live—the wherefore of your fall  
To things in shape of men ?

She gave you blood and bone and heart,  
The reason and the will ;  
Yet are ye wares upon the mart,  
Because from her ye would depart  
And keep departing still.  
Then let the degradation fill  
Your cup of Life to-day—  
Toil, harnessed to the mine and mill,  
For ye no "City on the Hil',"  
Mere wares of breathing clay.

Yet Nature, to your madness kind,  
Though far from her ye flee ;  
Is whispering on every wind,  
That woos the open heart and mind,  
"There's hope, if ye be free,  
My other self is Freedom—she  
Would love with Man to dwell ;  
And this to him's my last decree,  
Where'er she is there Heaven *may* be,  
But where she's not *is* Hell."

J. LESLIE.



EMILE ZOLA.

# THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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## THE DREYFUS AND ZOLA CASE.

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GAMBETTA once declared that the priest was *the* enemy. We may now add that clericalism and militarism combined constitute the greatest and most formidable foe. To this the Socialist might retort: "How about capitalism?" But if capitalism, as now constituted, is the cause of most of the prevalent evils, it depends for its continued existence on the support of Governments. Now, a Government is only an individual, an autocrat, or a premier, aided by a committee of individuals. By itself, this governmental committee has no more power than any dozen men collected at the corner of a street. Their power depends on the willingness of the organised forces of the nation to obey their orders. It is, therefore, against these organised forces that we must act if they oppose the progressive evolution of nations. The clergy constituted one of these forces, and Gambetta, inspired by the teachings of the great French Revolution, thought that if the power of the clergy could be abolished, the door would be thrown wide open to the forward march of progress. Gambetta was no Socialist; but the Socialists thought that where Republicanism and democracy could pass there Socialism also would make headway. To the latter, the Republic was not the object but the tool with which Socialism could ultimately be manufactured. Gambetta was in a fair way towards realising his object. The teachings of Voltaire, of Rousseau, of the encyclopædists generally, had sunk deep into the French mind; and France has become a freethinking nation. Only women and children go to church. Of the adult male population, the regular attendants at church consist of the most ignorant sections of the peasant population, such as the Bretons, or of members of the aristocracy and others who belong to the extreme Royalist and reactionary parties, and they, for the most part, support the Church from political rather than from theological motives. Thus for a time there was a tendency to believe that *the* enemy denounced by Gambetta had well nigh been shorn of his power. There was, however, one disquieting symptom. Nearly every politician brought into power since the advent of the third Republic, including the members of the Opportunist Party, was pledged to the separation of Church and State. Yet no sooner had these men become responsible Ministers than they dropped this important clause in their programme. Why?



The fact is, that though the theological dogmas taught by the Clerical Party are no longer believed, the frame of mind which clericalism has created still subsists. The object worshipped has been altered; the method of worship still survives. In fighting against clericalism a great mistake has been committed. Every effort was made to prove that the revelation on which the clericals based their dogmas was not a revelation; that the explanation they give of the creation of the world is manifestly absurd and in glaring contradiction with the laws of Nature, indisputably revealed by scientific investigations. But, after all, if a person chooses to believe that the adventures of Adam and Eve, and other such legends are not poetic allegories, but absolutely and literally true, such belief would not do more practical harm to the community than is actually wrought by the fact that a number of people are convinced that it is unlucky to spill salt, to walk under a ladder, or to sit down thirteen at table. We are all of us liable to be misinformed, and to believe things that are false. But that is no sufficient reason to despair of humanity. All we need is the liberty of free inquiry, and these errors will one by one be removed. Now, the real mischief of clericalism rests in the fact that it suppresses free inquiry. Let us look, for instance, at this Dreyfus affair. It is a subject on which doubts may legitimately be entertained. No one with any sense of justice can dogmatise on such a matter. Surely the Court Martial may have made a mistake. Consequently opinions are much divided. With but one most significant exception, there is not a party, not a group, perhaps not a family in France which is not divided in its opinion as to the guilt or innocence of Dreyfus. Throughout the country the Clerical Party alone is unanimous. This remarkable exception to the general rule is due to the fact that the first and greatest aim of clerical education is to teach absolute obedience to the Church, absolute faith, not so much in a dogma as in the guidance of the Church. There must be no questioning, no reasoning, no argument. The Church Party has issued its fiat that Dreyfus is guilty, therefore it is absolutely impossible that he should be innocent.

It is true that the majority of Frenchmen do not believe in the Church, and yet they believe in the guilt of Dreyfus. This anomaly can only be explained by the fact, not till now sufficiently realised, that the so-called freethinkers of France, in a great measure, still retain the clerical authoritative system of reasoning. Instead of saying there is a doubt, let us clear it up, they will not admit that the infallibility of the judges can be challenged. Formerly it was "abomination and desolation" to question the Church. Such doubts, we were told, must produce anarchy and chaos. Authority must be infallible because it must be supreme. Doubt this infallibility and authority falls to the ground. Obedience is only possible where discussion is strictly prohibited. On this basis, the Church governed Europe for several centuries, and, in so far as Protestantism tended to shake this system, Protestantism favoured progress. As the Church lost credit in France, we somewhat too hastily concluded that the system on which it built up its authority had also disappeared. Such, unfortunately, is not the case. France

has replaced its faith in the Church by a faith in the flag. The Dreyfus affair now proves that this flag worship is as arbitrary and intolerant as the Church of Rome in its worst days. Woe to the Frenchman who dares to question the infallibility of the flag. This feeling the Clerical Party has thoroughly understood, and, as I explained in *Justice* (March 5), they have spared no pains to place their most devoted adherents on the staff of the French Army. If they can no longer govern the country through the Church they hold all the ropes that govern the army, and against modern weapons of precision no nation can resist a regular army. But by far the worst feature of the situation is that at present the nation does not seem at all inclined to resist the army. The nation has rebelled against the infallibility claimed by the Church only to proclaim the infallibility of the army; and, as the Church is master of the army, the nation has once more bowed its neck to its former tyrant.

Politically, this naturally facilitates the abolition of the Republic, and the re-establishment of a Monarchy or an Empire.

It is scarcely worth while entering into the intricacies of the Dreyfus case. The fact that the Press of the entire civilised world, even including a great number of Russian papers, condemn the action of the French authorities should suffice. Indeed, the fact that the Government, humbly subservient to the exigencies of the military staff, have refused to let the real points at issue come before the Court, is itself a confession of doubt and weakness. Our friends the Socialists of Belgium, whose sympathies for France and the French people are beyond doubt, have put the matter very tersely in their official organ, *Le Peuple*. M. Zola and his publisher, M. Perreux, were prosecuted and condemned under only two counts. They were found guilty of having libelled the Court Martial which judged Commander Esterhazy, by publishing in the *Aurore* "that this Council of War had knowingly acquitted a guilty party," "that this acquittal was a slap in the face of which the French nation would for long preserve the stain," "that this sentence was iniquitous," "that the first Council of War (which condemned Dreyfus) might have been merely unintelligent, but that the second Council (which acquitted Esterhazy) was necessarily criminal." The second count was that M. Zola had supplied his publisher with the means of printing this libel. Such were the exact terms in which the question was put to the jury, and this was the only question on which they were called upon or allowed to pronounce a verdict or opinion. But this count is not a quotation from Zola's letter of accusation; it is a commentary on the letter, and only on a very small fragment of the letter.

What Zola said was as follows:—

"Finally, I accuse the first Council of War of having violated the law by condemning the accused on secret evidence (*i.e.*, evidence not communicated to the defendants), and I accuse the second Council of War of having covered this illegality by order, and for this purpose of having, in its turn, committed a judicial crime by acquitting a person who was obviously guilty."

It will be noticed that the question put to the jury only deals with the latter half of this paragraph, and is so worded as to awaken their animosity. Zola says nothing about slapping the face of the French nation. He never attacked the French nation or the French army, but only the clerical clique which dominates the military general staff. Instead of meeting these accusations, lie upon lie has been told so as to spread abroad the idea that Zola has slandered the nation, the army, the flag! On the other hand, what Zola did say has never been answered, the investigation he strove to bring about was never sanctioned. One little sentence, out of a long article, is selected for prosecution, the remainder, which is far more important and to the point, is prudently set aside.

Zola accused Lieutenant-Colonel Paty de Clam of "diabolically working to bring about a judiciary error and of having defended his nefarious work during three years by the most culpable and extraordinary machination." Zola accused General Mercier, formerly Minister of War, of having "at least through weakness of mind, rendered himself an accomplice of one of the greatest iniquities of the century."

It will be remembered that, at the Zola trial, General Mercier, while refusing to answer questions, practically admitted that there had been a secret document. On this document Dreyfus was condemned without being able to defend himself, for he was not allowed to see the secret piece of evidence. This General Mercier ought to know, since he was Minister of War at the time of the Dreyfus trial. The *Daily News* thus reported the incident:—"M. Zola's Council, Me. Labori, said: 'Let us be exact. The question is this: Did a secret document figure in the trial or not?' General Mercier answered: 'It is not for me to say.' Me. Labori: 'It comes to this, then, when I say General Mercier declared that a document was communicated, he replies that he made no such declaration, and when I ask him if such a document was communicated, he tells me that he cannot answer.'"

But this is not all. Zola accuses the present Minister of War, General Billot, "of having held in his hands the certain proofs of Dreyfus's innocence, and of having burked them, of being therefore guilty of the crime of lèse humanity and lèse justice, committed for a political purpose, and so as to save the compromised military staff."

Zola also accused General de Boisdeffre and General Gonse "of being accomplices in the committal of the same crime, the one yielding doubtless to clerical passion and the other acting perhaps in keeping with that *esprit de corps* which seeks to render the War Office sacred and above all attacks."

Zola accused General de Pellieux and Commander Ravary of "having conducted a scoundrelly investigation with monstrous partiality, thus erecting an imperishable monument of naïve audacity." He further accused the three experts in handwriting, Belhomme, Varinard, and Couard, of having made "lying and fraudulent reports," and he accuses the War Office of having "instigated, particularly in the *Eclair* and the *Echo de Paris*, an abominable campaign, so as to lead astray public opinion, and thus hide their own faults."

The three experts in handwriting are prosecuting M. Zola for damages, but this only because, through a quibble in the law, they can avoid bringing their case before a jury. All the rest remains unanswered, and, if not true, is surely quite as libellous as the one solitary sentence on which Zola was condemned. Well may the *Peuple* of Brussels exclaim :—

“ Neither with regard to Lieutenant-Colonel Paty de Clam, nor with regard to General Mercier, nor General Boisdeffre, nor General Gonse, nor General Pellieux, nor Commander Ravary, nor the War Office, has Zola been declared a libeller ; what is more, they have not dared prosecute him, therefore his act of accusation remains unshaken and standing.”

While at the Zola trial the real points at issue were thus studiously set aside, all principles of justice were shamelessly trampled underfoot. Any remarks that might discredit Dreyfus or his friends were allowed, but all that might prove in his favour was rigorously suppressed. The generals, though only witnesses, were allowed to make speeches for the prosecution, and to intimidate the jury. General Boisdeffre threatened to resign his position as Chief of the General Staff if the jury failed to condemn Zola. This threat was a barefaced lie, and a flagrant attempt to impose on the credulity of the jury, for an officer must occupy the post assigned to him and cannot resign, unless he is ready to sacrifice his position, his pension, and all his rights. The officers present not only sought to intimidate the jury, but also all present who seemed to sympathise with the defence. Thus an officer struck M. Courot with his cane. Captain Niessel, in full Court, threatened to drive his sword through the body of the first person who applauded the defence. M. Pouffin de St. Morel wrote for admission tickets so as to pack the Court with officers in mufti for the purpose “ of supporting the public prosecutor and the jury.” While refusing to produce any secret document that might be of advantage to the defence, General Pellieux exhibited the secret document of November 17, 1896, which is attributed to a foreign military attaché, and General Boisdeffre confirmed the exactitude of this document. Whether genuine or a forgery, what business had these generals to produce this document ? If they were justified in producing one secret document, why should they withhold the other secret documents ? Again, have generals the right to make collective protestations. Everything is to be sacrificed to maintain the discipline of the army, yet the generals at the trial showed no sense of discipline whatever. They pretended, by threatening to resign, that instead of obeying orders, they had the right to select the functions they would fulfil. In a word, the officers acted throughout as if they were the masters and not the servants of the nation. They considered themselves above law, and did not fail to exhibit their contempt for the law. What this means politically may be judged by the following passage, quoted from a remarkable article in the March number of the *Contemporary Review*, on the degeneration of the French people :—

“ A French official, who is at home at the Ministry of War, states that at present the entire War Ministry, the General Staff, two-thirds of the cavalry officers, and about one-half of all the other officers, are pupils of the

Jesuit fathers, and devout children of the Church. Senator Ranc affirms that France has now ninety-six Ultramontane soldiers' clubs, at which the soldiers attend religious services, play billiards, receive tobacco and cigars, and obtain letter paper and stamps free." What this bribery means may best be judged by the fact that the pay of the common soldier is only a halfpenny per day. Soldiers, to get on, must be on good terms with the priests who preside over these clubs. Under these circumstances, it is not so surprising that Dreyfus the Jew should be condemned, and that Esterhazy, who was formerly a Pontifical Zouave, should be treated with so much indulgence.

At the same time, he is a very compromising tool, and this accounts for the strenuous efforts made by the Clerical Party to egg him on to fight a duel with the Protestant Colonel Picquart. As a rule, French duels are very inoffensive affairs, but we may be sure that in this case, should Colonel Picquart be foolish enough to fight, everything that is possible will be done to bring about a fatal issue. Whatever the result of such an encounter, the Clerical Party stands to win, for Colonel Picquart is one of their most dangerous adversaries, while their connection with Esterhazy has brought them no credit.

So far as Dreyfus is concerned, there can be but one of two solutions to the question at issue. Either he is innocent or guilty. If he is innocent, then a most dastardly and cruel crime has been committed by the Clericals on the General Staff so as to get rid of a colleague who was not a Clerical. If he is guilty, the proof of his guilt rests in a document which was not communicated to the defence. General Mercier, we have seen, admitted as much in his evidence at the Zola trial. Our comrade Jaurès asked in the French Chamber:—"Yes or no, is there a secret document?" The Premier, M. Meline, replied:—"I will not answer this question, for it would mean a revision of the (Dreyfus) trial." Surely it stands to reason that if M. Meline could have replied "No," this answer would not have rendered a new trial necessary. Only a few deputies dared support Jaurès in the Chamber; but, in the lobbies, they crowded round him, admitted that he was right, while expostulating that it was most unfortunate the matter should have been brought up just before the General Election. On the 4th of December, M. Meline told the Chamber that: "At present there is no Dreyfus question." This evidently implied that such a question might arise at some future date, a prospect which did not in any way please the military and clerical party. Therefore, about an hour later the War Minister, General Billot, rose and said there was no Dreyfus question at all, and pledged his honour and conscience that Dreyfus was guilty. This is a clear indication of a conflict between the Government and the War Office, in which, however, the Government had ignominiously given way. Thus we come back to the conclusion that it is the War Office which governs; and such is the French love of authority, and the French incapacity to understand and practice the principle of fair play, free criticism and argument, that the attitude of the General Military



Staff is approved even by those who call themselves Republicans. The danger of such a situation must be evident to all.

But now we have a new development. These military authorities, whose judicial acumen is so perfect that they cannot admit the possibility of any mistake occurring in the Dreyfus trial, have been proved incapable of instituting a prosecution for libel. The court martial was attacked by Zola, and it never occurred to them that it was the court martial, and not the War Minister, that should prosecute. This gross blunder invalidates the whole case, and has given the Court of Appeal the opportunity of rendering high homage to the honour and integrity of M. Zola. There is some justice in France, after all.

A. S. HEADINGLEY.

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### A STUDY IN TRADE UNIONISM.

UNDER the above title, Mr. Benjamin Taylor, in the *Nineteenth Century*, makes a savage onslaught on trade unions and trade unionists. "The strike of the engineers," he says, "with all its pitiful detail, its financial loss, and attendant suffering, has, after all, given us something to be thankful for. It has served to open the eyes of even the Morleyan 'plain man' to some of the practices of those organisations of labour which for five-and-twenty years economists have been trying to teach us to fall down and worship, and which politicians have been elevating into the dignity of a fifth estate. During the progress of the strike there has been revealed, bit by bit and with relentless precision, a most damaging and thought-provoking series of facts."

Some of the "methods" of trade unionism, in the view of the writer, consist of putting a premium on idleness and inefficiency, so as to reduce the output and increase the cost. "In place of honest toil it favours the trade union stroke. Instead of inciting to the perfection of craft skill, it compels the most highly skilled artisan to keep pace with the most slovenly dawdler. Instead of raising the wages of good workmen, trade unionism tends to increase the cost of production all round by making everything dear for the consumers, of whom the majority are the working classes themselves. For the injunction, 'Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might,' is given too often the rule to yield the smallest possible modicum of labour for the largest possible day's wage."

Mr. Taylor gives a long list of instances in support of his case, instances selected in the main from a number collected by the Executive of the Employers' Federation, all intended to prove that the union men are prevented from doing a fair day's work. He declares that shipwrights are only allowed to do ninety feet of caulking in a day, although in the pre-union days a good workman could do his 300 or 400 feet. We are further told of a bricklayer working with his right arm strapped behind his back, because he worked so much faster than his mates. Even that model trade union, at whose head is that pet of the employers in the iron trades, Mr. Robert Knight, does not escape; and it is estimated that the work of rivetting costs now twice as much as it did when the labour market was open. Yet the writer protests against the assumption that trade unionism has done anything to raise wages. Trade unionism is dangerous, he concludes, because it has become flavoured with socialistic longing for the transmutation of private capital.

## THE SOCIALIST VOTE AND THE LIBERAL PARTY

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THERE is a growing opinion throughout the ranks of Socialists in Great Britain that we must adopt a definite and continuous policy at elections all over the country, and prepare, by careful organisation, elaborated long beforehand, to make ourselves felt more seriously at the polls as a party than we have been able to do hitherto. We know that we ought to have far more representatives on public bodies than we possess at present. Yet if we go on as we have been going of late years, we shall only be working to secure the triumph of our worst enemies, the Liberals, and their attendant wire-pullers, who, in order to delude the voters, call themselves Radicals, or Progressives, or Labour representatives, or Fabians. It is useless to shut our eyes to this fact.

After seventeen years of arduous and effective propaganda, which has completely changed the current of public thought and the tone of popular literature and journalism, we still find ourselves shut out from those positions of more direct usefulness to which our numbers, our unpaid work, and our enthusiasm entitle us. Our foreign comrades are wholly unable to understand how this comes about. While everywhere on the Continent Socialism is advancing by leaps and bounds, possessing vigorous and capable parties in the various National Assemblies, here in England we have not a single Socialist in the House of Commons, or even one on whom we can rely in the London County Council, or on the London School Board. The reasons for this failure I endeavoured to give in the January number of *Cosmopolis*, and I think it is generally admitted that those reasons are in the main correct. But to explain unpleasant facts is not to render them any the less unpleasant. It is a disgrace to the nation that London should lag so far behind every other capital in Europe, scarcely excepting St. Petersburg, in the open acceptance of Socialist doctrines by the people at large. Leaving aside the miserably degraded inhabitants of our slums, who are too low down to be able to recognise their own degradation, there are plenty of workers in the metropolis who at the present time sympathise generally with the aspirations of Socialism, yet do not take the trouble to work or to vote for it. There are plenty more above the deadening level of continuous hard times, who are too ignorant and apathetic to go to the ballot box even for the School Board, which directly controls the education of their children.

Against all this it is very difficult for us to make head, and our incapacity to put genuine Social-Democrats into the House of Commons also tells against the rapid success of our educational work. The majority of modern Englishmen are snobs. They grovel before success. They prefer the capitalists who have sweated and fleeced them, or the labour hacks subsidised and controlled by these same capitalists, to independent men of their own class. When they have made such an one "M.P." by their own votes, have created a political King Stork for their own domination, straightway they fall down and worship him, although he may have entirely abjured

in Parliament all the pledges which secured him success in his election. And this sort of thing is getting worse instead of better. There are no "independent members" nowadays on the Liberal side in the House of Commons, any more than there are on the Conservative side. Many of us can remember when the Radical Party in the House was a genuine force. It was very far indeed from being Socialist, either in thought or in action, but it was genuinely democratic according to its lights. There is no such party which counts for anything to-day. The rich man, who, destitute of political knowledge or initiative, wishes to get into the House of Commons for social or pecuniary gain, has less difficulty in securing a seat on the Liberal side than he ever had. The working man, who strives to get in for a working-class constituency, has not the slightest chance of success unless he sells himself to the capitalists, however vigorous a champion he may be of his class. No one, for instance, can deny that Tom Mann, whatever mistakes he may have made from our point of view, has done more continuous work for the people than any of the Liberal-Labour hacks in the House of Commons, or, indeed, than all of them put together. Yet Tom Mann has no prospect of getting a seat so long as he remains independent and determined. If he were to bow the knee to the few who take the wealth, instead of standing by the many who make it, he could have almost any Liberal seat he chose to-morrow. The same thing is true of many S.D.F. and I.L.P. men. This reflects even more upon the workers than upon the Liberal wirepullers, no doubt. But we have to reckon with things as they stand.

Now, it is absurd to suppose that any radical change will come from either the Liberals or the Tories. The present arrangements suit both the capitalist factions, which are now practically one party against the people, equally well. The Tories buy the poorer voters with coals and blankets and Primrose League flattery; the Liberals bribe the constituents with promises they never mean to keep, and purchase the elected members, whom they consider might be dangerous, with money, or titles, or place. If the Liberals were honestly to adopt even a democratic political programme—universal suffrage, payment of members and election expenses out of public funds, one man one vote, second ballot, the initiative and referendum, &c.—they would lose all their rich men, without whom they cannot obtain the funds to fight an election upon their present lines. If, nevertheless, they threw over their rich men, with their claims to social distinction for money spent on politics and relied upon the enthusiasm of an awakened democracy to carry peacefully a political and social transformation, then they see very clearly that Socialism would speedily come to the front here as elsewhere. And that all the Liberal "leaders," from Dan to Beersheba, from Rosebery even unto Labouchere, from joker Birrell to jester Shaw, prefer Tories to Socialists has been lately made plainly manifest to the world.

The recent meeting of the National Liberal Federation at Leicester proves once more what the situation really is. It is all very fine for well-meaning malcontents to grumble and for democratic journalists to criticise, but, say what they will, the National Liberal Federation is the Liberal

Party. It formulates the programme, it chooses the candidates, it disposes of the funds of the party at large. And it now asks openly, not for more enthusiasm, but for more money; in order to keep the party under the dictation of the unscrupulous and hidebound capitalist clique which controls the machine.\* This money will no doubt be got from the Furnesses, the Mendls, the Duckworths, the Waltons, the Barkers, and other self-seeking toilers for knighthoods, baronetcies, peerages, and so on. Yet the same writers and speakers who denounce all this trickery, and expose the whole arrangements of the National Liberal Federation as a political swindle, hold up their hands in horror when Social-Democrats or Independent Labour men attempt to bring important questions to the front, and endeavour to secure the opportunity of forcing the consideration of such mild palliatives as the re-housing of the people, the feeding of children, the Eight Hour Law, the nationalisation of transport and the organisation of unemployed labour, upon the so-called "popular" assembly. We are always being adjured by Liberals to use constitutional means. But *whenever* we do that is not the time; and *wherever* we come forward that is not the place! When, also, we strive our best to push on thorough political reform and complete social reconstruction we are accused of "splitting the party," of helping the Tories, of standing in the path of progress. Unfortunately, too, though we have no part nor lot in the party, and cannot possibly therefore split it, some who ought to know better are actually taken in by this nonsense, and imagine that a capitalist Liberal, or a capitalist Liberal's hack, really is somehow much better than a Tory candidate of the like kidney. As a result, we are threatened with a plague of "Liberal Labour" candidates, who only differ from the older Labour men on the Liberal side in that they are more ignorant and far less independent than their predecessors.

Now, the question arises, what shall we Socialists do to render these hypocritical tactics abortive in future? It is, in my opinion, quite useless to continue to spend money and energy on hopeless electoral struggles. We have done as much propaganda in that way as we can afford to do. To throw away good money, and what is worse good enthusiasm, any longer in this fashion would, in my judgment, be extremely foolish. As I am criticising all round, I will take my own case as an example. I fought Burnley at the last General Election, as all know, and polled 1,500 votes against both Tory and Liberal. This was not so good as it ought to have been; but it was not bad considering how admirably both the political factions are organised, and how well their agents and sub agents are paid, in that town. The recent School Board election, when Dan Irving was returned triumphantly at the head of the poll by Social-Democratic plumpers, proves that the bulk of those 1,500 votes belong to genuine Social-Democrats, who

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\* When people talk of the "delegates" to the Conferences of the National Liberal Federation they overlook the fact that the majority of these so-called "delegates" are the salaried agents of the Party, paid by and through Dr. Spence Watson, the Newcastle solicitor, and his precious crew. When they vote for the cut-and-dry resolutions of the party managers they are voting therefore for their own paymasters and for the continuance of their own salaries.

would cast them in any way that the party as a whole might decide was advantageous to the cause. Now, it is absolutely certain that if those Socialist votes were given to the Tory at the next election in Burnley Philip Stanhope would be thrown out. I advocate, then, that I should retire from Burnley, and that this should be done.

Not that we wish to avenge ourselves upon Mr. Stanhope, who is neither better nor worse than any other Liberal "item," but simply as a matter of political business, and to gain a point in political warfare. The Liberals are determined that we Socialists shall never have a seat in the House of Commons. That we know. They will not leave a Socialist to fight a Tory in any Parliamentary, or even local, election without interference from their side. This has been shown time after time when Socialist working men have been pushed aside by Liberal capitalists. Very well, then, let us do them all the harm we possibly can, until they come to a better mind. They are our worst enemies, so long as they pursue this policy, because they can do us, and they do do us, far more harm than the Tories. In Burnley we can, to a certainty, lose them a seat. Let us lose them that seat.

Of course, if Burnley were the only constituency where this result could be brought about the Liberals would not care. Happily it is not, by very many. Without going fully into detail on this occasion—I have the facts and figures at hand, and can bring them out later—there is no doubt whatever that the Social-Democratic Federation alone, even apart from the Independent Labour Party (which would have the opportunity of fully discussing the matter with us), could, by throwing its vote Tory at all bye-elections, and at the General Election, lose the Liberal party seat after seat which it might otherwise gain, and render it impossible for that party, with all its present hopefulness, ever to take office again.

Now, what would be our object in taking this course? What do we propose to achieve by it? Not a compromise of principle, certainly. No matter what the Liberals might promise, no matter what programme they might adopt, in order to gull the voters, we would not run the slightest risk of sinking our organisation in theirs, or of being identified in any way with their cohort of kept men. Neither should we adopt these tactics merely for the sake of "smashing" the Liberals, or to keep them out of office for any malignant reason. True, they are of no use, and of less than no use, to the people; and if they were out of our way we should have a much better chance of meeting and overcoming the reactionists in open battle. But the mere desire to hamper and weaken the Liberals would not be a sufficient reason for deciding to cast our full vote in favour of the reactionists, and thus temporarily to strengthen those against whom we have eventually to fight, and fight hard. If we do this, then, and I strongly advocate that we should, we shall do it for the purpose of compelling the Liberals to refrain from opposing our candidates in constituencies where we may decide that we are entitled by our work, our numbers, and our enthusiasm to be left a fair field to contest the seat.

We have no belief in the House of Commons. In fact, as at present constituted, we know it and declare it to be, so far as the interests of the



+ people at large are concerned, nothing better than a den of thieves. But, after all, we must work with the tools we have got. The House of Commons, cry many, is a belated capitalist gathering, governed by silly old forms manipulated by silly old people. Granted. Our feeling for it is assuredly one of contempt rather than of respect. There is not a subject under its consideration, at the present time, which closely concerns the well-being of the working population of this island. It has lost its control over foreign as well as domestic affairs, and even a Curzon is permitted to treat its members with the rude superciliousness born of an inferior mind. Such clever and capable men as find themselves in this company are placed at an ever-growing disadvantage, and mediocrity reigns supreme at Westminster.

Nevertheless, this collection of the nominees of the faction caucuses is still the sole legislative machinery that we possess; and the House of Commons is the only place in which a small body of really determined representatives can force the party politicians, and the country at large, to listen to them. Moreover, independent and courageous criticism there makes itself felt at once, not only in Great Britain, but all over the Continent. Little, therefore, as many of us may like political action in its present shape, such action is absolutely essential in order to keep our party together and to spread our doctrines; while representation in Parliament is the only means by which we can push our administrative views to the front more vigorously now, and make ready to take immediate advantage of the shock from without which may well come upon us in the near future. Any course, consequently, is justifiable which will enable us speedily to gain a footing in the National Assembly; and the only course which seems to me likely to be effective at this moment is that which will render it quite impossible for the Liberals to neglect our claims unless they wish to remain permanently on the Opposition benches. Their fears that we shall adopt these tactics, and the furious abuse which they heap upon us at the mere suggestion that we shall take and apply them, constitute, I think, a fair measure of the value of such a policy to us.

But there are some even in our own ranks who declare that, if we pursue these tactics of voting steadily for the Tories, and throwing the Liberals out, until they are forced to take account of us as active and implacable enemies, we shall disgust the honest Radicals, from whom we get the bulk of our recruits. That, further, we may sap the vigour of our own party by thus taking up with what is sometimes called an "unscrupulous" policy.

First, as to the Radicals. Are we making converts among them so rapidly that we have any reason to consider their prejudices at all? I think not. What I observe is that these Radicals simply take the best means they can to make use of our work for the greater glory of their capitalist-Liberal masters, and then turn round and jeer at us. They may curse, but they will not jeer when we have sent some twenty or thirty of their precious candidates back to study the causes of their defeat in private life. I believe that by the time we had destroyed the chances of even three or four of their men they would be coming to us in a very contrite spirit. It would have been foolish to threaten to do this until we were able to

make our threats take shape in action. But, now that we can do it when we choose to make up our minds on the subject, I consider that it would be still more foolish not to make use of the most formidable political weapon which our increased numbers have placed in our hands. The Irish anti-Parnellites, who talk so big now about the turpitude of such a proceeding, were never so much respected by the coercion Radicals as when, in 1885, they threw the whole Irish vote in Great Britain against the Liberals, whom they now beslayer with their flattery. What is more, if it were not for the fact that the Irish vote in the House of Commons could put the Liberals in a minority by going with the Tories, under almost any conceivable set of circumstances, is it not certain that the Liberals would drop Home Rule to-morrow? Of course it is. I firmly believe, therefore, that we could discover no more effective means of inducing these "honest, well-meaning Radicals," who somehow play such a very sorry part in current politics, to study Socialism seriously with a view to its acceptance, than by showing them plainly that we can make ourselves uncommonly disagreeable, and that we care not a straw for their good opinion at any time.

Next as to ourselves, the Social-Democrats. I grant at once that if we were called upon by a set of irresponsible leaders to vote Tory for the sake of some political intrigue, of which we were not permitted to see the object, we should damage our own self-respect and whittle away the edge of our enthusiasm. But I am not proposing that we should do anything of the kind. I am all for open, public, widely-proclaimed action on our part. Let the subject be discussed as fully as possible by our members from every point of view. Let us invite the members of the Independent Labour Party to consider the matter with us. Let there be no secrecy, no intrigue, no dictation from head-quarters—let us have a thorough, vigorous, Socialist debate before anything is done. Under such conditions I cannot see the slightest risk of loss to us, whatever the result may be.

Should we, after careful investigation and discussion, decide that the best thing we can possibly do in present political circumstances is to cast our Socialist vote steadily against the Liberals, from this time onwards, until we have forced them to stand out of our way in certain agreed constituencies, which we ourselves should choose with the same publicity, and after the same democratic fashion, as before—then, of course, we must set to work to organise our voting power so that we may attain the desired end most completely. We have, I venture to think, arrived at the period when the old friendly feeling which most of us had for the Liberals in days gone by, as the party of progress, has quite died out. We have also come to the time when, in order to hold our own and force the pace, it is essential that we should take the offensive against this hypocritical capitalist faction as vigorously as possible. I can myself conceive of no better plan than that we should at once begin to teach Liberals, Radicals, Progressives, Liberal-Labourites and Fabians, that Social-Democrats are not quite the harmless people in politics they have hitherto accounted us, by throwing our Socialist votes in a mass against them at every opportunity that offers.

H. M. HYNDMAN.

## WHY IS SOCIALISM IN ENGLAND AT A DISCOUNT?

### II.

To grasp the significance of this fact to the full it is necessary to turn for a while to other countries. Taking as one instance France, we find the middle classes there acting for generations as the most faithful allies of the Monarchy, and, when at last driven by economic necessity to espouse the cause of political freedom, assuming towards it an attitude full of reserve, hesitation, and uncertainty. In spite of the thunders of Mirabeau, and the glowing eloquence of the Girondists, they were ever ready to compromise and bargain with the king and aristocracy, not unwilling to renounce some of their most important demands for the sake of peace and friendliness. Were it not for the populace of Paris, which took the destinies of France into its own hands, the Bourbon Monarchy would never have been overthrown, the power of feudalism never swept away, and the sovereign rights of the people never proclaimed. It was the people at large, the street mob, the man in the blouse and the fisherwoman, who saved France from the storm-cloud of despotic Europe—not the middle classes; it was the *sans culottes*, with their bloody days of September and the Reign of Terror, who stamped out with red-hot iron, as it were, the aristocratic gangrene in the land—not the *bourgeoisie*. It was, on the other hand, the latter which, as soon as it had gained the upper hand, abolished universal suffrage and instituted the Directory—that infamous Government which for ever remains an indelible blot on the annals of modern Europe. It was the latter which, seeking refuge from the dangers of the awakening of the proletariat, threw itself into the arms of the little corporal and restored the Monarchy, renewed the aristocracy, and finally recalled the Bourbons. It is a disgusting picture—the events of 1795-1815—but still more so is the nightmare of 1848. The bourgeoisie dreamt least of all of overthrowing the Throne and establishing a Republic; aiming only at certain concessions, it did not go further than speech-making and pamphlet-writing, and those it stopped at the first wink of Guizot. It was, again, the people of Paris—this time the genuine proletariat—which threw up barricades, fought in the streets, and drove the Monarchy bag and baggage out of the land, whilst the patriotic middle-class politicians, with Odillon Barreau, Thiers, and other criers, were hiding themselves in their houses, and even in the provinces. Only after the revolution had been accomplished, and the leaders of the proletariat were in possession of the field, did the gallant champions of freedom return to Paris and declare themselves—God knows by what authority and moral right—as the provisional Government. Everything from that moment went on with a view to betraying the people's cause; forced to take into the Government Louis Blanc and Albert, to give employment to the workers of Paris, and to pro-

claim a Republic with universal suffrage, the bourgeoisie soon contrived to elect a National Assembly of their own, to exclude from it every dangerous element, and to close the mock national workshops which it previously established. The proletariat rose—and a terrible answer was given to its demands in the shape of a ruthless slaughter and torrents of blood during the ever memorable days of June. The middle classes triumphed, and within four years abolished universal suffrage and sold the Republic to the first adventurer. Since then it has had the Republic forced upon it once more, but everyone knows what a distorted shape civil freedom has received at the hands of the French bourgeoisie.

Still worse, perhaps, was the case in Germany. Those whose memories are fresh from reading Marx's trenchant little book, "Revolution and Counter-Revolution," might remember what a pitiful spectacle the German middle classes presented during the struggle of 1848. Here, too, the initiative of the movement belonged to the proletariat of Vienna, Berlin, and other big towns, where, too, the bourgeoisie revealed itself as a set of contemptible cowards, recoiling by all available means from the task thrust upon them. Drunkards and liars, incapacitated in mind and in body, they assembled in Frankfort to draw up a scheme of a Constitution, and spent a whole year in miserable squabbles till they were ignominiously dismissed by the Prussian king. The whole brunt of the fight was borne by the working classes; it was they who expelled Metternich, who shed their blood in Berlin, Baden, and elsewhere, who forced Frederick William IV. to promise a federal government, who extorted the Constitution of '66, and wrung from Bismarck universal suffrage.

It would greatly exceed the limits of this article were we to attempt to pass under review the history of every European country; suffice it to say that whenever on the Continent we find those civil and personal rights in existence which go by the collective name of Constitutional Liberty we are sure to find at the same time the part played by the middle-classes in gaining them to have been not only of a far less important nature than was the case in England, but even reduced sometimes to zero, if not actually to a minus. This is not due to mere chance, or, as some Britishers might be inclined to imagine, to the inferior stuff of which the Continental middle-classes have been made, but is the direct result of the peculiar historical conditions under which those classes were placed during the process of their growth and development. For not enjoying the same natural opportunities for trade and industry as their brethren of this country, they have had, over and above it, to surmount enormous difficulties in the shape of endless wars and other commotions which prevented the necessary accumulations of capital, &c., and never were, in consequence of it, so strong and numerous as not to need the protection which the Monarchy, appreciating their value as fiscal elements and allies in the struggle against the arrogant feudal aristocracy, readily afforded them. In fact, it was only through this help that the middle-classes in most of the European countries reached manhood at all, and small wonder if, when demanding political freedom, they have been

neither able to put, nor perhaps justified in putting, their interests in the same direct and uncompromising opposition to those of the Monarchy as the middle classes of England did. Hence the half-hearted and very often weak-kneed stand they made against absolutism at the moment of struggle, and the spirit of compromise they so frequently revealed.

To the same end yet another factor of a kindred nature was contributed. Being, as we have just seen, of an impeded and weakly growth, the middle-classes, unlike those of this country, have attained their class-consciousness at a very late date in history, so that their agitation for political rights in a majority of cases coincided with, if not followed, the moment when the economic forces were already producing a cleavage in the social body and the antagonisms between the property-owning and wage-earning classes began already to tell with a more or less marked distinction. Naturally, when compelled at last to enter the field of battle, the Continental bourgeoisie has had to face a dilemma of which the English in their time had no idea, namely, either to do without the co-operation of the proletariat and be sure to lose, or to associate it in the work, but then to allow it an equal share in the spoil. Either prospect was unpleasant, and the bourgeoisie, in its endeavours to reconcile irreconcilables, landed at once in a policy of half-measures, hypocrisy and treachery, such as we have seen in France and in Germany. It is this cardinal difference between the parts played in history by the middle classes of England and of the Continent respectively that accounts for the failure of Socialism in the former and for its success on the latter. For one need not be possessed of a great penetration of mind to understand what a tremendous object-lesson in class-consciousness the working classes must have been taught in those countries where the bourgeoisie not only showed itself devoid of ability and willingness to win for the nation its civil freedom, leaving the task of accomplishing it to the proletariat, but was at every step demonstrating its antagonism to the latter by the care it invariably took of shutting it out from participation in the political rights of the community, and the readiness it often revealed of selling its very liberty in order to achieve this end. The working classes of the Continent were thus enabled early to discern the gulf which separates them from their masters, and to perceive on the field of politics those incompatibilities of their mutual interests which the social forces have not as yet brought out with sufficient clearness on the field of economics. From this there was but a short step to the growth in their midst of a kind of *esprit de corps*, and then of a sense of class solidarity, on which a few decades later Socialism was easily able to engraft itself.

How very different stands the case with England! The middle classes there having fulfilled their great political mission long before the appearance of the modern proletariat, the latter has never had the opportunity of coming with them into a conflict on that ground on which the inner antagonisms between the two classes receive their first and most palpable expression. It has thus missed a lesson in social practice and theory which enriched so much the experience of the Continental workers, and has been the more unable



to understand the real state of things, as the English Constitution, having been worked out at a moment when the middle classes could not have as yet anything to fear from below, contained no trace of class legislation which would open the proletarian's eyes as to the position of his masters in the social and economic world. Besides, being brought up in a spirit of unqualified reverence and esteem which the historical work of the English bourgeoisie could not but command, the proletariat of this country was naturally inclined rather to associate itself with it than to *dissociate*, and so the gospel of Socialism, preaching class-war, fell upon an entirely unprepared ground, and failed in consequence to strike root.

The causes which have operated in the past are still, to a great extent, operating at the present moment. Whilst in England the progress which Democracy undoubtedly makes every day is mainly due to the initiative and leadership of the middle classes, so that even such distinctly working class legislation as the Factory Acts, the abolition of the combination laws, and the legalisation of the status of the trade unions has been secured by *their* efforts rather than by those of the proletariat, it is the latter which in the rest of Europe appears as the chief champion of the civil and personal rights of the people. The Continental bourgeoisie, in its fear for its property, has long since thrown overboard what little progressive ballast it had possessed in the first half of the present century, and the democratic ideals have been left to the care of the working classes, to whom the question of constitutional liberty is of vital importance, comprising, as it does, the rights of combination, free speech, and others, without which their position is even worse than slavery. No wonder that this has made the proletariat the object of sympathy on the part of every honest man not directly interested in its exploitation, and that Socialism, which makes the conquest and maintenance of political freedom one of the chief planks of its programme, gains adherents every day from every section of the community. One needs only carefully consider the state of things in France, where the bourgeoisie tramples under foot the elementary rights of citizenship, and is prepared to sell the country to any general possessed of a "black charger"; or in Germany, where the bulk of the middle classes, in their zeal for the favour of monarchy and its Pommeranian Junkerdom, scarcely hesitates to mortgage the budget rights of the Parliament to pass exceptional laws against different sections of the community, and even to abolish universal suffrage; or in Italy, where wanton corruption and glaring abuses of administrative power are allowed to pass without heeding for the sole reason of certain "high" personages standing at their source; or in Russia, where the Liberal sections of the middle classes have demonstrated their incapacity and cowardice over and over again, and the rest are mere slaves, ready at any time to lick the boot of their master—one needs only consider this to understand what a tremendous and attractive force Socialism must possess in these countries, being, as it is, the most, if not the only, implacable enemy of despotism, and the greatest vindicator of civil liberty human societies ever had. It is this circumstance which makes the ranks of Continental Socialists

swell at every turning of history—no man can remain honest but he enters the political army of the proletariat; and it is the very absence of this which constitutes the chief barrier to the advent of Socialism in this country. The antagonism between the property-owning and the wage-earning classes may well be greater in England than elsewhere, but so long as they remain hidden under the common solidarity of interest in democratic progress, and do not appeal to the direct class sense of the proletariat by way of political opposition, the hope for the success of Socialism on these islands must remain meagre. True to its historical traditions, the English bourgeoisie still figures as a progressive element—politically speaking, of course—of the community, and, far from having spent its vital force, and being uneasy about its social position, still moves in the direction of Democracy, allowing the working classes an equal share in the civil life of the country. What wonder is it, then, that the latter do not perceive the contradictions inherent in the social system of the day, but repudiate Socialism as a phantastic conception, fit and proper, perhaps, for the Continent, but wholly unapplicable to this country?

It would be erroneous on the part of the reader to infer from the above that since Socialism on the Continent is largely dependent for its success on political causes, the Socialist movement there is, to a great extent, composed of merely Radical elements, and is bound to come to an end as soon as political freedom becomes the normal basis of national life. As regards the first, one must remember that what drives many an earnest and thinking man towards embracing Socialism is not so much the mere absence of political rights in the country—for that matter they could have formed parties of their own—as the contemptible part played by the bourgeoisie in civic life, siding, as it always does, with reaction as against the claims of Democracy. This opens the eyes of those men as to the real position of the bourgeoisie in the social world, and having thus caught a glimpse of the class antagonisms on the field of politics, they soon, when once in the Socialist ranks, find out the economic antagonisms as well, and turn from bourgeois Radicals into avowed Socialists. As regards the other of these inferences, it is easy to see that the Continental middle-classes being what they are, political liberty in Continental countries can be firmly established only when the proletariat takes possession of the political machinery of the land; but this means not only a political, but also a social revolution—that is, the realisation of those objects for the attainment of which Socialism fights. It is therefore true that the advent of a genuine and permanent Democracy in France, England and elsewhere will spell the end of the Socialist movement in this country, but not because it will be discredited, but for the reason of that Democracy being at the same time *Social-Democracy*.

Thus we see that that very circumstance—the early development of industry and of the bourgeoisie—which in the opinion of most of our Socialists ought to have been the cause of a rapid and vigorous growth of Socialism constitutes the chief reason for its failure; it is exactly because the middle classes of England entered the social and political arena at an

early date that the proletariat is now unable to see the true nature of the relations which exist between them. Were it otherwise, had the middle classes attained their full growth at a later period of history, so that in their battle for political freedom they would have had to fight on two fronts, the proletariat of this country would have received their lesson in class solidarity and class-consciousness at a very early date, and Socialism would have flourished here the same as on the Continent.\*

Such is the proper answer to be given to the question put at the head of this article, and what may be its bearing on the future destinies of this country will be explained on some other occasion.

T. ROTHSTEIN.

\* In a recent number of JUSTICE I find "Tattler" mentioning the case of an Austrian comrade who, on arriving in this country and becoming acquainted with its institutions, exclaimed: "Were *we* to enjoy such political opportunities as the working classes of England, we should have the Social Revolution within twenty-four hours." This exclamation is very characteristic of the confused state of opinions most Socialists have on the conditions of the success or failure of Socialism; they, or, as in the case at hand, the Austrian comrade, seem not to grasp the fact that the political institutions in his country are such as they are because the middle classes there have played a very miserable part in the past and are still playing it at the present. Had this part been more brilliant, political liberty would certainly have enjoyed a better prestige in Austria than it does, but then the proletariat would not have met with the same experience as it meets to-day, and met still more in the past, and Socialism would not have made such enormous strides as it did. Both facts—an important political structure and the popularity of Socialism—are thus two correlative results of the work of one and the same factor, and to dissociate them one from the other is just as reasonable as to dissociate light and heat coming from the same source—the sun.

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## THE FUTURE STATE.

(By WILHELM LIEBKNECHT, IN *Cosmopolis*.)

THE old proverb, "A fool can ask more questions than a hundred wise men can answer," describes very well, says our comrade Liebknecht, the position of those persons who are continually demanding of us descriptions and definitions of what the future state will be. For who knows what the next day, or even the next hour, may bring forth? Yet in almost every parliament in Europe the subject is earnestly debated, showing, at any rate, that the seriousness of the social question has become so overpowering as to resemble the fascination which the gaze of a serpent has over the will power of a timid bird. Our comrade has evidently a very high appreciation of the English nation and the characteristics of our countrymen, and he devotes a portion of his article to an eulogy of those characteristics which we think is hardly deserved. He continues: The view taken in England of the social question is an unprejudiced one. The difference in this connection between England and Germany is at once apparent if we compare the attitude of the English Government towards the railway workers' strike, and that of the German Government towards the simultaneous dockers' strike at Hamburg.

As soon as the news of the Hamburg strike reached Berlin the Government at once proclaimed themselves antagonistic to the workers, and threw the whole weight of their influence into the scale on the side of the masters.

In England it was not so, and in the railway strike, as also in the late engineering dispute, the Government was unprejudiced, and offered, successfully in the former case, their mediation. But in Germany, the trades organisations, notwithstanding the fact that the right of coalition is guaranteed by law, are considered, and often treated, as bands of rebels against society.

Socialism is a modern phenomenon; philanthropic dreams and utopian fantasies must not be confounded with it. Nor has primitive communism anything in common with Socialism, which will, and must, sweep away private property in the means of labour.

Modern Socialism necessarily supposes the development of capitalism. It is the product and consequence of capitalism, and is the organic continuation of capitalism in the same way that capitalism is the organic continuation of earlier economic forms.

Socialists are not, as is persistently supposed, so childish as to think that for thousands of years mankind has been wandering on the wrong track, and and that for the first time Socialists have discovered the right way and want to guide the rest of mankind in it even by leading strings. We know that the form of society is due neither to arbitrariness nor caprice. We know that its political and social arrangements correspond to the existing economic conditions. We know that primitive peoples with primitive weapons and primitive methods of production are incapable of any civilisation as we know it to-day.

What is the future state? Where does the future begin and the present end? Is to-morrow not the future of to-day, as yesterday is its past? The poet can say to the moment,

"Tarry awhile, thou art so fair."

That is the poet's right. But the moments tarry not, but fall incessantly into the river of the past.

Was not the state and the society of to-day the future state and future society of yesterday? The truth has not yet been mastered that immobile

being never was, is not, and cannot be—that all is an eternal growth, a continual development.

We Socialists are expected to know to a hair how the Socialist future state will appear. Did the supposed founders of the present bourgeois society, which our interrogators have always before them as the model of any social order, have the remotest idea of what to-day would be? In reality, the present order of things is a direct development out of earlier conditions.

The absurdity of this view is manifested in the stereotyped phrase, "Social-Democracy will make *tabula rasa*, overturn the existing order of things, and on the ruins erect a new edifice on an entirely new plan." As if society was a cast iron structure. As if such a thing ever happened or could happen. The thought could only arise in the minds of men misled in their knowledge of human history.

Historical criticism has long since cleared up this fabulous conception of history, and has demonstrated that all achievements, transformations, discoveries, &c., are the work, not of single individuals, but of collective endeavour. In short, that the world's history is the history of collective labours, and that these labours are not the result of caprice, but arise from necessity, following certain laws.

In Germany the economic revolution, assisted by that "enemy of revolution," Prince Bismarck, changed the country from an agricultural to an industrial state, set the capitalist factory system in the place of the system of small industry carried on by peasant proprietors, and drove millions of the rural population into the large towns, a revolution which, in extent and in destructive effect, is equalled only by the mighty English industrial revolution at the latter end of the last century, a revolution which overthrew the basis of previously existing society, and created that general feeling of uneasiness which has given rise to the German Social-Democracy.

Liebknecht goes on to say that the Socialist agitation is accused of being immoral because it makes the people discontented with the conditions under which they are forced to exist, without having at the same time new conditions ready constructed or planned out. But this, says he, merely brings us to the position of the founders of the present state, as usually accepted, among whom, standing in the forefront, are the "Titans" of the French Revolution.

"Had these founders of the present state—*our present, their future*—the most visionary conception of what the present would be? Had the representatives of the Tiers Etat—had Mirabeau, Desmoulins, Robespierre, Danton, or Marat—any idea of what the bourgeois society would be, whose course they were shaping? Had they any foreboding of the social and economic revolution which the dominion of the Tiers Etat would produce? Had they any conception of capitalism, with its class war?"

If anyone at the time had prophesied that, fifty-nine years—not two generations—from the storming of the Bastille, the twin brothers of the Tiers Etat—the bourgeoisie and the proletariat—would lacerate each other in a six days' conflict, under the very shadow of the July Column which marked the spot where the Bastille stood, and in that time destroy more human life than was spent in all the *grandes journées* of the French Revolution they would have been thought mad. Yet so it was, and the year 1848 found bourgeoisie and proletariat in open and avowed war. The June battle of the "mad year" tore into shreds the bond which united the *frères ennemis*, whose antagonisms and class struggles have filled the second half of the nineteenth century.



The end of the struggle is Socialism. The rising spiral line of human development must go through Socialism.

Whether the development to Socialism is to be peaceful or violent; whether it is to be accomplished by the path of reform, or of revolution, is a question for the greater or less intellects of the governing classes. In a free State, such as Switzerland, sanguinary conflicts of any importance may be excluded from consideration. But in lands whose Governments consider themselves as the agents and authorities of a single class, and look upon it as the business of the State to stamp out all agitation, and to suppress every movement and organisation of the working class—severe conflicts will not be avoided. But if we consider what revolutions and struggles it has cost to establish the present order of things, we may comfort ourselves with the reflection that the establishment of the future state will not be nearly so expensive in blood and tears . . .

Our comrade goes on to discuss two frequent objections that are made against Social-Democracy, namely, that its realisation will be in effect the establishment of a tyranny, or of a directorate, and at the same time deals with the objections raised by Anarchism. Liebknecht shows the absurdity of these objections, and points out that what really happens is that capitalism is endeavouring to brand Socialism with the evils that it has itself perpetrated by accusing Socialism of desiring to establish a tyranny, destroy property and the family, and of practising free love, and so forth. He continues:—That our civilisation has not improved everything and everybody is quite true; but this is due not to the civilisation, but to the barbarism which it has not yet overcome

Human civilisation divides itself into two categories:—

First. The dominion over the powers of nature: the improvement of the means and instruments of labour, and in the augmentation of wealth.

Second. The knowledge of nature. Knowledge. Science. Art.

Both branches of activity grow one with another. Knowledge of nature is power over nature, and thus is all civilisation the result of human labour.

The struggle for existence has produced in human society an economic inequality, and an opposition of interests that have created an ever-flowing stream of vice and crime. Whoever sinks in the struggle is lost and condemned, and so long as interests in prostitution, lying, deceit, robbery, and murder exist, these vices will remain, although every second man be clothed in a policeman's uniform. And only when the antagonistic interests of to-day are merged and lost in the Socialist harmony of the future will an end to them be found and the way of the vicious and the criminal be closed.

In Socialist society all women and men, without distinction or exception, will be able to drink at the fountain of knowledge and education, and secure participation in all the acquisitions of culture. In the Socialist State the common duty of labour will be a basic principle—with the exception of the weak and sick—and labour will be not only the spring of communal wealth, but also of individual morality. The labour of all able to work. The labour of each member of society for himself and the community.

Under the domain of Socialism society will have two chief functions:—

1. The organisation of material work.
2. The organisation of education as the moral and intellectual basis of society.

Liebknecht goes on to deal with the extent to which the concentration of capital into few hands has progressed, and says:—

“The concentration of capital, which carries with it the extinction of small property-owners, deprives industry, on a small scale, of its conditions

of existence, so that if industry and husbandry are not to become monopolies entirely controlled by a handful of capitalists, Socialist industry carried on by and for the community is the only alternative that remains as an economic and social necessity."

The transition from capitalism into Socialism will be much easier than was, and is, the transition from bourgeois small production into capitalist factory production. It will not doom millions upon millions, through an anarchical economy, to the torments of want and poverty. No one will come to want. No one will lose anything that he values, and the great mass of men will rise out of misery and all will gain the highest thing that man can gain—an existence worthy of humanity. A. E. L.

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## TECHNICAL EDUCATION AND THE WORKING MAN.

THE question of technical education is being actively discussed both by wage-workers and employers of labour. It is being forced on public attention by certain facts concerning the rise and fall of trade in various countries where technical education is encouraged or neglected. It is acknowledged on all sides that the more skilled the labour put into a product the better it is, and the more likely to command commercial success. The expert in any given trade or calling is less likely to make mistakes than an incompetent or half-instructed man. With his mind in his work it is less tiresome or monotonous, and it is also certain that the nimble finger moves with the active mind, when we separate intelligence from labour, no matter its kind or degree. Work is but drudgery, and an artisan or a mechanic is but an automaton. Under such conditions but little progress can be made in any line of industry. With a broader knowledge of his art, his opportunities of improving his position are in ratio with his intelligence, and in an all-around sense he is the promoter, not only of his own good, but of the industry in which he is engaged. Technical education is designed to bring this about and to lift above the level of mechanical drudgery. It has in some cases attempted too much, and in an endeavour to teach a little of everything has missed its mission by teaching nothing well. Wisely directed and restricted to special lines no man can sanely question either the industrial or personal importance of technical education. So plainly and forcefully is this apparent in the development of national industries that we find England accounting for much of German success in foreign trade by its superiority in technical education. Nor is America blind to the advantages secured by this system. Educational facilities in this direction are being constantly enlarged, and in course of time may become part of our common school training.

There has been some apprehension on the part of the working men that in some way or other technical education as practiced in some of our institutions is menacing to their interests. Increased efficiency and improved machinery are looked upon with suspicion, and if not directly opposed, are tacitly discouraged. This is a mistake. It has no justification in experience, and, willingly or unwillingly, will have to submit to the inevitable. The splendid record of success made in late years by German manufacturers, and the aroused activity of other nations in the same educational direction, and the discovery by Great Britain that her slackness in this matter is rapidly diminishing the volume of trade, both home and foreign, are among the good and sound reasons why the industrial world should be unanimous in endorsing technical education.—*Age of Steel*, St. Louis.

## COTTAGE HOMES FOR THE AGED POOR.

In the *Nineteenth Century*, John Hutton, M.P., advocates a scheme of cottage homes for the aged poor, which he says, "would not interfere with the ordinary working of the Poor Law; it would only remove a certain class outside its powers—a class which of all others is worthy of the sympathy of their fellow men—and it would not interfere with a scheme of Old Age Pensions." His plan is "that every Parish Council, with a sufficient population, may be permitted to provide a cottage within its area for the use of aged deserving poor; that the Parish Council shall itself determine whether an applicant has lived such an industrious, deserving life as to entitle him or her to the privilege of this cottage. The cottage or home shall be of the same description as the ordinary labourers' houses in the parish; no cottage shall contain more than ten or less than three inmates; a respectable woman or couple shall be appointed to keep house and look after the old people. The expenses of maintaining the cottages will probably be about £16 or £20 for each inmate." The amount necessary, the writer suggests, should be raised "as to one-quarter by the Parish Council, one-half by the County Council, and one quarter by a Parliamentary Grant." He proposes that the County Council should have powers of inspection, so as to secure proper treatment for the inmates, and that the houses are suitable. "In country parishes it would be necessary to group a sufficient number to form a population of 1,500 or 2,000, which would be done under the authority of the County Council; in large towns and boroughs the Town Councils would be the authority in place of the Parish Council, and in the case of County Boroughs they would have the sole control."

Hutton quotes from Mr. Charles Booth the fact that at sixty-five years of age 20 per cent. of the population are paupers; at seventy years of age 30 per cent.; and at seventy-five nearly 40 per cent.; of these old paupers about one-third, or 114,144, are in the workhouse, and two-thirds, or 262,283, receive out-relief.

The writer thinks that the question of Old Age Pensions is "now almost ripe for legislation, but the difficulties are so great that even the strongest Government may well hesitate to face them." In his view it is a "disgrace that the poor should, in case of failure of health, or other causes over which they have no control, have nothing to look forward to in old age but the alternative of a miserable pittance in their home, or the degrading horrors of a workhouse with the thought of a pauper's funeral at the end." But he appears doubtful of the success of any scheme of pensions which depends upon young men and women being induced to subscribe a yearly sum to provide for their old age. In any case the pension system could not, he says, come into operation until the expiration of forty years; and he doubts whether "a system of insuring an annuity could really in a generation touch the thrifty working classes, unless based on a socialistic doctrine that the State, irrespective of contribution, shall confer a living wage upon all incapacitated ranks of whatever age." On the other hand, by the adoption of his plan, "the deserving poor would be able to look forward to old age without fear; they would feel a home would be provided for them among their own neighbours and in the district they had passed their lives in; and in larger towns a classification would be introduced impossible under the Poor Law, giving a distinct reward for an industrious, deserving life."

## THE ENGINEERS' STRIKE AND THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND.

Our friend Tom Mann has an article in *La Revue Socialiste* under the above heading, which should be very instructive to those of our comrades on the Continent, who will persist in supposing that the working class movement in England is in a good way to attain its object easily owing to the "good will" of our governing classes. As Mann says:—"The capitalists of England have certainly made up their minds to fight for the maintenance of their industrial and social domination; they have not the slightest intention of giving up the privileged place they occupy, neither wholly or in part, on the simple summons of the workers. They know the tendencies of the working class, and the direction which its opinions are taking, and they are prepared to fight the workers under all the forms that may become necessary. . . ."

Again, speaking of the approbation which many leaders in France and Germany have bestowed upon English methods, he says:—

"Our Continental comrades are undoubtedly deceived, and what misleads them is our *Labour* men in the House of Parliament. These Labour men have been able to make common cause with the capitalists because they are themselves supporters of the capitalist system, and because it is handy for the capitalists to use them at election time."

Dealing with the strike, Mann traces the growth of the engineers' society, and of trade unionism generally, from the early days of the century down to the dispute. As regards the actual issue of the dispute he considers that the great mistake made by the engineers was their lack of alliance or federation with the other unions of the country. If there had only been a real understanding between the A.S.E., the boilermakers, the shipwrights, and the founders, the men would have won. "The real power of the masters consisted less in their own force than in the confidence they had in the well-known divisions among the men."

Dealing with the effects which the defeat of the men will have, he continues:—

"The defeat of the engineers has done much to open the eyes of the workers; they see, what it otherwise would have taken them long to understand, that they must attack the capitalist system both outside and inside the House of Parliament, and that it is foolish to fight the masters with their trade unions and at the same time to send them to Parliament and invest them with power. . . ."

"The capitalists have beaten the engineers, but the victory will cost them dear. Nothing better could have happened to awaken the minds of the strikers than to see, as they saw, both Liberal and Conservative capitalist in direct alliance in order to defeat the modest demands of the organised workers."

"It is very probable that the particular success of the engineers would have more deeply rooted the exclusive tendencies of the engineers. To-day they are marching in the same ranks as the other organised workers without distinction between skilled or unskilled. If they had won the battle they would have still kept strictly to the national character of their union. To-day finds them sincerely seeking connections with the workers of the Continent and of America."

"I trust that my position will not be misunderstood, but, frankly, I am convinced that the international Socialist movement has gained enormously by the last defeat of the English engineers."

A. E. L.

## THE OLD COMMUNARD.

(IL EN ÉTAIT)

(From the French of J. B. Clément.)

### I.

ONE morning in the month of December, 1880, the omnibus which connected the station of ——— with a little village at several miles distance, stopped before the door of a farm, on the threshold of which waited the farmer, his wife, and their two young children.

"Ah! Here he is! What happiness!" cried the two little ones, dancing, and clapping their hands with joy the while.

The farmer, followed by his wife, ran to open the door of the carriage and to assist a man of about sixty years of age to descend. He was of middle height, and was supported by a crutch.

"Good morning, father," said the farmer, as he embraced the old man with effusion.

The farmer's wife and the two children fell upon his neck and covered his face with kisses.

"Good morning! good morning! my dear children. Oh! how glad I am that I have arrived at last. The distance is not very far, but the time has seemed so long."

"Breakfast is ready, father," said the farmer's wife.

"That's good, my children; I believe I shall do it justice."

"So much the better, father."

And haltingly, walking in the steps of the old cripple, the whole family traversed the large farm yard and entered the dining room, where a good fire was crackling on the hearth.

After having made the acquaintance of the dogs, and handed over his crutch to the children, each of whom wanted the honour of its entire possession, the old man, aided by his son, who supported him under the arms, sat down to the table with the happy air of a man who feels an appetite and experiences the joy of finding himself in the bosom of his family.

The arrival of the old man was an important event in the little village. The good wives when they heard of it made the sign of the cross, as if to exorcise some evil fate; the men muttered menaces, and the children expected to see the apparition of some ugly goblin.

The new-comer was, however, the best of men. He had a good and affable appearance, and his long white beard added to the gentleness of his physiognomy. But the excellent man was preceded by a frightful reputation. Only think of it! the monster was an *amnisté* of the Commune, and he had the audacity to come and live in this peaceful village at the house of his son, who had sufficient intelligence to brave whatever the gossips of the neighbourhood might say.



The son had received a good and solid education. He had by chance made the acquaintance, among his friends, of an amiable and intelligent peasant; he fell in love with her, and asked and obtained her hand in marriage.

An only daughter, at the death of her parents she inherited a small farm. The son of the *amnistie* having lost his mother, and his father being in New Caledonia, had nothing which bound him to Paris, so he became a farmer and had never regretted it.

He had two children, and desired no more; he worked for them, pledging himself to bring them up well, and give them a good education, and he and his wife charged themselves with their training.

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## II.

The father, whom we will call Martin, was then sixty years old. A great age for a man who had suffered and struggled all his life, knowing the hardships of exile and prison, and the miseries of deportation and the pontoons.

Born in 1820, in the suburbs of the Temple, at the age of ten he had, like a true gamin of Paris, already taken his little part during the three days that it is agreed to call the 'trois glorieuses.' During the reign of Louis-Philippe he was active in all the movements of the time, and in February, 1848, was, naturally, one of the first to take up arms, and one of the last to remain in the breach.

When the memorial insurrection of June broke out, he fought in every part of Paris. Wounded at the heroic defence of the Faubourg Saint Antoine, he was taken prisoner, and sent to the pontoons then to Africa, from whence, after three years, he returned to place himself once more among the few militants remaining faithful to the emancipatory ideas of Blanqui and Cabet.

The *coup d'état* of December, 1851, found him standing for the defence of the Republic. Captured with arms in his hands, at the Grange-aux-Belles Bridge, he was tried, sentenced to deportation, and dispatched to Cayenne, where he remained until the amnesty of 1859.

On his return to Paris he renewed his acquaintance with several friends, and continued to struggle on in view of the realisation of the ideas for which he had always fought, and for which he had so often risked his liberty and life.

He joined the group of mutualists, the advanced men of that epoch. He contributed in a large measure to the foundation of the International. Tracked and pursued, he was again arrested and imprisoned with Varlin, Thiez, Combaut, and other valliant men, whose devotion and energy ought to serve as a good example to the workers of our days, and call them to the sentiment of the duty that they seem to have too much forgotten.

During his peregrinations the brave Martin had found time to take unto himself a wife. They had one child, the farmer whom we saw helping him to descend from the omnibus.

When the war of 1870 broke out Martin was then fifty years old, and his wife several years less.

Having to undergo a condemnation of two or three months imprisonment, on account of his connection with the International, &c., he found himself

liberated, on the 4th of September, simultaneously with the fall of the Empire, and the proclamation of the Republic.

Several days after he joined a battalion on march, and during the whole of that rude and tragic campaign he filled, to the admiration of all, his duties of soldier and citizen.

On March 18, 1871, he defended the hill of Montmartre against the troops and gendarmes of Vinoy. When the Commune, to the advent of which he had contributed so much, was definitely installed, he would accept no post, but took his place as a simple soldier in the ranks of the Federal troops. Always to the fore where danger threatened, he fought heroically until the 25th of May. His last position was at the barricade of the Place du Château d'Eau, where he received a ball in the thigh, which was not extracted until some time afterwards, and left him a cripple for life.

Arrested at his house, on the denunciation of a trader in the district, well-known for his Bonapartist sympathies, he was dragged to Versailles, then tried and sent to New Caledonia, where he remained until the amnesty of 1880.

His wife having died two or three years before this date, he found himself too old and too infirm to serve his cause usefully, or to find work, and he, therefore, accepted the hospitality which his son had offered him.

Here we have much condensed the services which Father Martin had rendered to the cause of justice, when we saw him arrive at his son's house with his sixty years, his long white beard and his crutch.

### III.

The brave man was hardly installed when some impudent lads of the neighbourhood came and howled at the door of the farm: "Down with the Communard! To Cayenne with the old cripple!" Knowing the world in which he lived, the son, who had the same blood as his father in his veins, and who was no coward, thought that the best thing to be done was to let these manifestations wear themselves out.

Father Martin did not go out; he walked in the garden, or in the farm-yard, with the children, and found that better than New Caledonia.

Thus he lived through the winter. When the spring came he attempted to go out with the little children, and walked to the village green, and there sat on a bank under the shade of an elm which had the reputation of being a tree of liberty planted there under the first revolution.

He arrived there without much hindrance, having only to endure on the way some dog-howls hurled after him, some spiteful glances of women and old men who sat on their doorsteps and muttered between their teeth, "He was in it," meaning to say, "He was in the ranks of the Commune."

But the news of the appearance of the old Communard had spread through the whole village; the children collected, and in order to get back to the farm he had to suffer the attacks and the insults, not only of the children, but also of the parents, who excited them.

"Down with the Communard!" howled some.

"Eh! you old cripple!" cried others, "there is nothing to steal here. What have you come here to do?"

"Ha! He was in the band at Vidocq!"

And all cried in chorus—

"He was in it! He was in it!"

Some were insolent enough to pull his crutch, and others to attempt to

lay hold of his beard. His little children cried bitterly. Imperturbable and resigned, he embraced and consoled them, and continued on his way, thinking the while, poor sheep of Panurge! His son had also fallen a victim to the unjustifiable hatred that was shown to the father. No one spoke to him, and the malicious people of the place baptised his farm, "The Little Commune."

Several months later a fire broke out in a farm situated at the extremity of the village.

"It is very curious, all the same," insinuated certain gossips, "we never have had a fire in our village before; it is quite certain now that the old man at the Little Commune has brought us bad luck."

"And who knows," added others, "that this is not the work of his hands?"

"*Mon Dieu!*" interposed some cunning one, "perhaps he has done it with the petroleum that he has saved from the Commune time."

Martin and his son let them talk on. But it was impossible for the good old man to go and think a little in the shade of his beautiful tree of liberty. He resigned himself, however, and kept to the house. Not meeting him in the streets, the enraged people attacked him in the house by throwing stones in his windows. He was compelled to change his room. At night they serenaded him with an air and words composed by a poet of the district, and terminating with "He was in it! He'll not be in it any more!" The rural authorities, the gendarmes, and the municipality were well aware of these odious acts, but each one laughed up his sleeve, and took no notice.

Two long years passed away in this manner. The son had intended to leave the village, but the father dissuaded him from it, assuring him that one day all this scandal would terminate happily.

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#### IV.

The inhabitants of the Little Commune had, however, a friend and defender in the village whose existence they scarcely dreamt of. This was William, the smith, a great, pleasant fellow of some fifty years, who had served in the campaigns of Africa, and whose father had died decorated with the medal of Saint Helena.

Very often the smith took his evening pipe in the inn in company with the country people. He reproached them energetically with their conduct, and went so far as to tell them that at the first insult he would go out with a ploughshare and lay it about the bodies of the brawlers.

"What have you to reproach the people of the Little Commune with?" said he. "A poor man has never applied to them and been turned away empty, but has always had food and lodging according to his need. The son pays his workers more than any other farmer. When anyone is ill, it is Father Martin who cares for them, and does not leave them to die as does your famous doctor whom you have to go two leagues distance to seek."

"You reproach him with having been in the Commune! Do you know at all what that Commune was? Ah! I know it too well, and it fills me with remorse. At that period I was a soldier, and after having done our duty against the Prussians my regiment was sent against Paris."

"Our officers told us that they counted on us, that we were going to be the saviours of Paris, of France, and of the Republic, by punishing the brigands who had filled the capital with fire and blood, and who pillaged and butchered women and children."

"Like idiots I and my comrades believed our officers, and we were more cruel towards the Parisians than we had been towards the Prussians. And we, children of the people, and of France, who, after the taking of Paris by treachery, have been robbers, incendiaries, and butchers of women and children.

"The order was to massacre, and we massacred. Ah, well! I regret it, and have often wept at its remembrance, for the Communards were better men than Thiers and his band, and the rascals and traitors who have betrayed France.

"Plunderers! I have since known many Communards. They were all as poor as Job. Look at father Martin; has it enriched him? He has had a great deal of imprisonment, he has been to New Caledonia, he is crippled, and, if it were not for his son, what would become of him?

"Endeavour, then, to bring peace to this good old man, and do not prevent him from dying in tranquillity. He has defended the ignorant, such as you, against the evil people who would crush them. He has defended those who have not enough to eat against those who have too much. If we had not had men such as he at the great Revolution you would not have a scrap of land to call your own, and would still be the serfs of the Château over yonder!

"To your health and to the health of father Martin," cried the smith, as he raised his glass in the air and emptied it at a gulp.

The countrymen listened with open mouths and said amongst themselves: "We could spend the whole night listening to this William! He speaks even much better than our deputy."

On one of these eloquent days the smith added: "To-morrow I will go and seek him, and I will accompany him to the green. I know that he will love to repose, to think, and to respire under our beautiful tree of liberty! That tree is more his than ours—he has defended liberty and the Republic, the poor old man! As for me, I am Republican, *nom de Dieu!* And if to be Socialist is to be for the good of all, and for justice, then I am Socialist also! And if that displeases anyone, in spite of my fifty-two years I am still the man to reply to them. Long live the Republic and the Good!"

Then he rose, filled all the glasses, and sang in a formidable voice:

"The people are our brothers,  
Our brothers, our brothers,  
And tyrants our enemies!"

On these evenings William returned home satisfied, and yet discontented with himself—satisfied with having, as he called it, "driven a nail home" in the minds of the ignorant countrymen; discontented with having drawn arms against the Parisians. He denounced himself as a fool! brute! base soldier! food for powder!

His wife, knowing what this humour portended, took good care not to utter a word, and William went, swearing, to bed.

In the morning he would rise, heavy in head and oppressed at heart. He burned with the desire to run to Father Martin, fall upon his neck, and ask his pardon.

"For," said he, "it is horrible! When I think that I might have had him in front of my rifle, and have killed so brave a man as that!"

A. E. L.

(To be continued.)

## SONG OF THE FACTORY SLAVE.

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THE land it is the landlord's;  
The trader's is the sea;  
The ore the usurer's coffer fills,  
But what remains for me?  
The engine whirls for master's craft;  
The steel shines to defend;  
With labour's arms, what labour raised,  
For labour's foe to spend.  
The camp, the pulpit, and the law  
For rich men's sons are free;  
Theirs—theirs are learning, art, and arms;  
But what remains for me?  
The coming hope, the future day.  
When wrong to right shall bow;  
And hearts that have the courage, man,  
To make that future *now*.

I pay for all this learning,  
I toil for all their ease;  
They render back in coin for coin,  
Want, ignorance, disease.  
Toil—toil—and then a cheerless home  
Where hungry passions cross;  
Eternal gain to them, who give  
To me eternal loss!  
The hour of leisure—happiness—  
The rich alone may see;  
The playful child, the smiling wife—  
But what remains to me?  
The coming hope, &c.

They render back, these rich men,  
A pauper's niggard fee;  
Mayhap a prison, then a grave,  
And think they're quits with me.  
But not a fond wife's heart that breaks—  
A poor man's child that dies—  
We score not on our hollow cheeks  
And in our sunken eyes.  
We read it there, whene'er we meet,  
And as the sum we see,  
Each asks: "The rich the wealth have got,  
But what remains for me?"  
The coming hope, &c.

We bear the wrong in silence,  
We store it in our brain;  
They think us dull, they think us dead,  
But we shall rise again.  
A trumpet through the lands will ring,  
A heaving through the mass,  
A trampling through their palaces,  
Until they break like glass.  
We'll cease to weep by cherished graves,  
From lowly homes we'll flee,  
And still as rolls our million-march,  
Its watchword brave shall be:  
The coming hope, the future day,  
When wrong to right shall bow;  
And hearts that have the courage, man,  
To make that future *now*.

ERNEST JONES.





ERNEST JONES.

# THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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## ERNEST JONES.

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ERNEST JONES, one of the ablest, best known, and most disinterested of the Chartist leaders, came of a Welsh family. He was born in Berlin, January 25, 1819. His father, who was a major in the 15th Hussars and equerry to the Duke of Cumberland, lived on his estate at Holstein. Young Ernest early developed the poetic faculty as well as that love of liberty which so distinguished him later in life. Before he was ten years of age he wrote a number of poems, which were published by Nesler at Hamburg. At eleven years old he ran away from home, and was found, with a bundle under his arm, trudging across Lauenberg on his way to join the Poles, to "help them," as he said, in the insurrection in which they were then engaged. He was overtaken and brought back again. Later he achieved some distinction at the college of Saint Michael, Luneberg. In 1838 Major Jones returned to England, and in 1841 young Ernest was presented to the Queen by the Duke of Beaufort. At that time he entered upon the life of a man of means and good position, and married Miss Atherley, of Barfield, Cumberland. In 1841 he published, anonymously, the first of his larger works, a romance, entitled "The Wood Spirit." He followed this up with several songs and poems, and he also contributed to the *Metropolitan* and other magazines. In April, 1844, he was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple, and commenced what promised to be a successful professional career on the Northern Circuit. He, however, gave up his position, and absolutely sacrificed his career by joining the Chartists in 1845. His zeal, earnestness, eloquence, and ability soon forced him to a foremost place in the movement, and he was very soon recognised as one of the leaders. On behalf of the Chartist movement he not only gave up what promised to be a brilliant career in his profession, but he refused to accept any emolument for his services, and spent large sums in support of the cause. He even voluntarily surrendered a fortune of nearly £2,000 a year rather than sever his connection with the Chartists, that he should do so being the condition upon which this sum was left to him.

Both on the platform and in the press Ernest Jones was indefatigable in urging the claims of the people and of the cause to which he had attached himself. Though but of slight build, he had a powerful voice, and this and his brilliant rhetoric, his dramatic gesture and flowing speech made him a most powerful and persuasive orator. He was especially attached to Feargus O'Connor, and at the Leeds Conference in August, 1846, he defended O'Connor against the attacks of Thomas Cooper. He was most energetic in his work for

the movement, and assisted in conducting O'Connor's monthly magazine, the *Labourer*, in 1847, and wrote for the *Northern Star*, of which, later, he became editor. He issued a number of publications, including *Notes for the People*, and also established the *People's Paper*, which remained the organ of the party for eight years.

In 1847 he unsuccessfully contested Halifax, polling 280 votes. He was the delegate for Halifax in the Chartist Convention in April, 1848, and spoke after O'Connor at the monster-meeting on Kennington Common. At this time he had become an ardent advocate of physical force, and visited Manchester, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and Dundee to advocate the organisation of a national guard and establishment of a provisional Government, and was elected by the Chartist National Assembly as a member of its executive. In 1848 Ernest Jones was arrested at Manchester, as a consequence of the alarm produced by his speeches there and in London, and was tried at the Central Criminal Court in the July sessions. He was found guilty, and was sentenced to two years' imprisonment. During his imprisonment he was, as is the custom under our humane British system, subjected to the same treatment as the vilest criminals. He, however, refused to pick oakum, and was put upon bread and water for three days as a punishment. O'Connor brought the question of this treatment of a political prisoner before the House of Commons in June, 1849, and was allowed to purchase his exemption from oakum picking by a small weekly payment. For nineteen months of his imprisonment Ernest Jones was deprived of the use of pens, ink, and paper. But, great as were the sufferings and indignities to which he was subjected, he refused to petition for a commutation of his sentence. The account of his treatment, which he afterwards published, created a great deal of indignation. Unfortunately, however, we have not greatly improved our treatment of political prisoners since fifty years ago.

While in prison, Ernest Jones composed an epic, which was published after his release in 1851, entitled "The Revolt of Hindostan." This was written with his blood on the leaves of the prison prayer-book.

After his release from gaol, Ernest Jones became the principal leader of the scattered remnants of the Chartist movement, and used his influence strongly against O'Connor, whom he described under the name of "Simon de Brassier" in his "History of a Democratic Movement," published in "Notes to the People." He was actively engaged lecturing up and down the country, ardently advocating the principles of the cause he had espoused. In 1851 he submitted a plan of communistic dealing with property to the Chartist Convention. In 1852 he again contested Halifax, obtaining fifty-one votes, and in that year became the editor of the *People's Paper*.

But Chartism was shattered; many of its most active spirits had disappeared; the leaders were disunited, and the movement was practically dead. By 1854 Ernest Jones was almost its only lecturer, and from that time he passed into the ranks of the advanced Radical Party, but still advocating the principles for which he had striven so well and sacrificed so much. In 1853 he contested Nottingham, but without success, and in 1857 he again tried his fortunes in that borough, but to no purpose. He devoted himself

to law and letters, joined the Northern Circuit, and obtained some criminal practice. Between 1853 and 1855 he published a number of works, including a sensational novel called "The Lass and the Lady," and tales entitled "Lord Lindsay," "The Maid of Warsaw," "Woman's Wrongs," "My Life," "Beldagon Church," and "The Painter of Florence."

In 1855 appeared "The Battle Day, and other Poems," of which Walter Savage Landor wrote to him:—"It is noble; Byron would have envied, Scott would have applauded." His political songs, of which the best known are "The Song of the Poor," "The Song of the Day Labourers," "The Song of the Factory Slave," and "The Song of the Lower Classes," displayed considerable power, and were highly successful.

In 1856 he wrote "The Emperor's Vigil," and published "Evenings with the People," a series of political addresses. In 1859 he wrote "Corayda, and other Poems." In 1867 he published a lecture on labour and capital, which he had delivered in several towns during that year.

At the General Election of 1868 Ernest Jones stood as the Radical candidate for Manchester, where he resided, but, although he received 10,746 votes, he was unsuccessful. On January 22 and 23, 1869, in the novel experiment of the test ballot in that city, Mr. Jones received 7,282 votes, against 4,133 recorded for Mr. Milner Gibson, as the candidate for the Liberal Party, should Mr. Birley, the Conservative member, be unseated on petition. Only three days later, however, January 26, Mr. Jones died suddenly at his residence in Wellington Street, Higher Broughton, Manchester. He was buried with an imposing public funeral at Ardwick Cemetery on January 30.

Ernest Jones left little or no property, and a public fund was raised for the benefit of his children. Though he did not always escape the breath of slander, even from his own side, he was generally regarded, even by his most bitter opponents, as a thoroughly honest and disinterested advocate of the cause in which he believed.

