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J. L. Coombe

A SONG OF TRUTH.

Men laugh at those who in a convent dwell,
Self-exiled from the world of love and mirth ;
Yet they themselves, within a narrower cell
Of creeds and dogmas, make their little earth.

Within the prison of a dark belief
They cringe, nor hear the swelling songs of doubt,
Nor see the nodding flow'r, the tinted leaf,
Nor know the smiling sun that shines without.

In the false mirror of a mist-wrapped creed
The face of Truth, distorted, shows a lie ;
As a foul river wears a stagnant weed,
And troubled waters show a troubled sky.

Decaying falsehoods are as broken spars,
That on the sea of Time drift idly by ;
And ancient truths, e'en as the midnight stars,
That glimmer only in a blackened sky.

Then gaze not, sighing, on the shades of night,
As silently they vanish, one by one,
Nor seek in clouded faiths to find the Light,
As in the moon the splendour of the sun.

Rise with the truth, as starting from a dream
With the first flushes of a new-born day,
That dying, you may leave behind one beam
To light some other soul along the way.

ERN. T. COOMBE.



GEORGE LANSBURY.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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OUR REPRESENTATIVES.

X.—GEORGE LANSBURY.

CHIEF among the band of Social-Democrats who keep the Red Flag flying in that part of the East End of London known as Bow and Bromley, is the man whose name heads the present notice in the series of "Our Representatives" on public bodies, he being a Guardian of the Poor for the Poplar Union, of which Bow and Bromley forms a part. The editor's request for his appearance here discovered an unexpected side of his character, showing how complex is human nature. No one who sees only the outward or public side of Lansbury would have supposed him to be so timid and retiring as he was found to be over this matter. Bold and fearless in what he believes to be right, the moving spirit in many an election contest, a robust speaker in hall or open-air, energetic and enthusiastic, an innate diffidence made him shrink from having his portrait and a short account of his life enshrined in immortal print in the pages of the SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT. However, the well-known silvern persuasive powers of the writer of this notice were requisitioned, with the fortunate result that we start the New Year of 1900 with so good a representative as George Lansbury.

Our comrade was born in 1859, at Halesworth, in Suffolk. This does not mean that his family belonged to that county; on the contrary, his father came from Warwickshire and his mother from Wales, but his father, being a railway contractor, in pursuit of his calling had to go all over the country. When George was seven years old the family came to London, living at Victoria Park and afterwards at Whitechapel. He was educated in Church schools, and at the Birkbeck School, Cambridge Heath. He first worked at a coal merchant's office, and later at a charcoal factory. When he was 17 his father died, and, there being a family of nine left, George and his brother, for the benefit of their mother, carried on their father's business of unloading coals for the Great Eastern Railway.

At the ripe age of 21 Lansbury married, having known his wife from boyhood. Some less fortunate mortals have found that their wives look

with none too friendly an eye upon the Socialist movement, but undoubtedly much of Lansbury's success has been due to his wife's ready acquiescence, if not active participation, in his public work. Two years later his partnership with his brother ended, and he then went into a coffee-palace, known as the Oriental, in Whitechapel Road, run in connection with the parochial work of the rector, the Rev. A. J. Robinson. Here he stayed but eighteen months, as, being used to working outdoors and getting about in the open-air, his health gave way in the confined business of the coffee-palace. He was disgusted, too, with the competition existing in trade, and the emigration craze being boomed just then, carried Lansbury with it, he thinking that he could get away from competition by emigrating to a new land.

This, needless to say, he could not do. However, he did not know it at that time, so in 1884 he went to Queensland, Australia, taking his wife, three children, and younger brother with him. His experiences in the land of the Southern Cross were far from rosy; the Golden Fleece, or anything else golden, was not for him. He was out of work for eight weeks, and afterwards worked at such delightful occupations as stone-breaking, in a slaughter-house, as farm hand, and parcel delivery man. But what he felt more than anything was that not only did he not get away from competition, but that it was more keen, and more mean, than in the land he had left.

Burning with resentment and righteous indignation, he came back and started an agitation against F. N. Charrington, who had been chief beater of the emigration drum. Mahon and Mowbray, of the Socialist League, assisted him at his meetings, and thus he first began to rub shoulders with Socialists. A large and influential conference was held at King's College, with the Bishop of Bedford (Bishop Wakefield) in the chair, and at this Lansbury gave the Agent-General the lie direct, proving his statements from that worthy's own papers. The audience, at first unfriendly, were finally carried away by the fire and force of Lansbury's speaking. Here he met Sir Samuel Montagu, M.P., and a friendship commenced which has lasted ever since. From this acquaintance, also, dates Lansbury's political career. At the evening meeting of the conference John Burns and J. E. Williams were present, and, needless to say, vigorously opposed the emigration frauds.

In February, 1886, the riots arising out of the unemployed agitation took place, which were doubtless not without their effect upon our comrade. However, Sir S. Montagu, struck with Lansbury's ability, persuaded him to become his election agent, notwithstanding that the latter had never done any election work. So good a start did he make that, while most other Liberal and Radical candidates were either returned with reduced majorities or defeated, Montagu held his own. It must be said, however, that he opposed the Land Purchase Bill of Gladstone.

After this Lansbury removed to Bow, and although pressed by Sir S. Montagu he refused to act again as his agent. He became connected with the Liberal and Radical Party in Bow, and when Mr. J. A. Murray Macdonald was decided upon as the candidate it was only upon a very advanced

programme. All this time the Socialist leaven was working in our comrade's mind, and the effect was soon to be seen. Many of his friends and fellow workers had already become Socialists, and his reading of "Robert Elsmere" and Tolstoi's "What I Believe" helped to sweep away some of the cobwebs of religious bigotry from his understanding. About this time he organised a party of workmen to visit Ireland, for the purpose of seeing things as they really were in the Emerald Isle, and to tell the British public the truth. He collected sufficient funds for a party of eleven to go, and the visit and the subsequent delivery of speeches in England fed the Home Rule agitation.

In 1889 came the turning-point in George Lansbury's career. There were to be two candidates run by the Radical Party in Bow at the London County Council election, one Radical and one Labour, and Lansbury was asked to stand as the Labour candidate. He then found that he could only conscientiously stand as a definite Social-Democrat, and therefore declined the offer. He decided, nevertheless, to remain loyal to Macdonald till the election was over, and when this happened he, with others, formed the Bow and Bromley branch of the S.D.F., taking over many who had worked with him in the Radical ranks.

One exciting episode must not be left out; this was the London School Board Election in 1888, when Annie Besant topped the poll in the Tower Hamlets. Lansbury was, of course, working to secure the return of the Rev. J. F. Porter, and worked as few others could work. The present writer had many lively wordy combats with the subject of this sketch over the matter, but George was not yet of us. The meteoric path of Annie Besant was not to be crossed by such a mediocrity as the Radical candidate. Her election campaign was a blaze of triumph, with a fitting culmination.

George Lansbury has been a member of the Board of Guardians since 1893. Of him it may truly be said he is a "Guardian of the Poor." His chief work was done during the first eighteen months he was on the Board, an account of which appeared in *Justice*. Among the things accomplished are the institution of a revised dietary, abolition of uniform, warmer clothing, provision of papers, entertainments, &c., more officers and less inmates doing work in the "house," and direct labour. He attacked and finally defeated the master of the workhouse, charging him with robbing the inmates and the ratepayers by providing bad food and less clothing than was paid for. The master had to resign, Lansbury on one occasion speaking for four hours when the other members wanted to defeat him. To quote from the report just referred to: "On the day I visited the skilly had been left, and the women crowded round to tell me the reason. The oatmeal with which the skilly had been made was full of manure left by rats and mice, and even workhouse people refused to eat such stuff. The master was sent for, and, although we are told seeing is believing, he was good enough to express doubt as to whether it was manure or not. His wife, the matron, also declared it could not be, but when I asked her to put the matter to the test by eating a little herself, she

declined, and so admitted it was as I said. . . . The women told me it was of frequent occurrence." All must feel glad that this most "humane" man was kicked out. "Since that day there have been many rows about the food. I made it a special study to watch the food, and can honestly say that the food now served out is as good and wholesome of its kind as it is possible to get. This, however, is not all. The dietary scale has, on my motion, been completely overhauled, and to-day is the most liberal of any such scale in the metropolis. Instead of skilly every day, morning and evening, it is now only given twice a week. Instead of suet pudding only for dinner, other things are given as well. Instead of meat pies *without meat*, every man and woman get each their own pie with the quantity of meat weighed in. Instead of skilly and bread for supper, it is now coffee, cocoa, or tea, and cheese and onions. Then each afternoon the old men and women get a cup of tea served out to them instead of having to smuggle it in and make it on the sly. . . . With respect to clothes, both men and women have better clothes than before, and after the next election I hope uniforms will be a thing of the past. As it is, the men now have overcoats, flannel shirts and drawers, which articles of clothing were never allowed before. The same applies to women; they had neither drawers, shifts, nor bedgowns, but on my motion they have all these." The inmates of the workhouse, aged and worn-out members of the proletariat, must bless the advent of the Socialist Guardians of the Poor, as also must those in receipt of out-relief, who, from a munificent allowance of 1s. 6d. weekly now receive sums varying from a minimum of 2s. 6d. up to a maximum of 6s.

From August, 1895, to March, 1896, as all our readers know, Lansbury was organiser for the S.D.F. He relinquished this arduous post owing to unusual circumstances. His wife's father was a timber merchant, Lansbury having previously worked for him. On his father-in-law's death it was found necessary for him to go back and help keep the business together for the benefit of his wife and her family. Although this latter course was ultimately decided upon, it was not, our readers may be sure, without many inward struggles. Indeed, he is not completely satisfied that he took the right course. Still, a man has to study his wife and children sometimes, even if he leaves himself out of the calculation, and, seeing how arduous and uncertain is the lot of the Socialist organiser at present, those who would differ from him in the course he took may well ask to be saved from having to decide in similar circumstances.

Lansbury is backed and assisted on the Guardians by Mrs. Lena Wilson, J. R. Smith, and A. Phillips, and it may be judged that their work is not yet over when it is known that only since our comrades have been on the School Management Committee have the youngsters had butter included in their dietary scale! On this same Committee Mrs. Wilson and our comrade have not only secured this small reform, but they have swept away uniforms, put down the military spirit, and in a hundred and one ways made the lives of the children better and brighter for their work.

A. A. W.

TREACHEROUS TOLERATION AND FADDIST FANATICISM.

SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY has been unwearied in the affirmation of its principles not only against the present order of society and its supporters, but also against those who, while on one side professing the same ultimate end as Social-Democrats, nevertheless on another repudiate alike the programme of Social-Democracy and its method and policy. I refer to the various groups of "Communist-Anarchists" and "non-Parliamentarian Socialists." There is, of course, a type of Anarchist who, by his very principles, cuts himself off from Socialism altogether. But those Anarchists who label themselves as above, whatever they may do or feel, however illogical they may be in theory, at least do not definitely detach themselves from Socialism. And the latter type, to which the majority of persons calling themselves Anarchists belong, is nevertheless regarded by Social-Democrats as the greatest danger to the party when hanging on to its skirts. Now there is, I conceive, a dangerous tendency everywhere, at the present time, that the movement, having religiously expelled all elements that could be suspected of Anarchism in any form or shape, denouncing the "toleration" certain comrades would have extended to such misguided persons as of the devil—there seems, I say, a grave danger of its developing a limitless toleration in the opposite direction. While to doubt the efficacy of Parliamentary action is anathema, to doubt or to express open disbelief in the root-principles of Socialism is deemed quite consistent with continued membership of the party. The very self-same persons who would give a Nieuwenhuis and a Landauer short shrift, grow eloquent upon the undesirability of "making a martyr of" a Bernstein or a Blatchford or of anyone who under cover of the name of Socialist preaches anti-Socialistic reaction, be it music-hall jingoism or the doctrine that the proximate end of Socialism is municipal tramways and its highest ideal improved factory legislation. The Socialist body as a whole, it is said, is sound and does not sympathise with, indeed, utterly repudiates, these views. But it would be a mistake, it is further said, to expel these persons or to refuse to recognise them as comrades! (Oh Socialism, Socialism, what queer fish they would have us assimilate in thy name!) For do they not believe in municipal tramways, lighting, water, and even sewage; nay, have they not intimated their willingness, under certain circumstances, to consider legislative interference with the conditions of adult labour? How can one refuse to recognise such a man as this as a full-blown Socialist, even though in other matters of secondary importance—such, for example, as war, internationalism, foreign policy, belief in and work for the transformation of society by the communisation of the instruments of production, &c.—he is not as sound as we could wish? No, we are told if we want a big party, or even a party at all, we must count all as fish (however "queer" it may be) that comes to our net—all men as comrades

who adopt our label, and consent to swallow, say, a little municipal sewage by way of credentials. The way in which men, who, if they only happen to depart from Socialism on the reactionary side, are tolerated, gives pause indeed to consider, when we think of the promptness with which men who talked too "revolutionary" have been given their party-quietus in the recent past. Talking too revolutionary may be silly, it may be waste of time, and do no good; but reactionary doctrine, jingoism, gas-and-water Socialism, factory legislation as panacea, these things sap the foundation of Socialist theory and disintegrate the party. The weak-kneed toleration which shudders with horror at the idea of not regarding as a "comrade" a Blatchford, a Bland, or a Bernstein, because they have done—what? Merely set at nought what are elsewhere acknowledged as fundamental doctrines of Socialism, that is all—is surely a sign of decadence in a party, not of strength. If those who hold such views as the above-mentioned "comrades" (?) are not aware that they have, *ipso facto* ceased to be Socialists, surely it is the duty of the party, as such, to point it out to them. That good Social-Democrats can take up this attitude over "differences of opinion" of such wide-reaching importance as those referred to, and yet be prepared to unceremoniously eject a comrade who happens to disagree with the rest of the party as to the value of Parliamentary action (important though this latter may also be), must surely have ideas of party logic which are decidedly peculiar, and hence require an explanation which we have as yet waited for in vain.

But where are you to draw the line, it will be said? You cannot have unity of opinion on every question. This is perfectly true, and no one would suggest making a test point of vaccination or anti-vaccination, teetotalism, or moderate drinking, of a belief or disbelief in "occult phenomena," of any point of metaphysic or of mere opinion. But let us remember that Socialist principle is definite and not to be played fast and loose with *by Socialists*, if the name is to retain any significance whatever. Hence the question of the soundness or unsoundness of any individual opinion often turns on the way it is held. Thus a Socialist may express an admiration for an ascetic life (say) or for exclusive fruit-eating, or for top-hats, and prefer these things to their opposites without any violence to his Socialism. But if he preaches asceticism, fruit-eating or top-hats as the great panacea for social ills, then he, *ipso facto*, ceases to belong to the Socialist Party, and to tolerate him as a "comrade" is simple idiocy. What is vital in Socialism? In the first line, I take it, comes the (1) Collectivisation of *all* the instruments of production by *any* effective means; (2) The doctrine of the class war as the general historical method of realising the new form of society; (3) The principle of internationalism, the recognition, *i.e.*, that distinction of nationality sinks into nothingness before the idea of the union of all progressive races in the effort to realise the ideal of true society, as understood by the Social-Democratic Party; (4) The utmost freedom of physical, moral and intellectual development for each and all consistent with the bare necessities of an organised social State.

For the rest, the question turns upon the consistency or inconsistency of any theory, with these positions. It is commonly asked whether dogmatic theological belief is consistent with Socialist principle. I take it that the promulgation of the thesis that the acceptance of any dogma which primarily has any other basis whatever except reason (*i.e.*, a logical process resting on given matter-of-fact) is essential to personal or social salvation or well-being, is anti-Socialistic, and that the man who promulgates it can no longer claim to belong to the Socialist Party. This is why the Socialist Party as such can never be Christian. Christianity requires an act of faith on the part of its votary. He may prop his faith up by reason afterwards, if he will, but his first duty as a Christian is faith in a divine revelation. The doctrines of Socialism are held by Socialists on the ground of a conviction arrived at by reason, observation and evidence, and they are prepared to stand or fall by this test.

Another point. The mere repetition of an abstract Socialist formula is not of itself sufficient to constitute a man a Socialist. He must be prepared to adopt and act upon the implications which the formula directly involves. Thus his adhesion to the doctrine of the class war involves his opposition to all measures subserving the interest of any section of capitalism. This, coupled with his Internationalism, leaves him no choice but to be the enemy of "his country" and the friend of his country's enemies whenever "his country" (which means, of course, the dominant classes of his country, who always are, for that matter, his enemies) plays the game of the capitalist. Let us have no humbug. The man who cannot on occasion be (if need be) the declared and active enemy of that doubtful entity "his country" is no Social-Democrat. Again, a man may call himself and be called a Socialist because he is willing to nationalise or municipalise certain branches of industry on the ground of their peculiar monopolistic nature rendering nationalisation or municipalisation desirable and feasible in his opinion, while at the same time repudiating the desirability or feasibility of the socialising of other branches of industry, where these peculiar conditions do not obtain. This exceptional Socialism represents the attitude of the average Fabian, the Webbite, though not, I believe, of all Fabians. Now are we, I ask, to be condemned to hug such a man as this to our bosoms as a "comrade" because, forsooth, he can in a certain sense repeat that he favours the "socialisation of the means, &c."

The Socialist Party ought to come to a clear understanding as to what amount of divergence from principle and declared policy can be tolerated from professed members of the party. Let us hope the next international congress will deal with it. At present we find ourselves in the anomalous position of having persons (few I admit) nominally in our ranks, who are positively less socialistic or even more *anti-socialistic* than many who still claim to be no more than Liberals or Radicals.

E. BELFORT BAX.

THE ALIEN QUESTION.

FROM AN AUSTRALIAN POINT OF VIEW.

THE desirability of excluding from amongst us the "alien," alias the "coloured" or "inferior" races has served as a battle-cry for the wily politician, agitator, and trade unionist in Australia for many a long day, and at Parliamentary elections it has frequently been the pivot upon which the fate of Governments depended.

Any platform orator bursting with indignation at his country's woes, knows he is sure of evoking harmonious chords of cheering from his audience if upon his oratorical organ he sounds the notes—"A White Australia," "Australia for the Australians," "Down with Black Labour, &c., &c."

What ought to be the attitude of the Socialist towards this alien immigration?

It is to be devoutly hoped that the word "rats" will not be heard at the bare thought that upon this matter there should be any question. However, question there is, and before long it will increase in importance in its relation to Socialism; therefore a view of it from both its sides may not be altogether devoid of benefit.

Authority is not claimed for this article. It is not written with any wish to dogmatise. It is borne in mind that this is an age of restless inquiry, and that the province of theoretic Socialism is, to a great extent, to collect facts, classify them and observe their causes and effects, especially in the economic sphere, and to endeavour to deduct from such observations a correct understanding of the laws governing our economic conditions. In this spirit let the subject be attacked.

"Alien" is derived from the Latin word "alienus" meaning "of another country." Is it only because a man happens to belong to "another country" that the cry for his expulsion is so loudly raised? A moment's reflection will show that it is not so. That which is the real cause of the cry is that people of certain countries only, such as the Kanaka, the Japanese, Afghan, so-called, and the ever blooming Chinaman, are kidnapped or induced by false promises to come to this country by the capitalist class, to work for its profit at lower wages than the Australian or other European races, equally alien to Australia, are being paid or are willing to work for. It is usually said that these inferior aliens are able to work for less wages because they are satisfied with a much lower standard of living than are the superior aliens and Australian natives. Be this as it may, the primary fact to be considered is the injury that they do us by lowering wages and the material standard of living. There is no deep-rooted objection, either on physical or ethical grounds, to their coming here so long as they conform to our laws, and social usages, and do not undersell in wages the original

labourers. It is on the material ground of their being brought here and used by the capitalist class as a lever to keep down and reduce wages, that the demand is made for legislation to exclude them.

If it can be shown that this demand is as diametrically opposed to the fundamental principle of Socialism as it is unlikely to achieve the end in view, it may be hoped that we shall escape being charged with heresy to democratic principles; especially so if we are able to point to a readier way, involving no violation of principle, of achieving the object, viz.: the maintenance, and improvement, of the material standard of comforts in our community.

With one exception only there is no programme, platform, or demands of any of the Socialist parties that contains a syllable referring to the exclusion of aliens; nor is the word alien mentioned in them. The single exception alluded to is that of the Australian Socialist League, whose Social Demands, article 19, calls for "The exclusion of races whose presence under present competitive conditions might lower the standard of living of Australian workers." Well, this is a tolerably "large order."

It is essential to ask what tribunal is to judge as to whether the threatened presence of any particular race might or might not lower the standard of living.

How it is possible to decide upon the future intentions of any race in this respect. The influx of almost any peoples, the British quite as much as any other, might have the effect of lowering, not necessarily the standard of living, but the wages of Australian workers if the influx was sufficiently numerous and was composed of the proletariat. A far more potent factor than the alien in lowering the standard of living of Australian or any other workers is the immigration, or to put it in proper parlance, the importation, of improved machinery. This kind of alien not only lowers the status of the labourer, it actually supplants him. "He" is even more dumb, docile, and inexpensive to the capitalist than the Kanaka or Chinaman. Why not demand legislation for "his" exclusion? One machine, the Linotype, does more than one hundred Chinese in lowering the standard of living amongst workers. Many other labour-saving machines operate in the same way with even greater effect.

One may search through the programmes, manifestoes, or demands of all the great congresses held in Europe, from those of Gotha, Zurich, and Erfurt, down to the last London Congress, yet no word of alien exclusion will be found. On the contrary, in the programmes and platforms of the various Socialist parties in Europe, the universal solidarity of the workers of all countries is emphasised.

The Manifesto of the International Workmen's Association, London, 1864, said:—"For these reasons the first International Congress of Workmen declares that the International Workmen's Association and all societies connected with it acknowledge truth, justice, and morality as the basis of their conduct among themselves and towards all their fellow-men without regard to colour, creed or nationality."

The Economic and Industrial Commission's report to the Congress of International Socialist Workers, held in London in 1896, emphatically calls upon "workers of all nations to proceed to organise," and throughout, both in sentiment and practice advocates the equal rights of workers of all countries. The very watchword of Marx, "Proletarians of all countries unite!" surely would not have been made if Socialism were ever intended to be other than universal in the practical application of this doctrine.

If from the more economically enlightened countries are to be excluded those races less economically learned, how can Socialism become universal, or, except to a limited extent, even International? Those very races who are excluded would at once become a powerful menace to the existence of Socialism, and would ultimately be used by those capitalists who had been driven from its sphere to attack and annihilate it.

It has to be remembered that the axis of capitalism may be shifted. The last twenty years has disclosed the fact that England can no longer lay claim to being "the workshop of the world," and never again will any one nation occupy the unique position in that respect that she has in the past. To-day, science and machinery annihilate distance and time, obliterate geographical boundaries, and render climatic conditions, racial character and language, amenable and subject to capitalism's commands. Countries at one time simply agricultural producers, have now sprung up into grand industrial manufacturing nations, equipped with every machine, process and method known to modern science; with perfect organisation within the factory and the essential anarchy without—mineral wealth found where a few years ago the very idea of its existence would have been scouted. Thus many nations who used to be customers for the manufactured products of such countries as England, France and America now actually compete with those countries for the trade of the world market in those goods.

The capitalist class recognise this, and are even now preparing to work the "surplus value" trick in the lands of the coloured races, as witness the land grabbing in Tonquin, China, Africa, Cuba and the Philippines, and in the Soudan, the glorious Cape to Cairo, as well as the China, railway schemes. These are significant movements for Socialists, and in the light of the evident intention of capitalism to shift its bases to spheres where labour, as well as being so much more prolific, is so eminently well adapted economically to the intensest form of exploitation, it would be a grave mistake of policy on their part if to-day they were to deny admittance to our midst of the alien, so called. That road will never lead us to our goal. It would produce results similar to those which the exclusive policy of trade unionism does to-day, namely, create an industrial reserve army of unemployed, or poorly paid, eager to be used by the employers to lower and keep down the status of those in the developed Socialist States.

On the other hand, were Socialists to devote all the power they possess to-day to impressing their fellows, and those who still look to trade union methods only for relief, with the absolute necessity of their comprehending the economic causes that govern their industrial conditions, also to the

penetrating of them with a class consciousness so that they obtain Parliamentary representation from the Socialist standpoint, it would then not be difficult to obtain enactment to a law of maximum and minimum.

It cannot be long now ere the workers of all the more economically enlightened peoples will have joined together (and so have in reality formed the International Workmen's Party of Marx's grand idea of organisation) not to undersell each other's labour power. Then they will, by means of the ballot box, be able to secure the enactment of legislation making compulsory the payment of a minimum wage for labour, and also a maximum price for the necessities of life and products of industry. This item is already on the Agenda of the International Congress of 1900, and the law of the maximum is strongly advocated by Bax. Even with a law of minimum wage only passed, capitalists would have no reason to import the alien, as an equal minimum wage having to be paid to all would cause the process of "black-birding" to lose all the charm for them that it possesses under the present system.

This is the task that faces Socialists to-day: "The elevation of the economic status of the inferior races, and the regulation of the condition of labour within its own sphere." These are inseparable questions. If it is sought to attain Social-Democracy leaving the "alien" or so called inferior races out of or debarring them from its benefits, those races will in the end be the means of the downfall, or at least serious delay to the realisation of Socialism.

The exclusion of the alien might be justifiably advocated by Socialists if it be supposed that the present system of free competition in the labour market, and capitalist production, is to continue for ever; if employers remain a separate class (instead of becoming directors of labour acting solely for the whole community) and are free to import the labour of cheaper and more prolific races. But it can be plainly seen to-day that such cannot for long be the case. Capitalist production is in an advanced state of decomposition, although apparently never more alive. The rule "get bigger or burst" is forcing the individual capitalist into the joint-stock concern, which in turn is forced into the trust, this last transformation being fated to eventual absorption by the State. It is for Socialists to see that that shall be a State of Social-Democracy.

C. EYRE.



"GENERAL," said Aguinaldo's private secretary, as he looked up from a copy of an American newspaper, "President McKinley has refused to mediate between the British and the Boers." "Good!" cried the unasimilated Filipino; "cable my congratulations to Kruger."—*Life*.

SOCIALIST CRITICS.

IV.—BASTIAT.

BASTIAT was a typical Frenchman, from his frailties to his talents. Possessed of a sanguine temperament and strong imagination, he was more than usually impulsive for a Frenchman. Fervidly religious, he believed that all was designed by God for the best. The fortunate possessor of considerable artistic abilities, and decided literary faculties, and very self-conscious, he easily persuaded himself that he was a high commissioner appointed by the Master to prove that in the apparent economic chaos surrounding us social harmony would ensue if we but listened to the inspiration of Bastiat.

Though not cut out for a philosopher, being too desultory in his reading ever to attain to that distinction, Bastiat had claims to be considered a thinker; and had it not been for his strong theological prejudices and self-sufficiency he might have become a populariser of an economy not circumscribed by the ordinary political dogmas of Free Trade and competition.

Losing his parents when young, he was brought up by his grandfather, whose estates he inherited, and at the age of 25 found himself relieved of any anxiety for his livelihood. At this comparatively early age Bastiat had devoted himself to study; he was familiar with the writings of Comte and other philosophers; could converse in English and Italian; and had read the works of Adam Smith, Leon Say and other economists.

Bastiat may be described as the French Cobden of Free Trade, for he undoubtedly put a prodigious amount of energy into the Free Trade movement in France, for the furtherance of which he came to England and cultivated the acquaintance of Cobden and Bright. His efforts to form a Free Trade League were frustrated by the Revolution of 1848. He was not likely, therefore, to look with much favour upon the movement of '48, which was responsible for the suffocation of those Free Trade principles which he held so dear.

Full of prejudices against Protection, he looked upon the theories of the Socialists of '48 as so many "Protectionist" designs to undermine Free Trade, and he accordingly wrote a number of essays against Louis Blanc, Proudhon, and others who excited his ire. His opposition to Socialism found him many friends who could not accept his political dogmas. Professor Flint, in his essay in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," writes: "To Bastiat's credit, he was an open opponent to Socialism. As an opponent of Socialism he had no equal among the economists of France. He alone fought Socialism hand to hand, body to body, as it was, not caricaturing it, not denouncing it, not criticising under its name some merely abstract theory, but taking it as actually presented by its most popular representatives, considering patiently

their proposals and arguments, and proving conclusively that they proceeded on false principles, reasoned badly, and sought to realise generous aims by foolish and harmful means. The radical error, both of Protectionism and Socialism, Bastiat became convinced, was the assumption that human interests, if left to themselves, would inevitably prove antagonistic and anti-social, capital robbing labour, manufactures ruining agriculture, the foreigner injuring the native, the consumer the producer, &c. And the chief weakness of the various schools of political economy he believed he had discovered in the imperfect apprehension of the truth that human interests, when left to themselves, when not arbitrarily and forcibly interfered with, tend to harmonious combination to the general good. [A sentiment already expressed by Adam Smith]. The sphere of political economy he limited to exchange, drawing a sharp distinction between utility and value. Political economy he defined as the theory of value, and value as the relation of two services exchanged. The latter definition he deemed of supreme importance. It appeared to correct what was defective or erroneous in conflicting definitions of value given by Adam Smith, Say, Ricardo, Senior, Storch and others. He considered that the gratuitous gifts of nature, whatever be their utility, were incapable of acquiring value—what is gratuitous for man in an isolated state remains gratuitous for him in a social condition. His theory of rent was thus anti-Ricardian."

Bastiat, after his efforts on behalf of Free Trade, and his philippics against Socialists, thought himself qualified to perform a still greater work. Like Cæsar, he was full of ambition. He hugged to himself a belief that he had a perception of principles which when worked out in a logical form (for which his faculties from God were especially fitted) would solve all the vexed problems of society. Bastiat had much to feed his vanity in this respect, for his works, as literary productions, can rank with the best, he bringing a fascinating style to a subject much in need of freshness. His illustrations and parables in favour of Free Trade or free exchange are as interesting now as when they were written. His "Petition of Manufacturers of Candles, Wax-lights, Lamps, Candlesticks, Street Lamps, Snuffers, Extinguishers, and of the producers of Oil, Tallow, Resin, Alcohol," &c., point a moral and adorn a tale as much as ever.

Admired and flattered, and conscious that he had literary abilities possessed only by the few, one need not be surprised that with his strong religious feelings, which were ever rising to the surface, he felt commissioned to write this great work which would be a beacon to mankind.

His ideas, as often happens to an egotist, were not so original as imagined, but there is no reason to doubt he honestly believed that he was favoured of men by the Lord to make a special economic revelation to mankind.

His "Harmonies of Political Economy," under which the world was, after many philosophic digressions, by the aid of the law of competition, to become a kind of Happy Family, centres round his theory of value.

Bastiat's delusion was that he had discovered the real substance of value—that impalpable substance which had eluded economists and philosophers from the time of Aristotle.