Few men deserve a warmer place in the memory of English workers than Ernest Jones, for few have laboured harder, or sacrificed more for their good than he did. His whole career demonstrated his entire unselfishness, and his boundless sympathy for the poor and the oppressed. We cannot believe that it is all in vain; in his poems his voice still is heard, and the faith, devotion, determination, and enthusiasm are well shown in the following lines written in prison:—

"They told me that my veins would flag,  
My ardour would decay;  
Heavily their fetters drag  
My blood's young strength away.

"But never a wish for base retreat,  
Or thought of recent part,  
While yet a single pulse shall beat,  
Proud marches in my heart.

"They'll find me still unchanged and strong,  
When breaks their puny thrall;  
With hate for not one living soul,  
And pity for them all."

## DEMOCRACY AND THE WORD OF COMMAND.

THERE are some Socialists and Democrats to whom the bare idea of authority in any shape or form - other than that directly emanating from the decree of a majority—is monstrous. The notion of any controlling or initiative power whatever, other than this, is repugnant to them. And yet it is plain that the initiative or referendum of a democracy cannot be taken on details of executive administration, or on any matter requiring immediate decision, on a question of tactics, or with good result on matters involving special knowledge—in short, on anything other than general issues. Even an elected assembly cannot deal directly with administration. In addition to this, as I have endeavoured to make clear in an article in the January number of the *SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT*, the will of the majority in itself is by no means absolutely so worthy of all acceptance as some assume. At the present time there are many considerations which ought to override it—some of which I pointed out in the article named—and even the will of the majority of an ideal democracy, a *social* democracy, must, as regards its special expressions, be subordinate to the general moral canon of a Socialist society. But if it is possible to make an idol of the will of the majority and to invest it with a quasi-sanctity and inviolability which it does not deserve, and if this is often done by Democrats, it is no less possible to make a bogey of initiative authority emanating from a dictatorial power, and this no less often happens. That in affairs of management, of tactics, of administration, or in decisions requiring special knowledge, authority, in its nature dictatorial (up to a certain point, at least), and hence, *per se*, in the current sense of the phrase, non-democratic—and this notwithstanding the original democratic sanction of election—is necessary, all must admit. In the case of a revolutionary army, military or political, on board ship, or in the factory, the workshop, &c., there must be a controlling, an authoritative voice in direction; so much must be clear, one would think, to all practical or reasonable persons when once stated. The real point to determine is the nature and limits of that amount of dictatorial power which we must admit as essential in any organised community of which we can at present conceive.

Now, the type of dictatorial authority of which “the word of command” is final is furnished in the present day in military and in naval life. We all know it is the soldier's duty, under the direst pains and penalties, sometimes death itself, to obey implicitly the insanest, the most criminal order, of his commanding officer. In most military codes the penalty for disobedience must be inflicted, though the order may be subsequently admitted to have been senseless or disastrous, or even to have emanated from a man who was mad or drunk. Instances of the latter have not been uncommon in the German army. The same with the crew and the ships



captain. The command of the ship's captain is final ; his power is unlimited over those on board during a voyage, *i.e.*, on the high seas ; his orders must be implicitly obeyed, although the doing so will quite obviously result in the sinking of the ship. This power is emphasised in the case of a warship, notably in that of an admiral, and was luridly illustrated by Tryon and the destruction of the *Victoria* some years ago. The officer in command of the other ironclad was bound to perform the evolution ordered, though knowing it must result in disaster, with the loss of hundreds of lives. Now, most practical or would-be practical persons, and not only Democrats, shake their heads over this class of dictatorial authority and its "word of command" ; but the ordinary "practical" person is seldom inclined to condemn it *in toto*, his attitude being to regard it as an evil, but a necessary evil. He cannot see any mean between it and a hopeless, disintegrative "democratic" control. An esteemed friend and comrade, who is strongly sensible of the evils and absurdities of the latter—*i.e.*, of democratic control run mad or out of place—rightly argues that true democracy, *Social-Democracy*, while it means all *for* the people, does not mean the impossible absurdity that everything should be directly regulated *by* the people, *i.e.*, by a direct popular vote. The "people," he contends truly, should decide on all general issues by means of the ordinary count-of-heads majority ; but the carrying out of measures, as well as work of administration generally, must be entrusted to suitably capable persons. In pursuance of this idea, he would not condemn the military and naval principle of passive obedience as above indicated. Anything rather than the dreaded rule of numbers in such matters. So impressed is he with this, that not even the experience he once made on a voyage with a crazy captain, who was intent on running the vessel upon rocks, in spite of the remonstrances of officers and passengers, sufficed to cure him of his devotion to the principle which nearly cost him his life. "E'en though it slay me, yet will I trust in it," said he. "I would rather, notwithstanding any day, go to sea under the auspices of a single man (a captain) with the customary absolute command than under that of a committee." Now, few of us, I fancy, will share our friend's enthusiasm for the "word of command" to this extent. If this military principle of authority were the only alternative, I imagine most persons certainly after such an experience, would decide in favour of the terrors of direct popular control. I contend, however, that it is not the only alternative. But of this more anon.

It will be observed that the special character of the military (and naval) type of dictatorial authority is that it resides in one man and that there is absolutely no appeal from the "word of command." Now, I do not hesitate to say that this form of authority is unconditionally to be condemned, for the simple reason that it is the most dangerous, and therefore the worst, that the human mind could possibly conceive. To be convinced of the latter fact, we have only to bear in mind the possibility of *insanity* or *drunkenness*, leaving out of account the effects of nervous irritation, indigestion, uncontrolled anger, and other pathological or quasi-pathological

states. If we look the matter fairly in the face, we can surely come to no other conclusion than that *under no circumstances whatever* ought one man to be entrusted with *absolute* authority, that *under no circumstances whatever* should one man be suffered to have the "word of command" without appeal. Any other principle of regulation, however bad, is better than this, since it is impossible for human perversity to devise one which combines within it more dangers. Every Socialist and every Democrat, I contend, should make an absolute and definite stand against the "word of command" in this sense. The man possessed of it is nothing less than a danger and a nuisance to all concerned; he is, like a "rogue" elephant in an Indian village, or a rattlesnake in a bedroom "out west," emphatically the "enemy" as such by virtue of the position he holds. But an unqualified and unconditional repudiation of the principle of dictatorial authority in the above sense by no means involves throwing oneself into the arms of the count-of-heads majority of a popular assembly or unwieldy committee.

It is to be noticed that there are two points in the existing military and naval "word of command" which constitute it what it is. The first is the fact of its absoluteness *per se*, and hence the automatic nature of its carrying out, the lack of any appeal therefrom on the part of the subordinate; and the second is the fact of its residing in one man. Now, it is especially in combination that these two elements constitute a principle than which the human mind can conceive of nothing worse. The absence of either one of them would mitigate the worst of the evils resulting therefrom. For example, the power might still reside even in the one man, but the (so-called) subordinate might *at his own risk* have the right of refusal to obey. In this case, the matter could be subsequently tried before a competent tribunal. If the "sub." had no sufficient reason for his insubordination, he would, of course, subject himself to appropriate penalties; if, on the contrary, he could show to the satisfaction of an impartial tribunal that the order given was intrinsically absurd, or that its carrying-out would have involved disastrous consequences, he could be triumphantly acquitted. But in this latter case it would be necessary that his superior should be liable to condign punishment. Had the man Tryon known that he was liable to be tried and shot for giving a bad order, he would probably have been less reckless. This, of course, would be hardly possible under the existing state of public opinion, which regards the higher functionary of the State as a little God Almighty, whom it would be rank blasphemy to punish criminally for any abuse of the powers entrusted to him, however heinous—which excuses every wrongdoing as an "error of judgment." In the future, however, when the slavish reverence for mere position shall have disappeared, it may be otherwise. But the above modification, though turning the edge of the worst evils of the "word of command" as at present understood, would not satisfactorily get rid of them. It is too cumbrous for this. Their main source lies undoubtedly in the second point referred to—viz., in the fact of the dictatorial authority being vested in one man, and even the suggested quasi-appeal from this authority would leave the root of the mischief untouched.

The above-mentioned possibility of *insanity* or of *drunkenness* is alone sufficient to show the monstrous folly of entrusting one man with anything *even approaching* absolute powers where anything like serious issues are involved. And is the alternative thereto necessarily, as my friend supposed, only to be found in an unwieldy council? Surely not. It lies obviously in a committee of three, with equal voice, the casting-vote deciding in case of want of unanimity. But someone may ask how it would be if each member stood by a different opinion. The answer is, the necessity of action would force to agreement, by compromise or otherwise, of some sort. Besides, a nominal precedence might be given to a chairman on his colleagues failing to agree. This in itself would force to an agreement if the proposed order of the chairman were very preposterous. Thus, in the case before referred to, if the first and second mate of the ship had been able to override the decision of the captain, they would certainly, however divergent their views as to the correct course for the ship to take might have been, have come to some agreement to defeat the captain's suicidal intention of running it upon shoals. Similarly, if two other officers had been able to have overridden Tryon's order, they would certainly have combined to do so, however divergent their views otherwise on the proper manœuvre to be executed. It is impossible to say how many vessels and how many lives are lost through the supreme power and responsibility being centred in one man, however capable, who may go mad or get drunk, rather than in a committee of three capable persons, as proposed. In the Social-Democratic society of the future, I am convinced that the absolute military "word of command" will be superseded by an authority carrying within itself its own check, as in that suggested; for two persons, though they might agree on a *wrong* course (being both fallible), would be not likely to agree on a *preposterous* course, the probabilities of their both simultaneously going mad under such method as to be unanimous as to the form their delusions were to take being too remote to be worth while considering.

The case is similar *mutatis mutandis* in party leadership. The absolute direction of one man is as dangerous as the polling of a big council or assembly on points of immediate tactics might also be under many circumstances. What is wanted is the direction of a small committee of, say, three competent and trusted delegates, to render an account of their stewardship, and be re-elected (or rejected) after serving for a term.

That "a time will come" when the social organism in all its parts will work automatically, when the idea of authority in direction shall, like the State, have worked out its own contradiction, I am fully convinced. But until that time does come, authority in direction will in many departments be necessary. Were our party larger, and were we taking an effective part in politics, it would certainly be essential to have an executive of a small number, such as that proposed, with powers to initiate such action in the name of the party as should be necessary for the carrying out or furtherance of our aims and of the immediate policy decided on. And so with a Socialist society in its earliest stages. In all matters of administration,

direction, and organisation, political, social, industrial, it should be recognised that there is a Scylla and Charybdis to be avoided. The first is the idolisation of the mere control of numbers—the tendency to regard the mere forms of democracy as of equal or even greater importance than the democratic end in view; and the second lies in allowing dictatorial powers, without appeal, to be in the hands of any *one* man—to wit, in the principle of the military officer's or the naval captain's uncontrolled "word of command."

E. BELFORT BAX.

## THE BREAKDOWN OF OUR CHINESE POLICY.

"DIPLOMATICUS," writing in the *Fortnightly Review*, commences as follows:—" '*C'est pour amuser les badauds*,' said a foreign diplomatist to me the other day, with a contemptuous shrug of his shoulders, when I asked him what he thought of the Chinese pledges to Great Britain, relative to the non-alienation of the Yangtze Valley." . . . "*Amuser les badauds*," is often a very serious duty of the newest statesmanship. It is, in a measure, the safeguard of national prestige, and prestige signifies place and power for ministers at home." . . . Stating the general dissatisfaction of the public opinion at home with the Chinese policy of the Government, the author passes to that of the Chinese people:—"The Celestial did not perhaps assert so positively the impotence of Great Britain, but he had long ceased to regard her as the predominant Power in the Far East. . . . In his view, Russia had taken her place. . . All the statesmen of the Tsang-li Yamén had, indeed, made up their minds that the Empire was either at the mercy of Russia, or dependent for integrity on Russian friendship. Even the common people spoke of little else than the proximate removal of the Court to Shangi and the intended cession of Peking to the Muscovite." . . . Port Arthur in Russian hands meant to the general public the crowning success of the Far Eastern section of the anti-English policy of Russia. It was the visible symbol of Russian predominance, and of the effacement of Great Britain; a notice to quit to the British merchant." The author describes the leasing of Wei-hai-Wei as a—very appropriate to the case—policy of "*amuser les badauds*," but nothing else. But "Is Wei-hai-Wei an application of, or a departure from, our traditional policy, and if, perchance, it be the latter, does it initiate a better policy, or a worse?" After having described "What has hitherto been understood to be our China policy," and summing it up as follows:—"The British policy in China—apart, of course, from the defence of treaty rights—was (1) to preserve the territorial *status quo*, and (2) to prevent Russia from establishing herself anywhere on the Korean or Chinese coast," the author says:—"So with the acquisition of Port Arthur by Russia, the whole of our China policy falls to the ground. It is the second stage in a process of partition, of which Kiao chau was the first, and Wei-hai-Wei the third. Henceforth, instead of preserving the integrity of China, we are virtually pledged to a policy of progressive and uniform dismemberment." . . . "The ultimate results of the partition policy must be to limit very considerably our trading area, and to involve us in the burdens and responsibilities of a fresh Asiatic dominion, which we shall have to garrison, and the land frontiers we shall have to defend." "Meanwhile, the step we have taken at Wei-hai-Wei will be costly. A large sum of money will be required to render it an effective counterpoise to Port Arthur, and a very large garrison will be necessary to hold it. Both the men and money could be much better employed."

## SOCIAL PATHOLOGICAL SYMPTOMS.

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IF we did not possess the scientific notion of the Revolution positively laid down by Marx and Engels in the social and political domain, it could be said that Italy of to-day has manifested in a rich measure all the symptoms of a very near revolution.

In many provinces of the north and south, on the isles, and in the large modern cities, as well as in the poor little towns and villages, there has been one popular demonstration following another, all clamouring for bread and work.

Winter has always been for the agricultural labourer a time of ever-recurring crises, but this year the increase in the price of bread has been exceptionally great, and the chronic winter misery has been intensified, and hence the discontent of the workers and peasants, as well as of the small shopkeepers, has greatly increased. The small peasantry are themselves consuming the small amount of corn they produce, and have been even obliged to buy the corn necessary for the next harvest. Thus the rise of prices is but an additional premium for the big landlords, those landlords who, shielding themselves behind the flag of protection of agriculture, claim from Parliament the imposition of protective taxes. As they bring to the market the greater part of the corn consumed in the country, they are naturally interested in the rise of prices, which they secure by the criminal and injurious manœuvre of shutting up their granaries, in the hope that the beneficent laws of supply and demand, pushed on by the unavoidable need of daily bread, should increase the ill-gotten profit on their capital. But, as an ounce of fact has more influence than a hundredweight of theory, so this state of excitement into which the Italian people has been driven has brought them to the very desirable recognition of the individualistic and ruinous character of the modern *régime*.

However, this fertile germ of revolutionary class-consciousness was yet held down and choked by the blind pressure of bitter misery, and it thus happens that the people's manifestations of these days are symptoms rather of social pathology than of a more or less significant revolution.

Strong forces of police were immediately brought against the peasants, workers and small shopkeepers, who, meeting in the open places, clamoured for bread and work, and not seldom plundered bakeries and stores. Numbers were killed and wounded, among them being women and young girls; and every day there are arrests and trials, ending in condemnations. A nice society are we, who call ourselves civilised people! We let our unemployed starve from hunger, and grant our criminals food and shelter. We thus recognise that our people have human rights, but after having been driven by us to crime, we then apply to them the stigma of criminals.

The administrations of some communes (Rome and Florence, for instance) have set a good example in abolishing the town-tax on flour. There is in Italy, besides the corn-tax, a town-tax on flour; only by this can be explained



the enormous prices of 4d., 4½d., and 5d. per loaf of two lbs. of bread. So early as last August the Socialist Parliamentary Party, justly foreseeing the misery and hardship of the winter, introduced a Bill for the total abolition of the corn-tax. But at that time the Government would not care to know of anything like distress. But as the manifestations and risings of the people, extending from the south to Piedmont, became more frequent, the Government, by a Royal decree, lowered the corn-tax from 7fr. 50c. to 5fr. But this only till the 30th of April.

The profound wisdom of the Government can be recognised by this measure. The great landowners and corn-dealers, calculating that during the period of the reduced tax prices will remain almost as high as before, quietly defer the opening of their granaries until May. In fact, the promulgation of the decree has in no case been followed by a fall of prices, so that Parliament will be obliged to extend the measure in the sense proposed by the Socialist Party.

But the fear which the Government and the dominating classes have for the more or less violent outbreaks of the people's discontent is not dispelled by means of such more or less purposeless measures; they therefore completed them by another Royal decree, calling the Reserve of 1874 to the colours. Thus there are now under active service about 50,000 soldiers more than are fixed by the Budget—in other words, there will be spent during three months five to six millions more.

It thus results that our Budget, which is suffering from chronic want, is now subjected to two heavy blows at once. On the one hand, there is a reduction in the tax income of twenty-five millions, and on the other an increased expenditure of five to six millions for maintaining order, *i.e.* for keeping the breadless and workless people under the yoke of the landowners, corn dealers, and other bourgeois. It simply signifies that the symptoms of a social-pathological state are to be found above as well as below, among the dominating classes as well as the dominated ones.

And all this comes from an inconceivable blindness based on Italy's economic and social retrogression, having for result a policy of militarism, economic exhaustion, and of police and judicial oppression.

The answer given under such circumstances by the country to the Government could not be other than that of the last three elections which have taken place. In Romagna Cipriani was re-elected, which re-election has been a direct protest against the Government, who had pardoned him a few years since, but have not given him his civil and political rights. The people naturally argue in this wise—Do you think Cipriani should not possess his civic and political rights, then you should not have pardoned him; once recognising the injustice of his condemnation to prison, from which he was released by the will of his electors, you should completely recognise his civil and state rights.

Quite the contrary to this latter election in Romagna was the election, in the district of Coseme, of a man who quite openly applied the most outrageous electoral trickery; but here it was but the effect of the misery and want of intelligence of the people, who in the horror of this winter have looked as

at something sent them by providence, at the opportunity to get from five to ten francs for voting for an adventurous prince.

All the newspapers, even the Conservatives, made a great outcry over this election. They consider it as an insult to parliamentary institutions, forgetting that many other deputies also owed their election only to the same electoral bribery. The Socialist Party alone has had the courage to represent the national morality by putting up their own candidate against this adventurous prince.

The most striking and sure proof of the progress of the Socialist Party under all those symptoms of social and political pathology has been the election of our comrade Rondani in the district of Cossato in Piedmont. At the same election in September of the past year, Rondani, although elected, was not admitted to Parliament on the simple pretext that he had not then reached his thirtieth year—the legal age for deputies. At that election Rondani had two Liberal opponents. He got a majority, but only after the second ballot, when a part of the Liberal electors voted for him simply because of personal animosity towards the other Liberal candidate. This time, on the contrary, there stood against the Socialists only one candidate, personifying the conglomerate of all bourgeois parties, Liberal as well as Conservatives, who, moreover, possessed in his favour, not only wealth, but also the name of his father Sella, ancient Minister of Finances, who played a few years since a very important *role* in Italian politics (he is now dead).

Piedmont has now—to the horror of the bourgeoisie—two Socialist deputies. Formerly this province has been considered as a high citadel of the Monarchy, having been the cradle of our Royal dynasty. At the present time, having a great industrial and agricultural development, and a very industrious population, it represents a country especially favourable to the development of a serious, conscious, educated, and disciplined Socialist Party. There are not in this province any Radicals and Republicans who could hold back the consciousness of the people by dreams of purely political and superficial reforms.

The fight was a very strenuous one. The Socialist candidate defeated the candidate who united all the votes of the bourgeois parties. And the effect of this election was therefore a very profound one, because it signifies simply that the whole of Piedmont and North Italy are progressively conquered by the Socialist Party. As always on such occasions, a few particularly stupid Conservative organs demanded the prosecution of the agitators, the propagandists. They forget that, however simple it may be to imprison men, there is not yet invented a prison to confine or to exterminate ideas.

The truth is that the people in Italy have already overcome the senseless fear evoked by the first manifestations of Socialism, and exaggerated by the Crispi Ministry for terrifying the bourgeoisie and thus securing its political support. The toiling and suffering people are seeing now as well as they have done, always and everywhere, the symptoms of social pathology breaking out, here sooner, there later, but still remaining in a latent state; but they see now, too, that it is the Socialist Party alone which possesses the power for a social Renaissance.

ENRICO FERRI.

## THE THIRD VOLUME OF "CAPITAL" AND THE THEORY OF RENT.

### I.—INTRODUCTION.

AMONG the unfinished fragments which Frederick Engels has brought together in the last section of the third volume of "Das Kapital," a very interesting chapter is devoted to the "trinitarian formula" of political economy, *i.e.*, Capital (interest); Natural Agents (rent); Labour (wages).

There is nothing to prevent the acceptance of this terminology, says Marx, so long as these three factors are considered merely as *terms*, of the participation in the social revenue; but to regard them, as is habitually done, as the sources of this revenue, is to commit, in the eyes of Marx, the mistake of uniting things essentially diverse, which have no more relation one to another than have lawyers' fees, red cabbages, and music.

The Marxist theory of value being accepted, there is, and can be, no other source of revenue than labour, and the portions of this revenue which the holders of capital and natural agents deduct are nothing more than surplus-value transformed.

In a régime of capitalist production entirely developed, commodities do not, as a matter of fact, sell at their value; the surplus-value produced by the whole of social labour is divided between the different groups of capitalists in proportion to the capitals engaged in the different spheres of production; under the action of competition profits tend to level themselves, and the market price approaches to that centre of gravity which Adam Smith called "natural price," Ricardo "cost of production," and which Marx designates under the name of "Produktionpreis" (price of production).

The price of production of a commodity is determined by two elements: (1) The average profit of the producer (*durchschnittsprofit*); (2) the cost of production, that is to say, the advances of capital (constant and variable) socially necessary to the manufacture of a commodity.

But it goes without saying that cost of production is not the same for every capitalist, and that consequently individual profits can deviate considerably from the average profit realised in given spheres of operation. Some capitalists will be working at a loss at the very time when they are put *hors de combat* by their competitors; others, on the contrary, possessed of certain natural or artificial advantages, their individual price of production will be below the general price of production, and, as a result, they receive an extra profit (*surplus-profit*). Thus, when this extra profit is not the accidental result of the fluctuations of price produced in the course of the process of circulation, it is always equal to the difference between the individual price of production of given commodities, and the general price of the social production of the same commodities. If this extra profit results from advantages inherent in the capital and labour affected in the enterprise, it returns to the capitalist as such; but if, on the contrary, it arises from the employment of a natural force, distinct from capital, capable of being monopolised, limited in extent or in quantity, the extra profit is transformed into rent of land.

It is to the analysis of this transformation that Marx devotes the sixth section of his third volume.

In conformity to his habitual method, he supposes that, in agriculture, as

in all the other branches of social production, the mode of capitalist production has arrived at its complete development. All the land is occupied. The production of use-values has taken the place of the production of exchange-values. Agricultural products are sold at their price of production. Agriculture is carried on by capitalists, who are only distinguished from other capitalists by the element to which they apply their capital, and the wage-labour brought into action by this capital. In a word, we find ourselves brought into contact with three classes who divide the products of the social labour: the wage-workers, who are the real cultivators of the earth; the capitalist farmer, who directs the enterprise and takes the profits; and the ground landlord, who allows the farmer to apply his capital to the earth, providing a periodic rent, fixed by contract, is paid him.

This rent, we know, contains elements which have nothing to do with the ground rent, with "what the farmer pays for the right to work the primary and indestructible qualities of the soil" (Ricardo).]

(1) In the first place, the interest on the capital incorporated in the earth, and which has preserved a distinct existence—as buildings, permanent improvements, irrigation canals, drainage, manures, &c.; in a word, all that Marx calls *earth capital* in contradistinction to *earth material*; that is to say, to the natural agent considered in itself.

(2) It frequently happens that the rent paid to the proprietor contains a more or less important fraction of the average profit, which ought, under normal conditions, to return to the farmer. It is the case when farmers, cultivators from father to son, are content with a lower profit than the average rather than apply their capital to other branches of industry; or when farm rents have been calculated, after the establishment of a protective tariff, and prices undergo a fall before the leases fall in.

We will not speak here of competitive farm rents, of the famine rents so frequent in Ireland, in Flanders, and in other over-populated regions, such as the Terra di Lavoro, in the environs of Naples. The small farmer, working himself with the members of his family, is no more a capitalist than the home worker, abandoned to the sweating system, is an independent master, and the rent which he pays to the ground landlord absorbs not only the profit and the interest on his meagre capital, but too often a part of that which ought to go to him as wages for his work.

(3) This deduction on the necessary wage exists not only under the pseudo-capitalist form of competitive farm rents. It is found in capitalist agriculture, properly so-called. Whilst in industry every general reduction of wages results finally in a fall in prices, it is not the same in agriculture where, as we shall see, prices are determined by the price of production on the least fertile soils. Thus Marx gives a great number of examples in which a portion of the wage, fallen below the average and normal level, forms one of the established elements of farm rent, and, under the mask of ground rent, goes to increase the revenue of the ground landlords.

Nothing is more striking in support of this assertion than the labours of the parliamentary inquiry which preceded the introduction of the Corn Laws in England. The inquiry proves that the exorbitant price of farm rents, during the anti-Jacobin war, and the continental blockade, must be attributed partially to the reduction of wages below the minimum indispensable to physical existence. In the same way, when Lord Shaftesbury brought the movement in favour of the Factory Acts to a head, the manufacturers revenged themselves by publishing statistics on the wages of the agricultural workers in the villages belonging to that aristocratic philanthropist. These statistics showed with perfect clearness that a portion

of the farm rent received by the noble lord arose purely and simply from scandalous reductions enforced on the wages of the workers.

To sum up, rent contains, or can contain, various elements, foreign to ground rent properly so-called, interest on earth capital: abnormal deductions on the average profit of the farmers, and on the wages of the agricultural workers. It is necessary to make an abstract of these foreign elements in seeking the causes which act on the development of rent, and which assures to the ground landlord, without any labour on his part, a portion of the surplus-value produced by the agricultural workers. The observations which follow deal specially with arable land, but they apply—*mutatis mutandis*—to all the other forms of rent, such, for example, as fisheries, mines, building land, or woods and forests.

The differential rent of Marx, in opposition to absolute rent, of which we shall speak further on, is nothing more nor less than the rent of Ricardo. "The difference between the produce obtained by the employment of two equal quantities of capital and labour." It is only necessary to add to this definition the words, "On the same quantity of earth," when it deals with rent and not with surplus-profit in general. In other words, surplus profit, when it does not arise from the oscillations of supply and demand, is always the result of the difference of the productivity of two equal quantities of capital (variable and constant), and this surplus-profit is transformed into rent when these capitals are applied, with unequal results, either to the same piece or to different pieces of land.

Differential rent presents itself under two distinct forms: the first, which results from the employment of equal capitals on lands of the same extent, but of unequal fertility (Differential Rent II); the second, which arises from the different productivity of the aliquot parts of an equal capital applied successively to the same land (Differential Rent I).

#### I.—DIFFERENTIAL RENT.

Marx's theory of differential rent approaches nearer to the doctrines of the classic school than to the other parts of his system, but differentiates itself on important points from the theory of rent as formulated by Ricardo.

For Ricardo the principal, if not exclusive, cause of the progressive increase of rent is the augmentation of population which necessitates the cultivation of land of an ever decreasing fertility.

But on these two fundamental points—increase of population after the law of Malthus, and the historic order of cultivation—the classic theory of rent is in contradiction with the facts.

In certain countries—France, for example—the population remains stationary. On the other hand, it is a fact that in the historic evolution of society it is not always the best lands that have been cultivated in the first place. Thus, for example, in France, the fertile Walloon plains were in a large degree covered with dense forests at a time when the sandy and barren lands of Flanders had been subjected for centuries to intensive culture. However, the rank that sites occupy in the hierarchic of land depends principally upon the combination of two factors: the fertility of the soil and the more or less favourable situation of the sites. But fertility and situation stand frequently in a contrary sense: fertile lands being badly situated, and *vice versa*. Lastly, the advantages resulting from fertility and situation are essentially relative: the development of means of transport,



the creation of new industrial centres, and the introduction of new processes in agriculture are capable of completely revolutionising the differential relations which create rent.

But whatever has been the order of succession of cultivation, the series of cultivated lands would appear—at a given moment of agricultural evolution—as decreasing: starting naturally from the best land, which gives the most rent, and arriving finally to the worst—to that which yields no rent at all. Differential rent exists then by the single fact that from the point of view of productivity differences exist between different classes of land.

Regarding the causes which tend to the increase of ground rent, to the augmentation of the part which the proprietor deducts from the produce of social labour, Marx leaves the law of Malthus on one side, and applies himself to the task of proving the following propositions:

(1) The price of agricultural products—and especially the price of wheat, which serves as a regulator for the price of the other products—can rise, although the population may remain stationary.

(2) Differential rent can rise although the price of production on the least fertile land remains unaltered.

(3) The total rents (rental), the sum total of the rents taken by the ground landlords, can rise, although there is no variation in prices, and although the difference of productivity between different classes of land remains the same.

(1) In the first place, then, the rise in prices—which increases the ground rent—can be determined, not only by the increase of the population, but also by the increase in the demand for agricultural products.

This end would be attained simply by a development of industry, by the demand for raw materials—grains, tobacco, beets, hops, &c.—increasing in the distilleries, sugar factories, breweries, tobacco factories, and other industries which have their roots in agricultural production.

(2) The order of succession of cultivation being not invariable, not going from the most fertile to the least fertile land, differential rent can increase and the price of products remain unaltered.

This would happen if the difference in quality between the worst and the best land was increased, or if means were found to obtain a greater productivity from the land already in cultivation, or if the development of transports, the improvement of technique, or the progress of agricultural science permitted the putting into cultivation of land that had hitherto been uncultivated.

This would be the case, for example, if the drying-up of the Zuyder-Zee gave over to cultivation lands infinitely more fertile than the sandy and sterile soils of Dreuth, or of North Brabant.

Lastly, the price of wheat remaining stationary, as well as the differences of the productivity of the different classes of land, the extension of cultivation alone can exercise a considerable influence on the rate of rent, and on its absolute total.

(a) The total rent of the whole of the land in cultivation (rental) necessarily increases with the extent of this land until its extension reaches those portions of land which yield no rent.

(b) The average rent per acre (total rent divided by the number of acres in cultivation) and the average rate of rent (the total rent put in relation with the whole of agricultural capital, undergoes equally important variations by the extension of cultivation.

In effect, the average rent and the rate of rent, relatively to the whole of the capital applied to agriculture, depends upon the proportional part which the various qualities of land in the whole of the cultivated area represent. The average rent and the rate of rent remain stationary, in spite of the extension of cultivation, when the proportion of the different soils do not vary; they sink, on the contrary, in spite of the rise in the total rent, if the proportion of inferior quality soil is increased; lastly, they are augmented if the proportion of soil of the best quality is increased. For we know that this last hypothesis can be perfectly realised since the order of cultivation is not invariable; and since the advantages of situation and fertility are essentially relative. To summarise, then, the rise of ground rent is not subordinated to the absolute increase of the population. The total rent, that is to say, the sum total of surplus-value monopolised without labour by the proprietors of the soil increases: (1) With the rise of prices; (2) With the increase of differential rent; (3) With the simple extension of cultivation.

For on these three factors the prodigious development of the power to produce wealth, which characterises the capitalist system, exercises a preponderant influence, and it is thus that the landlord class—as long as the competition of new countries does not make itself felt—has taken an ever-increasing portion of the social revenue, to the detriment of the other classes of the population.

## II.

"It often happens," said Ricardo, "that before clearing Nos. 2, 3, 4, on the soils of inferior quality, the capital could be employed in a more productive manner on the soils already cultivated. Thus, if the capital originally employed on No. 1 be doubled, the increased productivity, although not doubled, might be nearly so, and, indeed, be more than if the additional capital were devoted to the working of No. 3. In such a case the capital would be employed with preference on the old soil, and would equally constitute a rent—the rent being always the difference between the products obtained by two equal quantities of capital and labour."

This rent, the differential rent (2) of Marx is based upon the differential rent (1). At the commencement of social evolution agricultural capital scarce existed; labour and land constituted the principal factors of production. It was much later that the suppression of free land and the appropriation of the whole cultivated domain, gave birth to intensive culture and the second form of differential rent.

From the point of view of the production of profit, this differential rent (2) obeys the same laws as the form (1) from which it is derived.

But from the point of view of the transformation of the surplus-produce into rent, the change of form which transfers this surplus-produce from the capitalist farmer to the proprietor of the soil, differential rent (2) presents particularities which distinguish it from form 1.

(1) Throughout the term of a farm lease, the surplus-produce realised by the additional application of capital to the soil goes into the pocket of the farmer in place of going into that of the landlord. This explains the efforts of the English farmers to obtain long term leases, and those of the proprietors to impose tenancies at will, and to obtain precise accounts of the actual effect of their supplementary applications of capital.

(2) As long as these additional capitals applied on a soil produce a surplus-profit, the absolute rent per acre increases, although relatively to the capital advanced it diminishes. The limit of this absolute rise in rent is

reached when the additions of capital produce only the average profit, and when, consequently, the individual price of production equals the general price of production.

(3) The addition of supplementary capital, which produces only the average profit—when surplus productivity equals 0—leaves the surplus-profit already formed intact. *Per contra*, if the effect of these additional capitals is inferior to that of the capitals employed on soils which give no differential rent, the price of average individual production for the whole of the capital employed on soils of the highest fertility tends to approach the general price of production, determined by the cost of production on the least fertile soils, and consequently to diminish that difference from which surplus-profit and rent arises. But under the capitalist system, this levelling of rent is not possible, because the farmer must pay to the landlord a rent equal to the surplus-profit resulting from the applications of capital, which produce an excess on the general price of production.

Thus, then, although differential rent is nothing else but surplus-profit transformed, the individual property does not give the proprietor the power to seize the surplus-profit realised by the farmer; it constitutes an artificial obstacle to the application of additional capitals on the same soil, which would reduce the price of general production whilst leaving intact the average profit of the farmers.

### III.—ABSOLUTE RENT.

Until now we have supposed—in order to facilitate the analysis of differential rent—that the least productive soils do not pay rent, because they do not give a surplus-profit to those who work them. There are, in fact, soils which would yield an average profit to the farmer if it was not necessary to pay rent to the proprietor. So that the existence of the landlord constitutes an obstacle to the cultivation of the soil, which cannot be worked without paying rent except under exceptional circumstances, such as the following:—

(1) When the landlord is himself a capitalist, or the capitalist a landlord. In this case he can cultivate himself, and make value direct, by obtaining from his land the cost of production and the average profit.

(2) It may happen that in a holding there is a piece of land which pays no rent, and which the farmer can cultivate under conditions which would produce him the average profit.

(3) As we have seen, the farmer can, by the application of supplementary capital, obtain products which sell at their price of production, without giving an extra profit.

But these exceptional cases do not solve the problem with which we are concerned, and which can be formulated thus—It being admitted that the market price reaches the level at which the products of the least productive soil can be sold, does that alone allow them to be cultivated, or is it necessary that the market price shall reach a level at which even the least fertile soils can pay a rent?

There can be no doubt as to the answer—the necessity of paying rent is an essential outcome of the monopoly of land, even for soils of the latter category; the ground landlord would not consent to the land being used unless he received a rent for so doing.

In this case, then, property is not only the means whereby the surplus-profit resulting from the differences of soils can be appropriated, but it

becomes the cause of the rise of price above the normal price of production ; it is property itself which creates rent.

Marx calls this portion of rent absolute rent (absolute Grundrente), in opposition to differential rent, because it does not accrue from the differences of productivity of capital on soils of unequal quality.

What enables it to form is the predominance of variable capital in agriculture, and consequently the creation of considerably more surplus-value than is created in industry. For, as a result of the monopoly of land, this surplus-value, instead of being transformed into profit and distributed among the different groups of capitalists, as between the shareholders of a vast company, goes to the ground landlords under the form of absolute rent. It will be so when, as a result of the progress of machinery, and the increase of constant capital, the organic constitution of capital in agriculture will be the same as in industry ; but we are still far from that state of things, and absolute rent predominates in the working of mines, forests, &c.

#### IV.—THE CAPITALISATION OF RENT.

To summarise, ground rent—absolute or differential—is nothing but surplus-value transformed. Having passed through all the forms which we have described, it finally appears as a sum of money which the ground landlord receives each year as rent for a certain portion of the terrestrial globe ; and, like any other sum of money, it can be capitalised—*i.e.*, considered as the interest of an imaginary capital. Supposing, for example, that the average rate of interest is five per cent., an annual rent of £200 can be considered as the interest on a capital of £4,000. It is this ground rent which, capitalised, constitutes the price or the “value” of the soil, a category which *prima facie* is irrational, as the earth is not the product of labour, and consequently can—according to Marx—have no value. But under this irrational form, an affinity to actual production is hidden : if a capitalist obtains for £4,000 an estate which brings him £200 a year, he gets an annual interest of five per cent. exactly as if he had bought bills at five per cent., or lent out money at the same rate.

As a result, the income can rise or fall by reason of the rise or fall of the interest. If, for example, the rate of interest falls from five per cent. to four per cent., an annual income of £200 represents the annual yield of a capital of £5,000 in place of £4,000, and the increase in the price of the estate from £4,000 to £5,000.

Therefore, in proportion as the capitalist method of production develops, the value of the soil and the price of land increases as long as foreign competition cannot decrease the price on the national market. In an additional paragraph, which completes, on this point, the manuscript of Marx, F. Engels studies briefly the effect of the competition of new countries from the point of view of rent, and the value of the soil ; but it goes without saying that these disturbing influences do not in the least affect the theoretical and abstract considerations with which we have dealt.

We thus come to the end of this long chain of reasoning, which binds successively the formation of surplus-value to surplus-labour, the average profit and surplus-profit to surplus-value, and lastly, ground rent to surplus-profit realised by the employment of a natural force distinct from capital and limited in extent.

Considered in themselves, these ideas of Marx on differential rent do not deviate, fundamentally, from the Ricardian theories ; on the other hand, his

ideas on absolute rent are found less developed by Sismondi, and especially by Rodbertus (Zur Erkenntniss unserer staatswirthschaftlichen Zustände) but in the third volume of "Capital," these ideas of differential rent and absolute rent are precisely determined and completed—the common origin of both are shown to us, *i.e.*, surplus-value, the product of social labour, partly monopolised by the proprietors of the soil. In a word, the theory of rent is shown bound up with the whole of the vast system, whose imposing unity it completes; it is especially from this point of view that it presents real originality and powerful interest.—(E. VANDERVELDE, in *L'Avenir Social*)

A. E. L.

## PRISONS AND PRISONERS.

THE REV. WILLIAM DOUGLAS MORRISON, in the *Fortnightly Review*, writes:—  
 "What is the result of this deteriorating process on the prison population? The first and most pernicious result is that it turns the casual offender into an habitual criminal. . . . The prison is the breeding-ground of the habitual criminal. The habitual criminal is the casual offender to begin with. But the prison deteriorates him, debases him mentally and morally, reduces him to a condition of apathy, unfits and indisposes him for the tasks and duties of life." "At the present moment there are about 18,000 people in the prisons of England and Wales. Of these 18,000, considerably more than one-half will go back to prison again . . . the proportion of re convicted prisoners, or old offenders, is steadily increasing." The remainder of the article is a criticism of the Prisons Bill.

To the same conclusions comes the author of another article on the same subject ("Our Female Criminals," by Miss Eliza Orme). "The real fact is that women, instead of being reformed by prison treatment, are dragged down by it, and that our system, planned carefully, with the best intentions, is really calculated to manufacture habitual criminals and drunkards," and, "Our prison system, in regard to the moral improvement of female prisoners, is even more unsatisfactory than in regard to their physical health."

"To sum up: I say, without fear of exaggeration, that the whole of our system of prison administration, so far as it affects female criminals, requires overhauling, and the statistics published by the Commissioners prove it beyond doubt. The system of the future will be something of this kind. There will be hospitals in healthy districts for inebriates. They will be managed by doctors. . . The prisoners will be treated as individuals, and not as mere items in a huge crowd." . . .



## THE NEGRO: HIS RELATION TO SOUTHERN INDUSTRY.

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THE oration at the celebration of Emancipation Day at Columbus, Ga., was delivered by Richard R. Wright, head of the State college for negroes, and one of the best informed representatives of his race in Georgia. Referring to the importance of the negro to the South, and the evidence of his progress, he said :

" We care for our sick ; we bury our dead ; we build our churches ; we are supporting our ministers ; we are rearing our families ; we are educating our children, and we are gaining property. In the South we are doing 57 per cent. of the agricultural work and over 90 per cent. of the manual and domestic services ; we are doing for the South over one thousand million dollars' worth of work every year at lower wages than is paid to any other class of labourers in America. We are doing this without strikes and without labour organisations and riots. It is admitted that we are the most peaceable and patient labourers in the world."

No one with a knowledge of the negro's condition in the South will question the above statements. While his percentage of labour shows a tendency to decrease in the agricultural districts, the negro is making rapid advances in the mechanical industries of the South—a fact due, in great measure, to the conditions described in the closing sentence of the quotation.

Practical and general trade organisation among the negroes of the Gulf States has never been attempted, to my knowledge, and were the initiative to begin at once, with all the forces at our command, it would be a matter of doubt to many minds if the dawn of the twentieth century would witness any material progress.

While there are many exceptions, of course, to the general rule, it is a fact patent to every observing man who has studied the negro from contact that as a race, he does not give evidence of a possession of those peculiarities of temperament, such as patriotism, sympathy, sacrifice, &c., which are peculiar to most of the Caucasian race, and which alone make an organisation of the character and complexity of the modern trade union possible—sufficiently to warrant a hope that his condition might be improved by organisation corresponding with the good results obtained through white organisation.

Those well-meaning but misguided philanthropists (and others) who would attempt a solution of the negro problem in the South on the supposition that his character, his needs and adaptabilities are similar to those of the white race, do not appear to take into consideration certain well-known traits of negro character, prominent among which is his distrust of his fellows in black, and his deep-seated prejudice against the white working man, the ignorance of the adults, and his abandoned and reckless disposition. I said that there were many exceptions to this, but, as applicable to the race, the truthfulness of the above is universally recognised in the South, and may be easily verified.

It would be well for all union men, irrespective of section or opinion, to understand correctly the negro's position in the Southern labour movement, as, I believe, he is yet to bring about a complete re-adjustment of the

Southern industrial problem. We must deal honestly and fearlessly with conditions as they are, and not as we would have them be.

At present the negro has a decided advantage over the white man in the Southern industrial field. There is but little if any excuse for an idle negro. If he cannot find employment in the cities, there is always an opening in the country—farmers sometimes having to hold out extra inducements to obtain his labour, as they much prefer him to the white man. In most of the cities he has a practical monopoly in such trades as carpentering, brick-laying, blacksmithing, &c. He does the bulk of the labour at cotton warehouses, compresses, lumber and saw mills. Porters, hotel and restaurant waiters, domestics, coachmen and drivers, longshoremen, river hands, corporation hands, firemen and tenders of stationary engines, "day-labourers," &c., &c.—the bulk of them are negroes. Why? Simply because he works for what he can get, as many hours as may be required of him, and is the happiest and most contented individual imaginable. Now, who ever heard of a contented people descanting upon burdensome conditions? Is not the "agitator"—he who points out, and rebukes error and injustice—the forerunner of reform? And what reform, pray, came about, except through the workings of the inseparables—discontent and agitation?

Outside a few of the more skilled and organised trades, if a body of workmen generate sufficient temerity to ask for less hours, or an advance in wages, the Goliath in command has only to utter the magical word "negroes!" to drive them back into the ruts in fear, and trembling for their positions. The fact of their not being organised is a sufficient comment on their submissiveness; they know that, in addition to the swarms of white men that may be "shooed" up from the farms, where 5 cent cotton has played hide-and-seek with their appetites, there are also hordes of negroes ready to drop the plow-shares for work at almost any price in town for the sake of the education which the State gratuitously offers their children. There is hardly any sacrifice of the comforts that the negro will not willingly and cheerfully make in order to educate his children—very commendable, indeed, but, alas for expectation! the records show an increase of crime along with it.

I will say, also, that some of their distinguished educators have developed quite as much oratorical ability in denouncing and vilifying the trade unions as they have business sagacity in disposing of the large school and charitable donations from the land of the Puritan, in distilling into the young hopefuls a sense of equality, and even superiority over the "poor white trash" and "factory tads," (euphemisms easily recognisable by all who have journeyed Southward). And the ease and dexterity with which they continue to elongate philanthropic leg forms a study in metaphysics.

Recently, several hundred white textile employees have been discharged to make room for the negro, on the plea of economy. Cotton mills have a way of going to the cheapest market for labour. It is the opinion of many that in the not distant future, unless the unforeseen should happen, negroes will be worked almost exclusively in the cotton mills of the South—and what then? But that is another subject.

I have myself participated in the organisation of several unions that were, in time, forced to disband because their members could not procure work at a union wage in the face of negro competition. Unfortunately, there are but few unions in the South which have the negro as an active competitor that can truly lay claim to stability; and inasmuch as he is an active competitor in 90 per cent. of Southern industry it would appear that time and money spent in a general organisation of white working men is, at

best, experimental—notwithstanding that there are industries which public sentiment will not permit the negro to engage in that are not organised, but which should and could be had we but the organisers with time and money to accomplish it.

I shall not attempt to discuss a general organisation of the Southern negro. In a few local instances it might and doubtless has proven advantageous, but, generally speaking, I doubt if there be a hundred native Southerners who would seriously entertain such a proposition; and as these believe, so would the people of other sections doubtlessly believe with like information on the subject. Public sentiment (an all-powerful factor in such matters) argues that it is impracticable, if not impossible, and altogether out of question, albeit with due respect for those of different ideas, whose environment, possibly, is not black and yellow on the horizon.

But even admitting as possible a thorough organisation of the negroes, it is hardly probable that the white workers generally could be induced to recognise them as union men—that is, brothers in a common cause—and without such recognition or federation or understanding between the two organised races whereby concerted action might be engendered, I submit that organisation would be worse than worthless.

From a Southern view, colonisation would be a practical and mutually agreeable solution of the negro-labour problem. Bishop Turner, of this State, and many others of the prominent negro divines and educators, all over the South, favour the emigration or colonisation scheme, and are now working to that end in favour of the negro republic of Liberia. The only opposition these men encounter is from the capitalist class (of course), and its chief tool—a hireling press. The negroes themselves are friendly to the proposition, as witnessed by the fact that some 19,000 of them have emigrated to the black republic, although the prosperity of Liberia has been very dubious, it is a poor country; its climate is bad, and its native surroundings unfavourable to the purpose.

The country most suitable in every respect, and at present the most available for negro colonisation, is Cuba, "Queen of the Antilles," and the garden spot of the continent. There the negro would thrive and prosper as he would nowhere else on earth. And with this end in view the United States might well afford to put an end to the horrible conditions now prevalent on that unhappy isle. I believe 90 per cent. of the Southern negroes would hail with delight this opportunity.—*American Federationist*.

## THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN.

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WRITING from Washington, on April 15, Mr. Maurice Low says, in the *National Review*: "A month ago I thought we were on the verge of war—I expected to see the formal opening of hostilities every day. . . . Whether peace or war, surely the world has never been called upon to witness a more remarkable exhibition of shilly-shallying indecision than that displayed by President McKinley in his management of affairs during the present month." He says: "The Cubans have displayed great skill. Their military ability has been demonstrated. Out-numbered from the start, badly armed, short of ammunition, insufficiently clad, and without surgeons or medicine, they have decimated the best troops of Spain, caused her to expend untold millions, and they have made a laughing-stock of Spain's greatest generals. . . . But even more brilliant than their stratagy has been their diplomacy." After drawing attention to the indifference that was at first displayed by America with regard to Cuba, he says that though sympathy was at last aroused, it "was largely a manufactured article"; journalists and editors being the manufacturers. "Perhaps," says he, "the Cuban question might have remained a minor issue had it not been made political. . . . The Republicans took a decided stand on Cuba." Some even demanded that they should pledge themselves to secure the independence of Cuba. The Democrats took up a less decided position. As long ago as January, 1897, Mr. Low wrote in the *National Review* "that it was believed that the Spanish fleet would be blown out of the water in the first engagement. . . . The war with Spain was looked upon merely as a military promenade."

"Mr. McKinley's course," continues the writer of the article, "has been remarkable. He has trimmed and temporised and vacillated when firmness and boldness were required of him." While encouraging the Republicans to believe that he was the friend of the Cubans, he was telling "the courtiers of wealthy men around him that he was for peace."

Then came the blowing up of the *Maine*, which changed the whole aspect of affairs, and it "was expected that McKinley would deal with the case firmly and boldly. . . . Instead, he sent to Congress a message which was not only weak in composition, but 'flabby' in purpose." The effect of this was to rouse the country to indignation. At the same time he asked Congress to vote £100,000 for feeding the starving *reconcentrados*; but no one in America believed that the destruction of the *Maine* was due to an accident, and thought "it would be time enough to talk about charity when justice had been done to the men who wore the uniform of the United States." Now, Congress alone having the power of declaring war, that body could have placed McKinley in an awkward position; this he knew, and "to save himself he caused it to be known that he would recommend Congress to give him authority to intervene with force in Cuba." Having promised to communicate with Congress on April 6, he failed to do so. "I am convinced," says Mr. Low, "that he consented to delay, believing the lives of Americans (in Cuba) were in jeopardy." But the country did not so believe. "Some of the President's closest friends are said to be heavily interested in the rise and fall of speculative securities. The President's misfortune is that he has such friends." This article further charges him with having followed his party instead of leading it, of being neither consistent nor dignified, of

being wanting in firmness and even in courage. The time and money are ridiculed that were required to get ready to fight Spain, "a bankrupt, fourth-rate Power, with a toy navy. . . Yankee ingenuity has not yet been very much in evidence. Not a single vessel of consequence has been added to the navy except those bought in British yards." Mr. Low comments, with pleasure and gratification, on the ready sympathy England has shown America in her time of trouble, and on Sir Julian Pauncefote's earnest efforts to prevent war. "Perhaps," he concludes, "the time for an Anglo-American alliance is nearer at hand than we think. For the good of the world, and the lasting benefit of both nations, it can come none too soon."

The editor of the *National Review* adds a note to the effect that the "armed truce" has ripened into war. The Senate, being anxious to clear American policy of any suspicion of "land-grabbing," has recognised in its Resolution "The Republic of Cuba." Both belligerents have substantially adhered to the Declaration of Paris, but this action must not be regarded as final.

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A WRITER in the current number of *Blackwood* comments on the "strangely passionate, wilful, make-believe way" in which people in England refused to believe that war was intended. Now "the inevitable, the desired, has happened . . . and the United States are at war with Spain about Cuba. . . . Cuba has been badly governed; that the people should rise is no wonder . . . but there is far more in the American attack than a feeling of distress at Cuban suffering. . . . A deeper and stronger power is at work beneath the movement, which no McKinley could control, supposing him bent on controlling it. Unless all the signs deceive, the American Republic breaks from her old moorings and sails out to be a 'world-power.' Whether the start has been well made is for the Americans to consider."

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## AMERICAN FARMING.

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IN a recent number of the *American Statistical Quarterly*, under the head of "Farm Ownership, and Tenancy in the United States," a highly interesting abstract is given of a paper read by Mr. Edward Atkinson at the meeting of the International Statistical Institute at St. Petersburg last year. This paper was sustained by analyses and tables prepared by the Hon. L. G. Powers, the Commissioner of the Bureau of Labour Statistics, Minnesota. The optimistic character of Mr. Atkinson's mind is well known, but it is possible that this may be due to a better realisation than others have attained, possessed through a patient study of the subject, of the enormous development of our national resources and the benefit which this material development has brought to the great mass of our people. Mr. Atkinson began his paper by saying that, while our estimated population is about five per cent. of that of all the people in the world, this fraction of one-twentieth of mankind consumes more than one-third of the commercial product of iron, steel, and copper, one-quarter of the commercial product of



wool, more than a quarter of the commercial product of cotton, and other great staples in almost like proportions. Then, turning to farming, he insists that the conditions here are improving, rather than deteriorating, conditions. He believes that the vast exportation of wheat that has taken place during the last two or three decades is likely to decline and possibly to disappear; that in this respect Russia and the Argentine Republic will come in as competitors against us in a manner which will prevent the profitable employment of our energies in this direction. But this displacement will be attended by the more profitable use of our land for small farms and for diversified agriculture.

We have but begun to develop the natural resources of our land, and in Mr. Atkinson's opinion Texas and the Indian territory alone could readily supply the entire country with all of the grain, hay, cotton, rice, tobacco, and sugar that are now produced in every part of the United States. The state of Texas alone now makes nearly as much cotton as all the cotton states did before the war, and if one-tenth of the area of that state was devoted to cotton growing, a crop of this staple equal to the entire product of the country could readily be produced. This shows the possibilities that exist for a further extension of our farming industry in the way of fresh lands, and that there is no reason in the situation to assume that this land is so far taken up as to make it impossible for farmers hereafter to own their farms. In the analysis made by him of the agricultural returns in the last census, Mr. Powers shows that, while there has been an actual increase in the number of farm tenants as compared with farm owners, this can be attributed to certain easily explainable causes. There was, of course, a material increase in the number of tenant farmers after our Civil War, for the reason that the emancipated slaves had no other recourse than to lease land for the purpose of supporting themselves. But, in spite of this, while since 1860 the number of farm-owning families has increased from 1,850,000 to 3,392,000, or more than eighty-three per cent. the number of tenants, dependent families of tenants, wage-earners, &c., has increased only from 1,508,750 to 2,132,754, or but forty-three per cent. It will thus appear that the farm-owning class is advancing at a much more rapid rate than the tenant class. Again, the statistics show that, while a large number of farmers under the age of thirty are tenants, and a small proportion owners, the change from tenancy to ownership takes place very rapidly after that time, particularly in the northern states, so that it is the exceptional farmer who, when he arrives at the age of sixty, is not the owner of his farm.—New York *Public Opinion*.

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## THE OLD COMMUNARD.

(IL EN ÉTAIT)

(From the French of J. B. Clément.)

### V.

THE honest and laborious sallies of the brave William, who was respected largely on account of his herculean strength, at length brought forth fruit.

Father Martin was able from time to time to go and enjoy the shelter of the grand old tree of liberty without being molested. In time, too, the people, who until now had regarded him with an air of contempt, began to acknowledge him at meeting, and sometimes even to salute him with respect.

The old man informed his son of this little alteration of opinion.

"Father," replied the latter, "I also have observed it; the people who lately shunned me are coming to me again, and are testifying a sympathy which is quite touching. I am happy for your sake, but indifferent as regards myself.

Father and son were worthy of each other.

One day William was sent for at the Little Commune to repair some farming instruments. His heart beat fast, as he hastened to the farm, with childish joy.

The work finished, they met in the dining room to settle the business, and at the same time discuss a bottle of wine. They talked over a great number of things, of the Commune, of New Caledonia, and the sufferings endured by the deported. William's questions were abundant, to all of which Father Martin replied with his great good humour and ardent sincerity.

At each instant the blacksmith took him by the hand and shook it with effusion.

"By my anvil," cried he at one moment, addressing himself to the son, "If I had a father such as that I would preserve him in cotton wool."

"And that is exactly what we are doing, my dear William; but allow me to say that I believe you to be a very excellent man, and, above all, a courageous——"

"How is that?"

"Our boy Nicholas has several times told us of the scenes you have had respecting me with the country people," said Father Martin, at the same time holding out his hand.

William, who was quite affected, took the proffered hand, and with tears in his eyes said:—

"Ah! many thanks, Monsieur Martin, your kind words are a consolation to me."

An hour afterwards William and Father Martin walked out arm in arm and sat and chatted beneath the great tree of liberty.

On this occasion several of the old countrymen came and stood by the two friends, and in time quite a crowd of women and young people collected round the pair.

With touching and persuasive eloquence Father Martin spoke to them of the unmerited miseries endured by the poor, and of their docility and resignation. He dwelt with indignation on the selfishness of the governing classes, and showed them the difference between a bourgeois Republic and a Socialist Republic.

His audience listened with admiration mixed with surprise. Never before had they heard such questions treated in such a manner. The women were moved, the men captivated, and the young people applauded.

As regards William, he viewed Father Martin with admiration, and only interrupted him to repeat:—

“Ah! Nom de Dieu, nom de Dieu, that is good! That hits it!”

When it was time to return to the farm, the old man, with the aid of William, rose from his seat and took leave of his auditors, who stood respectfully on one side to allow him to pass.

This open-air gathering was an important event in the village; for days nothing was spoken of but the great capacity of Father Martin, and of his kind sentiments for the poor, for whom he had lived and suffered; the things he had said were recalled and commented upon, and some even went so far as to say that Jesus Christ himself could not have spoken better.

On the evening of this memorable gathering William made a tour of the inns; his face was illumined, and his eyes glistened. He spoke little, however. The triumph of Father Martin sufficed for him; he contented himself by saying to those he met:—

“Well, what did you think of it, eh? It was good, wasn’t it?”

To the great surprise of his wife he came home that night singing a couplet of Mother Gregory, and when she inquired the cause of this gaiety he told her what had passed. Then he took her in his arms and embraced her as in their courting days.

“Ah, well, I also love Father Martin,” said the good woman, laughing.

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## VI.

From this moment there was a complete change in the village. Father Martin was everything and everywhere. If there was any subject to be settled, such as a point of heritage between relations and neighbours, he was elected as arbitrator, and his decision had all the force of law.

“Why should we go and call in men of chicanery and pay them dearly,” said they, “when the old man of the Little Commune knows more than them, and costs nothing?”

Father Martin became also the physician of the place. Armed with his manual of Raspail, he gave consultations and ordered medicines. His patients soon grew better, aided by their faith, and by the fact that the doctor’s visits cost nothing, and that he often helped to pay for the drugs when he did not himself prepare them.

He also became the village scribe; he was the confidant of the young and the counsellor of the old.

In less than a year he had acquired the reputation of a great doctor, a clever business man, a sage and prudent councillor—a fountain of science, and one of the best of men.

Before the municipal elections took place, the people met and unanimously, with the exception of the mayor, decided to make him a candidate.

"We will make him our mayor," said some.

"And our deputy," said others.

And all applauded, and drank to the health of Father Martin, and to the prosperity of the Little Commune.

William, who was also chosen as candidate, was charged with the mission of informing him of the decision of the electors. He acquitted himself with tact, was pressing and suppliant, but could obtain no reply from the old Communard than this:

"Give my best thanks to all my friends; tell them that I am deeply touched with this testimony of their confidence and sympathy, but that I desire no position. My only ambition is to remain their friend, and to be as useful to them as I can."

This decision grieved everybody; and William, having said that he would not revoke it, told them that they should honour him the more for his convictions, and for his disinterestedness. William, who profitted by the popularity and esteem which his old friend enjoyed, was elected the first on the list, and became mayor in place of a noble, a great proprietor of the district, who had shown the greatest hostility to the people at the Little Commune.

William, however, would not accept the position until he had consulted his friend. Father Martin counselled him to accede to the desires of his colleagues, insisting on this ground:

"It is essential on account of your opinions; a Republican mayor can do much good in his commune, and Republican mayors are lacking in France."

William accepted, promising to do his duty, and added:

"You are right. . . . And then with me there, it is your revenge, my dear Father Martin!"

"No, my friend, it is another, or at least it is the commencement of it."

"Ah, I understand," cried William, it is the revenge of the Commune. Vive la Commune!"

And the new mayor and the old Communard, profoundly moved, shook hands heartily.

## VII.

Agitated and disturbed as the village of — had formerly been, in the year 1890 it had become a model commune, the Eden of peasant life, all being relations and friends. The old mayor, unable to bear his defeat, and still less to see himself replaced by a "rustic clown," as he himself expressed it, in the functions that he had fulfilled for more than thirty years, sold his property, and left that part of the country.

His departure was the occasion of a fête. The people lighted a large fire, and burned the effigy of the nobleman; and the children had quite an extraordinary display of fireworks in memory of the event.

William, assisted by his old friend, administered the affairs of the commune to the satisfaction of all. Moreover, he did nothing without first consulting the people, and asking them for their opinion and advice. Undoubtedly he and Father Martin had had the idea of the referendum, and William put it into practice without official sanction. All the projects for local improvements that he had proposed were sanctioned by his council,

and he was considered in time as a man of high ability, and, being more active, more intelligent, and more devoted to his work than the deputy of the constituency, he had obtained from the superior administration and from the State certain advantages which contributed not a little to the transformation and prosperity of the village, so much neglected hitherto.

William no longer was seen in the inns except when he desired to know the opinion of his constituents. The son of Father Martin had put his precious library at his service, and after his day of rude labour, after having forged and welded, done his work of smith, locksmith, engineer, coppersmith, tinsmith, and sometimes even of watchmaker, he would put off his leather apron, wash off the marks of his toil, and go and spend the evening at the Little Commune, reading, studying, taking notes, and educating himself, in company with Father Martin, who in his turn wrote, or read from his old favourite authors: Cabot, Fourier, and Blanqui.

He dreamt of making his little village into a veritable modern Icaria. His brain was simply crammed with good intentions and great projects, and in his moments of fever and expansion he would lean his head on his hand and say to his friend:

"I assure you that something extraordinary has taken place within me! My mind is much greater than before! It boils like a kettle! Oh, how fine it is not to think stupidly, and to see clearly all the good things which you have taught me!

And Father Martin, proud of his pupil, looked at him with pleasure.

Towards the end of December, 1890, Father Martin, who was then in his seventieth year, was overcome with a general feebleness. His sight became weak, his eyes affected, his voice hoarse, and his legs scarce able to support his greatly emaciated body.

He lasted thus until the end of April, when, in spite of the lengthening of the sunshine, presaging the advent of the summer, he was compelled to take to his bed.

At the news of his illness all the country people were in consternation, some good wives went secretly and lit the candles in the church, some poured forth prayers to heaven, and others called upon all the saints of paradise to restore the good old man of the Little Commune again to health.

But not the careful nursing with which he was tended, and less still the prayers and candles of the good wives, could abrogate the inexorable law of nature. On the 22nd of May, 1891, at the end of the day, surrounded by his family, and with his cold and frail hand lying in that of his great friend William, who cried like a child, he expired, fully conscious, whispering a last farewell and a last wish for the cause of human emancipation.

The news of the death of the old Communard spread rapidly through the village, but no one would believe it.

"The thing is not possible," said they.

They had come to think that such a man could not possibly die.

When doubt was no longer possible, when the day and hour of the interment was known, when it was also known that Father Martin had specified in his testament his desire to be buried without religious ceremony, in the common ground, like the poorest of the poor, a cry of sorrow went up throughout the country.



In a few hours the woods of the environs were despoiled of their young branches, and the gardens and valleys of their flowers, in order to cover the coffin of the good old man with floral crowns and mementoes.

Many were those who offered their shoulders for the honour of carrying his body to its last resting-place. William, who walked with the family at the head of the *cortège*, arranged all the details of the funeral. And it was in the midst of a sorrowful silence, disturbed only by sobs, followed by all the inhabitants of the country and their children, that Father Martin was carried to the cemetery and laid to rest in the little corner of earth reserved for the poor, of whom he had been all his life the valiant defender.

William had prepared a few words that he had promised to speak on the tomb of his old friend, but, overcome with sorrow, he could only control himself sufficiently to mutter in a sobbing voice, "Good-bye, my dear old friend! Long live the Republic! Long live the Social Revolution!"

And, without comprehending the true meaning of the war-cry they uttered against the established society, men, women, and children cried out repeatedly, "Long live the Social Revolution!"

And the whole assembly passed beside the yet gaping grave, and some dropped on it bunches of flowers, and others let fall their tears.

Although this was Sunday, the greater part of the inns were closed, and at the usual hour could be seen on the door of the ball-room:—

"There will be no dancing this evening."

On the morning of the next day could be seen on the large door of William's workshop:—

"Closed on account of death in the family."

A. E. L.



## HEAL THYSELF.

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Where knowledge sends the light of day, there melts the mental mist,  
And error 'neath its reaching ray, for aye cannot exist.  
Come ! place your finger on your wrist ; Man's endless ills recall,  
And hear why Reason will insist that Freedom heals them all.

'Twas Nature's chief and primal gift to all the human race ;  
The means supreme, to Man uplift to majesty and grace ;  
And while through the abyss of space careers this spinning ball,  
Man may not look God in the face till Freedom heals him all.

To lead man to salvation take, the wisest have enticed ;  
The best have e'en died for his sake, as Socrates and Christ ;  
Yet nought has even full sufficed to free him from his thrall ;  
A part of truth they each indiced—but Freedom means it all.

The whole, and nothing but the whole, of perfect life's the food.  
The past forgot, while man had soul, that here on earth he stood.  
The Spiritual Brotherhood, the virtue's cardinal ;  
Faith, Hope, and Charity are good, but Freedom means them all.

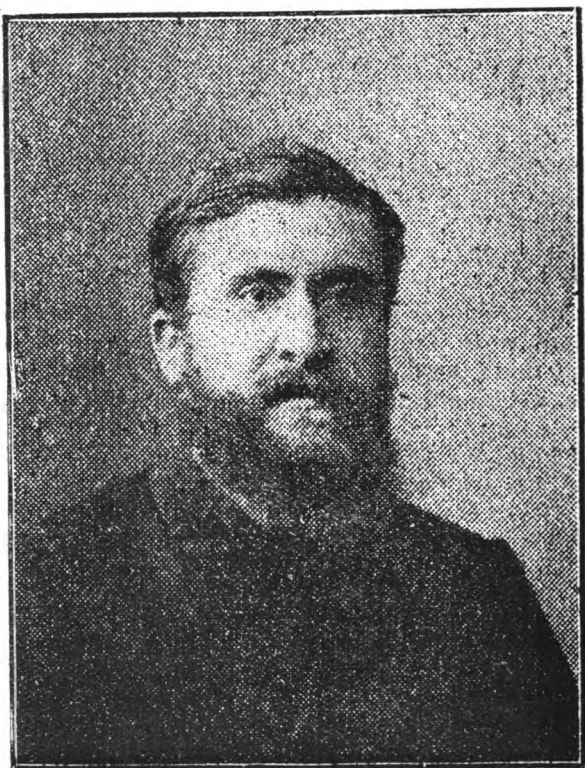
How lust of power and greed of gain did link the Church and State,  
And forged the sordid money-chain, 'twere lengthy to relate ;  
And oft to tyranny abate, rose minds not mean or small ;  
Their creeds were glorious, grand, and great, but Freedom is them all.

For Labour long, the Tree of Life—bears nought but poison-fruit,  
(And vain the sharpest pruning-knife), 'tis aurified at root ;  
And lips should speak are sealed and mute, and silence like a pall  
Cloaks Leprosy, from head to foot, but Freedom mends it all.

The lowest notes sound o'er and o'er, in misery's squalid scale,  
The sob of woman wounded sore ; the curse within the jail ;  
Crushed manhood's drawn convulsive wail—the sequence of the Fall—  
Of remedies tot up the tale, and Freedom sums them all.

'Tis Nature's remedy, my friend, none other can suffice ;  
Else human destinies depend on casting of the dice ;  
Then—losers, we must pay the price—for Life must fawn and crawl ;  
Oh ! When—say when, ye hearts of ice—will Freedom end it all.

J. LESLIE.



JEAN JAURÈS.

# THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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## GLADSTONE AND HIS WORK.

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ALL the world has mourned the death of Gladstone ; friend and foe have gathered round his grave to do homage to the dead statesman. In the presence of death the strife of party has been stilled, and those who were most virulent in their abuse of Gladstone living have been foremost in joining in the general chorus of laudation of Gladstone dead.

*De mortuis nil nisi bonum* may be good, but *de mortuis nil nisi verum* is better ; and why should Social-Democrats, who never bowed the knee in adoration to the Liberal Baal, who were never moved to ecstatic worship of the great god Gladstone, hesitate to speak the truth of him now he is dead, now the effect of his life and his work for good or ill can be better estimated, appreciated, and judged than when he was living ?

His strength and purity of character, his stupendous knowledge, his marvellous grasp of so many diverse subjects, his magical influence, his extraordinary oratorical and rhetorical powers, it would be impossible to gainsay. Gladstone towered head and shoulders above his compeers, and the political life of to-day has suffered a great, an irreparable loss, a loss which the classes who dominate that life do well to mourn.

But Gladstone was not our man. He was essentially a conservative. Bourgeois of the *haute bourgeoisie*, he was the commercial statesman *par excellence*. He was never a democrat. His sympathies, his ideals, and his aspirations all appertained to commercialism. Commercial prosperity appeared to him as the highest good. The well-being of the commercial classes meant to him the good of all. The toiling masses, except, perhaps, those engaged in agriculture, did not appeal to him ; they existed only as an appanage, an adjunct to the commercial system which it was his pride to free, to extend, and to develop. His marvellous powers only made him a greater conservative force, a more formidable obstacle in the path of democratic progress.

To make haste slowly may be wise, but Gladstone preferred not to make haste at all. To do only what was made imperative by the exigencies of the time, and to do as little, and that as incompletely as possible, was Gladstone's policy ; never to effect any radical, far-reaching, change, but to do just what for the moment was expedient. It is to this policy that we owe it that our

political franchise to-day is more limited than any in Europe ; that our educational system is more backward ; and that we are burdened with political anachronisms which should long since have been swept away.

Those who regarded Gladstone as a dangerous extremist, and iconoclast, entirely misunderstood him. He knew when to give way, but he knew how to give way the least. Privilege and vested interests had no abler champion, no more doughty defender, than Gladstone. No one argued for grants and pensions to royal and other idle privileged persons with greater eloquence and persistence than he did. If, at any time, he attacked any institution or denuded it of any of its privileges, it was only a sacrifice of the lesser in order to preserve the greater part ; only a lopping-off of a few redundant branches which had become dangerous to the continued existence of the upas tree itself. If, at any time, he extended popular liberties, it was only in order to prevent a greater extension.

It is true that in the Liberal administration of 1880-85 some two million rural voters were added to the electoral roll ; but manhood suffrage had been a Liberal election "cry" for years, yet no extension of the suffrage was given to the labourers and artisans of the towns. Yet, surely, if any difference had to be made between one set of workers and another it should have been made in favour of the urban rather than the rural toilers. But Mr. Gladstone hoped to serve the interests of his party and the commercial classes by conferring a suffrage on the agricultural labourers which was denied to the factory "hands."

His definition of Liberalism defines his own policy and shows how undemocratic it was. "Liberalism," he said, "is trust in the people tempered by prudence ; Toryism is distrust of the people tempered by fear." There is not much difference. Why temper trust with prudence, if there is no fear ? What it amounts to is this, that the Liberals believe the people are tame and docile and do not need to be muzzled ; the Tories, on the other hand, think they need to be muzzled or curbed. By neither is it understood that the people should be other than docile and subservient to their masters—should, in a word, be free. Not at all. It is only a question of how much personal liberty may be permitted with safety to the ascendancy of the dominant classes. Muzzled or unmuzzled, the people must be kept down in the interest of their betters. "Trust in the people tempered by prudence," indeed ! It is too much like the phrase of a confidence-trick sharp. It is certainly not democracy. "By the people, of the people, for the people," is the democratic motto, not "Trust in the people tempered by prudence."

That Mr. Gladstone more than once used all the magic power of his eloquence and his influence on the side of freedom cannot be denied. But it was not always used on that side. His scathing denunciation of the tyranny of King Bomba, and the agitation in condemnation of the Bulgarian atrocities, are to be placed to his credit ; but in many respects he might be compared to his contemporary, Crispi, one of the champions of Italian "unity," and we know now how large a part imagination played in those Bulgarian atrocities. It would not be too much to say that it was Gladstone's



well-known Russophilism, and his hatred for the old-world, decadent, anti-capitalist despotism of Turkey, which urged him to rouse the indignation of his countrymen against the iniquities of the Turk, but blinded him to equal enormities when perpetrated by his idol, Holy Russia. The treatment to which Joseph Cowen, always a staunch Liberal, and one of the truest friends of freedom that ever lived, was subjected at that time, because he dared to differ from the Grand Old Man, and recognised that Russia was a worse enemy to human progress than Turkey, showed the despotic vindictiveness of Mr. Gladstone's character in its worst light.

Liberty for the Bulgarians was a right and proper thing to agitate for. It might mean, moreover, the opening up of fresh markets, the development of commercialism in the East of Europe. Moreover, the Turk, with his contempt for Western civilisation and his hatred of the trader, must be kicked "bag and baggage" out of Europe. His misdeeds, therefore, must be magnified, and his outrages condemned, with all the eloquence of which the silver-tongued Gladstone was capable. But, other nations, other manners. The monstrous outrages inflicted on the Egyptian fellaheen by that scoundrel, Ismail Pasha, in order to raise the revenue to pay the exorbitant tax of that rascally gang of thieves, the Egyptian bondholders, met with no word of condemnation from the champion of oppressed peoples. On the contrary, all the forces of the British Empire, all the "resources of civilisation," to use his own phrase, were used by Mr. Gladstone to batter down the defences the revolted fellaheen had raised, and to crush into the dust and bring once more under the yoke a "people rightly struggling to be free."

But that great and powerful administration of Gladstone's from 1880 to 1885, which grew out of the pro-Russian agitation of 1876-7-8, and of which the "military operations," as he euphemistically described the bondholders' war in Egypt, formed so disgraceful an episode, was distinguished for its infamies. The "spoiling of the Egyptians," the slaughter of the poor revolted fellaheen, was matched by equal atrocities in Ireland. There the starving peasantry were dragooned, bludgeoned and shot down on the hill side; the country was robbed of every vestige of political liberty; the informer was judge, the drum-head the bed of justice, and a thousand of Ireland's noblest sons and daughters were thrust into gaol without the shadow or pretence of a trial. The man who had already suffered the horrors of penal servitude in an English prison for daring to revolt against the political and social tyranny which drove his mother to her grave and himself into exile, Michael Davitt, was seized and hurled back into the dungeon from which he had but recently been released by a Tory Government, because he once more preached and organised revolt against that landlord tyranny whose decrees of eviction were, in the words of Gladstone himself, "sentences of death." No one, among those who heard it, will forget the yell of exultation which went up from the Liberal benches in the House of Commons when it was announced that Davitt had again been sent back to Portland.

Gladstone has been greatly praised for his magnanimity, yet anything

more vindictive than his treatment of Parnell it would be difficult to discover in the life of any public man. I only saw Gladstone twice in my life. Once was in the House of Commons during the Egyptian debate, the other occasion was as he left the Guildhall, after announcing the arrest of Parnell. Any more unseemly and contemptible public demonstration than that could scarcely be imagined. Gladstone had spoken at Leeds, and had said some very hard things about the Irish. Parnell replied to him at Wexford, and referred to Gladstone's braggadocia as the whistling of a boy going through a churchyard at night. Gladstone was angry, but he had no reply, so he clapped his antagonist into gaol, and then went to that den of thieves, the Guildhall, in the City of London, and boasted of what he had done. The assembled prigs, panders, plutocrats, and courtesans yelled, cheered, and shouted till they howled, and waved hats and handkerchiefs excitedly when the Grand Old Man informed them, in his most impressive manner, that the "man who was the head and front of this offending" had been lodged in Kilmainham Gaol.

After the Kilmainham treaty, when Gladstone was forced by circumstances to agree to a half-and-half measure of Home Rule, peace was patched-up between him and the chief of the party whom he had erstwhile described as "marching through rapine and murder to the disintegration of the Empire." But he never really forgave Parnell for his Wexford speech, or for having beaten him in the political game as well as in argument, and when Parnell's intrigue with Mrs. O'Shea became known, Gladstone saw here an opportunity at once for revenge on his hated antagonist, and for bringing the Irish once more to heel. He was perfectly successful. He ordered the Irish Party to cashier their leader. They, like a lot of Judases, obeyed him. Parnell lies dead in Glasnevin. The Irish Party is shattered, and Home Rule is deferred to the Greek Kalends.

Another act of despotism to be credited to Mr Gladstone's 1880-85 Administration was the prosecution and imprisonment of Johan Most for a justification of the well-merited execution of the Czar Alexander. Mr. Gladstone has been eloquent in his denunciation of the crowned assassin of Yildiz Kiosk, but not even "Abdul the Damned" was guilty of more cold-blooded atrocities than were perpetrated in the name of the Czar.

But Mr. Gladstone had no word of condemnation for these; but, on the contrary, savagely punished those who had. If ever a monster in human form deserved summary execution it was Alexander of Russia. But for saying this, or something like it, Mr. Gladstone's Liberal Government, ever subservient to the Russian despotism, sent Most to eighteen months' imprisonment.

It would be impossible to detail within the limits of this article the innumerable instances in which Mr. Gladstone manifested his sympathy with the classes, and against the masses of the people, any of which would go to prove how absurd is the claim of his admirers that he was a great democratic leader. Two instances only can I notice here; one was his treatment of the workmen's deputation which interviewed him on the eight hours

question; the other was his action with regard to station-master Hood. In the first instance, Gladstone did his best to disconcert the members of the deputation, and to play them off against each other, in the manner of a pettifogging lawyer, and wound up by declaring his inability to do anything in the matter.

In the second case, Mr. Hood was a station-master who was called upon to give evidence before a Parliamentary Committee. His evidence was displeasing to the company by whom he was employed, and he was summarily dismissed. The matter was brought before the House of Commons as a question of privilege, with a view of getting Hood re-instated, or, at least, securing him some compensation. Any kind of redress was denied him by the vote of a majority of the House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone voting with great railway magnates and other plutocrats and exploiters in the majority.

The death of Gladstone marks the end of an epoch. We are at the close of the classic era of capitalism. Commercialism is more of a gamble to-day than ever before; competition has played itself out, and combination is taking its place. Statesmen of all parties to-day must march in the direction of that collectivism which dominates the trend of modern development. The old *laissez faire* Liberalism, of which Gladstone was one of the most brilliant representatives, has had its day. Careful, calculating, never more conscientious than when he was humbugging himself and others, with his halting progression, his astute conservatism, and his timidly "prudent" "trust in the people," Gladstone was the last of the great commercial statesmen.

H. QUELCH.

#### ALCOHOLISM.

The influence of the alcoholism of the parents on the next generation has been often commented on. M. Bourneville, the head physician of the hospital of Bicetre at Paris, states that, of every 1,000 children admitted to that hospital during the years 1880-1890, there were 471 whose fathers were alcoholics, 84 whose mothers, and 65 of whom both parents have been drunkards. Only 209 cases did not present any alcoholic character. An inquiry into the same subject made in London, on the families of 12 drunkards and 12 teetotalers, has given the following very suggestive results:—

	Drunkards.	Teetotalers.
Number of children .....	57	61
Died in the first week .....	25	16
Idiots .....	5	—
Irregular growth.....	5	—
Epileptics .....	5	—
Deformed .....	5	—
Drunkards by heredity .....	2	—

Generally, hereditary drunkenness enters into six per cent. of the mortality and diseases of the next generation.

Alcoholism makes rapid progress among the working classes, especially among the industrial workers of the large cities. With the actual system of production, and mothers brutalised by alcoholism, the degeneration of our race is developing very rapidly. The evil is a very grave one, and it cannot be cured by palliatives—there is but one thing, to destroy our capitalistic society, the cause of the exploitation and of the brutalising of man by man.

## THE FRENCH ELECTIONS AND SOCIALIST UNITY.

WRITING in the *Petite République*, after the elections, our comrade Jean Jaurès says :—

Our opponents no longer deny the success of the Socialist Party. As in Belgium, Socialism has grown in France, and the number of our elected representatives has grown. It is, indeed, the continued advance of the proletariat.

This advance of the proletariat will be energetic indeed if we only know, from now, how to organise our forces, to realise the visible, tangible unity of our party. Will our comrades of the different groups—Marxists, Blanquists, adherents of the Communist Alliance, or of the “*Parti Ouvrier Socialiste Révolutionnaire*”—permit me to insist once more on this idea? Can it be that they will find the proposition premature or indiscreet? But that is for the different groups to consider and discuss; or, rather, it is for the whole proletariat to take the question up and deliberate upon it in their various organisations. It is not a question of dissolving or subordinating the different groups which represent the living traditions of French Socialism. But has the hour not come for bringing together in one general organisation all the elements of our party? It seems to me that the occasion was never more favourable.

The elections which have just taken place have practically attested the cordial union of the Socialist Party. Save in very rare instances, there has been no conflict between the various groups. Even where there has been a number of Socialist candidates for one seat, the greatest courtesy has been displayed towards each other in the first ballot, and the most perfect loyalty in the second. The active fighters of all schools have gone to the support of the one or the other. No personal rivalries, no distinction of group, has interfered with or hindered our movements in the battle; at every threatened point all our disposable forces have concentrated themselves and have gone forward together with the same spirit, the same enthusiasm. Viviani fought side by side with Faberot. Millerand went to the Ardennes to fight on behalf of the “*Parti Ouvrier Socialiste Révolutionnaire*,” as he had done at Roubaix on behalf of the Guesdists. Around Vaillant, so odiously calumniated by the miserable coalition of Nationalists, anti-Semites, and Clericals, all the Socialists grouped themselves for the battle.