Possessed with the belief that free exchange at bottom was the best of systems and in harmony with the laws of God, Bastiat turned the subject over in his mind until he formed the belief that he had conceived the idea which explained once and for ever the problem of value. He rejected Adam Smith's theory that labour was the substance of economic value, and he also rejected utility, coming to the conclusion that service in exchange for service solved the riddle.

Exchange-value, therefore, was to Bastiat an equivalent expression for exchange of services, and no matter what economic problem presented itself he believed the solution was to be found in the exchange of services brought to a level of equality by the action of competition.

Bastiat, of course, had to deny that the objective form of a commodity could express value, and he thus came into direct conflict with many of the orthodox classical economists, and especially Socialist economists.

Value, he argued, being a relation of two services exchanged, was not necessarily proportionate to the intensity of the effort of a person, it depending upon the utility of the service rendered. The value of a service often arose from the effort saved to the person who received the service. Bastiat, in dealing with the utility of services, claims to put forward a new principle not to be found in any other book of political economy.

Bastiat, on the basis of services, opposed Ricardo's theory of rent based on the difference of the quality of the soil; or, as Bastiat would put it, on the ground that "nature's gratuitous gifts do not enter into value." Rent, interest and profit Bastiat explained and justified by the utility of the services rendered by producers as holders of capital.

In viewing labour as the creator of value, we may regard it from two standpoints—labour as energy expended, and labour as energy of a given quality, two aspects which Marx covers by the term "quantitative" and "qualitative."

Marx, with a wide experience of the world, and a keen perception of the growth of social customs and disabilities, was satisfied to patiently study and analyse the historic growth of capital, unprejudiced by any delusion of being a divine commissioner chosen to restore harmony to a society engaged in mortal conflict. Marx saw that labour was the substance of value, and was driven to the conclusion that it was based on its quantity, independent of its quality, and that differences in the distribution of this world's goods were due to social influences sanctioned by custom, which in its turn was based on physical force. Bastiat really gave no serious study to the historic development of capital, and therefore failed to appreciate its ultimate evolution. He was, at best, but a desultory reader, and, therefore, very liable to take a one-sided view of things. He evidently became captivated with the idea of "service" because to him it seemed to solve so many things which otherwise remained obscure.

"Service" also had this merit in the eyes of Bastiat that, though it implied effort and utility, it did not bind him to accept the Socialist view that one hour's labour socially considered was in reality equal to that of another.

Value is necessarily a relation of quantity in the terms of one substance. Bastiat recognised this, but, unfortunately, only to ignore it.

On this particular point of the value equation, Marx presents an invulnerable shield to his opponents. But Bastiat never fairly gripped the value-relation, though he argued as if he alone was entitled to that distinction. If he had mastered the value-relation of commodities he could not have committed himself to the two following statements: On page 134 in his "Harmonies of Political Economy," he writes: "In order that two things should measure each other, it is necessary that they be commensurable, and, in order to do this they must be of the same kind."

Having properly laid down that two things to be compared must be of the same denomination, he, in dealing with wages, stupidly writes: "That which, in my opinion, renders Adam Smith's theory, that value comes from labour, false, or at least incomplete, is that this theory assigns to value only one element, whilst, being a relation, it has necessarily two."

Now, this is in direct conflict with the previous theories in which he admits that to compare two things they must be of the same kind or denomination. His objection to Adam Smith is as stupid as if he had blatantly said that to measure the weight of one thing you must compare it with the colour of another.

Bastiat accepted labour under the guise of effort, recognised it as the substance of value, and then proceeded to measure effort not by the quantity of time in which effort was expended, but measured it in terms of quality, under the heading of service, thus accepting a premise which, plausible as it first seemed in explaining away many social problems, landed him into any number of absurdities.

Bastiat, in accepting "service" as the substance of value, took unto himself "utility," which he so often derided.

In viewing a commodity from the point of view of exchange-value we can only regard it from two aspects—the subjective and the objective. If we view it from the subjective aspect, then we must take utility, or the particular use which it is to us, as forming the basis of exchange.

No one but ourselves can be the judge of the subjective value of a thing. The person, as subject, is the sole arbiter of the subjective aspect of exchange-value. Bastiat, in putting forward "service" or "effort" as the basis of value, accepted unquestioningly utility as his measure of value, and bound himself to regard the latter from the subjective standpoint.

If Bastiat had taken the objective aspect of value he would have had to reject utility and accept human energy as his substance of value, placing himself in line with the Socialist economists. Unfortunately he accepted utility of labour.

Bastiat in taking up this position came into antagonism with most of the contemporary writers on political economy. Holding the view that it was the utility of labour (or the service which one man rendered to another) and not the utility residing in the gifts of nature which entered into value, he became necessarily an anti-Ricardian, Ricardo believing that differences in the fertility of soil accounted for rent. Bastiat, however, was no enemy to rent or rent-receivers. Landlordism held too high a position in his dispensation of harmonies to be summarily dispatched from off the face of the earth. To the sophistical mind of Bastiat, rent was justified by the service

which the landlord rendered to the farmer by his capital and intelligence ; interest was justified by the service which the money-lender rendered to the borrower, and profit was justified by the service which the capitalist rendered to the worker.

Bastiat found service for service so accommodating a term that he stretched it to meet any exigency or to justify any social anomaly. Bastiat's theory of value, however, by the aid of which the world of commerce was to be reduced to harmony, fell flat on the world of political professors. Adam Smith's adage that labour was the source of all wealth had at least the appearance of sweet reasonableness, and Ricardo's law of rent, at any rate, appeared to give the landlord some justification for retaining a certain portion of the products of the soil ; but Bastiat's theory of "service," when applied to landlords, capitalists and middlemen, savoured too much of the ridiculous to render it acceptable to the professorial apologists of the ruling classes.

To say that landlords received rent on the basis of comparative appreciation of reciprocal services was surely tempting ironical laughter, even from the illiterate worker, let alone hostile professors.

Bastiat's cardinal error was his theological belief that all was ordered for the best ; that the system of exchange was divine, and that time would right social anomalies, leaving the capitalist system intact. The absurdity of this position is shown when he deals with the social condition of the worker. "The amelioration of the labourer's lot," he says, "is to be found in wages themselves, and in the natural laws by which wages are regulated, because the labourer tends to rise to the rank of a capitalist and employer. As wages tend to rise, the corollary is that the transition from the state of a paid workman to that of an employer becomes constantly less desirable and more easy."

Bastiat, ever weak on the historical side of his argument, evidently had no conception of the economic tendencies which regulated wages, nor of the tendency of capital to concentration. The trust-form of capital practically prohibits the worker from rising to the rank of an employer. Unfortunately for Bastiat and his prognostications, things have developed in quite a contrary direction.

Bastiat, to his credit be it said, recognised that human effort was at the bottom of value, despite his religious prejudices and general training, which prevented him from seeing merit in any theory propounded by Socialists, whom he regarded as utopians of the wildest order. He, however, came nearer to discerning the true substance of value than many of his critics. He, at least, got thus far ; that he recognised value was created by labour of some kind or other. At the present hour the school which holds views based on Bastiat's theory of value is that of the Fabians. They ought to acknowledge Bastiat as their economic sire, for their "rent of ability" is but a plagiarism of his "services," the latter, like "rent of ability," only meaning labour viewed from the standpoint of quality.

In adopting the term "service" Bastiat was unhappy. The probability is if he had found a more popular phrase to convey his meaning he would have found many followers. Labour as the substance of value has now forced itself upon all economists, and the controversy is being narrowed to the issue whether the activity of one member of society measured by time equates itself to the activity of any other member of society, as Marx claims ; or whether the utility of the labour or service which one member is supposed to render to another form the equation of exchange as formulated by Jevons and Bastiat.

A. P. HAZELL.

MILITARY REFORM.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES.

I WILL give a short sketch of the principal points of the Swiss system, referring my readers for more details to my book on "*L'Armée d'une Démocratie*."

Every citizen is called upon to take part in the defence of his country, either by personal service, by taxation, or by office work.

If war is declared he will serve where he can best render service ; if he is unfit for military service then he must pay a tax which is proportional to his income.

The idea is, generally, that every citizen should do his best ; if he is equal to the position of a colonel, then he shall be such. Rank is not conferred as a reward but as a duty ; the better the man the more eager he must be to serve his country. As soon as a man is competent to do his work he is not to be kept under arms, for that would be absurd. It would be expensive for the country, hard on the man and also on the nation, which would be deprived of the man's productive services.

It also follows that if a man is more intelligent he will have to serve longer ; there is a progressive income tax on intelligence. This seems strange to our ideas, but it is in accordance with the laws of good citizenship.

But as a matter of fact military service is very light in Switzerland. Thus the recruits in the army service corps serve for 38 days, those in the ordnance corps 42 days, those in the infantry 45 days, those in the hospital corps 46 days, those in the engineers 50 days, those in the artillery 55 days, and those in the cavalry 80 days. There is thus no very flagrant injustice and the men in the cavalry have certain advantages to which I shall refer.

Here is an example of how the system is worked. An ambulance is mobilised in Switzerland for the manœuvres. First of all the doctors are called for 19 days, then on the third day the orderlies come for 17 days, and when the ambulance is ready to join them the drivers and the horses are called up for eleven days only. Now if, as in France, all the men were called up at once then the drivers would lose six days' work and the Budget would lose the money wanted for the keep of horses and men. Is not the Swiss system much more rational ?

The care thus taken makes military service much easier and makes the money go farther. Money which would be wasted can be profitably employed. This is a leading characteristic of the Swiss army and of a citizen army.

There is no permanent army in Switzerland. This does not mean that there is no permanent staff which has to prepare for war. On the contrary, there is an efficient corps of military instructors, of fortress guards (these are workmen under military discipline, who look after the guns, &c.), and also Civil servants, who manage recruiting, re-mounts, warehouses, arsenals, manufactures of arms and ammunition.

But there is no permanent army. The army corps only exist on paper until they are called up for exercise, which may last between one and three weeks. When a Swiss is twenty years of age he receives his first training, and is called a recruit. Afterwards this training is repeated.

Now, these subsequent trainings are far more valuable than the manoeuvres of permanent armies, and the funds are not wasted, nor the men kept cooped up in barracks.

In Switzerland the formula is, either nobody is under arms or else everybody is. The troops called out are general mobilisations of interested units, which are each time on a war footing with the same men which would be employed in a campaign. In Switzerland every year half the *élite* (or active army) and a quarter of the landwehr (territorial) is mobilised; in France it has only happened once since 1871 that there was a "trial" of mobilisation of two army corps (the tenth of the whole), and it was considered marvellous!

In permanent armies there is only a reduced number of men in each company and this gives a false idea to all men employed. Sometimes men have to be fetched from another company, and in manoeuvres reservists have to be used to stiffen the companies.

This is evidently a bad system. In Switzerland a company is always just as it would be if war were declared, and every soldier does the same work as he would do in a campaign. This is a much better system, and the men do not form a national guard, but an army. Owing to the excellence of the system and to the men having their kit, troops can be mobilised very rapidly. The men are ready dressed, equipped and armed, and only need ammunition and food, and a regiment which only existed on paper in the morning is ready for service in the evening. Thus the federal army would be at its frontiers ready for fighting before the neighbouring armies were mobilised.

Measures are also adopted for guarding the forts, so that they could not be surprised by a *coup de main*.

THE ECONOMIC ASPECT OF THE QUESTION.

It is said that a citizen army would be more expensive than the present army. I am surprised to find that the present system was defended by a delegate at the recent Socialist Congress at Hanover. Schippel praised the present German military system, saying that, as the population in the East of Germany was not very numerous, a new system would leave that region exposed to the mercy of Russia, and that, besides, the adoption of the Swiss system would not be cheaper for Germany.

I have already referred to this. We need not copy Switzerland but we should make use of the method. The organisation in Germany would not be the same as in Switzerland, but it would not be the same in East Prussia as in Saxony. Railways have not been invented for pleasure, and in a territory of which a country is the master, they make up for the smallness of the population by the facility which they offer for the movements of the troops. But this is Germany's business and not ours. When they want to organise a citizen army they will seek and find the solution of the problems which are set before them by the nature of their country, as we have to solve our problems. What is interesting to all is the objection raised as to the cost.

Now it is evident that Schippel has not gone thoroughly into the question. If he had studied with care the Budget and the organisation of the Swiss army he would have seen that, if the military institutions of the Confederation were adopted by one of the great Powers, economies could be made on almost every item of the Budget.

This is evident *à priori*, and as a Socialist, Schippel should have realised this even if he had never looked at the Federal Budget. For Socialists are always calling attention to the fact that the expenses of management are relatively higher in a small business than in a large one. For example, the expenses of the clerical staff of our War Office, which deals not only with our home army but with that of Africa and the Colonies, come to four million francs, and if they cost as much per head as the Swiss army they should come to 9,300,000 francs. The Swiss therefore spend more than twice as much per man as our War Office. But it is clear that if we adopted their organisation we need not increase our expenses. Thus they have a Minister of War, a general in command of infantry, &c., but because we have a population thirteen times greater we shall not have thirteen Ministers of War, thirteen generals-in-chief, nor shall we give these officers thirteen times more money than their Swiss colleagues.

It is indeed certain that, relatively, the Swiss army costs a great deal, because the expenses of management must be heavy, and if we adopt that system we could work it cheaper than our system. If we, on the other hand, spent as much in proportion as the Swiss our army would be more effective.

But it is important to note, and it is strange that Schippel did not do so, that expense is not everything. Even if a citizen army in France should cost as much as the present system, yet the country would still find that it would be more economical.

For the Budget only represents the direct and apparent military expenses but it is not shown in official statistics that there would be an indirect economy if a permanent army were suppressed, even if, which is improbable, there were no reduction of expenditure.

In the scheme which I have drawn up I have given an estimate of the number of days' service per year which would exist under the new system. It will be found that there would be a difference to the good equal to the keeping up of 458,000 men during a year. In other words, this reform would give to Labour the services of 458,000 men in the prime of life, of the best men of the country, who are now producing nothing in barracks and are kept there at the expense of the nation. If we estimate at 1,000 francs (£40) the value of a man's labour, and we cannot put it at less, this would mean that by suppressing permanent armies the national wealth would be increased by 458 millions of francs a year.

Add to this that the safety of the country would be increased, that every man, instead of being idle for three of the best years of his life, would become more efficient, and that population might increase, as men could marry earlier, and it will be seen how great would be the economical advantages of this scheme.

This reform, which might take place to-morrow, if the nation willed it, would be the most beneficent one possible at the present time.

G. MOCH (translated by J. Bonhomme).

(To be continued.)

OUR INDIAN TROOPS.

WRITING under this heading in the *Nineteenth Century*, Sir Henry Howorth, M.P., asks what sentimental or other reasons have prevented these men being sent to fight against enemies no whit more civilised than themselves—"men," he says, "who have fought with us and for us on many glorious battlefields, men who are burning and thirsting now to be employed, and prove once more their devotion to their Empress and their loyalty to their country."

"Surely," the writer continues, "if ever we are to employ them, this is the very occasion. A semi-tropical country, where heavy cavalry are almost useless, where men mounted on small arabs and ponies are just what we need, whose horses are seasoned. Admirable horsemen, first-rate scouts, and for some purposes of light cavalry unapproachable perhaps, one would have thought that the very first thing to have done in a war against a whole nation on horseback would have been to transport fifteen or sixteen regiments of Sikhs and Guides or Bengal Cavalry.

"Instead of doing this," proceeds the writer, "we send out at a great cost a certain number of regiments, many of them heavy cavalry, actually including parts of the Household Brigade; we send out horses which, after a three weeks' journey, require three weeks to recruit, and when recruited are too heavy to work over this very hilly land of rolling downs and kopjes."