And on the evening of May 22 the people of Paris acclaimed with one heart all the combatants, all the soldiers of the Socialist idea, to whatever fraction they might belong, as they cheered each one, whatever was the issue of the particular contest.

There now exists the Socialist fraternity, and this is not a mere passing emotion, or a paltry electoral agreement. It is on the community of principles that is founded the union of the party. The struggle which has just finished has cleared the party of all its doubtful and uncertain elements. The sham Socialists have gone over to the Reaction; they have fallen now into the Nationalist group; and the proletariat is at last free from their retrograde and embarrassing influence. It is indeed against the whole reactionary party—capitalist, clerical, and military—that our party has fought,

And its essential principles, the socialisation of capitalist property and an international understanding between the exploited of all countries have been affirmed by all. These principles are not, as Clemenceau has said they are, a dogma. None of us claims to congeal the movement of the human mind, and we remain always attentive to the development of facts, to the sovereign lessons of the actual moving reality.

It is not that a kind of revelation has descended on the people from an intellectual aristocracy. It is the proletariat itself, constituted as a class oppressed by all the social mechanism, which has, little by little, disengaged, from all the systems presented to it, the dominant idea. It is the proletariat which has comprehended, little by little, that it could only emancipate itself by dragging property from the domination of the capitalist class, and in controlling this social property by the co-operation of all the producers. It is the proletariat which has recognised that across the frontiers and beneath all the powers the proletarian class extends in a vast subterranean stratum, homogeneous in misery and servitude, which the same shock of the globe will at last bring to the light. No, it is not a dogma or a dead formula, but the fullest development of all the efforts of the worker and of all human thought. And it is this doctrine which makes the strength of our party. It is this alone which creates, even when they personally are defeated, the easy optimism of our fighters. They do not lack in themselves the sources of energy and hope. They simply share in the common hope of the working class.

Since there is in our party unity of principles, why should there not be also unity of organisation? Certainly in the general community of ideas there is indeed different tendencies and differences of method. Some can foresee a socialisation more rapid and more extended than others. On the relation of the Socialist movement to the small property, on the utility of political action, or on the general strike, there may be differences of opinion. There have been differences in the Italian Socialist Party and in the Socialist Party in Belgium on the question of electoral alliances. There have been differences of opinion in the German Party on the agrarian question and on the question of participating in the election to the Prussian Landtag. But, what then! These necessary differences have not broken the unity of the organisation. They have only served to keep awake the intellectual activity of the Socialist Party and the spirit of liberty. Let all the elements, let all the fractions of French Socialism, let all the organisations, which have in 305 constituencies participated in the electoral struggle, on behalf of Socialism, send representatives to the General Congress of the party. We shall be able to oppose to the decadent bourgeois society, to the capitalist reaction, to the anti-Semitic caricature, to the Nationalist lie, the organised force of the French proletariat. And the moral effect produced all over the country will be incomparable.

Once more I ask pardon for my insistence on this point. But the more I reflect on it, the more it seems to me that in organising its unity French Socialism will marvellously increase its strength. In the growing confusion, in the dim twilight of dying capitalism, it will flame high on the horizon, the glorious light of hope and of justice, concentrated in a single beacon-fire reflected in innumerable hearts.



## POPULAR TECHNICAL EDUCATION IN THE COUNTRY.

IN a recent number of the SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT there appeared a short, but comprehensive, article on "Popular Technical Education." This article, dealing as it did more with the aspects of the movement as applied to towns, is a sufficient justification for the present article on the movement in rural districts. Popular Technical Education in the country is mostly taken up in the form of evening classes, and embraces a great variety of dissimilar subjects, such as allotment culture, bee-keeping, first aid, chemistry of agriculture, gardening, poultry-keeping, cookery, dressmaking, home nursing, wood-carving, and woodwork. Some counties have their classes conducted in regular centres. Others send peripatetic teachers on periodical visits in appointed districts. It is with wood-carving and woodwork I shall principally deal, as my acquaintance with these two subjects is intimate. Some counties have these two subjects taught together, others separately. It has been my fortune to teach under both systems, and in both subjects, to mixed classes, composed of males and females of varying ages and conditions in life. These mixed classes do a great deal in a small way towards levelling some of the artificial barriers of society in small country towns and villages. It is a new experience to all concerned when one finds in a class of this kind a bank manager, a parson, a schoolmaster or two, a farmer's son or daughter, a doctor, or perhaps his wife, a few labourers, some juniors of both sexes, and a few ladies and artisans, all working together harmoniously under an impartial instructor. The race is not always to the most cultured person either, as the natural gifts of some of the poorer pupils often outbalance the artificial accomplishments of the richer person. The time devoted to each class is two hours, but a teacher with an interest in his work does not begrudge to extend the duration of the class to two and a-half or three hours, if convenient to him to do so. The instruction in woodwork is the now familiar manual instruction in woodwork with drawing. Great stress is laid on the necessity of drawing working plans of the objects worked in the classes. Some counties, however, give great laxity in this matter of drawing. In some instances the practical work consists of a three or four years course of graduated exercises, beginning with simple joints in woodwork, leading up to small objects of educational interest or utility. In some counties a strictly educational course is followed, in others a sort of "go-as-you-please" course is adopted. Each term lasts six months—viz., from September until the following March or April. In some counties an annual exhibition of the work done in these classes is held in the most prominent towns in rotation. The classes are popular and fairly well attended. Materials and tools are provided, plentifully and free. The fees for all subjects vary from 3d. to nothing per lesson. Day classes for pupils who have more leisure and means at their command are provided, at fees varying from 5s. to 10s. per term. The wood-carving classes are also very popular, and it is a rather difficult matter to keep the well-to-do people

(especially ladies) from crowding out their poorer neighbours, but, however, morning and afternoon classes are provided for these people at fees as quoted above. The wood carving done in the classes is necessarily of a rather amateurish character, but some very beautiful pieces of work are done for love of the subject by many pupils, and as a means of providing people with a very pleasant pastime easily pursued at home, wood carving is unequalled. In some districts the labourers are very clever at the pleasing variety of carving known as "chip carving."

The local management of these classes is generally in the hands of a committee, sometimes independent of the Parish Council, sometimes a sub-committee of that body. The clergy try hard to get the sole management of these in their hands, not always, I am sorry to say, from a love of the movement, but with the object of keeping some prominent person, who is not of their way of thinking, out of it. Anything of this nature is welcomed by many clergymen, as it appears to add to their dignity, and enables them to exercise their love of patronage, a quality in which they are great, either when bestowing it on others or receiving it from their rich masters themselves. I am happy to testify, however, that I have met with some clergymen who do much good to the movement from a genuine love of education. I strongly advise all comrades who live in localities where these classes are forming to try and get themselves on the managing committees. This movement in the country is very significant, for these reasons. As we are well aware, machine work is fast reducing the skilled artisan to the ranks of an unskilled machine attendant. The splendid traditions of the historic crafts are fast disappearing. It is curious and instructive to observe that as workmen in bulk are losing these traditions, people at large are rushing in to learn the many pleasant secrets of good handicraft. Many a man whose occupation is of a mechanical nature finds solace in the hand work he does for himself in connection with these classes. Working craftsmen had better look to their fast decaying laurels, or they will find all their trade tricks and secrets in the hands of the despised amateur. Of course, I do not mean to say that the instruction given in these classes is of a strictly trade character; far from it. Manual training in woodwork lays all woodworking crafts under contribution for its syllabus, hence the many-sidedness of the movement. It is interesting to us Social-Democrats to observe this curious coincidence of decaying professional skill, and growing amateur skill. It is to be hoped that the movement will foster and help to preserve the good old handicrafts, until we, the people, see that they are not allowed to fall into complete disuse. When we arrive we shall see that machinery is used to lighten the hard labour of the toilers, and not merely to increase their productivity. In fact, we shall use machinery not selfishly, but socially. The modern profit-mongering capitalist cares not a rap for art, handicraft, or technical education, except in so far as a means of enabling him to exploit yet more strenuously the unfortunate wage-slaves whom a cruel fate has placed in his power.

A. G. GORDON ROSE.

## SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN ITALY.

THE recent tragic events in Italy have awakened a world-wide interest in the affairs of that country, and at a most opportune moment Dr. Colajanni has, in an article in *La Revue Socialiste*, made an exhaustive statement on the causes which have produced such outbreaks in the past and present, and will continue to produce others of a like character in the future, unless the affairs of that unhappy land undergo a most radical change, both in the economic conditions of its workers and in the integrity of the men who secure the reins of Government.

Dr. Colajanni says :—"For several years, as a matter of fact, the journals of the peninsula have described desolating scenes of misery, tumults, and minor insurrections—unconscious manifestations, obeying no directing principle, manifestations that I should call biological and animal rather than Socialist—produced almost always by material needs and sufferings, and carried on generally to the cry of 'Long live the King,' alternating with the more sympathetic cry of 'Down with the taxes! Bread and work!'

"And at the cry of 'Long live the King!' the soldiers of the king, in the name of the king, reply by massacring unarmed peasants and inoffensive workers, guilty only of hunger, and of trust and hope in the wisdom and solicitude of the chief of the State.

"Added to which inexorable sentences of twenty years of penal servitude on men whose only crime was their misery, have completed the inhuman and imprudent work of military repression. . . .

"The intense uneasiness of Italy to-day, over and above the tumults and revolts, with which I wish especially to deal in this article, is proved by the daily registration of important and numerous phenomena.

"Regularly published statistics on criminality, bankruptcy, illiterates, marriages, decrease or slow increase of public wealth, expropriations for non-payment of taxes, and on the diminution of small proprietors, do but emphasise the significance of the tumults and revolts.

"To these phenomena must be added that of emigration. Whilst in the other European countries emigration is on the decrease, in Italy it is not so, and on an average more than 200,000 persons leave their native home each year in search of the means of existence."

The author goes on to say that, although the agitation of the Socialists and Republicans has increased the general uneasiness and terrified the bourgeoisie, the growth of the Socialist movement is not really so great as it has appeared to be, the leaders of the movement having accepted the widespread and intense discontent with bad conditions as an indication of the acceptance of the principles of Socialism. But, side by side with this superficial progress of socialistic ideas, the progress of Clericalism in Italy has been profound, vast and formidable.

The social movements in Italy correspond to the different conditions and to the different phases of evolution which obtain in the various regions which compose the Italian Kingdom. Thus in Piedmont, Lombardy, Venice,

and Emilia, where political culture and education are greatest, and where industry is most developed, the manifestations of the people have assumed a modern character, rising above a simple protest, a cry of suffering, and finding resource in strikes and elections both municipal and parliamentary. "But, on the contrary, in Sicily, in Naples, and in the Latium the people still cry 'Long live the King,' and burn the communal buildings, and the offices of indirect taxation; fight the troops, and, to bring their inconsistency to the full, vote in all the communal, provincial, and parliamentary elections for the Governmental candidates, who, bound up with the present condition of things, approve the iniquitous and ferocious repressions, and even go so far as to invoke them.

"The variety of social conditions throughout the regions of Italy resolve themselves into two great divisions—the southern portion, including the islands, and the north. Thus on the one hand, in the north, we have orderly and well conducted strikes for a diminution of the hours of labour and for increases in wages, and on the other tumults and uproars against the high price of bread."

Quoting from the statistics of Professor Bodio, Dr. Colajanni shows that the number of strikes is continually on the increase. They have risen from 32 in 1879 to 139 in 1890, and reaching 210 in 1896, affecting 91,051 workers.

All the strikes which took place in the industrial centres terminated in the defeat of the workers. Inversely the agricultural strikes, which failed so miserably with Arch in England, have many times in Italy, in the provinces of Cremona, Mantua, Emilia, Romagna, and Venitia, succeeded beyond all expectations.

This success was most rapid and most important in Sicily in favour of the field workers. They succeeded in raising wages, and of radically modifying agricultural contracts in the sense of justice and humanity. But the successes of the workers were but ephemeral. Even the concessions which seemed to be spontaneously dictated by the goodwill of the patrons were not maintained. As soon as Crispi had proclaimed a state of siege and put the island under a military governor with 60,000 soldiers, all the concessions granted were withdrawn and the workers compelled at the point of the bayonet to return to the old conditions.

According to the statistics of 1896 (the last published) twenty one strikes were attended with riots; the explanation of which is, that although the right to strike is theoretically recognised by the Government, in reality it is not so, and every attempt on the part of the toilers to improve their condition is regarded as a crime and an act of base ingratitude. Everything possible is done to provoke the strikers, and the slightest disturbance is used as a pretext for shooting the people. Nor is this all, for the Government lends itself entirely to the aid of the masters, and the soldiers who beat down the workers are compelled to take their places as blacklegs.

Our author goes on to deal at length with the social conditions of Sicily, particularly with the tumultuous period of 1892-94, and the growth and dissolution of the "Fasci." The "Fasci" movement, says he, in effect,

never had a real socialistic basis, but was an outbreak of blind, uneducated discontent. This is shown by their methods of organisation and propaganda. Each "Fascio" had its own headquarters, where could often be seen a crucifix side by side with a bust of Garibaldi. The portraits of Marx, Colajanni, and Felice in company with those of the king and queen. The programmes and methods of action of the "Fasci" were equally various and contradictory, some being rigidly Marxist and others merely desiring the amelioration of present conditions. "All the 'Fasci' called themselves Socialist; but in reality their Socialism had rarely any existence at all. It was merely a superficial varnish which was scarcely sufficient to conceal here vulgar ambitions, there dangerous fatuities, and everywhere resentment; a spirit of vengeance and reactionary desires, both catholic and feudal."

The rise of the "Fasci" was due to the bad economic conditions of the people, aggravated beyond measure by every sort of iniquity and error of the governing class. But its dissolution was as rapid as its growth. The Government, alarmed at the extent of the movement, proclaimed a state of siege, turned its soldiers against the people, and, with much slaughter of the peasants, but without the loss of a single soldier, the "Fasci" was suppressed, behind it a train of blood and an inheritance of sad recollections. Dr. Colajanni points out that the responsibility for these massacres, in all its enormity, rests upon the governing classes. All the causes of the trouble were known and recognised by public men of all shades of opinion. The revolts were predicted with scientific accuracy in the same way that revolts, which are repeating themselves at the present time, have also been predicted.

Dr. Colajanni goes on to show that the troubles and riots in Sicily and in the Latium have not been the work of Socialist agitation or of Socialists, upon whom the bourgeoisie have endeavoured to attach the blame. "It is notorious," says he, "that civilisation entails an augmentation of needs, and the first of these needs is that which man has in common with all the animals—the exclusively biological need of nourishment. The minimum of well-being and of civilisation is represented by the satisfaction of this fundamental biological necessity. The Italian workers in these latter days have not had the means of satisfying this need, and consequently brutal, sad, and spasmodic protests of the stomach have been the result."

"Nor can it be said that the approaching tempest was unknown. The Socialist deputies, through citizen Agnini, called the attention of the Government to the unhappy condition of the working class at the end of last summer. But the Government would know nothing. Later on, however, when the storm burst, the Ministers were astonished, and their early neglect was equalled only by the fear which followed."

"The friends of M. Crispi, caring nothing for the real interests of the country, but only for their own personal advantages, have sought to ignite conflagrations at Palermo and at Naples, in the hope of compelling the king to resort to the iron rod of the friend of Cornelius Herz. If events have not been more serious in the south it is due to the prudence of the Republicans and Socialists, who did not desire to see a repetition, *in corpore et anima vili*, of the experiences of 1893-94."

A. E. L.



## REPUBLICANS AND SOCIALISTS IN ITALY.

IN an article published in the April number of *La Revue Socialiste*, Dr. Colajanni reproaches the Italian Socialists with not having dared "to proclaim themselves frankly Republicans," notwithstanding that I have myself, not only in a review article, but in the Italian Parliament itself, declared in the name of the Socialist group, amidst the noisy protests of the Chamber, that "the Italian Socialists, equally with those of all other countries, were anti-Monarchists."

Now, it is necessary to rectify the assertion of Dr. Colajanni, who, having been one of the initiators of scientific Socialism in Italy, is now politically not an avowed Socialist, but a supporter of the Republican Party.

The relations between these two parties are as follows.

The Republican Party has not a uniform and definite political programme. There are some Republicans who declare themselves in favour of collectivism, but they are without influence in the management and action of their party, the majority of which, in common with the most active of their deputies, Taroni, Andreis, &c., do not believe in the abolition of private property in the means of production, and affirm the idea of Mazzini, *i.e.*, "an association between capital and labour" in order to realise a "more equitable" distribution of wealth.

That is why the Socialists, whilst proclaiming themselves anti-Monarchists, will not be confounded with the Republicans; for, as the majority of the Republicans of Italy are opposed to the abolition of private property, the party is nothing but a bourgeois party.

If, then, the monarchical institutions of Italy continue to exist it is not just to attribute the responsibility, or a part of the responsibility, to the Socialist Party. The truth is that the Monarchy in Italy is supported by the great landed proprietors of the Southern provinces; whilst the Conservatives and Liberal proprietors (industrial capitalists) of Northern Italy—Lombardy, Piedmont, &c.—are not animated by a very orthodox monarchical spirit, and they have even declared (in their journal *Corriere de la Sera*), at the time of the African war, that they are Monarchists by reflection, but that the Republic is certainly a "more rational" form of Government; and that if the Monarchy ceased to be of use to "the interests of the country" (that is to say of the dominant classes), they would very much prefer a Republic.

It is, then, the economic conditions which prevail in the greater part of Italy (agriculture, primitive and extensive) that determine the basis of the political situation, and the responsibility for this political situation cannot be made to rest upon the Socialist Party.

As a matter of fact, it is the attitude of the Socialist Party that has contributed during the last few years to the improved organisation of the Republican Party.

Our electoral tactics of voting at the first ballot only for openly avowed Socialists, and polling at the second ballots for those candidates whose programme most nearly approaches our own, has had the effect of forcing several radical candidates to openly declare for a Republic, and of enabling the Parliamentary Republican Group to be constituted for the first time after the General Elections of March, 1897.

The evil is that the Republican Party, because it is simply the political representative of the small bourgeoisie and the artisan class—with the Conservative Party of the capitalist-proprietors on the one hand, and the Socialist Party of the urban and agricultural proletariat on the other—its development has lately come to a standstill.

Its programme, formulated in 1897 by M. Bovio, does not even dare to use the word republic, which word is also nearly always avoided in the parliamentary discussions, whilst the Socialist deputies never cease to affirm at all times in the Chamber their faith in Socialism.

In effect the work of the Republican Party, through its active secretary, M. Pirolino, is reduced to the work of apologist for the Swiss Republic, which, in spite of its economic and political conditions, is quite equal to the republics of France and America.

As a matter of fact, the exploitation of the workers by the capitalists is carried on in Switzerland equally with other countries, whether monarchical or bourgeois Republican. During the last few months the canton of Geneva has expelled, for purely political reasons, not only Socialists, but also an Italian Republican, M. Borghetti, who was much surprised to see a Republic expel a Republican.

Socialists, by declaring themselves Anti-Monarchists, affirm by so doing that the inevitable historic sequence is and must be from absolute monarchy to constitutional monarchy, and from this onward to the Republic. But they also affirm that it is useless to waste the forces of propaganda simply to produce a change in the form of Government, for if we do not conquer the confidence of the people by demonstrating to them that private property is the cause of all misery and oppression, our efforts simply result in changing the habits of the dominant class; and in substituting for the purple mantle of a monarch the red coat of a president.

For this reason we do not call ourselves Republicans, for to call oneself Republican in Italy signifies to all intents and purposes bourgeois Republican; and to the reply of the Collectivist Republicans, such as Dr. Colajanni, that they are working for the Social Republic, we retort that the best means of doing that work now and always is to push forward the propaganda of Socialism.

Republican propaganda alone does not revolutionise the conscience, and will not prevent the establishment of a bourgeois Republic upon the ruins of a fallen Monarchy, since it leaves the popular conscience steeped in the bourgeois prejudice of "the association of labour and capital."

And the proclamation of the Republic would become only a ruse of the dominant class in order to continue its domination and exploitation by simply changing the colour of its coat.

We have before us in Italy a practical and characteristic example of showing that the best way to produce a true Republic is to always and everywhere push the propaganda of Socialism.

Socialists, declaring that religion is a private affair, are not concerned with combatting clericalism. On the contrary, they have always said that the best means of promoting anti-clericalism is not to strike directly at the religious beliefs and prejudices of the people, but by Socialist agitation among them to develop in them an enlightened and free mind.

And that is why just lately the conservative journals of Italy find, with great surprise, that the heroic women of Molinella, who have gone on strike against inhuman conditions of labour, are all *miserables* and anti-clericals. And the conservative reporters have sorrowfully stated that in the miserable rooms or cabins in which the women and their families vegetate the images of the Catholic saints are giving place to the portraits of revolutionary Socialists.

Thus, in gaining a Socialist conscience one gains, from all points of view, the most revolutionary convictions, both moral and intellectual, for Socialism represents the highest degree of human evolution, both individual and social. In a clerical country the best means to combat clericalism, whilst respecting religious beliefs, is to push the propaganda of Socialism.

In the same way, the best means to realise a Socialist Republic in either a monarchical or bourgeois Republican country is still to push forward the propaganda of Socialism, which strikes at that source of all privilege and oppression—private property in the means of production and of life.

To conclude, when we propagate Socialism we accomplish the greatest and most powerful duty which man has for the realisation of social justice under all its relations, from the economic conditions of the people to social and intellectual development, and the political form of government.—ENRICO FERRI, in *La Revue Socialiste*.

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Of the immense total of the armies which Europe could put into the field in war time the following calculation will give a lively picture. If we speak of "incalculable millions" of soldiers, our conception will but give us a very imperfect idea of the really colossal extent of European fighting power. But considerably more weighty becomes the matter if we present the armies of Europe in one immense procession passing before our view. This procession, soldiers, horses, guns with their carriages, baggage waggons, &c., including all things belonging to an army in the field, would extend a space of 5,000 miles, and the spectator, if he wished to see the procession from beginning to end, would be obliged to remain on the spot day and night during a whole year.

## THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN JAPAN.

WE give below some extracts from an article on "The Economic Situation in Japan," taken from the *Journal of Political Economy* of Chicago. The subject just now is one of much interest. The writer has a poor opinion of the mechanical talent of the Japanese worker, stating that their deficiency in this respect is shown when dealing with the construction, repair, and use of machinery. On the other hand, reports have been published in the *English Board of Trade Journal* that the Japs show great cleverness in taking a pattern of new machinery, making it, and getting it into working order. The experience of the writer in the *Journal* may have been unfortunate, or perhaps his judgment has played him false. He could hardly expect raw Jap mechanics to execute, with the greatest of facility, repairs and delicate tasks which tax the best energies of the most skilled European mechanics. It takes more than a decade to produce a nation of skilled workers in the engineering industry. The Japs, by the nature of their temperament and their imitative faculties, possess in an eminent degree the ability required for becoming specialised labourers in the capitalist workshop. Undoubtedly, as the writer points out, there is danger of Japan arresting her industrial development through national ambition to become a great military and naval Power, but at present Japan is wise in her generation, for the writer of the article in question admits that her Government is acting the part of a foster-parent to her commerce. The same cannot be said of Italy. Japan is attracting capital and capitalists, and the latter may be trusted to direct her national ambitions into line with its commercial interests.

"Japanese cultivation has hitherto been confined to a small part of the territory of the country; not more than 18 per cent. of the whole area has been devoted to agriculture, and this limited area of tilled land has had to bear the whole burden of feeding the people. This strong demand for food from a small territory has had a marked effect on the conditions of Japanese life. It has kept agricultural labour turned to the products of commodities immediately suited to domestic consumption; and among the possible products it has directed attention especially to those that would furnish, from a given area and with a given amount of effort, the maximum of sustenance. From this point of view, rice appears to have been the favoured product. . . . The fields are manured by transporting to them from the towns, either in boats or on carts, what would be carried off by the sewers of an American city. Throughout the season of preparing the ground and planting and cultivating, the peasants work up to their knees and elbows in the enriched mud of the rice paddies, and at night lie down in their damp, thatched houses to breathe the emanations of the filthy artificial swamps around them.

"By the restoration of 1868 feudalism was set aside, the shogun and the daimyos were divested of power, and the Emperor came forth from his seclusion to be the real governmental head of the nation. By a strictly conscious effort certain social forms that passed away in Europe through centuries of growth were here changed in the course of a few years. The restoration swept away the form of political mediævalism, yet the religious institutions and ceremonies remained comparatively unchanged. The old temples have the forms of a thousand years ago, and the doctrines, to the bulk of the people, are as mysterious as in the earlier years.

"Hitherto the Japanese have displayed remarkable ability in determining what institutions and practices they ought, and what they ought not, to adopt. It is not to be supposed, however, that the westernising movement will go on continuously at an even pace. Progress is likely to be followed by reaction, and reaction again by progress. The strong self-confidence of the Japanese character, under the stimulated national spirit of the present, leads a large part of the people to assert their national self-sufficiency and their ability to carry on western civilisation without direct western help. At the same time many Japanese who have become familiar with western life and institutions hold to an opposite policy. They affirm the necessity of maintaining the closest possible relations with Europe and America. . . . The principal obstacle in the way of accomplishing their purpose is the strength of native traditions and the lack of any participation, on the part of Japan, in the inheritance of western peoples. Under the force of the strong national spirit and traditions of Japan there is an almost irresistible tendency, even in the case of youth educated in America, to revert to the ancient ways and thought of their countrymen.

"One has only to observe the vast shipping from all quarters of the earth, which fills the harbour of Yokohama, to be able to appreciate that Japan's ports can never be again closed to international commerce. Moreover, Japan has won her victory over China by making use of material products of the West. Her present industrial achievements are due to the use of machinery furnished by the inventive genius of Europe and America. In fact, she owes both her industrial and military standing largely to her ability to make use of western appliances in furthering her ambition to be a western power. Hitherto Japan has looked to China as the source of many of the elements of her civilisation. Her most effective form of religion has come immediately from China; her learned men have been brought up on the writings of Confucius; and her art has received its most powerful foreign suggestions and stimulus from China. But Japan has come out of the war victorious, and it is, therefore, inevitable that she should now underestimate Chinese civilisation; for after the military overthrow and political humiliation of a nation there is a universal disposition to under-estimate and cast an aspersion on the spiritual life and cultivation of the defeated nation.

"A civilised nation, therefore, that enters upon a foreign war places at stake not only its political and military standing, but also the prestige of its art and all the achievements of its national life. The conquering nation is bound to look elsewhere than to the conquered enemy for suggestions as to the development of its civilisation. . . . The open ports, moreover, involve the possibility of importing food in return for exported manufactured goods, which was not permitted under the rule of the shoguns.

"Thus silk for export is receiving more attention, and is exchanged for American flour. The rapid growth of the silk and flour trade between the United States and Japan is a sufficient sign of development in this direction.

"Some light may be thrown on the economic situation and prospects of Japanese society by recalling the fact that the most conspicuous talents of the people are directed to artistic rather than to mechanical work. But it is to be noted that industrial progress, in so far as it consists in bringing the forces of nature to work gratuitously for the satisfaction of human wants, is largely the result of the activity of those nations whose talents find their proper field in mechanical invention and construction. Undoubtedly artistic taste and skill applied to production, as in France, tend to give currency and increased commercial value to wares, but artistic taste



and skill alone will not give a nation industrial leadership. In many of their products the Japanese have shown great refinement of taste and great manual dexterity in carrying out their artistic conceptions, yet there is very little in their industrial products to indicate that they have ever possessed any considerable degree of mechanical ability. Their early achievements show remarkable progress in certain lines, yet in mechanical construction they have not advanced beyond the first stages of industrial growth. At present they are employing some of the more complicated appliances for the development and application of power; but these appliances have been borrowed from the nations that invented them, but they are used generally without improvement, and often without the care necessary for their greatest effectiveness and longest possible preservation.

"A nation without more mechanical talent than Japan has thus far displayed, relying on other nations for its mechanical constructions, is likely in the course of time to be obliged to use inferior machinery for communication or manufacturing as compared with those nations whose genius for invention leads them constantly to make improvements in their mechanical appliances. In this respect Japan will be handicapped in her industrial rivalry with England and America. On the other hand, in the lower wages of her labourers the manufacturers of Japan have a certain advantage over those of other nations, yet this advantage is not measured by the difference of wages, for, while the Japanese receive low wages, their efficiency is also low, particularly in the construction, repair, and use of machinery; and under the modern organisation of production this kind of labour covers many of the more important departments.

"That wages in Japan are low is not sufficient evidence of the unhappiness of the people. The well-being of a nation is not measured by the amount of its pecuniary incomes. If the incomes of the great body of the Japanese are low, the workers may properly claim, from their own point of view, to have a certain compensation in their easy conditions of work. High wages do not always appear as an unmixed good. They must be attended by rigorous supervision, compelling those who receive high wages to earn them, crowding the weak and unskilful to take lower places in the scale of labour, and leaving the ineffectives of every sort to fall into an unclassified mass below all recognised ranks of legitimate workmen. Where wages are low, as in Japan, the labourers work and rest at intervals quite according to their fancy, and the employer is not on the alert to see that every moment is made effective. They work as they are able or disposed, and not as they are forced to do where their achievements must justify higher wages. As wages are low enough, persons are employed to carry on an undertaking easily, and the labourers leave their task not abundantly provided, it is true, with material luxuries, but still in possession of the great blessing of a cheerful spirit. Where very high wages prevail, it often happens that the physical powers are overtaxed, the health and strength of the labourers are consumed in a few years, and then, no longer able to meet the requirements of their task, they are early cast out into the rubbish heap of humanity.

"As Japan enters the common market of the western nations with her wares, her conditions of production tend to approximate those of the nations with whom she competes. Her labourers, becoming better informed as to the rate of wages paid elsewhere, demand an increase. Already they are showing strong faith in strikes as a means of obtaining the end desired. Moreover, the disposition of the people to entertain great respect for their own individual judgments under all circumstances furnishes good ground for the opinion that the strike will, for yet a number of years, continue to be a

favourite weapon of the Japanese labourers in their contests with their employers. But in spite of the movement towards western conditions of production, there is no indication that wages in Japan will ever reach the English or American standard; and it may be expected that, in spite of any rise of wages which may be brought about, the increased efficiency induced by the organisation and discipline necessitated under production on a large scale will leave the employer with essentially all the advantages he enjoys at present.

"The general conditions of labour in Japan at present are determined by the fact that production is carried on for the most part on a small scale. This state of things in the manufacturing industries gives opportunity for individual artistic talent to manifest itself. At the present time the artistic porcelain of Japan is made by a few individual workers, whose definite aim appears to be, as it was in old Japan, to maintain a certain high standard of quality, rather than to put on the market a large quantity. But, under the stimulus of an open foreign market, there are already observed the beginnings of production on a large scale, and the works of the recognised masters, such as Seifu, Tozan, and Rokubei, are every day becoming less conspicuous in the whole amount of porcelain produced. In the exportations these works constitute an insignificant quantity, while the bulk of the articles of the potter's art absorbed by the foreign market are cheap and ugly, and do violence to the traditions of Japanese taste.

"It is possible that, in purchasing, the foreigner relies on Japan's ancient reputation for superior artistic work, and regards the fact of production in Japan as a sufficient guarantee of quality. If this is his attitude, his delusion is complete, and he may, perhaps, some time rise to the thought that the Japanese are willing to continue to cater to his indiscriminating demands. But this course, on the part of the Japanese, involves a real danger for themselves; for it is hardly to be supposed that they are so unworldly as to refuse to fill profitable foreign orders for inferior wares. When, therefore, these orders reach such an amount as fully to engage the productive capacity of all the producers, there will remain no force to be devoted to the production of such wares as have given Japanese potters their reputation for skill and refined taste. . . . It is a noteworthy and lamentable fact that wherever, throughout the East, the artistic oriental has encountered the commercial and mechanical nations of the West there has been a marked degeneracy in his taste and a decline in his artistic creative capacity.

"The progress that has been made in the manufacture of silk and paper is scarcely less conspicuous than that which has been observed in the cotton industry; but the paper for their newspapers is largely imported from the United States. Foreign methods and appliances are coming into use to give the advantages of production on a large scale. The important existing foreign trade in silk is almost entirely the creation of a single decade. It has already attained large proportions, and is one of the most promising industries of the country. To the peasants it furnishes a much more agreeable and less degrading occupation than the cultivation of rice, and it is capable of wide extension.

"It is along these lines, in the development of the manufacturing industries, that we must make our observations in order to determine the present economic situation in Japan. The progress already achieved in this direction carries with it the necessity of extending the foreign trade. But in this field of activity the nation is practically without training." The position of a merchant in Japan has ever been a degrading one, and shop-

keeping and trading has fallen into the hands of a class who have very low ideas of commercial morality, even as compared with Europeans. This fact, the author states, causes foreigners to deal with the Japanese through Europeans resident in Japan.

"In much Japanese work there is a lack of thoroughness ; but this is not the result of any moral defect in the workers. Many wares fall short of the mechanical excellence required. If it is a piece of silk, a larger thread at some point breaks the uniformity of the texture, or some other apparently insignificant defect appears. In the works of the potters the wares that will bear the most careful scrutiny are only a small part of those produced. In the products of iron and steel this is even more emphatically true. The lack of mechanical thoroughness almost always leaves something to be desired. On account of this the nation is heavily handicapped in the construction of all forms of machinery, and some forms, like the higher grades of bicycles, are entirely beyond its present ability. These limitations are inherent in the character of a people that is always disposed to pronounce an artistic rather than a mechanical judgment. Yet it may happen that the artistic quality of certain wares will more than counterbalance any mechanical defect they may possess. This might very well be true in the case of porcelain and textile products, but no artistic quality of the bicycle would be an acceptable substitute for mechanical excellence.

"As the influence of the Government in the ancient days was an important factor in the development of Japanese art, so under the new régime the Government has helped materially to further the progress of the modern practical arts. It has promoted various industrial and commercial undertakings. Some of the railways are owned and managed directly by the Government. In other cases ownership and control of business ventures are held indirectly by the Government through organisations like private corporations. In still other instances governmental aid is rendered through subsidies or extensive patronage. Under some form or other the hand of the imperial Government of Japan is distinctly felt in the modern industrial and commercial revival of the country."

The writer thinks that the ambition of Japan to be a great Eastern power may lead her on to a road of bankruptcy, and he draws a parallel between it and Italy, the latter country, he considers, having paralysed its industry through its ambition to become a great military and naval power. "The Japanese and the Italians stand in sharp contrast with the mechanical English and Americans, and by reason of their lack of mechanical talent suffer an obvious disadvantage in the rivalries of this industrial age. Yet during the last few years the Japanese have been enjoying their industrial honeymoon. They have started on a new career, and the way before them has seemed to be very easy and agreeable. Because they have not yet encountered the real difficulties of the industrial state, it is possible that they are living in the sweet delusion that there are no difficulties. With an extended use of credit, they will be likely to enter into the experiences of commercial crises, and, with the development of the factory system, have part in the practical problems that have been brought to the attention of western nations by strikes, lock-outs, and mob violence. In whatever aspect Japan's economic activity is viewed, it is difficult to discover prospects of economic growth justifying sufficient expenditures to enable the nation to play the rôle that is apparently the object of its ambition."

## FACTS AND FIGURES.

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### INDUSTRIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

In all countries statistics show the increasing preponderance of industry over agriculture, and there are many reasons for believing that the twentieth century will be one of the complete replacing of the natural production of the land by the technical industry of the town. The United States furnish one of the most striking instances of the decline of agriculture. While a few years ago it was an essentially agricultural country it tends now to keep place at the head of the industrial movement. Here are some proofs :

The population of the United States has increased during 1880-90 by 22 per cent., the increase of agriculture, fishing and mining by 12 per cent., that of industry by 49 per cent., and of commerce and transport by 78 per cent. While the increase of agriculture does not follow that of population, the increase of industry, commerce, and transport has been greatly in excess of the latter. The value of the exported products has been :

	In 1880		In 1896		Increase
	Millions of do's.		Millions of do's.		Per cent.
Agricultural .....	256	.....	569	.....	120
Industrial .....	40	.....	228	.....	500

The proportion of the total value of the exported products has been :

	In 1880		In 1890		In 1896
	Per cent.		Per cent.		Per cent.
Agricultural .....	83	.....	74	.....	66
Industrial .....	17	.....	26	.....	34

These figures are a striking proof of American industrial development, of the ever larger rôle which it plays on the international market, and which, thanks to the new protective tariffs, will still grow bigger. The same fact is proved also by the extension of the production of iron, and by the consumption of coal in the factories and works. From the period of 1870-74 to that of 1890-94 the production of cast iron has increased by 268 per cent., the consumption of coal by 46 per cent., while the same figures for the same period for England are but 9 and 14 respectively.

One of the consequences of this industrial development is the participation of women in industry. While the number of women occupied in agriculture during 1880-90 has been stationary, that in industry has increased by 62 per cent., in commerce and transport by 26.3 per cent.

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### SUICIDE IN THE UNITED STATES

is ever increasing ; there having been 2,040 cases in 1890, the number increased in 1897 to the terrible figure of 6,600. The growing difficulty to get a living drives thousands to self-murder at an early age.

## **CUBA.**

IN the *Fortnightly Review* for June Major-General Lee, late Consul-General of the United States to Havana, writes an article on "Cuba and Her Struggle for Freedom." Nine months previous to the expiration of the presidential term of Mr. Cleveland, Major General Lee was appointed Consul-General, and proceeded to Havana. One of the principal objects of his mission was to ascertain and report the exact political and military conditions existing at that time in Cuba. A few weeks after his arrival he reported to the Secretary of State that war with its attendant horrors would continue for an indefinite time unless outside influence intervened. The island was being devastated and gradually being reduced to an ash pile; commerce was being extinguished, entailing great loss to the United States and to the American citizens resident on the island.

Cuba, lying at the gate of the Gulf of Mexico, is, in some respects, the most fertile spot on the face of the globe. Its soil is capable of producing everything that grows in tropical regions in the greatest abundance, and it stands unrivalled in the quality and quantity of its two great products—sugar and tobacco. The island is ever green, and, there being no winter, as fast as a crop is reaped the ground is available for the next. The history of the Spanish people, so far as it refers to their Colonial possessions, has never kept step to the music of the march of progress, nor ever shown any development of interior natural resources.

Spain has seen for many years that Cuban independence was only a question of time; but the political demands on the party in power in Madrid has made it necessary for the political life of that party to resist in every form every attempt on the part of the Cubans to secure their liberties, and to resist all attempts of other countries to intervene in the interest of peace, progress, and humanity. Whatever else may be said of Spain and her decadence, the fact stands bravely forth that she has made a magnificent struggle to preserve this rich colonial possession.

Gomez, the leader of the rebels, has fought this war in the only way he could win it, and never departed a hair's breadth from the policy he first inaugurated. He has played a waiting game, and has endeavoured to exhaust the failing financial resources of Spain. He has thoroughly understood the necessary tactics in order to waste the resources of the enemy, and to prolong the war until Spain should abandon the struggle as hopeless, or the United States interfere. General Weyler did but little to suppress the resurrection. He organised columns to move from the cities, and operate against the insurgents; but these columns, after having been out a few days, would invariably return to the cities because out of rations, or burdened with a few wounded, while the insurgents, who had assembled temporarily to check their march, would return to their various little camps, with the result, probably, of only two or three men killed, and a few wounded, on each side.

When the United States began to take steps to compel peace in Cuba, the Spanish authorities tried new tactics. Large sums of money were offered to the leaders of the insurrection as an inducement to them to abandon the colours. It was hoped that this scheme, if successful, would so demoralise the rank and file of the insurgents that most of them would be induced to come within the Spanish lines and surrender. The fidelity and loyalty of the leaders was misunderstood. With but few exceptions, they not only remained true, but, under orders from their commander-in-chief, put to death all Spanish messengers bearing such proposals. The United States, in deter-



mining to interfere, did so after every plan and purpose on the part of the Spanish authorities had failed to secure peace, and when it became apparent that America's intervention alone could achieve this purpose.

Seventy-five years ago Thomas Jefferson declared that the addition of Cuba "to our Confederacy is exactly what is wanted to bound our power as a nation to the point of its utmost interest." The United States, always interested in the government and welfare of Cuba, has reached that period when it is absolutely necessary to her that this island should have a progressive legal and peaceful administration. The ties of her commerce have been so strengthened and the investment of her people there so increased that she can no longer look on with indifference to the one or disregard the rights of the other.

### OUR URGENT NEED OF A RESERVE OF WHEAT.

MR. R. B. MARSTON, writing in the *Nineteenth Century* on the above subject, points out that this country is at present dependent upon foreign sources for more than three-fourths of its breadstuffs, wheat and flour, about five million tons, or 25,078,300 qrs. being imported to 1½ million tons, or 7,588,000 qrs. grown at home. Of this foreign supply nearly one-half was from the United States, actually 10,920,000 qrs., while 5,510,000 qrs., or 1 1-6th million tons, come from Russia. The balance is made up of 3,843,000 qrs. from the Argentina, 1,077,000 qrs. from Canada, 1,497,000 qrs. from India, 988,000 qrs. from Australia, 295,600 qrs. from Chili, and 128,500 qrs. from Uruguay. The writer says:—"Ask any foreign naval officer how we should be fought and he will trace lines on a map . . . showing the over-sea routes of our food supplies. He will say those lines are the arteries through which your bread stream flows, and to cut them is our best way to fight you! If he is a Russian naval officer he will point out that it only needs one word from the Czar, and the lines of food supply from the Baltic and the Black Sea are wiped off the map, leaving her cruisers free to do their worst on other lines of supply to this country." His proposal is that the Government should keep in store a reserve of ten or twenty million quarters of grain, to be maintained by and exchanged with the regular imports year by year, and never to be sold except to ward off famine. Mr. Marston quotes a number of authorities in support of his proposal, and says: "It is not, let us hope, at all likely that we shall be at war with Russia and the United States, but there is nothing to prevent a syndicate of corn speculators like Mr. Leiter buying up all the wheat supplies in America either for themselves or—for Russia. Mr. Leiter's gambling in human food has already caused a great rise in the price of bread here and on the Continent, and riots and bloodshed in Italy. If we can prevent it, as we undoubtedly can by creating a great wheat reserve in this country, why should we give any country the chance even of using such a terrible weapon against us!

"Have we not within the last month or two set other nations an example in this method of business by buying up all the available stocks of coal in the Far East and along the routes to it? We have forestalled Russia, France, and Germany in this case in coal, just as they may some day forestall us in corn." His suggestion, Mr. Marston thinks, "is the only practical one until the time comes when these words of an English historian, writing in 1737, are again true of this country:

"England yields all things necessary for life, which cannot be said of Holland, her rival in point of trade."

## H. M. HYNDMAN.

Our comrades Joseph Burgess writes in Leeds *Forward* :—

"The dinner to Mr. Hyndman in recognition of twenty-five years' service in the cause of the people is an honour eminently deserved. Mr. Hyndman is the Grand Old Man of British Socialism.

"Perhaps, it is rather premature to bestow that title upon him yet. Mr Hyndman has not been a reckless liver, and it is quite probable he may place another quarter of a century's service to his credit.

"I wonder how many good Socialists of to-day owe their first conception of Socialism to Mr. Hyndman? It was so in my own case.

"The first Socialist lecture I heard was from Mr. Hyndman. Seven years ago I went up to London to introduce the *Workman's Times*. Mr. Hyndman came to lecture at the Democratic Club, of which I was a member. I still recollect the feeling of surprise with which I found that the notorious Socialist of Trafalgar Square fame was a silk-hatted, frock-coated gentleman, and in the debate that ensued I said Mr. Hyndman was 'The mildest-mannered man who ever scuttled a ship or cut a throat.'

"In those days I was not a conscious Socialist. Shortly after I became a member of the Fabian Society. But it was Mr. Hyndman, strange to say, who put me on the track which led me to join the permeators.

"Thank goodness, I didn't stop long in that gallery! But that is another story.

"My first encounter with Mr. Hyndman took the shape of a rather hot discussion at the close of a lecture he delivered in the South Salford S.D.F. Club about the year 1893. I was back again in Manchester by this time, my London experience having made me a sadder, if not a wiser man.

"Mr. Hyndman, in the lecture to which I am referring, glanced forward to the International Socialist Congress of 1896, and argued that previous to that Congress there ought to be a Conference of British Socialist organisations, and as the I.L.P. was not, in his opinion, an avowedly Socialist party, he held it had no right to be represented. We got very warm over this. I can remember vividly how Mr. Hyndman threw his head back, and shook his mane, and overwhelmed me with rhetoric. But he got to know me better by-and-bye.

"Next year came my election fight at Leicester. The leaders of the S.D.F. were very hard to persuade that a candidate who had preached Socialism could have polled 4,402 votes. In the following May, 1895, the Walworth bye-election took place.

"By this time I was back in London, wooing a precarious livelihood by casual journalism. I assisted George Lansbury, the S.D.F. candidate, to the best of my ability. My first meeting was in the open air. Mr. Hyndman stood in the audience, and whatever doubts he might have had about I.L.P. Socialism were, I believe, dissipated.

"The night of the poll we were going home together—we both lived at Westminster—when, quite spontaneously, Mr. Hyndman said, 'I have been so pleased with the way in which you have helped us here that the next time you stand for Leicester I'll go down and give you a meeting.' This was the first time Mr. Hyndman offered to speak under I.L.P. auspices.

"To know Mr. Hyndman is an education in itself. It is impossible to get to really know him on the platform. There he is dogmatic and com-

bative. To know him as he is, one must see him at home. I have had that privilege many times, and in my opinion, eloquent as Mr. Hyndman is as a speaker, he is even greater as a conversationalist. His range of knowledge is very wide—art, literature, society, and politics, he is equally at home in them all.

"I notice that Mr. Hyndman, in responding to the toast of his health, paid a warm tribute to his wife. Mrs. Hyndman is an exceedingly gracious lady. Mr. Hyndman deliberately turned his back on wealth and position, and Mrs. Hyndman, who has entertained Cabinet Ministers at her husband's table, is now quite as proud to welcome the humblest propagandist of Socialism. In her own way Mrs. Hyndman is fully as energetic as her husband.

"The last time I was in the company of Mr. and Mrs. Hyndman was on a journey from King's Cross to Sheffield. Mr. Hyndman was going there to speak on the wrongs of India. I was going to Blackburn to organise that place in view of a probable bye-election. We met on the platform and travelled down together.

"There was a working man in the carriage who caught up some scrap of our conversation, which was on Socialist topics, and questioned it. Mrs. Hyndman got him into a corner and discussed Socialism with him by the hour. She is content to suffer for Socialism because she believes in it.

"The life they have chosen has, after all, its compensations. It is surely better to be at the head of a great movement, even if it has to wander for forty years in the wilderness, than to sit by the flesh-pots of Egypt. In the days to come, whoever, Joshua like, leads the people of England into the Promised Land, surely it must be written that Mr. Hyndman was the Moses who led them out of the land of bondage."

#### MILITARISM AND POPULAR EDUCATION.

To get an accurate idea of the real progress made by a country there is nothing more important to know than the expenditure by that country for the army and for popular education.

The following are the figures showing the amount of this expenditure per year and per inhabitant in francs :—

	War.	Public Instruction.	The proportion between the above.
Switzerland .....	4.40	7.55	0.9 to 1
Denmark .....	9.40	5	1.8 "
Belgium .....	7.15	2.50	2.8 "
Austria .....	7.05	1.75	4 "
Italy .....	8	1.85	4.2 "
Germany .....	12.45	2.40	5 "
France .....	20.80	3.65	5.4 "
Holland .....	18.75	3.30	5.7 "
Great Britain.....	19.25	2.75	7 "
Russia.....	10.25	0.15	68 "

The above figures show that Switzerland is the most democratic country of Europe, where instruction is estimated above militarism; while Russia, doubtless the most despotic country, estimates militarism as of 70 times more importance than instruction.

## **"THE DIFFICULTIES AND LIMITS OF CO-OPERATION"**

INDUSTRIAL questions constantly force themselves to the front in the magazines, and Mr. R. T. Thomson discourses at some length in the *Nineteenth Century* on the Workmen's Compensation Act, which, he says, "will do much to revolutionise the relations existing between masters and their servants."

In the same magazine, under the above title, Lord Brassey says:—"Co-operation in productive industries has until recently made little progress. Co-operative store-keeping has been largely successful. Its benefits, however, are limited to the cheapening of commodities. As a means of reconciling the conflicting claims of capital and labour it will have no effect. It does not exhibit a standard or gauge by which to determine the fair rate of wages, nor does it establish unity of interest between capital and labour."

The writer passes in review the various co-operative productive enterprises, and cites the figures showing the growth of co-operative distribution. He says:—"When we turn from consumption to production little has thus far been done. Where close attention to detail, keen watching of every turn in the market, the perfecting of mechanical contrivances, brilliant intuition, and prompt decisions are required, no deliberative body, no committee chosen by the popular vote, will compete in efficiency with personal management. Nor does co-operation relieve industry of its independence [dependence?] of capital. If provided by the workers, severe economy must be practised, and life must be harder than now. It will be necessary to scorn delights and live laborious days. Is it well to get rid of capitalists and captains of industry at such a sacrifice? If, again, capital be borrowed, the rate of interest charged by the money lender will certainly exceed that obtained by the employer in the form of profits."

Lord Brassey has a good word to say for profit-sharing, and claims that "it establishes a more perfect identity of interest between employers and workmen than payment by the piece, irrespective of what employers may gain," but he states the objections urged against it by workmen's organisations. He concludes that "the admission must be made, though not without regret, that thus far the lessons of experience do not encourage the belief that thought and labour would be profitably employed in the endeavour to establish methods of industrial production." He thinks, however, that "while profit-sharing and co-operation will achieve something in the solution of labour difficulties, we may anticipate far greater results through the agency, wisely directed, of trade unions," and contends that it is a distinct advantage to all concerned for negotiations to be carried on with the executive of a large union instead of with the men individually."

"Our managing director," he says, "never failed to come to terms, and I may say that during all the years in which I was connected with Barrow, we had no serious difficulty in our relations with the large bodies of workmen, nor was there in any single case any important difference between the estimated and the actual cost of labour in the building of ships of the largest dimensions, and the most complicated design. Our greatest difficulty was caused, not by the cost of labour, but the severe competition of rival shipbuilders. Thus estimates were cut down, and no reasonable margin remained for contingencies or profits. It is certain that the margin would have remained just as narrow if the cost of labour had been reduced all round by 50 per cent."

## WAS HE SORRY?

‘AND so I’ve got to go, sir?’

“Yes, Jones, I do not require your services any longer, so you can leave at the end of the week,” said Mr. Walton, with a pleasant smile, as though he was conferring some favour upon the man before him.

“I am very sorry, sir. It seems a bit hard on me just now, sir; I didn’t think you’d have turned me off like this.”

“A bit hard!” repeated Mr. Walton, arching his eyebrows in contemptuous surprise; “What do you mean by a bit hard?”

“Well, sir, I’ve been here a matter of thirty years. I was here in your father’s time, Mr. Robert, and after so many years in one place it is not an easy matter to get work elsewhere. And we don’t none of us get younger, and besides, just now, I’ve got a bit o’ trouble at home—”

“What on earth has that to do with me?” broke in Mr. Walton, impatiently. “Really, I don’t see what you have to complain about. If you have been here thirty years, as you say, I suppose it suited you to stay that length of time. I don’t suppose that you would have stayed a moment longer than it answered your purpose. But if you have been here so long, all the more reason why you should be pleased to leave now.”

“But having been kept on so long, sir, I thought you would not turn me off in this way. I hope I have done my work properly, sir, while I have been here, and I hoped you would keep me on as long as I did my work all right. And it is not so easy to get another job after having been at one place so long.”

“But surely that is no affair of mine. You could have left long ago if you had wished, you know, Jones. I could not have prevented you from leaving, even if I had desired to do so. And, as it was evidently your wish to stay, I think you should be grateful for having been kept on so long, instead of complaining about it.”

“I don’t complain about it, sir, but having been here so long I am, as you might say, sir, an old servant, and it seems a bit hard to be turned away now I am getting on in years. You have had the best years of my life, sir, as I might say, and now I am not so young as I was it is not very kind on your part, sir, to turn me off.”

“Nonsense! All that is nothing to me. Business is business. I employ you as long as it suits my purpose; you stay here as long as it suits yours. If you wanted to leave at any time you would have given me notice; now I wish you to leave I give you notice. I don’t claim that you are under any obligation to me because I have kept you employed for so long; but certainly you have no claim to consideration on my part for that or any other reason. The contract between us is a purely business one. Each of us is free to terminate it by giving a week’s notice to the other. I, wishing to conclude it give you that notice; but you might have given me notice—we are both equally free.”

“There is a difference, however, sir.”

“What difference?”

“When I leave it makes no great difference to you. If necessary, you will easily fill my place. You are not bound to employ me or starve, but I must find work or starve. It is a small matter for you; it is a very serious one for me, that is the difference, sir.”

“There is not much in that, and in any case it is no affair of mine. If I have any advantage over you it is only an advantage due to my position, and it doesn’t make any difference to the fact that the contract between us



is a perfectly free contract. I employ you as long as I wish, and you work for me as long as you choose—that is what it amounts to."

"Then I really am to go, sir?"

"Certainly. I think we have wasted more than enough time talking about it."

Jones went back to his work without replying, but with a heavy heart. He was not a young man, as he had said—certainly he appeared to be on the wrong side of fifty—but labouring men age prematurely, and the fear of being out of work had always oppressed him with a terrible dread. Moreover, he knew that just now work was very slack. And then his was work that almost anyone could do. He was not an artisan. What made it especially worse for him now, too, he had trouble at home. It was as much as he could do to make both ends meet at the best of times, but now that his little daughter was ill, and there were doctor's bills to pay, it was far worse. It was in no very pleasant mood that he returned home that evening.

"Did you bring me some grapes, dad?" asked the child, who lay on a chair-bedstead near the fire in the little room where his tea was prepared.

"No, Jennie, I didn't have any money," answered her father.

"Oh, I thought you would bring me some," said the child, in a disappointed tone. "Jack said he saw some nice ones for fourpence a pound on a barrow, and I did so want some."

"When you haven't got any money, they might as well be four shillings as fourpence, my girl, for all the difference it makes; you can't get any."

"She's been pining for grapes all the time," said her mother; "I would have got her some, but what with one thing and another, it don't run to grapes not even at fourpence a pound."

"Things'll be worse before they're better," broke in Jones, moodily.

"Why, what do you mean?" asked his wife, anxiously.

"Only that I've got the sack," was the reply.

"Got the sack! Why, whatever for?" she asked.

"I don't know at all. I only know that I've got to leave next week, and whatever we shall do then, goodness only knows, I don't."

The meal was finished in silence; the sick girl having to content herself with a little milk instead of the grapes for which she longed.

It was on the following evening Mrs. Walton said to her husband: "I had the wife of one of your workmen call on me to-day."

"Indeed! What impertinence! What business had she calling here?"

"Oh, she came with a very pitiful tale. Her name, she said, was Jones, and for some reason or other, you had discharged her husband from your works. Of course, I told her it was nothing whatever to do with me, and that I could not interfere in your business, but she cried, and made a fuss, and implored me to ask you to keep him on—at any rate, for the present. They had sickness in the house, she said, their little girl, four years old—just the same age as our Elsie—is very ill, and even now they cannot get what is necessary for her. Is there anything to be done about it?"

"Nothing at all, my dear. I never heard of such impertinence as for this woman to come here. I don't understand what these people want or expect. The man has been in our employ for some time, it appears; but I don't require him any longer. I can get a younger man to do his work for less wages than I am paying him, so I have to get rid of him. It is a purely business matter. These are questions which you cannot be expected to

understand, dear, and I must ask you to pardon me for talking 'shop' at all."

"Oh, but I wanted to know about it. I was rather interested, as the woman seemed in so much distress, especially about her little girl. But, of course, as you say, it is a mere matter of business, and does not concern us at all."

"Certainly not, my dear. In business we have to buy in the cheapest market. If I discontinue buying certain things from one dealer because another will serve me more cheaply, I do not expect the first to come whining round with piteous tales about his wife and children. People who cannot afford to keep them, and make proper provision for them, have no right to have children. It is a gross improvidence for which they must expect to suffer. If Jones's child is ill, he should take her to the infirmary. I hope, my dear, as the woman came here that the child is not suffering from any contagious disorder."

"No. I asked her that, directly she told me the child was ill, as I immediately thought of Elsie; but she assured me that it was not contagious. And you don't think we are called upon to help them, then?"

"Certainly not, my dear. We must not allow mere sentiment, which is very well in its proper place, to interfere in business."

On Saturday, when Jones received his wages, he looked inquiringly at his employer.

"Well?" interrogated the latter.

"Is this my last day, then, sir?"

"Certainly. There is nothing more to be said about it."

"Very well, sir, but I am very sorry; and," he added, in a deeper tone, "you will be sorry, too, one of these days."

Mr. Walton looked up sharply, but the speaker had turned round and was walking out of the office. Mr. Walton was not a sentimental nor an impressionable man as a rule, but these words made a curious impression on his mind. He caught himself several times repeating them. Did the man mean to threaten him? It sounded almost like a threat. He shrugged his shoulders and smiled; mere idle threats were nothing. Yet he could not dismiss the words from his mind.

A drive out into the country on a fine Sunday afternoon was a favourite recreation with Mr. Walton, and he and his wife had been taking their pleasure in this way, and were returning home in the bright early evening in the best of spirits. The light dog-cart was bowling along at a rapid rate when, just as they were nearing the house, Mr. Walton caught sight of his late employee, Jones, standing dejectedly on the pathway on the off-side. As he saw the vehicle approaching he raised a cry, and rushed into the road almost immediately in front of the horse. His words, "And you'll be sorry, too, some day," rushed through his late employer's mind, as the latter urged on his horse. But Jones sprang at the horse's head, and caught it by the bridle, bringing it momentarily to a standstill. Then Mrs. Walton screamed, and caught her husband's arm. He rained blows thick and fast on the head and shoulders of the man who hung on to the horse's head; then, taking the thin end of the whip stock into his hand, he brought the heavy end with terrific force down on Jones's head; the latter, stunned, relaxed his hold, and fell backwards, the frightened horse bounded forward, and the wheel of the cart passed over the man's body.

It was only then that Mr. Walton understood the real cause of the man's action, and of his wife's terrified scream. He, imbued with the idea that

Jones meditated an attack upon him, had not noticed that on the near side of the road his own little girl, escaping from the care of her nurse, was running to meet the dog cart, and sprang into the road just as Jones noticed her, and finding he could not reach her in time, raised a warning cry, and rushed to stop the horse. But for his intervention the child must have been knocked down, and, perhaps, killed. Now, as they alighted at their door, she came smiling to meet them by the side of the frightened nurse, and her mother, half laughing and half crying, snatched her to her arms, and carried her into the house.

Meantime, a small crowd had gathered around the man who lay prostrate and bleeding on the ground. A doctor had been sent for, and on his arrival he found that Jones was badly hurt and unconscious. It would be necessary for him to be undressed before he could tell how serious his injuries were. He asked Mr. Walton if he would object to the injured man being taken into his house.

"I don't think that is necessary at all," said Mr. Walton. "The infirmary is not more than a mile from here, and I will willingly lend my dog-cart for his conveyance there."

The doctor looked surprised, but said nothing, and the injured man was taken to the infirmary.

The next day the doctor called with the information that Jones had died during the night. "He has been having a bad time lately," he added; "he has been out of work, and his little girl, who was ailing for some time, but who might have got well quickly had he been able to give her the change and nourishment she needed, died last week. She was buried by the parish on Saturday."

"Don't you think I should go and see this poor woman, now she has lost both her husband and her child?" asked Mrs. Walton of her husband, after the doctor had gone.

"No, indeed; what is the use? I am sure you would not like it. Their home is sure to be a dirty, squalid place; and you would find the woman slatternly and very likely drunk. It is no affair of ours at all; but once you let them think it is you will have them fancying they have all sorts of absurd claims upon us."

"Well, but the man lost his life through saving our Elsie from being run over. Don't you think we should show a little gratitude to his widow, now bereaved and desolate? I quite feel for her when I think what I should suffer if anything happened to Elsie—or you."

"My dear girl," exclaimed her husband with astonishment, "you must not put yourself on a level with these people. Your feelings are keen and sensitive, as a consequence of the refinements of your life and education. But these people do not understand such highly refined feelings. They are mere clods. As for gratitude, they could not appreciate gratitude from us; it would make them impudent and insolent. The more slightly and contemptuously they are treated the better they like it."

"But this woman seemed really in great trouble when she called."

"They always seem in trouble, my dear. They are a whining, discontented, miserable lot. The only way to prevent them becoming intolerably troublesome and insolent is to treat them with supreme contempt. He said I should be sorry I discharged him," he added, musingly. "I certainly wish I had not struck him down and caused his death. But I thought his words were a threat when he said I should be sorry some day, and I thought he was going to carry out his threat."

## GERMANY.

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HAVE ye heard the cheers resounding o'er the water ?  
Did ye mark how Freedom's face lit up with glee ?  
Rejoicing in the tidings Time has brought her,  
The message from our comrades o'er the sea.  
The message and the token that the Wrong is being broken ;  
That the *word* will yet be spoken when riven is the chain—  
Will make of earth one nation, will give to man salvation,  
And uplift him from prostration 'fore the god of self and gain.

Have ye heard the toiler calling to his brother  
'Cross the frontier ? Have ye measured the advance  
That is bringing them to know and trust each other ?  
Have ye heard the German workmen cheering France ?  
Hark ! The measured tread earth-shaking ; gilded tyranny is quaking ;  
Its bonds and fetters breaking—the slave will yet be free—  
Its might is drifting under, its prestige rent asunder,  
By the message wrapped in thunder from our comrades o'er the sea.

J. LESLIE.



PAUL SINGER,

*Member of the German Reichstag for the IVth Division of Berlin.*



# THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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## THE GERMAN ELECTIONS.

DEAR COMRADE,—You ask me for an article on our elections. For an article I have no time—think, from June 6 to June 23 (the eve of the second ballot) I had twenty-seven meetings in different parts of Germany, and almost all mass meetings! But a hurried sketch you shall have, and my opinion, too.

The Government and its patrons and masters—the Junkers—the worthy descendants of the old *Raubritter* ("Robber Knights"), and quite as greedy, as unscrupulous, and as brutal, with the sole distinction that they rob lawfully by legislation in the Reichstag and Landtag, instead of risking their life on the high road, let us say, the reactionary and ruling parties, were for years already in great fear of the General Election, that, in due order of things, had to take place this year. The late Reichstag had been elected on June 15, 1893, and its "mandate" was for five years—up to June 15, 1898. They looked for a pretext to dissolve the Reichstag, and for an opportunity to madden the electors by "the Red Spectre," or some other spectre, as in 1878 and in 1887. But with the best of wills they could not find nor create an opportunity. We did not allow them to organise anarchistic plots, revolutionary conspiracies, murderous assaults, and other police comedies of terror. The only conspirators were our enemies, the "men of order," and we crossed and defeated all their conspiracies.

When the newest folly was discovered—the plan to make the German Empire the greatest *sea* power as well as the greatest *land* power—our clever "statesmen" imagined they could play this card against the opposition parties, and they thought of a dissolution of the Reichstag on the question of the German fleet. In olden times, about fifty years ago, the German fleet had been a popular and even democratic dream—just like the German Empire. However, what our Junkers take in hand ceases to be popular. The German people have too much sense not to see that the newest folly was an impossible phantom, and the attempt to realise it hopeless ruin—that it would be burning the candle at both ends. We dared them to dissolve on this question. And they did not dissolve. They contented themselves with the few dribbles given to them with calculating generosity by the Catholic Centre, which, thanks to Bismarck's stupid *Culturkampf*, is now the governing party in Protestant Germany—mind, governing party, not Government Party. The *Centrum* governs our Government!

There was no possibility to dissolve the Reichstag, and the reactionary parties, being without an election cry, were in despair. Then Mr. Miguel, my old friend and companion of the ancient *Communistenbund* (Communist League), and now real Chancellor (Prince Hohenlohe being only Chancellor

for show) came to the rescue. He made last winter his famous "Collection" speech — "*Sammelrede*" — calling upon all burghers, bourgeois, and capitalistically interested and inclined persons, to gather and collect themselves under one common banner against the party of destruction.

We laughed, sharpened our weapons, and kept our powder dry. In Saxony, the most advanced country in Germany, we had known that "Collection" since ten years already, and it had not prevented us from beating our "collected" enemies. We knew long ago that a day must come when all our enemies, forgetting their petty quarrels about the booty, must unite against us; and we know, also, that on that day we shall be strong enough to smash them all.

We made our preparations. We organised the battle, and the victory.

The Government fixed June 16 for the new election—that is just the day following the day up to which the mandate of the old Reichstag lasted.

An electoral campaign is hard work, especially for a party like ours, which cannot dispose of the Government influence, and of the administrative machinery in State, district, town, and village, as the capitalistic parties can; and we have not the other immense forces capital has in its service and at its disposition. Everybody had to do his duty. And everybody did. It was a *levée en masse*—all our comrades in the fight, male and female. Officers and men all vied with one another to do the utmost. There was but one thought—to beat the enemy, and to gain a *great* victory.

We were not in want of an election cry. The numberless crimes committed against the people, the stupidity of our internal and external policy, the 5,000 millions of marks stolen from the German people by the corn laws alone during the last twenty years, the degradation of justice, the infamous conspiracy against universal suffrage and against the right of combination. We had weapons, and we used them. Wherever we did strike we hit a sore point, and gave a home-thrust. What a tremendous sum of courage, of sacrifice, of strength, of work! No other party could equal us—if we except the machinery of the public powers and of capitalism; they have only hired work, the work of hirelings.

On the day of battle we marched against the enemy in full array. Without counting the voters, we had, not thousands, not tens of thousands—we had a hundred thousand and more who distributed the manifestoes, the addresses, the voting tickets; who watched the polling places; who reminded the lazy of their duty.

I did not mention the chief causes—the acts of violence, the intimidations and persecutions, on the part of our enemies, in the Government and out of the Government—this practice is a matter of course in this our half-Russian Empire, the rulers of which lie prostrate before the trembling knout-Czar, the last hope and prop of crumbling capitalism.

Well, the battle is fought. Our Government, with the reactionary host "collected" by Miguel, the ex-Communist, has suffered a defeat so crushing and so ignominious as never has been suffered by any Government before,

and Social-Democracy, fighting single-handed against all, has overcome all, stands victorious over all.

The 16th of June brought us two millions and more than a hundred thousand votes—that is, between one-fourth and one-third of all the votes given in the German Empire. And as the German Empire contains now above fifty-two millions of inhabitants, our vote represents a population of about fifteen millions, while at the last election (1893) our votes represented but twelve and a half millions.

It is their constant growth, in spite of the most desperate efforts to stifle our movement, which shows the invincibility of Social-Democracy, and which bewilders our enemies. Whatever they may do, whatever tactics they may pursue against us, we grow, grow—advance, advance.

Look at the following numbers. They have been often published, yet they cannot be put before the eyes and called into mind often enough. Universal suffrage has existed in Germany since 1867. The two first elections, on the basis of universal suffrage, took place in 1867 for the Norddeutsche Bund—the North German Union, which preceded the German Empire. These two first elections—the one for the constituting Reichstag, and the other for the regular Norddeutsche Reichstag—found only embryonic beginnings of a Socialist movement. The number of Socialist votes cannot be fixed. Certainly they did not amount to more than fifty thousand. And now came the elections for the German Reichstag, and we can see the growth with arithmetic clearness.

Socialist Votes.			Socialist Votes.		
1 71	.....	124,655	1884	.....	549,990 (Socialist Law)
1874	.....	351,952	1887	.....	763,128
1877	.....	493,288	1890	.....	1,427,298     "     "
1878	.....	437,158 (Socialist Law)	1893	.....	1,786,738     "     "
1881	.....	311,961     "     "	1893	.....	2,125,000

Mind: 2,125,000 men of twenty-five years and more! The millions below twenty-five years, amongst whom Socialism is more ripe than amongst the older ones, are not counted.

You see, with the exception of 1878 and 1881, when our comrades were not yet trained to the method of fighting the infamous Socialist Law, which, in fact, was a Law of Proscription, putting out of the pale of common law—the increase has been constant and mighty.

The number of Socialist Deputies has increased too, but not in exact proportion to the number of votes. Our electoral system is very bad. If, as ought to be the case, the number of votes did determine the number of Deputies, we would now have 115 members out of 397. In reality we have only fifty-six—a dozen more than the elections of 1893 gave us—(forty-four).

And our enemies? They are beaten, but they are unable to learn. And the Government? Beaten, and unable to learn. They think now, more than ever, of destroying universal suffrage. They may try it. We are ready for them. And they will be beaten again—till they have learned or till they are no longer capable of mischief.

Good-bye! With fraternal greetings to you and the other companions and friends in England.—Yours,

W. LIEBKNECHT.

Charlottenburg, July 4, 1898.

## A CONTRIBUTION TO THE QUESTION—WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH OUR VOTE?

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IN the April number of the SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT there appears a wise and vigorous article from the pen of our comrade Hyndman on "The Socialist Vote and the Liberal Party." I agree with the writer that it has become a grave question with all Social-Democrats as to how we should use our vote in the near future. Hitherto, as far as representation goes, as Hyndman points out, we might as well have thrown our votes into the deep sea.

We have no Social-Democrat in Parliament, and we are not likely to get one for some years to come. Up to the present splendid pluck and energy and much money have been spent in a fruitless effort. Is it not time for us, therefore, to pause and rationally consider where we are?

It seems to me that the line of least resistance, which is Nature's method, is to do somewhat as Hyndman proposes—to use our vote to cripple the Liberals. I use the word *somewhat* because I am in a bit of a dilemma as to why we should cripple the Liberals and not the Tories. True, both are our avowed enemies. They are all capitalists, or individualists, or profit-mongers, and, therefore, the sworn foes of the commonwealth. But, surely, they are our avowed enemies with a difference. I do not say the difference is very marked, but the history of political leanings during the last fifty years—away from Whiggism to Liberalism, and through Liberalism to Radicalism or Progressivism, show change of front which is wholly alien to Toryism. And, however slight the divergence may be, if it be in our favour, we should, surely, be justified in seizing upon this and letting the Tory go.

Let it be perfectly understood that I hold no brief for either party. I detest the whole crew of them as much as Hyndman does. He has certainly no love for them. And neither has any genuine Socialist. And it is questionable whether we shall gain much by hanging on to the coat-tails of either. But if we are to fight, and fight not both, but one, the question forces itself—Which shall we fight?

If there be no qualitative difference between them, then it is a matter of no moment which we fight. But if, as I contend, there is a difference, and that difference favours the cause of Socialism, then there should be no doubt on which side we should throw our weight. If, out of two parties, one is stronger than the other on the side of democracy—leaving out the "Social"—if one is stronger in the defence of popular liberties and common rights than the other—then it would be our wisest course to side with the stronger, and not with the weaker.

Has not the prevailing spirit of Liberalism been trust in the people, and has not the prevailing spirit of Toryism been contempt of the people? This

mental attitude marks a difference in our favour. And this is all I am contending for.

The comparative strength of either party in favour of democracy can only be determined by our appeal to history.

Here I am only asking for the recognition of a common factor in the order of things, viz., that the intention or spirit of Liberalism has been more intent upon the general good or well-being of the people than that of Toryism.

To make the assertion good we have only to look over the legislation of the last fifty years. On a summary of this legislation, we have no hesitation in saying that the work of the Liberal Party far outweighs in the furtherance of popular liberties and common rights the work of the Tory Party.

We know the Tory; but we don't know the Liberal, because he is always on the make. Not as the other fellow. If the Tory does bid at times for the popular support, it is in defence of his own fundamental principle—"Keep what you have got, and try and get more." "Same with the other fellow," you say. But the Tory is the implacable enemy of democracy. You can't quite say this of the Liberal. Liberal legislation has furthered the cause of democracy. In all reforms the initiative has been, almost invariably, on the side of the Liberal.

Why, then, throw over the Liberal rather than the Tory? Hyndman does not state the reasons for his preference. And this is why I venture to make this slight contribution to the question under discussion.

In all great political movements compromise—a hateful word—must at times be made. Legislation along a clear, definite, straight line, is impossible. We must give and take. The Liberal Party is not ignorant of the strength of the Social-Democratic force in the country. Neither are they ignorant of our principles and our methods. They often steal our tools to make good their own workmanship.

Supposing now if, instead of trying to cripple the Liberal, we try to cripple the Tory, what would be some of the possible consequences—first, to the Liberal Party; second, to the Social-Democrats?

Let us imagine a possible course of action.

A strong deputation of Social-Democrats waits upon a strong deputation of Liberals, Radicals, Progressives, or whatever else we like to call them. The former says to the latter, "So long as you are determined to contest every vacant constituency, there is at present no possible chance for us to win a seat in the House of Commons. But we have a strong force at the back of us which we can use either for you or against you. But we are prepared to throw our weight on your side providing that you are prepared to concede something to us. In our 'Programme' there is a list of palliative measures which we desire to see carried into effect. How far are you prepared to adopt and advocate these measures? We know you will not go far enough for us. And we shall never sink or compromise our principles what-



ever action we may take with you. Whatever help we give to you we shall regard merely as a contribution to the true Social-Democratic state. That state is our determined end and aim. While, therefore, you are not willing to accept the socialistic basis of this state, are you willing to dig out a bit of the foundation, and erect a bit of the scaffolding, if we help you?"

Supposing, now, a favourable base of action is agreed upon. Suppose we enter upon this arrangement in perfect good faith.

By the fruits of their Parliamentary reign shall we know them. Their real intentions will come to the light. And, as things go at present, we can afford to try the experiment. "No," say some, "we have tried them long enough."

But I do not think it is quite just to prejudge the future actions and convictions of a man by those of his past, leopards' spots and Ethiopian skins notwithstanding. We are none of us stationary. We are all on the move and the make. Liberalism is a more favourable *nidus*, for the fostering and growth of new ideas than any manure bed that Toryism can offer us. Personally, it was through Liberalism and Radicalism that I came to Socialism. The same may be said of many others. Let us give the man who is on the move at least the benefit of the doubt.

Supposing then we have settled the compact, and the Liberals are prepared to meet us half-way. What now will be some of the consequences of their action? Into what new circle of thought will they be brought? Will they not be compelled to study more clearly our palliative measures—the arguments for and against? In so doing one thought will overlap another. They will never be the same men again. The circle will widen as they think honestly. Inferences and deductions will shape themselves in spite of themselves. No man can set a bound to his thought when once he has begun to think. Hyndman says: "These men will turn round and jeer at us." The dishonest man will; but possibly there may be, here and there, a honest man who will not. I am giving the honest man a chance. I am ready enough, at times, to call all men liars; but I am not always in this mood. Given the man on the make among Liberals, Radicals, and Progressives, his interest in social questions will grow; his range of reading will become wider; his human sympathies for the wronged and oppressed will deepen and broaden; his speeches in and out of Parliament will tell upon the people; and so the circle of influence, both upon himself and upon the people, will grow larger and larger; and so the work we asked the Liberal to do by our help will be done. The outworks and defences of capitalism will be destroyed by strategy rather by direct assault.

Will this strategical movement, openly professed on our part, give us away, do you think? I think not. Both sides must enter upon the agreement with their eyes open. We have nothing to conceal. We can plainly and honestly tell the Liberals we can only use them as preparatory tools. And on their part they can as plainly tell us that they only take our help to further their own ends. If any alliance is formed it will be a mutual one. You scratch my back and I will scratch yours.

What will be the effect of any such alliance upon the Social-Democrat?

Adversely, upon the true, staunch Social-Democrat, none whatever. He has something to win, and nothing to lose. His convictions will remain intact. His torch will burn as clear as ever. His cause will suffer no diminution of enthusiasm. The edge of his blade will remain as keen as of old. If by any such alliance we should damage our own self-respect, and whittle away the edge of our enthusiasm, then close your ranks, comrades, and let us have nothing to do with the unclean thing. Let us stand and fight where we are at present—beaten, but not disgraced.

D. AMOS.



#### THE SANITARY CONDITIONS OF THE PROLETARIAT.

The degeneration of the proletariat is a consequence of capitalism; professional diseases and accidents during work are incontestable proof thereof.

The mortality among the workers increases every day. At Vienna, in Austria, the number of sick persons was 330 of every 1,000 workers in 1870-74, 382 in 1875-79, and 430 in 1880-85. Slackness, overwork, insufficient wage, weaken the organism of the worker, favour the spreading of disease, &c. Of course, the mortality is not the same in different industries; the locksmiths, the tinmen, the tobacco and match workers, the workers in the chemical industries, are above the normal with regard to mortality.

The average age of the workers dying in Vienna is falling every year; having been 43½ years in 1880, it was but 39 in 1885. The degeneration of the proletariat is clearly shown in these figures.

In Switzerland the average mortality is 291 of every 1,000 workers, but it is greatly surpassed in the chemical industry, metallurgy, and among the brick and paper makers. The textile industries give the lowest mortality, that of 251; happily, because these industries employ the largest number of women.

## ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN CHINA.

RECENT events in Eastern Asia have again directed attention to the inner political weakness of the Chinese Empire, which has caused that country to become an easy prey to the European annexation passion. Already, in 1860—when the small English-French forces were able to victoriously enter into Peking without meeting any serious resistance, and Russia had, almost without any trouble, joined to her Asiatic possessions large Chinese domains—the question was asked what was the cause of the present weakness of the Chinese Empire: an empire which had defied change for thousands of years, and with a population which still appears as a race of extraordinary tenacity. How could this giant give way so pusillanimously to the pretensions of England, Russia, and France? How could it, above all, let itself be subdued by the ten times smaller Japan?

The ordinary answer to this is that the causes lay in the people's character, in their submissiveness, cowardice; in their want of national feeling, attachment to old habits, &c. No doubt there is some truth in these assertions, but this cheap explanation does not give the root cause. The character of the Chinese of the present, like the character of Europeans, is the product of their historical development. To obtain an accurate insight into the present Chinese people's character leads us to a consideration of the early social development of China.

China was in ancient times, like many other ancient civilised Empires, divided into tribes or clans, and family unions (*Verbande*). The larger clans, which originally settled themselves mostly in the low river ground, split into a number of communities, named *Sin* (*Sing*), which in their turn split into many hundreds (*Pao*, *Li*), and these latter again into house communities (*Schi*, *Schia*). After this earliest division into *gentes* or communities, which, like the North American "totem" unions, bore the names of animals and vegetables, the whole people were generally named "*Pi-sin*"—*i.e.*, "hundred *gentes*." The ideographical character of the word "*sin*" is composed of the sign for "woman" and of "to be born." The origin of the word leads us, therefore, back to a time of the matriarchate; but, nevertheless, we find already in the most ancient records that the *gens*, as well as the narrower family union, the "*Schi*," organised patriarchally. The old gentile division of China was consequently thoroughly congenial with that of the Tartarian, Peruvian, and German *gentes* in tens, hundreds, and thousands. The *gens*-unions (*Sin*) were probably also, like those of the latter, in the beginning identical with the hundreds. But when, in the course of a natural increase, the membership of the *Sin* *gentes* became larger and larger, then every *gens* gave rise to many hundreds.

The division into unions of *gentes* goes back to a very early period of the historical development of the Empire. The dispersing of the members

by means of new settlements and colonisations, the growing differences in wealth, the usurpation of the administrative functions of the gentes by the gentile princes, deprived the unions of the gentes of their coherence, and appeased and degraded them to simple communities in name. But certain inheritance and marriage conditions have been preserved until to-day. Thus, for instance, marriage is prohibited between persons who bear the same clan (Sin) name, and nobody can choose a man as his inheritor who does not bear his own gentile (clan) name. On the other hand, the "Schi" has preserved itself until now as a house-community, which is analagous to the development of some slave peoples, among whom the larger unions of gentes also early disappeared, while the house-communities have been preserved in some countries up to the present time. In its oldest form the Chinese "Schi" is quite like the house-communities of the Mikronerian and Malaian, but the head of the Chinese family had a wider patriarchal power over the younger members of his house. His position can be compared with that of the ancient Roman paterfamilias. Like the latter, he freely disposed of the house fortune, married the members according to his will, and enacted heavy penalties, chastising even the grown-up members of the family. Ordinarily the Chinese house-community embraced the whole male progeny of a great-grandfather, or even of a still older grandfather, together with the women of this progeny. The leadership was in the hands of the eldest male member. He administrated the property of the family, gathered the income, and distributed to everyone the necessities of life. He cared also for the orderly behaviour of the members, and officially represented them at all business decisions, in the administration of the community, and of justice. The "Schi" was consequently not only a family community, but also at the same time a thoroughly close productive and juridical community.

Almost the whole productive activity consisted of agriculture. The mark in writing for the man, contrary to that for the woman, is composed of the sign for "power" and "field." A man is one who employs his power in tillage. We find very early mentioning of handicraft and commerce, but they were not independent professions. Every family carried on agriculture as its proper trade. Of course, with economical development there gradually entered into the family a division of labour. Accordingly, one of the sons of the house eventually occupied himself more with agriculture and the obtaining of raw materials; the other with home industrial production. Even in China at the present hour agriculture is still considered a more distinguished trade than handicraft or commerce.

There never has been in ancient China—as proved by ancient records—any private property in the land. All land was State land. Every family had right to a certain portion. How large these allotments were, it is difficult to say, as there are divergencies in the records. We find the first more accurate communications in the "Schu-king" and "Li-ki" of Konfutse, as well as in the writings of his most prominent scholar, Mentse; they originate, consequently, in a time when the old agrarian conditions had entered already into a state of complete decomposition, and had every

where given way to the always advancing private property in land. Both State philosophers, in writing their informations, based themselves mostly on the ancient juridical and popular traditions which, in common with historical sources, contained many contradictions. So far as we can gather, the allotments were not equally large in all provinces, but differed according to the quality of the land and the turn of fallowing. Moreover, as Mentse informs us, with the growth of agriculture and the standard of life increased also the size of the allotments which were allowed to every family community. In return for the use of the land every family had to give up to the Government the "tenth," a tax which was not levied upon the private revenues of the family, but consisted in works on the State land. Similarly, as in ancient Peru, there was allotted to every little community certain qualities of governmental lands which had to be worked by the family communities, and the revenues of which had to be delivered up as taxes to the Government. Besides this, the communities had to furnish a certain amount of soccage-work.

At the head of the separate gentes there stand gentile princes who were mostly elected by the gentes and hundred, but who later contrived to make their dignity hereditary and independent of the sovereign, who himself had anciently been an elected prince. They ruled their domains after their own sweet will, made exactions without care for the laws of the Empire—imposed their own laws and taxes, waged war between themselves, let and sold fields; in short, we find China at that time presenting all the phenomena of an over-powerful feudal nobility. From the time of Konfutse (600 B.C.) till China's subjection by the Mongols (1200 A.D.), the history of China represents the picture of wars between the great gentile princes and the kings, the latter being often but puppets in the hands of their great feudal princes and commanders-in-chief. Sometimes it was one prince who subjected his neighbours and made himself king, sometimes it was another, aided by revolting feudal lords and army commanders, who usurped the sovereign's power. But under the Ming dynasty, and still now governing Thai-Tsing dynasty, the Empire secured rest and order.

These political struggles, far-reaching as they were, had but little influence on the family organisation, because the economical basis on which it rested has but little changed during that long period of time. Still, the old order of land property more and more melted away; private property became extended, and the peasants were degraded to a state of servility, whilst the feudal lords seized the land property.

Through communication with the countries of Westaria there were also introduced many valuable and useful vegetables (as, for instance, the common bean, garlic, parsley, cucumber, vine, pomegranate), but agriculture made but slow progress. In fact, the Chinaman cultivates his field now as his ancestors did two thousand years ago, only the intensity of his labour has increased. The form of production on the whole has remained unchanged. Mechanical industry is altogether wanting, and even in the most advanced localities there are still missing the elements which could lead to



a manufacturing industry, such as we find in the southerly countries of Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Industry is still in the handicraft and family home stage.

The breaking up of the ancient land property conditions has not led even to a splitting of the great family into juridically independent separate families. The living and working together remained a rule, because the working methods and the conditions of mutual working together remained just the same. The only difference with the past was that the great family, having formerly cultivated the State land, now began to cultivate their own. And even where, with the permission of their parents, sons separated themselves from the head branch, and started their own families, they still remained under the guardianship of the head of the great family. The basic principle, that no man has a free ownership of his fortune (even when earned by himself), while his father or grandfather is still living, is in China still in force. "The family," says Tschenkitong, of the present family life of the Chinese, "is in some measure like a religious community with fixed rules. Everyone contributes to its revenues without recognising that one brings in more or less. In the family there reigns the law of equality and fraternity; words, full of meaning, which are written in the hearts, but not on the walls."

In many ways the political struggles are still of some advantage to the conservation of the family communities—namely, to pay the war expenses. The gentile princes becoming more powerful, imposed on the peasants, beside the tenth, taxes of all kinds; moreover, the peasants had also to furnish men for the war and soccage service. The staying and living together of the family members not only proved useful for the collection of taxes and for the re-culture of the desolated land, but also assured war service, and the maintenance during the man's absence of his wife and children. It has also perhaps still more maintained the existence of the family and ancestor worship. Although being itself originally but a product of the veneration of the founders of the families and gentes, which in its turn arose from the family communal organisation, it has nevertheless essentially contributed to the cementing of the family by calling them again and again together to the communal offerings to the ancestors.

Of course, the economical development has not been without influence on the Chinese family institutions, especially since China has been obliged to enter into trade relations with the European barbarians; but the changes which took place concern rather the poorer than the middle classes. As already stated, the great family had its end in the holding together of the family fortune and of mutual help, but the thoroughly poor possess nothing which could be held together. The great family lost its power for good, and the struggle for existence drove everyone to think first of all about himself. Hence the cause of the immense emigration which for some decades has taken place from the poorer districts into North America, Lower India, Australia, the Oceanic Archipelago, &c. It is true that a large proportion of the sons of the Celestial Empire return to China, but not always to settle

again in the old native corners. Even were this the case, the long absence would still tend to greatly disorganise the family relations.

From these disintegrating processes of Chinese society are explainable the most prominent features of the Chinese character, in its good as well as its bad side. The Chinaman's servility under the Government is but an outcome of his subjection to the family head; his passion for gain, his stingy covetousness, are but the heritage of his race, arising out of the family saving system, and of that family virtue which is rooted in him. From his very childhood the necessity has been ingrained in him of increasing by every means his house property, and thereby increasing a good memory among his descendants. This love of the family is responsible for the narrowness of the views of the middle-class Chinaman, and of his seclusion, his carelessness of the intellectual and material interests of his nation when these latter do not touch his own family interests. He lacks the consciousness of the intellectual union with members outside his family, not because of some special intellectual peculiarity, as is ordinarily believed, but because such a consciousness must be the result of a certain social development. The Chinese have not yet reached the height of a keen national consciousness.

In this apathy lies much of the weakness of the Chinese Empire. One province is quite indifferent to what is going on in another. The Chinese soldier does not fight for his people, he fights simply because he is ordered and cannot yet revolt. Nevertheless, the Chinese fighting powers are considerable could they be organised. They need above all things the fostering of a national spirit; ways and means of communication; more facilities for commerce; the creating of better roads and water ways; technical arrangements for providing an army with food and proper equipment; an energetic leader at the head of the Empire, combined with an able bureaucracy to support his executive power.

Another cause of China's weakness lies in her administrative practices and her corrupted bureaucracy. The Chinese Central Government is directed on the principle of giving administrative officers a free hand coupled with a secret espionage which hinders all intimate relations between themselves and the people. This peculiar spying system often leads to a change of officers. The latter are not appointed in their native districts, and are not allowed to marry, without special permission, with a person living inside the administrative districts. These principles do not arise—as is often thought—from the "peculiar character of the Chinese intellect," but are results of the conquering tactics of former dynasties. It would be well to give officers a free hand in the case of necessity and relieve them of the fear of spies, who are but an irritating cause of mischief between the officers and the Government at Peking.

Besides this evil of espionage the system has another: the corruption of the bureaucracy. The complete dependence of every officer on his nearest principal, who has to report yearly on his conduct even to trifling details of unbecomingness, and the absolute non-responsibility of the censors and their agents, have led to officers cringing before the superior and to corruptibility.

Moreover, the Chinese Government pays such low salaries that the incomes of the officers do not enable them to cover their financial responsibilities as representatives of the State. They are therefore obliged to create for themselves side-revenues the best way they can.

It may be thought that the officers would tire of these conditions. With the exception of a small minority, it appears they do not. True, now and again there is one or another dismissed, and very exemplary punishment administered, but the most of the frauds remain undiscovered, and they thus secure nice little sums. Why, therefore, should they advocate reforms the defending of which would lead to accusations of every kind? Why should they impose on themselves a new task when, perhaps, they will be soon displaced and appointed elsewhere?

Has China a future? The question is not easily to be answered. That the Chinese race possesses extraordinary tenacity and vitality is shown everywhere. She has entered into competition with other races, and has proven that she has the capacity of assimilating European civilisation. The last decades have brought to China a more rapid development than centuries before, and the rock of conservatism once shaken progress will go on notwithstanding all obstacles. Finally, China is getting her railways. The question is, will China adapt herself to the new conditions before her most important domains are divided by the European Powers, by Japan, and by Uncle Sam?

—From *Vorwärts*.

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## SOCIALISM AND COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT.

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THE relations of Great Britain, and the leading European powers, during the past five or six months, have been of such a character as to suggest to the Socialist the duty of deciding what the policy of our country should be in periods such as this, when considered solely from the standpoint of Socialist principle and action. It is on occasions such as these that we are compelled to ask ourselves how far we are called upon to support the policy of the capitalist Government in power, and in what respect that policy should be vigorously combatted and condemned. In attempting to give an answer to this question, it is safe to say that more differences are bound to arise than could possibly arise from a consideration of any other phase of Socialist politics. In dealing with this question, we are compelled to furnish an answer, not simply from the point of view of what is best, and what should be done for the exploited masses of the country alone, but from the standpoint of what it is necessary to do in order to defend our country as a whole from the attempts made by other powers to stultify our national greatness, and check our imperial growth.

The view generally adopted by responsible Social-Democrats is more or less an inconsistent one. In some respects the attitude of the antagonistic powers is condoned and supported; in others, the policy of our own Governments is emphasised and applauded. Socialist meetings have been held to protest against all illegitimate extension of colonial activity, the tone and feeling of which made it quite clear that even *legitimate* action in this direction was by no means looked upon with favour. This feeling undoubtedly arises from the belief that, when the capitalist Governments of our country are no longer able to annex and command favourable territories as suitable markets for our surplus produce, it will be more difficult for them to keep together, in something like workable order, the existing antagonistic elements of which the present method of production is composed. Holding such a view as this, it is therefore quite natural that Socialists should feel no pride in the conquests of their country, but that they should desire, on the other hand, the failure of every expedition designed expressly for the purpose of smoothing the bearings of the economic machinery controlled by, and kept in motion for, the express benefit of the ruling classes of our time.

But, in opposition to this view of colonial development, we find ourselves committed, by the statements of responsible and leading members of our party, to the support of a huge navy for the purpose of maintaining our colonial possessions, adding to their number and extent, and in a general way protecting and defending the commerce of our Empire. True, it is claimed that our support of the policy of keeping up the strength of the navy, so that no possible combination shall be able to over match us, is not given with a view to the navy being used for the commercial purposes just alluded to, but in order that we may defend our country from foreign aggression, and thus preserve and develop the degree of political, social, and

personal freedom which our worthy sires have won for us. But it must be remembered that if we never built and armed another ship for many years to come, we have already sufficient naval strength to keep any enemy from our shores, and to keep open the waterways along which our food supply is transmitted. The fact is, that by supporting the huge annual naval expenditure of our Governments we are in reality committing ourselves, either consciously or unconsciously, to a policy of territorial plunder and annexation, since such expenditure is primarily intended for this purpose. Between denouncing the Imperialism of Cecil Rhodes, and his subjugation and robbery of the native races of South and Middle Africa, and upholding lavish expenditure on our naval fleets for the purpose of keeping other powers at bay while we, in this or any other way, thus add new territories to our Empire—which, in reality, our fleets are again called upon to protect and defend, no matter whether such territories have a seaboard or not—between these two policies there lies, somewhere, a glaring inconsistency; and it is the duty of every Social-Democrat to try to get rid of this, in order that our position as a political party may be simplified, and strengthened thereby.

In endeavouring to rid ourselves of this inconsistency, it becomes at once apparent that the commercial policy of the governing classes admits of no half-hearted support; it either must be approved in its entirety or denounced in its entirety. In other words, we must either say that we will no longer require fresh territory, no matter what other nations may be doing or would do in this respect; or, while we live under a system of open robbery and wholesale murder of defenceless peoples, we will carry on the game as it is played, and come out victorious if possible. For this is the position into which the whole matter is resolved. We must either plunder and slaughter the Matabele, the Mashonas, the Soudanese, and perhaps the Chinese, in the near future, or stand by idle while this is done by some other country equally desirous of adding to her dominions, and extending her commerce. Taking the present situation of the African question as an illustration, we are to ask ourselves if we, in future, are to dominate that continent; or if it is to be left entirely to France, Germany, Portugal, and Italy, to be divided out among themselves, by methods not one whit more righteous and humane than the methods of our own imperial freebooters. I repeat again that between these two policies there is no half-way halting-house. We cannot leave the people of these available territories alone, which has been often suggested, in the hope that English capitalism would thus receive another nail into its coffin. Commercialism cannot break down by its own sheer rottenness and incapacity until economic development has made this an international possibility. Nations may change places in the struggle for commercial supremacy, as they have often done already, but if the destruction of commercialism is to be brought about by the development of evolutionary processes alone, the crash when it does come must be an international one to be effective.

What, then, is our duty in regard to this question? Shall we strike for Anglo-Saxon domination with, as we have seen, all the utterly inhuman and fiendish operations which the carrying out of this policy implies; or



shall we become Social-Democratic "Little Englanders"? We are called upon to give a straight answer, not merely, as we have shown, to be consistent, but because the gravity and exceeding importance of the question demand a straight answer. The future may probably bring difficulties so complicated in character, and so pregnant with the possibility of our national existence becoming imperilled, that every other phase of Socialist demand may have to be left out of sight until a common understanding among Socialists of all countries has been arrived at on this momentous matter. It therefore behoves every Socialist to give the fullest attention to this question; and to speak out his honest opinion concerning it, regardless of the favour or disfavour with which his decision may be accepted.

There can be no doubt whatever of the fact that the proletariat under British rule enjoys a greater measure of public liberty and public safety than any other people on the face of the earth. But it is not, here, claimed that this wider field of public action has been conceded to the British working man because of a greater love which his rulers have for him, than the dominant class of other countries have for their subjected millions. It has been found the safest and the most expedient method of conciliating public demand in England to, in a measure, concede such demand. In Italy the ruling class have shown quite recently that, in their opinion, the best way to propitiate the evils of the existing commercial and social system is to shoot down helpless men, women, and children in the streets for daring to break a few panes of glass. The method, it will be seen at once, is widely different; but the intention is the same in both countries. England treats her propertyless mob with some show of respect, because she dare not do otherwise. On the Continent that mob is ruthlessly murdered, because, as yet, it is considered safe to murder it. No credit can, therefore, be given to the ruling class of that country which adopts, apparently, the most humane form of government, since they are merely seeking to achieve the same result by methods which, although more humane in themselves, are not at bottom dictated by more humane or more righteous motives.

The truth is, that the best blood of past generations has been shed for the cause of human liberty in England, and it is as a consequence of the struggles of the pioneers of freedom that the English proletariat enjoys a greater degree of freedom than his Continental brethren. The same struggles and the same martyrdom have taken place in Continental countries to an extent quite as great as and even greater in some countries than that which obtained here at home. But the feature of the fight for personal and political liberty in England which distinguishes it from all such movements abroad is that the English have been to a certain extent successful.

Now, all this has an important bearing on that phase of Socialist politics which deals with foreign and imperial questions. Wherever a people are brought under the flag of our country they are allowed the utmost limit of public freedom consistent with the maintenance of the newly-acquired territories as an integral part of the Empire. Stated in another way, the people of those possessions—and they are made up of settlers of every European nationality, many of whom have made their homes in the new

country in order to escape the greater tyrannies of their own land—these people come at a bound to that degree of development in our social and political life that we enjoy at home. Those bright spirits who sacrificed themselves in the past for our liberties were, at the same time, although they knew it not, fighting for the liberties of countries and peoples whom they never once thought of.

Our duty as Socialists seems to be quite clear. We English Socialists hate the word nation as much as our Continental comrades do. But if we are to extirpate national differences in a world-wide commonwealth, surely it will be easier and better to do this by going on with our Imperial development rather than by waiting to see the unappropriated portions of the world fall under the control of Governments who are not compelled to accord to their subjects that degree of freedom which the English governing class are *compelled* to give to their peoples the world over. And when the international collapse of the present order of things is achieved—and it can be achieved sooner by Anglo-Saxon domination—Britain's sons will be the first to drop the thought of any superior racial characteristics, and meet the world on those terms of absolute equality which Socialists of all countries are striving hard to realise. It appears that, out of the hurly-burly of blind unconscious forces by which the development of nations and Empires is ever swept with irresistible power along their separate paths, there do arise, at the same time, systematic, ever-prevailing forces which carry some nations to a height of wealth and power, by the aid of which every obstacle is surmounted which comes in their way. What is the lesson of history but a repetition of this simple fact? And, at the present time, it is clear that the Anglo-Saxon is fast approaching to that condition of world-wide mastery. For this reason we should welcome every attempt to bind the United States and ourselves by one inseparable tie. We may be strengthening the commercial interests of the two nations by such an alliance, but we are, at the same time, binding still firmer the interests of the great mass of proletariat workers of the two countries, and incidentally of the civilised world, an undertaking which is of greater moment to us, as we know that, eventually, that great mass is bound to seize and control the reins of power by which their countries are governed. We must never forget that every single feature of capitalism possesses in itself some germ of future Socialist life. Let us on, then, with the greatest haste, so that we may sooner become healthy by getting, as fast as possible, through the necessary stages of our national disease. Let us extend to the people of those portions of the earth, which must eventually fall under the sway of some form of capitalist government, that form of government which is the least odious, and which contains within itself, to a far greater extent than any other method of government, the elements which are operating to work out its own destruction. By so doing we are planting the *roots* of the tree of liberty in new soil, in the hope and with the intention that the tree may one day blossom forth the wide-world over with a loveliness and a grandeur that all the blasts of a disarmed tyranny shall never be able to destroy.

JNO. R. WIDDUP.

## THE TAXATION OF LAND VALUES.

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It must be remembered, in considering this question, that under the feudal system the holders of the land had to perform, or provide, for the performance of all military services, as well as by sundry fines and fees supplying the bulk of the national revenue for civil services.

By one of the most iniquitous Acts of Parliament ever passed, viz, Act 12, chap. 11, c. 24, Charles II., it was decreed that the barons and landholders, who up to that time were tenants of the Crown or nation, should thenceforth hold almost the entire soil of Great Britain free from all payment in service or otherwise.

Extracts from the title of the measure read as follows:—

“An Act for taking away the wards, and liveries, and tenures *in capite*, and by knight service and purveyance, and for settling a revenue upon His Majesty *in lieu thereof*” ——— “as a complete discharge from the oppressive fruits and incidents of their tenure.”

The law-makers at that time were all landholders, and by this barefaced piece of robbery they took to themselves what rightly belonged to the nation, and the transaction was so repugnant to those with any moral sense that even in such an assembly the Bill was passed by a majority of two votes only—151 to 149. Thus 151 corrupt landholders shifted the expenses of Government from their own class, and placed the burden of excise and other taxes on the people who had neither land nor votes.

Since that time the national rent, for the use of the national land, has been collected and appropriated by a comparatively few private individuals, the total amount thus unjustly pocketted by the landholder being no less than FIVE THOUSAND MILLIONS.

Thirty-two years after the scandalous bargain was made, *i.e.*, in 1692 in the reign of William the Third, the Crown, *i.e.*, the nation, resumed its rights by imposing upon the landholders a tax or rent of 4s. in the pound, reckoned on “*the true yearly value*” of real property. Other taxes were imposed at the same time, but by this “land tax” the nation once more asserted its right to the ownership of the soil of the country.

The landholders agreed to tax themselves on condition that the other taxes were imposed, and no sooner was the law passed than they began to evade it. A ridiculously low valuation was made at that time, and the landholders have successfully resisted the “true yearly value” being taken from that time to this, now over 200 years.

While it is well known that real property has enormously increased in value, yet by various evasions, redemptions, and even modifications of the law in their favour, the amount realised by the land tax is actually less now than when originally imposed, having decreased from £2,000,000 to £1,001,570, which was the net quota charged in 1892-3.

Now, the published returns of property assessed to the income tax\* show that the gross annual value for all lands, tenements, tithes not commuted, manors, fines, &c., was in the year 1894 for England and Scotland alone no less than £192,976,282.

Four shillings in the pound on this amount would be £38,595,256.

That the payment of this strictly legal rent should be enforced by the nation cannot be deemed an extravagant demand.

It must be admitted, however, that a charge may be legal without being right, but, in addition to the legality of this tax, there is the inherent reasonableness of the proposition that rents arising from the use of the nation's land should be paid into the nation's exchequer.

That it would be a reasonable act even to largely increase the land tax has been held by many high authorities. Newman, in his lectures on political economy, published in 1881, says:—"A tax of even 50 per cent. upon rent, if imposed at the period when it first became generally payable, would have been a perfectly unexceptionable source of revenue." Locke affirmed the proposition "that the whole of the public revenue should be derived from taxes on land." John Stuart Mill, in reference to this subject, says:—"In several parts of the Continent the 'land tax' forms a large proportion of the public revenue, and has always been confessedly liable to be raised or lowered without reference to other taxes."

Many other authorities might be quoted, and amongst them Mr. Goschen, who in 1870 presented a report to the House of Commons on local taxation. In this report he states that "landed property at an earlier period of this century was infinitely more heavily burdened than now." He goes on to show how in many ways "burdens have been put upon the unfortunate towns," and he gives the following statistics:—"The amount paid by land alone towards Imperial taxation in England is  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., in Holland 9 per cent., in Austria  $17\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., in Belgium  $20\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and in Hungary  $32\frac{1}{2}$  per cent." He asks, "What do these facts prove? They prove that, as regards Imperial taxation, land in this country is in an infinitely better position than land in any other European State."

To largely increase the "land tax" is admittedly legal, constitutional, and reasonable. The question, however, is whether or not it is advisable.

The Financial Reform Association (from whose publications some of the above figures and quotations have been taken) has definitely committed itself to the advocacy of the late Henry George's Single Tax, by means of which the land would be taxed up to 95 per cent. This would bring in an immense revenue of nearly £200,000,000 per annum, and would remove many glaring wrongs; but that it would of necessity remove all injustice and abolish poverty remains to be proved. In Hungary, where the land tax is the highest—i.e.,  $32\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.—the social condition of the people is worse than in England, and the agricultural population especially has been driven almost to revolution during the past summer owing to their extreme

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\* Official figures. See "Financial Reform Almanack, 1897," page 43.

poverty. Charming and fascinating as are Henry George's theories and books, and fully as he proves the present wrong, yet, reasoning from experience and analogy, one is compelled to admit that his remedy would not meet the case.

In point of fact, while the method of raising the revenue is of great importance, of still greater importance is the manner in which we spend it. In 1870 the total expenditure was under 70 millions, and out of this but £11,033,148 went for the Civil list and Civil administration—that is, for the real expenses of the Government of the country, the military and naval then being £22,869,402. These latter items in the present year (1898) are estimated at £42,999,100, say, 43 millions. Of what benefit would it be to the country if we had a revenue of 200 millions from land tax if 150 millions was spent upon the army and navy? Especially, if, as is now the case, other countries increase their forces in the same ratio as our own, and thus we remain relatively no stronger than before. Or, if the additional revenue from land went to the relief from taxation of brewers, distillers, stock and share brokers, and other capitalists, the people as a whole, and the producers of wealth in particular, might be worse instead of better off. On the other hand, if this extra revenue, be it little or much, was devoted to the improvement of the national estate, the better cultivation of the soil, the better use of the minerals, and, above all, the better feeding, clothing, housing, and education of the people, then only, and then certainly, would it be of advantage.

To build palaces for princes, and enclose and plant gardens, or pleasure-grounds, means the employment of much labour, and some benefit to the land, but to spend the same money and labour on building healthy and beautiful homes for the workers, just as much employs labour and distributes money; but a thousand may reap the benefit from the latter way of expenditure to one with the former. No mere reform of the Land Laws, then, or increase of revenue therefrom, would be of real and permanent benefit except as the revenue was applied to the purposes indicated above, and once our State factories and farms get into working order the bulk, if not the whole, of our taxes could be dispensed with.

NEMO.

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## SOCIALISM IN AUSTRIA.

IN the *Fortnightly Review* for July, Francis W. Hirst, in an article entitled, "A Dissolving Empire," reviews the political situation in Austria, and writes at length on the Christian Socialists and the Social-Democrats of that country.

"At present," says Mr. Hirst, "a glance at the elements which compose the majority in Austrian Town Councils, proves pretty conclusively the predominance in the middle, that is the electoral classes, of the petty bourgeois ideal, a protected community of small employers and retail dealers—this community to be elaborately enabled by law to exploit the general public. Such are the economic aims of the majority over which Dr. Lueger presides in the Municipal Council of Vienna, and of the Christian Socialist section which he leads in the Reichsrath. The objects of the Christian Socialist party cannot be guessed from its title, for in Austria there are so many class distinctions, sectarian animosities, and racial enmities, that an association which merely existed to advertise to the world that its adherents were Christian members of society would not be likely to meet with much success. The presence of thirty Christian Socialists in the Reichsrath must therefore be explained on other grounds. In the first place, Dr. Lueger is a strong personality, with a great fund of moral courage and political determination. His loud voice and his political crusades against the Jews and Magyars would make up the rest of his political stock-in-trade, were it not that, finding his party composed of a superstitious middle class, he added two purely opportunist items to the programme.

"(1) An alliance with the clerical and anti-educational forces.

"(2) The championship of the small employer of labour (the Kleiner Mann, as he is called).

"It is doubtful whether Dr. Lueger is at heart opposed to education. He has probably been compelled by his clerical supporters to pursue a Digglete policy so far as popular education in Vienna is concerned. In noting his hostility to education, it is only fair to Dr. Lueger to add that he takes the greatest interest in the science of local government. In the face of vested interests and the furious opposition of the entire press, he is setting to work to complete the municipalisation of the great natural monopolies by taking over the gas and tramways."

"But even in Austria," says Mr. Hirst, "there does exist that latent dread of the masses which is always present in the mind of the ruling body. Hence I am inclined to attach somewhat more importance than is usually assigned to the little group of Social-Democrats led by Dr. Adler. This party is absolutely opposed to the Christian Socialists; for it is not Christian, and they are not Socialist, unless we invent a definition of Socialism for the special purpose of finding some connection between Christian Socialism and Social-Democracy in Austria. In that case it might be urged that Socialism lives and moves and has its being in the class struggle, and that its essential characteristics, as well as the sources of its strength, consist in accentuating and artificially widening the cleavage between labour and capital.

"In that case, there would be three kinds of Socialists :

"(1) Large capitalist monopolists—as in America.

"(2) Small capitalists, or middlemen monopolists, like those who compose the Christian Socialist or anti-Semitic party.

"(3) Labour Monopolists—as the Social-Democrats under Dr. Adler.

"Socialism in Austria has hitherto played but an unimportant part, but it must be remembered that 70 per cent. of the citizens are absolutely, or to all practical purposes, disfranchised; and on this submerged two-thirds the Socialist party might be expected to draw very largely. During the riots which preceded and followed the resignation of Count Badeni, it was evident that the Socialists have not over-estimated their strength. In many industrial places in Bohemia, and especially in Prague, the workmen's quarters remained comparatively quiet, and the doctrines of the Socialists and the influence of their leaders seem really to have availed to keep the majority of Czech and German workpeople from flying at each other's throats."

#### CLASS MORTALITY.

The Brussels Central Statistical Office has published some very interesting tables, some figures in which are of such a character as should attract the attention of every friend of humanity.

Of every 100 births in Brussels, there are in the rich classes 13, in the middle 27, and in the poor classes 60. Thus, those people who are in the best situation to bring up and to educate children have less of them, and, on the contrary, the people whose condition is the worst have as many children as possible. This fact corresponds perfectly well with the basic principle of the capitalist *régime*—the concentration of capital. The number of marriages follow the same law—17 for the rich, 29.5 for the middle, and 53.5 for the poor people. But there is compensation in the mortality. Of every 100 deaths, there are—

	Rich classes.	Middle classes.	Poor class-s.
Under 1 year .....	4	22	74
From 20 to 50 years ...	18.8	33.9	47.3
From 70 to 100 years	41.5	37	21.5

Of the utmost interest is the following table of mortality according to causes :—

From infectious diseases .....	8.6	21.4	70
Tuberculosis .....	8.7	33.6	57.7
Bloody diarrhoea .....	4.4	17.2	78.4
Bronchitis, &c. ....	16.3	27	56.7
Suicide .....	19.3	57	23.7
Accouchement .....	17	54	29
Still-born children.....	42	34.2	23.8

While the poor are dying from diseases which are the natural consequences of a bad standard of life—namely, infectious diseases, tuberculosis, stomach illness, bronchitis, consumption, &c.—the mortality of the rich, and especially of the middle classes, is due mainly to accouchement causes, which in their turn are but consequences of the ever-spreading Malthusian theory among the rich and middle classes. Besides, there is the striking number of suicides in the middle classes; it but indicates the precarious situation of the small bourgeoisie, which are descending every day lower and lower.

## INDIA IN DEEP WATERS.

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In the *National Review* for July Mr. Robert H. Elliott, writing on this subject, says that in India money is often not procurable on any terms, and that recently for a whole month Calcutta was on the verge of a commercial crisis. Confidence has gone, and credit too, and the state of things is generally and truthfully regarded as "intolerable." As a necessary consequence, a reduction in the demand for labour has begun, and to such an extent that certain employers, of whom, says Mr. Elliott, I am one, have arranged to reduce the wages of men 25 per cent., and the wages of women 33½ per cent. from July 1st. For the first time during our rule in India the agitators have been furnished with a well-founded means for setting the people against the Government. With a rapidly increasing population we have diminishing means of employment. The severity of famines and scarcities must therefore increase in the future and add to the financial difficulties of the Government. Look where you will, and you will find evidence of decay, and causes surely leading to ruin throughout the length and breadth of the land. Mr. Elliott believes the passing of the Currency Act and closing of the Mint to be the cause of India's present troubles. "But," says Mr. Elliott, "there is another point of hardly less importance which demands immediate attention. Englishmen are afraid to be afraid—afraid to point in good time to the most obvious perils because they are afraid of being considered mere cowardly alarmists. What would happen in this country if the Government, supposing, for instance, it had the power, and were as foolish as the Indian administration, went practically into the house of every man who had been storing up values in melted-down gold, and through the agency of some currency manipulation cut off and absolutely destroyed about 30 per cent. of these values? Why, there would be a revolution. And yet this is exactly what the Government of India in its amazing folly has, by the closing of the mints, done in India. The natives of India, and the numerous Europeans who have interests in that country, are now, as regards those interests, entirely at the mercy of the crude and foggy currency notions of partially informed officials; and these, as we have seen, though they are now up to their neck in a bog of their own creation, are clinging with all the force of a one-idea-obstinacy to their first currency experiments, though the Empire has begun economically to crumble beneath them."

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## AMERICAN FARMING.

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IN order to see clearly the true status of our farming to-day, it is necessary to take into consideration the diverse elements that were injected into our civilisation just as our farmers were emerging from the darkness and sorrow of their pioneer life. The emigrants were not wholly an unmixed evil even to our agricultural life. They cheapened labour upon the farm, so that the owner of extensive, well-cultivated fields found more leisure and opportunities for pleasure. The reaction from the stern, severe life of the past worked changes in his nature as deep-rooted as those in his business. Luxuries became necessities; the desire to enjoy more sapped the moral strength of the sturdy workers; the passion for ease and comfort succeeded the love of labour; and the restlessness of dissatisfaction completed the list of signs of early degeneracy. In this state of mind the farmer was not well prepared to meet the agricultural revolution that was about dawning upon his age. The era of machinery opened. As in the mechanical and industrial world, machinery developed farm industries, so that the busy toilers suddenly found their hours of labour lessened, their prospective profits increased, and their hard condition ameliorated. For a season the farmer seemed to have the upper hand of the world. The cities had to be fed, and the streams of emigrants helped to swell the consumptive demand, and to lower even more the cost of farm labour. But what appears as a blessing in one generation too often develops into an evil in the next. Any man with eyes clearly opened might have prophesied the result. The new machinery quadrupled the yield, but the population, fast as it grew, could not keep pace with such abnormal growth. When falling prices denoted the beginning of the change, there were thousands engaged in farming who did not possess a tithe of the energy and intelligence of the pioneer farmers of the new continent. Agriculture, like manufacture and commerce had finally to adjust itself to the new conditions. It was the last to fall in line, but the fateful day had to come. The change came like a blow out of the dark, and yet it had heralded its coming. Men threw down their ploughs, and abandoned the farms. The sons of sturdy agriculturists were bred in the dissatisfied atmosphere, and with the phrase "farming don't pay" on their lips they started for the towns and cities. In the great west, where rich farm-land could be had for the asking, and where teeming crops flourished without cultivation, the revolution was slower, and for another generation the farmers succeeded in pushing forward.

We have pioneers in the new agriculture to-day as we had a hundred years ago, men guided with a compass and chart, and they hew with might and main along lines that overcome all difficulties. They are but repeating the conflict of their ancestors. They are conquering their environment. They have not let the era of false prices and booms and the insidious poison of dissatisfaction and discouragement sap their strength and moral belief in the eternal fitness of things. They see a broader lesson in the changes of adversity. In the greatest country in the world for natural wealth, why should agriculture be at such a low ebb that none can find a decent living? The comparison between American agriculture and that of almost any other country will invariably be found in favour of the former. The Danish butter-maker and the Swiss and French

cheese manufacturers have truly excelled in their calling through years of hard experience, but from their own testimony they are too poor to eat any of their delicious products. The mushroom-growers of France, and the fruit-farmers of continental Europe, harvest their products with an infinite amount of labour, but they dare not look with greedy eyes upon the things they handle. For them the taste of such luxuries is denied. They live upon the coarsest fare, dress in the cheapest and meanest clothes, and economise in everything that makes life so dear to the average American. Their homes are often the exemplification of humbleness—bare walls, scanty furniture, hard stools and beds, with no ornaments, literature, or luxuries to relieve the monotony of existence.

Such conditions, true of nine-tenths of the farmers of continental Europe—the English agricultural classes being a little better situated, but those of China and Japan much worse—are hardly comparable with those of the poorest pioneers in the most isolated sections of the United States. The American farmer has an abundance of the best foods that suitable soil and climate can produce—a variety that would astound and excite the greed of a European farmer. He does not regulate his life upon the policy of sending the best to market and retaining only the refuse for home consumption. But after he is fed and clothed and housed as no farmers ever were before, the agricultural toiler demands a profit commensurate with the income of the business-man, the merchant, the lawyer, the doctor, or the statesman. In this demand he is justified to an extent, but it depends upon his own exertions and intelligence, and not upon governmental regulation of social conditions. That it is possible for him to achieve this reward can be proved by ten thousand examples. The status of our agriculture even in hard times, such as we have been passing through, is so much higher than ever before in the history of our country that the farmer properly equipped for his work can make a good living, and something over and above his expenses. There are thousands in whose blood the principles of the Puritans still dominate, and there are tens of thousands of sturdy emigrants who inwardly bless Providence for shifting the scenes of their labours to a land so superior to their own. But among them are mixed the incompetent, the discontented, the unstable, the ignorant, and the dangerous classes. In their blood the poisoned seeds of restlessness dwell, and these beget hatred and revolution. It is the unlettered scum of Europe rising to the surface at last, and, distasteful as it may be to us, the vicious element of our degenerates, who have failed to keep abreast of the moral and industrial improvements of the age.

The new farming is scientific at its foundation. The state experiment stations, the department of agriculture, and the farm periodicals emphasise this, and repeat it over and over again. The true way not to succeed in agriculture is to refuse to listen to the story told by these various organs. The new farming has its superstructure built upon strict business principles that obtain in the world of general commerce and industry. It is just as much a question of profit and loss with the farmer as it is with the merchant. How much can he make out of one acre, five acres, one hundred acres? He must be a seller as well as a producer. The man who operates a factory spends as much time in finding good markets for his articles as he does in manufacturing them. When the market is glutted he economises in expenses, and when prices fall he endeavours to produce his commodities at less cost. Every new invention is likely to make his machinery and plant obsolete, and he must be prepared for such a contingency. Other articles superior to his may crowd him to the wall, and there is only one of two alternatives—failure, or



a change in his system which will enable him to improve the quality and nature of his goods. In an industrial age like this there is no reason why agriculture should be exempt from the same laws. And it is not. That is why so many fail. They have not been trained to their vocation. The earnest, intelligent, successful farmers of the country may see conditions confronting them that are not all they could wish, but clear thinking and due action in good times will still make them happy and satisfied men. They renew their youth by renewing their methods.—New York *Public Opinion*



#### THE SUGAR TRUST OF THE UNITED STATES.

Since the advent of McKinley to the presidency of the United States the formation of trusts, which was apparently somewhat hindered by the special laws of some States, enters upon a period of still greater development because the Federal Government, as well as every other, is in complete dependence upon capitalism and the big capitalists. Among the syndicates of capitalists which have in recent years acquired great importance, and realised exceptionally large profits, the sugar trust occupies without doubt one of the first places.

The following figures show in a striking way the progressive movement of the profits of the sugar trust since its foundation in 1887 as well as their total amount :—

Year.	Profit per Ton=20cwt. in dollars.	The Total of Profits in dollars.
1886	12.992	18,957,000
1887	Foundation of the Trust.	
1889	28.896	44,928,000
1892	29.112	53,968,600
1895	19.175	38,519,000
1896	24.133	43,220,000

In this short period of ten years the consumption of sugar has increased by 30 per cent., while the realised profits have increased about 140 per cent. That is an irrefutable proof that the concentration of capital by formation of trusts is one of the most powerful means of increasing profits.

The competition which the trust is setting up against the refineries which have still maintained their independence seems to be directed preferably to the cultivation of beetroots, which has attained large dimensions since 1890. Their production, which has been but 2,800 tons in 1890, amounted to 20,000 in 1894, and to 40,000 in 1896.

In the presence of these facts the crisis of the European sugar industry is bound to intensify, the most important market being that of the United States, and in a few years the local sugar production will quite suffice for the consumption and the import from Europe will cease, which will necessarily lead to the proletarianisation of large masses of European small peasantry.

## FACTS AND FIGURES.

### UNEMPLOYED IN SUMMER AND IN WINTER.

According to the census made in Germany on June 14 and December 2, 1895, the number of unemployed was 179,004 and 553,640 respectively. These figures show the enormous difference in the number of unemployed in summer and winter time, which is especially due to the impossibility of carrying on some industries in winter—agriculture, gardening, building, navigation, &c. In summer, on the contrary, there are small industries where the work is less intensive than in other seasons—printing, lithography, newspapers, furriery, &c.

Taken in relation to the whole number of employed workers, the above figures represent 1.11 per cent. in summer and 3.4 in winter—that is to say, that the amount of privation and suffering endured by the working classes are three times as great in winter as in summer. And, if we take the average number during the year—i.e., 366,322—and supposing one shilling sufficient to satisfy the most elementary human needs, there is over six and a-half millions of pounds to be spent on them yearly, a sum which could never be given up by the employed workers, taking in consideration their insufficient wages.

The Labour Office of the United States has published interesting results of an inquiry into the labour of men, women, and children in comparison one with another, as well as their wages, in 1,067 works of thirty different States. There were employed in these establishments in a week of the year 1885-86 94,529 persons; in the same week of 1895-96 148,367 persons. These numbers include :—

	Men.		Women.	
	18 years and over.	under 18 years.	18 years and over.	under 18 years.
In 1895-96 .....	43,295	7,540	45,162	12,751
In 1885-86 .....	26,479	4,175	27,163	6,743
Difference ...	16,716	3,365	17,999	6,008
Of the women there have been—	Unmarried.		Married.	Widows.
In 1895-96 .....	70,921	...	6,775	2,011
In 1885-86 .....	32,801	...	1,375	498
	38,080	...	5,400	1,513

The wages have been higher—

		By per cent.
For men in relation to women ...	595 cases (76.2 per cent.)	32.3
For women in relation to men.....	129 " (16.5 " " )	10.4
For children in relation to men ...	24 " (10.5 " " )	8.6
For men in relation to children ...	182 " (79.8 " " )	56.6
Equal for men and women .....	57 " ( 7.3 " " )	—
Equal for men and children.....	22 " ( 9.7 " " )	—

The higher wage of the women and children has been, in half the cases, in the textile industries. The following reasons for preferring women and children have been given—cheaper, do not strike, are more submissive, do not ask to learn the whole industry, but satisfy themselves with partial work.

## A TALE OF THE COMMUNE.

On high is raised the hireling blade, as on through blood the butchers wade ;  
 And ghastly corpses, soaked in blood, are lying in the ruby flood :  
 Oh, bloody execution !  
 See here and there the blood-red flags, with gore besmeared, mud dragged rags,  
 Toss like a heaving, billowy sea, gripped with a mad obstinacy ;  
 Whilst bullets whizzing everywhere, shouts of rage, of death's despair,  
 Of "Vive la Commune !" Loud are heard and high o'er all the stern fierce word—  
 "Stand for liberty or death !"

The days of the Commune were numbered, and wholesale massacre was rife in Paris.

The barricades, gallantly defended by, for the most part, unarmed proletarians, were captured in rapid succession, and all the defenders, in many cases women and children, ruthlessly massacred. At one of the barricades, with flushed face and uncovered head, was a youth of some fourteen summers—only one of many such who, burning with enthusiasm for a great cause, fell fighting for the Commune and human solidarity.

The Versaillese soldiers, Thiers' bloody butchers, had been repulsed, with great loss on both sides, twice from this particular barricade. A few National Guards, in orderly style, poured their volleys rapidly into the advancing soldiery, inspired their co-defenders, and directed their fire.

The youth, Paul Henri, nimbly carried ammunition to each of the defenders as their stock became exhausted, and with cheery word and smile, nerved the arms that sent the winged messengers of death, with telling results, into the ranks of the enemy.

Verily, a "powder-monkey little Jim," though shouting not for "the king with the golden crown," but for the Commune and the cause of the people.

His father and mother stood at the same barricade. His mother, like other women there, regardless of danger, did her part in the defence by aiding in strengthening and repairing the barricade.

Wounded though many were—some snatching rifles from the nerveless grasp of the dying, and using them with effect—the women worked admirably, bravely, and with a nobleness that has won the admiration of all who have read and heard of their heroic conduct. In many cases women set a grand example to men, charging them to stand worthily, when, helpless and unarmed, they stood to be shot, and to meet their death in a manner as befitted the defenders of so great a cause.

Twice repulsed, and goaded to frenzy by the unexpectedly stubborn resistance of the Communards, the Versaillese gathered their forces to rush the barricade at all hazards. The Communards saw the move, stayed their fire, whispered encouragement to each other, took each his point of vantage, and waited in grim silence for the order to fire from their leader. On came the rush ; and simultaneously the fire of the Communards blazed forth. Checked, thrown into disorder for a moment, the Versaillese blindly fired into the barricade ; and the Communist leader fell, with the second word "fire !" on his lips, into the arms of Paul.

Laying the leader, whose shattered head proved life extinct, as gently and as hurriedly as possible on the ground, he released the fingers from their grip on the sword, at the same time calling "ready !" Then, with a bound,

he took the late leader's place, and ordered "fire!" The rifles rang out in unison; but the Versaillese, only momentarily disconcerted by the deadly hail, swarmed the barricade. Like fiends they laid about them with rifle, sword, and bayonet; with the determination and frenzy of enthusiasm the Communards replied.

Soon all was a striking, struggling mass of humanity; soon again all a shambles, and another barricade the less to overthrow. Paul, at the inrush, had bounded to the side of his mother, who, with a dead comrade's rifle in her hands, prepared to sell life as dearly as possible. She smiled recognition as her glance caught his; and the next instant crashed her rifle down on the head of a soldier who had singled her out for attack. Again and again she laid about her, though bleeding profusely from a wound she had received, and keeping as near as possible to her boy—but the end had to come. Like a pack of howling, bloodthirsty wolves, several of the soldiers rushed at the devoted pair; and by sheer weight of numbers, felled them both; the mother falling heavily over the body of her child; a heavy rain of rifle-butts crushing her skull.

Within a few feet of them lay the mangled remains of the husband and father.

Peace reigned in Paris. The bloody orgies were over; and the insatiate beast, gorged with the life blood of the city's best artisans and the flower of her proletarian populace, idly viewed the scene of his hellish festival. How well had it all been carried out; how nobly had the "brave" soldiers defended the interests and vindicated the rights of their masters. Blood had been shed, and much of it—perhaps too much—but what mattered? the revolt was suppressed; the Republic saved; and the class-conscious workers taught a lesson they were little likely to forget—perhaps never to efface from their memory.

Pæns of praise echoed through the churches, the party of disorder, the would-be destroyers of the Republic, the infidel Communards, were righteously punished. God had indeed shielded his elect; had zealously guarded his beloved bourgeoisie, so render Him the praise, honour, and glory due. From every pulpit poured the thanksgivings of the surpliced whitewashers of the party of "order." Truly the victory was complete, and left nothing to be desired. It would be a long day before Paris rose again to wrest the right to rule from the privileged class. But not so fast. True, victory was in the hands of the exploiters. True, the feared leaders of the people, and the members of the Commune were dead, or impotent to do harm to the Government. True, the cause was lost; but the ideas remained, and the seed sown in travail, and watered by the blood of the grandest martyrs the world has known, was bound to bring forth its fruit, soon or late.

This, Paul Henri, young though he was, realised when, out of the maze of blood, he, a homeless, friendless orphan, once more trod the streets of Paris. Weak, filled with grief for the inconsolable loss he had sustained, Paul feverishly lived again the terrible scenes through which he had passed. The incidents of the siege, the proclamation of the Commune, life under its beneficent *régime*, the double-dealing of Thiers, the defence of the environment of Paris against the Versaillese army, the barricades, the blood and butchery, the loss, the great loss, of his dear, loved and loving parents, and his miraculous escape from the carnage of that awful day. With the frenzy of hate and determination he swore that, while life lasted, he would live only to avenge his people, the brutally suppressed cause, and the fall of the Commune. He kept his word. His voice was among the foremost to hurl defiance in the teeth of the party of "order."

Boyish hate and determination grew to the deep-set antagonism of manhood, and he lives to-day hoping and trusting, and looking forward with assurance to the time when the wrongs of Seventy-one shall be indeed avenged, and the democracies of the world, alive to their interests, and educated as to their just rights, shall with mighty voice demand—with force if necessary—that their sovereign rights shall be observed, and establish that greater Commune which the heroes of Seventy-one so nobly tried to inaugurate, but which their failure has rendered none the less certain, and their mistakes will serve to prevent us falling into like pitfalls when our time comes.

JAMES AUSTIN MELVILLE.





## COURAGE, COMRADES !

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All ye who through the bitter blast,  
Cling steadfast to your high election,  
Whom Time, the old Iconoclast,  
Brings never nearer to defection.  
Though rough and rocky be Life's road,  
And ambushed foemen plot to slay you,  
For aching limbs and heavy load  
The Cause at end will well repay you.

For you the cup of bliss awaits,  
Of thronging demi-gods the centre,  
Within Valhalla's open gates  
Where craven spirit ne'er can enter.

You, Orator—who men can sway  
To choose the right—the narrow way tread ;  
Hold fast—the gospel of to day—  
To Mammon's rule, eternal hatred.  
To hurl the robber gorged with pride  
To hell, first made for man's deceiver ;  
To raise the poor, the crucified  
Fit Gospel for the true believer.

And you the cup of bliss will wait  
Of thronging demi-gods the centre,  
Within Valhalla's open gate  
Where craven spirit ne'er can enter.

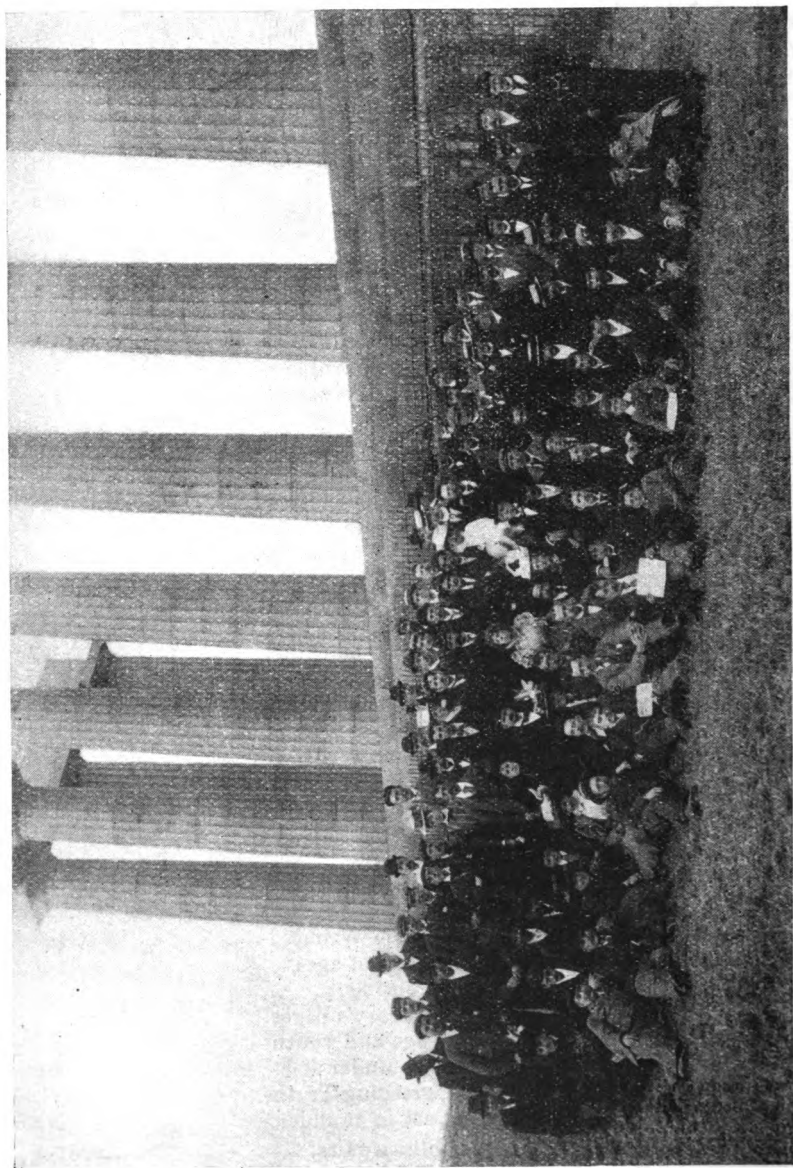
And poet—women, war, and wine,  
But ne'er of lowly people's sorrow,  
The eunuchs sing. For theme be thine,  
The stern evangel of to-morrow.  
On Labour's lute to strike the chord  
Of lasting hate and loud defiance ;  
For sooner Justice swings her sword  
The firmer Labour's self-reliance.

And you the cup of bliss will wait,  
Of crowding demi-gods the centre,  
Within Valhalla's open gate  
Where craven spirit ne'er can enter.

How lowly heroes wrecked the Wrong,  
Though fortified on the rock of ages,  
Will be the theme of future song  
And Light of heaven on History's pages.  
Then courage, comrades—age and youth—  
The foeman yet may keep us under ;  
The day will come when, grasping Truth,  
We'll rise and speak and act in thunder

And aye the cup of bliss awaits,  
Of thronging demi-gods the centre,  
Within Valhalla's open gates  
Where craven spirit ne'er can enter.

J. LESLIE.



DELEGATES TO THE EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE S.D.F.

[From a photograph by J. Lamb, Edinburgh]

# THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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VOL. II., No. 8.      AUGUST, 1898.

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## DR. AVELING.

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THE death of Dr. Aveling removes from our midst one whose work on behalf of the working-class movement was marred and nullified by his own faults. It is a common theory that the public life of a man is a thing quite separate and apart from his private life, and though he may be a perfect scoundrel in his personal relations, this should not be allowed to weigh in any estimate of his public character. Fortunately, or unfortunately, this theory does not work out in practice, and an absence of moral character in private life reflects upon and injures a public career, no matter how brilliant. On the other hand, the innocent private life of some of the greatest rascals is held to offer some condonation of the infamy of their public career. Burglars and statesmen have been shown to have been kindly neighbours, exemplary husbands, devoted sons, and affectionate fathers, and we are asked to look with a lenient eye upon their great and manifold crimes out of consideration for their amiable, domestic character. While we cannot condone a man's public crimes on account of his private virtues, neither can we entirely overlook personal backsliding on account of public services. A man's character and career must be judged as a whole. Dr. Aveling was a man of exceptional powers and ability and of brilliant attainments. He was a talented writer and lecturer; a clever scientist and teacher, and an indefatigable worker. Yet it is doubtful if he did not do at least as much harm as good to any movement to which he attached himself.

Why Dr. Aveling had to abandon the prominent position he once held in the Freethought movement was never satisfactorily explained, but the antipathy of his colleague, Mr. Bradlaugh, to the Socialist views he had then adopted afforded sufficient reason, at least so far as Socialists were concerned.

In 1884 Dr. Aveling joined the Social-Democratic Federation, and worked actively in the movement, in lecturing, writing, and committee work. At the end of that year came the split, in which Aveling had played an active part, which led to the formation of the Socialist League. From that time on for some years Aveling worked devotedly in the Socialist League, although rumours against his character were frequently rife. The Socialist League drifted in a few years through Anarchism to dissolution, and most of the Social-Democrats who were once

attached to that body joined the ranks of the Social-Democratic Federation. The feeling against Dr. Aveling, however, was as strong as ever, and it was not until 1896 that he was readmitted a member of a branch of the Social-Democratic Federation. In the meanwhile, however, he and his wife—for apart from the merely legal tie, Eleanor Marx was truly and devotedly his wife in every sense—were actively engaged in writing and lecturing for the working class movement, and at every International Congress they were prominent figures. For a time they worked with the Legal Eight Hours League, in connection with which some of the greatest demonstrations in London in favour of an eight hours' day were held. On the formation of the Independent Labour Party Dr. Aveling joined the party, but was afterwards expelled by the Executive of that body. Here, again, the reason for the action taken was not evident, and to an impartial person Dr. Aveling was able to pose as an injured innocent.

It was after this, and some time in 1896, that the Executive of the S.D.F. noticing the increasing frequency of Dr. Aveling's engagements to lecture for branches of the organisation, sought to put a stop to all further connection with him by an advice to the branches. So far from having the desired effect, however, the action of the Executive only strengthened Dr. Aveling's position, as he defended himself with credentials from the most unexpected and most unimpeachable sources.

Although the Executive were convinced that they were right in their judgment—it is one thing to know you are right, but it is another thing to prove it—it was impossible to demonstrate the correctness of their view, and they were forced to accept Dr. Aveling as a colleague. From that time onwards Dr. Aveling and his wife worked earnestly and indefatigably in the S.D.F., and all hoped that he had for ever discarded the habits which had sullied his reputation in the past. His serious illness was a heavy burden to the devoted woman who tended him so sedulously, and a source of anxiety to all who had assumed terms of friendship with them both in the hope that many useful years of work in the future would atone for all that was black in the past. The sudden death by her own hand of Eleanor Marx Aveling came like a thunderbolt to those who had known intimately the clever, strong, self-reliant, earnest, whole-souled daughter of Marx; the disclosures of the actual circumstances leading up to her death were a revelation even to those who visited the Avelings in their home and fancied they knew them intimately. Anything more pleasing, but for the illness of Aveling himself, it would apparently have been impossible to contemplate. Yet behind this pleasant exterior was being enacted the sordid drama, the only bright feature of which was the devotion and Spartan self-dependence of the wife and nurse. We have witnessed the last scene of the sorry tragedy. How differently it might have fallen out, if the event of August 2 had only taken place five months earlier! Then hosts of friends would have mourned Aveling's death, and his wife might have been living to day. Now how few will grieve, except that one with so great gifts has not left a nobler memory behind him!

## SPIRITUALISM AND SOCIALISM.

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THERE has been a great International Congress held at St. James's Hall, London, of Spiritualists and others interested in psychical science. It was undoubtedly a numerous and an influential gathering, and this meeting is of some interest to the Socialist movement, because a good deal was said about Socialism, and there were a good many Socialists present, including several members of the Social-Democratic Federation. The large banquetting hall was well filled both afternoon and evening from June 21 to 24, and a brilliant conversazione was held in the great hall on the evening of the 24th, at which some two thousand persons assisted. Many fashionable and wealthy people were present, who might certainly help the Socialist movement forward very considerably, if they would only take to heart some of the lessons taught during the Congress. In this respect, undoubtedly the most important paper read was that contributed by Dr. Alfred R. Wallace, F.R.S., whose name is very generally associated with that of Darwin in working out the theory of evolution. The paper was entitled "Spiritualism and Social Duty," and it appears, in full, in *Light*, of July 9, the organ of the Spiritualist Alliance.

Those who, and they are not a few, look upon Spiritualists as being at best but amiable lunatics, need not be alarmed if I attempt to summarise this paper, for its author commenced by explaining that, as he had not made any spiritualist experiments for ten years, he had absolutely nothing to say as to Spiritualism itself. He wanted simply to urge that no one could be a true Spiritualist if he did not strive "to raise the bulk of our people out of that terrible slough of destitution, grinding life-long labour for bare subsistence, and shortened lives, uncheered by any of those refinements of art or enjoyment of nature which are essential to the development of that which is best in humanity." This opening declaration, Socialists will acknowledge, is not a bad beginning. He then went on to show that, whereas formerly, salvation was supposed to depend upon fidelity to dogmatic beliefs and ceremonial religious observances, even non-Spiritualists now recognised a moral continuity, and believe that future life will be a continuation of the present life under new conditions, and that its happiness or misery will depend on how we have developed, while on earth, all that is best in our natures.

The old religions teach us that the soul can be saved by a change of belief, that the body is nothing, happiness nothing, pleasure, more often than otherwise, a sin, etc. The new theory is that as the body develops it to some extent saves the soul. Disease, pain, all that shortens and impoverishes life, injures the soul as well as the body. "Not only is a healthy body necessary for a sound mind, but equally so for a fully developed soul. . . . Inasmuch as we have fully utilised and developed all our faculties—bodily, mental, and spiritual—and have done all in our



power to aid others in a similar development, so have we prepared future well-being for ourselves and for them ! ”

Now, if this be the ethical basis of Spiritualism, ought not Spiritualists to be Socialists ? Dr. Alfred R. Wallace does not hesitate to answer in the affirmative, and this surely is a fact worth noting : — “ We Spiritualists must feel ourselves bound to work strenuously for such improved social conditions as may render it possible for *all* to live a full and happy life. . . . that *we* should send to the spirit world, day by day and year by year, millions of men and women, of children, and of infants, all sent there before their time, through want of the necessary means of a healthy life, or by various diseases and accidents forced upon them by the vile conditions under which alone we give them the opportunity of living at all — this is a disgrace and a crime ! ”

But it is said this grievance has always been recognised, and there is charity to relieve distress. Dr. Wallace, while acknowledging that charity has never been so bountiful as at the present time, declares it is and will ever remain an absolute and complete failure. Therefore he has come to believe that “ some form of Socialism is the only complete remedy for this state of things.” He then proceeds to approve of the principles of equality of opportunity, which, however, he places on a much broader basis than is generally admitted. Such equality of opportunity cannot, he urges, be established if we maintain inequality of inheritance, and, “ to give equality of inheritance, the State — that is, the community — must be the universal inheritor of all wealth.” This, it is maintained, would benefit not merely the poor, but more especially the wealthy, “ for it is admitted that nothing has so demoralising an effect on the young as the certainty of inheriting great wealth, and examples of this come before us every year and almost every month.” As for the virtues of individualism, which, it is said, Socialism would destroy, “ our present state of society is *not* true individualism, because the inequalities of opportunity in early life are so great that often the worse are forced up to the top, while many of the best struggle throughout life without a chance of using their highest faculties or developing the best part of their natures. Dr. Wallace concluded that without absolute equality of opportunity there could be no justice, and urged that the watchword of the Spiritualists should be “ not charity only, but justice.”

Now, what is more remarkable than this speech, for many of us have long known that we could rely on the sympathies of Dr. Alfred R. Wallace, is the fact that it elicited unanimous applause. Indeed, Mrs. Richmond, on behalf of the American delegates attending the Congress, accepted the address “ in its entirety.” “ I feel sure,” she added, “ that not one American Spiritualist worthy of the name — indeed, no Spiritualist anywhere — can disagree with the spirit and essential letter of Dr. Wallace’s address.” Then Mr. E. W. Wallis, as president of the National Federation of British Spiritualists, “ warmly welcomed and supported the views propounded in the address. Especially in the north of England it would make

their brethren's hearts leap with joy." Others spoke in the same sense, and no one raised a word of protest. Here, then, are the Spiritualists pledged to the principle of the abolition of the right of private inheritance, the community, represented by the State, being alone empowered to inherit all wealth. Now, the Spiritualists are not like the Socialists—mainly necessitous persons, having to work hard for their living. It was only necessary to note the elegant toilettes, the diamonds and other jewellery displayed at the Congress, to realise that many of them are possessed of considerable wealth. On the other hand, I should like to ask them where in the British Islands they can find an association that has done more for the spread of Socialism than the Social-Democratic Federation? If, then, they are sincere in their Socialism, why do they not help us? There are, certainly, in our ranks many Socialists who are very sceptical about the phenomena Spiritualists say they can produce. Many of us do not believe in spirit materialisations. But if the spirit of Socialism which, we are now so authoritatively told, animates the Spiritualists would materialise itself into the form of a few cheques for our propaganda fund, the rankest atheist and materialist among us would gratefully acknowledge the *bona fide* character of the phenomenon. Indeed, as the matter stands even now, we are well aware that for many years Spiritualists have helped us not only with money but, what is far more valuable, by joining our ranks, and, as active members of the Social-Democratic Federation, have done their share of good work. But, by the side of these few who have thus carried their principles into action, how many among those who applauded Dr. Wallace's speech have really rendered any practical service to the Socialist cause? Perhaps they do not like the Social-Democratic Federation; but in what other direction have they helped forward the Socialism they profess. It is to be hoped, however, that Dr. Wallace has now succeeded in stirring the Spiritualists to action, and that they will occasionally leave the spirit sphere and descend on this mortal plane, where material aid is so much needed to cure material ills.

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#### HOW SPIRITUALISM MAY HARM SOCIALISM.

Having dealt at some length with the unanimous approval of Socialist principles expressed by the International Congress of Spiritualists, I would now add a few words on Spiritualism itself. Not that I wish to discuss whether Spiritualism be true or not, but I want to point out in what practical manner it may affect the Socialist movement. First of all let me say that, as being one of the scientific subjects of the day, I have studied psychic phenomena, have followed some clinics on hypnotism, and made several experiments. As a result of these investigations, I have come to the conclusion that the persons who are in a trance, the mediums, as Spiritualists call them, are generally greatly under the influence of those by whom they are surrounded. Thus in my recent journey through Spain, I ascertained that there was a strong Spiritualist party in Spain; or rather, I should say,

a Spiritist Party. The word Spiritualist is a misnomer, and is not employed in the same sense in the French language, though the same word exists. In French, a Spiritualist is a person who believes that human beings possess something over and above their material bodies which will continue to exist when the body is no more. This is the teaching of the creeds, and anybody who believes in the soul and in after-life is a Spiritualist. We, however, in England, generally attribute this term to those whom the French call Spiritists. The latter are also Spiritualists, but they further believe, not only in the existence of spirits or souls, but in the possibility of entering into communication with these spirits, of talking to them, sometimes even of seeing them. To prevent confusion, I will do what many speakers did at the Spiritualist Congress, adopt the term Spiritist. I was saying, therefore, that there are many Spiritists in Spain; but as Spain is essentially a Catholic and clerical country, I found that, at their seances, the mediums answered questions and made declarations, that tended to confirm the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church. In England, on the contrary, many Spiritists are very broad in their ideas, in fact, some are absolute Agnostics. The English mediums, therefore, do not confirm the tenets of the Roman Church. Indeed, I have met one English medium who was supposed to be controlled by the spirit of Spurgeon, and forthwith proceeded to express his regret for having taught on earth what, in his spirit life, he had ascertained to be false doctrines. As the persons who held this seance were Freethinkers, they were correspondingly edified and delighted.

What, however, is far more conclusive than the above fact, is the evidence given at the Spiritualist Congress itself. Here it was found that all the Continental delegates proclaimed their belief in the doctrine of re-incarnation. The mediums on the Continent, when consulted, give evidence in favour of this doctrine. On the other hand, the doctrine is not accepted by the majority of British and American Spiritists, and the evidence of their mediums tends to confirm them in their disbelief. One American delegate declared that she had consulted the statements of three thousand mediums, believed to be speaking on behalf of the spirits of the dead, and only one out of them all said something that might be construed as implying the possibility of re-incarnation. On the other hand, all the British and American Theosophists believe in re-incarnation, and they also are supposed to know how to consult the spirits of the dead. To the profane outsider this conflict of evidence is, it must be confessed, somewhat perplexing.

On the other hand, cutting in between these two schools, we have the Occultists, especially those of the Martinist Order. They are Spiritualists and to some extent Spiritists; but their leader, Dr. Encausse, declared that nearly all the supposed spirit manifestations were consciously or unconsciously produced by living human beings, or by forces other than that of the spirits of the dead. This brings me to the practical point that interests the Socialist Party. From what I have said, it would seem that, when a medium is in a trance, he unconsciously becomes the mouthpiece of his audience. His trance-like condition makes him highly susceptible to thought transference;

he says he is controlled by a spirit because those who are around him think he is so controlled ; he says things in favour of the Roman Catholic Church because those who are around him believe in that church ; he confirms or condemns the theory of re-incarnation according to whether the séance is attended by Continental or English Spiritists. Therefore, and without denying the possibility, on very rare occasions, of a genuine spirit manifestation, Dr. Encausse urged that the most elaborate precautions and lengthy technical training were indispensable before we could be sure as to what was the influence at work and the real cause of the phenomenon.

Now, as we have Spiritists in the ranks of the Socialist Party, it seems to me of great practical importance to point out that much mischief may accrue if these comrades too hastily conclude that they can obtain valuable information from the spirits of the departed. For instance, according to the *Daily News*, Commandant Paty de Clam is a Spiritist, and he consulted a medium with regard to the Dreyfus affair. But if M. Paty de Clam is a strong-willed man and absolutely convinced of the guilt of Dreyfus, what else could a sensitive medium in a trance do but read these thoughts and confirm these suspicions? If a Socialist who entertains doubts about the conduct of a comrade were likewise to consult a medium, what guarantee has he that the answer he obtains is not simply an echo of his own thoughts? If the Spiritist believes the medium is controlled by the spirit of a dead person, the medium will very probably say that such is the case, and will perhaps give the name and some details about the dead person, though the name and the details were not mentioned ; but, consciously or unconsciously, the consultant thought of them. It is no use quoting the arguments of a non-believer when speaking to a Spiritist ; but Dr. Encausse (better known by his *nom de plume*—"Papus") is a believer and one of the greatest living authorities on the subject. In his paper read at the Spiritualist Congress, and published in *Light* of July 2nd, occurs the following passage :—"While the occultist admits the entire possibility of communication with spirits, he restricts the real facts of such communication to certain clearly-determined cases, and refers to magnetism ; to reading, on the part of consultants, in the *astral aura* ; and finally, to the action of the individual and collective entities of the astral, all those naive or ridiculous messages signed by great names of history, and all those sentimental instructions which offer nothing that is new." Occultists have been accused of denying the existence of spirits, but Dr. Encausse says :—"The truth is entirely otherwise : far from denying the reality of spiritual beings, occultism admits, on the contrary, a host of categories of existences of this kind, and thence comes the impossibility of being an occultist without having a knowledge of Spiritism ; whilst the sole acquaintance possessed by many Spiritists consists of erroneous or fantastic notions. It is the same with mediums, whom we regard as exceedingly feeble instruments, as much open to the action of the sitters as to that of invisible beings of any class. Fraud among mediums is frequent ; but on most occasions they are irresponsible, for they act under the impulsion of outside forces."

From these statements it will be seen that the Spiritist who is a Socialist must be very careful not to come to hasty conclusions. I need hardly add that I should not have written all this if, from private information received of what has occurred within the ranks of the S.D.F. it had not been rendered evident that the time has arrived when some such advice is needed. But, while thus preaching prudence, I do not mean that these subjects are to be put aside altogether. They are, I know, carefully studied by our political adversaries; and, if there is anything in them, why should we not also have that something? For instance, in *Light* of June 25, will be found a long paper read by Dr. George von Langsdorff, of Freiburg, Baden, in which he described how his son had served as a medium to the last three Czars of Russia; that, while in a trance, he had revealed Nihilist plots which the police had been utterly unable to detect. Minute details are given, names and addresses mentioned. If these facts are true, the Czars were quite right in placing great confidence in this medium. But I have a greater reverence for the spirits of the dead than to believe that they would lend themselves to do the dirty work of the Russian police. If there is anything in it, there must be some truth in clairvoyance; and the medium in question, instead of speaking on behalf of the spirits of the dead, was probably and simply a clairvoyant. In any case, if, as is here publicly asserted, the Czars successfully employed clairvoyant detectives, it is a pity the Nihilists were not able to organise a counter-police of clairvoyant revolutionists. In their report of the Congress, the French delegates, alluding to this mediumistic detective, says:—"If the occultists had to judge this case they would doubtless see in it a clear instance of possession by the *larvæ* of executed persons." Paracelsus insists with great force on the potentialities of the *larvæ* of executed persons; and, if these theories could be proved, they would constitute a very strong argument against capital punishment. But the occultists, from Paracelsus back to the Chaldeans and down to the present day, constantly warn adepts that the practice of black magic, though occasionally successful, ultimately recoils upon the necromancer. To place clairvoyant faculties at the service of the Russian police may well be qualified as black magic, and the magician in question is now confined in an asylum and hopelessly mad. If this medium was inspired by the *larvæ* of fellow police spies and others executed by the Nihilists, it is a pity there was not a Nihilist medium capable of receiving inspiration from the *larvæ* of the Nihilists, who, in far greater numbers, and under circumstances much less justifiable, had been executed by order of the Czar. If it be true that our enemies practice black magic against us, I would suggest that the Spiritists in our ranks would be better employed in studying how to practice white magic against them.

In the meantime, I would urge that our enemies know very much more about this matter than we do, and if we are not on our guard may produce considerable mischief. For instance, some Socialists hold a séance. They have a good sensitive, who goes off into a condition of hypnosis, or trance. There is a traitor in their midst, and by sheer force of



thought transference, without uttering a word aloud, the traitor makes the sensitive declare that he is controlled by a spirit, that this is the spirit of a good Socialist, who has come to inform his friends that one of their best and most trusted leaders is at heart only a self-seeker, ready to sell out at the first profitable occasion. The Spiritists present are shocked, but convinced, and act accordingly. Quarrels and troubles ensue. But it is not even necessary that a traitor should be present to produce this mischief. All who attend the séance may be animated by the most honourable sentiments, and still the denunciation is made. It suffices that one person present should secretly, and from no dishonourable motive, entertain doubts about the leader in question. The atmosphere of suspicion thus created, though quite imperceptible to persons in their normal condition, is seen or felt by the sensitive. The medium or sensitive, utterly irresponsible for his actions because he is in a state of trance, expresses what he has seen or felt. The suspicious comrade is startled to find his suspicions thus confirmed. What was a matter of doubt to him now becomes a strong conviction. He is throughout quite honest in the matter, and so also is the medium. The trouble is that both have been playing with fire without knowing that it is apt to burn. Thus totally false impressions may be produced under the supposed high sanction of spirits. Of course, unlimited harm might result from this sort of thing, and having myself witnessed phenomena of this description, my comrades may perhaps agree that it is time I should speak out. I do not believe that as yet much harm has been done in this direction, but what I have written is not all based on imagination. Something of the sort has occurred within our ranks, though, fortunately, it related to matters of minor importance; still, it was sufficiently serious to, I believe, justify a word of warning.

A. S. HEADINGLEY.

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## OUR POLICY.

I HAVE followed carefully the discussions as to which is the best line of political action for us Socialists to adopt, and I must say that, to my mind, they have all appeared to be, more or less, unsatisfactory. As a Socialist, and one who has the good of the cause very much at heart, I would like to sketch in outline a policy which I think would be productive of the best results in the shortest time.

Next to One Party, a federation of the various groups, and a common understanding and agreement as to a general plan of campaign is a vital necessity. I have heard the various groups of British Socialists, the Social-Democratic Federation, the Independent Labour Party, the Fabians, the Christian Socialist Union, and the Christian Socialist League, likened to the various divisions of an army, each of which works in its own sphere of action in its own way. This may be so. But the divisions of an army must work *together*, in accordance with a pre-arranged plan of campaign. And they *must not turn their weapons against each other*. There is an *esprit de corps*, certainly, in each regiment or division; and so there should be so long as it is not carried to the lengths of sectarian bigotry, leading to internal strife, which will end in the demoralisation of any army, the army of Socialism sooner than any.

The *Clarion*, a short time ago, said that it is not enough to *get recruits*; those recruits must be drilled into an army, and the army must be trained how to fight. Quite so. Now, we have got recruits from many different classes, grades, and sections of the community. We have got men and women, whom we can variously liken to scouts, skirmishers, and members of battalions. We have got the complement of a first-rate army. A small army, it is true, but a most effective one, if properly led, seeing that it is fired with an enthusiasm similar to the zeal of Cromwell's Puritans, without their dour religiosity. But it is not thoroughly organised, and our generals are disagreeing as to what the plan of campaign should be. Meantime, the enemy is gradually strengthening his position. Until some definite plan is settled upon, it is no use settling down to serious work. Guerilla warfare of a more or less unsatisfactory kind, ending generally in discomfiture and discouragement, is all we are capable of.

Now, we Socialists know exactly what we want, and we all want one thing, and we are all united upon it. We want nothing less than Socialism pure and simple. But how to get it is the question. Before an army can fight a battle with any chances of success it is necessary that the generals shall know the nature of the obstacles to be surmounted, and the disposition and force of the enemy. The greatest obstacles that we have to overcome are the ignorance, apathy, and stupidity of the people at large.

Our enemy is a powerful one, consisting, as it does, of the landed aristocracy, the moneyed capitalists, and office holders, backed by an army

of toadies, snobs, and self-seeking flunkeys, and defended by a powerful and unscrupulous press. Their vested interests they will defend at all costs, by *all* methods, legal or illegal, fair or unfair. They will oppose us by open fight, and equally readily by underhanded treachery.

It is necessary, therefore, to guard ourselves against treachery, against the entry into our ranks of those pledged to split us up, and render us impotent by fomenting internal quarrels and strife. And there is reason to believe that we may have suffered from this already, even as the Radicals have all along suffered from it.

The first thing to ensure is efficient, organised, educative propaganda work in the way of lectures, distribution of literature, &c. In this sort of work the Fabian Society has rendered invaluable service, and I am sorry to say the bigotry of some of our comrades, who ought to know better, leads them to speak of the Fabian Society and its methods in a manner unworthy. They should remember that the Fabians can, and do, penetrate into quarters where the average S.D.F. or I.L.P. man would be unable to get a hearing. To introduce Socialism effectively in many quarters requires a good deal of tact, and the practice of much opportunism.

I am surprised at comrades sneering at what they call "miserable opportunism." And yet, I believe, if they wished to make a breach in a stone wall, they would not butt at it with their heads. Fancy a commander dispensing with all kinds of tactics and strategy on the ground that they involved "miserable opportunism"! How long would he hold the field against an enemy that used not only fair strategy, but all kinds of despicable treachery?

We have to do with such an enemy, and he must be fought with his own weapons, all *but* treachery and falsehood.

The Clarion Cycling Club and the Vans have done much good. We ought to see that there are more of them. As for the Christian Socialist Union and the Christian Socialist League, these work in their peculiar spheres, and the good they do is great.

The work of *educating* the people, classes as well as masses, ought to go on, in season and out of season, and all the time. Each individual Socialist ought to make it a point of duty to convert yearly at least one person to Socialism. But unless he (or she) can get that person to *read and think*, the trouble may as well be saved. A man who does not read is ignorant, and the man who is ignorant is a slave. We want no slaves in the army of Socialism. So much for the skirmishers and the scouts. I will now pass on to the regiments, the organised branches of the S.D.F. and I.L.P. I may remark, in passing, that the Fabian or Christian Socialist who is not attached to any of these should always do his best to render them assistance to the extent of his ability, as they ought, also, to play into each other's hands.

In places where there are such branches the great question, naturally, is what plan of action shall we adopt in politics? How shall we deal with the two orthodox political parties?

This appears to be a vexed question, though I cannot see why it should be so. We know what attitude to take up in relation to the Tories—one of unconditional hostility, for they are our opponents by their every tradition and principle. The question of the Liberal Party, then, is the rock upon which we split. Some advocate support, some abstention from voting, and some, even, active hostility for the Liberal Party.

Now, who are right? Those who would support the Liberals, those who would merely withhold their votes, or those who would actually go to the length of voting for the Tories in preference? I say they are *all* right!—within reasonable bounds. I must make it understood that I am no friend of the Liberal Party *per se*; I am quite aware that the official Liberals are only friendly towards us in so far as they expect, or hope, to be able to gain our support. Apart from that they are as much our opponents as the Tories.

Now, were we Socialists strong enough to fight for our own hand against all comers, or were the people of England sufficiently enlightened to be able to recognise the necessity, or appreciate the utility of a third party, such as ours, which bases itself upon social and economic principles, I should say “hands off” to the Liberal in every case. But this is not so, and every Socialist knows it.

Toryism is the product of stupidity, or selfishness, or, more generally, of ignorance. But where we find Liberalism, or, better still, Radicalism, especially in a working man, there we may, naturally, expect to find intelligence and something of enlightenment, and, probably, good ground wherein to sow the seed of Socialism. To the Radical-Democrats we look for most of our recruits. Shall we adopt a course of action that will entirely alienate them from us? Comrade Hyndman advocates the persistent voting of the Socialists for the Tories in every election. What object would be gained by such a policy? The amused contempt of the Tories themselves, and the bitter hatred and opposition of the Liberals and Radicals, and the hopeless alienation of tens of thousands who would have been our friends, and whom we should otherwise have won over to our cause eventually. We have been abused pretty freely as it is, but do not let us earn, and deserve, the name of “political dogs in the manger.”

If such a policy should be generally adopted, we may look for the speedy extinction of the Socialists *as a party*. Do any of our comrades really think it is possible for us to smash the Liberal Party? If so, then Don Quixote has left descendants. I am no admirer of Liberalism, and am quite aware that the various popular Acts passed by them, as well as by the Tories, have been, many of them, in the nature of grudging concessions, merely sops to Cerberus, as it were, or vote catchers. But we want some more “sops,” and since, at present, we are unable to go and *take* them, it would seem the best policy to *demand* them. And there is but one answer to the question, Which party is usually the most ready to yield to such demands?

We are a long way yet from the Co-operative Commonwealth, but we are much nearer to it than we were thirty years ago. And this approach is

due to the fact that the Liberals, more than the Tories, have yielded to democratic pressure. We must keep this pressure up. This should be our policy. I do not advocate any sort of alliance between ourselves and the Liberals. The very nature of our aims and ideals forbids that. But I do advocate an armed truce.

We Socialists cannot get into Parliament on our own ticket, as yet. It is no use disguising the fact that we are not popular, because we are not understood. So we must act accordingly. The Liberal Party, I know, contains many men who are in it simply to see that it "does not become too radically democratic," as one such gentleman once remarked in my presence. There are many men who are in the Liberal Party merely to look after their own interests, and to see that they are not affected in any way, if they can help it, by any advanced measures that might be directed against themselves.

Yet there are many more I know who are sincere in their efforts for the welfare of the people. Should it not rather be our policy to support these latter, and, as far as possible, fill the Liberal Party with men who will revolutionise it, and force the hands of the leaders for more and more advanced measures? Even if we Socialists could gain a fair number of seats in Parliament we could not establish the Co-operative Commonwealth off hand. We have still got a very wide brook to cross. The Liberals have laid most of the stepping stones for us, so far. We ought to see to it that they lay some more. They would be compelled to yield to our demands. And the Tory Party would be forced to give way more and more, in order not to fall out of popular favour.

I suggest that a general line of political action should be agreed upon by all sections of Socialists, and that it should be somewhat as follows:

(These observations refer to all elections, parliamentary or local.)

1. In a constituency where there is reasonable hope of a candidate being elected on a plain Socialist ticket, let him contest it, against either Tory or Liberal.

2. In a constituency where there is no such hope, but where the Socialists form a respectable minority, ascertain whether the Liberals will advance a candidate or not; if not, then let a Socialist stand, looking to *both* Socialists and Radicals for support.

3. In a constituency where there is but a small number of Socialists, and where it is doubtful whether the Liberal voters are sufficiently enlightened to support a Socialist, as such, if the Liberals do not put forward a candidate let a Socialist contest as a Radical, on the understanding that he shall vote with the Socialists in Parliament.