Sir Henry also demands to know why we did not commandeered as many horses as we needed from our own loyal farmers at the Cape, who would have been delighted to supply them, and which would have prevented them from being commandeered by the invading Boers, and why mules were bought in all kinds of remote places, when any number of mules accustomed to their housings, and with their housings complete, could have been bought in India.

Putting the cavalry aside, Sir Henry thinks that if we had three regiments of Ghoorikas in South Africa it would have been better than employing Guardsmen and Highlanders in plumes to storm kopjes and entrenchments; they are, he says, the very men for the work, and it is the very work they like best.

The issue, the writer points out is, are we going to use our Indian troops against white men *at all* in the future—against white invaders from our north-western frontier in India, for instance, and if so, where is the distinction? Are Russians, the writer inquires, more barbarous than Boers?

Further, Sir Henry mentions the fact that our opponents are fine fighting men, with a tenacity and courage that the Dutch have always shown, and that the Dutch are the only people who ever seriously beat us in the years that are gone. Again, it is an experimental war, says the writer. Never since the time of Cromwell has a whole nation of cavalry been in the field, and under these conditions it is no matter of wonder that we have rubs and checks. Concluding, Sir Henry says the moral is that persistence and courage must presently wear out the resources of the Boers. "It is a pitiful thing, no doubt," he says, "they are brave men, most of them very kindly, and good brothers, sons and fathers, and every one of them who is killed means desolation in a happy homestead. But they were determined to fight. They had prepared to drive us out of South Africa, and if they are presently exhausted the blame will lie with those leaders whom they trusted, and whose ignorance of the world was perhaps their most serious fault."

ISSUES AT STAKE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THESE are set forth in the *Fortnightly Review* by Dr. Hillier, B.A., M.D., as being, for the Boer, whether he shall progress with civilisation, under an equitable system of civil equality, impartial justice, and commercial freedom, or whether he shall continue to recede, under a system of tyranny, corruption, and injustice. "By deep-seated race instinct, by ancient but honourable historical tradition, by all that is reasonable, and all that is desirable for the future welfare of his people, he should welcome the former alternative," says the writer; "by the misguidance and misrepresentation of an interested and corrupt oligarchy, by views narrowed and almost blinded by the ignorance born of his environment, by a departure from those principles of liberty which he should have cherished as a sacred heritage from his forefathers, he is seeking the latter."

As an instance of the degenerating influence of native environment, Dr. Hillier mentions the so-called "simplicity" of the Boer language, which, he says, would be more readily understood by a Dutchman of the seventeenth century than by the Hollander of the present time.

Quoting from Theal, the Cape historian, he says the people of the Netherlands have enriched its vocabulary, produced a literature, and advanced; the Boers have diminished their vocabulary, produced no literature, and become impoverished, and he explains this by the following quotation from Theal: "Phrases have been simplified regardless of grammatical rules, because the early settlers were obliged to convey their ideas to imported slaves and to Hottentots, and necessarily did so in terms such as would be employed when addressing infants. This simple dialect then came into use among themselves." This, the writer maintains, can tend to further neither the moral or the intellectual interests of the Boer.

Further, Dr. Hillier observes that the spirit of native influence on the Boer character has been allowed to penetrate even the Courts of Justice and the Legislature. "It may seem an extreme charge," he says, "but the most lenient Boer critic must admit that in the over-riding of the independence of the High Court by the Boer Executive, which led to the resignation of the Chief Justice of the country, and in the gross miscarriage of justice in the Edgar and other cases, the Boers departed widely from those principles of Roman-Dutch law and justice which are honourably associated with the Dutch race and their traditions. With regard to the Legislature, as represented by the Executive, the shuffling duplicity of all its negotiations, both with the Outlanders and the British Government, is notorious. In these actions, the arrogant caste spirit which is determined to uphold its supremacy at no matter what cost to the rights and liberties of others, is only too apparent."

The triumph of these people, the author says, would be a step backward in the history of civilisation, ruin to South Africa, and utter demoralisation and final degradation of the Boer himself.

Further Dr. Hillier says that British victory will mean in the years to come inestimable advantage. The Boers will realise, as the French of Canada have come to realise, that the truest and soundest democracy which the world has yet evolved as a form of human government passes under the name of British rule; and in the future, under British administration, the

Boers will have, as the French Canadian has to-day, a State conducted on truly democratic lines in which every white man has equal rights; a State, continues the writer, with public credit and sound finances, with an independent court of justice, with public works commensurate to the public revenue, with facilities for education which the Boer's children never yet had; a State with the prospect of advancing steadily in every branch of civilisation. Such, says Dr. Hillier, are some of the issues for the Boers; he then touches at some length on those at stake for the colonists and the natives, finally referring to the purely material issues involved, the chief of which he asserts is, the future prosperity of the great gold industry in Witwatersrand.

The writer concludes by observing, "It is said that if Mr. Kruger and Mr. Steyn have put to hazard the so-called independence of their States it is equally true that in defending British supremacy in South Africa England has put to hazard the British Empire, but this is only half a truth. Whatever hazard to the Empire there may be in defending that supremacy, it would have been greater a hundredfold had that supremacy been left undefended."

CAPITALISM AND IMPERIALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA.

MR. J. A. HOBSON, writing on this in the *Contemporary*, observes that without seeking to ignore or to disparage the special factors, physical, economic and political, which rightly assign a certain particularity to each case, he would insist upon the supreme importance of recognising the dominance everywhere exercised by the new confederacy and interplay of two sets of forces, conveniently designated by the titles International Capitalism and Imperialism.

"Gold and diamonds," proceeds the writer, "two commodities of small intrinsic utility and of highly-concentrated market value, 'keep' South Africa. The diamond mines of Kimberley, rapidly developing from 1886 towards a now fixed output of about £4,000,000 per annum, and the gold mines of Witwatersrand, discovered only thirteen years ago and already yielding at the rate of about £20,000,000 per annum, occupy a place of supreme economic importance in a country feebly developed in agriculture and in other industries, and sparsely peopled with some three-quarters of a million white inhabitants."

"If the gold," Mr. Hobson goes on to say, "and diamonds had been widely dispersed in their area, and had been workable by the old order of individual diggings or small labouring enterprise, the different structure of such industry would have had entirely different political implication. But after a small period of open competition and small individual digging, the diamond mining crystallised into the rigid and well-nigh absolute monopoly of the De Beers Company, which has enabled Messrs. Rhodes, Beit, Barnato, Rothschild, and a small handful of fellow-capitalists to wield an absolute control both of the industry and the market, regulating the demand for and the price of labour, the quantity and the price of diamonds, in accordance with their calculations of a maximum profit for the company. It is impor-

tant," the writer considers, "to note that this same group of men, with a small number of confederates, chiefly foreign Jews, representing the most highly organised form of international finance yet attained, controls the entire gold industry of the Transvaal."

"In all probability," he continues, "for some decades the persons who control the Rand gold mines hold the economic future of South Africa in the hollow of their hands; this little group of capitalists are the real 'economic men' about whom text-books of political economy used to prate, but who have generally been relegated to mythology. Most of them are Jews," continues Mr. Hobson, "for the Jews are *par excellence* the international financiers, and, though English-speaking, most of them are of Continental origin. Their interest in the Transvaal has been purely economic; they went there for money, and those who came early and made most have commonly withdrawn their persons, leaving their economic fangs in the carcase of their prey."

The writer proceeds: "They fastened on the Rand, as they fastened on the diamond fields of Griqualand West, and as they are prepared to fasten upon any other spot upon the globe, in order to exploit it for the attainment of large profits and quick returns. As far as the issue of the present war seems likely to establish security and order, and to lead to a reduction of working expenses, it profits them in their capacity of mine-owners; independently of this," asserts the writer, "the slump last summer followed by a quick recovery when Imperial coercion was actually secured, and by the prospective 'boom' when a so-called 'settlement' is reached, has been and will be a great separate source of gain to these men in their capacity of stock-manipulators."

Mr. Hobson says that he is far from believing that Mr. Rhodes has been moved exclusively or chiefly by purely financial considerations in his politics. It is quite likely, he remarks, that some large indefinite desire to express his personality in what is termed "empire-building" may have fused with, and at times overpowered, the narrower financial aims; but two facts stand out clearly from his career: first, that he and his confederates have systematically used politics to assist their business projects; second, that in politics they have adopted "Imperialism" as a last resort.

Mr. Hobson, later, quotes from Mr. Fitzpatrick, late secretary of the Reform Committee, as follows (1896): "If you want real grievances they are the Netherlands Railway Concession, the dynamite monopoly, the liquor traffic, and native labour, which together constitute an unwarrantable burden of indirect taxation on the industry of two and a-half millions sterling annually."

Further the writer challenges the upholders of the "Dutch Conspiracy" hypothesis to produce any evidence from the speech or conduct of the leading statesmen of the Republics, or of the admitted leaders of the Africander Bond, to prove the existence of any design to establish an independent Dutch Republic throughout South Africa.

In conclusion, the writer says that Mr. Chamberlain possibly imagine himself a free agent, and possibly designs to use for purposes of personal and Imperial aggrandisement the economic forces of South African finance, but the generals of finance well know he is their instrument and not they his; they are the men upon the spot who know what they want and mean to get it.

SOCIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

ON this subject, writing in the *Contemporary Review*, Mr. Ambrose Paré Winston precludes his remarks by a quotation from the speech made by the President of the American Bar Association. At the meeting of that society in 1897, he (the President) called attention to a possibility which has often been suggested before and since, but which, however frequently recalled, must always occasion uneasiness, if not terror, when the warning is uttered with authority. "The wage-earners," it was said, "in their organisations are characterised by the most rigid discipline, and by a strange and enthusiastic loyalty to their class. What this great body of citizens, possessed of political power, transported by the enthusiasm of self-sacrifice, and directed by a relentless discipline, will become when thoroughly saturated with Socialistic doctrines, it is not hard to divine. In that day, if it ever comes, the federations of labour—with their battalions enthusiastic, compact, disciplined, organised, and moving with one impulse at the word of command when launched upon institutions under which they suppose themselves to be trodden down, will sweep from the face of the earth not only corporations, trusts, and aggregated capital, but the whole order of industrial society as now organised." The writer then proceeds to justify these three conclusions:—

"1. That the trade unionists of the United States have thus far shown themselves, as a whole, indifferent to or averse from Socialism. They look to the existing order, or to conditions slowly evolved from it, for the advancement of their interests.

"2. It is a fact of greater consequence that they have the intelligence necessary to discriminate sharply between two economic policies—the narrower policy of State railways, municipal gasworks, &c., and the wide policy of outright Socialism—accepting the one and rejecting the other.

"3. Most important of all, they have shown that quality which is the highest of civic virtues in a Republic—superiority to mere 'stampeding' by appeals to sentiment and blind impulse."

"The American Federation of Labour," continues Mr. Winston, "which most nearly represents the trade unions of the country, has adopted, year after year, resolutions in favour of the policy of street railways, &c., apparently with no serious opposition in late years." Further, "The Printers' Union has led in the movement for Government telegraphs, arguing that this system would cheapen the telegraph service by breaking down the monopoly of the Associated Press, and so cause the establishment of hundreds of daily papers, with a corresponding increase of work for printers."

"Noticing the attitude of trade unionists to Socialism proper, it appears that there are Socialists (in the full sense of the word) in every trade union. The declaration of purposes issued as a preamble to a constitution does not usually suggest any revolutionary object. With few exceptions, high wages and the general improvement in the workmen's condition are alone proposed as objects to be attained."

"Sometimes," proceeds Mr. Winston, "there is a vague expression of a desire for fundamental changes without any direct reference to a Socialistic programme; thus the bakers and confectioners in their 'declaration of

principles' assert that a few obtain possession of the results of improvements in machinery, leaving the many in misery. They are more and more impoverished; their consuming powers decrease. . . . Labour must unite in trade unions, and in one solid body, to introduce a new system, based upon justice, in which every one shall enjoy the fruits of his labours." This passage is tinged in the writer's opinion with Marxism. He then quotes from the Federated Association of Wire-Drawers, who ask for "the total abolition of the system of wage-slavery under which we at present exist, and the substitution thereof of the co-operative commonwealth."

The United Brewery Workers' National Union is another strongly Socialistic organisation, says Mr. Winston, and also the International Association of Machinists. On the other hand, he points out that at the convention in 1895 of the Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees of America, they resolved that "we hold it as a sacred principle that trade union men above all others should set a good example as good and faithful workmen, performing their duties to their employers with honour to themselves and their organisations;" and the Wool-Hat Finishers' Association, in the preamble to their constitution, pledge themselves to a spirit of equity, "securing to us our own rights as journeymen and hatters, and to our employers theirs as capitalists." (Mr. Winston had already mentioned that Socialists do not recognise any "duties of employers, rights of capitalists, legitimate capital," and so forth.)

Speaking of the Socialist faction among the cigar-makers, the writer says it first became aggressive in the convention held at Rochester, 1877. In the convention of 1887, a delegate named Kirchner (a German) moved that the preamble to the constitution be amended, so as to declare that the workmen must "organise as a class," overthrow the existing system, and "substitute therefor the system of universal co-operation." This was lost by a vote of 137 to 36. In 1888 a similar motion was defeated by 112 votes against 34. In 1891 a Socialist resolution was "postponed indefinitely," and other similar instances are quoted. The *Cigar-makers' Journal*, says Mr. Winston, expresses itself to the effect that: "Evolution is the true way for reform. Revolutions have left the masses as badly off as before."

Finally, the writer observes that as long as the spirit of caution prevails, we need not anticipate with grave anxiety the action of the working people on any such question as that of Socialism. A cautious advance towards Socialism would permit a retreat without great damage if its experimental suggestion should prove unwise in practice. Only hasty changes, he says, are seriously threatening.



SOME men, when they do you a kindness, at once demand the payment of gratitude from you; others are more modest than this. However, they remember the favour, and look upon you in a manner as their debtor. A third sort shall scarce know what they have done. These are much like a vine, which is satisfied by being fruitful in its kind, and bears a bunch of grapes without expecting any thanks for it. A fleet horse or greyhound does not make a noise when they have done well, nor a bee neither when she has made a little honey. And thus a man that has done a kindness never proclaims it, but does another as soon as he can, just like a vine that bears again the next season.—MARCUS AURELIUS.

THE BRAVE BOERS.

My friend Jaurès in his recent article has forgotten one celebrated victory of a popular army.

It is not necessary to speak of the American peasants fighting successfully, like the Boers of to-day, against the English armies, nor of the Republicans of 1789 going to the frontier in wooden shoes, repulsing and defeating the regular armies of the coalition against France. That is ancient history which everyone knows. There is one other glorious epic of our time, that of those despised volunteers whom professional officers always ridicule except at the time of battle. These men speak freely to their leaders, but fight bravely. I speak of the Garibaldians. I know that it is necessary sometimes to be very brief, as my space is limited, and so I will be very short, though it is difficult to sum up in a few words the glory of the Garibaldians. Lombardy, from Varese to Como, was conquered in 1859 by volunteers who hardly knew how to load their guns, though they were fighting against the Austrian armies, which were then thought to be the best in Europe. The Thousand, in 1860, who conquered Sicily were also Garibaldians, though they were fighting the trained soldiers of King Bomba. Again, in 1866, after twenty fights, we conquered the Tyrol, while the regular Italian army and navy were being defeated at Lissa and at Custozza.