4. In a constituency where the Liberals advance a candidate who is known to be a true democrat, with the welfare of the people at heart, support him.

5. In a constituency where the Liberals advance a candidate who is a landowner or capitalist, whom, it is well known, is only standing to support his own interests, and the interests of his class, refrain from voting.

6. If, in spite of an assurance that has led to the adoption of "2," the



Liberals advance a candidate at the last moment, throw the whole Socialist vote, in that division or district, on the side of the Conservative.

7. On no account let any section of the Socialist Party give countenance to, or support, any candidate in any election calling himself an "independent" Labour candidate, not being a member of any recognised Socialist or Radical association.

Now, supposing these Seven Articles of Political Policy—let us call them—were adopted by all branches of Socialists in Great Britain. We should find that, as a consequence of Articles 3 and 4, a kindly sympathy would be aroused on the part of an immense number of those who now call themselves Radical-Democrats, and that we should be able to act on Article 1 more and more as every fresh election came round.

Backward constituencies would soon come up to the grade of Article 2

As for Article 3, its practical utility has been demonstrated by the fact that the only Socialist now in Parliament, William Steadman, gained his election in that manner. And it is a matter for regret that he has no colleagues there. As for the insinuations made against him, that he is a mere "hanger-on" of Liberalism, that he will be, if he is not already, "nobbled" by the official Liberals, and so forth, I am ashamed that such paltry aspersions should have been cast by Socialists against a comrade simply because he has been successful where they have not, by means of methods they have not seen fit to adopt themselves.

Take another instance. J. Bruce Wallace, as good a Socialist as any in the movement, contested the division in which I live in the same manner, and, although he was not elected—this being a backward country constituency—he created a friendly feeling towards himself that will go a long way to ensuring success should he contest it again.

The success of the Fabians who ran as Progressives in the London County Council election is another case in point.

As for Article 4, we should use every effort to ensure Liberal candidates being of this kind wherever they advance one, and if they knew that Article 5 would be acted upon in every other case, or even, on occasion, stretched as far as 6, there would not be any fear of such insults being offered to the democracy as there were at York and elsewhere. An application of Article 6 once or twice would more than convince the Liberal Party that, when all is said and done, the Socialists are not their hangers-on to be trifled with, but are a distinct party.

Article 7 requires no remarks.

I believe that, were such a policy as this adopted, we Socialists would become at once respected, and, before very long, powerful, and that the success of Socialism in England would be assured.

JOHN E. ELLAM.

## **THE OPENING UP OF CHINA AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.**

THE recent events in China have stimulated discussion of all kinds on the effect which the opening up of that country will have on the European economical and labour question. It appears that the complete opening up of the country to the world's commerce cannot even be postponed for any considerable time. One port after another is stipulated to be free for commerce, and now the Chinese railway from Tientsin to Peking has proved successful beyond expectation, there will soon follow further lines connecting the interior of the country with all the more important ports. Russia, who is always advancing her railway constructions on the north, will in a few years have a railway to Port Arthur. From Burmah there is England, who will carry her lines into Yunnan; from Tonking France will penetrate into Kwangsi, and also Germany is obliged to construct railways in Shantung if she will not give up the use of her "rented" domain.

The whole movement is, above all, directed to the advancement of the European industry of the Eastern market. The densely populated old Chinese Empire can, in comparison with Japan, still take in immense quantities of European merchandise and American commodities, and here there presents itself for the European merchandise market, which suffers from a plethora of goods, a new opening to relieve the congestion of its market. It applies especially to the metal, textile, and chemical industries which for the most part, exist for export. The process of sucking up the small enterprises by large syndicates would be in those branches even more accelerated, and the increase of a great industrial working class strengthened. The immediate opening up of the whole Chinese territory is therefore one of interest to the working classes because it aids the advancement of the general industrial development of Western Europe; and the carrying over of the private capitalistic production into the collectivist state, which presupposes concentration of the means of production.

But the more China's opening up creates room for the European industrial market, the more surely will it draw the capitalistic era to its doom. China itself will develop its own industries, just as India and Japan are developing theirs.

China possesses no less than Japan the necessary human material for the introduction of the great mechanical industries. The wages and standard of life of the inferior classes of China are lower than those of Japan, and there is also no want of the necessary capital among the rich Chinese merchants of the commercial cities, and should the home capital fail to speculate in industrial enterprises European capital is ready to exploit the country on the first opportunity of making good profits.

But it must not be too hastily assumed that China will straightway, pell-mell, run headlong into the capitalistic whirlpool. Old forms of production, thousands of years old, cannot be thrown over in a day. The transition from the petty form of production to the great mechanical industries will be attained in China, as it was in Japan and India, by the absorption of

present imported articles, such as cotton and wool, as well as of the cheap silk stuffs made for export. For the smaller articles and fancy products made for export, such as the straw and mats' hurdle work, the lace, paper, and fancy articles will doubtless be revolutionised by the small European tool-machinery, especially if the articles made are more adapted to European tastes. The Japanese exports of manufactured articles have already increased by taking into consideration European tastes, although conserving certain Oriental peculiarities. The richly-coloured Japanese carpets, which a few years ago flooded both the English and German markets, are, for instance, almost exclusively prepared for export according to English and French patterns.

If China later on enters into the arena of capitalistic industrial undertakings, then there will be taken away from European industry, not only the Chinese markets, on which Europe seems so much to count, but also the markets which are already in her possession—namely, those in Lower India and the Indian Archipelago, perhaps also that of Polynesia. Already Indian and Japanese industries are competing with the European in China and Singapore. For some articles, as, for instance, cotton-yarn and matches, she has almost totally excluded the European import. While the direct English imports into China (besides the imports through Hong Kong) have increased during the ten years of 1887-1896 about 74 per cent. (from 25,666,477 haik-tael to 44,571,387), the direct Japanese import (*i.e.*, besides the new imports through Formosa) has increased 105 per cent. (from 5,565,305 to 11,568,671 haik-tael, and the Indian imports were about 316 per cent. (from 5,537,375 to 23,027,056 haik-tael).

What the end will be to this increasing competition of the Indian and Japanese industries we can only surmise. In the last couple of years China has risen rapidly as a competitor in the world's market, and the next ten years will bring us still other surprises. When capital has obtained a strong foothold in the Chinese Empire, we may expect crises on the European market which will surpass any seen this century. It may possibly lead to the total collapse of English industry. England will not be able to return to ancient petty industrial forms, and there will be only the alternative left of accepting the Socialistic proposal of Collectivism.

There are many prophetic spirits who see the possibility of a Socialist Labour Party in China, which will work hand in hand with the brethren of Western Europe to free the way to Socialism. The Chinese labour conditions, it must be borne in mind, cannot be judged after our own. The Western European Socialism is not an effect of a short period of capitalist production. It is the outcome of a long historical development of economic and social conditions. The Western European proletariat stand on quite a different footing to that of their Chinese brethren. Capitalism broke up in Europe a comparatively well-to-do peasantry and artisan class. Although they became a propertyless class, yet they still inherited the desire for a high standard of comfort. In China, the capitalist method of production finds a degraded proletariat already made, in consequence of the destruction of the old form of land property, and of the constant increase of the population. Already their social and economic conditions have reduced them to a state

of fatalistic contentment. The German, French, and English workers could not exist at their low standard of living. To these great masses of human working machines, penned up as they are in the larger cities, the capitalist industry does not bring degradation, or offend their sense of self-consciousness or dignity. They can accommodate themselves to the new labour conditions, and eventually even prefer them to their former life.

The heedlessness of the Chinese worker to European civilisation, which allows him to save treasures even where the European worker would starve, makes of him a terrible competitor not only to the European, but also to the Malayan worker. In the Philippines, where the Spanish authorities have proceeded against them with the utmost cruelty, the pig-tailed sons of the Heavenly Empire have by degrees—partly imported by the capitalists, partly by their own desire—spread, as well as over the whole of Lower India, the Malayan Archipelago, Polynesia, close to Australia, America and the African Capeland. And wherever they have settled they have materially and morally degraded the native population, and brought in leprosy and syphilis—a curse on the land which accorded them hospitality.

If in America and Australia the governments have seen themselves obliged, notwithstanding the powerful influence of the monopolists, to forbid the immigration of the Chinese—although the land there is thinly populated and in many parts in want of hands—then the European Governments will not be allowed, without strong protest, to import Chinese labour to supplant the white man.

Chinese immigration to Germany and England has often been threatened by the capitalists of both countries. In Germany it was favoured by the agrarian party, and in the plantations of the Junda Isles the experiment of replacing the native workers by the Chinese coolies has already been attempted. But any attempt to introduce Chinese labour in either country would probably meet with a storm of opposition which would not be distinguished from revolution. In Great Britain the prejudice is so deep-rooted against foreigners that the anger of the people would be easily excited against Chinese “blackleg” labour, and it is probable that even the soldiery would side with the civilians in any struggle against the yellow man. But it is hardly necessary to anticipate the result of Chinese immigration. Capital, like other forces, moves on the lines of least resistance. It will be found to be much cheaper to exploit the Chinaman in his native land, where his wants are comparatively simple, than to bring him over here, where his needs will be continually impelling him to demand higher wages.

Undoubtedly the opening up of China will be far-reaching in its effects. As soon as China has changed her economic forms of production, she cannot but go forward. The effect of her development on Europe will be the destruction of her staple industries, and the present system of commercialism will stand condemned in the eyes of the people. Competition, in which the yellow man has triumphed, will no longer charm the selfish individualism of the Teutons and Anglo-Saxons, and a new era will arise which, in conformity with capitalist economic development, must be in a co-operative and collectivist direction.—*Freely translated from the VORWAERTS.*

## NEW YORK SLUMS.

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My studies have been made almost entirely on the East side, between Fourteenth and Bayard streets, Elizabeth Street and East River. This section of the City, notorious for its overcrowded condition, contains representatives from all over the world. Indeed, in this region, in half an hour's walk, one will find signs in the Hebrew, Greek, German, Russian, Hungarian, and Italian languages more frequently than in the English, and in some parts of this district one may spend a day and not hear one word of English—a section containing very ignorant and very poor people, many sweatshops, many beer saloons, many "Raines law hotels." Each nationality is as distinct as in its own native home over the sea. Each requires to be studied entirely apart from the others. The greatest problem which presents itself is how to make this most interesting mass of humanity good American citizens, with a strong civic patriotism. That they can become good Americans I have not the shadow of a doubt.

How do these people exist, and under what circumstances? What is their daily life? The most important item in their life is work, skilled or unskilled, regular or irregular. As to the expenses of an ordinary family (among the families treated at their homes for a variety of diseases in 1891), we found that the average income was 5.99 dols. per week (this never steady), the average rent 8.62 dols. per month, and the average family to be supported to consist of four. In 1897 I found the average income (still irregular) to be 5.23 dols. per week, and the average rent 9.75 dols. per month. The rent, therefore, is the largest single expenditure.

Food comes next. The amount expended is very uncertain, and an estimate is very difficult to secure. The people do not keep any accounts and cannot tell themselves. I cannot state with any degree of precision the amount of money expended for food. It has been variously stated at from 9 to 11 cents per day, but it is almost impossible accurately to estimate this. I have known families who for weeks have existed on an expenditure of 5 cents per day for food. The amount and character of the food varies with the nationality and the amount of total income. Women, among the Hebrews, tell me that they can give a morning and evening meal, the latter consisting of soup, bread, coffee, and a vegetable, for 3 dols. per month per person, and make money.

Clothing is an item of much less importance in the cost of living than is food. A woman can buy an entire new suit of clothing, from hat to shoes, for 5 dols. Many never wear a new pair of shoes, but buy second-hand shoes, which, for a woman, not infrequently will last three or four months. As with food, it is almost impossible to ascertain with any degree of accuracy the amount of money expended for clothing. It has been estimated at about 10 dols. per annum for each adult. But I think that it frequently falls far short of this amount.

Another item of expense, especially among the Germans and Irish, is the insurance money. Every person in the family over one year is insured against death. Five cents per week is paid for the children, and 10 cents for the adults. Thus from 50 to 60 cents per week is expended for this purpose. Among the Jews there are societies which insure not only against death, but against sickness. They usually include only the men in the



family, rarely the wife, and never the children. The dues range from 1 dol. a month upward. The other nationalities turn to the City for help to bury their dead.

While for 1897 I found the actual income to be 5.23 dols. if all working members, not including women and children, were steadily at work, the possible income would be 13.42 dols. per week. The average number of persons to be supported in each family was 5.6; the average in each family under fourteen years, 2.7. It will plainly be seen that if these families had steady work, the problem of the poor would not be as great. For the past five years I have taken statistics of 12,519 wage-earners connected with families who have applied to the New York Infirmary for Women and Children for free medical treatment at their homes. Of the 12,519 persons, 2,830 worked regularly throughout the year, or with only an occasional idle week. Of these, 1,564 were skilled workers. The normal condition of this class is very good. The position of the unskilled labourer is most serious. It is he who is most frequently idle, and often through no fault of his own. Each labourer believes that fifty men are ready to take his place if he falls out.

The first and perhaps greatest evil which directly follows is that this uncertainty of keeping "a steady job" forces the women and children to work. If there are children old enough to work, they begin before the women do. For the past five years I have found, by our statistics, that in three-fourths of the families visited the women assist in the support of the family by working for money. This number does not include those who take boarders. Sewing in some form is the principal occupation. We have found that one-sixth of the families had incomes increased by the work of children under fourteen years of age; while, in a little less than one-third of the families, persons between fourteen and eighteen years were working. The children work in stores, run errands, sell newspapers, peddle, and wherever a woman is working at home the child helps at that work. Among the Italians, all the buttons are sewed on the trousers by children. Both boys and girls of five and six years can do this work as well as their elders. If this meant only an hour or two after school, no harm would be done; but when the time is extended, at times indefinitely, and the children not allowed to attend school, or play in the open air even of the streets, their health suffers, and they are denied their right to an education.

Overcrowding is a direct result of the small or irregular earnings of the man. When the rent for one month exceeds the average weekly earnings the family is forced to other measures to pay the rent. Thus, one of two things is done—either they take lodgers or boarders, or two or more families occupy an apartment intended for one family. But even when neither lodgers, boarders, or two families are found, the overcrowding is a serious question. Among 726 families, 505 lived in two rooms only, 41 families in one room, and 144 families had three rooms. One can hardly realise what this means for a family unless a night visit is made. Last year I found 3,472 persons occupying 1,892 rooms; in 1896, 5,072 in 2,703 rooms. This week, in a similar apartment, where men, women, and children were finishing trousers, we found three families—one lived in the bedroom, one in the kitchen, and the other in the front room. A fourth family came to join the family in the front room on the last day of my visits to the child sick with diphtheria. Such cases are more numerous than the average citizen would think possible.

What can be done? I know of no way to increase the man's wages when all that he can sell his labour for is 1.25 dols. to 2 dols. per day. Some think that if the women and children would not work, the wages would go up. Very likely; but what man would sit two hours and finish a pair of trousers for 2 cents? If there is a demand for only a certain number of men to work, only that number can be employed. Women and children do not compete with the day labourer; they do compete with them in the sweatshop, but there they are much more apt to receive equal pay for equal work. The strict enforcement of the factory law, compulsory education for children under fourteen years, the extension of the mercantile law to all children who work for money, and its strict enforcement to the letter, would obliterate tenement-house work and child labour and would force those women who must add to the support of the family—and there are many—into factories, where their hours could be more easily regulated. It is obvious that a woman cannot work from 2 or 3 a.m. until 11 p.m. without injury to her health. Neither can she attend properly to her household duties.

What can be done by the municipality towards providing better living accommodation is well shown by the magnificent results secured by foreign cities. Glasgow was the first to begin the movement and has erected seven large lodging-houses, with accommodation for 2,000 persons, separate houses being provided for men and women. Other cities in England, Scotland, and Ireland have adopted similar methods with most beneficial results, and have enacted more stringent bye-laws and regulations regarding the construction of houses, the number of windows in the dwelling, and the amount of air space for each inhabitant. Inspectors have been provided to visit the dwellings and see that these regulations are enforced. The result is partially seen in the death-rate for England, which fell from 22.5 per 1,000 persons in the decade from 1861 to 1870, to about 19 in the period from 1891 to 1895. Not only has the death-rate decreased, but there has been a tremendous decrease in the amount of sickness, and a marked increase in the duration of life and physical strength and energy of the people. If New York authorities could be induced to build a block of tenements for instance, on Elizabeth Street, between Houston and Prince streets, they would be immediately filled by a mass of people who at the present moment are a constant menace to the health of the city. The death-rate of New York city even now is entirely too high. In 1897, the number of deaths of children under one year was 10,076. The number of deaths in tenements in 1897 was 23,460; in institutions, 10,568; in private families, 4,829; and a large number of deaths in institutions are of people whose homes are in tenement houses. There is no reason why New York city would not make as good a landlord as the model city of Glasgow.—(DR. A. S. DANIEL, in *Municipal Affairs*, New York, from *Public Opinion*.)



## WANTED, A DEFEAT.

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IN the *Contemporary Review* for August appears under this title an imaginary conversation between a Liberal M.P. and "Criticus."

"I am off to-night," said Criticus, "for a cycling trip in France. I suppose you are doing duty for the Front Bench, for I gather they are never there, and some of them have actually left town. Labby said the other day that he had sown watercress on their seats, and he was sure most of it would grow."

"You are incurable," said the M.P. "You are never satisfied with them."

"Do you know anyone who is?" said Criticus. "It adds to the pleasure of going abroad, that it will allow one to forget for a while this wreck of Liberalism. I am tired of it myself."

"Oh, yes!" said the faithful one, "you clever people can talk; but you see we win the elections all the same."

"That," said the critic, "is the worst feature of the whole thing. You are succeeding on the ghastly blunders of the Government. Never since I could read a newspaper has any Government blundered so badly. They can't even pass a Vaccination Bill, although they profess to believe it is essential to save us from small-pox. The only thing they have done—except Workmen's Compensation, which they and you both detest—is to make grants of money to their friends. As for foreign policy, Granville, who was an old woman, was a hero compared to Lord Salisbury."

"Well," said the member, "why shouldn't we win? Even you can't regret that the country is disgusted with them, too. I'm sure all the Tories in the House are sick of it, and, whenever they speak their mind, they curse Salisbury more bitterly than we do."

"Yes," said Criticus, "that is one of the most irritating elements of the situation. The man in the House of Commons who most cordially agrees with Salisbury is Harcourt himself. Salisbury is now the leader of the anti-Jingoes. . . . Of course, Rosebery would do infinitely better—even the Tories know that—but, then, he is not available, and there is nobody else."

"Surely you don't mean," said the other, "that you would rather these people went on? Of course, we can't force them into an election just yet, but it must come before long, and then, I am thankful to say, we shall be rid of them."

"I am afraid you may win," said Criticus, "though I hope to heaven you won't. Bad as things are now, when you are all in opposition, the situation would be infinitely worse if you had won the General Election and had to make another attempt at governing the country. I told you before that what you wanted was a leader, and also that you wanted a policy; but I now tell you, by way of parting benediction, that what you want most of all is a defeat. I say it deliberately and after careful thought. Of course, I shall vote for you when the election is here, but I shall pray that you may be beaten, and I think every serious Liberal had better do the same. The election at Grimsby is an excellent object lesson. Any of the press men will tell you that there are dozens of folk on your side who quite agree with Doughty, and who would be delighted to throw up Home Rule if they dared.

It is perfectly obvious even to the most loyal that if you got a majority at the polls, you would never be able to repeat the old tactics. No Prime Minister in his senses—certainly not either Harcourt or Rosebery—would dream of using a brand new majority to try and drive an Irish Bill through the House of Commons in his first session, with a certainty of seeing it kicked out by the House of Lords; but if you win, you will be face to face with that dilemma. You can hardly suppose you are going to have a majority against the Irish and Tories combined."

The Liberal M.P., faithful party man that he was, felt that there was more truth in this than was comfortable. Indeed, he had heard lots of people in the smoking-room uttering opinions which fitted unpleasantly into the critics' forecast; but, as his friend paused to take breath, he found an opportunity to say, "But there are other things we want besides Home Rule. The Irish must be reasonable, you know. We will do what we can for them, but it isn't our fault if the House of Lords stops the Bill. They must help us in the rest of our programme. It can't be all on one side, can it?" he ended plaintively.

"I'm blest if I know," said the critic, "a single thing I want done which your Front Bench, if they got the seals of office into their hands, would really do. What first-class Bills would they pass, or even want to pass? There's temperance, but you haven't converted the working classes to temperance yet, and until you do you are beating the air. Then there's registration and elections. What could you do if you were in office to-morrow?" said the critic. "You tried all you knew last time, and you couldn't even get the agents to agree what Bill they wanted. You cannot even settle a simple point like successive occupation, or shortening the qualifying period without raising all sorts of technical difficulties. I think it was old Sir Samuel Montagu who told me once that if you shortened the qualifying period, say to one month, in Whitechapel, the Tory agents could easily flood the constituency with publican's dummies if they had any notice of a vacancy beforehand. We used to hear, a few years ago, about payment of members. Do you suppose there is anybody on the Front Bench who seriously intends to put that through? I doubt if they will even make any effective attempt to pay election expenses out of the public purse. Take Labour questions. Your people will be pressed to do something for an eight hours' day, and they won't. They will be pressed to extend workmen's compensation, and their own manufacturers will threaten to go over to the enemy if they do. They will be face to face with a cry about old age pensions, on which Joe will do his best to force their hand. What can they do? They have not the least notion of a constructive policy, however humble. Most of them regard it all as rubbish, and honestly think Joe's attempt to press it is a mere party fraud. Meanwhile, the obvious fact is that if they took office they would have to face all these problems, and they are perfectly helpless. I would not wish my worst enemy a more humiliating fate."

"You have no effective indictment against the House of Lords; you don't know what you want to do about it, or how you are going to get it done. The Lords will laugh at your tirades until they are caught doing something which the bulk of the people bitterly resent. The policy of a great Liberal chief should be to trap them into a decisive struggle. And if you want to know," he went on, "the new question I was thinking of was just the one on which I think you might some day fight a pitched battle with them and break them up. I was thinking of the land question all round—urban land, with a stiff taxation and a sweeping power to take land

for housing and all municipal uses; rural land, with the old Irish policy of the three F's, and various other trifles—there is enough in the land to set up a whole new party, and, if there were any new apostle like Henry George, to make men think about it. But none of you think—not one. You neither think, nor believe, nor act—and your talk is poor stuff.

"If only the fates will send us a Liberal defeat at the General Election, and another nice long tract of blundering, bribing, irritating Tory Government, then we shall see some fun. Your Front Bench will have superannuated a few encumbrances, and the others will have found a new master. In those days there will be some chance of striking great blows for progress."

"That," said the M.P. sadly, "will be next century."

"Yes," said Criticus, "but if you win the election, and set up another helpless and contemptible Government, the chance will be ten years later—that is all."

A NEW RADICAL.



## THE ANGLO-SAXON FEDERATION.

IN *La Revue Socialiste* M. Paul Louis has an interesting, although brief, article on the above subject. Dealing with the famous speech of Mr. Chamberlain at Birmingham, he says that Mr. Chamberlain has come into power at a time when England has reached a turning point in its national existence; when, despite its enormous public wealth, its immense colonial empire, and its great trade, it finds itself seized by the crisis common to the old nations—namely, the rapidity with which rising nations have obtained control over large portions of the globe. The United Kingdom has lost its commercial monopoly, and feels its prestige and its power tottering on their base.

Since 1882 or 1883, and, above all, since 1893, the power of Britain in the world has declined; the proud words of a Beaconsfield are now but the souvenirs of the past, and in more than one case the flag of the Queen has received an actual rebuff.

Mr. Chamberlain, says M. Louis, has been impelled to emphasise the two propositions of his speech—union with America and imperial federation—through the recognition of the fact that the influence of Britain in the world has undergone a considerable modification of late years; and, he continues, this federation is actually in progress, and the hour of its realisation is much nearer than is generally anticipated, and whatever may be the difficulties and perils of its attainment, we can do nothing but salute as an important item of progress the constitution of a human agglomeration of 325 millions of individuals.



## THE EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE S.D.F.

THE Eighteenth Annual Conference of the Social-Democratic Federation was held in the Free Gardeners' Hall, Edinburgh, on Sunday and Monday, July 31 and August 1, 1898. There were delegates present from over forty branches; and, although this does not represent half the number of branches in the organisation, it is creditable that so many were present in view of the difficulty experienced by many members in getting the necessary time to attend. The great majority of the members of the S.D.F. are working people to whom the loss of a day's work means not only the loss of a day's pay, but the risk of loss of employment also. Had the delegates from the South been able to return on the Monday evening, as at first arranged, instead of Tuesday, the attendance would have been much larger. As it was, there were two less delegates than attended the Northampton Congress last year.

Congratulations are due to the Social-Democrats of Edinburgh for the admirable arrangements they made for the comfort and entertainment of delegates, and for the holding of the Conference. The whole of the business was carried through in a manner creditable to all concerned, and the discussions in the Conference were marked by the very best feeling all round.

At the first sitting a resolution of sympathy with the Welsh miners (on the motion of J. Spargo and T. Jarvis) was passed unanimously.

The most interesting discussion was that on the future political action of the organisation. This demonstrated that whatever difference of opinion there might be on certain details there was absolute agreement on the main principle. It was clearly recognised that the S.D.F. had developed from being a small band of propagandists into an organised party, and that it was necessary to use our strength as a party for the advancement of our cause. The discussion was introduced by H. Quelch on the following resolution from the Executive Council: "That this Annual Conference is of opinion that the entire Socialist vote in Great Britain be thoroughly organised and used as a collective whole at the General Election and at bye elections as may seem to the greatest advantage of Social-Democracy in this country; and that the Executive Council be given full power to carry this policy into effect as may seem desirable to them at the moment without further consultation with the branches." Several delegates expressed the opinion that the proposition would have been almost unanimously carried if an explanation had been sent with the resolution. Finally the resolution was carried by 61 to 3 with the addition of "subject to the confirmation of the branches."

On the discussion of "Our Electoral Policy, Local and Imperial," there was evidence that the general feeling of the Conference was strongly in favour of adopting a definite anti-Liberal attitude, but it was felt that it might not be advisable to publicly commit the organisation to a particular line of tactics for any length of time, and eventually the following resolution, moved by Dan Irving, was adopted: "That this Conference, in view of the growing tendency of the capitalists and landlords to unite against the interests of the people, instructs the Executive Council to use its influence to throw the Socialist vote against the Liberal or Tory candidates indifferently, as may seem to be to the greatest advantage of the Socialist cause, except when the candidate is a member of the extreme Radical Left, which is prepared to act with us for the realisation of immediate practical measures on which both Socialists and Radicals are agreed, the decision as to running independent Social-Democratic candidates to be left in the hands of the Executive. In no case shall the independence of the S.D.F. be sunk."

The Conference agreed unanimously: "That, in view of the large number of children who are attending our public elementary schools in a state of physical deterioration, owing to want of due means of material existence, and the early age at which they are withdrawn from school and sent to work for a livelihood, this Conference reaffirms its firm adherence to the principle and necessity of free maintenance for all children in our public schools, and the immediate abolition of child labour before the age of 16."

On the fusion of the S.D.F. and I.L.P., it was decided that the Executive be instructed to use their best endeavours to secure a fusion of the S.D.F. and the I.L.P.

It was agreed that the Conference next year should be held at Bristol.

## CUBA.

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THE ambition of Columbus, it is said, knew no bounds, and he has been well called the king of ambition. Among other virtues, he also possessed the gift of exaggeration, and when he discovered Cuba, a little more than 500 years ago, at the end of the fifteenth century, we need not be surprised that he described it as the most beautiful land that ever delighted the eyes of man.

When Velasquez, twenty years after the discovery by Columbus of the West Indies, landed at Cuba, it was reckoned to have about a million of aborigines, but before a hundred years had passed the aborigines had been civilised off the face of the earth. In the West Indies Christian civilisation has often spelt extinction. The Spaniards did their best to colonise Cuba, introducing African negroes as slaves. The negroes did not fare much better than the aborigines, and they also would have suffered extinction but for a perennial supply from Africa. In 1772 the population all told numbered somewhere about 370,000; but after the negroes in Hayti, in a neighbouring island, revolted, a great number of Europeans took refuge in Cuba, and helped to bring prosperity to her shores. Spain, however, did not relax her severity, nor abate her pecuniary exactions, and Cuba has in consequence always been in a state of more or less open revolt.

The population, according to a reliable authority, now numbers a million and a half. Of these 150,000 are Spanish-born, showing that a considerable immigration from Spain still takes place. The Creoles, natives of Spanish descent, number 600,000. There are also great numbers of Chinese coolies and half-caste Mexicans, but after the Creoles the negroes and mulattos rank next in importance. It can thus be seen that the island of Cuba has a very mixed population, and one that must be troublesome to govern. Our American cousins have a huge task before them. However, as many Americans of late have taken tobacco and sugar plantations in the country, they will, we presume, have a good try to make the best of a bad job.

Sugar and tobacco are the staple industries of Cuba, but there is plenty of room for other industries, and for the expansion of the present, as really only a small portion of the island is cultivated. It was in Cuba, we believe, that cigars were first invented, which the native calls "tabacas."

The capital of Cuba is Havana, which is noted for its cigars. The houses are mainly one-storey high, and on account of the heat little glass is used, the windows consisting of bright-coloured iron gratings in the well-to-do quarters. In the poorer parts of the city filth overloads the streets, and it is anything but healthy when the wind blows from the south.

The London County Council says that our organ grinders, newspaper and milk vendors, make London terribly noisy. What they would think of Havana it is hard to say. "Hideous" is the word most popular with writers on the noises of Havana. Bells never cease clanging, and the blacks and half-castes never cease jabbering and quarrelling. The guitar and the fiddle are in constant use, and glass windows being a luxury, they are enabled to inflict upon the poor Englishman, who has always shut himself up in his castle—quiet, if not lonely—untold misery.

Women do not predominate in Havana. Males are as three to one. Respectable white women rarely go out unattended, but black women.

are not so particular. The chief occupation of the European women seems to be the pacing of the flat roofs of their houses and indulging in gossip whenever possible. The less you inquire about the morals of the men the better chance you have of thinking well of them. They are not fond of work, and here the Americans have a grand field in which to display their powers as organisers of labour.

In 1886 slavery was abolished in Cuba. The planters who had large estates employed negro labour entirely, and they were apprehensive that the abolition of slavery would involve their ruin. However, they have survived the shock, and many are still making respectable fortunes.

The Cubans hate the Spaniards and the Spaniards hate the Cubans. The Fabian policy of permeation has been carried out to its logical issue in Cuba, for each race or distinct group hates the other, and out of this hatred each gets the satisfaction of its life.

During the past few years nearly a quarter of a million soldiers have been drafted into Cuba by the Spaniards, the majority of whom, it is said, have died from yellow fever, small pox, malaria, and in conflict with the rebels.

Cubans laugh at the active Englishman or European, and call him a fool for not taking it easy. Creoles and blacks will never kill themselves with hard work. Anyone who suffers from this hereditary complaint cannot do better than emigrate to the West Indies. The Cubans will thoroughly eliminate it from his system.

How the Americans will get along with them it will be interesting to note. They will not find it such an easy job to exploit the Cubans as they do their own people at home in New York and Chicago. If they are not able to tax them, and use brute force like the Spaniards, they will probably find money-making in Cuba a tough job for some time to come.

Perhaps our Yankee cousins will solve the difficulty by the importation of some of their surplus population. We know they succeeded in enticing many thousands of emigrants to Dakota, and after exploiting them allowed them to die of the cold. They may follow similar tactics in Cuba, and entice workers there under false pretences, and, after they are enervated by the heat, allow them to succumb to disease and hunger.

H.



## RENT OF ABILITY.

"THAT'S all I have to say, Smith. I won't have a discontented fellow like you about the place. You upset the other men, too, and so I must make an example of you, and you must leave."

"But I have never said I was discontented with my place, or the work, or you, Mr. Swanage; and I don't see, as long as I do my work properly, why you should want to turn me off."

"Didn't I hear you yesterday morning, standing on a stool or something, at the corner of Bell Street, with a mob of riff-raff round you, saying that you had come to preach the gospel of discontent? A pretty preacher, indeed! Didn't you say you were discontented yourself, and that if you could only make other people as discontented as you were there would very soon be an alteration in the condition of the working people?"

"Yes, I know I said that; but I was expressing discontent with the present system, and not with you or my employment."

"And what's wrong with the present system, I'd like to know?"

"What's wrong with it! The question is what's right with it. A system which compels the great mass of the people to an existence of life-long slavery in which they only get a bare pittance to live upon, while the class which owns the means of existence lives in riotous luxury on their labour, is surely one with which no right-minded man should be contented."

"Come, come, I don't want to hear any more of that silly socialistic rot. If you can spout it at street corners you are not going to spout it here. The mass of the people compelled to slave, indeed! Who compels them? They need not work unless they like. That's what I say to you; you needn't work unless you like, and as you don't like you can just clear out."

"I never said I didn't like work; and as for not needing to work if we don't like, there's no such freedom. We must work or starve. But I don't object to that. What I complain of is that we should be compelled to work for a mere existence, so as to be able to go on working; while the bulk of what we earn goes to those who don't work at all."

"I won't listen to such silly outrageous nonsense, I tell you. You get what you earn; if you don't, go somewhere else and see what more you'll get."

"If I get what I earn, and all of us who work for you get what we earn, where does your profit come from?"

"My profit? I don't make any profit out of you! What I get is what I earn. When you or any other man earns as much as I do he will get as much as I do."

"Well, you get, I suppose, about ten times as much as any man in the place; do you mean to say that you earn as much as any ten men here?"

"Certainly, if a man gets more it proves that he earns more; higher remuneration is but the return for superior ability."

"Well, I never thought you had ten times the ability of any one of the men you employ; indeed, so far as the work here goes you haven't got the ability of one. If it wasn't for Wilkins, your manager, who does know something about the business, you couldn't go on at all. But you fancy your profit, which other people earn for you, is due to your own ability. Every man gets what he earns, and those who get large incomes do so because of their superior ability, you say. I suppose, then, that young

Marchmont, who is known to be a hopeless imbecile, but who has an income of ten thousand a year, possesses ten times your ability ? ”

“ Go ! ” exclaimed Mr. Swanage, in a towering rage, rising and pointing to the door of the office, “ what do you mean by talking to me in that fashion ? Go to the foreman and get your money and leave at once.”

Smith turned on his heel and went out.

George Smith had been employed for some years at Swanage and Co.'s engineering works. The speciality of the firm was the construction of motors for light machinery and vessels. George had taken a great interest in his work and had frequently suggested small improvements in construction which had been of advantage to his employer. Just now he was engaged upon working out an idea for an entirely new kind of motor, which, if it could be proved to be workable, would effect a great conservation of energy and an enormous saving in the cost of production. He had intended to offer his invention to his employer, once he could demonstrate its practicability. But a workman proposes and the employer disposes. George Smith was a sincere and active Socialist ; the intelligence which made him a good, useful, and clever workman also directed his attention to social questions, and, in spite of his individualistic prejudices, he was forced to recognise the soundness of Socialist theories. Active in body as well as mind, he no sooner became convinced of the truth of Socialism than he felt it to be his duty to endeavour to convince others, and thus whatever time he could spare from his work and his experiments he devoted to the propaganda of the principles he had accepted. Thus it came about that he was addressing an open-air meeting in a Western suburb one Sunday morning, and his employer, coming out of church, was inexpressibly shocked to discover one of his “ hands ” holding forth to a small crowd of “ riff-raff ”—as Mr. Swanage invariably styled the working-class—on the evils of capitalism, the crimes of capitalists, and the necessity for a Social Revolution. This unexpected interview at the street corner led to another interview, as detailed above, on the following day in Mr. Swanage's office. Smith had never assailed his employer personally, and had never considered him as more than a creature of the system in which he lived and for which he was no more responsible than others, and he thought it rather hard that he should be thrown out of work simply for daring to have opinions of his own. However, now he was out of work he must make the best of it and look out for another job. But he found that while looking for a job was not difficult, it was very wearisome, for jobs were not easy to be found. After wasting a couple of weeks seeking in vain for employment he thought of his projected new motor. He interviewed the heads of several engineering firms on the matter, but none of them were inclined to have anything to do with it. He felt certain, however, that it would turn out a great success if only he could get it taken up. At last he determined, if he could only raise sufficient money to make a start, to work the invention himself. With some difficulty he managed to raise among sympathisers, the principal being a Socialist friend named Adamson, a sufficient sum to make a beginning. The amount was not nearly sufficient to ensure the success of the undertaking, but he struggled on against all obstacles and difficulties until he succeeded in putting the Smith-Adamson motor on the market. From that time his success was assured, the motor was proved to be the most useful and economical that had ever been produced, and George Smith found himself at the end of a few years at the head of a thriving and growing business.



"Wilkins," said Mr. Swanage to his manager, "I have gone carefully through the whole accounts and I find that we are hopelessly insolvent. We have been steadily going back ever since that Smith-Adamson motor came out, and there is no doubt it is that which has beaten us. I have gone on hoping that we should be able to recover lost ground, but it is no use. We are beaten absolutely; there is nothing for it but to call our creditors together and see what terms we can make with them."

The meeting of creditors was held, and Swanage and Co. went into liquidation. The losses on the business for some years past had been ruinous, and there was nothing for it but to sell off everything.

Meanwhile the tremendous success of the Smith-Adamson motor had necessitated a considerable extension of premises, and when the sale of Swanage and Co.'s plant and stock took place George Smith was the principal purchaser, and he also took over the premises. Most of the workmen employed by Swanage and Co. were retained in the employment of the new firm, and Smith was very glad to re-engage the manager Wilkins, whose knowledge and experience would, he knew, be very useful in the business.

Business went on briskly in the new works, and, twelve months after the liquidation of the firm, almost everybody but the creditors had forgotten that Swanage and Co. ever existed. It was about nine o'clock in the forenoon when there came a timid knock at the door of the manager's office, and, in response to a sharp "Come in," a somewhat seedy-looking elderly individual entered. He was wearing threadbare, rusty black clothes, and a tall hat which had evidently seen better days. He removed his hat from his head as he timidly addressed the manager.

"I have called, Mr. Wilkins," he said, "to know if you had any opening here for my services. I have not been fortunate enough to find employment elsewhere, or I should not have troubled you, as you may imagine I do so with some reluctance."

Wilkins, who had listened with some impatience to this speech, replied shortly, and almost without looking up from his desk, that they had no vacancy for anybody just then.

"But surely you can find me something," said his visitor. "You know who I am, don't you, Mr. Wilkins?"

"Oh, yes, I know who you are. Your name is Swanage, late of the firm of Swanage and Co.; but I don't see what I can do for you. If you were a mechanic I might find you a light job, but you see you don't know anything about the practical part of the work."

"But couldn't you give me something to do in the office?"

"There is nothing that I could set you at which scores of other and younger men couldn't do better. You were never very good at accounts, and I find an office boy as useful as you could possibly be here. There is really nothing you can do. You see, it was one thing when you were master here; no doubt you estimated your own services pretty highly; but, really, you are of no use to us."

Swanage turned to go, with a downcast look on his face, when just as he opened the door another man stepped in and he found himself face to face with George Smith. For a moment both were embarrassed, but George was the first to recover himself. Grasping the hand of his old employer, he exclaimed, "Good morning, Mr. Swanage, this is an unexpected pleasure. Come into my room."

He led him into an inner office, the very place in which their last interview had taken place.

"Now," he said, after handing his visitor a seat, "what can I have the pleasure of doing for you, Mr. Swanage?"

"I called to see if I could get any employment here. I am terribly hard up, and would be willing to do anything that I could, but Wilkins assured me there was no opening."

"No, I am afraid we have nothing much in your line, but with your superior ability you should have no difficulty in finding employment."

"Ah, but you seem to have displayed the superior ability now, and so I have been driven to the wall."

"I don't think it's a question of superior ability at all, Mr. Swanage. We are all dependent on one another. I could never have brought out the Smith-Adamson motor but for the discoveries and inventions of other men, and the knowledge I was able to acquire while in your employment. If I had not taken this particular principle and adapted it to practical purposes, someone else would have done so sooner or later. And I am quite sure that sooner or later the Smith-Adamson motor will be rendered obsolete by some further development. Those of us who have these things in our hands only exploit them for our own profit. There is no great ability required to do that; but I am looking forward to the time when no one shall have this power, but when all inventions and discoveries will be for the benefit of all."

"Do you mean to say that you are still a Socialist?"

"Of course! Why not? Circumstances may alter cases, but a change of circumstances does not change a man from a Socialist into an anti-Socialist. I know the present system is wrong, and shall do my best to overthrow it, although I personally have been fairly successful. But this is rather beside the question. The point just now is what are you going to do?"

"Well, frankly, unless you can give me employment, I shall have to go to the workhouse."

"What! In spite of your superior ability?"

"Oh, don't say any more about that. I see it is much more a question of circumstance and of opportunity than of anything else."

"Well, what do you think of doing?"

"I can think of nothing. Can't you give me something to do?"

"Well, as a matter of fact, there is so little that you can do of any use. However, I cannot treat you as you would have treated me. Had I come to you in a similar case you would have given me an order for the workhouse and thought it a most generous thing to do. But we working people are a set of soft-hearted fools, so I will just pay you the same wages per week as you were paying me, and you can just come here and potter about, or stay away—just as it suits you. Only don't forget that these wages are due to the work of other people, and are not due, any more than the profits you used to get, to your superior ability."

## AT LAST !

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ONE hope alone has borne us on,  
Made Life be tolerated,  
To see by light of Freedom's dawn  
The rule of Theft check-mated.  
The robbers from their thrones to shove,  
Though red the path we may tread,  
For this, while others sang of love,  
We sang the song of hatred.

We saw our children's eyes grow dim,  
Our women hell-ward driven ;  
The bitter cup, full to the brim,  
To Honesty was given.  
And to the strong a heart of dove,  
(Priests soon will be your fate read),  
And so we sang—instead of love—  
Our battle-chants of hatred.

Ah ! God—the memory ne'er will fade ;  
Our world-wide degradation ;  
Our pampering of their God of Trade  
By murder and starvation.  
But hear us, Thou in heaven above,  
Their doom is now, though late, read ;  
Let others choose to sing of love—  
We sing the song hatred.

Ah ! Yes at last the time grows rife,  
Draws close the thunder-meeting ;  
To-morrow e'en may bring the strife  
Admits of no retreating.  
Then in their faces fling the glove,  
Though blood may flow in spate red ;  
And drown the paltering psalms of love  
With thunder songs of hatred.

J. LESLIE.



ELEANOR MARX.

# THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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## ELEANOR MARX.

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LEANOR MARX, long known by another name — which we shall try to forget—now and in future known by her own, by her father's name, a name through the weight of which one less strong would have been crushed, but which she bore, increasing its weight and its lustre.

She was the daughter of her father, not her father's daughter with only those rays of light that fell upon her from

the sun of his fame, but throwing out rays of light herself, herself a centre of light. And if Eleanor Marx will never be forgotten as long as the memory of the great struggle for the emancipation of labour and of humanity will last, it will not be because she is the daughter of Karl Marx, but because she is Eleanor Marx.

When the news arrived three weeks ago, on Tuesday, August 2, that Dr. Aveling had died from the effect of a wound which he had received half a year ago by a surgical operation, thousands were thinking that, if he had died five months sooner it would have been better for him—and one, better than he, would most likely be living to-day.

Had this man ended his career before the last day of March, we should have been spared a terrible tragedy, and a woman, not only better, but stronger and more gifted than this man would be living still, and fighting still in the front ranks of International Socialism. Yes, that strong woman,



possessed of the working and fighting power of the strongest of men—prophetess, teacher, champion, comrade, whom we all knew, whom we all admired and loved—Eleanor Marx, she would still be living, working and fighting. For living and life to her was working and fighting.

The daughter of Karl Marx, and born in London, where her father lived in exile after the suppression of the Revolutionary movement of 1848 and 1849—that tells us, from what stock she came, and in what surroundings she grew up. In exile—that is, as Dante says, who knew it, in misery—or misery to grand and proud souls, unable to take alms under whatever flattering form—misery and want. And the surroundings—the *milieu*, as the fashionable term is now—the surroundings: Karl Marx, the father—Jenny Marx, born von Westphalen, of an old noble family, the mother, worthy wife of that man—two elder sisters, Jenny, more the father's, and Laura, more the mother's, image—no boys in the family, all male children having died at an early age, died in exile, and from exile. Eleanor was the last of Marx's children born in London, and as all others had died, her arrival was a source of anxiety and care to her mother and to the father, who loved his children with a mother's love. Happily little Eleanor, as she was called after one of the Scotch ancestors—the Westphalen family had blood of the Campbells in their veins—was healthy and grew up, without any of the so-called children's diseases. Healthy in body and mind, restless, curious, wanting to know everything, and constantly widening the horizon of her mind. Never tired of playing, never tired of asking question. And it was not an easy thing to stand her questions, which often puzzled me. And how fond she was of stories! For hours and hours I had to tell her stories, and as she was, by six and seven years, younger than her two elder sisters I had often a rather difficult task, when we were strolling about on Primrose Hill and on Hampstead Heath all four together, and when I had to satisfy the craving for knowledge of these three lively girls and keep them in good humour with their different minds and characters and ages. It is ten times easier to amuse and to occupy—which is the same thing—30 children of nearly equal ages, than three children of different ages. Well—I did my best, and was rewarded by the children's love, which those three girls have through all their life had for me, whom, for reasons never discovered, they called "Library."

When I left England in the autumn of 1862 to return to Germany after fourteen years of exile, Eleanor—or "Tussy" as she was—also for reasons never discovered—called her whole life long by all those who were intimate with her, was six years old. And I did not see her for twelve years, not till the autumn of 1874, when she visited us in Leipzig with her father, who had been seeking health and recreation at Karlsbad. I had two years of imprisonment for "high treason," that is for some dozens of sharp newspaper articles, behind me, and enjoyed my newly gained liberty, while Bebel, who had entered prison (it was named "fortress") later than I, and who had besides earned a condemnation for *lèse majesté*, was still detained in the Saxon state prison of Zwickau.

The child Tussy was now a woman, with a healthy, graceful, high-minded, and deep-souled woman's character. She was the International Working Men's Association personified. If we had festivals of the Social Revolution as the French *Tiers Etat* had of the political revolution, she would have made a splendid Goddess of International Socialism.

She had reached the age of nine years when the International Working Men's Association was founded in St. Martin's Hall, and her father's house was the cradle, the headquarters, the centre of International Socialism, and in this centre the girl was at home with open eyes and an open mind, growing with the growing movement, growing into one with it, so that the movement was embodied in her. And a more perfect embodiment no movement ever had. No thought but for the cause, no feeling but for the cause, or rather, no thought and no feeling, that did not come from the cause and go to the cause. For she was a woman, and woman cannot be without love. But her woman's love was inseparable from the love of the cause.

In her father's house there met the banished victims of Napoleon the Little, Bismarck's teacher and fellow criminal. Young Flourens, after having fought on the Island of Crete for the ideal Hellenes, that he could not find in reality, had sought a refuge in London, and was, of course, a guest in Marx's cottage. Young, beautiful, spiritual, this romantic knight-errant of revolution made a deep impression on the eldest and on the youngest of the three daughters. Then suddenly there burst on us the war between Bismarckian Germany and Napoleonic France. The rogues had fallen out, and the honest people did not at once come to their own, they had to suffer terribly, so terribly that to-day yet we have to suffer from the wounds.

At Sedan the French Empire fell and the German Empire was born. The French refugees hurried home from London to help in the national defence against Bismarck's armies. The national defence and the national war with the *levée en masse* were traditions of the past. The modern bourgeoisie is afraid of the masses, does not dare to arm them. The national defence was not carried out, and ended in national betrayal. The only patriots, real patriots, were the men *sans patrie*, without a fatherland—the proletarians—who by natural instinct defend the country in which they are born, just as the animal defends its nest or den—because they have no other place of abode, and are not in the happy situation of the bourgeois, who, if they do not earn, or rob money enough in one country are ready to exchange their fatherland for another country, in which they can earn, or rob more. The *sans patries*, the men without a fatherland, were the only ones in France that fought for the fatherland, and when, after the surrender of the Provisional Government they hoped against hope, and proclaimed the Commune, Flourens and his friends had their battle, and Flourens was one of the first of those whose slashed and hacked bodies covered the battle-field.

The Commune succumbed, and hundreds of the vanquished who succeeded in escaping the bloodhounds of Thiers and his bourgeois Republic,

fled for shelter to London; and to most of them the house of Marx was the principal point of attraction. No wonder that the heroes of the Commune occupied the minds of Marx's daughters. The two elder ones were soon betrothed with two refugees—Longuet and Lafargue. And Eleanor thought for some time that Lissagaray, the historian of the Commune, would be for her the fittest companion for life. She was again disappointed; the betrothal had to be broken off. Like all strong characters, she found solace in redoubled work. And redoubled work in her case—that was work for ten. I never knew a more indefatigable worker than Eleanor Marx. She had inherited this faculty of intense and incessant work from her father. She never grew tired. When others would have been crushed under the burden of work, she was as fresh and as merry as if work had been play. And, in fact, work was play to her.

From her sixteenth year, already she had made herself independent by her work. She gave lessons, and soon had connections with newspapers. Her articles on questions of art (theatres, &c.) were highly praised. The critics compared her to Georges Sand and George Elliot. And there is no doubt Eleanor Marx would rank amongst the best writers, if the political movement had not absorbed by far the greater part of her powers, and an ever-increasing part, so that, when she was at the height of her strength and activity, almost nothing was left for other pursuits and aims.

As long as her parents lived Eleanor was not prominent in the working-class movement, though she was deeply interested in it, and lived in it body and soul. She had duties to fulfil—duties to her parent whose health began to fail in the second half of the decade between 1870 and 1880. She nursed her parents and accompanied them, when they had to journey in search of health. But when Death had done its grim work, and swept away almost the whole family—first the mother, then the eldest daughter, and then, on March 14th, 1883, the father, whose life springs had been destroyed by the death of his brave and high-souled companion and of his pet daughter—then Eleanor Marx had nothing left to her except the cause to which she had dedicated her life.

She was strong and conscious of her strength. Yet the strongest on entering the battle wants a comrade and helpmate, who shares the dangers, the cares, the excitements of the battle. At this time she met Dr. Aveling—a man of splendid gifts, a brilliant orator and agitator, who, after having fought against religious bigotry, embraced the cause of Socialism, and began the fight against social wrong—the fight of international Socialism for the emancipation of the working classes. His reputation was not good; shocking things were told of him. But what had not been told of Karl Marx, the kindest and the best of men? The worse the reputation, the brighter the merit; and it is not saying too much, that just the badness of Dr. Aveling's reputation helped to gain him Eleanor's sympathy. They met and they united. They united and co-operated. Both were powerful workers, and it is astonishing how much work they did. We must not be unjust. He, too, did much work, and good work. Not, certainly, as much and as good

as she. The charm of her person, which spread over her work, hallowed it, and made the effect irresistible. There is something in personality. And Eleanor Marx was a personality—one of those beings who throw all their strength, all their earnestness, all their power of soul and body into every word, into every act.

I will not write the history of her life—I should have to write the history of the International Working Class Movement. Born in England, of German parents, the daughter of the author of the "Communist Manifesto," with its tremendous battle-cry, *Proletarians of all countries, unite!* she was by birth international. By her international education, by her miraculous mastery of the three great languages of civilisation, she was the predestined *mediatrix* between the proletarians of the different countries. We know how she was the soul and interpreter of the International Congresses, the era of which began—1889—with the centenary of the Great French Revolution.

Up to the day of her death she was in the midst of the fight—no, in the *front* of the fight. The dock labourers and the engineers can tell a tale of it. For the engineers last year she moved heaven and earth to get assistance and help. And when momentary defeat was inevitable, she thought already of the future victory, and did her utmost to organise victory.

At the beginning of March, this year, she invited me to come over to London, as we had arranged last year already. She invited me in terms so pressing that I was almost frightened. I was in prison then, and she could not speak quite openly. The thrilling description of the terrible and horrible operation Aveling had had to undergo ("much worse than a capital execution," she wrote), and the expressions of despair—a state of mind which I had never observed in her—filled me with uneasiness. I resolved to come over as soon as I was free.

Before I had time to carry out my resolution the news burst upon me that she was *dead—dead by her own will and hand*. I will not remove the veil which she threw herself over the end. To defend her there is no need. To throw stones at the condemned guilty is not to my taste. And when the guilty are dead execution is senseless. Truly, we owe *truth* to the memory of Eleanor Marx, but to be true truth must be the *whole* truth. And the letters, burst from an agonised woman's heart, that have been published lately tell only a *part* of the truth. Letters which I have throw light on other parts, and perhaps the time is not far off when the whole truth, so far as it belongs to publicity, may be published.

No doubt Aveling is guilty. If he had done his duty to her, who allied her life to his, she would still live, and he would still live. He paid his guilt with his life. But guilt is not monstrosity. There are no monsters. And Aveling was no monster. To represent him as a monster is not only a sin against psychology, nature, and common sense—it is also a wrong done to her who died through his weakness and morbid bohemian habits. If there were monsters in the world and Aveling had been a monster, what would

Eleanor Marx be? To love a monster, is that not *being* a monster? And did the bear, who crushed his master's skull in the attempt to drive the flies off his face—did he *serve* his master's interests?

It was a *tragedy*, and tragedy has its Rights.

Weimar, August 25, 1898.

W. LIEBKNECHT.

IN turning over piles of cherished old letters—which, with my files of defunct labour organs, qualify me for the title of *paperassier*—I noted a passage in the handwriting of our dead comrade, written in December, 1895 :—"What devil was it who invented all the horrors of a modern 'moving'? If I could only believe in a god I should be inclined to thank him, because this is our final move. Final, at least, as far as we are concerned. The last move of all only inconveniences other people." What a tragic scrap of correspondence! "Inconvenience" is not the right word in this case; her calamitous death made that poignant impression only a half of which can be expressed in words at all. At such moments hosts of hackneyed phrases acquire a rational significance for us, while the introspection of poets and philosophers reflects our own questionings and sorrows for the first time. After the first shock of such a catastrophe, we understand the meaning of the bard she loved best of all :—

The idea of thy life shall sweetly creep  
Into my study of imagination,  
And every lovely organ of thy life  
Shall come apparelled in more precious habit,  
More moving, delicate, and full of life,  
Into the eye and prospect of my soul,  
Than when thou liv'st indeed.

The daring Elizabethan iteration of "life" has a meaning of its own. Is it not absolutely true that Eleanor Marx Aveling is actually more vital to us now than when our consideration of her could be adjourned to another minute or day? "The idea of thy life shall sweetly creep into my study of imagination." She was brave, but gentle; pertinacious and full of will, yet amiability itself. She is now before us for the first time as a complete life; this is our first chance to appreciate her. Never when she "lived indeed" had we such an opportunity of seeing how worthy she was.

To the young men and women in our movement I say that the value of her life-work is to be measured by its inspiration of others. If a life of such devotion can call forth no devotion, if such self-abnegation can induce no service at a personal cost in gratitude and recognition, then that life will have failed of its consummation. Now, no life service is enough; those who "regret the sad ending of a life too soon" can give expression to their regret in one way—let them put by the cynical laxity of growing years, or the feeble relinquishment of baffling and tangled combats, and let them gird themselves once more. The whole populace has howled at you? Harken to the criticism of those who exhibit any signs of sanity, but do not yield to the pressure of fools. You have butted your head against the world, and the world has felt it less than you? Then confess you cannot do all you would; but submit to nothing other than your limitations. When submission will nullify the value of your life and stultify your unaltered convictions, your duty is not submission, but dignified resistance. From two points of view Eleanor Marx Aveling's life urges us to this course: first, in gratitude, that she could devote her energy and means to the furtherance of the interests of her race; secondly, in sympathy and compassion. That she could, for all her energy and unselfishness, effect so little for the main object of her life, and that she should die in harness, should make us only the more ready and anxious to help her out with her unfinished task.



As the Revolutionary Socialist that she was, she naturally had nothing but contempt for the "Practical Socialism" which ends in the quagmire of Liberalism. On the other hand, she heartily advocated the only immediately practicable effort of any socialistic value—to wit, political agitation for industrial reforms. She felt that these transferred the fighting masses to a higher vantage-ground, and once convinced of this she ignored every antagonism and every difficulty in her effort to secure this kind of legislation. Parallel with this work was her effort to secure a direct and separate representation of the workers in Parliament. Its aim would have been the legislation referred to, but its effect on the workers would have been the rallying of Socialists under a more powerful organising medium than heretofore available, and the preaching of the Social Revolution with more authority and a wider audience. Well could she have said with Browning:—

Knowing ourselves, our world, our task so great,  
Our time so brief, 'tis clear if we refuse  
The means so limited, the tools so rude,  
To execute our purpose, life will flee,  
And we shall fade and leave our task undone.  
We will be wise in time—what though our work  
Be fashioned in despite of their ill service,  
Be crippled every way? 'Twere little praise  
Did full resources wait on our good will  
At every turn!

It is one of our chiefest regrets that we have no worthy photograph or other portrait of Mrs. Aveling. She was among those people—too numerous, still, from the photographer's point of view—who object to sitting for a portrait. This may arise from a desire to be asked twice, or from nervousness, or from a fear of appearing vain. Frequently these people will readily agree to appear in a group of friends and fellow-conspirators, but will not sit alone. In that case you may put them down in the third category, among those who shun anything smacking of vanity. I feel sure this was the origin of Mrs. Aveling's objections. After the manner peculiar to the artistic tribe, I had insinuated myself into her good graces to the extent of getting the twentieth part of a promise from her for a sitting. I argued long and eloquently that I had made an excellent portrait of Karl Marx, another of Dr. Aveling, was sooner or later to copy the fascinating painting of her mother, and now absolutely must have her own portrait to complete the collection. She once wrote:—"Why do you talk of doing a 'beautiful' photograph of us both? We're both too old to want 'beauty' pictures." Armed with this half-consent and with the connivance of the Doctor, I arrived at The Den with my instruments of torture. The assent vanished into thin air. Mrs. Aveling was adamant! How often I have regretted this since, for I know only of very imperfect and tiny pictures, in groups, incapable of enlargement without losing every vestige of resemblance to the original.

Nevertheless, there may be some heretofore unknown presentment in other hands, and perhaps this writing may be the means of inducing such persons to send to the Editor of this magazine, for careful reproduction and safe return, any photographs or pictures whatever of Mrs. Aveling, at any period of her life, either alone or with other figures included. By this means we may yet publish a worthy "likeness" of our well-beloved comrade.

ARTHUR FIELD.

## MUNICIPALISATION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

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### I.

THE conflicts which have for some years past occurred with much frequency between Social reformers and mere "temperance" reformers have undoubtedly had the effect of causing a great many people to misunderstand the attitude of the social reformer to the temperance movement; and Social-Democrats, having taken an active part in the controversies that have from time to time arisen, have probably been more misunderstood than any other section of social reformers. In economics, our insistence upon the principles of scientific Socialism has caused us to fall foul of the economic fallacies of over-zealous temperance writers, who, whether consciously or unconsciously, are playing into the hands of the capitalist and landlord parties against the workers.

So, too, politically. Take the "Local Veto" as an example. "Popular control" of the liquor traffic, I imagine, every Social-Democrat would agree to and work for. Whence, then, the antagonism? I venture to say, in reply, that it is because "popular (*i.e.*, 'public') control," in the truest sense of the word, implies, and can only accompany, public ownership and management with its consequent and inevitable responsibilities. This the advocates of the "Veto" are not, however, prepared to accept; what they demand is not in reality *control* of the liquor traffic at all, but merely the right of a majority of the inhabitants of any district to decide whether or not it shall have *public houses* for the sale of intoxicants. The Social-Democrats feel that in those places where intemperance is most rife, and where, therefore, there is greater need of some check, the Local Veto would prove to be inoperative, and that it would give rise to fresh evils, such as, for instance, an extension of the "club" system, which, with its "no-licence basis," is not subject to even ordinary supervision and control. Recognising, moreover, that the private character of the "trade" is responsible for its extensive political influence and the excessive sale of drink, they are satisfied that such local caucus voting will not settle or largely contribute to a settlement of the complex and tedious problem of temperance reform by legislative enactment.

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### II.

This is an age of municipalism. Electric lighting, the supply of gas and water, the working of tramways and steam ferries, and even the provision of hospitals\*, beside a great many other things, are now looked upon as the proper functions of, and largely undertaken by, our local governing bodies.

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\* The Barry (Glam.) Urban District Council has decided to erect and maintain a public hospital out of the rates.

That the liquor traffic has not been largely municipalised ere this, is probably due chiefly to the following reasons:—

(a) The religious character of the temperance movement and the sentimental nature of its propaganda.

(b) The hampering effect of 400 years' legislation specially directed to the traffic.

The former reason, however, is being set aside by the growing tendency of the temperance movement to broaden into a secular one, whilst the second does not present any serious difficulty.

The benefits of municipalisation appear to me to be of a two-fold character, moral and economic. The moral advantages are, I fear, not so generally emphasised as they might be. To my mind, it is perfectly clear that a great deal of the excessive drinking of to-day, with its anti-social effects, is due entirely to the fact that it is to the interest of some that this should be, and it is equally certain that if you destroy the private character of the traffic you deprive it of its worst terrors. Space does not permit me to enlarge upon the moral advantages likely to accrue from municipalisation, but it does seem to me that recognising the great evils arising from intemperance—and the stern fact that prohibition does not, for the present at any rate, come within the range of practicability—in a word, that the liquor habit is with us to stay, at least for a very long time to come, it is our duty to use every effort in our power to minimise the evils arising from it. The sale of pure liquors in place of the harmful adulterations of to-day, the limitation of supplies, the stoppage of sales of drink to children, the abolition of inducements to push the sale of alcoholic drinks, and a variety of other reforms, all morally desirable, would be easily practicable under municipalisation. These things have all been done by the Birmingham Corporation at its “canteen,” in connection with the great waterworks being constructed for it in the Elan Valley (Wales). Opened in September, 1894, the “canteen” is virtually a municipal enterprise, though, in order to get round the letter of the law, the licence is taken out, I believe, by two members or two officials of the corporation. Closed during the greater portion of the working hours of the day, no temptation to remain from work during the day is presented to the weak ones of the community; though it is open during all meal hours, I believe, and from 5.30 to 9 p.m. each evening. On Saturday afternoons the place is closed for an hour or so, which means, that the wives of the men oftener get a good week's wages than they otherwise would do. No female under twenty-one years of age may be supplied with drink, either for consumption on or off the premises, and no male under sixteen. The manager is paid a fixed salary, and is under the direction of the water department of the corporation, which supplies the liquor, spirits, tobacco, &c.

All the restrictions imposed notwithstanding, there is yet sufficient revenue to equip and maintain a lending library, reading room, gymnasium, and—shades of Utopia!—a really pretty little church, with a capable and

efficient minister of broad sympathies and generous ideas! Many, doubtless, will object—as did a well-known temperance reformer, whom I met in debate recently—to the very idea of a church being supported by a revenue from such a traffic, but until they likewise object to the Church “livings” being raised from the tithes wrung from impoverished tenant farmers, to the bitter cost of his labourers; and to the donation of the Nonconformist plutocrat, which comes from the unpaid labour of half-starved workers, such cant and humbug we can afford to treat with contemptuous silence. An efficient day school has been established in the village by the corporation, which earns the highest Government grant; the whole of the expenses of the school beyond the amount of grant earned—i.e., the amount which under ordinary circumstances would be provided by a School Board rate—is charged to the profits of the canteen. In Norway, and Sweden too, under the Gothenburg system—the nearest approach to complete municipalism yet tried—similar results have been obtained, upon a much larger scale, for a period extending over thirty years. In spite of the fact that in Gothenburg the whole of the trade in spirits is not in the hands of the company, and that the beer trade is almost entirely free, the system has been so successful that no less than seventy-six other towns have adopted it. And this is not to be wondered at when one remembers that the consumption of spirits has decreased 75 per cent., without giving rise to any illicit trade worth mentioning, and that large sums which, under ordinary circumstances, go to enrich the few, have been scattered about doing good to the many. How different from the record of “prohibition,” which has almost everywhere been judged a failure by impartial and competent men!

That such results should follow municipal ownership and control is not, after all, a matter of surprise. To the ordinary observer it is quite evident that the granting of a licence greatly enhances the value of the building so licensed. At the West Hartlepool Brewster Sessions last year two applicants offered to give, in relief of local rates, sums of £500 and £1 000 respectively to the Bench to induce them to grant new licences;\* and, as a further proof of the value set upon a licence I notice the “trade” has established an insurance company, which gives compensation for loss of licence, amounting in some cases to £3,000. Another instance came under my notice recently. The magistrates at Pontypridd, having granted an application for full licence, the building, which was declared in the course of evidence in support of the application to be worth £2,400, was, very soon after the granting of the licence, sold to a brewery company for £11,200! The brewery company, being able to afford to give £8,800 for the licence—which is exactly what the figures mean—it seems pretty obvious that it must be worth even more than that amount. These are by no means isolated or particularly glaring examples. Plenty of others might be given did space permit, and it is a well-attested fact that a licence is frequently worth more than twice the amount in the case I have given. When we remember that in almost every town and city there are a large number of

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\* See “Scottish Temperance League Journal,” September 25, 1897.

such examples, the importance of this aspect of the question becomes apparent; and we feel that, in addition to many moral advantages, municipalisation of the liquor traffic would place at the disposal of the community great sums of money which, wisely expended, would be to the common advantage and enjoyment. Where, in face of these possibilities, is the wisdom or the morality of a system which, based on private ownership and control, at once makes the moral gain largely impossible, and directs the financial benefits arising from the trade into channels that are *anti social*, from whence it is used, not for, but against, the community?

### III.

In the substitution of municipal for private ownership and control, then, lies, in my opinion, the only effective method of dealing with the great sphinx-problem of temperance reform. To the inquirer as to ways and means, I must content myself with suggesting a general law, giving into the hands of *existing* local governing bodies—the London County Council, the town and urban district councils—the power to manage the retail trade in their respective areas, and to establish, when necessary, their own breweries and distilleries.\* Such law should also, in my judgment, fix a maximum and minimum limit to the number of public-houses according to population. The Local Government Board should also be entrusted with the power to grant parish councils the same power to engage in the trade as enjoyed by the town and urban district councils. Needless to say, the adoption of the Act should be optional; indeed, there seems to be no reason why an act containing these powers might not contain an alternative option. With that, however, I am not at present concerned.

In order to meet the difficulties which the "club" system presents, special provision would have to be made. On the one hand, it is quite certain that in many towns, such as Blackburn and Cardiff, for example, this system is becoming one of great magnitude. The revenue is simply being cheated by the establishment of unlicensed drinking dens, freed from every vestige of control, and, therefore, far more to be feared than the ordinary public-house. On the other hand, there seems to be no reason why any body of responsible people, having premises not primarily intended for the sale of intoxicants, should be prevented from having drink upon such premises for the consumption of their members. An easy way out of the difficulty would appear to be to place all such clubs on a licence basis; licenses to be granted by the municipal body on the "high licence" plan, up to now, I believe, peculiar to America. Means could also be devised to prevent these clubs becoming mere places for the sale of drink when the ordinary places are closed.

The amount raised under the present system from the "trade" for imperial purposes by the Government would, of course, have to be raised under municipalism in the ordinary way.

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\* In Switzerland *State* distilleries are carried on with great moral and financial success. (See "Social Switzerland," by W. H. Dawson. Chapman and Hall, fs.)



Of course, there are difficulties to be met; it would be idle to attempt a denial of the fact. But they are not insuperable, and I am convinced that, given a law on the lines I have suggested, it can, by careful administration be made the means of reducing drunkenness and its attendant evils to a minimum; and of using the profits arising from the traffic, to brighten the lives of the people and inculcate principles of sobriety and good citizenship in the minds of the children, who will be the men and women of a near future. Surely this, a by no means improbable result, is worth striving for, and infinitely better than to allow the traffic to go on bolstering up the worst forms of capitalism with its hellish strife?

To the objector, whose "conscience forbids him to share in the profits of the traffic,"—to touch the "blood-money," and so on, I would put the question: "Why do you not petition the Chancellor of the Exchequer to remove the 'duties' upon drink from which *you* benefit?" Try to disguise the fact as they may, our shrieking opponents cannot deny that every citizen of the land shares the benefits arising from those "duties." Free education and lessened taxation are not refused, why then should further lessening of taxation by the same means be objected to? "Municipalise the drink traffic and it is the drink traffic still," cries some "temperance" zealot. Yes, but it is the drink traffic held in check and bereft of its most hideous features; it is the drink traffic controlled by the community, instead of controlling it; it is the drink traffic in chains. Therefore, upon the highest grounds of civic and social morality, not less than upon the lower grounds of political expediency and economic gain, do we base our advocacy of the municipalisation of the drink traffic.

J. SPARGO.

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### **SHEFFIELD MUNICIPAL TRAMWAY PROFITS.**

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THE Corporation of Sheffield has made a net profit of £13,412 on its municipal tramways for the twelve months ended March 25 last. The accounts which have just been published show the continued progress of the undertaking. Sheffield is preparing to extend its tramway system, and introduce electric traction, but up to now it has been working the system as the company left it, except that it has been in every way improved. There are only nine miles of double line, but the Corporation is carrying two million more passengers a year than the company, and after paying more wages and cutting down the hours of the workmen, is still able to show greater profits. The company in its last year had a revenue of £39,995. The receipts during the last twelve months have been £54,084. The "running" expenses and additions to premises and stock during the year amounted to £23,759. Traffic expenses were £8,637, interest and repayment of stock came to £8,060. After all the expenses were met the net surplus was over £13,000, which is about equal to 13 per cent. on the capital expenditure. When last year's profit is added there is a surplus of £20,000 in hand. The people of Sheffield are highly satisfied with their municipal enterprise, and are looking forward to greater things when the new system is inaugurated.

## THE JEWISH WORKING WOMEN IN THE EAST END.

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DURING the last two years I have applied myself to a little personal inquiry into the life and labour conditions of the Jewish working women in the East End of London, the results of which seem to me to be very dreadful.

A very small number of Jewish working women find employment in large factories; there they are relatively comfortable, for the hours of labour of working women being regulated by law, and the factories being under the more effective inspection of factory inspectors, the working women there are insured against abuse of every kind; their work, moreover, being less influenced by occasional fluctuations in the market, they have little or no slack time, &c.

But quite the reverse is it with the small workshops and the home industries, where, and in which, the greatest part of Jewish working women are employed, and submitted to the worst sweating system. The small Jewish master ordinarily starts his business without any capital. The little machinery he has he obtains from a machine manufacturer on the hire system, the raw material is given to him by the big manufacturer for whom he is working, and the money wherewith to pay his workers he receives from the former by delivering the goods previously ordered. Consequently, having nothing to lose, the Jewish sweater can bear without any harm to himself the changes of the market. But not so his workpeople. Taking into consideration that most of the Jewish working women are employed in the clothing—especially in the tailoring—trades, *i.e.*, sweating and home industries *par excellence*, which trades are very liable to the caprice of fashion and market, and it is easy to understand that the employment in them is most irregular. Sometimes the Jewish working women are overworked to an almost superhuman degree, at other times they are idle for weeks and months. When busy they work generally from seven in the morning till nine in the evening, having but an hour for dinner and a quarter of an hour for tea. But often they have to work till eleven and twelve o'clock at night, and, as a rule, on Friday they work well into the small hours of the morning. It is no rare occurrence for a girl to faint away over her bench exhausted by overwork. As soon as the busy time is over all the girls are dismissed, the master knowing very well that he can at any time get as many of them as he may want. But, dismissed or not, they must come to the workshop three or four times a day in case there may be some occasional work which otherwise would be given to another girl. Some masters even force their working women to pass all their slack time in the workshop for "show," as they call it; that is, to give the workshop the appearance of a very busy one. As soon as an occasional customer or visitor enters the shop the hands and the machines begin to be busy and to handle anything, which little comedy

ceases as soon as the visitor is gone. Thus, busy or not, the poor girls are forced to pass all their time over the bench.

The maximum wage of a good skilled workwoman, tailoress, cigarette-maker, &c., is on the average from seven to eight shillings a week; that of an unskilled, feller-hand in tailoring trade, cutter in cigarette making, holer in boot trade, &c., is but four to five shillings a week. Of course, there are working women who earn twelve and fifteen shillings a week, but there are also others who get but two shillings, and even nothing at all. To get the working girls for nothing the Jewish sweaters go to the docks, where every week arrive some ships bringing Jewish emigrants from Russia. Arriving at such a hell as East London is, and having nobody to take care of her, a young girl feels happy to find a "benefactor" offering her a "home," and promising to teach her a trade, and to meanwhile take "every care" of her. She consents to enter into his service for a certain time—in many cases for three years—without receiving any wage, and very often she even pays him a certain sum for the "instruction," after two or three days of which she is fully acquainted with the specialised work, and is from day to day making the sweater a little present of fourteen or fifteen hours of gratuitous work. Becoming acquainted with the local conditions she asks for wages, or otherwise leaves the place; but that does not matter, the Jewish sweater will find "greeners" enough to immediately replace her. He finds them not only in the docks, where he gets them directly from the ship, but also by "contracting" them from their poor parents, who are glad to rid themselves of a "superfluous mouth," and from the numerous "shelters" which are created by the Jewish philanthropists nominally to protect the Jewish immigrants from every kind of fraud, but which really are but institutions supplying the small masters with cheap or gratuitous labour.

At the Jewish sweaters' shops piecework largely prevails. This, of course, greatly increases the practice of overtime, the girls being obliged to gain by overwork that which they lose by low prices.

The wage the Jewish working women manage to earn is quite insufficient for the satisfaction of the most elementary of human needs. They never eat enough to stay their hunger. The ordinary *menu* of a Jewish working girl is as follows:—A cup of coffee and a slice of bread\* for breakfast. Dinner consists ordinarily of bread and soup, which is made of pearl barley, oatmeal, beans, or such like, with fat and sometimes bones. At tea-time the girls get from the master a cup of tea, but they have to provide their own bread. For supper, bread, a bit of salt herring or kipper, and a cup of tea. On Fridays they have for supper some fried fish, and on Saturdays they enjoy the pleasure of a bit of meat. Naturally, this single meat-meal which they have on Saturdays does not return them the forces exhausted by the hard

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\* The "coffee" is made of chicory, whitened by a spoonful of skimmed milk. The preparation of this "coffee" is very simple. Two teaspoonfulls of chicory are boiled during a quarter of an hour in two to three pints of water, and then added to a halfpenny worth of milk, which serves to breakfast seven or eight persons. The bread used is that of rye, and is, of course, considerably less nutritious than that of wheat; this latter bread (called "khala") the poor Jew enjoys only on Saturdays.

work done during the whole week, so that it would not be an exaggeration to state that most of the Jewish working women in the East-end of London are subjected to a slow but sure starvation.

With regard to the lodgings of the Jewish poor people generally, and the workshop girls especially, I do not think there could be anything worse. I have thoroughly studied this side of the poor Jew's life, and I can affirm that the hygienic conditions of the lodging of a poor Jew are as bad as those at the Asiatic centres of cholera. Those who wish to get acquainted with those conditions, I would advise to live a couple of weeks in one of those huge barracks of which so many have been erected by four per cent. philanthropists for the "good" of the poor, and of which beautiful samples are the Brady Street Buildings, in Brady Street, Whitechapel, or Rothschild's Buildings, or such like. I hardly exaggerate when I say that in all those buildings the average number of persons sleeping in a room not quite large enough to serve as a proper bedroom for one person is never below five. To have a bed for oneself is a luxury which is beyond the means of the average poor Jewish working girl. As a rule, they sleep two and three in the same bed, for which they pay one shilling and sixpence or two shillings each, according as they sleep two or three in a bed. A "respectable" housekeeper changes the linen of her lodgers once monthly, and as such "respectability" does not suit every housekeeper this is generally done but two or three times a year. There is hardly one family living in those four per cent. philanthropic buildings who do not keep lodgers in one of the two rooms, and I have seen many apartments where the number of persons occupying two rooms was as large as eleven, twelve, and thirteen. Cases where a family of five persons occupy one and the same bed in the first room and three lodging girls the other bed in the second are very numerous in those buildings. But these latter are still relatively superior to many of the private houses, which are often overcrowded with people to such a degree that in the night time one can hardly find there a spot not occupied by a human body. Cellar and garret, workshop and kitchen, and even the passages serve as bedrooms; men, women, and children lie pell-mell in beds, on shop-boards and benches, on the floor, &c. I was once particularly impressed with a bootmaker's family living in one of the main thoroughfares in Whitechapel. The house consisted of a small workshop and kitchen having room just enough for a table and two chairs on the first floor, and a small bedroom on the second. This latter was entirely filled up with a large bed and a small chair-bed. One, used more or less to have a little air in his bedroom, would in no case imagine this little room convenient to sleep in for himself; now, there slept in this room in the large bed the housekeeper, his wife, and two of the children; a boy of 8 and another one of 5. The chair-bed was used by a boy of 14 and a daughter of 16. The elder son—20 years of age—slept in the workshop on a bench; from the workshop was parted by a low wooden partition a kind of bedroom without windows, and just large enough to contain a bed, not having even a passage, so that the two lodging girls who

slept in the bed had to enter directly through the door which separated the room from the workshop. The air in this house was so foul and infected, that one not used to the East End miasmas would feel sick on entering it.

Is it astonishing, then, that the state of health of the poor Jew, living under such hygienic conditions, is most deplorable? Is there any wonder that the mortality of the children of the poor Jews in the East End is ten times as great as that of the children of the rich Jews living in the healthiest quarters of London? The Jewish working woman, being under the continuous influence of these insanitary conditions of work and life, gives birth to a race of degenerate human beings. Diseases of every kind are very common among the Jewish women. The observers of Jewish life, meeting with the astonishing passion of the Jewish woman of swallowing medicines, are often inclined to attribute it to the national character of the Jew. But this passion comes simply from the unhealthiness of the poor Jewish woman, due to overwork, insufficient nourishment, and vitiated air in the workshop and lodging. Malformation of the vertebra, pains in the back, swelling of the veins and of the articulations, tumors at the femur and legs, malformation of the pelvis, disorder in the menses, eczema, miscarriages—these are the very ordinary diseases of the Jewish working women and girls. But other diseases, also common to all workpeople, do not miss them: chest diseases and especially tuberculosis. This proletarian disease *par excellence* finds many victims among Jewish working women. The continuous insufficiency of nourishment, almost equal to chronic starvation, and the vitiated air of the workshops and lodgings make the body of the working woman a nutritious ground very favourable to the development of Koch's caquette. As a rule, the Jewish working woman, and especially the girls, are all suffering from different diseases of the digestive organs. The almost exclusively vegetarian nourishment, containing far less nutritious matter, must be taken in great quantities, and owing to its low digestibility, puts a great strain upon the digestion, and thus occasions serious disorders and disease of the stomach and intestinal organs. Hemorrhoids—a disease which is rarely to be found among women generally—is common enough to the Jewish working women.

The Jewish working woman is oppressed not only economically, she is forced to submit to sexual exploitation as well. Generally speaking, the Jewish woman is of a high moral character; she is not often prostituting herself, *i.e.*, she is not willing to extract wages from her own body; moreover, being in general anæmic of constitution, she has no strong sexual feeling; it is a rare occurrence, therefore, to see a Jewish girl having a "sweetheart," or "walking" the street. This high level of "morality," we must admit, is not because of the high intellectual development of her mind, for, as a rule, the Jewish girl of the East End is as uncultured as possible; neither is it rooted in the education given her in her childhood—the children of the poor Jews get educated in the streets—it is mainly

\* The "public opinion," or rather the opinion of the Jewish neighbours living in the narrow limits of the same street or buildings, plays a considerable role in the life of the Jews, and influences almost all deeds and facts of their life.



caused by the great fear of public opinion, of "what they will say." But, nevertheless, being subject to the will of the master and foreman, the Jewish girl is not seldom forced to submit to their lasciviousness. We feel bound to say that, generally the Jewish master, having, as a rule, a large family, is as "moral" as the Jewish working girl, on the average, is, and cases of sexual exploitation of the girls by their masters seldom occur. More frequent are the cases of intimidation and violation of the girls by the foremen, especially with the coming of the slack time; the girls become more dependent of the will of their foreman, and naturally are then less able to resist their lustful caprices.

These sad conditions of the Jewish working women at length destroy in them all moral and intellectual energy. Getting out of the ship on her arrival in London, and making her first step on the "hospitable" English shore, the Jewish girl is full of energy, and hopes to live a happy life. Alas, both the energy and hope are soon gone, and she becomes possessed of a most complete and sad apathy. The Jewish workshop girl does not acquire any interest in anything out of the range of the narrow sphere of her workshop, her own family, or her lodging-house. Her intellectual horizon is as narrow as it is possible to imagine. Public matters, matters of social interest—she does not know what these are. The greatest events may occur in her native country—they will never attract her attention for a moment. She has heard there exists in London trade unions—even Jewish trade unions—but she dreads to think of being approached by a trade unionist. Only think! the trade unionists want to strike. Horror! Has she not slack time enough without being forced to idleness by a strike? The Jewish girl of the East End of London is as illiterate as an inhabitant of the Fiji Isles. She can neither read nor write, not only English, but even in her own language. Moral and intellectual pleasure does not exist for her. The only pleasure for which she is willing to make every possible sacrifice is to be well dressed on Saturdays; the only ideal aimed at during all her poor single life—alas, with very little chance of realisation—is to get married. This is the supreme happiness which recompenses her for all the privations, all the hardships which she has had to submit to since her arrival in London. Above that—no other aims, no other thoughts. To unite, to band themselves together, to resist in any way the killing effects of the sweating system, has not yet entered the uncultured minds of the poor creatures. Their misery engenders their impotence—their impotence perpetuates their misery.

Is there any remedy for the inhuman exploitation of these young human beings? To my mind, there is but one: An effective legislation, especially adapted to the small workshops of the Jewish sweaters, with a view of regulating their hygienic and labour conditions, with, above all, a sufficient staff of Jewish-speaking factory inspectors to enforce the law.

L. SELITRENNY.

## VICTORY OBLIGES.

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It is with pride that the central organ of the French Labour Party—taking up again its fighting position in the international labour army—can state the glorious progress made by our forces this very year.

From April to June—that is, in three months—true Socialism, which knows not and will never know frontiers—had four battles to fight, and won all four of them.

The first to open the electoral fire were our brethren of Denmark. Nine of them went out from the Chamber, thirteen of them returned to it—that is four seats taken from the enemy, without counting notable minorities in other constituencies.

The same success in Belgium, where the Labour Party at the partial legislative elections had but twenty-eight elected, instead of its former twenty-nine, the number of Socialist votes has mounted from 240,200 to 322,900.

Still more triumphant has been the forward march of the valiant German Social-Democracy. From forty-eight the number of their representatives in the Reichstag has risen to fifty-seven; at the same time the number of votes exceeded two millions—2,120,000, against 1,786,000 in 1893. Now, on the other side of the Vosges they are not electors until twenty-five years of age, and, for the first time, our comrades have found against them a coalition—at least for the second ballot—of all the bourgeois parties, even the most divided before, from the Catholic Centre to the Progressists and Democrats.

In France, where this coalition becomes more and more a general and permanent fact, we had to expect here and there some defeats, more apparent than real, but, far from suffering an encroachment, that fraction of our proletariat which is already organised into a party of social emancipation comes out from its treble dual with the State, the Church, and the High-Patronat—which personally entered the lists—with more than doubled forces.

There were twenty-six Socialists in the last Chamber; there are thirty-eight in the new one—and, what is most important, although because of want of men and women we could enter into line in only 248 constituencies of the 581, there were nevertheless over 800,000 votes that we polled at the first ballot, and the half of them on the programme and candidates of the French Labour Party.

By the avowal of our bitterest adversaries, there is but one party which could call itself victorious, and it is ours.

But victory obliges. Our duty is growing large and our responsibility extends with the extension of the party itself.

The more numerous are the workers who come to us from the fields and towns the more we have to defend them and back them to defend themselves against attempts to attract them away from Socialism, or against the surrounding counterfeits of Socialism with the purpose of misleading them—attempts to which they cannot fail to be subject.

How many besides there are among these new comers who are ours yet

but partially—I might say electorally? We have to instruct, to discipline, to train them for the future and decisive contests.

Of the electors of yesterday we have to make the militants of to-morrow—conscious and complete Socialists—in their turn recruiters and educators.

For that there is a need to separate more and more the solution—the wise solution of the social problem—from all that differs from it and will divert people from it by hiding it from view. Above the partial reforms—which we do not disdain, but which could be but means, not the end, because even being all realised they will leave humanity as miserable, subjected and divided against itself as it is now. It is indispensable to hold erect higher than ever as a guiding and centralising beacon the unity of social property and production which science prepares and human liberation demands.

In other words, far from being at its end, the theoretical and doctrinal propaganda which has been the *raison d'être* and the glory of our party, now, in fact, only commences. It has more and more to inspire and dominate all our action.—JULES GUESDE.

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### “THE PART OF WOMEN IN LOCAL ADMINISTRATION.”

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In the *Westminster Review* “Ignota,” under the above heading, says:—  
 “Since the elections of this spring there appear to have been a dozen or more women Guardians added at bye-elections or by co-optation—bringing the total number in England and Wales at the present time up to 983.”  
 “Of course, there are still benighted districts where this masculine prejudice against the co-operation of women still exists in full force; there still remain three or four clerks to Boards of Guardians who are thankful to say that they have no women on their board, but such antiquated prejudices are rapidly dying out.” “There are at the present time in the United Kingdom 1,040 women fulfilling the duties of Poor Law Guardians. There are, moreover, in England and Wales about 200 parish councillors and over 200 women members of School Boards in Great Britain.” “That a woman could be overseer was legally decided in the affirmative at an early period. There are now women overseers in many unions, the Chepstow Union having women overseers in five different parishes. There are several women registrars of births and deaths, and a large number of women deputy registrars. There are at least four women employed in England as rate-collectors. The School Board of one of our large northern cities employs no fewer than twenty-eight women in the capacity of school-attendance officers. Many women are engaged as sanitary inspectors, mainly by municipal corporations and London vestries.”

“Until 1896 women in Ireland had no place whatever as elected persons in local administration. By a measure introduced by Mr. William Johnston, M.P. for South Belfast, and carried into law in that year, it is provided that no person otherwise qualified to be elected and to be a Guardian for a Poor Law union in Ireland, shall be disqualified by sex or marriage from being elected or being such Guardian, anything contained in any Act to the contrary notwithstanding. Under that Act seventeen women Guardians in fourteen unions have already been elected in Ireland.”

## THE COST OF "MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM."

THE term Socialism, even in its formation, is essentially vague. But socialistic systems, while they are vague and inconclusive in regard to particulars, offer to-day in their general outlines a relative agreement. Socialism is now understood to mean a theory of society in which economic production is socialised or collectivised—that is, in which the means of production are held in common. In spite of the fact that the definition of Marx, of Malon, and of Bakounin differed somewhat from this, the word Socialism has no longer the uncertainty which it once had. Coupled with adjectives, the signification of the word Socialism, of course, varies. What, then, is to be understood by the expression "municipal Socialism?" While to-day we hear a great deal about municipal Socialism, no one seems to know exactly what it is. I have tried in vain to find a satisfactory definition. Finally I have attempted to construct a theory by means of the facts.

At the recent International Congress of Socialists in London the municipalities of Saint Denis and Saint Owen were recognised as socialistic. In a recent volume issued from the Statistical Office of the Department of the Seine for the most important municipalities of this department, outside of Paris, I find for 1895 the following eloquent data :—

Communes.	Inhabitants.	Octroi.	Other imposts.	Octroi per capita.
Vincennes .....	25,000	254,000	133,000	15.50
Ivry .....	23,000	282,000	113,000	17.95
Auberville .....	25,000	372,000	114,000	20.65
Clichy .....	30,000	555,000	93,000	21.60
Leo-Perret .....	40,000	766,000	164,000	23.25
Saint Owen .....	26,000	465,000	165,000	24.20
Saint Denis .....	51,000	1,080,000	185,000	24.80

These figures show that the socialistic municipalities of Saint Owen and of Saint Denis are at once distinguished from all the others by the large imposts which they collected. Roubaix has also been cited as a model socialistic municipality. Notice how in three consecutive years the entries of the municipality of Roubaix, thanks to the work of the Socialists, increased :—

1891		1892		1893
4,620,460	.....	4,726,035	.....	5,319,203

Max Albert, who gives these statistics concerning the municipal financial operations of the Socialists of Roubaix, adds : "Such, rapidly sketched, is the work of the socialistic Communal Council of Roubaix in the two years since it was elected. Behold what the working men of Roubaix have accomplished in two years !" And in manifest complacency he continues, "It was not upon the labouring class that this new impost fell." He concludes by saying that he leaves it "to all well disposed men to judge the work of the socialistic municipality of Roubaix." Truly I do not know what judgment well disposed men would form of the socialistic municipality of Roubaix, but the fact remains that while the Socialists denounce all cases of taxes unjustly levied, Albert still boasts of what the Socialists have done at

Roubaix. It would be easy to cite many other cases of municipal Socialism, especially in Belgium and in England. In England municipal Socialism has advanced more rapidly than in other countries, and in that country the expenses of local public bodies, which were about fifty millions a few years ago, were in 1895 seventy millions, and the public debt of these local public bodies has increased from 2,300 million pounds in 1875 to 5,500 million pounds in 1895. That is, the public debt of English local bodies was almost trebled in twenty years, while in the same time the National Debt decreased from nineteen billions to sixteen billions. Knowing these facts, I follow the advice of August Comte and deduce from them the simplest hypothesis. Now, the most obvious and clearest deduction in our case is the following: municipal Socialism signifies a prodigious increase of the expenses of local public bodies. When the *laissez faire* economists were still alive, they affirmed that the tax collector is equally odious to the taxpayer whether he comes in the name of the State or in the name of the local authorities. But at present *laissez faire* economists seem to be exiled to the planet Neptune. If they were still on earth they would without much difficulty demonstrate that public services performed by the municipality cost more and are not so well executed as they are when left to individual activity and free competition. In England, as municipal Socialism prevails quite generally, all the more important cities have monopolised the tramways and the omnibuses. In his "Voyage of Discoveries" of Signor Faubert, lately published, Yves Guyot makes a very interesting comparison. He shows that in none of the principal cities of England are the means of transporting the people so well arranged, so convenient, and so swift, as in London. An exception among the more important cities of England, the metropolis leaves this public service to free competition. For three or four pence one may ride across London, a distance of fully thirty miles. And yet, even in London, we find a growing tendency towards municipal Socialism. The functions of its local governing bodies have been enlarged and an ever increasing burden of taxation has been laid upon its citizens. Already municipal scandals seem in order; such, for instance, as the boodling in the financial administration of the city discovered recently by Stead.—G. FLAMINGO, in the *Political Science Quarterly*.

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## **WONDERFUL LIQUID AIR.—A SCIENTIFIC DREAM COME TRUE.**

THE commercial world is already astounded by a slight insight into what liquid air may do when rightly applied. For instance, its use in the propulsion of a vessel using 400 tons of coal a day would reduce the coal necessities to 100 tons per day and increase the speed capacity of the vessel 85 per cent.

Ocean liners would find that with liquid air their time would be cut from five or six to three or three and a half days. A vessel now steaming at eighteen knots per hour could increase that time to thirty-two knots. Commercially this gain to the world in time would be represented by millions of money.

With liquid air the steam engine ceases to be a necessity, the submarine boat becomes a certainty, a new curative agent for consumption is discovered, excessive heat in close places is done away with, an explosive is provided so deadly that the force of Atlas, dynamite, and the deadly gun cotton pales into insignificance. Distance is annihilated as it never was before, conditions of men are elevated, and a new instrument of progress is delivered to man.

English scientists paid £800 for the production of the first ounce of liquid air ever experimentally secured by them.

Liquid air when produced has a temperature 312 deg. below zero, Fahrenheit. When expanding to return to its gaseous state the power is developed which makes it the wonder of the ending century. Two distinct fluids are found in it—liquefied nitrogen and liquefied oxygen. It can be dipped up with a tin cup, and poured into a dish like so much water.

The intensity of the cold of liquid air makes iron and steel extremely brittle, while it increases their tensile strength temporarily. Copper, gold, silver, aluminium, platinum, and most other metals are not so affected. Drop an oyster into the liquid, and it is frozen solid instantly. Beef steak is made so solid a mass by it that it may be then pounded into powder.

Mercury becomes a solid bar of metal when immersed in the liquid.

Once created, liquid air simmers like a kettle on the range. The pot in which it boils is heavily coated with frost. The harder it boils the more intense becomes the cold produced. Placed in a tea kettle, the fluid boils without fire. Wood saturated with the fluid burns like gunpowder.

As an explosive, there is no thickness of armour which could resist a shell or torpedo charged with liquid air. A sponge soaked in it explodes with a loud report. A wad of oily cotton waste, first wet in turpentine and then saturated with the fluid, becomes of greater explosive force than gun-cotton. Gas-tubing charged with this wad explodes into fragments, windows go out, plaster falls, the building rocks, and a miniature earthquake is produced. Still, the liquid may be safely packed in cans and conveyed considerable distances without the slightest danger to human life. So far experiment has proved that it may be produced, and its power retained, for thirty six hours before complete return to the gaseous state sets in. Future advances in knowledge of the product will undoubtedly extend that time as much as practical use demands.

For the use of physicians liquid air offers a product free from all disease germs. The stimulating effect of oxygen may be secured through it without trouble, and free from the impurities which now endanger the use of that gas. Hospital wards can be cooled to any temperature desired, and yellow fever patients kept in a temperature so near freezing that their recovery is hastened and danger of contagion removed. Even hay fever and asthma may be relieved by its use, and the cauterisation of flesh be made the perfect success which it is not now with nitrate of silver.

No secret is involved in the process of producing liquid air, and, its cost being comparatively slight, it appears to be at easy command for the commercial as well as the military world. In its potency it very much resembles compressed air, although far cheaper of production.

Liquid air may be bottled and carried around in your pocket, provided you encase the bottle in another and have a vacuum between the two. Otherwise you will find a large block of ice in your pocket, which, if you touch it, will severely burn you. You may take a coffee cup and pour liquid air into it. Boiling and sizzling the air encases the cup with ice. Insert a steel wire in this and it will be consumed. Pour water in and more ice will be formed. Put a flame under the cup and ice forms on the bottom.

Liquid air is a denial and an assertion, a paradox, a contradiction, and an affirmation as simply produced as water, as easily controlled as a child, as dangerous as any force known, more useful when properly applied than any power now at the service of man. A teaspoonful may be used to destroy a city or to furnish the energy by which a thousand engines may be driven.

The discovery of its properties is an American scientific triumph unequalled by even the revelation of electricity's potency.—AMERICAN PAPER.



## THE GERMAN ELECTIONS.

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"MUCH was made by the Liberal parties during the recent election of the Government's alleged desire to abolish manhood suffrage, in view of the steady progress of Social Democracy. Such a design has not only never been admitted, but it has been disavowed.

"That the Government would only be too glad to revise the electoral law can well be understood. It knows—as every thoughtful observer knows—that universal suffrage is the effective instrument by means of which the Social-Democratic Party has achieved its present powerful position, and hopes with every reason to become, before long, a determining power in the Reichstag. Already they are the first party by number of votes, and second by number of seats.

"Once let the Social-Democratic Party acquire the predominance at which it aims, and nothing short of an open *coup d'état* on the part of the Federal Government, either supported or not by a portion of the Reichstag, would accomplish the constitutional revision which may deem to be desirable and not a few to be indispensable.

"The recent elections have, however, shown another way of meeting the onslaught of Social-Democracy, and this is one of the most remarkable features of the contest. It is the way of combination. Immediately the first elections were decided the headquarters of each party issued the injunction that wherever Social-Democratic candidate were in the field, no effort should be spared to inflict upon them crushing defeat."

In Berlin, the council of the Conservative Party issued a formal appeal to the rank and file to forget their Conservatism for the moment, and to vote solidly for the Radical candidates. The appeal was heeded, for in two of the metropolitan districts in which they were successful the Radicals would have been overwhelmingly defeated had not their traditional enemies come to the rescue. More noteworthy still, in his constituency of Hagen, the arch-Radical, Herr Eugen Richter, received over 7,000 National Liberal and Ultramontane votes in the second ballots. In a number of Rhenish and other Catholic districts, Ultramontane candidates were supported both by Radicals and National Liberals, where Social-Democratic success was the only alternative.

"Alone, amongst Germany's many parties, the Socialists have fought the election by their own unaided strength."—W. H. DAWSON, in the *National Review*, August.

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## "BURYING CÆSAR—AND AFTER."

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IN the *Westminster Review*, under the above title, "A True Liberal" says:—"Amid the disruptions and personal contentions of Liberal sections and would-be Liberal leaders, the power of the classes grows and waxes day by day. The classes at any rate know what they want . . . There is incertitude and hesitation amongst those who pass as Liberal leaders, and there is little confidence reposed in those leaders by the voters with whom rests the final decision. The professed leaders of Liberalism belong almost entirely to the classes, and are, in their inmost hearts, as little concerned for the ascendancy of the masses as are those whom they would like to see displaced from their present administrative positions."

"In common with the old Whigs, whose political children they are, they make use of the vote of the masses for their own advantage and advancement but always with the reservation that they themselves are to be masters of the situation when office has once been obtained. The programme they approve is not a programme founded on sincere consideration for the principles of justice and liberty, or even a regard for national greatness and advantage; it is their endeavour rather so to adapt themselves to what seem to be the passing thoughts of the moment, that they may secure a fraction more support than is given to the Tory party—the party that, however erroneously, believes sincerely in the right of the few to govern the many . . . So long as there is any constitutional tie between Great Britain and Ireland, the interests of Ireland are sure to be sacrificed to the interests of Great Britain. If a difficulty has arisen through the enlargement of Irish demands, that difficulty is one of the penalties which the country has to pay for the constitutional right possessed by the classes to overrule the expressed wish of the masses."

"Perhaps of greater importance is the reform or abolition of the House of Lords. Of all monstrous anomalies and abuses in any country, or at any time, none can surely be greater than the power possessed by a mere handful of hereditary landowners to thwart, with the assistance of the head of a limited religious organisation, the expressed will of a majority in the country."

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## TENEMENT-HOUSE AGITATION IN BOSTON.

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OUR most conservative public opinion need not be alarmed at the slum-destroying proceedings of the Boston Board of Health while its spirit is that of the remark of its chairman, Dr. Durgin, at a recent meeting. The law permitting the Board of Health to tear down buildings has been in force since April, 1897, on which day it was approved by the Governor. In the fifteen months up to the present time the Board of Health has, according to Mr. Jordan, the chief inspector, "torn down," or more accurately and in the words of the law, "ordered to be removed," sixteen buildings. New York is the only other city in this country where the Board of Health has this power. There—even the law went into effect immediately after its passage on August 9, 1895—within the first fifteen months the Board of Health condemned and ordered removed seventy two buildings. Our Health Board refrained from using this important new power during nine months of last year. Hence in six months our board ordered sixteen buildings removed. But it is to be remembered that in one-half that time, in the three months between June 2 and September 1, 1896, the New York board ordered eighty houses removed. The sixteen houses which our Board of Health has condemned housed, according to a statement recently published, "more than one hundred families." It appears that four of them had not been occupied by any families for many months, and probably for several years; in all the other twelve there were at the most fifty-six families, probably only forty-five. In the eighty houses which the New York Board of Health condemned in three months, there lived 2,796 persons, or fully 550 families. During the last six weeks all, or nearly all, of our newspapers and very many prominent citizens have declared that the time has come when Boston should take more radical measures than ever before to destroy all houses which are unfit for men and women to live in, unfit for our children to grow up in. Mr. Birtwell well said at the hearing that there is more danger of going too slow than of going too fast in the destruction of these houses. Many persons have said that the descriptions of wretched and disgusting conditions given in the pamphlet of the Twentieth Century Club are a convincing proof of the need of going faster to get rid of our slums. Let any of our readers who wish for further proof of this remember what Dr. Durgin said, after carefully investigating the houses here described, and after listening attentively for nearly three hours to the various arguments of twenty-five or more speakers why these houses should be ordered, to be vacated, and removed: "With all the investigations that have been made by the committee of the club, they have not yet found the worst places in Boston which the Board of Health knows about."—*Public Opinion*.



## WHAT UNIFORMS COST.

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THE expenditure on military millinery is inconveniently high, as many who wear it will mournfully agree. The bearskin of an officer of the Scots Guards costs over £11 ; the helmet of a lieutenant of Dragoons a similar sum ; and the sable, bushy plume, and the ring, proper to an officer of Hussars runs into a sovereign more.

The gold-embroidered shoulder belt and pouch of one Hussar regiment costs fourteen guineas ; and the dress jacket of an officer of the Horse Artillery amounts to what appears to be the ridiculously unnecessary sum of £23. The embroidered scarlet tunic of a Queen's aide-de-camp reaches to nearly £50 in price.

In the navy uniforms are much more moderate and reasonable in price. An admiral's full-dress coat, the most costly item in a naval wardrobe, can be had for £12, and a captain's frock-coat, with gold lace on the sleeves, costs £3 less than the Hussar officer's busby. The price of a general's gold dress sash alone would pay for six pairs of pilot trousers of an admiral of the fleet. These are curious discrepancies.

The various civic uniforms are expensive in their degree. The full-dress embroidered coat and gold lace trousers of the Prime Minister cost over £75 ; while an under-secretary can procure his at less than half that sum. A few shillings under £20 suffices for the embroidered uniform of a lord lieutenant of a county or city.

Civilians who hold no office have some reason to congratulate themselves upon the ordinary character of the evening dress suit, which is comparatively so inexpensive and probably much more comfortable than the costly garments inseparable from the various uniforms.

But who invented the dress-coat ? And was it the inventor who decreed that it should be ever black ? Before the forties it was permitted to be brown, blue, or green. Frenchmen often wear it in red, but Englishmen stick pertinaciously to black. Is it, as the author inclines to think, a survival of Puritan times, propagated in America, and transplanted to England as fittest wear for pessimistic men ?—AMERICAN PAPER.

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## COMPANIONS IN MISFORTUNE.

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It was a bitter cold night; the wind blew shrilly from the north-east, and a drizzling icy sleet was falling. Except for an occasional late 'bus, or a belated foot passenger hurrying homewards, the streets were deserted. One wayfarer, however, seemed to be in no hurry to escape from the inclement weather, as, with overcoat buttoned up to his chin, he turned leisurly out of the Strand towards Waterloo Bridge. As he neared the bridge he passed a woman walking even more leisurely than himself.

"Good night," she said, almost in a whisper, as he went by. He shrugged his shoulders without answering, bent his head still lower on his breast, and went on. Then he stood irresolute, and looked round. The woman approached and laid her hand on his arm. He looked down into her face. It was that of a young and good-looking woman, though bearing the evidences of want and exposure.

"Where are you going, my dear?" she asked, with a forced attempt at gaiety, and trembling with cold as she spoke.

"To tell the truth, I don't know," was the answer, given in a not unkindly tone.

"Won't you come with me?"

"No, I don't think so. But what are you doing out here at this time; and such a night, too?"

"I am out here because I have nowhere else to go."

"But you asked me to go with you— where?"

"Oh, there are plenty of places I could go to if I had money, but I am stoney-broke."

"So am I" said the man, with a short, bitter laugh. "If I had had enough money to pay for a shelter you wouldn't have seen me hanging about here a night like this. And if I had any money on me now I'd give you some and tell you to get somewhere out of this infernal weather."

"Haven't you got a penny? There's a coffee-stall just over the bridge, and I could do with a drop of something hot; I am just chilled to the bone."

"I have just got a penny and that's all. That's why I stopped. Here you are," he added, holding out the coin.

"Oh, come on," she exclaimed, pulling at his arm, "You come and treat me; you will have the pleasure of seeing me enjoy the drink."

They walked together over the bridge, and the man stood as closely as possible to the coke fire on the coffee-stall, while the woman slowly drank the steaming coffee. When she had finished, they walked together back over the bridge. They descended the steps leading to the Embankment; the man took an old newspaper from his pocket and spread it on one of the steps in the angle of the stairway, and there they sat down together.

The man felt his companion shiver by his side. He took off his overcoat, disclosing the fact that he had neither coat nor vest beneath it, and, turning it sideways, drew it over the shoulders of his companion as well as over his own. Thus, huddled together, they did not feel the cold so much.

The woman opened her eyes in surprise when he removed his overcoat, and she saw his bare shoulders.

"But you are not a tramp!" she exclaimed.

"Yes, I am—now," he replied. "But I am not used to the business yet," he added, with a grim smile.

"But I thought you were a respectable man when I spoke to you."

"Well, so I am, or, I suppose I should say I was, for I suppose this aint very respectable to be here like this, is it?"

"You looked respectable enough when you had your coat buttoned up. But how did you come down to this? Haven't you any home to go to?"

"No, I haven't got any home, or anything now."

"But you must have some friends, surely?"

"Yes, I have friends, but you don't care to go to friends when you've got down as low as this."

"But you don't look so low down yet. You can't have had to rough it like this long?"

"No, it's only a short story, but it's not worth troubling you with."

"Well, it's too cold to sleep, so you might as well talk. It seems funny for a man like you to be knocking about like this."

"It's not so funny as you may think. I've had a run of bad luck, that's all. I had a decent job, and I got married. That was the beginning of it. My wife was of a more lively disposition than I was, and used to like to go about a lot. I didn't mind that a bit, but it wasn't my style, so I let her go by herself. Perhaps I was wrong, I don't know; but, anyway, I let her do as she liked, and she seemed happy enough, so I didn't trouble. I was at work all day. When I'd go home in the evening, sometimes she'd be there, but more often not. I didn't complain; I didn't believe in making a woman a slave, or keeping her tied to the place, and I had my books to interest myself with, and so, as she seemed to like it, I made no fuss. I should have liked her to be at home more, but, as she said, I was too slow-going for her altogether, so I let her have her way. But by-and-bye I found out that she was carrying on with some other fellow. He was a toff she had picked up at a dance she went to; a hikey, swellish sort of a cove that just took her fancy. Well, when I found it out I spoke to her about it quiet like. I thought I was a bit to blame for leaving her so much to herself. But she flared up; said she'd had enough of me, and was going to live with Mr. Blatherstone—that was his name. I said if she did she should never darken my door again. I was a bit mad at the time, you can guess, for I am sure if she had ever wanted to come back I'd have taken her back willingly.

"However, she was as good as her word, and went off with this fellow Blatherstone, and for some time I heard nothing of her. I was fairly miserable about it, I can tell you, and tried to find her out, for I wanted to get her back again; but I had my work to attend to, and the weeks went by and I didn't see or hear anything of her. By and bye, however, I got a summons from the police court. It was her doings. She charged me with desertion, and applied for a separation and maintenance order. Of course, I told how she had gone off with the other fellow, and all the whole rights of it; but she had a mouth-piece, and he was a main artful fellow, I tell you. He talked about this poor deserted woman, left entirely to her own devices; thrown into all kinds of temptation by the monstrous neglect of the callous, hard-hearted, brutal monster to whom she had the misfortune to be tied. He just worked upon the magistrate's feelings anyhow. I almost cried myself over the horrible sufferings I had—according to this man—inflicted on the poor creature. The upshot of it was that the magistrate read me a rare lecture on my inhuman conduct, which had driven my wife into vicious

courses. She got her separation order, and I had to pay her ten shillings a week maintenance."

"That was a bit rough on you after she had gone off with another man, wasn't it?"

"It was that, but the worst of it my boss got to know about the affair, and I got the sack. I tried all I knew to get another job, but it was no good. Work has not been very brisk ever since, but what made it worse for me, my story got spread about, and I couldn't get a job anywhere. I was very soon on my beam ends, for I hadn't saved anything to speak of; you can guess I couldn't save with a woman like that, so what little I had was soon spent, and then it came to pawning things. Of course, I couldn't pay my wife her allowance, and she'd got me fair set, I tell you; for what does she do but get a judgment against me, and sold up the home."

"And she living with the other fellow all the time?"

"Oh no, she didn't stop with him. If she had stayed with him, she couldn't have got the order in the first place. After she left him I tried to get her to come back again to me, but it was no good. She had got in with a rare crew, and although she didn't live with Blatherstone any longer, she was often about with him. But here am I running on, telling you all this, and I don't know you, and I don't suppose you are interested in it much. Besides, I reckon you are tired."

"I am tired," said the woman, yawning wearily. "I am awful cold, too," she added, huddling closer to him and shivering, "but I think I shall drop off directly. Go on, there's nothing much more to tell, is there?"

"No, not much. After she'd sold up the home there was nothing for it but to shift as best I could. My chances of getting a job didn't improve as I got worse off, and I had to pawn every possible thing. This overcoat was pretty good, and, being warm. I kept that and pawned the other things. This cold weather I can wear it buttoned up close, and so don't look so rough. I haven't been able to get any work, though. To-night I've been knocking about the Strand, trying to pick up a few coppers, but there's too many on that job for the likes of me to get a look in."

The man ceased speaking. His companion was asleep, her head resting against the granite wall of the bridge. He felt chilled through and half-frozen, but he, too, was growing drowsy. He huddled up close to his companion, and drew the coat more closely about them. Presently he, too, slept.

The sleet had ceased to fall, the sky had cleared. But the air had grown colder, though the wind had dropped, and the muddy puddles, turning to ice, glistened in the moonlight.

*(To be concluded.)*

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### **A REMEDY FOR FAMINE.**

*(Translated by J. L. Joynes from the German of Fr. Ruckert.)*

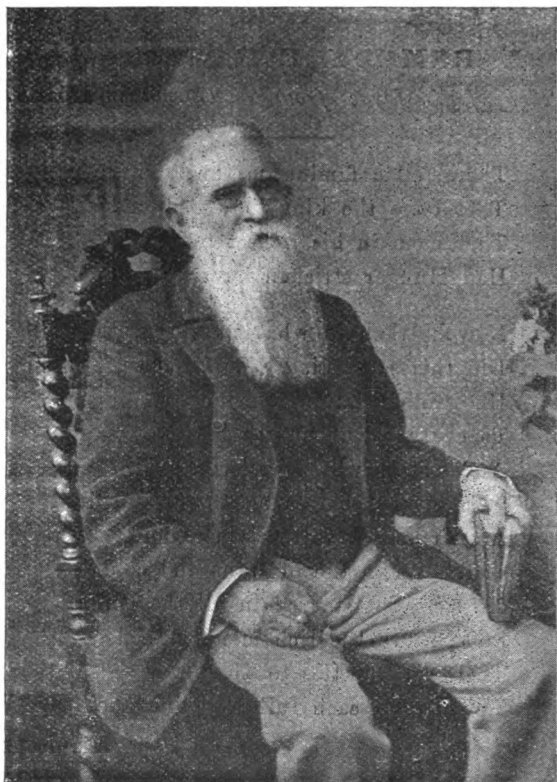
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There fell a famine on the land :  
They gave the king to understand  
That even in his richest town  
Had Hunger stricken hundreds down.

Now hearken in what cunning wise  
Did this same king a cure devise,  
He wrote a letter one fine day  
To every town beneath his sway ;  
And this is what the letter said,  
"For every poor man starved and dead  
A rich man I will prisoned hold,  
And let him die of want and cold."—  
No soul was starved in all the land,  
So speedily the rich men planned  
Their superfluities to share,  
Till all and each full well did fare.

FR. RUCKERT.





FRIEDRICH LESSNER.

# THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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## AN OLD WAR-HORSE.

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IN the spring of the present year the *Deutsche Worte* published an autobiography of one who is probably the oldest living member of the International Socialist party. The series of articles in question, entitled "Before 1848 and After," we imagine will be re-issued in pamphlet form in Germany, and we should be glad to see an English translation of such a really valuable contribution to the history of the Socialist movement, for, from this point of view, the articles in question are no less interesting than as containing details concerning the career of an honoured comrade. The history of the rise, decline, and fall of the old International, is given in detail. Meanwhile it may interest the readers of the SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT to have a general idea of the subject matter. Friedrich Lessner (for it is of none other that we speak) was born February 27, 1825, at Blankenhain, a village of the Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar, his father, whom he never knew, being a non-commissioned officer in the Grand Ducal army. At fourteen, having had next to no general education, he was apprenticed to a tailor in Weimar, and at seventeen, having finished his apprenticeship, entered on the series of wanderings, with bundle on back, which was at that time still incumbent upon every well-constituted German workman to perform, as the completion of his technical education. During this period he visited the greater part of Northern Germany, finally settling down in Hamburg, where he remained over two years. To escape military service he came to London in 1847. In the great revolutionary year he returned to Germany under a false name and passport, co-operating with Marx, Engels and Freiligrath, the poet, whom he had met in London, in the agitation they were carrying on in Cologne. On the collapse of the movement in 1850, after the party had been scattered, Lessner was deputed to go in the place of Freiligrath to Wiesbaden on a party mission, but he was soon compelled to leave this town. He subsequently resided for a time in Mainz. Here, on the 18th of June, 1851, Lessner was arrested for the distribution of seditious literature, and belonging to a "secret society"—the "Communist League." After a severe preliminary imprisonment in Mainz, lasting a year (during which he was kept alive almost solely by the assiduous attentions of a devoted woman, later unhappily

drowned in a shipwreck on her way to America), Lessner was compelled to make a journey on foot, lasting ten days, from Mainz to Cologne, chained and manacled to a gang of convicts. His sufferings during this journey were horrible. At Cologne he was tried, along with six others, including the subsequently highly respectable Becker, who eventually became burgo-master. Sentenced to three years' imprisonment in a fortress, he did his full time, not coming out till early in 1856, when, finding Germany still too hot for him, he returned to London after a few months. London has since been Lessner's permanent residence. Of the part he has taken in all recent English movements, it is unnecessary to say anything. His venerable face, recalling the earth-spirit or gnome of old German folk-lore, is familiar to most English, and probably all London, comrades. In order, however, to furnish the readers of the SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT with a specimen of the subject-matter of the autobiographical articles in question, we quote Lessner's description of the celebrated morning of the 10th of April, 1848, on which the last great historic act of the old Chartist movement took place:—"On the morning of the 10th of April," writes Lessner, "London offered a remarkable spectacle. All factories and shops were shut. The London bourgeoisie were under arms, for the purpose of maintaining "order." Among these bourgeois was 'Napoleon the Little,' afterwards citizen of Wilhelmshöhe. The members of the Communist League had decided to take part in the demonstration. We armed ourselves with any weapons that came to hand. I can vividly remember the comical impression which George Eccarius made upon me, as he showed me a well-ground pair of enormous tailor's scissors, with which he hoped to defend himself against the attacks of the special constables. The workmen massed on Kennington Common with the object of proceeding thence in procession to the Houses of Parliament. But what was our surprise when we suddenly heard that Feargus O'Connor, the leader of the demonstration, counselled abstention from the projected procession *en masse*, since the Government was preparing to oppose us with an armed force. Many followed the advice of O'Connor, others pushed forward, the result being bloody conflicts between Chartists and police. Since, owing to the knuckling-down of O'Connor, the demonstrators were divided, it was now impossible to count on success. In single combat the workmen could not win. That was soon clear to us. Bitterly disappointed we left the mustering place where we had arrived so full of hope an hour before."

We conclude this notice in repeating the hope that these interesting articles of the old war-horse Lessner will before long see the light in English.

E. BELFORT BAX.

## THE END, AND — ?

ORGANISED capitalism has once more triumphed. Sir William Thomas Lewis, like the lordly Penrhyn and the dead Colonel Dyer, has carried out his intention of "teaching the men a lesson" to the full; and there is rejoicing in the tents of capitalism over the result. Lewis, like his prototype Dyer, is the man of the hour in the eyes of the commercial world, with its squint-eyed morality and unscrupulous methods of heartless brutality. But we do not envy him in the day of his triumph; it is but for a little while, and an incident in the struggle. The class war will go on, and the Welsh colliers will, we doubt not, now join in the song of lasting hate and loud defiance which inspires the rest of the class-conscious workers' movement at home and abroad. During the past six months the coalowners have done much for Social-Democracy; they have inspired the hearts of hundreds of the workers with bitter and abiding hatred, and, though for a while yet they may keep these under the iron heel of tyranny, they will not be able to prevent the growth of that feeling. Thus will the number of class-conscious workers increase, and eventually—

\* The day will come when, grasping Truth,  
They'll rise and speak and act in thunder."

As we Social-Democrats predicted, the colliers have been forced to submit to the terms of the employers. At the joint meeting held at Cardiff at the close of the struggle, the men's representatives tried desperately to get some modification of the harsh terms of the coalowners. But no, these Shylocks demanded, and would have, their "pound of flesh." Not even a stop week once a year would they allow the men in place of the monthly holiday, "Mabon's day," and eventually a majority of the men's committee signed an agreement with the coalowners' committee, accepting the terms already published.

It is certain that the "settlement" does not find favour with the men. It is not a case of a "few malcontents," as some of the papers allege, but, on the contrary, the dissatisfaction is general and widespread. So much so, that the writer has not heard a single voice, other than that of bitterness, amongst the hundreds with whom he has discussed the matter. "We've been sold!" was heard from all sides in the mining districts as soon as the result was known, and it is impossible, in looking over the events of the past six months, to resist the conviction that, at any rate, the men's committee have not done their whole duty to their constituents. With one or two honourable exceptions, the members of that committee are undeserving of the confidence of the men.

The agreement which has been come to does not by any means settle the question. There can be no settlement until the "sliding scale" is abolished. This is rather a compromise: and even as this great struggle

has been the result of the compromise of 1875, so too, from this, trouble will arise in the future, and that in much less than twenty-three years.

Oh, men bowed down with labor,  
 Oh, women young yet old,  
 Oh, hearts oppress in the toiler's breast,  
 Crushed down by the weight of gold.  
 Keep on in your weary struggle against triumphant might—  
 No question is ever settled, until it is settled *right*!

And now, what of the future? There is, we observe, a great deal of talk of "organisation" amongst the men. We hope that it will not end in talk, as, did, unfortunately, similar talk after the great strike of 1875. And unless they do organise themselves now, they certainly cannot expect the help of the workers in other parts at any future time. But whilst we wish them success in any attempt at organisation they may make, we would warn them against overlooking the limitations of Trade Unionism, of which, we fear, there is danger. We have always supported the Trade Union movement, and it has to-day some of its ablest and most stalwart representatives in our ranks. But we have always recognised that it can only be looked upon as affording some measure of protection to the workers, small or great in degree, according to the extent of organisation of the master class, against which it is arrayed. That such organisation is growing, nobody will deny. Everywhere, at home and abroad, we see evidences of it, and strikes, however well organised, fail in consequence.

The failure of great strikes, like that of the Hamburg dockers and the engineers at home, attest to this. Trade unionism and its logical extension, the federation of trade unions are necessary—rendered so by the action of capitalism itself. But at most, all that can be done by trade unionism, is to induce the masters to concede some point, to agree to terms, rather than resist at a loss. But it can never place the workers on an equal footing with the masters. So long as the means of production, distribution and exchange are held by any one class, that class holds the key to the situation. If the workers are to be liberated from the enthralling shackles of the present system, they must make the ownership and control of these great agencies of life their aim; "the objective of trade unionism" must be nothing short of Social-Democracy.

Let the colliers of Wales, then, and the workers generally, set themselves to the task of bringing about this consummation—and it can be brought about by a well directed intelligent political action. They have seen in this struggle the solidarity of the employers, who have united, without distinction of party, to oppress them. Let them follow the example and, in the future, instead of abortive strikes let there be a well directed and united political action amongst the workers, which shall emancipate them from the hellish tyranny and enslavement of to-day, and which alone can checkmate the efforts of the plundering murdering class of capitalist vultures to grind them down.

"Workers of all countries unite? You have nothing to lose but your chains: you have a world to win!" J. SPARGO.

[Next month we shall publish a further article from our comrade reviewing the whole results of the strike.—Ed.]



## ETHICS AND PROGRESS.

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### PART I.

VERY steadily, especially since the work of Darwin and Marx was given to the world, has the materialist theory of history gained ground. The slow, upward progress of humanity is no longer considered to be solely due to the action of religious or moral sentiment; and it is fast being recognised that all social phenomena are created and shaped by the material conditions of life. The subject is an important one for Socialists. Only by correctly ascertaining the root springs of human conduct can we decide whether or no our efforts are put forth along the line of least resistance, and whether we are really making progress.

In the opinion of the writer, the influence of ethical ideas on human action has been much overrated in the past; and even to-day those ideas are credited with a fictitious value in the struggle for social salvation. Ethical conceptions no doubt have a considerable influence with individuals who arrive at those conceptions by their own reason or imagination, and who strive manfully to live up to their ideals. In such cases ethics may directly shape action, although not always for the social good. For the mass of the people, however, moral or religious ideas have never existed in sufficient strength to mould the collective conduct for any length of time. On the contrary, those ideas have been the result and not the cause of the economic and material conditions existing at any given period. It cannot be denied that this is the case with some portions of humanity. The Australian savage, for instance, together with races of people in a similar stage of development in other parts of the world, has a system of government, a religious dogma, and a rude idea as to what constitutes right conduct. No one will pretend, however, that such low types of the human species have attained those advantages consciously or in quest for a higher life. The beliefs of those people are, of course, the products of the conditions in which they exist. Their system of government, their idea of a Deity, their conception of morals, are all simply an unconscious submission to the exigencies of their life, and an adaptation to their surroundings. Precisely the same is the case with the higher races. Here, of course, social phenomena are more complex, and therefore more difficult to unravel. But though in the higher races the reason and conscience of man admittedly play important parts, yet he is still moulded by his conditions. The conditions are more numerous and more various, and therefore he himself is necessarily more highly developed in order to adapt himself to them. His existence is wholly dependent upon such adaptation, and consequently it occurs as surely as it does in the case of his more savage brethren.

Theoretically, the matter seems simple enough. The hackneyed axiom of political economy, that man always tries to satisfy his needs in what

seems to him to be the easiest manner, is self-apparent. In common with other generalisations, of course, this has to be liberally interpreted; and the word "needs" has to cover a very wide scope. But, rightly interpreted, it is true, and as true to-day as ever it was. On the other hand, ever since the dawn of history, man appears as engaged in a struggle for existence. He has to wrest his subsistence from nature; he has to struggle with his fellows to protect his share of that subsistence or to seize theirs; and as a member of a tribe or nation he bears his part in the inter-tribal conflicts of past years and in the international complications of to-day. Everywhere and everywhen, man appears on the earth as engaged in a complex struggle for his food and what he considers to be his necessities. In that struggle he seeks to gratify his desires in the easiest possible way—like other forces, he follows the line of least resistance. The successful in the struggle are those who have some particular advantage which enables them to adapt themselves to their conditions better than their fellows. It is inevitable, therefore, that the conditions of the struggle should absolutely form the people who are taking part in it. It is only natural that the economic conditions, the system of production and distribution, engendered by the struggle for existence, should not only colour, but directly shape, all social phenomena on a large scale. It is natural, too, that this should continue to be the case until man realises his potential power over nature and his surroundings, and so ceases to be governed by them. This is, of course, the case with many people, who have, to a certain extent, triumphed over their economic conditions, either by satisfaction or suppression of their material desires. But with the mass of humanity, the struggle for existence, although more hidden, has quite as much influence as it has with lower forms of life. The business of getting a living, the task of obtaining the amount of food, clothing, shelter, and of general comforts, that we consider necessary, occupies far and away the largest part of our lives. Throughout the history of mankind, the one great fact that stands out before all others, is the ceaseless endeavour of men to gratify their material and selfish desires; and it is by the light of this struggle that the growth and progress of man is explained. As the forms of the struggle have changed, so have his ideas, his beliefs, his dogmas, his sentiments. Those ideas and beliefs, of course, have re-acted on his economic and social conditions, but never have they had the power either to create conditions of their own, or to seriously modify or alter any important economic tendency.

The sentimentalist will at once reply by referring to the great religious and ethical movements of the world—to those ideas which have been spread, like Christianity, by profoundly earnest men, and have apparently at once found their way to the hearts of great masses of humanity, and influenced their action to the deepest degree. A cautious examination of the matter, however, while it ought not to detract in the slightest degree from our admiration for the world's leaders in thought and action, will considerably lessen our estimate of their influence on the progress of the world. We shall see that their success and their fame are due more to the extreme

appropriateness of their teaching, and to its great suitability to the conditions of their time, rather than to the high character of the teachers, or to any intrinsic virtue in their doctrines. God-like religious leaders, earnest moral reformers, and profound philosophers have not been so few as those whose names have come down to us. Christs may exist in plenty, but if the world is not ready to receive their Christianities, their preaching will fall only on the ears of a select few.

The law of the survival of the fittest is as applicable in the realm of propagandist thought as it is to the world of biology. Consider how it has acted in the past. Out of the ferment of the millions of human brain-pans that have existed in the world, thousands of different gospels and theories—moral, social, political, or philosophical—have emanated; but only those have survived and borne fruit that have fallen on fertile ground, and have been nourished by the conditions surrounding them. When one thinks of the untold myriads of humanity that have existed on this planet alone, we cannot but be certain that millions of people have gone before us who had a message of social and spiritual salvation to their fellows. We in the nineteenth century possess no monopoly of earnestness or of ability; and the countless would-be reformers who have existed in the past were undoubtedly gifted with an amount of love for their fellows and of intellect to give effect to that love, sufficient to perfect not only our poor humanity, but a whole universe of humanities, if individual sentiment or individual activity could accomplish such a task. But economic conditions were too much for such bye-gone agitators, and they and their hopes, their aspirations and their sympathies were consigned to oblivion equally with the matter-of-fact dolt whose apathy was their despair, as it is ours to-day. Until the advent of Socialism or some similar form of co-operation, man as a race will always be on the economic plane, and will remain chained in the limits imposed by economic conditions.

For proof as to whether ethical ideas have or have not been a controlling force on human action, we must examine human experience, so far as history enables us to do so. It is, of course, impossible to even glance at the whole course of human evolution in the scope of this article, and only a few scattered and possibly disconnected instances can be referred to. From the earliest period, ethical and religious beliefs are traceable to material causes. We see first of all, in the growth of the idea of God, how man strives to get outside himself, and yet is constantly hemmed in by his limits. To primitive man, God is some particular natural force that is temporarily benefitting or injuring him, such as the sun or the rain. As his imagination grows, he fashions his spiritual world after his natural surroundings. In lands such as ancient Greece, where nature presented herself under many diversified and opposing forms, man's imagination conjures up just as many various and opposing deities, and Polytheism prevails. On the other hand, in the deserts of Arabia, or on the steppes of Russia, where nature personifies a kind of Eternal oneness, Monotheism takes root. Later on, as man begins to realise that he has mental feelings, hopes and fears, loves and

hates, he accords like feelings to his God or his gods. Even now, after centuries of theological discussion and intellectual striving, we cannot escape our limits; and the Supreme Being is still, in the words of William Watson, merely "Man's giant shadow, hailed divine."

It is clear how social conditions gave birth to ideas of right conduct at the earliest dawn of history. Under tribal communism, the struggle for existence took place between rival tribes and races. Where it was difficult to wrest a subsistence from Nature, it became a moral duty, sanctioned by religion and enforced by current opinion, to spoil neighbouring peoples. He who was most successful in that operation obtained most credit and became chief, and, perhaps, as happened in Norwegian mythology, lived in the memory of subsequent ages as a god. Nor have we since travelled far from that state of affairs. In spite of the labours of hundreds of earnest moral teachers, our advance in this respect from our Saxon forefathers has been almost imperceptible. We have changed only so far as economic forms have changed. Our age is the age of capitalism and commerce, and so our national selfishness and aggression finds vent in what is euphemistically called "opening up markets," or in exacting a tribute from less prosperous nations upon whom we have foisted our surplus cash. Of the two, the modern method of robbery is infinitely the more profitable, as it is the more deadly to those who are robbed. Occasionally, as in the case of the late Transvaal raid, the nation as a whole seems to approve of more primitive methods of racial rapacity. A standing proof of the sterility of ethics upon the mass is to be found in the recent affairs in South Africa, in our treatment of India and the frontier tribes, and in the conduct of the great Christian nations in China. The Peace Societies of to-day, after the teaching of the Prince of Peace has been the chief form of religion in this particular corner of the world for nearly two thousand years, are impotent. The mild proposal of the Czar for a check to the international increase of armaments is hailed as an original thought, far too Utopian for our present age! The only nation with whom we have ever made any progress in the matter of permanent arbitration is the United States, and that progress is entirely due to the fact that the vast commercial and economic interests of both nations would be ruined by a war between them. The one guarantee we have that international peace is approaching is the increasing fraternity and fellow-feeling between the workers of different nations—a feeling entirely the result of the awakening class-consciousness that is taking place, and to the growing knowledge that the social and economic interests of the workers all the world over are alike.

The same futility of ethics as a motive power to action is to be found in ideas of personal right and wrong conduct that have been current at different times. To-day, cannibalism and infanticide seem some of the most horrible customs that the depraved mind of man could invent, and that we have happily cast off for ever. Looking at the matter in a reasonable light, however, one can well understand how primitive man, who found nature gave but a niggard return for his labour, or whom his climate rendered too

indolent to work, should dimly formulate Malthusian theories of population, and should consider it his duty and his right to kill and eat captives of war and superfluous relatives. Although we are in the nineteenth century, the conduct of men under pressure of extreme want proves that our civilised notions are but a thin veneer, and that, if forced by lawless necessity, we should soon hark back to like crude methods of self-preservation.

Even that most sacro-sanct of all human institutions, marriage, has no celestial origin, and is altered and modified by economic conditions. A large preponderance of females has always produced polygamy; a like preponderance of males has brought about polyandry. Our Christian idea of monogamy—which exists, by the way, more often in theory than in practice—originated in the property instinct held by men with regard to women, and is kept up by a rough numerical equality between the sexes. The recent entrance of woman into the competitive system, and the consequent change in the economic situation, has already caused heterodox ideas to germinate, not only on this matter, but upon all others which concern the position of the sex in society. What the earnest preaching of women like Mary Wolstonecraft Godwin for years failed to accomplish, the inclusion of women in the competitive system easily brings about. Indeed, entrance to the realm of the “New Woman,” with all its attractive heresies as to religion, morality, and sociology, is denied to anyone who is not economically independent—a truth which the advocates of sex-equality are fast realising.

A. E. LAUDER.

(To be continued.)

## THE RUSSIAN CAST-IRON INDUSTRY.

THE following statistics have been gathered by the United States Consul-General at St. Petersburg, and presented in a recent report to his Government. They relate to the quantity of cast-iron produced and consumed in Russia during the last five years, and are a sure indication of the development of industry even in such a backward country:—

Year.	Quantity of iron produced in tons.	Total consumption of cast-iron in tons.
1893.....	1,275,534	1,844,082
1894.....	1,442,592	2,297,790
1895.....	1,587,330	2,453,058
1896.....	1,771,452	2,691,720
1897.....	2,053,422	2,994,228



## THE MUNICIPALITY UP TO DATE.

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### I.

PROBABLY the most marked feature of the closing days of the nineteenth century is the growth of towns and great cities. The coming century is dawning upon nations the majority of whose people dwell in cities and towns.

During the last century the death-rate in towns was always higher than the birth-rate. Left to themselves, the towns would have died out. They were kept alive by the accretions from the rural districts. The town population in those days was so small, however, in comparison with the rural population, that the high death-rate did not matter very much, except, perhaps, to those who died. But if such a condition was prevalent to-day, the consequence would be too dreadful to contemplate, because the tendency nowadays is for the population of the towns to be larger than that of the country districts.

The last census showed that in England the towns contained a population of nearly 21 millions of people, whilst the rural districts had only  $8\frac{1}{2}$  millions. At the beginning of the present century in Scotland there were three country people to one town dweller. Now two-thirds of the Scotch people are townsfolk. And the proportion of town dwellers to country residents is increasing year by year. The case is the same on the continent. In France the rural population is slowly but steadily declining, whilst the townsfolk have nearly doubled during the last fifty years.

Germany was, until lately, a country of farms, forests and mountains with a predominantly rural population. Since the Franco-German war, the German town population has grown so rapidly that the German census of 1895 showed that half the German population was living in towns.

Even in America the increase of population is in the towns. For the last quarter of a century the older farming districts of the United States have been absolutely declining in population. The towns are receiving all the new increments. Hence, there can be no more important question, than this: How can the municipality promote the welfare of those who dwell in cities?

If we had time it would be an interesting diversion to trace the growth of municipal life in this country. The mediæval town was a labyrinthine tangle of narrow, dark, and foul passages and alleys. Its frightful congestion was due in most cases to the military wall or moat that surrounded it, and which yielded nothing to the growth of population. Its municipal system was not without attractions. There was a certain dignity and form about its municipal life, as relics of which there still survive in old cities the mediæval town hall or guild hall, with its banquetting chamber and its

council room. There was much stateliness in the office of mayor, and considerable impressiveness in the liveries of the freemen. But the lives of the people, like the streets, were poor and narrow. The only drainage was surface drainage. The paving was of the rudest character. Street lighting had not been invented, and early hours were prescribed. Water was supplied from a few town fountains and public wells. The death-rate was, of course, high. There was infection in the wells, and no means of checking the spread and fatality of the frequent plagues that swept the towns.

Amidst such conditions there came the rise of modern industry. The old municipal corporations were still existent, continuing their careers of scandal and misgovernment, while, as for the new towns that had expanded into centres of manufacturing activity, they had no municipal government of any character. Their town life was of a kind which beggars description. Improperly constructed tenements were hurriedly provided to house the working population, and the evils of overcrowding were beyond belief. The mortality became a fearful thing. Epidemic diseases could not be controlled, and cleanliness became an impossibility. The streets were abominable, the architecture mean and monotonous. Efficient sources of water, drainage and lighting were wholly lacking. No wonder that amid such an environment drunkenness, prize fighting, dog and cock fights became the favourite diversions of the people.

Then came the Reform Bill, when the people obtained the rights of self-government. One of the first acts of the Reform Parliament was the appointment of a commission to inquire into the conditions of the municipal corporation of the country, and the Municipal Corporation Act, 1835, the Magna Charta of municipal government, was the result of that inquiry.

It is interesting to note the opposition which was offered to the grants of municipal charters in towns which are now among the most enterprising corporations in the country. In Birmingham, for instance, the grant of a municipal charter met with the most stubborn opposition by one of the political parties in the town. After it was granted, its validity was contested on various technical grounds, and when the newly elected council ordered the levy of a rate, the overseers refused to carry out its behest. For two years the Birmingham Council was without funds, with the exception of a sum of £2,000 raised on the personal guarantee of some of its members, and what could be obtained as loans from the Government. The Royal Commission reported that Bradford was the dirtiest, filthiest, and worst regulated town in the kingdom. And yet the proposal to transfer the government of the town from those who merited so severe a judgment was defeated time after time by the stolid conservatism of the majority of the ratepayers. A petition against the Charter was signed by a considerable majority of the ratepayers. Among the inhabitants who expressed themselves perfectly satisfied with the old system of government were the vicar and several of the clergymen of the town, all the magistrates, and the majority of the professional class. In Manchester there were equally strong manifestations of affection for the old order of things, and most determined

efforts to prevent the introduction of the new. Fortunately better counsels prevailed, as they generally do in the long run, and popular local self-government has become universal through England, Scotland and Wales, at all events.

Nowadays the grant of a Charter of Incorporation to a town is regarded as a subject for rejoicing, and Charter day is invariably made a local holiday.

It is not my intention, however, to treat this subject from a historical point of view, but rather to look at it from a practical standpoint.

And first, I contend it is time we rejected the old view that the evils of town life are inevitable and that we began to find a remedy for them. We must recognise the facts that modern productiveness has stimulated the increase of population, that the conditions of modern industry have massed men in towns and cities, and that the majority of families must henceforth live under town conditions. These conditions in the past have been largely vicious. But now it is of vital importance to the welfare of the nation that these conditions should be so improved that for the average family the life of the town should not be detrimental but positively helpful to man to live his best and highest life.

The race must not decay in city tenements and town slums. It must, under the necessary conditions of densely populated neighbourhood, find a better and higher life. Infections, diseases, and a high death-rate must surrender to the science of public sanitation, so that the health of children and the longevity of adults shall be better assured in the town than in the country, and town death-rates shall fall below those of the nation at large. The moral and educational environment should be made such as to produce the best results and to preserve virtue, intelligence, industrial capacity and the physical stamina of the race. In a word, the conditions and circumstances that surround the lives of the masses of people in towns should be so adjusted to their needs as to result in the highest development of the race in body, in mind and in moral character. Now, the question is, how can this be accomplished?

As regards water supply, it may be interesting to see how we stand with reference to the most fortunate of cities in the matter of water supply, namely, Glasgow.

Glasgow derives her water supply from Loch Katrine, thirty-four miles distant in the Highlands. The present daily supply of water in Glasgow is about fifty gallons for each person, and the rate charged is 6d. in the £. It is said that the magnificent water supply of Glasgow has done more to reduce the death-rate than all the doctors. The Burnley daily supply is about thirty gallons per head of the population and the water-rate is 1s. in the £. Thus the Burnley water supply is rather more than one-half that of Glasgow, whilst the Burnley water-rate is double that of Glasgow. At the same time, if Burnley continues to increase as rapidly as it has done, it will soon have to look about for fresh sources of supply.

Quite as important in the interests of health as a good drainage system and a good water supply, is the provision of fresh air. This is a branch of public health which Lancashire manufacturing towns have sadly neglected. The air is laden with carbon, upon the particles of which our humid atmosphere condenses and forms fogs and mists, and, to make matters worse, the streets are generally narrow, whilst open spaces in the centre of the town are rarely, if ever, seen. It was a great mistake when Parliament entrusted the enforcement of the smoke prevention clauses to the local municipal authority. For twenty-five years these provisions have been a dead letter in Lancashire. I have little doubt in my own mind that had the prosecution of offenders against the Smoke Prevention Acts been delegated to officials of the Home Office, such as factory inspectors, that the air of our Lancashire towns would have been as pure as is the air of London or, perhaps, Paris to-day.

Anyone who has visited Paris must have been struck with the clearness of its sky and the purity of its atmosphere. Go outside Paris to one of the hills which surround it and look across the city. There is no smoke to speak of. The steeples, domes and pinnacles of Paris glisten beneath a clear sky and amid pure air. Then contrast it with a view over Burnley from any of its neighbouring heights. And yet Paris is much more densely populated than Burnley. Paris has a population of two and a-half millions, living on an area of thirty square miles. Indeed, Paris is one of the most densely populated of cities. London has  $34\frac{1}{2}$  thousand people to the square mile, while Paris has over 83,000 people to the square mile, more than double the density of London. I have heard it said that one reason for the absence of smoke in Paris is that the municipality there insists on every fire-grate and furnace possessing a Dalton smoke consuming apparatus. Whether this be so or not, the purity of the Parisian air shows what can be done towards providing pure air even in the midst of a great and densely populated city. The first thing required here is to arouse the public sentiment of the town from regarding the smoke as a necessary evil. It is not a necessary evil at all. It is now the opinion of those who have studied the question most deeply that it is possible by reasonable means to cure the smoke nuisance of our manufacturing towns.

I know the proposal I am about to make will be regarded as a very quixotic one, but I should like to see it adopted for all that, and it is that the corporation should seek powers to enable them to offer to defray one-half the expense of putting the most efficient smoke consumer to every furnace in the town, and then to rigorously prosecute every offender from whose chimney any black smoke afterwards emanated. As a matter of political economy, the public money thus spent would be well invested. Think of the loss now occasioned by our smoke-laden atmosphere, in wasted health, diseased lungs, and consequent loss of work, shortened lives, and widows and fatherless children thrown on the poor-rate. This is the present cost of our apathy to put in force provisions enacted by Parliament over twenty-five years ago for keeping the air of our town pure and clean.

The boulevards of Paris, Florence, Rome, Naples, Vienna, Venice, Birmingham, and Bethnal Green have been made not on virgin soil, but have been driven through what were congested and densely populated districts with slums and irregular streets. One of the greatest achievements of the Chamberlain era of the Birmingham Corporation was the formation of Corporation Street, by means of which one of the handsomest streets in the country took the place of a wretched slum area. This area was in the centre of Birmingham; it had a crowded population, housed in miserable dwellings in defiance of all conditions of health. Mr. Chamberlain saw in it the site of one of the noblest streets in the country. In propounding his scheme to the Birmingham Corporation, he said: "It might run a great street as broad as a Parisian boulevard." The Corporation adopted the scheme at a cost of a million and a half sterling, a scheme which involved the purchase of nearly 4,000 houses, and the re-housing of a population of nearly 20,000 people. The scheme has not only demolished a lot of insanitary property in Birmingham, reduced the death-rate of that area from 53 to 21 per thousand, provided a fine living in the centre of the city, and endowed Birmingham with a noble street, but it has turned out a sound commercial speculation. In fifty years from the date of the scheme the debt created for its accomplishment will all have been paid off, and then the ground-rents for twenty-five years or thereabouts, amounting to £30,000 a year, will accrue to the Corporation. At the end of that time the leases will fall in, and the palatial business houses on both sides of the street will become municipal property, without cost to the city or compensation to the retiring lessees. Then, as Mr. Chamberlain has said, Birmingham will be the richest municipal corporation in the kingdom, and it will bless the memory of the Council of 1875, that had the foresight to make such plans.

The London County Council found in Bethnal Green an area of some fifteen acres, covered with ancient two-storey cottages facing streets barely 18 feet wide, and diminutive backyards, completely filled with outbuildings and workshops. Bethnal Green had once been a thriving community of Huguenot weavers, who had taken refuge in England from persecution in France, and had domiciled themselves in what was then a little village in the suburbs of London. But Bethnal Green had been swallowed up in the growth of the Metropolis, and its tiny cottages had become packed with a slum population of the worst sort. The County Council found five or six thousand people living in this area of fifteen acres crowded into 714 low cottages. The district was cleared. The street plan adopted was as follows:—In the centre is a band stand, surrounded by a public garden of an acre or more, with a street encircling it. From this circle seven streets radiate and connect the area with the street system of the general district. In place of the old 18-foot streets the County Council has laid out streets from 40 to 60 feet wide.

The Continent has far surpassed all English effort in this direction. Paris has spent millions on its boulevards, and considers the money well spent. In Naples 271 streets were acquired, of which half were abolished



and the rest retained and widened; 90,000 people were unhoused, and 17,000 old houses and 62 churches destroyed. The work has been found to be commercially profitable. It has made an end of the fearful epidemics which periodically ravaged the city, and has considerably reduced the death-rate. Even Venice and Rome have accepted the new gospel that symmetry, spaciousness, and sunlight are not to be shut out of towns, but made welcome guests. In the case of these cities it is important to observe that the property destroyed was not mere slum property, but old houses and buildings hallowed by historical associations and sometimes of great artistic value. In our own land Glasgow has gone in largely for the demolition of slum property, with the result that, according to the statistics of Glasgow, published by the city financier, there has been an annual saving of 1,200 lives per annum. Liverpool in the ten years from 1881 to 1891 demolished 5,000 insanitary houses. Greenock several years ago cleared away several acres of wretched old cottages, and built as municipal property 200 houses with perfect sanitary arrangements, in which one thousand people are living. The Huddersfield authorities some time ago carried out a large scheme of a similar kind, which has proved a good pecuniary investment.

According to Mr. B. Moore, there are, speaking in round numbers, about 18,000 houses in Burnley, and of this number there are 2,830 back to back houses. In addition to these are 766 cellar dwellings which, to say the least of it, are not up to date. There are other houses very closely allied to these, and little better so far as regards sanitation. But, confining ourselves to the 3,069, we find that about one-sixth of the whole population of Burnley is living in houses in which it is impossible to have family life under conditions of tolerable decency. One would not have much difficulty in naming considerable areas in Burnley which it would be advantageous and commercially profitable to the town as a whole if the property were bought up and pulled down.

Low class insanitary property leads to social degradation. This leads to immorality, drunkenness, pauperism, and crime. Then, again, insanitary dwellings mean bad health, loss of work, a high death-rate; and these all help to swell the poor-rate.

We are rather behind the times in this country in our mortality statistics of large towns. It is easy enough to ascertain the death-rate of a town or sometimes even of a ward, but the information most useful is the death-rate for the various classes of houses.

It is in Germany where municipal mortality statistics are to be seen in the highest perfection. The mortality statistics of Berlin are made to show, not merely the death-rate for the whole city, but also the rate for each portion or ward of the city, and the figures are so classified as to show the number and proportion of deaths according to the number of rooms occupied by families, and according to the location of these rooms, with reference to street front or street level—that is to say, whether the household occupy front or back rooms, and whether these rooms are on any given floor from

basement to garret. Of course, the large tenement, or flat, system, where several families live in one large building, prevails extensively in Berlin, and hence the importance and utility of these statistics. But the lessons they teach are instructive. In 1885 it was found that 73,000 persons in Berlin were living in a single room for each family, 382,000 were living in houses of two rooms, 432,000 occupied houses of three rooms, and 398,000 had the luxury of four rooms. Now mark this. It was found that, although one-room dwellers were only one-sixth as numerous as the three-room dwellers, their rate of mortality was twenty-three times as high. Compared with the dwellers in houses of four rooms, the mortality of one-room dwellers was thirty times as high. In a total population at that time of 1,315,000, the 73,000 people who lived in one room for the entire family suffered nearly half the entire number of deaths. Their death-rate was 163.5 per thousand, while the two-room dwellers sustained a death-rate of 22.5. The three-room dwellers escaped with the marvellously low death-rate of 7.5, and those who had four rooms and more suffered a death-rate of 5.4 per thousand. Now, just consider what these figures mean. What do those single-room dwellings cost the people? If the 73,000 persons who had one room for the entire family had lived in houses with four rooms for the family, instead of 11,000 of them dying only 365 out of them would have died in the year, leaving out of account other causes which would somewhat conduce to the high death-rate. Think of the economic loss occasioned by ill-health, sickness, and consequent loss of work; widows and orphans left dependent on the community; the drain on the Poor Law; to say nothing of the fearful moral degradation and physical sufferings of the poor victims. The moral is driven home irresistibly by these statistics that slums do not pay the municipality. Boulevards pay better.

I believe there is but one health inspector in Burnley, whose duties are of a very multifarious character, and he has one assistant. One inspector and one assistant to one hundred thousand inhabitants. In 1870, when Glasgow established its health department, forty inspectors were appointed to attend to the wants of a population of 450,000. The chief inspector of Glasgow now has under him a staff of one hundred and fifty inspectors, whose duties are highly specialised and most methodically performed. The nuisance inspectors number more than a score, and there are half as many men constantly employed in making the smoke test to discover defects in drain-pipes for the protection of the people against bad plumbing. On constant duty are twelve or more infectious disease inspectors, and following in the wake of their discoveries is a staff of disinfecting officers, and another of whitewashers. The Glasgow municipality employs six women inspectors, to visit the tenement houses, &c., in the interests of cleanliness. This work of female visitation is said to be productive of great good. Statistics cannot adequately express the extent and significance of the work done by the lady inspectors, but it is worth observing that they make from 75,000 to 100,000 visits per annum to the domiciles of their poor constituents. Their suggestions as to cleanliness and household reform seem to

carry weight by virtue of their official position. In Glasgow great vigilance is observed in the work of food inspection. This is especially to be observed with reference to the milk supply of the town. All dairies and milk shops are registered and their arrangements are subject to approval and inspection. The farms whence the city is supplied are all listed, and many of them have been visited for inspection of their sanitary condition. The importance of this may be estimated by the fact that a few years ago about 200 cases of typhoid fever at one time in Glasgow were traced directly to milk from a certain farm where the cattle drank polluted water.

Another feature of the health department's work in Glasgow are the sanitary washhouses. To show the extent to which they are made use of I may say that over 700,000 articles per annum are washed and disinfected in them. In these washhouses you can either have your washing done by the municipality or for twopence an hour be allowed the use of a stall containing an improved steam boiling arrangement, and fixed tubs with hot and cold water taps. The washing being quickly done, the clothes are deposited for two or three minutes in a mechanical drier, after which they are hung on one of a series of sliding frames, which retreat into a hot-air apartment. If you wish you may then use a large roller mangle, operated, like all the rest of the machinery, by steam power, and you may at the end of an hour go home with your basket of clothes washed, dried, and ironed. About 200,000 washings are done in these houses per annum.

A very essential part of the sanitary system of every large town is an infectious diseases hospital. The Burnley infectious diseases hospital consists of two or three old cottages in close proximity to the workhouse. It is advisable to make your infectious diseases hospital a popular and inviting place to enter, so as to induce people suffering from infectious diseases to desire removal there at once, instead of spreading infection by remaining in their own homes. Now, the idea of being in a hospital near a workhouse is not very alluring.

On the extreme eastern edge of the city of Glasgow was a private estate called Belvedere, containing rather more than 30 acres, and sloping beautifully down to the Clyde. It was purchased by the Glasgow Municipality for the site of an infectious diseases hospital, the mansion house was enlarged, and transformed into quarters for the attendant nurses and physicians. Permanent buildings, each containing two wards, were erected, and a hospital thus formed which is now the most attractive and complete in its appointments in the world. It has accommodation for 1,000 patients without overcrowding of the spacious wards. The place has the semblance of a lovely village, with trees and lawns, playgrounds and beautiful flower gardens. It is not a place for sick paupers to die in, but a popular and attractive home for those needing its services. The difference between popularity and non-popularity in a public hospital for infectious diseases may well mean all the difference between a terrible epidemic and its easy prevention. After the average sojourn of six weeks at Belvedere, patients are reluctant to leave, and they carry wonderful tales back to the city

tenements and slums. A patient being removed to the hospital the authorities at once take possession of the house for cleansing and disinfection. The city has provided a comfortable house of reception of some ten rooms, with several permanent servants, where families may be housed and maintained for a day or more as the city's guests if it is desirable to remove them from their houses during the progress of the disinfection and clothes washing operations. This house is kept in constant use, and is found a very convenient thing for the department to have at its disposal.

A new municipal feature of Glasgow is a municipal family home. It contains 176 separate dormitories each of which is capable of accommodating a small family, and is designed particularly for the use of widows and widowers with small children who are under the necessity of going out to work, thus leaving the children behind during the day. The establishment contains dining rooms and kitchens, day sitting rooms and play rooms, besides a playground. I understand that it is a very common thing in Burnley for women who have to earn their bread to have to spend a large proportion of their wages in providing for the care of their children during the day, and, notwithstanding the expenditure, the care of the little ones is often indifferently performed. The establishment of a municipal family home after the Glasgow model would prove a great boon in such cases, and the home might be made self-supporting.

So much for the care by municipalities of the sick. For the dead most municipalities make provision in the public cemeteries. It has been reserved for Paris to establish the first municipal crematory. This is constantly growing in favour, the average number of cremations now numbering over 3,000 per annum. Before I leave this branch of my subject I ought to say a word about municipal common lodging-houses. Glasgow leads the way in this respect in Great Britain. They formed part of a large scheme projected by the Corporation in 1865 for improving the sanitary condition of the people. In the Glasgow municipal lodging-houses every lodger is given a separate apartment or stall, and has the use of a large common sitting room, of a locker for provisions, and of the long kitchen range for cooking his own food. The charge per night is  $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. or  $4\frac{1}{2}$ d., according to the lodger's choice of a bed with one sheet or two. In any case, he rests on a wire woven mattress. There are seven of these houses in Glasgow, having a total of about 2,000 beds. Six of these houses are for men and one for women, the charge of the latter being 3d. These houses, after paying all running expenses, and a proper amount for deterioration of property, yield a net return of from 4 to 5 per cent. on the money invested. It has now become a part of the regular order to provide every winter a series of social entertainments in each of the seven model lodging houses, with the result of not only brightening the lot of the inmates of the houses, but helping materially to remove temptation from their path.

In 1886 municipal lodging houses were introduced in Paris. There are now three of them, two for men and one for women, with the prospect of the further development of the system. The Parisian lodging-houses are

absolutely free of all charge to their guests. Care is taken not to admit vagabonds or unworthy characters, the intention being to afford shelter to honest labourers who are seeking work. Such men are permitted to come for three successive nights. The houses possess complete facilities for laundry work and disinfection, and each guest is provided with a change of clothing while present. Soup is served at night, and bread is given to every one in the morning. All possible assistance is lent in the quest for employment. Thus, in the course of every year, the city of Paris dispenses hospitality to thousands of honest men in temporary need. The lodging house for working women is of a different character, inasmuch as it allows necessitous women to bring children with them and affords them shelter and care as long as the exigency requires, the average sojourn being nearly a month. Until they obtain employment elsewhere they are given something to do in the lodging house. Those who enter this place are in good faith women who are accustomed to earn their own living by honest labour. The Burnley Corporation makes no provision of the nature of model lodging houses whatsoever. They are left entirely to private enterprise.

T. H. ROBERTS (Burnley).



ACCORDING to the census take in 1722, towards the close of Peter the Great's reign, Russia contained only 14,000,000 inhabitants, and by 1897 this number had increased almost ten times, for it now amounts to about 130,000,000. The calculations of the statistician, Schreider, estimated that the population of Russia ought in the year 2000 to amount to 300,000,000, and that of Germany to 80,000,000.



FROM a comparison of the sizes of the armies of the chief powers of the world, it appears that every ninth person in France is a trained soldier, and another one is liable to be called upon to fight. In Germany there is one soldier to every dozen persons—every sixth male. The Austrian army is made up of every eleventh soul in the empire, and the Italian army consists of one-seventh of the male population. The population of Russia is so great that, enormous as the army is, only one person out of every fourteen is a soldier. Great Britain has only one soldier, including reserves and volunteers, to every fifty-five persons, and only every eleventh family contributes one soldier for the defence of the British empire.



## THE SOCIAL CLASSES IN GERMANY.

STATISTICAL research, and the results of the last census, show that the capitalist class in Germany is represented to-day by 416,000 individuals, 80,000 of whom are engaged in industrial pursuits, 111,000 in commerce and communication, 25,000 are large proprietors, and 200,000 recipients of incomes. The capitalists are thus only 1.82 per cent. of the German population who live by labour.

The middle class is divided into two separate sections—the old, unprogressive section, and the new section, animated with the spirit of our epoch. The former is represented by 1,292,000 individuals made up as follows :—282,000 peasant proprietors, 250,000 artisans, and 760,000 small shopkeepers. The latter embraces 1,800,000 individuals divided in the following manner :—

Persons holding superior industrial and administrative positions	...	...	...	...	...	650,000
Persons employed judicially and administratively	...					330,000
Schoolmasters	...	...	...	...	...	220,000
The liberal professions	...	...	...	...	...	200,000
Wage workers who have not been affected by industrial evolution	...	...	...	...	...	400,000
Total	...	...	...	...	...	1,800,000

The profound differences existing between the two categories of the middle class can be summed up thus :—The first is composed of independent producers ; the latter sells its intellectual or manual labour force. The one represents an obsolete form of production and political organisation, whilst the other is composed of those who have in their hands the direction of industry and the modern state. The rural districts are the strongholds of the former section, and the cities and industrial centres furnish the elements of the modern middle class.

The following table shows the composition of the proletariat :—

Industrial proletariat	...	...	...	...	6,000,000
Journeyman	...	...	...	...	200,000
Artisans (section of industrial proletariat)	...	...	...	...	1,200,000
Commercial proletariat	...	...	...	...	2,000,000
Agricultural proletariat	...	...	...	...	5,600,000
Total	...	...	...	...	15,000,000

Such is, at the present moment, the economic structure of Germany.

The accompanying tables will show the position that each of these groups occupy in the coming social revolution.

## THE ARMY OF CAPITAL.

Capitalist class	...	...	...	...	416,000 individuals.
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## IN THE SERVICE OF CAPITAL.

Administrative personnel	...	...	...	650,000 individuals.
Employees and officers	...	...	...	330,000 „
Artisans	...	...	...	250,000 „
Total	...	...	...	1,646,000 „

or 8 per cent of the active population.

## THE PROLETARIAN ARMY.

Proletarian workers	...	...	...	...	15,000,000
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or 73.5 per cent of the population.

## SOCIAL CLASSES RUINED BY CAPITALISM, BUT NOT YET MERGED INTO THE PROLETARIAT.

Peasant proprietors	...	...	...	2,200,000 = 10.7 per cent.
Small shopkeepers	...	...	...	760,000 = 3.7 per cent.

## INDEPENDENT SOCIAL SECTIONS.

Liberal professions	...	...	...	200,000
Schoolmasters	...	...	...	220,000
Artisans	...	...	...	400,000
Total	...	...	...	820,000 or 4 per cent.

An examination of the above facts will easily convince one that the social revolution in Germany is nearer than is generally supposed, and that the fears of the possessing classes are entirely justified. If it were not for the army of police, the magistrature, and the organised bureaucracy which defends their privileges and interests, nothing could resist the rapid march of economic evolution, which, through its revolutionary character, must lead to the entire transformation of our social organisation.—LATINUS, in *La Petite Republique*.



## AMERICAN RAILWAY FACTS.

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FROM summaries which will appear in the tenth statistical report from the interstate commerce commission, the following advance figures are obtained:—June 30, 1897, there were 128 roads in the hands of receivers. These roads operated a mileage of 17,861 miles, the mileage owned by them being 14,894 miles. These figures, as compared with those of 1896, show that there was a net decrease of 12,614 miles in mileage operated and 8,622 miles in mileage owned by roads in the charge of receivers. During the year ending June 30, 1897, 51 roads were removed from the control of receivers and 28 roads were placed under their management. The capital stock represented by railways in the hands of receivers June 30, 1897, was 486,064,610 dols.; funded debt, 531,407,790 dols.; and current liabilities, 113,806,348 dols. A comparison of these figures with those corresponding for the preceding year shows a decrease in capital stock represented of over 256,000,000 dols., and in funded debt of over 468,000,000 dols. The total railway mileage in the United States was 184,428 miles, there being an increase of 1,651 miles or 90 per cent. during the year. Ninety-five per cent. of the railway mileage of the country is laid with steel rails. The total number of locomotives in service was 35,986, an increase of 36 for the year. The number of passenger cars was 33,626 and of freight cars 1,221,730. Of the total number of cars 525,286 were fitted with train brakes, the increase being 76,432, and 678,725 were fitted with automatic couplers, an increase of 133,142. The number of men employed by the railways of the United States, June 30, 1897, as reported, was 932,476. These figures, assigned on the mileage basis, show that 449 men were employed for 100 miles of line. The corresponding figures for the year 1896 were slightly larger. Regarding the year ending June 30, 1897, it appears that the amount of wages and salaries paid was 465,601,581 dols. This amounts represents 61.87 per cent. of the total operating expenses of the railways, or 2,540 dols. per mile of line. The total compensation for 1896 was 3,222,950 dols. greater. On June 30, 1897, the amount of railway capital outstanding was 10,635,008,074 dols., which, assigned on a mileage basis, shows a capital of 59,620 dols. per mile of line. The amount of capital stock was 5,364,642,255 dols., of which 4,367,056,657 dols. was common stock and 927,585,598 dols. preferred stock. The amount of funded debt was 5,270,365,819 dols. The classification of funded debt shows that it consists of mortgage bonds, 4,539,911,595 dols.; miscellaneous obligations, 430,718,303 dols.; income bonds, 259,847,154 dols., and equipment trust obligations, 39,888,767 dols. The amount of capital stock paying no dividend was 3,761,092,277 dols., or 70.10 per cent. of the total amount outstanding. The amount of funded debt, excluding equipment trust obligations, which paid no interest, was 867,950,840 dols. The total amount of dividends was 87,110,599 dols., which would be produced by an average rate of 5.43 per cent. on the amount of stock on which some dividend was declared. The amount of mortgage bonds paying no interest was 615,259,989 dols., or 13.55 per cent.; of miscellaneous obligations, 37,345,789 dols., or 8.67 per cent., and income bonds, 215,344,972 dols., or 82.87 per cent. The amount of current liabilities outstanding, June 30, 1897, was 578,501,635 dols., or 3,156 dols. per mile of line. The

number of passengers carried during the year was 89,445,198, a decrease of 22,327,539. The number of tons of freight carried was 741,705,946, which is 24,185,439 less than for 1896. The gross earnings of the railways of the United States for the year ending June 30, 1897, as reported for an operated mileage of 183,284, were 1,222,089,773 dols. In comparison with the preceding year this amount shows a decrease in gross earnings of 28,079,603 dols. The sources of income comprised in gross earnings from operation of the year were: Passenger revenue 251,185,927 dols., decrease as compared with the previous year 15,426,606 dols.; mail 33,754,466 dols., increase 1,374,647 dols.; express 24,901,066 dols., increase 20,683 dols.; other earnings, passenger service 6,629,980 dols., freight revenue 772,849,314 dols., decrease 13,766,523 dols.; other earnings, freight service 4,209,657, increase 323,767 dols.; other earnings from operation, &c., 28,609,363 dols. The expenses of the operation of the railways for the fiscal year covered by the report were 752,524,764 dols. This amount is 20,464,280 dols. smaller than the corresponding amount for the year 1896, the operated mileage for the year being 181,982 miles. The operating expenses of 1897 were distributed as follows: Maintenance of way and structures, 750,434,403 dols., decrease as compared with the preceding year, 910,547 dols.; maintenance of equipment, 122,762,358 dols., decrease 10,619,640 dols.; conducting transportation, 432,525,862 dols., decrease 9,691,720 dols.; general expenses, 36,481,369 dols., increase 397,984 dols. Gross earnings per mile of line operated averaged 6,122 dols.; operating expenses, 4,106 dols. These amounts are respectively 198 dols. and 142 dols. less than the averages of 1896. The income from operation—that is, the amount of gross earnings remaining after the deduction of operating expenses, commonly termed net earnings—was 369,565,000 dols. This amount is 7,615,323 dols. less than the corresponding item for the previous year. The total amount of dividends declared, including 267,390 dols. other payments from net income, was 87,377,989 dols., the result being a deficit from the operations of the year of 6,120,483 dols. The total number of casualties to persons on account of railway accidents for the year ending June 30, 1897, was 43,168. Of these casualties, 6,437 resulted in death and 36,731 in injuries of varying character. Of railway employees, 1,693 were killed and 27,667 were injured during the year. From summaries showing the rate of casualties, it appears that one out of every 486 employees was killed, and *one out of every thirty employees was injured*, during the year. One passenger was killed for every 2,204,708 carried, and one injured for every 175,115 carried.