In 1867, at Mentana, there was indeed a victory by the regulars. "The chassepots achieved great things." But let us pass on, and say no more about it. At Aba Garima, in Abyssinia, the regular army was crushed by *savages*, who knew nothing about regular fighting according to rules. In Greece, in 1862, who expelled King Otho? Civilians who fought for a week behind the barricade of the Eolus Street against the whole army of that petty despot. I am proud to have been with them. In 1867, in Crete, peasants who were badly clothed, badly fed, badly armed, struggled with success against the Turkish regulars. In 1867, in Greece again, I will only speak of the battle of Domokos, where a handful of volunteers, not even in uniform, entrenched themselves at Karnitza and sacrificed themselves to save the Greek army, which was in danger of being surrounded. Those few heroes fought for eight hours against ten thousand Turks. I am proud at having been there. The Turks were checked, the Greek army was saved, but at what a cost? Forty-three per cent. of these brave volunteers fell on the field of glory.

In 1870, in France, I shall say nothing of ten battles round Paris, where I saw National Guards fight bravely, and I am really surprised to see any one write that "if France in 1870 was conquered by Germany it is because the collectivist battalions did not do their duty at Buzenval." Is it possible that party spirit can make men write such rubbish? Alas! France was conquered for quite other reasons!

To sum up. On January 19, 1871, on the day of the battle of Buzenval, I was at Montretout with the 19th regiment of the National Guard, which was commanded by a civilian, the brave Colonel Rochebrune. He was killed at ten o'clock in the morning, while he was leading his regiment. These collectivist battalions might have retired, for Ducrot had even ordered them to do so. But we refused to obey, and we went on fighting till ten o'clock at night, like madmen not amenable to discipline.

No, it was not the fault of the collectivist battalions that France was conquered in 1870. The National Guards were not at Metz and at Sedan.

Come, we must not play the big drum on the skin of these brave Boers, who know nothing about our trumpery quarrels. For the first time in my life I shall cry from afar, "Ah, the brave Boers." . . . But now the weak have become the strong, for they despise death and they are fighting for their independence, for their liberty, for an *ideal*. The Boers have been provoked and attacked by haughty and tyrannical England; they have had all their life, their wealth, their family, their liberty threatened, but they have bravely taken up the gauntlet, and every day they make their enemies bite the dust.

Ah! how I should have liked to share their fatigues, their dangers, their glory! But, alas! when I inquired I was told that "the Transvaal wanted no volunteers, and did not wish any to be enrolled in Europe." True, personally, wounded as I was at Domokos, I could not have done much myself, but I might have taken out hundreds of brave young men from France and Italy, and I wished to enrol them, but the representatives of the Transvaal in Paris and in Brussels gave me the answer which I have just quoted. This made me lose a great deal of time, and it is much too late now for me to go out alone. Therefore for the first time in my life I am defending with my pen those whom I would have rushed to defend with my sword. But I am happy to see that up to now the Boers are doing very well. Yet the end of this war is not doubtful.

Powerful England is watching her prey. She does not wish to send too many men there, as she fears more serious dangers in China and in India. If these dangers are too apparent she will find a pretext to finish this war in the Transvaal by granting the Boers all that they ask, and then she will use her fleet and her hundred thousand men elsewhere. If, however, these dangers blow over, then in a fortnight the Boers will be crushed; while the great Powers are looking calmly on, as they always allow the weak to be slaughtered, and are on the side of the executioners and not of their victims.

But this time the weak will sell their lives dearly, and if victory is finally on the side of the English—which I sincerely hope not—it will certainly be a Pyrrhic victory.

Meanwhile, I hope—alas! I can do no more—that the heroic Boers will be the victors, for they deserve it, as they are brave men.

AMILCARE CIPRIANI.

(Translated by Jacques Bonhomme from *La Petite Republique*.)

Labour is neither more nor less than labour; and one kind of employment is not more honourable or dishonourable than another, although all descriptions of labour may not appear of equal value to society at large. Such inequality of value, however, is no argument for inequality of rewards; and when we have examined the subject in all its bearings and relations, we shall find that it is as just and reasonable that equal labour of all kinds should be equally remunerated, as it is just and reasonable that labour should be universal. Man, properly constituted, requires not the low stimulant of superior pecuniary reward to spur him on to do his duty to his fellow-man.—J. W. BRAY, 1839.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE BOER ARMY.

THE *Literary Digest*, New York, says :—There have been plenty of attempts to describe the Boer forces, but most of them indicate but little knowledge of the Boers or slight acquaintance with military subjects. The following is a brief summary from a former member of the Boer army :

“Infantry there is none, as yet, broadly speaking. The foreigners who are to serve as such (chiefly because they are not sufficiently used to horses to be enrolled in the veldtcornetcies) are at present in training under Captain V. Albeyll, with an efficient staff of German officers.

“The cavalry, the main body, cannot really be called ‘irregular,’ so far as field service is concerned. They have too much practice in field drill for that. The nearest approach to a veldtcornetcy of Boers were the American scouts, trappers, and other border men in the days of Indian wars. Their discipline in everything connected with actual warfare is excellent. But there is no attempt at outward show. The men are punished if their arms and accoutrements are not in order, and the veldtcornet has full power over the horses, often assigning them to riders other than their owners, to assure uniformity of carrying power. The men have great confidence in their officers, and carry out orders with amazing promptness. Individually, the Boer on the warpath is too different from the Briton for comparison to be made. His only weapon is his rifle. A bayonet charge against him cannot even be imagined, for by the time it becomes possible he has already retired before the infantry or artillery fire of the enemy, and the charge and rush of the infantry are executed against the air. His excellent training in rifle-shooting nevertheless insures a deadly aim even under excitement and unusual exertion. Hence his mode of charging consists of a rush forward from cover to cover as soon as the enemy becomes confused. Cavalry attempting to charge the Boers stand no more chance than a herd of buffaloes.

“The artillery is exceptionally good. It is, however, a mistake to suppose that this is due entirely to the presence of foreigners. The gunners are Boers, young men who serve three years with the colours, and belong afterward to the artillery reserve. The officers are chiefly Boers also. The German experts act chiefly as instructors, the Boers being wonderfully apt pupils.

“The commissariat is certain to show much greater mobility than that of the British, as it is better adapted in its organisation to the country. Boer camps are rarely surprised. They are generally many miles in the rear, as each man has a little bread and dried beef with him on the saddle.

“Of the officers, it must be said that they are the best men the Boers have. Their duties are very arduous, and they take their responsibilities very seriously. The ranks are few, and elective. From thirty to a hundred men may elect a veldtcornet, whose acceptance is compulsory. If he refuses, he is fined heavily. He appoints his assistant veldtcornet and the corporals. The veldtcornets of the district elect a commandant, who also must accept. The officers of a ‘laager,’ i.e., a camp, of the men of three or four districts appoint a general. Chief of the forces is the commandant-general, who is elected by the people. Social distinction does not exist, party politics are only in embryo, wealth has no influence. The people are slow to make a

THE PRAYER OF THE PROLETARIAT.

Man, her last work, who seemed so fair,
Such splendid purpose in his eyes,
Who rolled the psalm to wintry skies,
Who built him fanes of fruitless prayer.—“In Memoriam.”

O God we cry to Thee,
Our hearts are sore and sad,
Behold our misery
And make our spirits glad.
We labour long each day
With little time to pray.

O Christ, whose human heart
Was pierced with agony,
Who knew the bitter smart
Of life-long penury,
To thee we sadly call
Whom men name Lord of all.

We plant the golden grain,
But others take the spoil,
Our life seems poor and vain
Since we but live to toil.
We slave while others sleep,
We sow, but do not reap.

The long years come and go,
The seasons wax and wane,
The winter's ice and snow
Distil in summer rain;
And still the self-same cry
Ascends to God on high,

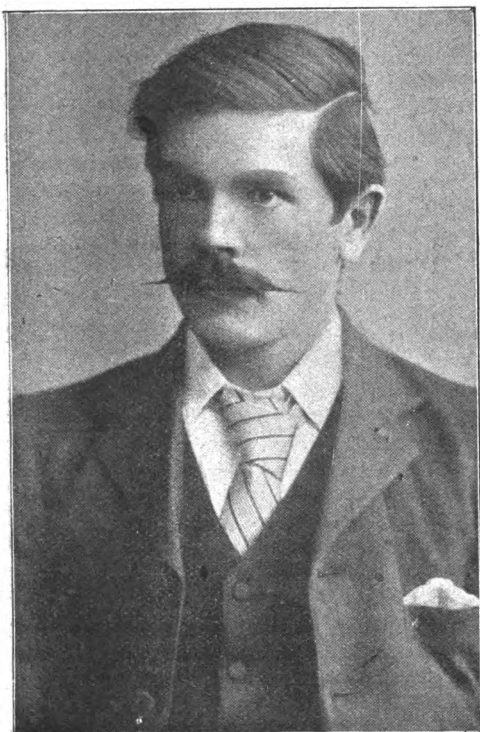
Relief from needless woes,
From sordid care and strife,
Joy in the wind that blows
Strength to the springs of life,
To be no longer slaves
Until we rot in graves.

Does God sit in the skies
Watching the endless years?
Earth's blood would blind his eyes,
His soul dissolve in tears.
But Love shines everywhere
To save man from despair.

The æons of faith have flown
Tho' countless temples built;
At every altar stone
Unnumbered souls have knelt
Urging the fruitless prayer
To Gods that never were.

The souls in darkness set
Have seen a wondrous light,
And Truth shall conquer yet,
Till man attain his right;
For brains and hands that dare
There's nobler work than prayer.

ERNEST T. CLARKE.



MARTIN JUDGE.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

VOL. IV., No. 2. FEBRUARY, 1900.

OUR REPRESENTATIVES.

XI.—MARTIN JUDGE.

THE subject of this sketch, our comrade Martin Judge, member of the West Ham Board of Guardians, is one of the several Irishmen who have won their spurs in the British Socialist and Labour movement.

He was born in Achonry, county Sligo, in July, 1870. His people have been, in the phraseology of the Irish peasantry, strong farmers in that locality from time immemorial. Our comrade is not by any means the first social reformer of the family, as quite as long as fifty years ago his grandfather, who, by the way, was a graduate of an Irish university, acquired the unenviable reputation of being a stark, staring raving madman, because of his heterodox ideas on matters of Church and State, and his activity in propagating them. Indeed, his own children accepted the vulgar prevailing notion regarding their father's sanity to such an extent that the father of our comrade gravely informed him, when he heard he had taken to street-corner "preaching," that the strain of insanity, which had lain dormant in the family for a generation, had broken out afresh in his case, and after coming to a Socialist meeting at which our comrade was the speaker, he was informed by his father in a sorrowful tone of voice that his case was actually worse than he had imagined, because he was possessed of the very same "fool ideas" as his grandfather!

Well, that is nearly ten years ago, and at that time a great many people, who have since changed their opinions, imagined that all Socialists had more or less lost a "little bit off the top."

For several years prior to his conversion to Socialism Judge worked very hard in the Irish National League. Indeed, he almost finds it as difficult to remember his first taking an interest in political questions as to call up from the depths of his memory his preliminary struggles with, and final triumph over, the mysteries of the alphabet! When a schoolboy at Achonry, he formed a boy's branch of the Irish Republican Brotherhood

amongst his schoolfellows, and gave them the secret and terrible password of "Down with the Sassenach."

That was about all they ever accomplished in the way of revolution, however, as they were never affiliated to the Brotherhood, for the very good reason that they did not know where to apply for affiliation, and if by any chance they had discovered it the Central Committee would have doubtless advised them to wait till their whiskers grew. When in his sixteenth year Judge went to Glasgow, where after a time he decided to become an engineer; and long before the expiration of his apprenticeship he had become an "agitator." Whilst serving his time he was "sacked" more than once for agitating amongst the workmen, and not very long afterwards he decided, if at all possible, to discover some kind of employment or occupation which would enable him to express his ideas, and work for their realisation, free from the interference of the capitalist. This was what first caused him to turn his mind to "Home Colonisation" as a means towards that end. With several other enthusiastic Socialists, he formed an association at Glasgow, the idea being to work together on communistic lines internally, and on capitalistic lines externally, with the idea of ultimately building up a business which would render them independent of the ordinary employer, and leave them free to devote their spare time to the propaganda of Social-Democracy. The outcome of it was that two of them came to Clousden Hill Colony at Newcastle. Before leaving Glasgow, the local Socialists—S.D.F., I.L.P., and several Anarchists—organised a farewell send-off at the Co-operative Tea Rooms, at which our old comrade George Neil presided, and sang like a mavis. Comrade Cronin, now in South Africa, recited a eulogistic poem which he specially wrote for the occasion. Previous to leaving Glasgow, Judge had resided a couple of years in the Bridgeton district, where he started an S.D.F. branch. In less than a year they had a membership of fifty. He assisted in forming, and was secretary of, the West of Scotland District Council of the S.D.F., which did some good propaganda work throughout that district. He left the colony at Newcastle after a couple of months through disagreeing with the Anarchist members, who refused anything in the way of rules or organisation, because he saw that it was utterly impossible for the colony to succeed on such lines. It is now dissolved. During his stay in the colony he started a branch of the S.D.F. at Newcastle, assisted by Olley, of Liverpool, and Smith, of Aberdeen, both then working in Newcastle. Judge then came to London and lived for a year-and-a-half at Battersea, working in the movement as hard as ever. While there he had his arm broken in an accident while at work, and created somewhat of a sensation at Reading, Oxford, High Wycombe and elsewhere by appearing on the platform with his arm in a sling.

During the York election, when the Liberals ran Sir Christopher Furness as their nominee while he, with the rest of the members of the Engineers' Federation, had locked his employees out, Judge was sent down by the Executive Council of the S.D.F. to oppose his candidature. He succeeded

in getting the local labour men to vote Tory, with the result that Furness was defeated and Lord Charles Beresford returned with the narrow majority of eleven votes.

He shortly afterwards fell in with our old comrade Terrett, then practically out of harness, but prospering in his business. He went to work with Terrett and got him into the movement again. He then moved to West Ham, where Terrett was living, and both started a vigorous local agitation in conjunction with the comrades of the district. There were then three Socialists on the Council and two on the Guardians. In the ensuing municipal election—that of 1897—they fought a great fight at Plaistow. Bissell and Coe were returned and Terrett was disqualified on a technical point. At the School Board election a few months later, Judge ran with Majer and Pert. Majer was returned lowest successful man, and Judge was less than four plumpers behind him. Pert has since won a seat on the Council. A couple of months later, in company with J. E. Williams, Judge contested the Guardians election at Plaistow, when he was successful, Williams being about 50 votes behind. He has repeatedly shocked the Guardians and Relieving Officers by the amount of out-relief he has systematically given, and which has since caused a more liberal treatment by the Board all round, and succeeded in getting the Board to carry a resolution recognising May Day as a holiday for employees and inmate children. He was unable to take much part in the '98 Municipal elections owing to the white slavery he was engaged in—a merchant's office, where the hours were about 18 a day. He was dismissed from this employment for agitating among the other employees. In the early part of the year he was invited by the North-West Ham Socialist conference to become their Parliamentary candidate. He replied that he had no objection and at the same time no desire to be their candidate. He was adopted by the conference, but his adoption did not, for reasons of policy, find favour among all sections of local Socialists, and therefore he retired. In company with a few others he last year started the *West Ham Citizen*, of which he was appointed editor, and the first number of which appeared on May Day. It is a local paper with a definite Socialist policy. At first it had to combat a great deal of local labour opposition and intrigue, but is now an established success, with almost the largest circulation of any paper in the district. It has been of great assistance to the party, and is steadily increasing its sphere of usefulness.