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## "THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY."

IN the *Contemporary Review* for this month Richard Heath discourses on the above subject, from which we take the following extracts:—

"The steady progress of the Social-Democratic Party in Germany, as indicated by the votes at each succeeding election for the Reichstag, is considered, in connection with its hostility to the Church, a portent of the times which concerns us all, whether our sympathies tend to the old order or the new.

"To have successively defeated Bismarck and the Emperor, supported as both have been by the landed interest, the commercial interest, and the religious world, shows pretty plainly the power and importance of the German Social-Democratic Party.

"Its greatest and most real victory was over Bismarck and his anti-Socialist law, which so completely failed to effect its object. This Bill was first passed in 1878, under the indignation caused by the attempt of Max Hödel to shoot the Emperor William I. The only connection of Hödel with Social-Democracy was that he had attended some of its meetings. By a majority of seventy-two the Reichstag gave the Government power to suppress Socialist meetings, shut up their places of refreshment, prohibit the colportage of their newspapers and books, and to proclaim any district in a state of siege it was thought necessary. The leader of the Socialists in the Reichstag said 'that he was not in favour of revolutionary methods, but preferred pacific ones. However, if the Socialists were forced to fight, they would know how to do so. Let Prince Bismarck remember March 18, 1848.

"The grim Chancellor would probably not have been sorry had things come to this extremity, for he is said to have chuckled on hearing the Bill had passed, rubbing his hands and exclaiming, 'Jetzt geht die Sauhatz los' ('Now for pig-sticking'), and the 'pig-sticking' immediately commenced. All the leading Socialists, including two deputies, were expelled from Berlin, and from October, 1878, to the end of 1879 injunctions were sent out to 189 clubs and other societies, to 58 periodicals and 210 other publications. The two deputies, Fritsche and Hasselmann, however, took their seats in the Reichstag, and, in spite of the Government, that body maintained their right to do so. This was the first victory the Social-Democrats won over Bismarck.

"Moreover, they had invented an organisation of so secret and stringent a character that the new law was stultified and its effects rendered nugatory. By means of this organisation, which might have had for its archetype the nervous system in the human body, they carried on their propaganda in secret, and had eleven years wherein to perfect a discipline in the inner life of the party, as effective as any recognised political party ever attained.

"The abandonment of coercion was followed by the fall of Bismarck (March 17, 1890), and then it became evident that the cause of both was an acute difference of opinion between the Emperor and his Chancellor as to the best method of dealing with Social-Democracy. The Emperor wished to try Richard Plantagenet's policy when he met the revolted peasants of Essex and Kent with the brave words: 'I will be your leader.' Bismarck had already tried the experiment and was satisfied 'it was of no use, since God has not implanted in the working man the faculty of contentment.' Besides, the wrath of the capitalists was a more serious thing for the State than the grumbles of the working-man.



"However, William II. was not to be daunted. He not only proposed an International Congress of Labour which assembled and did good work, but he caused a Sunday bill to be brought into the Reichstag, securing to the workers, with some exceptions, Sunday rest for the whole twenty-four hours, besides six clear days holiday in the year.

"The new Imperial policy was to veil large and generous concessions under a guise of savage threats, uttered in a tone of relentless autocracy. But the Social-Democrats accepted the first as only the due of the people, and used the second as a means of obtaining further sympathy for their cause. The concessions referred to were the act for the insurance of working men against old age and disablement from sickness or accident, by means of a combination of the workman, the employer, and the State. Since April, 1894, no child under thirteen can be employed in factories, and only above that age in cases where elementary education is not obligatory on the parents; women cannot be made to work more than eleven hours a day, nor for a month after giving birth to a child.

"But the ameliorating effect of these concessions was destroyed, and the Social-Democratic movement stimulated, by the splenetic speeches the Emperor thought fit to make about this time. His speech to the recruits of the Foot Guards at Potsdam outdid everything he had hitherto said in its almost brutal extravagance. 'You have, my children, sworn allegiance to me. That means that you have given me body and soul. You have only one enemy, and that is my enemy. With the present Socialist agitation I may order you—which God forbid—to shoot down your relatives, your brothers, and even your parents, and then you must obey me without a murmur.'

"While the Socialist leaders refused to be goaded into any imprudent act or deed which might imperil the movement, they struck a covert blow at sacred majesty by refusing to rise from their seats and cheer the Emperor when he addressed the Reichstag on December 6, 1894.

"How is it the Emperor screams like a man who feels the ground slipping beneath his feet, while the Social-Democrats speak with the calm confidence of those who feel their footing sure, and are certain that they will reach their goal? Is this position of affairs justified by the facts?

"The Emperor has on his side the army and the Church, the land-owners, and the capitalists. The Social-Democrats have only the working classes, and, of course, the Emperor might carry out his threats, call in the army and crush the whole movement. But he cannot do this without an excuse sufficient to satisfy his own conscience and that of Christendom. But such an excuse the Social-Democratic leaders will not give him.

"The picture Pastor Gohre draws of Social-Democratic workmen, in his very interesting work, 'Drei Monate Fabrikarbeiter und Handwerksbursche' exhibits them as extremely intelligent, and careful to maintain, according to their own standard of morals, a reputation for respectability. If they have given up German Christianity, they believe in science, and study with religious devotion dry manuals prepared for their use. In the same careful manner they follow the course of public events, not only taking in their favourite Socialist prints, but clubbing together to have newspapers representative of every shade of politics so that they may know what those opposed to their views and interests are saying and doing. They are indeed pathetically in earnest about their own education, to obtain time for which Pastor Gohre says, is the secret of the eight hour movement. They constantly attend lectures and debates in which everyone is invited to take part, and their sympathy for young beginners, and patience with and tolerance for the obscure, wild or opposing utterances of their comrades, is admirable."

## "AN ANGLO-RUSSIAN UNDERSTANDING?"

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UNDER the above title, Mr. H. W. Wilson, in the *National Review*, condemns the idea of any arrangement between this country and Russia. He shows that there is a traditional feeling of hostility to Russia, not based upon mere sentiment, but upon logical instinct. "Russia," he says, "as the greatest antagonist of Britain and British ideas, as our certain rival in Asia and on the high seas, must be our enemy." Mr. Wilson points out that Russia's naval expenditure "has grown from £1,750,000 in 1868 to £2,500,000 in 1878, £3,629,000 in 1888, and, allowing for a share of the special appropriation, £7,500,000 in 1898. Had British expenditure risen in the same ratio in the same period we should now be devoting the sum of £10,000,000 to the Navy." His conclusions are that, "It takes two to make a compact, and there is no reason why Russia should bind herself. She can get everything she wants—she can even inflict affronts upon the British Navy with the consent of the British Cabinet—by an attitude of hostility to England. She could certainly get no more, and remain our friend, were she to enter upon an entangling agreement. No doubt it might be worth her while to make us fine promises were she not the ally of France, though, after our experiences of Port Arthur and Central Asia, the value of such promises to us would be nothing. There is reason, as Sir George Clarke hints, to suppose that the Dual Alliance is directed even more against England than against the Triple Alliance. In fact, as Mr. Greenwood and Mr. Wilkinson have told us, France and Russia are in the time of nominal peace waging more or less open war upon us and our interests. With decent statesmanship this kind of thing could have been stopped years ago, not by agreement, but by vigorous policy. Support, in this war on England, is the only benefit France derives from the Dual Alliance. If Russia is faithful to France, she cannot make friends with the possessor of Egypt, and if she is unfaithful to France, can we, in our turn, trust her?"

"Moreover," Mr. Wilson thinks, "it is certain that efforts have been made unsuccessfully to reach an understanding with Russia. Does anyone suppose that the Prince of Wales, during his 1894 visit to Russia, did not talk politics with the Czar? Or when the Czar saw the Queen in England, was such an opportunity let pass? And what of Lord Salisbury's plaintive appeal to Russia, when he told her that 'we had put our money on the wrong horse' in the Crimean War? Not the slightest result has been produced by all these interviews and entreaties. Russia goes imperturbably on, having discovered by long experience that British statesmen oppose words to her deeds, and that British protests and pompous naval demonstrations can be safely disregarded."

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## COMPANIONS IN MISFORTUNE.

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It was still dark, though a greyness in the eastward sky betokened the approaching dawn, when the man awoke. With some difficulty, for his limbs felt stiff and frozen, he drew himself upright. The woman still slept. For a few moments he stood looking down at her. Then he gently removed the overcoat from her shoulders, and put it on. She muttered incoherently when he disturbed her, but again leaned back against the granite wall—fast asleep. "Poor devil," he muttered, as he turned to go, "she must be tired to sleep so sound."

He drew his fingers through his hair, and pushed it back off his forehead, set his hat straight on his head, and walked slowly up the steps. He crossed the bridge, walked down the steps on the south side of the river and, turning eastward, kept along by the side of the river till, crossing Blackfriars Road, he reached Bankside.

Other men were straggling down in ones and twos to the various wharves on the shore. At one of these, where a small knot of men had already gathered, he stopped. No one spoke, no one noticed him. Several of the men were talking in low tones to each other, but most of them were silent, impassively smoking short clay pipes. One by one other men joined them, the crowd growing silently, almost imperceptibly, like a snowdrift. It was scarcely daylight yet, a cold mist filled the streets, and gave a strange and weird appearance to the motley group gathered in the grey uncertain light.

Presently there was an almost involuntary movement towards the wharf gates. The first warning strokes of the hour of eight sounded from a neighbouring church; some half-dozen men walked briskly into the wharf, the gates of which had just been thrown open. The crowd faced towards the gateway, pressing closely together. Pipes were extinguished and carefully stowed away. A short, stout man, looking something like a miller, was standing in the open gateway, and one by one the men filed past him as he signed to each one by a nod of the head or by calling him by name. Quickly the crowd melted away through the wharf gateway. The men at the back whispered hopefully to each other, "Taking on a lot this morning; reckon we shall all be wanted," as they pressed eagerly forward. There were some half-dozen when the foreman cried, "That's all," and turned away.

One by one the men vanished in different directions. The man with the overcoat buttoned up to his chin, who had been nearest the gate, and expected to be called next, stood hopelessly staring in at the gateway. All the others had disappeared, and he was just turning away when the short, stout man reappeared at the entrance.

"Hi, here, you!" he shouted, "I want you. There's another hand wanted on the second floor; up you go."

The man needed no second bidding, but scrambled up the ladder to the floor where his services were required. This floor was loaded with grain, some in sacks, piled to the ceiling, some in bulk, lying in huge masses, heaped up on the floor. He made his way along a narrow gangway between piles of grain to the loop-hole. Here several men were preparing the tackle to raise the sacks of grain from a barge lying below in the river.

A thick white fog lay over the river, and the craft on its surface were entirely hidden from view. It was almost impossible to make out from the loop-hole the barge lying far below in the water, but they could hear the voices of the men working down there.

As the sacks were hoisted to the loophole the men there had to wheel them away on trucks to a distant part of the warehouse. Rapidly the sacks, one after the other, were swung in at the loophole; in equally rapid succession they were weighed, wheeled away, and stacked.

Our friend in the overcoat soon found himself one of a small procession constantly and rapidly going from and returning to the loophole, like a stream of ants each carrying its grain of corn. It was light and easy work to those accustomed to it—especially to the old veterans who knew what it was to have to “hump” sacks of corn up a jacob’s ladder—but the stranger soon began to find it tell on him. He was numb with cold when he commenced, and the exertion of pushing the trolley with its sack of grain was very welcome exercise. But with the incessant motion his limbs began to ache; the rattle of the truck over the floor, smooth though it was, made his arms tingle, his hands were hot and sore and blistered with the unaccustomed chafing of the truck handles and the mauling of the rough heavy sacks. He had had nothing to eat for twenty-four hours, his legs trembled under him, his head was dizzy through the rapid exertion, and he felt ready to faint. He had some difficulty in keeping his place.

“Now then, old man,” shouted the man behind him, “buck up; no skulking now.”

“Why the h——ll don’t you take yer coat off?” shouted another, “if you can’t get along quicker than that. You’re like some old woman messing about.”

Then the weigher interposed.

“You shut up, Barney, and leave the man alone, can’t ye?” he cried.

“Well, why won’t the blooming omadhaun push along then, and take his coat off if he can’t go quicker with it on.”

“There’s no fear of anybody having to tell you to take your coat off, Barney. If you ever had one, you wouldn’t be keeping it a day before it would be up the spout.”

There was general laughter at this, to which Barney replied, “Well, and what would I be wanting an overcoat for, as long as I’ve got plenty of work to do?”

The stranger said nothing, but struggled painfully to keep his place in the ranks.

It was a relief to him when work ceased for a few minutes for lunch, and one of the others shared with him a couple of slices of bread and butter. At dinner-time there was an hour’s spell, and he borrowed a few pence, with which he procured some bread and cheese and beer in a neighbouring public-house, where he rested during the dinner hour. After this rest and food and drink, he felt better, and though his hands were not less sore, and the aching of his limbs increased, the afternoon did not seem so arduous nor so long as the morning had been.

But it was a relief when the day was over, and he had taken his pay. He felt quite rich now. He was sure of food and shelter for some days at any rate. No more sleeping on Waterloo Bridge steps, at least for a night or two. He shivered as he thought of the past night’s experience, and wondered how his companion had fared. He began to feel a curious interest in this woman whom adversity had thrown in his path. Now that he was for the moment relieved of his pressing material wants, he began to wish he had

not left her without arranging to see her again. He might have shared with her what he had earned. He walked into the New Cut and bought himself a cheap guernsey. He would be able to take his coat off now, if he got work again. Then he bought a rasher of bacon and an egg, a loaf, and some tea and sugar, and made his way to a common lodging-house, or "kip," near the Borough.

Here, in the common room, he cooked his food, and made himself some tea, and ate and drank his fill at the deal table in front of the big fire. Wasn't it fine? How comfortable he felt, after the weary shivering and freezing in the sleet and slush of the dreary streets and bridges. What luxury! Food and fire, and something hot to drink! He ate and drank leisurely, so as to make the most of it, sitting with his feet stretched out to the big fire blazing and roaring in the wide, open fireplace.

The others eyed him curiously; this man, so evidently a stranger in the place, they regarded as rather a trespasser. Soon he had to get back further from the fire. Others had food to cook and suppers to eat. It was a motley company gathered in that kitchen, and the air was heavy with the fumes of the various viands cooked on the fire and the odours of the frowzy garments of the guests. But that sordid interior was pleasant indeed compared with the steps of Waterloo Bridge, and the stranger sat long enjoying the agreeable warmth and brightness.

It was late, nearly closing time, when a woman entered. Our acquaintance, who was now nearly asleep, and had just decided to leave the warm kitchen and go to bed, where most of the other "dossers," had preceded him, looked up as she entered and recognised his companion of the night before. He beckoned to her, and she went over to where he was sitting.

"Sorry I didn't see you before," he said, "I've had some supper and you might have had some with me."

"On, that's all right, thanks," she replied, "I've had some grub now."

"Where did you get it?"

"Bought it. You don't suppose I stole it, do you?" she asked, with a defiant look; "I haven't come to stealing yet."

"So you got some money then?"

"Of course I did, or I couldn't have got anything to eat without stealing, could I?"

"How did you get the money?"

"Oh, shut up; don't be such a damned fool. You know very well what I am. How do you suppose women like me get money? But you don't need to insult me with it."

Angrily she turned away, but he caught her wrist.

"Look here," he said, "I don't want to insult you, but I do want to help you. Yes, it isn't much I can do, I know, but, see here; here's a shilling, take that, and let me see you here again to-morrow night. Promise that you will not get any more money in the same way as you've got that to-day, and then to-morrow night we'll see if you can't give up this life altogether."

"Oh, that's all nonsense. How can I give it up? What can I do? Don't talk rubbish."

"But what did you do before?"

"Before is not now. You don't suppose a woman comes to this life for love of it, do you? Some may, but not many. After all, it's not worse than many other ways of earning a living, and some do very well at it. But people who are hard up can't choose what they will do; they have to do what



they can, and I tell you straight I'd sooner be on the streets, though I do have to rough it sometimes, than work in the hells I've worked in."

"Well, but won't you promise?"

"What's the good?"

"Surely you could get something to do by which you could get an honest living; anything would be better than this ——."

"No!" the woman broke in, angrily; "anything would not be better than this. I've had a worse time of it, I tell you, so I know. I've been down on my luck a bit lately, but when God's good and the sun shines, there's many a worse life than mine, I can tell you. What is it, after all? A woman, like me, has only herself to depend on—she must live; to live she must sell herself. Look at the poor devils of girls and women in the mills and factories, working themselves to death just to live, and slaving and starving all the time. I daresay it's wicked, but I'd sooner sell myself in the street than the factory. I am not such a slave, and I get a better price. I am free to choose; I have no slave-driving master; I'm never afraid of getting the sack, and I do have enough to eat and drink when my luck's in, which these others never get!"

"Don't! For God's sake, don't talk like that; it's too horrible. Think of the terrible sin and shame of it, the infamy of it—anything is better, even death. Do try and give it up."

"Don't preach. I know what I've said is horrible; but it's true, and as for thinking about it—good God, don't you suppose I do think about it. I think till I go mad almost sometimes. But most of us prefer not to think—it is better not. But this won't do, the others are all looking at us—they'll think we're chums."

"Well, won't you promise?"

"No" Then as he drew his hand away and rose to go, she added, "I will promise for to-morrow, and will meet you here to-morrow evening."

"Thanks," he said simply, and grasped her hand. Then he walked out of the kitchen.

*(To be concluded.)*



## FROM MORE TO MORE.

(Translated by J. L. Joynes.)

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Hear now, ye wiseacres and kings,  
Bold Hunger stalks from town to town;  
'Tis us your whip of exile stings,  
Why hunt ye not that traitor down?  
Though food be scarce and clothing dear,  
And still the poor man's humble store  
Grow ever less from year to year,  
Your taxes grow from more to more.

Ye lords of land and men of might,  
Your slaves indulge your every whim;  
Let any poor man claim his right,  
Ye keep your constables for him.  
For all your remedies for ill,  
And weapons furnished forth for war,  
Are nought but constables; and still  
Their numbers grow from more to more.

Though from his hopes of golden ears  
The tiller of the soil must part;  
Though thoughts of want and woeful fears  
Take full possession of his heart;  
Though fruits may rot, and harvests fail,  
And hunger's wolf draw nigh the door,  
Yet, none the less, your yearly tale  
Of soldiers grows from more to more.

Full hardly may the people bear  
The yoke that on their necks ye lay;  
Right wretchedly they still must fare,  
Howe'er they strive their dues to pay.  
And while ye wield oppression's reins,  
Well versed in all extortion's lore,  
Your tale of penalties and pains  
Still lengthens out from more to more.

Yet nevermore shall tyrants tame  
The People's proud, unresting soul;  
Though ne'er so well ye ply your game,  
Ye shall not gain your longed-for goal.  
Not yours the victor's meed of praise,  
When Freedom leads her hosts to war,  
For even in these evil days  
Her fighters grow from more to more.

MICHAEL SCHWAB.



THE CHICAGO MARTYRS.

# THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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## THE CHICAGO MARTYRS.

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ON November 11, 1887, four men were hanged at Chicago in the interests of capitalist law and order. On May 4 of the previous year a meeting had been held at the Haymarket Square, Chicago. The meeting was called by the Anarchists to protest against police brutality at a meeting of strikers held two days earlier, when the police fired upon the crowd, killing six persons and wounding many others. The meeting on the Haymarket was a perfectly orderly and peaceable one, but towards its close the police advanced upon it in force, and the order was given for the crowd to disperse. Just at this moment a bomb was thrown by an unknown hand, apparently from a neighbouring building, into the midst of the police. One of their number was killed outright, and a number of others were wounded, six of whom afterwards died from their injuries.

Previous to the arrival of the police the meeting was on the point of dispersing, and had already considerably diminished in size in consequence of the heavy rain that had commenced to fall. Immediately after the bomb exploded the police fired right and left into the crowd, and dispersed the people in all directions.

On the following day several men, well known in the Anarchist movement, and who had taken an active part in the Eight Hours agitation then being carried on in Chicago, were arrested. Their names were August Spies, Michael Schwab, Samuel Fielden, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, Louis Lingg, Oscar W. Neebe. These, with Albert R. Parsons, who had escaped, but afterwards surrendered to take his trial, were indicted for the murder of M. J. Degan, the policeman who was killed by the bomb.

They were tried by a packed jury, nearly a thousand jurors being examined before a full jury was empanelled. The challenges of the prisoners' counsel were disallowed, and avowals of prejudice against the accused seemed to be regarded as a qualification for a jurymen. The empanelling of the jury occupied twenty-two days.

All the brutal ferocity of the capitalist class was manifested in the trial of these men, who were, it was soon made clear, not being prosecuted for any offence against the law, or for the crime with which they were charged, but for having preached revolt against the brutal conditions under which the workers suffered, and for holding opinions which were subversive of the sacred capitalistic order. The man who threw the bomb was never

discovered, and it was probably to the interest of the prosecution that he should not be found. None of the evidence in any way connected the accused with the throwing of the bomb, or showed that they had any more knowledge of the matter than any of those who were present at the meeting. They were accused of conspiracy, but the whole of the circumstances under which they went to the meeting disproved the charge. Parsons went there with his wife and children, and was not aware until just previously that such a meeting was to be held. He, Spies and Fielden addressed the meeting, but Fischer had left before the arrival of the police.

On July 15 the case for the prosecution was opened, the chief witness for the prosecution being a former comrade of the accused, who had turned informer, and the jury, on August 20, found the whole of the eight men guilty, the verdict being: "We, the jury, find the defendants, August Spies, Michael Schwab, Samuel Fielden, Albert R. Parsons, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, and Louis Lingg guilty of murder in manner and form as charged in the indictment, and fix the penalty at death. We find the defendant, Oscar W. Neebe, guilty of murder in manner and form as charged in the indictment, and fix the penalty at imprisonment in the penitentiary for fifteen years."

After this efforts were made to secure a new trial, but in vain. An appeal was then made to the Supreme Court of Illinois, but without avail. But the case had produced a tremendous sensation throughout the world. It was seen that the condemnation of these men was an act of gross class injustice, unworthy of an old-world despotism, much less of the "great free land" of the West. From every civilised country in the world came petitions to the Governor of Illinois (Oglesby) to use his power of grace, and remit the death sentence. It was all useless. The blood-lust of the capitalist class had to be gratified, and on November 11, 1887, Spies, Fischer, Parsons, and Engel were hanged. Fielden and Schwab had their sentences commuted to penal servitude for life. The day before this final tragedy Louis Lingg took his own life by exploding a cartridge in his mouth. The four condemned men walked calmly and firmly to the scaffold. Spies, standing on the scaffold, as the cap was drawn over his face, said: "There will be a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle to-day." The last words heard were Parsons': "Let the voice of the people be heard!"

\*     \*     \*     \*     \*

In June, 1893, nearly six years later, the then recently elected Governor of Illinois, John P. Altgeld, after carefully revising the evidence against the eight convicted men, unconditionally released the three prisoners, Neebe, Fielden, and Schwab, as having been unjustly condemned. He was bitterly assailed by the American capitalist press for this act of clemency, and he afterwards published a lengthy statement in pamphlet form giving full and complete reasons for the course he had taken. His conclusions are that the men were condemned unjustly and upon inadequate evidence; that the jury which tried them was packed; the jurors legally disqualified; and the judge partial.



## THE WELSH COAL STRIKE AND ITS LESSONS.

IN the year 1875—memorable as the year of the greatest coal strike in Wales prior to that of which I now write—a new method of wage-regulation was introduced into the South Wales coalfield, by the late Lord Swansea—then Mr. Hussey Vivian—one of the shrewdest and most successful capitalists of the Principality. This “sliding-scale” system which has governed wages for the twenty-three years which have elapsed since that never-to-be-forgotten winter—the winter which witnessed the defeat of some 60,000 men after a struggle which lasted for twenty-one weeks and four days—does not appear to be clearly understood by the general public. This is not strange, in face of the fact that a very large number of the colliers themselves seem to have at best only a very hazy idea of its working. Seeing that the central point in the recent dispute was this “sliding scale” system, I deem it advisable to endeavour, briefly, to explain it, in order that the general reader may be the better able to understand what follows. From the table below the reader will be able to see at a glance how the wages of the workers are affected :—

When the Average Net Selling Price of Coal per Ton, F.O.B.		Wages are at the following percentage above the Standard.	When the Average Net Selling Price of Coal per Ton, F.O.B.		Wages are at the following percentage above the Standard.
is	and under		is	and under	
s. d.	s. d.	Standard.	s. d.	s. d.	
7 10·25	8 0 00		10 10·29	11 0·00	23½
8 0 00	8 1 71	1½	11 0 00	11 1 71	27½
8 1 71	8 3 43	2½	11 1 71	11 3 43	28½
8 3 43	8 5 14	3½	11 3 43	11 5 14	30
8 5 14	8 6 86	5	11 5 14	11 6 86	31½
8 6 86	8 8 57	6½	11 6 86	11 8 57	32½
8 8 57	8 10 29	7½	11 8 57	11 10 29	33½
8 10 29	9 0 00	8½	11 10 29	12 0 00	35
9 0 00	9 1 71	10	12 0 00	12 1 71	36½
9 1 71	9 3 43	11½	12 1 71	12 3 43	37½
9 3 43	9 5 14	12½	12 3 43	12 5 14	38½
9 5 14	9 6 86	13½	12 5 14	12 6 86	40
9 6 86	9 8 57	15	12 6 86	12 8 57	41½
9 8 57	9 10 29	16½	12 8 57	12 10 29	42½
9 10 29	10 0 00	17½	12 10 29	13 0 00	43½
10 0 00	10 1 71	18½	13 0 00	13 1 71	45
10 1 71	10 3 43	20	13 1 71	13 3 43	46½
10 3 43	10 5 14	21½	13 3 43	13 5 14	47½
10 5 14	10 6 86	22½	13 5 14	13 6 86	48½
10 6 86	10 8 57	23½	13 6 86	13 8 57	50
10 8 57	10 10 29	25	13 8 57	13 10 29	51½
			13 10 29	14 0 00	52½

The principle upon which the sliding-scale is based, is that wages should be governed by (and not govern) prices. That is to say, wages under it fall and rise as the price of coal does. Since 1875 there have been several

changes in the scale ; that in operation at the time of the strike and now being known as "the Sliding-scale of 1892." Under this scale, advances or reductions are made upon a "standard" defined by Clause 9 of the agreement to be "the several rates actually paid at the respective collieries for the month of December, 1879." This standard is regarded as representing an average selling price of from 7s. 10½d. to 8s. per ton for large colliery-screened coal\* delivered free on board (f.o.b.) at Cardiff, Newport, Swansea, or Barry. Thus, no advance takes place until the selling price is 8s. per ton, when for every advance of 1.71d. an advance in wages of 1¼ per cent. above the standard is made. Supposing the wages of a collier—who is paid by the ton—or a wageman, who is paid by the day, to be 17s.† per week under the standard, with coal selling at from 9s. to 9s. 1.71d. per ton, his wages would be 17s. + 10 per cent. (= 1s. 8.40d.) = 18s. 8.40d. In December, 1892, wages were 46¼ per cent. above the standard ; in December, 1896, 10 per cent. ; and in same month of 1897, 12½ per cent. Thus, taking the example before given, the man who received in December, 1892, 17s. + 46¼ per cent. (= 7s. 10.35d.) = 24s. 10.35d., received in December, 1896, only 18s. 8.40d., and in December, 1897, 17s. + 12½ per cent. (= 2s. 1½d.) = 19s. 1½d.

All the mines, however, do not work under the standard of 1879, some of them having retained as "standard" the rates of wages paid under the agreement of 1877. This standard is about 15 per cent. higher than that of 1879. The wages are, however, regulated by the same scale, only no advance takes place until the selling price of coal is from 9s. 8.57d. to 9s. 10.29d. per ton, when they only get 1¼ per cent. advance, instead of 16¼ per cent., the difference of 15 per cent. being, as I have intimated, accounted for by the higher standard. In the Coedcae Colliery, for example, under the 1879 standard, the colliers are paid 1s. 2½d. per ton for cutting exactly the same seam of coal as men, under the 1877 standard, are paid 1s. 4¾d. for in a neighbouring colliery—the "Western." On a rising market, it is claimed that there is some slight advantage obtained under the standard of 1877, but if that is so it is almost infinitesimal. The net average selling price of coal is ascertained by the holding of two-monthly audits by two certified accountants—one appointed by the masters, the other by the workmen—and the results of such audits govern the wages for the two following months.

From the foregoing, readers of the SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT will see that by this ingenious device all the "sliding" is off the workers' wages, and will readily understand that it has long acted as an incentive to competition. "The sliding scale," to quote the words of Mr. D. A. Thomas, M.P., himself a colliery owner, "enables sellers to make contracts with a full knowledge that, if prices generally fall, wages also must follow, and recoup them by reducing their cost of production. That leads to underselling." In addi-

\* The colliers are not paid for the small coal, which, when sold, fetches from 3s. to 5s. per ton.

† Labourers under this class ("wagemen") get usually 2s. 10d. per day, equal 17s. per week, plus the percentage.

tion, the scale method of regulating wages has introduced fresh conditions of labour into the collieries, which are not to the advantage of the men.

And so, for a long time past, there had been springing up amongst the miners, many of whom knew little or nothing of its mechanism, a feeling of distrust of this sliding-scale arrangement. The men's "leaders," in the main, have always supported the system, "Mabon," M.P., being especially zealous in supporting it. But for this fact there is no doubt the spread of discontent would have been more rapid. "Mabon," who possesses neither the essential qualifications of a leader of men to any great degree, nor any particular brilliancy, which might account for the fact, has, till quite recent years, been regarded as a very demi-god by the miners; hence his influence. But, once kindled, the flames of discontent are not readily extinguished, and, as is generally the case, the few "malcontents" of a few years ago had by the latter end of 1897 grown into a formidable number, and they refused to be pacified by the sophistries of the "leaders." In September the men gave the requisite six months' notice to terminate the sliding scale agreement of 1892, under which they were working. This notice expired on March 31, 1898. For the first four months of the notice, the employers, it would appear, refused to meet the workmen's committee as such, and it was not until February, 1898, that the joint committee met. Then the workmen's representatives tried to get the employers to agree to a compromise, by amending the old agreement. The amendments proposed were:—

(a) That the agreement should contain a scheme for the "restriction of output" (to prevent underselling).

(b) Appointment of an arbitrator to decide between employers and employees when they failed to agree upon any question under the agreement.

(c) The agreement to be made intelligible and legal.

To these moderate proposals the employers refused to agree, and put forward counter-demands which contained several disadvantages to the workmen. They wanted to:—

(a) Reduce the percentage per shilling.

(b) Establish *four* monthly audits instead of two.

(c) Stipulate that advances under the "scale" should only take place on every 4d. instead of on every 1·71d. as heretofore.

(d) Abolish "Mabon's day."

(e) Introduce the "discharge note" system.

(f) Make the agreement for five years to be terminated by six months' notice.

Again the workmen's representatives sought to bring about a compromise, and made several important concessions, but the employers would not, and to prove that they meant what they said, they refused to allow the usual audit for the two months, January and February, by which wages for the two following months would ordinarily be decided, to be held; and further, on March 1, they gave the men notice to terminate contracts—virtually a

notice of dismissal. Towards the end of March, negotiations were still proceeding, but as these lagged on near the 31st, it was agreed by the representatives on both sides to postpone the "notices" for nine days, thus securing further time for discussion. The colliers, however, refused to work longer than the original notice stated, and left the pits.

And so, on the first day of April—day of ill-repute!—the storm cloud which for many months had loomed large and dark over the Welsh coal trade, burst. Far-seeing men recognised that it would in all probability be a long and protracted struggle; the strike of 1875 was remembered, and it was soon seen that all the features of that trying time were manifest. On the one side, the men, with a mere sham organisation—the creation of the sliding-scale system—without funds, and, worse still, with leaders, in many of whom they had no confidence, numbering, if we count only those belonging to the Associated Collieries,\* over 95,000. On the other side, the Coalowners' Association—consisting of representatives of 186 associated collieries, having an output of twenty-seven millions of tons per annum—a wealthy body with a fighting fund of £300,000, and perhaps the most astute man in the principality at its head. Surely, never was more unequal strife!

What the average wages were at the time of the strike it has been impossible to fix with anything like exactness. The employers, of course, said the men were well paid. Messrs. Pyman, Watson and Company, of the Ffaldu collieries, wrote to the Press in July stating that the colliers in the steam-coal seam in their pits received during the first three months of the year an average wage of 5s. 9d. per day, "without deducting the wages paid by them to their boys," and that for the last week before the strike the average was 7s. 3d. per day. And in the same month the chairman of the Ebbw Vale Company declared that at the collieries of that company colliers could earn 6s. to 7s. a day, whilst a "really first-rate man" could earn 10s. per day. But when Messrs. Pyman and Watson were challenged to submit their books to be audited by a Mr. Grant, no reply was forthcoming, and when the Ebbw Vale Company's chairman's statement was challenged by a miners' agent of the district†, who said that if it could be shown that "50 per cent. of the men earned the lowest wage stated (6s.), all the men would go back on the old terms," such proof was declined. These are but two instances out of many. The majority of the men and their leaders say the average was below £1 per week. The Board of Trade returns give, I think, an average wage of a fraction over £1 0s. 4d. per week, but that includes boys, who earn, of course, less than the men. My own idea, after examination of some hundreds of pay sheets from various collieries, is that it would be rather over 21s. and under 22s. per week. It is interesting to notice that the *Iron and Coal Trades Review*, on the first day of the strike, in an editorial article on "Is there a Plethora of Mining Labour?" mentioned two facts: 1. That wages in South Wales are notably

\* The non-associated collieries, chief of which are the Cambrian Collieries, largely owned by Mr. D. A. Thomas, M.P., were soon at work, the men having received advances of wages, first of 10 per cent., then 20 per cent.

† Mr. T. Richards (Beaufort).

low, and (2) that in South Wales the number of days worked per week are next to the highest in the country, viz., 5.31. The average throughout the collieries of the United Kingdom for the period from July, 1894, to June, 1897, was, according to the official returns of the Board of Trade, 4.87. The highest average was in the Lothians with 5.36, South Wales coming, as already stated, next with 5.31. This is specially interesting in view of the enormous "loss of time" complained of by the coalowners, which always followed the monthly holiday.

In April, when the employers' representatives and those of the men met in conference, the latter put forward the following demands :—

(1) A scale giving 10 per cent. instead of  $8\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. advance or reduction in wages, for every rise or fall of one shilling in the selling price of coal.

(2) A minimum selling price of 10s. per ton (f.o.b.).

(3) An umpire to be appointed to decide upon matters on which the joint committee have failed to agree.

(4) An immediate advance of 10 per cent. in anticipation of an audit under proposed new scale.

The demands were rejected *in toto*. The masters refused even to *discuss* the demands for an umpire and a minimum and declared they could not further negotiate unless the men's representatives had "plenary powers" to settle. This the men, by an overwhelming majority, refused to give. Soon after the men varied their demands to exclude the sliding scale altogether and demand only a conciliation board and an umpire in addition to the 10 per cent. immediate advance. The employers offered, in notices posted at the pit tops, worse terms than had been in force before the strike, including :—(1) a worse scale ; (2) the "discharge note" system ; and (3) the abolition of the monthly holiday. They rejected the fresh demands of the men, and again insisted upon "plenary powers" being given to the men's representatives.

Meanwhile, hunger was doing its work. Not alone, nor, indeed, chiefly, among the collier families, but also, and to the greatest extent, in districts such as Cardiff, Penarth, and Barry, whose trade depends upon the coal industry, misery and semi-starvation were everywhere apparent amongst the working classes. Never have I felt the urgent necessity of State maintenance of children so keenly as when looking at the crowds of ill-fed, sad-faced little ones at the various soup depôts and relief stations. The colliers appealed time and again to the Board of Trade to intervene on their behalf, and their efforts were backed up by the mayors of the principal towns. For a long time the President of that Board was obdurate and the colliers cried in vain. Not so the authorities at the War Office, when troops were demanded by frightened magistrates ! Though all was as peaceful as if nothing was wrong—far too peaceful—cavalry was sent immediately, and thousands of witnesses can testify that the presence of the troops was the greatest menace to peace on many an occasion. When, ultimately, a "conciliator" was sent in the person of Sir Edward Fry, ex-Lord Justice of Appeal, under the



provisions of the Conciliation Act, his coming was hailed with general rejoicing. The colliers were not only ready, but anxious, to avail themselves of his services; but the coalowners, who had previously refused the proffered mediation of the Earl of Dunraven and the Lord Bishop of Hereford, refused even to recognise his presence. Conciliation failed. The monopolist coalowners defied the State. Sir Edward Fry, disregarding the "snub" of the coalowners, succeeded, however, in getting the men's committee, who had meanwhile been given "plenary powers," to depart from the "no sliding scale decision" of their constituents, and, as a result, a conference of masters and men took place on July 16. The basis of discussion at this conference was a letter from the secretary of the men's committee in which they expressed their willingness to accept a plan by which prices should regulate wages, provided that a conciliation board should fix the wage rate "in the event of the average selling price of coal coming down below or going above a certain point to be agreed upon," and the monthly holiday should be modified. Soon, however, negotiations were broken off, owing, the employers alleged, to the reintroduction of the demand for an umpire by the men's leaders. Fresh terms were substituted by the employers for those of April 18, already described. These terms, briefly stated, were, in the words of the manifesto issued and posted at the pit-tops:—

"1. The terms and conditions of the Sliding-Scale Agreement (known as the 'Old Scale'), which terminated upon March 31 last, to be embodied in an agreement which shall continue in force until January 1, 1902, and be determined by six months' notice on either side, to be given on July 1, 1901, January 1, 1902, or any other following July 1 or January 1. 2. The monthly holiday known as 'Mabon's Day' shall be abolished, and no other holiday of a like nature will be permitted. 3. That an immediate advance be given of five per cent. above the wages in force on March 31 last, which shall merge into and form part of such advance as shall be found to be due under the scale."

Here followed another deadlock. July wore to its close and August was far advanced before there appeared any improvement in the situation. On Saturday, August 27, a most protracted conference was held at Cardiff, at the close of which it was announced that the only modification of the terms of July 16, which had been rejected, was the addition of the following clause:—

"If, after September 1, 1899, the employers, by virtue of this agreement, reduce the wages of the workmen below  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. above the standard of December, 1879, the workmen shall have the right of giving six months' notice to terminate this agreement, on the first day of any January or July next ensuing, notwithstanding Clause 1 of the pit-head terms, dated July 18, 1898."

The wages paid at the time of the strike were  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. above the standard, and when the audit was made in April by the employers, which they had previously refused to the men, it was found that an advance of 3.16 per cent. was due; this would place wages at 15.66 per cent. above the

standard, so that the real immediate advance was only 1.84 per cent.—probably less than they would have received if they had kept at work, since prices had been steadily advancing for some months. The provision contained in the “clause of modification” is neither literally nor in substance a recognition of a “minimum;” all that it means is that if, after September 1 of 1899, wages should fall *below* what they were, when the men came out on strike, they can terminate the agreement by giving six months’ notice on either the first of any January or July next ensuing. That is to say, the men will, subject to the conditions stated, be entitled, if they choose, to *strike on a falling market!* The terms were accepted on September 1, and thus closed the great tragedy of crime and blunder.

Such, in brief, is the story of the colliers’ heroic struggle for a living wage, and its lamentable, but not unforeseen, failure—a story which, in the annals of the Labour movement, will rank with the equally heroic and abortive struggles of the Welsh quarrymen of Bethesda and the English engineers. Penrhynism, Dyerism, and Lewisism—of such is the kingdom of capitalism!

How the colliers stood so nobly and well without funds has been the subject of much conjecture and wondering. Allowing that in the early days of the strike 25,000 men had left the district or found other work at home, there were, I should say, about 68,000 or 70,000 men on the relief funds. The men of the non-associated collieries who had kept working, having obtained an advance of first 10 per cent. and afterwards 20 per cent., contributed the whole of the advance to the relief funds, and nearly £120,000 was raised from other sources. The Miners’ Federation of Great Britain gave £12,000. The Durham miners also contributed generously, sending a first donation of £1,000 and £250 weekly for some time, the Scottish miners also behaving handsomely. Many of the colliers had at the commencement of the strike savings in the Post Office Savings Bank, and a large number belonged to co-operative societies. The Welsh people are very thrifty, being almost like the Jews in money matters, and there can be no doubt that this fact accounted for much in the fight. Sir W. T. Lewis is said to have given, at one of the conferences, the exact amounts which had been withdrawn from various post offices in the district and to have sneeringly remarked: “That does not sound much like starvation wages!” It would be interesting to learn how he got this information.

These considerations, however, can obviously only apply to comparatively few cases, and I am forced to the conclusion that, bad as I know that system to be, the “credit” system on which most of the people rely was their chief mainstay throughout the crisis.

The lessons of the struggle do not differ materially from those of other great industrial crises, and, apart from those of purely local bearing, are a repetition of the lessons of the engineers’ strike of last year. In *JUSTICE* from time to time, and in the last issue of this magazine, I have tried to indicate what appear to me to be the most important of these lessons, and it will only be necessary for me to re-state them very briefly here as follows:—

(1) The invincible position of any class which owns and controls the means of wealth production, distribution and exchange; and the consequent imperative necessity of securing these great agencies of life by the workers who alone have a right to them.

(2) The failure of trade unionism to accomplish this and its inability to adequately protect the workers from oppression and tyranny.

(3) The need of a well-directed, intelligent, political action to accomplish that wherein the ordinary trade union methods fail.

Objection has been made by some that since there was nothing but a sham organisation amongst the men and no trade unionism, as ordinarily understood, it is not right to say that the result of the strike attests the failure of trade union action. And it is urged that the catastrophic failure of the men is largely due to the fact that they were *not* trade unionists. It will suffice for me to point out that, whilst it is true there was no proper trade union organisation, the men adopted the ordinary trade union methods to the fullest extent. "If they do not organise well, they fight well," said a well-known English trade union secretary to me, and it is a fact that the number of blacklegs was remarkably small—quite insignificant, in fact. All that could possibly be done by the ordinary trade union methods was done with even greater thoroughness than was the case when the engineers were out. Yet, like these, the miners failed. I do not, of course, wish to discourage or discredit the men's efforts at organisation on trade union lines; on the contrary, I wish them all possible success; but they will do well to face the fact that trade unionism is, after all, but a poor protection. This is the irresistible logic of strike-failures everywhere.

Whether the miners will, with anything like thoroughness, learn these "lessons" for which they have paid so dearly, time alone will prove. If I venture to express an opinion at all, it is that for the great majority of the men they are without meaning. The great accession to the ranks of the Socialist movement predicted by some will not, I fear, be immediately realised. All that can be said with confidence is that some of the workers have been awakened to a sense of class-consciousness and inspired with a spirit of class hatred, and we may well expect these to prove to be in the future the nucleus of a well-organised working-class movement—the little leaven which shall leaven the whole mass of apathy and ignorance.

In conclusion, it is certain that the "agreement" of September 1 is by no means to be regarded as a *settlement* of the struggle. The fight is but adjourned, and at some not far distant date the miners will find themselves forced once again to take up the conflict against capitalist tyranny. The sliding scale as a wage regulator will not long be tolerated by the men. Let us hope that they will by then have learned the bitter lessons of "ninety-eight," and that the hour of strife will find them awakened from the apathy which has characterised the last quarter of a century taking a foremost place in the van of progress amongst the organised workers of the world. To bring about this end is the mission of the Social-Democratic movement in the Cymry.

J. SPARGO.

## **THE MUNICIPALITY UP TO DATE.**

### II.

WE have been considering so far what the best municipalities are doing for the physical well-being of their people. Let us now consider what they are doing for the care of the mind. In this country the work of educating the people is divided between the Municipal Corporation and the School Board, the School Board having charge of elementary education and the municipality of technical education. I am one of those who believe it would be better if the work of administering the Poor Law and the work of the School Board were in the hands of the Municipal Government, and performed by standing committees of the Town Council. You would thereby reduce the too numerous local elections, with their attendant expenses, and effect a saving of official salaries, and rents, and the cost of separately collecting the rates. Sooner or later, I am convinced, we shall see a complete unification of local government in this country. It has already taken place in France.

In France elementary education has been compulsory and free since 1881. Not only is instruction given without charge, but books and all other materials are freely supplied.

The Parisian schools are subject to an elaborate system of medical inspection. About 150 physicians are connected with this branch, and they visit all schools regularly and frequently to report upon general sanitary conditions, to watch for cases of contagious disease, and to care for any children needing medical attention. Medical school dispensaries and school baths are now common. In the case of small children whose parents are employed away from home during the day, and who do not return home from work until some time after the children are released from school, a system exists whereby the children are kept in custody by someone connected with the school, and allowed to play under safe conditions, and are sent home at the proper hour. They also undertake the responsibility for the safe keeping and happiness of those infant children on each holiday. Several thousands of children are taken care of in this way.

Another Parisian experiment is that of providing a warm noon meal for the benefit of poor children who would otherwise have little or nothing to eat during the school day. Many children go to their homes for the noon meal, but the majority remain at school. Those whose parents are not able to pay are provided with the meals free, the others are charged 1d. per meal. A uniform ticket system is used in such a way that the children themselves cannot recognise any distinction between those who are fed gratuitously and those who are paid. The system was begun in 1882, and is an unqualified success. Between eight and nine million meals per annum are served in Paris, and more than half of them—viz., 60 per cent.—are gratuitous.

An arrangement exists whereby an auxiliary board ascertain accurately the circumstances and home condition of each child. They possess a fund, partly derived from charitable contributions and partly from grants out of the rates, from which they see that shoes are provided for those who need them, and, in fact, that all school children are comfortably and decently attired.

A number of directors of sports are regularly employed by the municipality, and on holidays in the parks and playgrounds the young Parisians are now being taught outdoor games and exercises. Every year the City Council votes a handsome sum of money to pay for the management of school vacation trips into the country; and a system of school camps and colonies has been established, its object being to send a large number of sickly children of the working class into the country in summer. The gymnasium is a universal feature in the Parisian Board Schools. Manual training also in the use of common tools has been recognised for its educational value, whilst girls receive instruction in needlework and the domestic arts.

In 1882 it was determined to introduce the boarding school feature into the Parisian schools for the benefit of widowers, or of other parents whose occupation made it difficult to maintain a suitable home for small children; £24 a year was found to be the cost of boarding and clothing a child. The municipality requires the parent to pay 10s. to 20s., according to the pecuniary circumstances of the parent, and the municipality pays the rest. In 1894 the municipality appropriated approximately 1,000,000 francs, or £40,000, to pay its share of the cost of placing some 2,000 children in the boarding schools.

I have not time to go into the Parisian system of technical education. It would require an issue of the magazine of itself. But I may say it is in these schools that Parisian dressmakers, milliners, artificial flower makers, furniture designers, house decorators, skilled workers in metals, and handicraftsmen in scores of lines of industry are educated to do things that keep Paris prosperous and rich. Thus we see that in Paris the municipality hovers over its children and young people like a protecting angel. It takes them as soon as they can toddle about, educates them first amid the tender and indulgent associations of the maternal schools, afterwards in the infant schools, then in the primary schools; it finds them healthy exercise for the holidays, takes them into the country and to the seaside in the summer, sees to their health and, where necessary, to their feeding and clothing, and, after school days are past, it affords them in the technical schools the opportunity of becoming competent and expert in any trade to which the young man or woman aspires.

Leeds, with a population of between 350,000 and 400,000, has no less than 53 branch free libraries. Some of these are for the exclusive use of children, and there is a special library with raised letters for the blind. In Liverpool, in addition to a free library with numerous branches, some of the Board Schools are used in the evening as free reading, newspaper, and magazine rooms. In Manchester and Rochdale the free libraries and reading-rooms are kept open on Sundays and until 10 o'clock at night.



The provision of public parks has long been considered a proper subject for municipal expenditure. In a climate like ours, however, there are many months in the year when parks are of little or no use. What do our town councils do for us, then, in the way of providing entertainment. On the Continent it is a very common thing for the municipality to provide a municipal theatre or opera house, but I do not know of anything of the sort in this country. The Glasgow Corporation, however, happens to own several assembly rooms in various parts of the city. In two of the largest halls concerts are given every Saturday during the winter under municipal auspices, the prices of admission being one penny and threepence, and although artistes of professional position are engaged the concerts are carried on without loss to the municipal exchequer. A more noteworthy example of municipal concerts is to be found at Newcastle-on-Tyne. They are under the management of a special committee of the Council, and are given in the Town Hall every Saturday evening during the winter months. They were started in 1882, and each concert has been attended on the average by 1,670 people, the accommodation of the Town Hall being 1,700. Some of the best artistes have been employed, and the cost for admission has only been 3d. and 6d. The aggregate receipts for the eleven years have amounted to about £9,000, and the expenses to about £8,000. The balance has been used to provide part of the cost of band performances in the parks in the summer.

The latest Glasgow municipal undertaking is the establishment of a People's Palace similar to that in the East End of London, which was one of the results of Sir Walter Besant's novel, "All Sorts and Conditions of Men." The palace is to be a great place of recreation for the East End of Glasgow, and is to cost £20,000. Music and a winter garden are to be among the main features of this new municipal effort to minister to the pleasures of the people.

There are many other departments of municipal activity which might be dealt with, such as the municipal ownership of tram lines, the municipalisation of the liquor traffic, or, at any rate, the experimental ownership and management by the Council of a municipal public-house.

Something, however, should be said about what the municipality can do to help the poor. It does practically nothing in the way of direct aid in this country. In England the lending of money is left to private enterprise exclusively. To the man who wishes to borrow a substantial sum and has security to offer, the way is easy whereby he may obtain an advance at a reasonable rate of interest, but for the man who wishes to borrow a small sum, say, by way of pledge, it is probably more difficult to obtain an advance at a reasonable rate of interest in England than in most countries in Europe.

As is doubtless well known, the English pawnbroker carries on his business subject to certain statutory provisions. Where the money advanced does not exceed £10 the rate of interest he may charge is limited by law. Above £10 there is no limit. On loans of 40s. the rate of interest is

limited to 50 per cent. per annum. Over 40s. special terms may be arranged. On the Continent the business of pawnbroking is carried on by the municipality. Most European countries possess their public pawnshop to protect the people from usurers. The general plan on which these public pawnshops are worked is this. They accept loans from the public like savings banks and they lend that money out at a slightly increased rate of interest. The public pawnshop of Paris possesses a great central establishment and over thirty branches in different parts of the city. The number of articles upon which loans were made in 1892 was over 2,250,000 and the amount advanced was close on £2,500,000 sterling. Thus the public pawnshop, upon the average, makes a loan each year of about 25 francs, or £1 sterling, to every man, woman, and child of Paris. The rate of interest charged is 6 per cent., as compared with 50 per cent. charged by private pawnbrokers in this country, and there is a fixed charge of 1 per cent. to cover insurances upon the articles charged. The public pawnshop is able to borrow all the money it requires at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. upon yearly deposits and as low as 2 per cent. upon deposits for shorter periods. There can be no doubt the public pawnshop in a great boon to the poor. It advances sums as low as 3 francs (or 2s. 6d. of our money). It is said the small loans are made at a loss to the institution, which is more than counterbalanced by the profits on the loans for larger amounts. Great care is taken of the articles pledged, and, in the case of bedding, it is carefully disinfected before being returned to the owner. The public pawnshops have also proved a valuable agency in assisting the police in detecting and preventing stealing. It is said that about 360,000 watches are received in pledge every year by the Paris pawnshop, and that only 250, or seven out of 10,000, prove to have been stolen. This is an amazing record, yet it is further true that the public pawnshop receives three times as many stolen watches as all the stolen articles put together. In Paris the surplus profits of the public pawnshops, which amount to a considerable sum, are devoted to the hospitals. In Germany money-lending is carried on by the State and by the municipality, and the surplus profits are devoted to charitable purposes. Even the private pawnshops are not allowed to retain any surplus which may be obtained on the sale of unredeemed pledges after the payment of expenses. The amount of the surplus has to be paid into the savings bank into the account of the owner, and, if not claimed within a year, the money may be devoted to parochial objects.

Public pawnbroking is also in vogue in Spain, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Italy, where it was first introduced in Florence at the end of the fifteenth century by the great Savonarola. In Italy very small loans are advanced for six month, free of interest, and Italy is not quite alone in this respect. Why should we be behind all the rest of the civilised world in making municipal provision in this way for the temporary needs of the poor?

T. H. ROBERTS (Burnley).

## IN DEFENCE OF CAPITALISM.

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THE chief difference between the prevailing form of social organisation and Socialism is that capital is at present for the most part privately owned, whereas under Socialism it would be held collectively. The term "capitalist," so often applied by Socialists to the present system, in reproach might just as appropriately be applied to Socialism itself, for capital, *i.e.*, wealth applied to the production of further wealth, would be as necessary then as now. What Socialists really mean by the term is to protest against the power of private capitalists to work economic and social organisations for their own advantage; and, as terms are not of the first importance, "capitalist" will do as well as another to express an antithesis to Socialism.

Most people believe in the inevitability of private ownership and the impossibility of Socialism. But many sympathise to a certain extent with Socialist criticism of private capital, and think the only objection to Socialism lies in its vagueness and remoteness. And even among those who definitely object to Socialism, and have some conception of the evils it would involve, there are not many whole-hearted defenders of capitalism. It is regarded as inevitable and as a lesser evil than Socialism by those who are generally destitute of social ideals and whose attitude is little more than a barren negation.

But capitalism can be justified from a higher ground than mere antagonism or indifference to Socialism. Its maintenance can be shown to be consistent with continuous moral, material, and social development.

A defence of capitalism ought not to be regarded as an apology for evils, such as poverty and war, which accompany, but are not indissolubly connected with, it; nor even as a defence of actual economic circumstances. What can be defended are the economic and social forces of capitalism; its tendencies rather than its actualities.

To begin with, it cannot be denied by its bitterest critic that capitalism is progressive. The growth of private wealth has accompanied and been part of a transformation such as the greatest visionary of the last century never dreamed of. This ever-growing control of natural forces we owe almost entirely to men actuated by the impulse of private gain. Discoveries and inventions have sometimes been due to accident or to pure love of science, but their application to the arts of life has been accomplished only under the severe pressure of competition which admittedly would be absent from Socialism.

The fact that, in spite of this much-vaunted progress, millions of people still pass lives of misery in the most progressive countries is held by Socialists to show the fundamental unsoundness of capitalism. Modern progress, they say, has enormously increased social inequality. It has

created millionaires on the one side and paupers on the other. It has done practically nothing for the masses. But this is to overlook the enormous increase of population. If the modes of production of two or three centuries ago were still in vogue, this country, for instance, could not maintain forty millions of people as it does now, though with half the land uncultivated. To have enabled so many more people to live even on a standard no higher than that of mediæval times would have been greatly to the credit of capitalism. But when we consider that those with a mediæval standard of comfort comprise but a small proportion of the population, we begin to form some idea of the great change effected by capitalism. In spite of widespread misery, there never was a time when such large numbers were so well-fed, housed and clothed, or lived so fully and freely as to-day. There may be actually more destitute people, but relatively to the whole population there are considerably fewer.

Social arrangements must not be judged exclusively by either their failures or successes. Socialists are too prone to take the former, and social Conservatives the latter course. We must not shut our eyes to the misery which still exists, but, neither, on the other hand, must we allow the efficiency of our social organisation to be impaired by rash experiments just because a few of many millions are suffering. On this efficiency depend the comfort and welfare of millions who may reasonably object to experiments conducted at their expense and not certain in the long run to benefit anybody.

It is too hastily assumed that the wealth of the rich is something withheld from the poor and diverted from its true destination by faulty methods of distribution. But the poor are not poorer than they were before the rise of the millionaires. Therefore, the wealth of the latter cannot have been taken from them. It has been called into existence by improved methods of production which have been originated and organised, not by the wage-earning classes, but by a relatively few specially gifted men. Our industrial aristocrats are fully entitled to their wealth, for when not the actual producers they are the representatives, either by descent or by purchase, of those who did produce it.

This brings us to the question of hereditary transmission of property. Under Socialism this would probably either be prevented altogether or subjected to much more stringent regulation and taxation (Socialism, it must be remembered, does not postulate the abolition of private property, but only of property used as capital). There could consequently be no specially leisured class representative of ancestral achievements and social service. We have such a class now, the existence of which can be justified as consonant with the welfare of the entire community. Persons not dependent upon their own exertions are frequently stigmatised by Socialists as "rich idlers," and regarded as a burden upon the community, and no doubt some of them try to live up to the description. Others are among the busiest and most deserving members of the community. They perform useful social functions to which no pecuniary reward is attached, and which, in the absence of a leisured class, would be neglected altogether. And even

those rich persons who are idlers in the strictest sense of the term are not altogether to be censured, for by abstaining from work and business pursuits they do something to ease the pressure of competition, and make room for others less fortunately circumstanced than themselves. But, whether the rich as individuals are unproductive or not, the point is that, as a class, they are advantageous to society as a whole. The desire voiced by the poet Burns "to gather gear by every means that's justified by honour . . . . for the glorious privilege of being independent" is an effective stimulus to social productivity. Aristocracy under capitalism has become frankly plutocratic. The old contempt for money as compared with honours and hereditary rank has almost completely disappeared. There are no rigid barriers between the classes. Money is the golden key which unlocks all doors. The possession of more, and still more, money is the aim of everybody, and especially of modern stoics. Thus, instead of a stagnant we get an intensely active, progressive society. It is easy to sneer at Mammon worship, but when the outcome of this worship is seen to be a continually widening sphere of humanity, free from want, it must be admitted that Mammon does about as much for his worshippers as any other god. Self-seeking and personal aggrandisement are shown to harmonise with the interests of the State.

*Singulorum opes sunt divitiæ civitatis.* The men who do most good are not philanthropists and political reformers, but hard-headed, and if you like hard hearted, business men and inventors. Stephenson counts for more in social dynamics than Robert Owen, and Edison than Henry George; while there are thousands of obscure business men whose names seldom reach the public, but who are all hard at work transforming society, though without any consciousness or intention of benefitting anybody but themselves and immediate dependents. They are trying to win a place for their families in the ranks of the leisured. If they were not permitted to do this, in the absence of an equally efficient stimulus to exertion and individual initiative, social immobility would ensue, and Europe become another China.

A common, but mistaken, idea is that the rich are growing richer and the poor poorer. Certainly there are richer people now than there ever were, and millions are as poor, and relatively to the very rich poorer, than any people ever were. But to suppose that wealth is being concentrated in the hands of a few is, as income-tax and other returns show, a mistake. The growth of big business syndicates and the notoriety of certain advertising millionaires are largely responsible for the mistake. Big joint-stock businesses indicate concentration only for management, not for ownership. They show a dispersal, not a concentration, of property. For purposes of economy a number of property owners combine their stocks under a common management. Modern wealth has been happily likened to a huge pyramid, the apex of which represents the millionaires. It rises high in the air and attracts all eyes. But the greater bulk of the pyramid is in the lower strata, which represent the wealth of the middle and lower classes.

Modern experience has shown the unsoundness of the old Malthusian



economics, which taught that wages could never permanently rise above subsistence level. The profits of employers are not greatest where the lowest wages are paid. On the contrary, the largest fortunes are made in America, England, and new countries where wages are comparatively high. Nor do the prices of products bear any ratio to wages unless perhaps an inverse ratio for the keenest competitors in the world's markets are high-wage countries. Labour is not the only factor in production. Skill, machinery, modes of production count for more than rates of wages. Modern industry in its most progressive form stands for a growth of the wage-earner's well-being. The danger of the future is not a too great inequality, but rather the undeniable tendency for wealth to be dispersed among the middle classes, and the growing difficulty of making a fortune in a life-time which may weaken incentives to originality and exertion. The growing disposition to regard the capitalist as a public enemy, and to begrudge him his reward, is too full of danger. The poor are encouraged by Socialist propagandists to envy and hate their benefactors. They are taught that the profits of employers and incomes of the rich generally represent so much surplus-value derived from exploitation of wage-earners, notwithstanding the fact that wage-earners, even when possessed of associated capital, as in the case of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and other trade unions, have never shown themselves competent to organise their labour on a non-profit working basis.

Considering the inheritance from the past, the wonder is not that there are so many evils under capitalism, but that there are so few. Some evils are disappearing under the free play of economic laws, and others are appearing for every stage of social development has evils peculiar to itself. It is generally admitted, though, that, on the whole, there is great improvement. This is, indeed, the universal theme of the non-partisan writers who celebrate the glories of the Victorian era.

Another important aspect of capitalism which must not be neglected is the international. The owner of stock, as Adam Smith long ago reminded his readers, has no country. He is a citizen of the world. Since then national barriers have been broken down by railways, steamships, and telegraphs to an extent which would have surprised the philosopher of the "lang toon of Kirkcaldy," prescient though he was. In spite of the huge military and naval forces which still exist, war between industrial countries is becoming more and more impossible every year. Considering the destructiveness of modern implements, the lives lost in warfare during the present century are surprisingly few. The nineteenth has been the most peaceful of all centuries, and capitalism will see to it that the twentieth century is more peaceful still.

Capitalism has shown itself progressive, and, despite numerous evils, self-cleansing. Ought not true reformers, as distinct from revolutionists, to encourage and glorify the forces which have accomplished so much? Ought they not to secure capitalism from interference by the politician? It is admitted that evils are dying out. A physician does not prescribe radical

remedies for a patient on the way to recovery. Similarly the political doctors who are most conscious that society is sick, should confine their efforts to the cultivation of a good bed-side manner, hard though it may be for them to have to forego an exhibition of their skill as amputators. Capitalism requires to be mended, not ended. The best way to mend it—to leave it alone. Rash treatment may impede recovery. At all events, and until we have more sociological and political data upon which to base tolerably exact science, it is the grossest political quackery to enforce haphazard experiments in legislation. The business of a politician is the only one in which no preliminary training is considered necessary. Is it wonderful, then, that so many mistakes are made? Instead of looking to politicians and philanthropists to save us, let us give capitalists the confidence justified by their past success. They have already achieved wonders, in spite of the numerous and irksome restrictions to which they are subjected. Let any unprejudiced person consider his daily life, and ask himself how many of the comforts and luxuries he enjoys have been brought into existence by politicians, and how many by capitalists. With the exception of the security afforded by the military, naval and police forces, he will find that politicians have done practically nothing. Then, if he has already done so, let him study the history of legislation, and he will surely recognise that law-making never has been based upon any scientific principles whatever. The politician is loud in his promises and disappointing in his performances. The capitalist, on the other hand, does not profess to save society but is doing so nevertheless.

R. N. McDougall

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## ETHICS AND PROGRESS.

### PART II.

So far from social and economic progress being due to ethical development, it is plain that precisely opposite is the case, and that the moral ideas of any age have always had an economic foundation. It would take too long to give many instances of this. The dominant economic form of to-day is competition for the purpose of acquiring private property. Accepted moral ideas follow in due course. The law lays down certain rules within which such competition must be carried on, but within those laws the person who can acquire a large amount of wealth is absolutely sure of obtaining the approval of the world to his conduct, and of being honoured, respected, and held up as an example for his less fortunate or more scrupulous fellow-men. Orthodox political economy will applaud his action, religion will justify him, and humanity generally will stamp its approval by imitation. The drama and fiction of to-day, it should be noted, always give distressed virtue—orthodox virtue, of course—the reward of property, in the dual shape of a wife and great possessions. The change that is commencing in these respects is directly due to an alteration in economic conditions. The massing of population which goes on in our large cities shows clearly that the slum landlord, for instance, is an anti-social force, and an enemy of the community. The respect which was formerly paid to the landed proprietor, especially if he were “self-made,” is therefore fast disappearing in the case of the cottage-owner. He is no longer held up in the schools, bands of hope, and other juvenile institutions as an example for youth; and usually such a man, like Sartorius in Shaw’s “Widower’s Houses,” is ashamed rather than proud of his source of income. The public sense of honesty, however, has not reached such a pitch that it can seriously condemn financial operations of the class carried on by Hooley and his parasites. In spite of journalistic mock thunders, the feeling of the average man towards such creatures is envy of their success and not condemnation of their misdeeds. He does not yet realise the effect of such speculation on the community. He perceives only a legal scramble for wealth, and he admires the successful in that scramble as “smart men” until their downfall, when he blames their foolishness and not their dishonesty.

Let us look at the matter in another light, by examining the actual effects that have followed ethical teaching. The world has seldom been at a loss for some earnest reformer who zealously promulgated views, religious or moral, far in advance of those he found accepted. Christ, Buddha, Confucius, and others all admittedly held up ideals as high as the mind of man can conceive. The present condition of the peoples who have adopted the doctrines of those teachers, however, certainly does not indicate that their beliefs have any vital influence on action.

The religious and moral ideas that have appeared in the history of mankind may be divided into three classes :—(1) a belief that is clearly in accord with economic conditions—that, to use a commercial phrase “ meets a long-felt want ” ; (2) a revolutionary belief that is nominally accepted by the world, but is really emasculated, distorted, and made to justify existing conditions ; and (3) a doctrine that is highly valued and eagerly discussed by a small knot of people, but which never becomes popular, and has no effect on the masses.

Such a religion as Christianity enters into all three classes. We know that ever since Jesus Christ died, there have been little coteries of earnest men and women who have resolutely endeavoured to get at the truth and essence of Christianity and to mould their lives by it ; and we know also that those little groups have one by one died out, leaving only their writings and their traditions behind them. On the other hand, it is easy to see how the teaching of Christianity supplied the inevitable reaction against all the luxury, tyranny, and general corruption that the Roman Empire meant in its day. A more opportune moment could not have been possible for the spread of such ideas as were covered by primitive Christianity. But Christianity, in spite of the strong spirit of its zealots, was not, for the time being, so strong as the Roman Empire. The new religion was nourished by the conditions it found around it, and thrived on the persecution it met with, as new religions always do. So soon, however, as it grew important and powerful, the Roman Empire coolly opened its capacious mouth, and swallowed it. Christianity was accepted, but it had no more effect on the mass of the people than it has to-day. It scarcely touched the general corruption it found around it, and Rome went on the road to ruin without any decrease of pace.

One result that is often claimed for early Christianity is that it set free the bondsman. It is true that a great manumission of slaves did take place on the introduction of the new religion, but that fact is directly traceable to the large number of propertyless freemen existing at the time. Free labour was cheaper than slave labour, and free labour naturally triumphed, as it has done many times since. The Christian thunders, however, were not confined to chattel slavery ; they were also directed against usury, and here they showed how impotent they were. In spite of the denunciations of the Christian fathers, of the edicts of innumerable ecclesiastical councils, and of the efforts of almost every religious organisation, in its palmy days, ever since, usury has not abated one jot or one tittle of its bond. It still demands and receives its pound of flesh, and, although the rate of interest is decreasing, the aggregate of unearned income received either as rent, profit, or interest is greater than ever it was before.

The subsequent history of the Christian era shows clearly how religious and ethical ideas continue to be subordinate to economic conditions. The examples are too many to elaborate, but reference may be made to the readiness with which the Roman Catholic religion adapted its doctrines and its organisation to the social and economic organisations of the feudal

system, to the even greater celerity with which Protestantism and the particular religious tenets it upheld, followed the breakdown of feudalism and the rise of commercialism ; and to the fact that every flicker of religious or moral reform that sprang up, such as the movements headed by the Friars, the Anabaptists, the Lollards, and the Puritans, was but a tag on some larger social movement.

On the other hand, it is plain from the scantiest glance at history that economic and social conditions are all powerful. Looking briefly at the progress of our own country, we can see how in early mediæval times such a very material cause as the extravagance and mutual hostility of the nobles led to the towns purchasing their freedom ; how the fearful Black Death that swept over the land and halved the population gave higher wages and increased prosperity to those who were left, and, in spite of the suppression of the Peasants' Revolt, laid the foundations of the era we know as the Golden Age of the English labourer ; how the rise of weaving in Flanders led to sheep farming in England and the consequent eviction of the peasants from their small holdings ; how geographical discovery led to an extension of the mercantile market and the rise of capitalism ; and how England took first place among the capitalist nations of the world through such material causes as her coast line, her situation, and her coal mines.

The wonderful change that capitalism brought over the world was entirely the result of economic causes. We Socialists believe, and are ready to prove, that the poverty we wish to abolish is due to the appropriation of rent and surplus-value by the landlord and the capitalist. Now, the economic revolution which caused that poverty was not due to any lack of human love, such as the sentimentalist seems to imagine. The introduction of capitalism was comparatively sudden, but people did not suddenly become morally worse, and it does not necessarily need, in order that capitalism should pass away and Socialism should be inaugurated, that they should wait until they are morally better. The numerous mechanical and scientific inventions of the past century, and the utilisation of steam and gas and electricity, have done more to change the face of the earth and to alter the whole condition of the people on the earth than all the sentiment that ever existed. In the industrial districts huge masses of people owe their occupations, and, indeed, their very existence, to changes in economic conditions, and to improvements in production.

An examination of history by the light of economic tendencies inevitably leads to disillusionment as to the result of one's individual effort, and shows that the work of religious and ethical reformers, in common with that of great writers, statesmen, and warriors, has not had the vast effect we sometimes attribute to it, and that such people were often mere flies on the cart-wheel of progress, persuading themselves that they were the cause of its rotation, when in reality the motive power was one which went on heedless of their efforts, and which they could neither very much assist nor very much hinder.



To those who look forward to a day when poverty shall be no more, and brotherhood shall take the place of competition, the theory that we are moved onward by economic forces is of infinitely greater hope than that which bids us put our trust in a vague gospel of grace emanating from the brain of some hysterical enthusiast. We see to-day highly-organised co-operation in production, and we know that co-operation in distribution must necessarily follow. The doom of our present economic system is plain, and the change that is taking place is having, as mentioned before, a like effect on the moral and religious world. Commercial competition, it is clear, tends inevitably to cut its own throat, and must finally result in monopoly. Private monopoly would be insupportable; public monopoly, or some form of Socialism, is the only alternative. We see, too, that the communities and nations amongst whom co-operation and brotherhood are practised most, whose members are knit together closest, and whose interests are common, tend to survive at the expense of those communities which are disintegrated, where the labour of one class is sacrificed to the luxury of another. With the growth of great centres of population, caused by our present complex system of production, one's duty towards one's neighbours is not a matter of voluntary ethics, but a matter of sheer necessity, and is dictated by sensible selfishness. Fever in the slums will infect the mansions of the wealthy; a starving crowd is dangerous to property; an uneducated people are poor wealth-producers; and so we are provided with workmen's dwellings, hospitals, Board schools, and workhouses. What are we to think has been the cause of the marvellous growth of municipal Socialism during the last half-century? Certainly not ethical conviction on the part of our wealthy governors that they are their brothers' keepers. No! nothing but sheer necessity.

The man in the street is not converted to ideas; he drifts along the sluggish current of public opinion. He has passed unconsciously from the days when human life was at the mercy of the strong, and nothing but physical might ruled, to his present state of development; and he will go on in just the same matter-of-fact way to higher stages. In the future he will never dream of allowing a fellow man or woman to go short of food or clothing in a land of plenty, and he will find it difficult to imagine how such barbarity could ever have been permitted. He will enter on a state of brotherhood, not as a result of being preached at (for to preaching he is impervious), or from any inner conviction (with which he is never troubled), but simply because the drift of economic evolution carries him with it. Then, perhaps, when material conditions are entirely subject to his will; when he has conquered them, not by suppression, but by satisfaction, he will enter on a higher plane of life, and march on to a state which is impossible while he is confined in the shackles of his material surroundings.

A. E. LAUDER.

## THE FATE OF ITALY ACCORDING TO "OUIDA."

THE *Review of Reviews* for September contains a stirring but gloomy article by "Ouida," entitled "An Impeachment of Modern Italy." She says that "the torture of the Italian nation began with the thirst of its rulers to be classed amongst the great military and maritime powers." Amongst the manifold causes—"causes within causes"—of the general agitation prevailing are "conscription, taxation, and their offspring—misery; and these, already preying on the population, were increased a thousandfold by the Crispian crime, the Abyssinian War."

After the fall of Crispi, King Humbert had an opportunity which he might have turned to a noble account had he resigned of his own will two-thirds of his salary. But he did not do so. "Ouida" thinks the "recent manifestations of hostility to the constitution must not be too exclusively ascribed to hunger. As a matter of fact, in some places there was no question of hunger at all or even of poverty. . . . The causes of rebellion lie deeper than the roots of the corn." It is the more educated classes who are feeling the ruinous taxation, though patient and apparently quiescent.

"Not a day passes that there is not some territorial property forcibly sold, and sold for probably a tithe of its real value, at some local tribunal because the local or imperial imposts have not been met. . . . A small house or farm will be seized because a few francs are owing to the fiscal authorities; the fees of lawyers and notaries and the costs of the court soon count up to exceed its worth. It is lost for ever to its owners."

A poor wretch, living by carting sand, is forced to pay income-tax, and a further tax for keeping his famished little ass; owners of reed-thatched huts and stone cabins will be summoned for imposts they cannot pay, and have their homes sold up. Such cases are of daily occurrence throughout Italy, and in Sicily and Sardinia. Those of whom income-tax is not demanded because of their poverty nevertheless suffer from taxes on all supplies and necessaries—from licenses, gate taxes, &c. The people are also treated with the utmost contempt by the functionaries of the communes and municipalities, and are locked up at the slightest exhibition of natural anger or impatience.

Corruption, too, reigns supreme in all Government departments. "A conspicuous person, who, as is well known, during the Abyssinian campaign purchased mules at a hundred francs a head or less, debited the State with their purchase at the rate of four or five hundred francs a head, and has never been forced to refund the money. . . . Gigantic defalcations of eminent men go unpunished; every expedient and every interest in high places being strained to the uttermost in the protection of the thieves in gold embroidered coats. . . . A young man of a noble and ancient family was secretary to a shooting club and administrator of a theatrical association; he embezzled the funds of the former and the subscriptions of the latter; he had embezzled other considerable sums and his arrest seemed inevitable. But the prefect demurred; the sinner was of a noble and ancient family; the youth was kindly and privately advised to go out of the city; he did so, calmly and publicly, and is now living unmolested in another city of Italy with no fear of the police. Such instances could be multiplied by

tens of thousands. . . . An eminent lady has been pronounced guilty of embezzlement; she is now 'appealing'; the sentence will most certainly be set aside, and she will remain undisturbed, and will continue to be received at Court and everywhere else she may desire.\*

Referring to the break-up of the Italian Republican Party, which she attributes to the loss of Felice Cavallotti, "Ouida" says: "Precisely for this reason is an agrarian revolution likely to occur in the near future, and likely, for it will be uncontrolled, to become anarchic and irresistible in destruction. Were there any simultaneous rising of the rural population in the different provinces, the army would be of little use to the Executive, for it could not spread itself with any durable effect over so vast an area; nor is it probable that the troops would for any length of time consent to continue a civil war. Even in the late insurrection some soldiers refused to fire on the populace, and were for their refusal immediately ranged against the nearest house-wall and shot by their officers; in an organised revolution the soldiery would probably take sides with the peasantry, and openly and *en masse* revolt."

"Ouida" says that Italian "Institutions" have two great divisions of the nation against them: "the Catholic Party, solid and moving in absolute obedience to the orders of the Vatican—and the Republican and Socialistic divisions, not so solid, not so orderly, antagonistic in much to each other, but united in impatience and detestation of the existing form of Government. . . . It must also be remembered that much of the moral worth of the nation is to be found in the Catholic Party, and most of the intellect of the nation is to be found in the Republican and Socialistic Party. Be the views of either as erroneous as they may, it is insanity to flout, insult, and alienate both. Great virtues lie lost to public life in the stately palaces and sombre castles where the nobles and gentry, who are faithful to their Pope, reside; and fine talents rot unused, lost to life and love and learning, in the fetid prisons where so much of the Liberal youth of the nation now frets away its early manhood."

The infamous press laws and punishment of printed opinion and of public speech, by which one hundred and eleven newspapers have been crushed out, would condemn every philosophic thinker and writer in the world. The article of the code which makes penal all "excitation to hatred between the masses and the classes" would condemn all treatises on political economy or on current social questions. No professor or teacher at the schools is permitted any individual expression of opinion, and it is seriously proposed to allow no one to remain in any schools or public office who holds Republican opinions. In this the Italian Government seems to be acting contemporaneously with Kaiser Wilhelm in Germany. Portraits of Leo XIII. and Karl Marx are alike seized and destroyed. At an instant's alarm the civil Government can be set aside for the military tribunals, so that neither law nor constitution form the slightest safeguard for the people.

"Ouida" thinks the Italian problem insoluble, and believes that absolutism is probable. "Encouraged by their success in having garrotted and punished opinion, and imposed military dominion over entire provinces, the monarchical party is now throwing out hints and suggestions to see if the nation would be likely to submit to a *coup d'état* similar to that by which Louis Napoleon attained Imperial power. Such a *coup d'état* would consist in the abolition of Parliament and the establishment of

\* This has happened since the article was written. The sentence has been set aside by the Procurer.

absolutism resting on bayonets and cannons. . . . But it cannot be thought for a moment that they have weighed the immense import and consequences of such a project, were it carried out, or for a moment realised the treachery to the country which would be involved in it. . . . The country might even for a time submit to it (absolute rule), for the same reason as it submits now to the state of siege—i.e., because it is manacled, gagged, and held forcibly motionless. It might even be driven successfully to a plebiscite by similar means to those which obtained a plebiscite for Louis Napoleon. But, although corruption would revel and militarism rejoice, the violated oath would bring its own punishment; the wreck of unity would follow the wreck of liberty, and the rank and file of the army would finally join the populace. The land would be soaked in blood, and then would come the opportunity for German intervention. William of Prussia would pass the Alps as the saviour of law, order, and the rights of kings. The nation, weakened by internecine conflict and utterly impoverished, would be powerless to drive back his legions; he would cast off the mask of friendship worn so long, and once again the harrow of German iron would torture the Latin soil."

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### FALLACIES ABOUT OLD AGE PENSIONS.

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MR. C. S. LOCH, of the Charity Organisation Society, has an article on this subject in the November issue of the *Nineteenth Century Review*. Mr. Loch displays great solicitude for the welfare of the independent individualistic workers, "the honest and honourable democracy," as he terms them. He opens by dealing with the debate on the Bill for Old Age Pensions in the House of Commons in April, 1894. "The debate," says Mr. Loch, "was of the strangest. Arguments were not reasoned out, but let off like fireworks. There was no agreement as to what should be done, nor how it was to be done." He quotes Mr. Jesse Collings, who pleaded that "a man who had honourably spent a long life in labour and had done his best should have some other prospect in his old age than the workhouse." Mr. Chamberlain, who protested against the present system, "which condemns the industrious poor to the same treatment of the common workhouse, as to the man who has been an idler and a ruffian during pretty nearly the whole course of his existence." "The two sentences," says Mr. Loch, "are a summary of an abstract of what has been again and again repeated to the constituencies. They are not true, but they serve. To build popularity upon popular prejudices is easy—to yield to the dislike of the Poor Law, and then to suggest so popular an alternative as pensions. The merits of the question apart, nothing could be more attractive—a 'dose' of unearned increment, with or without conditions, for everyone who has enjoyed the blessing of a long life." Mr. Loch is prepared to go so far as to admit that these expressions may be partly due to a feeling of real sympathy with the aged.

The interest in the problem of Old Age Pensions, we are told, is due almost entirely from its connection with Poor Law administration.

The popular contention is that the honourable and industrious worker is in his old age thrust into what is little better than a prison—the common workhouse. This contention, the writer says, is inaccurate. "The aged recipients of poor relief are not forced by an iniquitous Poor Law into a common workhouse. The evidence is absolute. On January 1, 1892,

there were 268,397 over sixty-five years of age in receipt of poor relief. Of these, less than one-fourth were in receipt of indoor relief. More than three-fourths had not 'received the same treatment' and had not been admitted to the common workhouse. A misstatement to the extent of three-fourths is surely unpardonable."

If the administration of the Poor Law is improved, the improvement usually shows itself in a reduction of outdoor relief. The discussion of Old Age Pensions, says Mr. Loch, must chiefly turn upon the Poor Law and friendly societies. The various schemes for Old Age Pensions, says the writer, may be summarised as follows: Schemes for the subsidy of thrift; schemes for the endowment of members of friendly societies; schemes for the reform of the Poor Law; schemes for the equalisation of incomes on the basis of old age. The points generally agreed upon by the advocates of these schemes are these: That the age of the pensioner should be sixty-five, the pension to be 5s. per week. Of this sum it is suggested by many that the pensioner should provide half, the State half, but various propositions are proposed by others. A few years ago statistics showed that those in receipt of poor relief numbered 2 to 3 per cent. of the population, but it was found that if population and pauperism over sixty-five were compared the percentage of paupers was not 2 to 3 per cent. but 19 per cent., and by reducing the population of the aged to that of the aged of the working class a still more striking result was arrived at. The conclusion seemed inevitable. Pauperism over sixty-five was due merely to old age. Investigation threw an altogether different light on the facts, and led to quite other conclusions. The years from 1851 to 1891 were compared, and it was found that there are now relative to the aged population (over sixty) nearly a third fewer aged paupers (21.5 per cent. in 1851, 13.7 per cent. in 1891.)\*

The Poor Law, says Mr. Loch, is not a system of rewards and punishments. The community does not say to its members: Self-support is a virtue which entitles the owner to pecuniary consideration, and the absence of it is the sign of a want of virtue which entitles him to the bread and water of affliction. The community does not treat self-support as a virtue more than, for instance, obedience to the laws. It expects it of everyone. Hence no claim on the State arises, whether a man provides for the future or not. If he does not provide for himself, the penalty is his own, not the State's. Another fallacy is that poor relief, or grants from the community, do not pauperise, but discrimination does. In general support of this contention one very popular argument is used. The State allowances to a working man is not a gift but a pension, earned and payable like the pension of a public servant. Were this view adopted, and the State were to treat ordinary workmen as if they were public servants, it would, by implication at least, says Mr. Loch, be a contracting party in every private agreement for wages or remuneration. It would give an assurance, both to masters and men, that in the settlement of wages they would be entitled, especially after middle life or as old age approached, to disregard any but limited and more immediate wants. The pension guaranteed at a certain age would justify a smaller wage, diminished foresight, and less exertion.

Mr. Loch concludes by asking whether the politicians cannot leave the friendly societies to fulfil their mission, to meet new difficulties and new wants as they have met the old, and to continue to endow the community with those most necessary gifts of deliberation and social foresight.

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\* These statistics were compiled and published by the C.O.S.



## COMPANIONS IN MISFORTUNE.

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"AND you really do not ever regret having met me? You are quite sure?"

As the woman spoke she rose from her seat by the fire, and, going across to where the man was sitting, she placed her hands upon his shoulders, and gazed tenderly into his face.

"Regret it! Of course, you know I don't ever regret it, dear," he answered, as he drew her face down to his and kissed her. "I am sure I love you more dearly than ever, and the world is going very well with us now. My meeting with you seemed to be most fortunate in every way. I was fairly down on my luck then, wasn't I? Ugh! It makes me shudder to think of it," he added, as he drew his chair nearer to the fire and stirred the coals into a blaze, which lit up the cosy little room and glistened on the bright tea-things on the table. "It was awful there on Waterloo Bridge, wasn't it? I don't believe I've been over Waterloo Bridge since. Yes, I was down as low then as I have ever been in my life, but you seemed to bring me luck. That meeting was the turning point. You brought sunshine into my life, there's no mistake about that; and you know I have called you Sunshine ever since. But why should you ask if I regret meeting you? You *know* I don't regret it. And you, aren't you happy, dearie?"

"Very, very happy, dear. But, oh! Jack, sometimes I think this is too good to last; and then, too, when I am alone, I think of the black past, and it seems that I have no right here with you, and that you cannot really love such a woman as I have been, and that you will be sorry sometimes that you ever met me."

"Oh, but that's all nonsense. It is not what you were, but what you are, that I care about. You are everything to me now, dearest, and the best little woman in the world. Everything has gone well with me ever since I have known you, and it must have been through you. It was a bit rough at first, but I have got on, and now I've got a good job, and we've got a comfortable home; the past only seems like an ugly dream. I don't think of it much. When I do it is only to compare it with the present, which seems all the better and brighter by comparison."

"Ah, I did not mind at first—when we had to rough it, and I helped to keep a roof over our heads. It was hard then, as you say, but it seemed then that I was necessary to you, and, besides, we were down so low that I could not drag you much lower. But now—now it is different. You are looked up to and respected, but my very presence here is a danger to you. If only our good neighbours knew that we were not married. If only the good clergyman suspected that we were living together 'in sin'—that we could not marry! How terrible a thing it would be for you."

"If they knew. But, my dear girl, they don't know, and they are not likely to know, as I can see. So what is the use of worrying about what will never happen?"

"But they *may* know. There is that other woman, your wife. Where is she now? Do you know what has become of her? Suppose she were to find you out! In the eyes of the law and of the world she is still your wife while I—, I—, Oh my God —."

"Don't, don't," he interrupted. "It is silly to carry on like this. My wife, as you call her, is nothing to me. However the law and the world may view the matter, she has no moral claim upon me at all. She left me

of her own will, and it was her fault I was in the plight I was when you and I first met. But that is all past and done now. She is not likely to trouble me any more."

"I am glad that you are so confident. I hope you may be right. I am so happy here with you that I often fear something will happen to rob me of it all. And if people got to know, if they only found out about me—what I was—that you took me, a ——"

"Don't," the man broke in again, putting his arm round her and drawing her down on his knee. "What is the good of harping on that. It is all past and done with now. What I have never been able to understand," he went on, taking her hand in his and gazing at it thoughtfully, "is how ever anyone so good as you could have ever come to such a life. You never told me what drove you to it."

"No. It is not interesting, and I do not care to recall it. It is very simple. One simply drifts into it. I was in service; it was a hard place, and when I could stand it no longer I left. You cannot imagine what such places can be. There is many a girl prefers the streets. Well, I left, but, because I left against the wish of my employers, they refused to give me a character. That meant I could not get another place. I tried to get other work, but I could not get enough to keep body and soul together. Then I was turned out of my lodging because I could pay no rent. For a girl, friendless, homeless, with neither food nor the means of getting any, there are two alternatives—the streets or the river; it comes to pretty much the same in the long run. The night I was turned out I wandered about till I was dead tired; then I sat down on a step and cried myself to sleep. Some girls found me there, and took me home with them. They were very kind, but——. Well, that is all. Only it did seem strange that you should be willing to take me after all. You have been very good to me, and I am grateful, and, oh, so glad that you don't regret it."

"Poor little woman," he said caressingly, as he stroked her cheek, "life has been hard for you. It is only fair that you should have some happiness now."

A couple of days later, returning home from work, he saw a small crowd gathered before his house. As he drew near he saw a woman hammering furiously at the door. As the crowd moved aside to let him pass, the woman turned and faced him. It was his wife—her hair dishevelled, her dress draggled and torn, her face coarsened and bloated from dissipation.

"That's him," she shouted, thrusting her hand almost into his face as she pointed at him. "That's my beauty of a husband! Aren't you pleased to see your dearly beloved wife return home again ducky?" she cried, leering into his face.

"No you don't, you —— scoundrel," she yelled, as he put out his hand to pull her away from the door. "Hit me, you brute, would you? Ain't I your lawful wedded wife? This is your home, and it's mine, too; and I'm coming to stay in it. Don't you make any mistake. A nice sort of a man, you are, ain't you, living with a brazen strumpet; a dirty, filthy prostitute. Only let me get at her, I'll tear her eyes out."

"Go it Sall!" shouted one of the crowd.

"You shut up," she retorted, turning savagely upon the interruptor. "Can't I have a few quiet words with my husband without your interference?"

"That's enough of this nonsense," said the man, impatiently, and taking the woman by the shoulders he endeavoured to remove her from the doorway. She clung tenaciously to the door-knob, and it required some force to

drag her away. When he loosed her hold on the door, she clung to his arms, and struggled to prevent him freeing himself. The crowd began shouting "Shame."

At last, losing all patience, and almost beside himself with rage and shame, the man threw her from him with considerable force. She reeled and fell, striking her head against the wall of the house in her fall. She lay there, stunned and bleeding; the door opened, and the other woman came out, looking down with white, scared face upon her rival. The crowd was manifesting hostile intentions towards the two who stood in the doorway when a policeman made his appearance.

"Here, clear away here; move along. What's all this?" he cried, hustling and pushing his way through the crowd.

"Why, that man there, gov'nor, has been knocking his old woman about," said a hobbledohoy, pointing, with the stem of a clay pipe which he had just removed from his mouth, to the man standing in the doorway.

"What's this?" asked the policeman, approaching the man, "is this woman your wife?"

"Er—yes—no—she was my wife," the man stammered in reply.

"Well," said the policeman bending down and trying vainly to raise the prostrate woman, "You'll have to come down to the station. You'd better get her inside at once and send for a doctor."

"No, no," said the man vehemently. "She can't come in here." He pushed the other woman into the house and closed the door behind him. "She has no right here, at all. This is not her home."

The policeman blew his whistle and two other policemen arrived. A stretcher was procured, and the woman was carried to the hospital. The man, the crowd following, was taken to the police station, and charged with assault.

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"I have listened very carefully to all that you have said in your defence," said the magistrate, "and to the evidence given on your behalf by the woman whom you have called as a witness; and it does seem to me that all that has been urged on your behalf has only added to the gravity of your offence. The poor woman, your wife, whose appearance bears testimony to the terrible neglect of which you have been guilty, has suffered grievous wrong. You forced her from her home and into evil courses by your neglect. When, driven to despair by the wrong she had suffered, she obtained a separation from you, and an order was made for you to maintain her, you treat the order with contempt and absolutely neglect to carry out the most fundamental duty which your marriage vows imposed upon you. It has been a terrible shock to me that anyone bearing the outward semblance of a man should have the unblushing effrontery to stand in the dock and make the shocking confession which you have made in your own defence. You appear to be a creature lost to all sense of shame and decency. After your base neglect of the woman whom you had sworn to love and cherish, you sank so low as to become the associate of a lewd creature, a common prostitute, with whom, it appears, you have been for some time shamelessly living in open adultery. Then when your poor, deserted, despairing wife comes to you for that assistance, that asylum, that shelter, which it was your bounden duty to afford her, you spurn her from your door, and basely and brutally assault her. It is for that assault I have to sentence you now, and I should be failing in my duty if I took a lenient view of the matter. I therefore sentence you to be imprisoned and kept to hard labour for six calendar months.

## TO A NOBLEMAN.

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I search the records of old times  
To know the reasons of thy pride;  
Successful treacheries and crimes  
I find, and little else beside;  
That wealth and power might be possess'd  
All laws of God and man defied:  
In those who were the "noblest"  
The greatest villains stood confess'd.  
I'd rather be a tramp, I trow,  
Than such a Noble Man as thou!

From robbers of the People's lands,  
From spoilers of the poor and weak,  
From murderers, whose ruthless hands  
Struck down all those who dared to speak  
Against their lust and tyranny;  
From such as these thou fain wouldst seek  
The proofs of thy nobility?  
Then be thou "noble." As for me—  
I'd rather be a tramp, I trow,  
Than such a Noble Man as thou!

And thou, a useless parasite,  
A drone within the social hive,  
Possessor of a doubtful right  
Upon the workers' toil to thrive,  
Because thy fathers felt no shame  
The helpless peasants to deprive  
Of all save freedom's barest name—  
*Their* plunder, and thy wealth—the same.  
I'd rather be a tramp, I trow,  
Than such a Noble Man as thou!

JOHN E. ELLAM.



CAPTAIN DREYFUS.



# THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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## L'AFFAIRE DREYFUS.

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AFTER years of patient and persistent effort on the part of Madame Dreyfus and her friends, their demand for a revision of the condemnation of Captain Dreyfus has been conceded. The Cour de Cassation, the highest and most impartial tribunal in France, is now preparing to inquire fully into this case, which has created more excitement in France than any event of modern times—not even excepting the Panama scandal—and which has practically divided the French nation into two parties, Dreyfusards and anti-Dreyfusards. Under the circumstances, a short summary of the more important facts of the case may be interesting at the present time.

In 1894 it was discovered, or believed to be discovered, that French War Office secrets were being conveyed to the German Government. In the autumn of that year, a secret agent of the French *état-major*, employed at the German Embassy in Paris, is said to have found there a memorandum, or covering letter, referring to other documents said to have been sent therewith. This memorandum, the famous “bordereau,” speaks of five items of information: (1) A note on a hydraulic brake for a certain gun, and its mode of manipulation; (2) a note on a new plan in the disposition of covering troops; (3) a note on a modification in artillery formation; (4) a note relating to Madagascar; (5) the new firing manual for field artillery. This bordereau was entrusted to the commandant, Du Paty de Clam, to discover its author. He appears to have concluded that, as three of the five items of information referred to related to the artillery, the traitor must necessarily belong to that arm. Moreover, he must be an artilleryman attached to the head-quarters staff. There was an artilleryman there, who, above all, was a Jew—Captain Dreyfus. He had already been suggested by Colonel Sandherr, who detested Jews, and so Dreyfus it must be. It was thought best, however, to make sure by submitting the document to an expert in handwriting, and M. Gobert, expert to the Bank of France and to the Court of Appeal, examined the bordereau and compared it with letters written by Dreyfus. He concluded that some person other than Dreyfus had written the bordereau.

This conclusion did not suit Du Paty de Clam, and he submitted the writing to a police expert, Bertillon, who affirmed that, setting aside the theory of a carefully forged document, it was manifest that the same person who wrote the letters also wrote the memorandum. Three other experts were afterwards consulted; two of them agreed with Bertillon, the third declared that the memorandum was not in the same handwriting as the letters. Thus, out of five experts who examined the *bordereau*, three were of opinion that the writing was that of Dreyfus, and two held the opposite view. It was on this evidence that Dreyfus was arrested on October 14, and afterwards condemned by a court martial sitting in secret to life-long exile on the Devil's Island.

There has been a good deal said about other documents which were sufficient to have convicted the accused; but there is little doubt now that these other documents, the contents of the secret "dossier" included, were either impudent forgeries, or entirely irrelevant to the question at issue, and that Dreyfus was condemned on the "*bordereau*" alone. As this document may be of interest to our readers, we give it here *in extenso* :—

"Sans nouvelles m'indiquant que vous désirez me voir, je vous adresse cependant, monsieur, quelques renseignements intéressants :

"1. Une note sur le frein hydraulique du 120 et la manière dont s'est conduite cette pièce.

"2. Une note sur les troupes de couverture (quelques modifications seront apportées par le nouveau plan).

"3. Une note sur une modification aux formations de l'artillerie.

"4. Une note relative à Madagascar.

"5. Le projet de manuel de tir de l'artillerie de campagne (14 mars 1894).

"Ce dernier document est extrêmement difficile à se procurer et je ne puis l'avoir à ma disposition que très peu de jours. Le ministère de la guerre en a envoyé un nombre fixe dans les corps, et les corps sont responsables; chaque officier détenteur doit remettre le sien après les manœuvres. Si donc vous voulez y prendre ce qui vous intéresse et le tenir à ma disposition après, je le prendrai, à moins que vous ne vouliez que je le fasse copier *in extenso* et ne vous en adresse la copie.

"Je vais partir en manœuvres."

On the morning of January 5, 1895, a large body of troops was drawn up in the court of l'Ecole Militaire. Near the centre of the square were the chiefs of the army and other important personages. Outside the soldiers a huge crowd was gathered. As the clock struck nine, to the roll of drums, Dreyfus was marched between four artillerymen into the centre of the square. His head erect, his step firm, he appeared absolutely master of himself. The sentence was read, and the general in command cried: "Dreyfus, you have been found unworthy to bear arms; in the name of the French people we degrade you."

In a clear voice, in the silence which followed the words of the general, Dreyfus replied: "I am innocent! I swear that I am innocent! Vive la France!" But the crowd shouted back "À mort! À mort!" The buttons, lace, and shoulder-knots were torn from his uniform; his sword was broken;

and Dreyfus was degraded. And all the time, through this terrible scene, while he continued to protest his innocence, the crowd did not cease shouting "Traitor! Judas! Miserable! À mort! À mort!" "Two days later he embarked for what was then regarded as his lifelong prison, l'Ile du Diable.

At that time it is doubtful if any considerable number of people doubted the justice of the condemnation of Captain Dreyfus. Since, then, however, his friends have unearthed such facts as—even if they do not absolutely demonstrate his innocence—demonstrate that he was the victim of gross injustice in his trial, and have made it impossible for the Government any longer to refuse a revision of the whole process. Madame Dreyfus has left no stone unturned to effect her husband's release, and to procure evidence of his innocence. She secured the powerful aid of Emile Zola, whose trenchant articles in the *Aurore* have done much to awaken the French people to a sense of the injustice which had been done. Zola, for his charges against the chiefs of the army, was sentenced to a year's imprisonment and a heavy fine. But he escaped the imprisonment, and friends raised the money to pay the fine.

Other men of standing in France took the matter up; Clemenceau, Yves Guyot, and our noble and eloquent comrade Jaurès, among others. The clerico-military faction fought hard to prevent the exposure of the conspiracy; the jury which tried Zola was intimidated into giving a verdict against him; witnesses were browbeaten, threatened, and assaulted; the "uhlan" Esterhazy, when at last he was put on his trial, was acquitted, and kissed, hugged, and wept over by his fellow-officers, and a military *coup d'état* was plotted against the Ministry which had agreed to revision. But the military plot failed; Colonel Henry confessed to have forged one of the documents used to prove the guilt of Dreyfus, and committed suicide, or was assassinated, in his cell at Mont Valerien; the arch-scoundrel, Esterhazy, was unmasked and fled the country in order to escape arrest. It has been proved beyond all doubt that he was the writer of the *bordereau* and that he had been guilty of treason. When some two years ago Colonel Picquart was put on his track, he, Picquart, consulted M. Bertillon with reference to certain letters of Esterhazy. "Why, that is the same writing as the *bordereau*," Bertillon exclaimed at once. But it will be remembered that he had previously declared the *bordereau* to be in the handwriting of Dreyfus. There are, however, certain peculiarities in Esterhazy's writing, which are due to the fact that he is a Hungarian, which are scarcely ever to be found in the handwriting of a Frenchman, and which are present in the *bordereau*. Indeed, it is generally admitted now that the writing of the *bordereau*, which, in spite of the statements of ministers and generals, was the only piece of evidence upon which Dreyfus was convicted, is not that of Dreyfus, but is certainly the writing of Esterhazy.

This being so, it would appear that there should be no great difficulty in revising the case, in establishing the innocence of Dreyfus, and in setting him free. But to suppose this is to forget how deeply the chiefs of the

French army have committed themselves. They have staked everything upon the guilt of Dreyfus. Lie upon lie, forgery upon forgery have been manufactured in order to establish his guilt. The clerico-military faction will use every means to prevent the exposure of the whole foul conspiracy. Even at the present time they are pursuing with a ferocious and implacable hatred the one officer—Colonel Picquart—who has shown any regard for truth and honour throughout the whole infamous business.

It may be asked what has been the motive in all this. It is quite possible that in the beginning most of his accusers were convinced of the guilt of Dreyfus. He was a Jew. Surely that was enough. The Clerical-Royalist faction has become supreme in the army. Dreyfus was the one Jew who defiled the bureau of the *état-major* with his presence. He *must* be guilty. Once having decided he was guilty, proofs of his guilt had to be found or made; lies and forgeries were thus inevitable; and then more lies and forgeries were necessary to bolster up the first. Ministers and generals swore they knew Dreyfus was guilty. It was declared a crime and an insult to the army to question the justice of his sentence or the impartiality of his trial. It was “une chose jugée,” which must not even be discussed, and in the Zola trial no evidence which in any way raised the issue of the Dreyfus case was admitted. The clerico-military faction has been repulsed, but it is not yet defeated, and it appears to be capable of any infamy. There is much yet to be done before truth and justice are made to prevail.

It may be, and indeed has been, asked in what way this affair concerns Socialists. Dreyfus is a bourgeois, a military officer, one of the headquarters staff, a wealthy Jew; what matter, then, if he has been condemned wrongfully? Surely that is no concern of ours. Even if his trial was informal, his condemnation illegal, surely we are not so enamoured of bourgeois law as to stickle for its strict observance? As our comrade Jaurès has ably pointed out in the magnificent articles he has written on this subject in the *Petite République*, it is a matter of grave importance to Socialists, because Socialists stand for justice to all, and the very people who are guilty of this injustice to Dreyfus would treat proletarians with the same injustice. Moreover, Dreyfus is condemned because he is a Jew? Socialists would be condemned because they are just as much detested by the same anti-Semite clerical faction. Moreover, little as we may love bourgeois law, we should be foolish to surrender what rights we may possess under that, while we are fighting for fuller rights and liberties. It is necessary to defend all the liberties that we possess in order that we may use them to achieve those greater liberties for which we fight. This is a truth which might be remembered with advantage by some of our comrades a little nearer home than Paris is.

It is the fashion here just now to speak contemptuously of the conduct of the French people over the Dreyfus business. No such scenes, it is said, could be enacted here as took place in Paris during the Zola trial. A little reflection should serve to show that we have no great occasion for any pharisaical complacency on that point. Our judicial

procedure differs essentially—and as we think for the better—from that of France; but, apart from that, we have little to brag of. We had our Dreyfus case, our *chose jugée*, with its suppressed evidence, its lies, its prevarications, its forgeries, its chicane, its kotowing to military chiefs, in the South African inquiry. As Professor Beesly says, in the *Positivist Review*: “The proceedings of the South Africa Committee were as flagrant a defeat of justice as the Zola trial or the Esterhazy court-martial. Investigation was even more openly and cynically stifled. The motive was the same—a desire to screen great criminals. A difference indeed there has been. It is this. In France, as soon as light began to appear, the public conscience became troubled, and the number and zeal of those who insisted that justice should be done steadily increased, until now there is a good prospect that justice *will* be done. In England, in proportion as the turpitude of the conspiracy against the Transvaal was exposed and more highly placed personages appeared to be implicated, the cry of the public for a suppression of the investigation became louder and more general. Even those who believed that their country was disgraced by the escape of the criminals showed little of the public spirit, courage, and pertinacity which have animated Zola, Trarieux, Pressensé, Clemenceau, Jaurès, Yves Guyot, Ranc, and so many other distinguished Frenchmen.”

No, we have little occasion to throw stones at our French neighbours. It is true that we did not have here the rowdy mobs which hooted Zola in the streets of Paris; but, then, here we have, alas! no Zolas, no Clemenceaus, no Yves Guyots. All our public men, the whole of the Press, outside the Socialist ranks—which are, unfortunately, not nearly so powerful as in France—were on the side of our Esterhazys, our Paty Du Clams, our Henrys, and our Cavaignacs.

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### FASHODA AND LORD SALISBURY'S VINDICATION.

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UNDER the above title, in the *Fortnightly Review*, “Diplomaticus” says that “when Lord Salisbury returned to the Foreign Office in 1895, and studied the task he had undertaken, he found that it consisted of a number of exceptionally difficult problems, all, however, negotiable except one. That one was the Upper Nile question. Sir Edward Grey’s warning of the previous year placed this question in a special category by itself, for it bound Lord Salisbury to make war on one of the Great Powers of Europe in the event of certain circumstances arising. Not many months elapsed before Lord Cromer’s spies brought the intelligence that these circumstances had arisen; that, in point of fact, the French were already on Egyptian soil; and from that moment Lord Salisbury had to keep his hands free to deal with the coming crisis. To this I think we may attribute much of the seeming weakness of Lord Salisbury’s policy in other parts of the world, notably in China. So far from blaming him, however, for this weakness, he really deserves credit for having lost so little, although he was so heavily handicapped. In China, for example, although our old policy has broken down, we have lost nothing of vital importance, and we are now free with unimpaired resources and enhanced prestige to devote ourselves to the maintenance of the *status quo*.”



## IN DEFENCE OF SOCIALISM.

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MR. McDougall thinks that the maintenance of capitalism "can be shown to be consistent with continuous moral, material, and social development." The evils which exist under the present capitalistic social régime are accidental, not essential, to its constitution. Capitalism is "progressive." The application of discovery and invention to the arts of life has been due entirely "to men actuated by the impulse of private gain." In proof of these assertions Mr. McDougall starts with an *ignorantio elenchi*. After saying that the allegation as against capitalism of the polarisation of wealth and poverty at the present time, of its having created millionaires on the one side and paupers on the other, overlooks the increase of population, he trots out the truism that mediæval modes of production could not support a nineteenth-century population. The corollary is, of course, that the methods of production and distribution which capitalism presupposes are a necessary stage in the progress of human society. But whoever denied this? The further, in itself by no means so self-evident and indisputable, proposition, that the private ownership of those means of production and distribution is an equally necessary step in economic evolution, is undoubtedly justified by history, and hence may be equally conceded. But what argument is this in defence of capitalism as opposed to Socialism in the modern sense of the word? "Our little systems have their day—they have their day and cease to be," applies as much to economics as to speculative thought. Of course, capitalism has been, or is, up to a certain point, a progressive force, but this does not say that beyond this point it is not a reactionary force. As against slavery and feudalism, with their undeveloped methods of production and exchange, obviously capitalism, with its great industry, is an advance. But does it *in itself* make for human happiness? Has it the elements of permanence, even relative permanence, within itself? These are the questions which the apologist of capitalism has to answer. Is the system he defends in reality a help or a hindrance to future progress? Would further improvements in the methods of production, &c., be impossible without that stimulus of material, personal interest, which in the past may have been one of the elements which has contributed to their creation? In conceding the latter point for the sake of argument, we are by no means to be understood as accepting the statement that motives of personal gain have been such a powerful factor even in the past as Individualists allege. On the contrary, we believe that their importance is enormously exaggerated. Now, the above is a question to which Mr. McDougall by no means applies himself. And this is precisely the point disputed by Socialists. The argument from population surely not only cuts both ways, but is actually against Mr. McDougall's contention, for the huge populations of to-day are themselves a product of capitalism, as

Mr. McDougall will see if he compares the relative increase of population even before and after the rise of the modern great industry, let alone the period of inchoate capitalism, the *période manufacturier*, which preceded it. And yet our champion of capitalism has to admit that this population furnishes "actually more destitute people" than in previous epochs. But the allegation that "the mediæval standard of comfort 'comprised' but a small proportion of the population" is in defiance of historical truth, and it is on this allegation that Mr. McDougall bases his statement that there are relatively to the whole population fewer destitute people to-day than ever before. Now, I distinctly challenge Mr. McDougall to prove, or at least to give some reason for his assertion, that in the average mediæval manor, or in the average mediæval city or town, there was, "relatively to the whole population," one tithe of the destitution there is in any average modern industrial city. So far as my own studies have extended, they distinctly traverse such a supposition. I am perfectly aware of the fact that in a special locality at a given moment, when suddenly smitten by war or famine, you might point to terrible and widespread suffering. But in the normal condition of the mediæval community I contend destitution at all was exceptional and sporadic. Under capitalism, with its world-market, it is true, we have got rid of famines in the old sense, and greatly reduced the chances of war; but in the places of these evils we have the chronic mass-misery and squalor of the modern town, with the depopulation and impoverishment of the rural districts. For general facts illustrative of the above Mr. McDougall may consult any social history. He will then see that chronic destitution on any considerable scale began precisely with the break-up of mediæval conditions at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, and that every stage in capitalistic progress has been marked by a fresh accession of destitution, and a stereotyping and intensifying of that already existing, till the advent of the great industry at the end of the last century ushered in the present state of things. ✓

That the poor are not poorer through capitalism only applies to the so-called higher grades of the wage-earning classes. These, it may be true, are better off to-day than they were a hundred years ago. But even here there is a very strong caveat to be entered, for, though the actual rate of wages may be higher in many trades, yet the security of tenure is infinitely less. Before the days of the great industry, even if wages were lower, a man was reasonably secure of retaining his job for life. To-day no man is sure of his job from week to week. That very progress in invention, which Mr. McDougall hails as such a triumph of modern capitalism and free competition, is itself, under the capitalistic system, one fruitful source of destitution. For every new machine invented, thousands, and, in some cases, tens of thousands, of workers are thrown upon the pavement. This is the obvious answer to Mr. McDougall's contention that the "poor are not poorer than they were before the rise of the millionaires." But it is only in an *absolute* sense that this can be admitted, even of that aristocracy of ✓

labour above spoken of. For, *relatively*, the difference in standard of life between the best-paid modern workman in a factory and the owner of the factory is very much greater, as a rule, than that between the mediæval soccage tenant and his feudal lord, or even, not to go so far back, than that probably between the country squire of last century and the villager of the "contentment-spinning-at-the-cottage-door" period. These money rates of wages, as Mr. McDougall will hardly deny, are, taken by themselves, purely deceptive. The standard of life in pre-capitalistic periods was simpler than it is now; but, such as they were, the essential needs of life were certainly more equally shared between noble and "common man." Where the difference came in was in superfluities, *i.e.*, in ermine, cloth of gold, rare spices, and lavish excess of food, rather than in the ordinary necessities of life.

Mr. McDougall denies that the rich are getting richer and the poor poorer, in the sense that wealth is being concentrated in the hands of a few, observing that income-tax and other returns show this to be a mistake. This argument has been so often disposed of that it hardly seems worth while dealing with it again. That more people pay income-tax than formerly may be true, but do more pay relatively to the increase of total population? Until this is proved, the reference to income-tax returns is worthless, and, to have any value, it must be proved as a progressive increase over a sufficiently long period. As for the "other returns," if Mr. McDougall refers to savings banks and similar repositories of small investments, the answer to his contention is:—(1) That, as our comrade Saniel has recently shown as regards America, the vast majority of the depositors belong to the middle and not to the working class at all; (2) That the small savings deposits, if they are workmen's savings, are almost invariably swept away by the first spell of unemployment—that special and peculiar product of modern capitalism, with its chronic instability of the social and mechanical conditions of production. As for the small investors in limited liability, industrial, or commercial concerns, these generally mean that the quondam small capitalist, who would formerly have been a master, but whose means do not permit him to be so under the changed conditions, has simply sunk what money he has at four per cent., and gone straight into the ranks of the wage-earning class. In any case, it is ten to one that the small shareholder is in receipt of wages in some form or shape.

Mr. McDougall fears a coming equality rather than an inequality of economic condition. He deplores that "the poor are taught by Socialist propagandists to envy and hate their benefactors." And this, notwithstanding that workmen with associated capital have never "shown themselves competent to organise their labour on a non-profit working basis"! We presume, from the context, that this is intended as a clincher against Socialism. If the able writer before us really means that, we can only assure him he is giving himself away completely, and showing that he has not even a blushing acquaintance with what modern Socialism means. If anybody ever thought that any co-operation of workmen could possibly, inside a capitalistic society, under ordinary circumstances, expect to successfully carry on a business on a

non-profit working basis, he must be a person who—well, who ought to be “taken charge of” for his own good. Every Socialist knows that, barring a purely chance combination of circumstances, a success of this kind is impossible. No, Mr. McDougall, Socialism does not mean co-operative syndicates of workmen competing against capitalists. It means the whole community, backed by the forces at the disposal of the community, organised for the work of production and distribution, and employing for this purpose the latest and most approved methods and the latest and most approved machinery. Co-operation by syndicates of workmen under competitive conditions is not and never will be Socialism. The bulk of Mr. McDougall’s paper is based upon the old, stale, oft-repeated fallacy of the incentive to invention supplied by self-interest. Now, as a matter of fact, everyone knows that the capitalist who “runs” a new invention is hardly ever the inventor himself, but almost always the mere exploiter of the inventor, who, in most cases, dies poor. But we absolutely deny that the motive of gain produces any of the best work in the present day, even in the application of inventions to the needs of human life. Desire for fame or for honourable mention is, in all cases, the leading motive, and these things would be stronger in a socialistic than in a capitalistic society.

Mr. McDougall sings the praises of capitalism for what it has done. He omits to say anything of necrosis, of the numberless victims of defective machinery, of white lead poisoning, of the Cradley Heath chainmakers, of the overworking of the labourers, including children, of the squalor of the modern workman’s life—yet all these things are the products of capitalism “let alone.” Perhaps he will allege that these are only the accidents of the capitalist system. If so, we would ask him to show how a system of free competition, where cheapness is the aim, where goods are produced for sale and not for use, where every man’s aim is and *must be* on pain of capitalistic extinction, to get the better of his neighbour. How, I say, such a system can, under any possibility, exist without them?

As admitted at the outset of this article, no Socialist denies that capitalism, in the course of its career, has indirectly created permanent elements of progress. But it has done it, to use the metaphor of our friend the editor of *Justice*, in the same manner as Charles Lamb’s Tartars roasted their pigs—so long as the theory of roast pig was in an inchoate stage. They did roast their pigs, did these calmuks—oh, yes, there is no denying the pigs got roasted—but every pig so roasted cost the destruction of a house and its belongings. Thus it is with the capitalist system, with its ghastly waste of human life and labour, and its hideous accompaniments of destitution and squalor. Every invention, every improvement in production or distribution, costs its hecatombs of victims, and implies the maintenance of a system which permanently degrades the majority of mankind who live under it. Such is capitalism. Under Socialism we know we shall be in a position to gain ten times the result achieved by capitalism without the cost we pay now for the tenth part.

E. BELFORT BAX.

## THE MUNICIPALITY UP TO DATE.

### III.

Another interesting form of aid in Paris which the City Council promotes very liberally, is the advance of rent money in cases where worthy families, through illness or other misfortune, have been evicted by their landlords and have no means with which to engage another domicile. From 15,000 to 20,000 families each year are helped in this way. In 1891 the Paris municipality began the experiment of an agricultural colony on a farm that it acquired. It had found among Paris paupers a considerable number of men who had come to the city from the rural districts and had gone completely to the wall. The agricultural colony is proving to be the best place for such men, and the experiment is to be extended so as to embrace families, and separate cottages with gardens are to be allotted to such families. It is expected that the agricultural colony will serve as a doorway through which many men, that have failed in the city, can be successfully re-absorbed into the agricultural life of France. I venture to think there is room in this country for this system. The attitude of the Continental municipalities towards labour is much more sympathetic than in England.

In 1886 the Paris Municipal Council determined to establish a central labour exchange. The institution was completed and opened in 1892; about two million francs having been expended upon it. It became at once the headquarters of all the trade unions and labour bodies in Paris, no less than eighty-two trades being represented through the appointed agents of their societies. The Municipal Council votes fifty thousand francs a year towards the maintenance of the institution, and it is believed that the Bourse will prove in many ways promotive to the well-being of Parisian citizens and of the industrial and commercial progress of the metropolis. In all the large towns of France the municipal government is responsible for the support of tribunals of commerce for the prompt adjustment of differences arising in the course of trade and industry. In these tribunals the employers and the working men are allowed exactly equal representation. From 25,000 to 30,000 cases are brought before the Paris Tribunals of Commerce every year, most of the cases relating to differences about wages and the great majority are promptly adjusted without appreciable cost. It is worth while to mention as another instance of the attitude of the Paris Municipal Council towards labour, that several years ago it voted to allow associations of working men to make bids for public work let by contract, thus at the same time recognising labour organisations and offering encouragement to co-operative effort.

Another important feature of the Continental municipalities is the Municipal Savings Bank. Now a good system of savings banks is much more than a mere convenience to the prudent and economical. It is a powerful promoter of thrift and a constant enemy of extravagance and imprudence. In France and Germany there are the Municipal Savings Banks and the National Savings Banks. The former is the more popular



of the two. The Municipal Savings Bank of Paris has over forty places of business distributed over the city for the convenience of the public. The number of accounts increases every year. There were 320,000 at the beginning of 1890, and that number had increased to 630,000 at the beginning of 1893. Thus one person in every four in Paris keeps an account with the Municipal Savings Bank. The total amount deposited was about £7,500,000 sterling in January, 1893, and the average credit was £10. If you take the Post Office Savings Bank into account there are not less than a million of depositors in Paris, being between one-half and one-third of the population. In 1875 the savings bank feature was introduced into the elementary schools of Paris, and now in practically every school the scholars are taught practical thrift by means of the pupils branches of the municipal savings bank. The object of these branches is to teach the children early in life the habit of thrift. The school branches of the Municipal Savings Bank in Paris now collect about £10,000 sterling a year. The development of the savings bank system in France has a great deal to do with the prosperity of the country. The growth of the system has been remarkable. Taking the entire population of the country for the year 1893, there were 6,173,000 depositors in the Municipal Savings Banks. Thus for every six men, women and children there is a municipal savings bank account, the average value of which exceeds £20. The total yearly deposits in these banks is now, in round figures, £40,000,000 sterling, whilst the accumulated deposits at any given moment is three times that amount, about £120,000,000 sterling. This is exclusive of the National Savings Bank system, which is a younger institution. Summing up the results of the two systems there is a savings bank account for every four and a-half persons, or, to speak in a general way, one for every family in France. Thanks to their splendid system of savings banks, the French are the most thrifty nation in the world.

In France and Germany the municipal system of public charity is centrally administered as one vast unified department. It is in the hands of popularly elected bodies, assisted by municipal officials. The funds at the disposal of the committees are derived from charitable contributions, aided by grants of public money by the municipalities, and a 10 per cent. tax on the gross receipts of the theatres and places of amusement, and surely there is something fine and appropriate in thus taxing the pleasures of the healthy and wealthy for those who are sick and poor. By this system of unified administration, overlapping of charitable work is prevented, and there results a more prompt, universal alleviation of real distress than is secured by our haphazard system.

We can now form some idea of what the best municipalities are doing to realise those ideals for town and city life. Some municipalities excel in one thing, some in another. The ideal municipality would be equal to the best in every department of municipal activity. All this means the spending of money. Already the ratepayers are crying out against the burden of rates. The great problem of the future is how to raise more money for

municipal purposes without increasing the burdens of the ratepayers. There is, for instance, the question of the taxation of ground rents for municipal purposes, and the assessment of municipal death duties. Paris charges 2,000 francs a year for each omnibus for the privilege to use the street, 365 francs for every cab, 1,500 francs for every tramcar, and in this way derives for rents for street transit six million francs, or £240,000 per annum. It is a very common thing, both on the Continent and in this country, for the Corporation to charge a rent to the tramway companies for the privilege of using the streets, and there is more sense in this than in permitting, as our Council did, a London syndicate to build the tram line without payment to the municipality, and thus enable it to float the concern to the public at a profit of several thousands of pounds. Again, in Paris the telegraph and telephone wires run underground, usually along the sewage tunnels. For these the municipality charges a rent, and thus derives one million francs, or £40,000 per annum. And, notwithstanding this, the telephone service is cheaper in Paris than in London. Again, Paris derives three and a-half million francs per annum, or £160,000, from the rent of newspaper kiosks, refreshment stands, luminous advertising pillars, advertisements in public lavatories, &c., in the streets, parks, and boulevards. It has already been pointed out that the municipality imposes a tax of 10 per cent. on the gross receipts of all the theatres and places of amusement. Again, Paris derives 150½ million francs, or six million sterling, per annum for octroi duties. These are duties levied on food and necessaries. The betterment system has long been in force in Paris. That is to say, where an improvement has been effected which particularly benefits the property of a certain area the cost of the improvement is specially assessed on that area.

The question, however, of raising funds for municipalities will not be satisfactorily solved until the unearned increment which accrues from the dense population of towns is secured towards the expenses of municipal government. Something in this direction might be done by enabling corporations to invest their sinking funds in the purchase of land in and near the towns. The result of Birmingham's experiment in this direction has been already described. Liverpool, whilst under the management of the old commissioners, invested Corporation moneys in the purchase of land in the city, with the result that to-day Liverpool is in possession of an extensive Corporation estate, which is continually increasing in value, and now produces a rental of about £120,000 per annum in relief of rates, whilst the municipal real estate of Glasgow brings in £35,000 a year in relief of rates. If this enlightened policy had been pursued by other municipalities the Corporations would have been richer and the landlords poorer to-day.

Why should not municipalities earn profits in relief of the rates by running, say, municipal banks, municipal fire and life insurance offices, municipal pawnshops, and municipal building societies?

This, at any rate, appears to be tolerably certain—that the proportion of those who dwell in towns is rapidly increasing, that to make town life conducive to the development of the highest and best life of the citizen more money will be wanted for municipal purposes. The clock of municipal progress must not stop for want of money. The money will be ultimately obtained by securing for the municipality a share, at any rate, of the unearned increment of the value of property, and by the municipality carrying on for its own profit some of those great capitalistic undertakings which are now run for the benefit of individuals.

T. H. ROBERTS (Burnley).

## VOLUNTARYISM AND SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY.

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THINKING people generally have, thanks to that economic development which, owing to England's unique position among the nations of the world is so clearly defined, come to reflect that the conditions under which we exist cannot always be. The continual concentrating of the means of production into fewer hands, the tendency of the rich to grow richer and the poor poorer, and the ever-increasing "surplus population," are facts too obvious to escape anyone who reflects at all upon these matters; and the average "man in the street" thoroughly understands, if nothing else, the *raison d'être* of the militant Social-Democrat. But the Socialist lecturer very often finds auditors who, while sympathising with him in so far as his complaints against capitalism are concerned, are so infected with antiquated, *laissez faire* ideas as to the functions and capabilities of the State that they are unable to follow him in the manner whereby he proposes to remedy matters. The State\* to them is a mystic institution which they do not recognise as being subject to change or evolution, but as something the probity of which is doubtful and the antecedents of which are distinctly shady; as a sort of time-dishonoured affair, incapable of much, if any, improvement, and certainly not having any such future before it as Socialists claim for it. Having but the aristocratic and the bourgeois State to go by, they cannot realise the democratic State, and they do not see that it is the powers that rule and guide it which make or mar an institution and not necessarily defects inherent in the institution itself. In short, they "jib" at Social-Democracy, "fancy" co-operation, and think that "if the trade unions, instead of wasting money on useless strikes, were to set up factories and workshops themselves," the salvation of society would be begun.

We Social-Democrats have long made up our minds about that co-operation which masquerades under the name to-day, and know full well that any joint-stockism based upon capitalist ideas of exchange cannot solve the social question; and were it possible for it to do so, it would have advanced a little farther on the way to the solution than it has done so far. Besides, if any such solution were possible, joint-stock capitalism (the glorious "democratisation of capital"!) would have done it long ago.

But supposing, for the purpose of argument, the industrial co-operation extant to be a means of regenerating humanity, let us just consider what there is to be said for it as compared with Socialism. The chief argument advanced in its support is that under State control "jobbery" would inevitably be rampant and great abuse of power would prevail—evils which

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\* I use the word "State" in the wide sense of constitutionally-organised administration.

would be minimised under Voluntarism. But would it really be so? That private co-operative concerns can be as much open to corruption as State concerns we have abundant proof; but what can there be in ordinary co-operation, what fundamental difference in its constitution, which renders it less subject to corrupt influences? Unfortunately for the Voluntarist, co-operation is founded upon the same principle as Social-Democracy. It is impossible for the members of any co-operative concern, however insignificant, to manage their business directly themselves, and so they appoint delegates to do it for them, they controlling the delegates; in short, the machinery of ordinary co-operation is of the same kind as the machinery of the constituted State. And there are no incidental advantages appertaining to Voluntarism; these are all on the side of Social-Democracy. Voluntarism is more open to "jobbery" than State effort, since the latter makes for socialisation and simplification in industry, thus rendering popular control easier. To say that "jobbery" would be less rampant and less possible with myriads of petty elective organisations than under organised State production and distribution, with the full glare of public attention turned upon it, is surely a joke. With the State superior organisation would be possible; there would be greater economy in labour, and consequent increase of production; and the "sorting" of labour could (and would ultimately) be carried to perfection, each individual falling into that position in life most suited to his character and capabilities. In a word, all the advantages are on the side of communal organisation. And it is the logical outcome of complete democracy; the only way in which democracy can realise itself. With it corruption and jobbery would be reduced to a minimum, and eventually to nil, since there would be no *raison d'être* for such evils—which can hardly be said of Voluntarism.

Co-operation as a means of palliating the present condition of things may be a very fine thing, and a thing to be encouraged; but, nevertheless, those who would look to it to solve the social question must see at least that it simply means setting up other administrative machinery far less perfect and amenable to popular control than State machinery, when all the machinery necessary for Social-Democracy is ready to hand.

Viewed from the standpoint of scientific economy, mere co-operation is ridiculously inadequate. It is based upon production for profit and not production for use. Without central control of some kind, it must be subject to the same economic laws which govern production and distribution at present; and, moreover, the extension and perfection of international exchange, which would be consummated under Social-Democracy, could not be realised with mere haphazard voluntary effort.

Voluntarism, too, only appeals to those who have the sense and the power to help themselves, and, ethically considered, is not to be compared to collective action; and all experience goes to show that the more intelligent, the noble and the ideal—the *élite* of the race—will have to come to the assistance of the masses in the working out of their emancipation.

Social-Democracy is co-operation clothed and in its right mind ; and the stream of development sets unmistakably towards it, ever increasing in speed and precision. Under it alone will humanity make history. The State is destined to become, in the true sense of the term, the collective expression of the nation. It is, at present, in its youth ; but with the advent of that new spirit which will be essential to Truth and Justice, it will give up sowing its wild oats and begin in earnest that career which evolution has carved out for it. And the measure of its development will be the measure of the growth of democracy. "The want of concert, reason, and organisation in the State, is the want of concert, reason, and organisation of the collective nation."\*

CHARLES J. S. KITCHING.

\* Mathew Arnold, *Mixed Essays*—"Democracy," p. 45.

### **"FRANCE, RUSSIA, AND THE NILE."**

According to an unsigned article in the *Contemporary Review*, entitled "France, Russia, and the Nile," the Fashoda incident was but part of a plot hatched between France and Russia against Great Britain and her African Empire. The agents of this plot were to be the Khalifa and Menelik. The writer says that the scheme was to let loose "three or four formidable enemies at once. And one of these was the Mahdi ! The 'emissaries of civilisation' leagued together with the Mahdi and his barbarians ; our friends and neighbours, whose amity bade fair to ripen into an alliance, secretly hatching a scheme to break up our African Empire, to turn us out of Egypt, and to get our soldiers massacred. The idea is revolting. And yet it is a fact." The plot, it is stated, "included the supplying of arms and ammunition to the Khalifa *via* Abyssinia ; the egging on of the Negus by Franco-Russian agents there to organise an expedition for the seizure of the Nile Valley ; the interference of Turkey as suzerain of Egypt, and of Russia as protectress of the Christian subjects of Menelik. This plan miscarried, in consequence of the occurrence of various events long before they were expected ; and when the Marchand mission was found at Fashoda, unsupported by M. Bonvalot or the Negus Menelik, the French Government politely explained that their adventurous countrymen were only there as emissaries of civilisation, and that France would abandon the spot out of pure friendship for the English—and for a concession elsewhere. . . . The danger can hardly be said to be quite over even yet, although Russia, who during the reign of the late Alexander III. would certainly never have descended to the intrigues carried on under his son and successor, is about to recall for good her Minister at the Court of the Negus, M. Vlassoff, on the ground that her interests in Abyssinia are henceforward scientific, not political ! And during the time that this inhuman plot was being hatched Russia was engaged in proposing disarmament and universal peace, while France was offering us her eternal friendship."



## "CHRISTIAN" SOCIALISM.

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WHY the above adjective should be thought necessary by any of our comrades to distinguish themselves from the others it, is hard to say. Do they imagine that it gives to their Socialism a more respectably orthodox sort of colour, or do they sanctimoniously pride themselves that it indicates they are "not as other men" in the movement?

Why is not the good, sound, solid word "Socialism" enough for them by itself? Do they imagine the supernaturalist cult that has choked every rational attempt to raise up the standard of human life and ideals for 1900 years is going to help our great movement, to which the future indubitably belongs, to win its final triumph, or, indeed, any of its intermediary battles?

If they do, I am afraid they are deceiving themselves.

Yes! I know, my good Christian friends and comrades, I know that the *practical* application of the social and ethical principles contained (among other things) in the Christian doctrine means Socialism pure and simple. I know very well that that grand man, Jesus, the carpenter of Nazareth, taught a doctrine that was socialistic through and through; I know that he was slain by the pious, orthodox hypocrites of his time; and I know, moreover, that the prototypes of those same hypocrites are engaged in the systematic murdering of every attempt to realise those doctrines at the present day. I know, also, that the earliest associates and disciples of Jesus endeavoured, as soon as it was possible, to reduce his precepts to practice, thereby proving their honest consistency, proving, undoubtedly, the exact socialistic, nay, communistic, nature of their Master's doctrines. "And all that believed were together, and had everything in common; and they sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all, according as any man had need" (Acts ii., v. 44, 45)—which was a proceeding more advanced than most Socialists of to-day would advocate!

I am aware that the writings of the "Fathers of the Church" contain passages as drastically socialistic as anything ever penned by Hyndman, Belfort Bax, Blatchford, or the writers of the "Fabian Essays." But more than eighteen centuries have swept by, and yet the world is not as far from, but actually as unaware of, the true meaning of the message of the Man of Nazareth, as it was in his lifetime; and those in whom the spirit of the early disciples burns as clearly to-day, meet with pretty much the same treatment at the hands of the very persons who, grotesquely enough, pretend to be the accredited followers of those same disciples, and their great leader!

And how does this come to pass, think you?

Why is it that the men who have done the most effective work in advancing civilisation, establishing freedom of thought and speech, raising the standard of intellect, helping on the evolution of society, have ever been

dubbed “heretics,” “unbelievers,” “infidels,” and treated as such by those who pretended, and pretend, to be most in the following of the Man who was more of a “heretic” than any ever have been since in relation to the Church? Simply because the practical value of the social and ethical precepts of Jesus have been buried, smothered, under a mass of fables, legends, and supernaturalisms, borrowed from “pagan” sources, plagiarised from the orthodoxies which Jesus himself condemned.

The teaching of Christ has been stultified by the Church, and the narrative of his life and teaching rendered an absurdity by the interpolations of fraudulent priests and monks, in the interests of the classes against whom it was chiefly a protest. Christianity has been turned into “Churchianity” and “Chapelolatry.” The living truth has been perverted into a living lie. And, for these reasons, the religion of the Western World has, over and over again, proved itself to be, as a reforming force, practically valueless.

I do not make these remarks in any spirit of unreasonable hostility. I am not by any means an enemy of those who are endeavouring to make of that religion the thing it pretends to be. Very much the reverse; but, after a long period of observation and thought, I have reluctantly come to the conclusion that modern Christianity is a delusion and a sham—an organised hypocrisy. I am speaking, here, to my friends, the “Christian” Socialists. There is no necessity, then, for me to prove that the Christianity of Christ meant Socialism; they know it, and, being *honest* Christians, they admit it; but, if they think they are going to persuade any of those various and strange organisations, the sects of Christendom, to endeavour in corporate consciousness to bring nearer the state of things that Jesus yearned for; that all Socialists hold as their ideal—the goal to which Socialism is advancing, they are very much mistaken, are deluding themselves.

And it is a pity that so much earnest effort should be wasted.

Take the various organisations calling themselves, in a fine spirit of satirical humour, it would seem, “Christian.” Take the old mother sect of Rome. She it is who was the chief offender in the matter of plagiarism from paganism, and the interpolation, and forgery even, of the ancient writings called the “Scriptures,” and whose little transactions in this direction the sects called “Protestant” have, with strange illogicality, taken over from her.

Rome, the “Harlot that sitteth on the Seven Hills,” as her offspring, the Protestant sects, unfilially call her; the fosterer of superstition, ignorance, and ferocity; whose record, in the way of fiendish cruelty and oppression, is the blackest of all the histories of the world religions—pagan or otherwise; the upholder of tyrants; the down-grinder of the poor; whose influence to-day is to degrade and brutalise all the peoples over whom she has influence, throwing in her vote, with vile opportunism, where there is the most money-power, so making herself the kept mistress of Mammon, the fiend-idol of the Modern Paganism!

Next, the Anglican sect, which founded itself upon the spoliation of its respected parent, to-day becoming more and more her imitator; is not this,

in its staid, respectable, upper middle-class manner, quite as bad? The support of an effete aristocracy and nobility, the special pet and fetish of the snobocracy (because it provides certain comfortable berths for the reception of younger sons, good for nothing else); whose incantations, or services, are about as full of meaning as the whirring of Thibetan prayer-wheels.

Do you think, my good comrades, you are going to make anything out of this empty soulless institution, whose devotees attend it, for the most part, because it is "respectable," "the proper thing, don'tcherknow," where the men go to keep up their business reputation, and the women to show off their millinery; where callow youths, or older humbugs, chatter over, like well-bred supercilious parrots, in high-pitched monotones, professions, and protestations of belief that give the lie to the whole lives of themselves and congregations? You are indeed sanguine if you do.

Then the Nonconformist sects, said, with no little humour, to possess a "conscience." The cheap-jacks in odd job lots of spiritual "notions." The Methodists, Primitives, and Salvationists—the howling dervishes of Christianity! Ah, me! I once had a hope of Wesleyanism. I live in a strong Wesleyan locality. I knew many Wesleys, and I found they were not, as a rule, antagonistic to the ideals of their own religion, even when put forward as Socialism. I went to their chapels several times. I heard their professions, which were good. I joined a "mutual admiration society," and I thought, "Here is some hope." I was never more mistaken in my life. As a test I sent a circular letter, and certain pamphlets—Dr. Clifford on "Christian Socialism," and the like—to twelve representative Wesleys, and waited developments. Alas! only two had the common courtesy, not to mention Christian good-fellowship, to reply to my suggestion that we should make some effort to realise the things we professed to believe in common. This shook my confidence. Then I took to observing, quietly, the ways and doings, one towards another, of these good people in their daily lives, apart from their Sabbath day sanctimoniousness. And this was fatal! So in many other directions and ways. With these people, Christianity, or Socialism, is all very well as "abstract theory," but the *doctrine of the practice*—no! There is the line drawn. It would not *pay*! There is the crux of the whole matter. There is no business advertisement, or return, on the practical realisation of Christianity, so these people think; therefore they will have none of it.

My friends, do not imagine a vain thing. Our cause, our ideal, is something higher than a chemist's establishment for the retailing of conscience salves and soothing syrups for unquiet minds. We cannot afford to waste our time with insincere mouthers of meaningless platitudes, or in taking part in ceremonies in honour of the imbecile deity of a stupid conventionalism. We have a greater work to do; ours is the cause of the present, and the future, and our appeals must be made to humanity as to human beings, not as to potential, feathered nondescripts—human fowls—in some far-off celestial hen-roost, where the biggest hypocrite, who has succeeded in

humbugging divinity as he humbugged mankind, has the longest tail and the loudest crow. No ! we must have none of this if the world *ever* is to be made the fitting place of reception for the second advent of a Genius so mighty and divine as Jesus, the Nazarene carpenter, a Son worthy of a truly spiritual and holy God, if ever human soul was ; but whom the lying priests of the past made into, and the smug, oily-tongued hypocrites of the present worship as, a flavourless, unreal, super-unnatural, stained glass divinity merely.

If we want a god, let us have, not a “god of battles,” a vindictive, relentless, and revengeful torturer of his own creatures, but a spirit-god of Love, and Truth, and Justice—the Trinity upon which our cause is based. If we want a Christ, let us have, not a miracle juggler, a pale, unsubstantial, phantom saviour, but the strong and noble Son of Man, a Man of men—whom, indeed, we may see, incarnate in everyone—aye, even in the vilest of our brothers of earth, there sorely tempted, tortured, and crucified oftentimes, but rising again in triumphant strength and glory through every man (and woman) who devotes his life and energy to the service of his fellow men, or who lays down his life for the good of humanity !

Speak the truth, and the scribes and pharisees shall hate you ; oppose them, and they shall persecute you. But what matters it ? Is not their hatred more honourable than their esteem, and their animosity preferable to their friendship ?

And, at the last, and hereafter, if we should be called before any higher judgment seat, before the throne of *our* God, shall we not stand with clean hearts, and say, “Into thy hands ?” Nor need we then fear for the verdict.

Ye are the men, my comrades. This is the time !

JOHN E. ELLAM.



## "NEW LIGHT ON THE BAHR-GAZAL FRONTIER."

IN an article under the above heading, in the *Fortnightly Review*, Mr. J. T. Wills expresses the opinion that the French African Colonial Party is 'small, noisy, visionary, anti-Semitic, and, I believe, Royalist, and its ideas are purely military. Its sole *apparent* aim, and I say this deliberately, is to create a French negro army in Central Africa, with vast recruiting grounds and points of vantage, and eventually to connect this with a Mediterranean base by seizing the Nile route at both ends (Cairo and Fashoda) and entirely, so as to hold Egypt and the Suez Canal with a negro army, and to dispose of the revenues there and right of passage through the canal. In the preliminary stages of this scheme it uses Atlantic and Gulf of Aden sea-coast bases in time of peace, knowing that they will be blockaded or taken in case of war, and looks to desert caravan routes from Algeria and Tripoli to French negro lands to maintain connection at a pinch between France and its negro army until the Nile is captured. The superhuman difficulty of blockading the Algerian and Biserta coast, and the large military resources and the standing army in Algiers, make an essential difference between that base and the others that they now possess. They are right in thinking that Egypt and the Canal is the point where negro troops can make most impression on world-wide issues of war, and that the Nile is the only trans-Sahara route fit for big movements of men and supplies. Such ideas recall the grand schemes for connecting French Canada and Louisiana, *via* Lake Erie, Pittsburg (Fort Duquesne), and the Ohio, or for conquering India with native troops trained in the interior hinterlands of our embryo presidencies. These schemes did not come off, because there was too much rough sea water in the question, but the French draw a distinction in favour of the Mediterranean in that respect."

Mr. Wills holds that 'the objection to this scheme is that it means war, and that the French nation does not care twopence for Central Africa, and is aware that a war with England is one of the worst calamities that can be inflicted upon it. The only hope of carrying on this scheme lies in demonstrating to the French public that England is squeezable, and that the preliminary stages of the plan can be carried through without risk.' Mr. Wills holds, further, that, while the attitude of general French opinion is very different to that of the colonial party, and while the French do not care about Africa, they do care for logic, "and in diplomatic discussion resent being asked to acquiesce in conclusions which do not strictly follow from the propositions laid down on paper." According to Mr. Wills, Gordon was entirely mistaken in his view of Zebehr and the Bahr-Gazal of the Zandebs. He concludes: "We shall be jockeyed in any of these future boundary delimitations unless the Government employs a proper African expert; and if we do not keep the Zandebs we shall repent it."



## PRODUCTION AND WAGES IN PENNSYLVANIA.

ADVANCE sheets of the forthcoming report of I. H. Clark, chief of the Bureau of Statistics of Pennsylvania, give the individual earnings of 2,381 wage-earners for the year, and of 244 wage-earners for six months. Pig-iron workers in furnaces made from \$1.32 to \$2.10 a day of twelve hours. Eighty-six persons in the Bessemer department of steel works made average yearly wages of \$366.20. The highest earnings were made by vessel-men and iron-melters, amounting to \$673.81. The average yearly earnings of workers on steel blooms and slabs were \$514.11. The wages of hammermen rose as high as \$1,742.10, and rollers \$1,259.07. The average of eight beaters was \$628.48, and of thirty helpers \$428.06. The highest daily wages made by a leverman was \$2 and the lowest \$1.45. The daily wages of firemen was \$1.37 and the lowest \$1.19. The average yearly earnings of forty-eight billet workers was \$383.53. Steel rail workers made average yearly wages of \$429.87; 303 tin-plate workers averaged \$669.98, and 275 window-glass workers \$592.21.

In 364 establishments enumerated these decreases are shown, as compared with 1892: Number of persons employed, 19,110, or 13.77 per cent.; aggregate wages paid \$15,294,456, or 22.54 per cent.; average yearly earnings, \$490.71, or 10.17 per cent.; value of production, \$58,318,488, or 21.45 per cent.

The total production of pig iron for 1896 was 4,026,350 gross tons, of the value of \$45,172,039. There were employed in its production 11,484 persons, whose average daily wage was \$1.37.

The value of the capital invested in the manufacture of iron and steel rolled into finished form (three establishments not reporting), was \$120,620,912. The number of persons employed was 53,573; average time of employment, 257 days, and average yearly earnings \$444.89, or \$1.77 a day. The total classified production in tons of 2,000 pounds is shown to be: Bars, skelp, koops, &c., 2,239,205; plates and sheets, 732,995; cut nails, 31,428; rails, 762,442, or a total of 3,757,070 tons, with a value of \$119,029,762, or \$31.68 per ton.

On the subject of "tin plate," the report of the Bureau of Statistics shows the total production of black plate last year was 158,306,490, an increase of over 50 per cent., as compared with that of the previous year. The value increased from \$3,252,924 to \$4,633,161. The average daily wage decreased from \$1.87 to \$1.80. The black plate and dripping works combined had a total product ofterne and tin-plate of 139,588,703 pounds, or a total production, including the 60,491,728 pounds black plate not tinned, of 200,030,431 pounds, as against 159,630,996 pounds produced last year, with a total value of \$6,520,559, as against \$5,716,418 the previous year. Pennsylvania still holds her place as the largest single plant producer of tin-plate in the world.

The average daily wage of the 229,796 persons represented in the tables of the Bureau of Statistics was \$1.41. The average number of days employed was 277; the aggregate wages paid \$90,047,319; value of production, \$399,842,380, and value of production to each person employed \$1,740.

Sixty-nine strikes were reported to the bureau the past year. The number participating in them was 10,154, of whom 7,734 were engaged in

coal mining. Nearly 3,000 persons were deprived of work by these strikes who were not responsible for them. Only twelve of the strikes were successful. The duration of the strikes was from one to one hundred and thirty-one days, and each of those engaged in them lost on an average thirty-two days. In fifty of the strikes the loss of those who participated in them is given at \$274,301, or an average of \$37.27 to each of 7,361 persons. Thirty-two establishments reported a loss of \$47,493 to employers. —*The Tocsin*, Minn.

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## IS THE LAVISH EXPENDITURE OF WEALTH JUSTIFIABLE?

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MR. B. MARTIN, junr., in an article in the *Nineteenth Century Review*, entitled "Is the Lavish Expenditure of Wealth Justifiable?" says that "those for justification depend for arguments upon the broken-window doctrine, *i.e.*, that any consumption of wealth is good for trade, and those who decry it upon the fact that the deductions of the writers on the other side are economically unsound," which latter point of view Mr. Martin thinks wrong, inasmuch as "the fact of an institution being economically sound or not does not settle the question as to whether it is beneficial to a community or the reverse; as, for instance, most almsgiving and hospitals for incurables and lunatic asylums must be economically unsound, for if the money spent on these were put out at interest, it would be employing able-bodied workmen who would be able to produce greater wealth in return, and whichever way this question is answered, the further and more important ones remain: first, whether the institution is in accordance with humanity and morality; secondly, whether greater harm would result in its forcible repression."

Further, he says that, "though at first sight it seems hard and unfair that one man should have to toil all his life, while another, on account of the accident of birth, drives through life on a coach, if our hypothetical working-man had sufficient power of observation and self-analysis he would discover that the very motive that actuated him to toil was the one that had produced the phenomena of coxcombs sitting in the lap of luxury with gold spoons in their mouths, namely, *the desire to provide for one's young*," so that, "if you object to fortunes being inherited, you should also prevent the labourer from leaving his mite to his children, and the fact that a degenerate coxcomb has plenty of money whilst a clever, hardworking man has not, merely means that the former, or his father, or his grandfather, has toiled or denied himself in order that he may leave his children well off, whilst the latter and his ancestors have not the same perseverance, self-denial, or, perhaps, brains. Mr. Martin's conclusions are that "it is a short-sighted policy to lavishly expend wealth"; that "a millionaire, not on account of, but in spite of his expenditure, is economically the most beneficial person for a community," (because he produces more wealth in comparison to the amount he exhausts than any other member of society); that "no legislation can restrict or dictate how much shall be spent which does not apply to all classes."

## THE LONDON WATER SUPPLY.

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IN an article by Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, under the above title, in the *Nineteenth Century Review*, it is stated that "the great majority of ratepayers have long urged the necessity for purchasing the existing companies, and for obtaining a fresh supply of pure water from Wales; but they have encountered opposition and delay from the Government and House of Commons, which has paralysed their action, and seemed to render success almost hopeless. When the Welsh scheme was first seriously propounded by the County Council, the companies at once perceived that it threatened their very existence, and did everything in their power to thwart it. It may be presumed that it was due to their influence that Lord Salisbury's Government in 1892, when appointing a Royal Commission on the Water Supply of London, with Lord Balfour of Burleigh at its head, limited it to the question whether the existing sources of supply in the valleys of the Thames and Lea could be made available for the future wants of London, and did not include the question whether a better supply could be obtained from Wales. The eight companies appeared before this Commission, and used all their efforts to minimise the future requirements of London, and to magnify their own supplies, present and future, from these two rivers and their wells in Kent, Herts, and Essex. Messrs. Hunter and Fraser, on behalf of the water companies, propounded a scheme involving the storage of 17,500 million gallons, based on the assumption that an average of 300 million gallons of water should be taken from the Thames subject to the condition that there should be a minimum flow of water over Teddington Weir after providing for the water companies of 200 million gallons, and subject, also, to the further condition that no water should be taken from the river during the first fifteen days of flood. The Commission recommended it. It is to be regretted that the Commission did not go further into the details of this scheme and examine how far it could secure the minimum flow of 200 million gallons per diem in the river, on the scale proposed.

"The London Council was extremely dissatisfied with this perfunctory report. In 1895 it introduced Bills in Parliament for the purchase of the companies as a preliminary to promoting a scheme for bringing water from Wales. These Bills were read a second time in the House of Commons and were referred to a Select Committee, where they were vigorously opposed by the water companies. The Southwark and Vauxhall companies, when giving evidence before the Balfour Commission in 1893, stated that the supply required from them by the year 1931 would be 30,306,000 gallons. In 1896, three years later, they stated before Parliament that they would require by the same year, 1931, an average of 63,360,000 gallons a day, or a maximum in the summer months of 69,600,000 gallons, or more than double their former estimate. The New River Company, in 1893, estimated their requirements in 1931 as 47,500,000 gallons. In 1896 they stated that in 1915, or sixteen years short of 1931, they would need 80,000,000 gallons a day, and 88,150,000 gallons in the month of maximum consumption, and other companies followed on the same line. It is difficult to reconcile these differences of wants, immediate and future, at such short intervals of time with any belief in the good faith of the companies."

## THE FUTURE OF EGYPT—OUR HAMPERED TRUSTEESHIP.

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IN an article under the above heading, in the *Nineteenth Century Review*, Mr. Edward Dicey says that "in the interest of peace and goodwill between France and England, it is important that the French should clearly understand that our position in Egypt is one which we shall not allow to be assailed with impunity, and that, in having shown this at no light cost or risk, it is to be hoped that we have brought home to the French mind the conviction that our Protectorate is an accomplished fact. We might," he says further, "have, without encountering any serious opposition, declared a Protectorate after the battle of Tel-El-Kebir, and the recent abortive attempt of France to establish herself without our sanction or cognisance on Egyptian soil has given us a second opportunity for the open assertion of our Protectorate. There are, however, three considerations which seem to militate against any immediate assumption of a Protectorate; first, that such a proceeding might raise the delicate question of Turkish suzerainty; second, that it might irritate Continental Powers, other than France, who are not prepared to contest our mastery of Egypt as long as that mastery is not openly proclaimed; the third is, that any overt declaration of supremacy over Egypt would give such mortal umbrage to France as to render friendly relations between herself and England an impossibility." Further Mr. Dicey says, that "our real valid title to administer the affairs of Egypt consists in the facts that we occupied Egypt with our troops when no other European nation was prepared to undertake the duty, that under our occupation we have established an era of order, solvency, prosperity and progress in Egypt such as has never been known before in the Land of the Pyramids, and that, in our judgment, it is for the interest of England and Egypt that our occupation should continue."

Mr. Henry Birchnough, in dealing with "Niger and the Nile," says: "If it is possible to question the policy of giving France exceptional privileges on the Niger, every objection applies with tenfold force on the Nile. On the Niger we are dealing with what is our own. On the Nile we are acting as the trustee of Egypt, and we are hampered by international arrangements and obligations for which France is not the least responsible party. Every consideration of prudence drawn from our present knowledge and from past experience surely urges to keep the situation on the Upper Nile exactly as it is. Let there be equal privileges and equal opportunities for all within the territories we control."

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## SECONDARY EDUCATION.

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IN the *Fortnightly Review* for November, Mr. Cloudesley Brereton writes on the important question of secondary education. He deals with the returns recently issued by the Education Department on secondary and other schools. Their Lordships of the Committee on Education, Mr. Brereton informs us, proposed to make a census of secondary schools, but the task proved anything but an easy one. The very term secondary was undefined, and its contents still more indefinite. There exists no official machinery for classifying secondary schools, and although the division between University and secondary education is fairly clear, it is difficult to define the dividing line between elementary or primary education and secondary education. It is true that a Parliamentary paper issued in August, 1898, has defined the difference between public secondary schools and the higher primary on the reasonable ground of difference of scope and purpose, but this agreement cannot be put into effect till public opinion has endorsed its conclusions, and the proper machinery for giving practical force to its principles has been created.

In a secondary school the teacher should be gifted with wider intellectual sympathies and attainments than the teachers in our present elementary schools, and should be men who would wield a strong influence for good over the character of those under their charge, and this again alone is possible where the smallness of the class allows the master to be in personal contact with every member of it.

The scandalous way in which many schools are understaffed is illustrated at length in the return. We may consider the following figures, in comparison with France, where 90 per cent. of the teachers are diplômés, and Germany, where no one may teach at all without due qualifications.

Only 55 per cent. of the resident male staff in boys' schools are of graduate rank, 29 per cent. in the girls', and 28 per cent. in the mixed, and the female staff in these schools is still more inferior, while the visiting staff of both sexes is worse. We find that 32 per cent. of the boys' schools, 73.8 of the girls, and 81.3 of the mixed have no resident graduate on the staff. "Squeers," says Mr. Brereton, "is not dead, but where he formerly stunted his boys' physical growth he now stints their mental growth by sweating his masters. The unskilled teacher has evidently been underselling the skilled."

Were our secondary education as efficiently organised as that of Germany, though not necessarily on the same lines, it would produce infinitely better results.

Organisation is the secret of all success, whether political, social, or intellectual, and the struggle for existence is decided in favour, not of the most populous, but the best organised among the nations.

Primary education is indeed precious, as everything that uplifts and elevates the masses must be. But we must not forget that secondary education is the real nurse of our literature, the foster-mother of science, and the art of government, and that through it the intellectual progress of the nation is maintained.



## AMERICAN TRADE ALONG THE NILE.

ACCORDING to the New York *Commercial*, the imports in Egypt for 1896 amounted to 50,900,000 dols. Their sources are thus tabled :

Country.	Value. dols.
England ... ..	18,508,700
Turkey ... ..	9,958,000
France ... ..	6,060,000
Austria-Hungary ... ..	3,512,000
Belgium ... ..	2,296,000
Russia ... ..	1,852,000
Italy ... ..	1,659,000
Germany ... ..	1,408,000
Greece ... ..	405,000
United States ... ..	215,540

These imports embrace a wide variety of articles, from locomotives to writing paper, and from electric machinery to typewriters, wheelbarrows, and chewing gum. The lumber imports for the year named represented a value of 2,192,000 dols. ; iron and hardware, 2,355,000 dols. ; machinery, 2,104,000 dols. ; copper and brass goods, 545,000 dols. ; soap, 450,000 dols. ; furniture, 230,000 dols. ; and coal, 2,125,000 dols. In all these lines there is more or less of an opportunity for American exporters. The United State imports from Egypt a considerable amount of cotton. In the year 1896 this trade represented 50,339 bales; for the same period, our [American] exports to the same country were classified as follows :

	dols.
Agricultural implements ... ..	17,174
Iron, steel machinery ... ..	13,481
Oil ... ..	99,498
Perfumery ... ..	134
Spirits, distilled ... ..	6,028
Woods and manufactures of ... ..	29,117
All other articles ... ..	50,198
Total ... ..	215,540

This is a poor showing, says the *Age of Steel*, in comparison with our opportunities, but now that a stable form of government is more or less assured, and the gates are opened from Cairo to the Soudan, for industrial development, it is not likely that the United States will neglect its business chances along the Nile.



## TWICE A SOLDIER.

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### I.

FERNAND LABARRIQUE was, as he was wont to inform anyone whom the interesting fact might concern, a soldier. But he was an old soldier, and had laid aside his arm and settled down to enjoy a life of retirement in the village of his youth. He was not a Dugald Dalgetty, however, and, unlike the orthodox veteran of romance, did not regret the cannon's roar, the clarion's note, and long again to be 'midst the din of battle. He had served his country long and faithfully; he could show many a scar, and he treasured up many a medal; but he now desired nothing better than to rest from his labours and take life easily. Away from the barracks or the tented field, the glamour of arms began to lose its charm, and any warrior spirit which yet remained in him found vent sufficient by the fireside of the village saloon, or that of his own modest maisonette where, as all old soldiers love to do,

"He fought his battles o'er again,"

—although, of course, nothing had more interest for him than any campaign which might be in progress.

He had saved up enough during his long term of service to marry, and purchase a little house of his own, and the small pension which he enjoyed from a grateful country was sufficient or well-nigh sufficient to provide for his and his wife's few simple wants.

After thirty years of servitude it was so sweet to feel that he could do as he liked, go whither he listed, and have no man say him nay; to have no longer to respond to the roll-call and attend the sounding of the *réveillé*. Repose came so delightful after a life so arduous, and freedom so welcome after so much confinement, that he was not likely to find fault with his portion. And he was happy.

But it was hardly to be expected that one so hale and hearty—for Fernand was a fine specimen of an animal—and so accustomed to action could long remain in idleness, and Fernand did not. Civilian life brought out and nourished the constructive element in him. He started with a little piece of land, which grew bigger and more productive each year. His activity increased as he came to behold the fruits of his labour. He bought and kept a cow and other live stock, and became initiated into the art of dairy produce. Voluntary effort, he found, cost him nothing, and was amply recompensed by that feeling of independence and gratification at being able to produce which comes with success and which he before had never known. It was a new and sublime thing to behold and taste the work of his own hands, and he delighted in well-doing with the innocent delight of the amateur. He came to appreciate honest toil; to see the divinity of it; and doing so, he sometimes wondered that he could have been a soldier so long.

As time went on he frequented less the village inn, and his old comrades whispered among themselves that Fernand was for money-making, and was fast cultivating a love of gain as he advanced in years. But Fernand's generosity to his poorer neighbours, and the support which he gave to anything for the public welfare in the little community, quickly dispelled this idea, and respect for the *brave militaire* increased. The only thing about

him with which his friends found fault was his decreasing readiness to talk about his military adventures, for he was the finest *raconteur* in five parishes, and universally regarded as the most illustrious veteran within a radius of twenty miles. The village was proud of its one and only *ancien capitaine*, the hero of a hundred fights, and could not idolise him enough. It was only natural, therefore, that any slump in self-appreciation on the captain's part should not be to their liking, as being essentially necessary to their amusement.

Whether Fernand's mind was too occupied with his farming to pay them the attention which they formerly received, or whether his failing verbosity was a result of apathy or not, no one could with any certainty say. But sure enough it was that he did not talk so much of his military past, or his deeds of "derring do," as he did before.

His chief delight now was his garden. How he loved on a summer evening, as the red orb was setting in the west, to sit in his comfortable armchair and enjoy his pipe and the fertility of his kitchen-garden—his beans, his *pommes de terre*, his onions and carrots—or the verdure of his little meadow, with the tiny brook rippling gaily through it! Truly, it was only in the evening of his days that *he* found happiness. And the sun itself seemed to linger affectionately over his handiwork, its fading rays contrasting weirdly with the inimitable green and enhancing its loveliness, as if reluctant to leave so fair a spot. All Nature to contented Labarrique appeared to smile approval.

Fernand had seen Nature in some of her fairest moods, for he had travelled far and wide, but her transcendent beauty had never been manifest before. She had been as a closed book to him. But he now was Nature's devotee, and as he gazed upon her loveliness, her sweet calm and divine content, he involuntarily shuddered at the bare idea of war, with its scenes of devastation and destruction, of rapine and plunder.

Sebastopol—with the bitter cold nights in the trenches, the murderous assaults, the ruin! It seemed but a horrid dream, all of it. The past had to give way to the present in him as the darkness before the daylight. Magenta! Solferino! Great names both. The Italian campaign about which wrong-headed poets raged, and freedom-loving jingoes went mad, the glorious resurrection and salvation, and what not, of the unfortunate Italian people. It was all very grand, no doubt, but it had its sad side; he could no longer recall it without its desolated fields, and once fruitful vineyards rising in vistas before his vision, bent on clouding the glamour and glory of which so much was made.

But this was peculiar philosophy for an old soldier, and as he mused he became astonished at his own singular conclusions. But something within him seemed to drag down all his warrior triumphs, his ideals of greatness and great things with irresistible force and lay them in the dust of his estimation as he contemplated the fair scene around him; and that, it seemed, in spite of himself.

A changed life altered his view of things, and communion with Nature instilled into him a different conception of the sublime.

He was admiring the sunset. He and the sun had never been on terms of reciprocal admiration before, for campaigning in sunny Italy, and tropical Mexico was hardly conducive to such friendliness. But, as he meditated, it occurred to him that he must have seen many a glorious sunset. And he had; but circumstance alters cases as it makes the man. How often had he observed the mother orb's declining rays gild red battle-fields with their sombre tint, and had not thought it glorious?

## II.

But times changed.

The Court and the Parisian mob had once again damned France. The maniac shout of "A Berlin!" was now a thing of the past, a matter of history, and the wave which was to have swept over Germany had been broken up by unforeseen rocks; the Germans had crossed the frontier and were in their turn crying, "A Paris!" It was a cruel shock; so speedy and rude a disillusionment; but France was equal to it, and volunteers crowded round her retreating standards.

As Labarrique was making his way towards the inn one morning to hear the latest news obtainable from the seat of war, he heard the sound of horses' hoofs in the distance and beheld a gendarme galloping in his direction as fast as his half-winded steed could carry him. Ah! a victory? thought Fernand. Put the pale and agitated face of the gendarme quickly dispelled that idea.

"What now," cried the Captain.

"*Ca va mal, mal!*" responded the horseman, in a hoarse tone. "Emperor prisoner; Prussians marching on Paris!"

Labarrique started and stared at him in amazement; but the gendarme rode on.

"Emperor prisoner—Prussians on Paris!" repeated the Captain, mechanically, to himself.

He continued his way, but he walked as in a dream, his mind paralysed as it were at this sudden development. The words of the rider, "*Ca va mal, mal,*" rang continually in his ears. Before he had got far the news was out; someone else had met the solitary horseman. Naturally enough, it spread like wildfire, and women were already shrieking in their terror, and men were gathering in knots excitedly discussing the fall of Sedan. Some of the young bloods cried out, "To arms!" and "Vive la France!"

As soon as he had recovered himself and heard the noise, Fernand faced about and returned home to ponder over the matter in quietness. He felt sick at heart and in no mood for noise and excitement.

"The Emperor prisoner; Prussians marching on Paris!" he exclaimed, incredibly.

## III.

Rochellais lay almost on the road between Sedan and Paris, and so its occupation by the Prussians, if their advance were not checked, at least, was probable. All those capable of bearing arms in the village prepared to resist the foe, either as soldiers of France or as *franc tireurs*; they seemed to care little which. There was only one point upon which they seemed decided, and that was that their *ancien capitaine*—the hero of the hundred fights—should lead them against the hated Prussians. So they assembled before the former's residence, and called upon him to come forth.

Fernand needed but little persuasion, for the long dormant spirit of martial patriotism had awakened in him. Was he to stand by, he had asked himself, with folded arms, and see his beloved France overrun by a foreign foe; to see the fairest provinces of his native land laid desolate, and perhaps—who knew?—the home which he had built up at so much cost destroyed? And he remembered that he had once known how to pull a trigger.

They sang the stirring "Marseillaise," shouted the old, old cry, "*Le Patrie est en danger!*" and the warrior spirit manned the captain's bosom.

But then he thought of his age.

"Ma foi! my children," he said, sorrowfully, "but I am too old. They will not pass me."

But they soon found a way out of that difficulty.

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The Rochellais irregulars, under the leadership of the Captain, were very successful in harassing the Prussians and became quite famous for their daring exploits. But the wily Germans soon got used to *franc-tireurs*. They paid, too, special attention to Labarrique's band. One by one several of the party were killed or captured until at last the leader himself was caught.

The Prussian way with *franc-tireurs* was ruthlessly short.

"I am a soldier of France," pleaded Labarrique.

"A retired one, then—unfortunately for you," said the officer.

But the Captain met his fate calmly. He only regretted the manner of his end. The brutal conquerors shot him with two others, grey-haired veterans like himself, who had turned out once again to fight—and this time to die—for France.

CHARLES J. S. KITCHING.





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