Judge was organiser for the London Central Council of the S.D.F. for a short time, but was compelled to resign, because of the pressure of other work on the *Citizen*, *Guardians*, &c., and in many other directions. He has done good service to the cause. Young, active, alert, intelligent, vigorous, with a self-acquired education of no mean order, Judge gives promise of a career of widely-extended usefulness to the cause of Social-Democracy in the future. It is sometimes said that there are no young men coming into our ranks to take the places of the old guard who are growing grey and age-worn in the service; or that those who come in do not show the enthusiasm, energy, determination

and intelligence of the small band of comparatively young men who formed the Socialist movement here nearly twenty years ago. Judge is one of the best known of many scores of young men who are coming into our ranks, to contradict the croakings of the pessimists. While the Social-Democratic movement continues to enrol men like Martin Judge there is no need to despair of the future, and the old hands can pass into the land of shadows fully assured that their work will not fail for lack of able successors.

THE WAR CHEST OF THE BOERS.

SPEAKING of this in the *National Review*, Mr. W. R. Lawson says that if the Boers were subject to all the rules and limitations of European finance, if their armies had to pay for everything they used, and the whole cost of the war fell on the national treasury, they might soon reach the bottom of the war-chest. But they have many more strings to their bow than any European Power would have in similar circumstances. When they have exhausted their cash resources and the ordinary credit of the State, they will still have a long series of what may be termed semi-civilised resources to fall back upon, says the writer.

Their commandeering of Outlander property, proceeds Mr. Lawson, is said to have produced about £300,000 in Johannesburg alone, and as much more will have to be paid within the next few months by mine-owners for renewal of their licences, on pain of confiscation; even British subjects will have to share in this contribution to Mr. Kruger's war chest at the risk of being prosecuted by their own Government for high treason.

The writer proceeds:—"Nor are these all the fiscal twists Mr. Kruger can give to the poor Outlander; he can, under the laws of 1888, levy a war tax of £20 on every farm in the Republic, and in the event of non-payment he can sell up the property."

It is to be feared there will be many absentee landowners sold up before the war is over. With the gold mines and their output Mr. Kruger can do whatever he pleases. He has already decreed a 30 to 50 per cent. tax on all the gold produced, a decree obviously intended to be confiscatory. Some check on his predatory freaks may, however, be exercised by his continental friends. "They may point out to him," continues Mr. Lawson, "that it will be less foolish to raise money on the mines than to confiscate and wreck them. His sleeping partners in the dynamite monopoly and the Netherlands Railway are themselves too deeply interested in the mines to let them be absolutely ruined if they can prevent it. But they will have no interest in defending British mine-owners, and every new stroke which Mr. Kruger aims at them will, no doubt, be heartily seconded."

The writer concludes, "When the worst comes to the worst, the huge private fortunes of the oligarchy may be cast into the breach. . . . When Mr. Kruger has exhausted everybody else, Outlanders and burghers alike, he may sacrifice some of his own modest savings. Unfortunately his own turn may be a long way off; between financing, commandeering, taxing, fining, looting, confiscating, coining other people's gold, forced currency, and ultimate bankruptcy, the war chest of the Boers has so many possible feeders, as well as methods of economising, that we might be laying up fresh disappointment for ourselves if we made too sure of its running dry very soon."

SOUTH AFRICA IN THE PAST AND FUTURE.

It used to be a saying of Mr. John Morley's, when he was working as a daily journalist in the offices of the old *Pall Mall Gazette*—"Never mind about smart writing; let us have facts." A valuable precept, surely, and one that is specially applicable to the complex problems of modern politics. It is, indeed, a precept that is extensively acted on in respect of matters of domestic policy. There are so many people in this country who are well acquainted with the facts surrounding any given domestic problem, that those who would deal with that problem are compelled to be intimately acquainted with the matters they wish to handle. Our whole system of administration, indeed, is based upon facts laboriously and minutely collected by the permanent staffs of the public departments, the divergencies of party politics being limited often to narrow differences as to the interpretation to be placed on those facts. How great is our regard for facts, where matters of domestic legislation and administration are concerned, can readily be realised when consideration is given to the vast amount of reading that is imposed upon a member of Parliament who wishes to be regarded as an authority upon any one subject.

Possessed of so profound a regard for facts where domestic matters are concerned, it might be thought that we should display a similar regard for facts in connection with matters of foreign or colonial policy. If, it might reasonably be argued, we think it necessary to bestow such careful study on matters close at hand, we might surely expect to find ourselves bestowing at least equal pains upon the study of matters at a distance. Owing, however, to some singular perverseness of our nature, we find a state of things existing just the reverse of this. We find that for one person who condescends to make a practical study of the conditions of existence in outlying portions of the Empire, there are at least ninety-nine who content themselves with information which is hardly sufficient to be dignified even by the name of "superficial." In some cases this does not, indeed, very much matter. There are extensive portions of the Empire—Canada and the Australias, for example—in which self-government is so complete that interference from outside is practically impossible. If Canadians or New Zealanders manage their affairs in a way that seems to us a little strange, we very properly content ourselves with saying that New Zealanders or Canadians know the facts and that we don't. There is, however, one portion of the Empire in respect of which nearly everyone in this country deems that he or she has a right to interfere. That country is South Africa. You will not take up any newspaper, you will not find yourself in company with any chance assemblage of persons, without coming across strongly-worded assertions as to what "we" must do or what "we" ought to have done in South Africa. Having regard to the trouble taken to study facts in

our own country, one might expect to find that these assertions were coupled with a profound knowledge of the facts of the problems we profess to be able to solve. It is with surprise—at least, it ought to be with surprise—we discover that a knowledge of facts is conspicuous by its absence. We have any number of “impressions”; we have a superabundance of “prejudices”; a knowledge of “facts,” in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, we look for in vain. And yet, as a rule, not one of those who unwillingly confess to an ignorance of facts has the least doubt that he or she is competent to suggest a safe and permanent way of escape out of South African difficulties and complications.

This is remarkable, surely; and it is all the more remarkable because there is in existence, easily accessible to every one, a most complete and careful record of all the governing facts of South African history and development. Dr. Theal's “History of South Africa,” founded on a long and careful study of public documents, is published at a price which should place it within the reach of all ordinary readers. True, it only comes down, so far, to the year 1872. To have a clear knowledge of South African history, however, down to 1872 is to possess the means of forming tolerably sound judgments with regard to events that have happened since that year. To have studied the facts of South Africa down to 1872 at least qualifies one to know where to look for facts and how to estimate the value of facts during the succeeding 25 years. And hence it might not be an improper question to put to some of those who are so ready to prescribe for South Africa, “Have you read Theal's History?” And if the reply were in the negative—as it is to be feared it would be in very many cases—then the recommendation to read that most valuable work might well be added.

In referring, then, to the past in South Africa, I must be understood as going upon the authority of the historian of South Africa, so far as his history comes down. There are certain broad facts in that past which I am specially anxious to emphasise. One is the immense debt which civilisation owes to those people who are to-day so generally, and often so ignorantly, spoken of under the name of “Boers.” Another is the influence which purely speculative forces have unfortunately exercised upon South Africa, culminating at last in a life and death struggle between the real European population of the country, and the agents and servants of a passing tide of speculative enterprise. It will be observed I speak of the “real European population” of South Africa. How is the implied distinction to be defined? Well, I should say that the real population of any country is the population to whom that country is, in all its essentials, home. They form the real population of a country who feel, when they are returning to it, that they are going home, who feel strange when they are outside it, and who have no desire to live or die in any other part of the globe. That is the feeling of Englishmen towards England, of Frenchmen towards France, of Germans towards Germany, of Afrianders towards South Africa. I believe it is, to a very large degree, though perhaps not quite so fully, the feeling of Canadians towards Canada, of Australians towards Australia. But it is not nearly so much the feeling, and in many instances not the feeling at all, of British-born residents in South Africa towards South Africa. To them “home” is Great Britain; and if you ask the enterprising steamship companies that trade with South Africa why they build such swift and palatial steamers, they will tell you it is mainly to accommodate the homeward stream of British-born colonists in May and June—home-

ward, that is, from South Africa to England—and the return tide from “home” to South Africa in October and November. That there are among the British-born residents in South Africa various degrees of attachment to that country, and that in not a few instances the sense of attachment is very deep, may be admitted. The fact remains, however, that to the average Africander, the man of Dutch or French descent whose ancestors have for several generations lived in South Africa, that country is “home” in a sense which is never realised by the average Britisher, who often, even after a career of prosperity and public usefulness, is as likely as not to end his days in a Kensington flat or a Highbury villa.

In order to appreciate what the Africander—the “Boer,” as he is called by hundreds of thousands of persons in this country, who do not even know the meaning of the word—has done for civilisation, let us go back some sixty or sixty-five years. Let us go back to 1835, two years before Queen Victoria’s accession, five years after the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, and see what was then the condition of South Africa. At page 86 of the fourth volume of Dr. Theal’s “History of South Africa” will be found a map of the Cape Colony as it existed in 1838. It is a map as suggestive as those maps of “The World as Known to the Ancients” which used to find a place in school atlases. South Africa, as known to the ancients of sixty years ago, consisted of about three-fifths of the present Cape Colony. For the greater part of its course the Orange River was untouched and unexplored. The Vaal River was unknown. The Eastern portion of the Cape Colony itself was a region of scattered farmhouses and mission stations, situated in the midst of a mass of practically independent savagery. Beyond this, the map of South Africa was, from a civilised point of view, an absolute blank. The paramount power in South Africa, outside the narrow boundaries of the more settled districts of the Cape Colony, was the power of the Zulus, under Dingaan in the south and east and Mosilikatze in the north and west. The Free State, the Transvaal, were absolutely unpeopled, save by the remnants of the tribes spared from Zulu extermination and by the hunting parties of the Zulu chiefs. Natal was just known by reason of a natural harbour at which an occasional landing had been made. South Africa, as we now know it, did not exist. Darkness was upon the face of the whole country—darkness made darker still by the moral darkness that dwelt in the centres of savage and despotic authority.

Sixty years ago, or a little more, the dawn of civilisation began to spread over the South African waste. Whence did it come? It came in the hands of those hardy Africander pioneers who, despairing of just and intelligent government under the *régime* of the military governors of the Cape Colony, forsook their homes and set out into the unknown wilderness in search of freedom and quietness. This was the movement which is usually alluded to as “The Great Trek.” The causes of this movement have at one time and another been sedulously misrepresented in this country, and only a few months ago Mr. Chamberlain, speaking in the House of Commons, had the hardihood and the vulgarity to speak of it as springing from a desire on the part of those who took part in it to be at liberty to “wallop their own niggers.” No statement could be more scandalously untrue; for while on the one hand the Cape Africanders had freely consented to the abolition of slavery, to see themselves defrauded of the promised compensation, on the other hand every

settlement they made in the interior was founded on treaty with the natives whom they found in possession. All the circumstances attending this great movement are to be found fully described in the fourth volume of Dr. Theal's history, as well as in the lectures, quite recently reprinted in England, of the late Commissioner Cloete, who was employed by the British Government in 1842 to arrange for the settlement of Natal as a British colony. I do not think I am speaking too strongly when I say that it is the duty of those who feel any kind of interest in the future of South Africa to study the history of the "Great Trek" as described by those two British authorities, Dr. Theal and the late Mr. Cloete. One cannot read that history without being astonished at the faith and the fortitude of those who, in spite of the murderous treachery of the powerful native chiefs with whom they entered into treaty, founded in succession the Republics of the Free State, the Transvaal, and Natal, pulverising, with a few dozen men against almost as many thousands, the cruel despotism of the savage paramount power of the Zulus, until, some sixty-one years ago, on December 16, 1838, they gained the decisive victory in northern Zululand which once and for ever decided the cause of civilisation in South Africa.

These founders of civilisation in South Africa received small thanks from the British Government, which presently proceeded to eject them from Natal and to annex them in the Free State, only leaving alone the settlements beyond the Vaal River by reason of their remoteness. Still, about the middle of the century, and no doubt owing to the influence of the strong democratic movement that fifty years ago shook so many European thrones, the British Government returned to what, on the whole, was a better mind in respect of these Africander settlements. In 1854 British authority was withdrawn from the Free State, the full independence of the Transvaal having been recognised two years previously. It is a fact of the greatest importance that those with whom the British Government entered into an agreement to recognise the independence of the two Africander Republics were not, and never had been, British subjects. They were middle-aged men, who were born in Cape Colony before the establishment of British rule, and who had never taken any oath of allegiance to the British Government. This fact, which is persistently overlooked, has a most important bearing on the present situation in South Africa. It may be said, then, that from about the middle of the present century, South Africa, thanks to the enterprise and fortitude of the Africander pioneers of the "Great Trek," began to exist more or less as we know it to-day, with its two Colonies and its two Republics, all bound together by common interests of the utmost importance, yet each possessing its own government and, in respect of minor matters, not infrequently in competition with each other.

We are now approaching that other broad fact to which I wish to direct special attention, viz., the influence which purely speculative forces have, unfortunately as I think, exercised upon South Africa. For 20 years after South Africa, as we now know it, came into being—say from 1852 to 1872—the country enjoyed on the whole a peaceful, uneventful, and not altogether unprosperous existence. It was, however—and we cannot too strongly realise this fact—a pastoral and unprogressive country. Its people in some parts bred cattle and horses; in many parts they followed the occupation of sheep farmers, and exported their wool; elsewhere they made a little wine and distilled a little brandy, almost entirely for local consumption, while there was an

irregular trade with the far interior in skins and ivory. The seaports did a lazy business, chiefly in the exportation of skins and wool and in the importation of articles of household consumption; the towns were centres of distribution for wide and thinly populated agricultural districts. Business was largely carried on by a system of reciprocal credits. The farmer brought down his wool into town, and was credited with something under its value; he took back supplies for his farm and his family, and was debited at a rate which included the importer's profit. Profits in all directions were small, but people were fairly content with these small profits. This was the natural and ordinary condition of things in South Africa up to within 30 years ago. Now if we carry our minds back 30 years in England—say to 1870—we find England very much the same as it is to-day. We have to-day a few new streets in London, and we have third-class dining-cars in the trains to Scotland; otherwise there is little change. But the South Africa of 1870 was as different from the South Africa of 1900 as the England of a century and a half ago was different from the England of to-day. In 1870 there were in the whole of South Africa only some 60 or 70 miles of railway, the whole mileage, save some four or five miles in Natal, being in the immediate vicinity of Capetown. Here and there, on specified routes, one might enjoy a dangerous and exciting journey on the top of the mail-bags in a post-cart; but, as a rule, the ox-wagon, with its trek of fifteen miles a day at the rate of three miles an hour, represented the general means of intercourse and communication.

Suddenly, in the midst of this pastoral unprogressiveness, someone discovered a diamond mine. From that moment South Africa was changed. Was the discovery a piece of good fortune or a calamity? The world at large would have done very well without an extra supply of diamonds. South Africa, as an agricultural and pastoral country, could also have dispensed with such a discovery. It is true that the discovery gave a tremendous impulse to South African commerce, and an extended commerce is usually regarded as a sign of advancing prosperity. Unfortunately, the impulse was given in the wrong way. It was an impulse given, not to steady and solid industry, but to rash and reckless speculation. If by improved and cheaper means of transport, and by improved and cheaper means of cultivation, you give an impulse to agricultural development, you at once anchor upon the soil a prosperous, growing, producing, and consuming population, whose steady industry promotes the gradual accumulation of wealth. There is always a demand for their products, and so long as the means of transport and the methods of cultivation are economical there need be no limit to production. It is a perfectly different problem when you have to deal with a commodity which is limited in quantity, and is held at a fictitious and exaggerated value. The discovery of the presence of such a commodity—diamonds, for example—immediately establishes the conditions incident to a lottery. In or about 1870 the great diamond lottery was established in South Africa. The results of this establishment were numerous, and, on the whole, unfortunate. It brought, in the first place, a wandering, unsettled, speculative population into the country. Some, possibly, might describe this as a "progressive" population; but it was, I think, only progressive in the same sense that the city Arab is progressive as compared with the country bumpkin whom he initiates into the mysteries of pitch-and-toss. Then it created in the minds of the official class in this country a regret that they had agreed to regard so large a part of South Africa as

politically independent. It is a fact beyond dispute that, from the moment the Kimberley mines were discovered, the chief concern of the Colonial Office was how best the independence accorded to the Africander Republics could be extinguished. This disposition was manifested very early. Those mines were situated on territory which had always been regarded, so long as it was thought to be worthless, as part of the Orange Free State. By means of an unworthy pretence that territory was claimed as British. However, the rush to the new diamond-fields created an appearance of prosperity. On the strength of this appearance of prosperity the Cape Colony undertook the full responsibilities of constitutional government, and began to raise loans in the London market. The proceeds of those loans were chiefly, if not entirely, devoted to railway construction and harbour improvement, both doubtless laudable objects in themselves. The fatal mistake lay in the fact that not one single penny was devoted to the development of the general resources of the country. Everything was subordinated to the speculative interest of Kimberley. Every mile of railway was constructed with the sole view of conveying imported manufactures to the new centre of activity—every mile, I have said, though the statement should be qualified by the remark that a good many miles of railway were built for the purpose of catching political support for lines specially favoured by the Cape Ministry then in office. Natal, a competitor with the Cape Colony for the new Kimberley trade, also, by permission of the Colonial Office, went in for railway building with borrowed money, inland trade—a transit trade only—being the only thing thought of. The colonial seaports flourished; the Customs revenues grew and increased; new mail-contracts were entered into and new mail-steamers built. Agriculture, however, remained all over the country exactly where it was; if anything, it declined. But in the meantime the growth of the great mining centre at Kimberley, and of the seaport towns that lived upon the needs of Kimberley, served to increase the British element in the population of the country. One can easily understand this. One can easily understand how the greatly-increased bulk of trade increased the classes of merchants, merchants' clerks, bankers and their clerks, shipping agents, forwarding agents, shop-keepers and their assistants, railway employees, and all the other classes of persons that go to make up a commercial community. These were to a large extent British, with all the instincts of social and political activity to which we in this country have of late years become accustomed. The great solid Africander population in South Africa remained, in accordance with its natural habits, quiescent, saying little, going on much as before, taking advantage of the new conditions where it suited them, ignoring those new conditions when it was more convenient to do so. And thus the new commercial population, coming in contact only with itself, acquired the habit of regarding itself as the governing force in the country, losing sight of the fact that it all rested upon a purely speculative basis—a basis which was vanishing as year by year the extraction of diamonds from the Kimberley mines became more costly and more difficult.

This was a state of things, it will be said, that was bound sooner or later to lead up to a general financial smash. Undoubtedly it was, and in 1885 and 1886 the smash was plainly very near at hand. Why the smash never came will be made clear immediately. In the meantime certain events of importance had occurred. The ambitions of the new commercial population of South Africa had pushed on an imperialistic

British Ministry to annex the Transvaal, a country whose possible value was becoming apparent. It was Mr. Gladstone's sense of what was due to the old Africander population—the "real" population, as I have called it—that led to the reversal of the annexation. These events, too, had the very natural result of generally quickening the interest taken by the Africander population in political matters. They saw that it was necessary to protect themselves against being swamped—and I am here speaking of South Africa as a whole—by the newer commercial population. If the commercial catastrophe that in 1885 or 1886 seemed imminent had actually come about, the commercial population would have been very considerably weakened, and the influence of the Africander population very considerably increased. But, just at the very moment that commercial collapse seemed unavoidable, the discovery of the gold deposits of the Rand came in to save the situation. Decaying Kimberley was forgotten; all eyes were turned towards the newly-risen Johannesburg. For the two British Colonies, the Cape and Natal, there could not have been a more remarkable salvation. It was perhaps specially a salvation for the Cape Colony; for it so happened that all the railways built at such great cost for the purpose of carrying goods to Kimberley could be equally well made use of for the purpose of carrying goods to Johannesburg. Railway receipts and Customs revenue, which during the few years prior to 1886 had dwindled away, to the great alarm of Colonial financiers, began to go up again by leaps and bounds. The commercial population once more plucked up heart, and in the Colonial Office, it may be taken for granted, fresh schemes began to be thought out for dealing with Johannesburg as Kimberley had been dealt with, and bringing once more under the British flag a country that was clearly far too rich to be allowed to remain independent.

The development of the Transvaal goldfields served still further to emphasise that distinction between the two classes of European population which had begun with the discovery of the Kimberley mines. Just as gold is a more marketable product than diamonds, and just as a production of £16,000,000 annually is more valuable than a production of £4,000,000, by just so much was the impulse supplied to commercial activity by the discovery of the Johannesburg gold mines in excess of the impulse supplied by the discovery of the Kimberley diamond mines. The Africander population, the permanent and real European population of South Africa, have remained much as they were, carrying on their old agricultural pursuits, while the commercial population has grown more numerous, more wealthy, and less inclined than ever to regard South Africa as "home." For the last twelve years the whole of the commercial population—merchants, bankers, lawyers, storekeepers, speculators, brokers, prospectors, mine managers, landing agents, forwarding agents, canteen-keepers, hotel-keepers, steamship owners, clerks, shop assistants, railway employees—have been absolutely living upon Johannesburg. The Transvaal Government has no doubt profited by this state of things, but the Governments of the two Colonies have profited quite as much. The increase in Customs receipts and the receipts from railway traffic placed both the Colonial Governments in a position of financial ease which undoubtedly led to administrative extravagance. Hence that prosperity and activity in seaports and in certain inland towns which so forcibly strikes the imagination of the casual visitor. Seeing only the commercial side of the picture, the casual visitor is entirely misled, and altogether fails to realise the fact that he never gets a glimpse of the

majority of the European population—that Africander majority who, loving South Africa as their “home,” deserve to be regarded as the “real” population. This population is scattered far and wide over the country. One can perhaps best realise the fact of its existence by going to some one of the little towns that are dotted about all through South Africa, such as Cradock in the Cape Colony, Greytown in Natal, Standerton in the Transvaal. What strikes you in these little towns, or villages, is the presence of a large, handsome, and expensively-built church, quite out of proportion to the population resident in the village itself. Those churches, however, belonging as they do to the Dutch Reformed communion, are regularly filled every Sunday by the families from the farmhouses for miles round—farmhouses which lie far apart and are quite invisible from the route taken by the railway. The owners of the farms are often wealthy; I remember that when, some twenty years ago, we were collecting in Natal a fund towards the relief of the Madras famine, a subscription of £130 came from one little group of half-a-dozen Dutch farmers in an out-of-the-way corner of the colony. And you may depend upon it that at least nine-tenths of whatever agricultural produce is raised in South Africa—wool, wine, wheat, and live-stock of all kinds—is raised by Dutch industry, often carried on under the most discouraging conditions.

It is easy to realise how strong is the sense of nationality and of community of interest, not to speak of close blood relationship, binding together the Africander population throughout South Africa. We can understand, too, of what inestimable value this population is to the country in which it has its home. It will be asked, perhaps (and the question is a natural one) what is the disposition of this population towards the British Government. It would be idle to deny that for many years after the permanent establishment of British rule in South Africa the attitude of Africanders towards the British Government was, even in British Colonies, an attitude of sullen indifference. They had as little to do with the Government as possible, and wished the Government to have as little as possible to do with them. It is a fact singularly illustrative of this state of things that up to within the last 25 years the Dutch language was officially ignored in the Cape Colony—ignored to such an extent that it was impossible even to get a telegraph office to accept a Dutch message. The establishment of free constitutional Government in the Cape Colony, however, coupled with the just action of a British Ministry in restoring independence to the Transvaal, produced a great and welcome change in this respect. Africander activity in Colonial politics became more marked, while Africander loyalty became more assured. In 1887 this improvement of feeling was so clearly apparent, and the results of a liberal and conciliatory policy on the part of Great Britain towards South Africa had been so beneficial, that things seemed almost ripe for the realisation of that dream of South African union—a union in which full and complete local independence would be reconcileable with a British Protectorate of the coast-line—which has never ceased to hover before the imagination of the more optimistic of South African statesmen.

This dream has been wrecked, it is to be feared almost hopelessly wrecked, by a combination of causes which can without much difficulty be defined. I do not myself think that the terrible trouble that now overhangs South Africa is owing either to the advent of a new population or to the unprogressive methods of Africanders. Changes were bound to

come through the advent of this new population, a great portion of which, it must be remembered, had no intention of being permanent. Those changes, however, could have been easily and peacefully accomplished if only those most concerned had been left to settle matters between themselves. It is, indeed, a fact beyond all question that early in last year all the material was ready for an amicable adjustment of the differences between the Pretoria Government and the people of Johannesburg, and that such adjustment would have been arrived at, had it not been for the interference of the Imperial Government, which resented the idea of being left out of any settlement of Transvaal difficulties. Nor is the present situation owing to any desire on the part of British Ministers to gain material or monetary advantage for the Empire or for themselves out of the possession of the Transvaal goldfields. No one has ever brought such a charge as this against members of Lord Salisbury's Government, and it is a good deal worse than ridiculous, therefore, for members of that Government to go about the country repudiating such a charge. These gentlemen, however, who are not covetous for gold are terribly covetous of party domination, and they have seen - or some of the more ambitious of them have seen—in the new spirit of imperialism—the vulgar and self-assertive imperialism that is unhappy so long as any annexable territory on the earth's surface remains unannexed—the means of retaining a powerful majority in the House of Commons. It has been the prevalence of this desire that has betrayed the Imperial Government into a position in which it has become the cat's-paw of a gigantic financial conspiracy, largely engineered by men who are British neither in interest nor by birth. That honest men in responsible Ministerial positions shrink from admitting this is not to be wondered at. They will believe in anything—in the inherent wickedness of all Afrianders, in the existence of an immense anti-British conspiracy—rather than in their own capacity to become the dupes of a financial ring. Nevertheless, the efforts of that ring, powerful as it is, would have failed had it not been for the fatal determination on the part of Her Majesty's highest representative in South Africa to make war upon the loyal majority in a constitutionally-governed colony. When I use the expression "to make war" I do not use it in a military sense. What I refer to is the determination shown by Sir Alfred Milner to ignore his own Ministers, representing a majority of the population of the Cape Colony, and his determination, made evident by acts if not by words, to put an end to the influence in South Africa of that Afriander population which, as I have tried to show, is the real European population of the country. If Sir Alfred Milner had followed the old traditions of the Colonial Office, if he had done what almost everyone both in this country and in South Africa expected he would do, and guided himself by the views of his own Ministers, the war at present raging would never have begun, and all questions in suspense in South Africa would have been settled by natural, gradual, and perfectly peaceable means. With extraordinary perversity, though possibly with perfect honesty, Sir Alfred Milner has adopted exactly the opposite course. He has declared himself the enemy of Afrianderdom, the enemy of the hitherto loyal majority in the Cape Colony, the enemy of the majority of the European population in South Africa, and in doing so he has created for the whole British Empire a danger which not all the armies this country can put into the field will ever be able to counteract.

In this sentence, in the realisation of this conviction, we go from the

past to the future. What is the future going to be? It will be noticed, no doubt, that those persons who declare their belief that the present war was inevitable take a somewhat roseate view of the future. Once let the Boers, they argue, feel that they are well beaten and they will willingly come under the British flag. There will be a trifling readjustment of boundaries, and under a newly contrived scheme of confederation everything will go on smoothly and happily. I cannot find words too strong in deprecation of such a delusion as this. Leaving altogether on one side the bitterness of feeling among the Africander population of the two Republics, the effect of these present events will be to make enemies of the whole Africander population of the two Colonies, the Cape and Natal. Just as by the grant of the free constitutional government, and by the act of justice towards their kinsfolk in the Transvaal, England gained the confidence and loyalty of the Africander population of the Colonies, so by over-riding constitutional principles and by unjustly seeking to suppress the Republics England will gain, and can only gain, the mistrust and hatred of that population. At a public meeting held not long ago, the opinion was expressed that in the future South Africa there must be left no rallying point for Africander disaffection. What absurdity! Why, every Africander man, woman and child will be a rallying point for disaffection! I think it by no means improbable that the feeling among the colonial Dutch will be even more bitter than the feeling in the Republics, for by the colonial Dutch it will be felt that their loyalty has been repulsed and that their constitutional rights have been invaded. In view of this fact, I may repeat, with additional emphasis, what I said last September in the course of a lecture in the West of England. "You can, if you like," I said, "send fifty thousand or a hundred thousand soldiers to South Africa and spend fifty millions or a hundred millions in shooting down men fighting simply for their liberty. And when you have done this, the trouble will only be beginning."

It is this future of difficulty which we have to contemplate, reaching out towards it beyond the passing excitement of military events. How are we going to govern a country in which the best part of the population, both numerically and in other respects—particularly in respect of their permanent attachment to the soil—are arrayed against us? How are we going to accomplish that work of "putting down Africanderdom" of which Her Majesty's representative has spoken with so light a heart? We cannot do it; the task is an impossible one. But in the attempt to do it we shall absorb so much of our military resources that South Africa will become a perpetual source of danger and weakness to the Empire. Nor can we hope to make matters better by the introduction of a British population. For such a population agricultural pursuits are an impossibility. It is, with a very few exceptions, only by the Dutch, with their generations of training to the conditions of the country, that farming on a large scale can be made profitable, while in respect of agriculture on a small scale the European cultivator is beaten out of the field by the Indian coolie. And what is there else for the British immigrant to do? Manual labour is in the hands of African natives; in handicrafts the Malay and the half-caste keep down the rate of wages. Mining is under the control of capitalist companies, whose interest it is to reduce expenditure as much as possible. Already a large portion of the Rand population was superfluous, and it is to be more than suspected that a large part of it will never, in any case, return to Johannesburg. Indeed, if the Transvaal were to become British territory, and Johannesburg

became an entirely self-governing municipality, the very first thing that municipality would insist on would be the rigid exclusion of the European loafer and the Asiatic trader.

Well, then, what are we going to do? At this present moment all the talk is of pouring out men by the thousand to crush resistance and rescue the Empire from danger. Even Liberals are to be found ready to cry out that unless the two Republics in South Africa are exterminated the days of the British Empire are numbered. This is foolish and suicidal talk—talk that creates the very danger it professes to dread. The British Empire has been built up on a foundation of justice and constitutional liberty, and we can only endanger the Empire by flying in the face of these principles. It is because of injustice towards the Dutch Republics and because of the over-riding of constitutional principles in the Cape Colony that the present situation has arisen. We cannot remedy that situation by pursuing still further the blunders that have created it. To attempt to do this is only to plunge further and further into a morass of complication and difficulty. And it will be in that morass of complication and difficulty, both at home and abroad, that the forces of disintegration will make themselves felt.

But what, it will be asked, is the alternative? Surely it is this—to bring strength to the Empire and permanent peace to South Africa by seizing the first opportunity of making friends of those to whom South Africa owes its existence as a civilised country, and who are and will continue to be, no matter what we may do, the dominant factor in its population. All our mistakes and misfortunes in South Africa have resulted from our neglect of this principle, and there will be nothing but more mistakes and more misfortunes until we remedy this neglect. People in this country now know better than they did what the friendship of the Afrikaner population is worth. Whether the opportunity for securing that friendship may arise, or when it may arise, I do not profess to know. But if, or when, it arises there should be no hesitation in seizing it and utilising it to the utmost.

F. REGINALD STATHAM.

It is worth observing that even now no member of the Government applies to the Jameson Raid the epithets it deserves. With them it is "unhappy, unfortunate, ill-starred, ill-omened," or, at worst, "regrettable." They never speak of it as "criminal." How, in fact can they do so when Rhodes was allowed to escape without punishment, Sir Graham Bower was promoted, and the officers concerned have been reinstated in their ranks?

The *Times* (January 13) repeats its complaints of the shabby contribution made by the Australasian Colonies to the naval defence of the Empire. England's naval expenditure is over £26,000,000 out of £111,000,000 of revenue, or about 23 per cent. The Australasian contribution is under £188,000 out of £31,000,000, or about three-fifths per cent. Commander Collins, the Secretary for Defence at Melbourne, deprecates such sordid comparisons, and says loftily that "a cash nexus is a poor means of welding the Empire." He thinks that "to stand shoulder to shoulder and fight together" is a more effective bond.—FREDERIC HARRISON in the *Positivist Review*.

TREACHEROUS TOLERATION AND FADDIST FANATICISM.

THE able article by comrade Bax in the last SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT tempts me to put forward my views on the other side.

To begin with, Bax accuses the Germans of having made a vital distinction between the way in which they have treated Bernstein compared to the manner in which they treated the Berlin opposition at the Congress of Erfurt. Those of the Berlin opposition who were expelled the Social-Democratic Party were not expelled because they were Anarchists. They were expelled because they brought charges of misappropriating the party funds against the party leaders for which they had not a shadow of evidence and which they would not withdraw. As a matter of fact only a very few were expelled, and those only who were responsible for making the charges. A great many of those who formed the opposition then are now still in the party, and, like Max Schippel, are among Bernstein's earnest supporters, having thus passed from the extreme Radical wing of the party to the extreme opportunist. Whether these facts, which are to be found in the protocol of the Erfurt Congress, will satisfy Bax I do not know; anyway, the policy of the party is hardly to be decided by vague comparisons such as he makes in his article. Moreover, the weapon of expulsion is such a serious one that it is only, I may say, under the greatest provocation that it has been used by the party, and not for any mere difference of opinion. In the latter case it is felt to be much more desirable that the member affected should himself draw the consequences of his own opinions and retire.

To leave, however, these considerations on one side, it is, of course, undeniable that in the International Congress, for example, the tendency is to laxity in the direction of opportunism as compared with the Anarchists, and it seems to me perfectly clear that this is inevitable. In a constitutional country the question whether the members of the party are to vote or not to vote must obviously be of first importance. Every man who does not vote helps the enemy. But how does the case of the opportunist stand? Take the case of Bernstein. Will Bax undertake to define exactly what Bernstein's position on any one question is? Say the class war! My idea is, and this is shared by a very great number of his opponents here, that Bernstein has no clear idea what is meant by the class war or what his position is in relation to it, so full of contradictions are his various statements on the question, and Bernstein's position generally to Socialism is so vague that it is impossible to form a clear idea where he stands. When he does, however, utter something that one can attach a definite meaning to, as in his well known saying, "The final aim (of Socialism) is nothing to me, the agitation is everything," you may, as Kautsky says, be perfectly certain he will spend the greater part of his next publication to proving that he meant

something else. Thus it would be extremely difficult to know on what line exactly Bax would be able to proceed in framing a resolution condemning Bernstein's book or writings. I presume that Bax would not have him condemned because his views on value did not agree with those of Marx, though as Bernstein is at once a follower of Marx and Jevons, and says they are both right, this would be difficult, or because of his heresy in regard to the materialistic conception of history, which, by the bye, Bax also denies, or for his views on the theory of the concentration of wealth. It would be extremely difficult to proceed against him on any of these or similar points without constituting the Congress into a sort of heresy court, and elevating the theories of Socialism into dogmas, thus justifying all the accusations of our enemies.

Moreover, Bebel has shown in regard to the so-called essential principles of Socialism how enormously the position of the party has changed, how, for instance, the iron law of wages, which Lassalle declared to be a necessary element in the Socialist theory, so that no one could be a Socialist unless he accepted it, is now publicly abandoned. Bebel gave several other instances of the same sort, and remarked that the right of the members to free criticism was absolutely necessary to the party. Besides Bernstein, when he came to deal in an article in the *Vorwärts* with the Erfurter programme, declared himself practically at one with it, and all the changes he said he would make were trifling. He went further, however, and advised his followers to vote for the resolution of Bebel at the Hanover Congress, which repudiated, as categorically as it was possible to understand them, the main points in Bernstein's book, and defined the idea of the class war in unmistakable terms, repudiating all necessity for change in the principles, the tactics, or the name of the party. How far Bernstein was consistent in doing this I do not care, as it does not seem to me that when a man declares himself in agreement with the programme, and is ready to submit to the party discipline that we can go behind that. The case would undoubtedly be different in the case of a new member. It is a much easier thing to refuse admission than to turn out an old member, especially when he has the record of work done for the party of Edward Bernstein, and when, moreover, he is still suffering for his past services by an exile, which promises to be lifelong, from his native land. In any case he is at least entitled to know on what grounds he is being turned out, and the party has to guard against creating for itself a precedent which might prove dangerous to the right of free criticism.

In all that I have said I do not mean to imply that I consider Bernstein's position compatible with Social Democracy. On the contrary; and were Bernstein to go out of his own free will no one would be more delighted than I. It is, however, a different thing to suggest that a court of heresy should be constituted in the party to condemn those who are not in agreement with the theory of the party. If anyone refuses to subscribe to the programme, to submit to the discipline, or to co-operate in the work of the party, the case is different, especially if he helps the enemy either actively

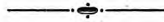
or passively. Courts of heresy must, therefore, be as warmly repudiated by the party in England as they were by every speaker at Hanover.

It is, however, a different question when we come to the case of Robert Blatchford. If, as I believe, he is a member of the I.L.P., nothing would be easier or more effective than for that body to pass a resolution repudiating his views on the war. As for Bland, everybody knows that the S.D.F. does not regard mere membership of the Fabian Society as constituting a sign that a man is a Socialist. The society, which was responsible for putting forward the arrantly nonsensical Tract 70, or whose members showed their entire lack of backbone by sitting on the fence as they did on the motion of J. G. Hobson condemning the war (I go by *Concord*), and which has given many more signs of the same spirit, cannot claim to be Socialist as a whole, though it does include, unfortunately, a large number of Socialists. With the growth, however, of a strong and united Social-Democratic Party in England it is probable that these, the better elements, would be drawn into the main stream, and then, as in Germany, only those would be counted by the public as Socialists who were publicly identified with the party. In the meantime, it would be idle to take any steps in the case of buffoons like Bland or Shaw; besides, what steps could we take? As to declaring that they were not Socialists—well, *Justice* has already done that.

With regard to what Bax says on the question of religion, the question of theological belief is to my mind purely an individual one. "Religion is a private matter," says the Erfurter programme, and I think this corresponds to the only possible policy. We must leave it to the individual to square his beliefs on these matters with the acceptance of the party programme. As long as he will cordially co-operate with us we have no reason to take any further action. Certainly I can imagine no greater folly than for the party to advise their members on the question of Church membership.

Berlin, January 18, 1900.

J. B. ASKEW.



DURING the last two hundred years England has spent over twelve hundred millions of money in war, which still means a payment of over twenty millions a year in interest on debt. But the naval wars of the future will be far more expensive than the land wars of the past. It is estimated that a naval action between thirty modern battleships would cost something like a million sterling an hour; and that a naval war between England, France and Russia would cost a sum of money equal to the market value of every inch of English soil. These figures spell immense waste, and waste just at a time when in every branch of domestic reform money is the crying need.

FIGURES compiled by authorities on the subject show that at the present time practically all the necessities of life in the United States are controlled by 116 trusts, which employ 3,547,000 wage-workers, who represent about 17,000,000 of the population. The circle of 116 trusts will be gradually narrowed by absorption and combination, and a few individuals will soon dominate the entire industrial fabric.

IS MAN THE CREATURE OF CIRCUMSTANCES?

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS are often twitted with dealing so much with the economic side of Social-Democracy, therefore I think it is essential that our critics should know the reason why we keep the economic side of Social-Democracy to the front.

Man is dependent upon material things, his character is moulded by prevailing economic conditions. Man cannot and does not exist outside material conditions.

It seems strange that individuals who call themselves Socialists should say that we can practise the ethics of a Social-Democratic State in a society which is antagonistic to its development.

I am alluding to those Socialists who have emphatically stated that economics are based upon ethics. If economics are based upon ethics, I fail to see the necessity of changing our economic conditions to get good ethics. Yet these people tell us that capitalism is the cause of the poverty and immorality prevailing. The ethics of any society which has existed or will exist have been and can only be the outcome of the economic conditions of that society. If you tell the capitalist that he is doing things which are immoral it would be equally consistent for him to tell the workers that they are doing the same. "We do not suffer from the living only, but from the dead." We are the progeny of past generations, our ancestors helped to create the present system of society.

The workers are the foundation of capitalist production, and the capitalist system of society will cease only when the workers refuse longer to support it. We do not attack the capitalist, but the society which has produced him. No individual can get out of his or her environment by his or her own effort, but by the efforts of those who compose the whole society. We are the units that go to make up society, and are dependent upon one another for our existence. Sometimes we hear of Socialism coming from the heart. That seems to me to be an incongruous term. Socialism is outside us—that is to say, it deals with our material wants or desires; it is only by coming into contact with material objects that we get to understand the principles of Social-Democracy. To love our neighbour as ourselves is a very fine sentiment, but it is not Social-Democracy, though no doubt we should like to be more considerate one to another; yet we find that our conditions of life are against it. For instance, two friends of the same trade are out of employment, but they have to compete one against the other for existence. We find machinery to-day, made by the workers, utilised against them and their fellow men, instead of being used for their material welfare; this is the outcome of the present system of production. Social-Democrats, recognising this, know that to make machinery a blessing to the workers they must alter the system of society which makes machinery a curse to the workers. Conscience does not make the environment, but it is the environ-

ment which makes the conscience. Buckle tells us that "material forces have been the mainspring of progress." Some may disagree with me, and say that physical causes do not create the moral, but that the moral create the physical.

There is a story, which is credible enough, though it may not be true, of a practical joker who, seeing a discharged veteran carrying home his dinner, suddenly called out "Attention!" whereupon the man brought his hands down smartly, and lost his mutton and potatoes in the gutter. We see here that a force outside the veteran was the cause of him losing his dinner. The energy of the drill-sergeant had been transmitted to the veteran. If he had not come into contact with someone evoking this energy he would not have dropped his dinner so easily. Energy is the result of material forces. The capitalist to-day buys the energy of the worker, who transmits it into raw material to make it a commodity. So does the worker sell his energy to the capitalist to buy materials to get more energy.

Man is the creature of circumstances inasmuch as he cannot determine his own future. The continual contact which he has with forces outside of him will not allow him to say what will be his destiny. No individual can say that he will be in employment six months hence; no capitalist can say that he will be in business twelve months hence. The changes that are brought about by economic causes have shown to us that we never know where we shall be in the near future.

If we wish for better ethics than those at present existing, we must get rid of the cause that creates bad ethics. Ethics are the effect of the cause—economic conditions. When persons are suffering from fever through bad sanitary arrangements, we remove the cause; if we allowed such conditions to exist it would be of no use to cure the fever. We, as Social-Democrats, wish to see better conditions existing so that men and women can develop better ethics. I assert that it is impossible for men and women to be moral under present economic conditions. Sir Thomas More said: "It is no use to make laws to punish thieves for the purpose of abolishing thieves." The thief in high life is made by the same cause as the thief in low life; whilst one robs the poor the other robs the rich. The stunted growth of the children and the diseases prevailing among them are no fault of theirs, but are due to the bad environment in which they are brought up. It is not a question of changing human nature so as to change bad surroundings, but the changing of bad conditions of existence to get the best out of human nature.

The argument may be adduced that if you remove a lion from its cage and put it in Windsor Castle it will still remain a lion; this I grant, but, remove the lion from its cage where it has been in the habit of obtaining its food regularly and put it in a position where it will have to get its own food; it will cultivate an instinct which will enable it to obtain it. Sir Samuel Baker gives a picture of an elephant shaking an immense tree to secure fruit. If the elephant had been used to having his food brought to him, he would not have cultivated this means of obtaining it. Had Edison

been placed in different circumstances he would not have been able to develop his mind in the way that he has.

"The education of the Indian," writes Morelet, "commences when he is ten or twelve years of age. He goes with his father in his excursions or his labour; he is taught to find his way in the most obscure forests through means of the faintest indications. His ear is practised in quickly detecting the approach of wild animals, and his eyes in discovering the venomous reptiles that lie in his path. He is taught to distinguish the vines, the juices of which have the power of stupifying fishes so that they may be caught by hand. He learns or is taught all these things early and then his education is complete."

The civilised man passes his life in the midst of wheels and cranks and engines of iron. His eyes are on them every day. Now and then a new thought is suggested to him by their motion, an improvement which would facilitate their action and lessen his trouble or expenses. That is called an invention, for which he seeks a patent. The savage man passes his life away from wheels; he never saw a wheel. But there are around him all sorts of suggestive things that take the place of wheels. He sees how he could improve them so as to facilitate their action, so as to lessen his labour and multiply his gains. He makes a change. Is not that an invention also? We see the conditions of life that force the Indian to cultivate an instinct to obtain his food, when it would be impossible for an individual who has been brought up in a city to get food under such conditions. The man who is brought up amidst engines and machines is looked upon as an inventive genius if he makes an improvement on someone's invention. But the savage, who is an inventor also, is not recognised as a genius. Environment plays an important part in the distinction of the genius. If circumstances would allow we should have more geniuses than we have at the present time. Not only are the present economic conditions against the development of good ethics but against the development of the mental and physical capacities of the human race. Though some may disagree with the rule laid down by members of the S.D.F. that economics are the basis of ethics, yet they must admit that poverty, drunkenness and prostitution are the outcome of economic conditions. The will of man is formed by others and not by himself; the action of others operates upon him, and if we were to go to the beginning of anyone's life and trace the actions and ways of the individual we should find that the actions of others were the means of making him think and act.

To prove this we will take a simple illustration. A child is born and taken away from its parents, it is placed upon a desolate island, it is fed every day, but is debarred from having association with any human being. Now I ask, will that child when grown into manhood have the same developed faculties as a child that has been brought up in continuous association with human beings? It may be stated that we economic Socialists are bread and butter Socialists and that alone. Let me say that we believe in feeding the individual before educating him.

Not until you have conditions that stop the worry and anxiety for their future livelihood which prevail amongst the workers to-day can the individuality of the individual develop for the common good of all. In my opinion a Socialist who takes up the position of asserting that economics are based upon ethics is a danger to the Socialist movement. Let us clear the atmosphere and get to know what we want and how to get it.

J. TUNGATE.

MILITARY REFORM.

Continued.

A CITIZEN ARMY.

It will be asked, what is the value of these citizen soldiers? To answer this question would take too long. In my book I have given particulars of work done which will compare favourably with that done by other armies. I will only refer to one case where the men marched for twelve days and manœuvred five. This was done by two mountain batteries in January and February last; they went up to 1,446 metres (more than 4,338 feet), the snow being 1.50 metre deep (about 5 feet), and the cold 20 degrees below freezing point. In this dreadful weather the batteries marched 340 kilometres under perfect discipline; the horses were all in good condition. No battery in France or Germany could do better, and few could do so well. And none of these men were permanent soldiers, not one, from the major to the gunners; *all, the day before, were citizens, and on their first day they marched 42 kilometres.*

There is no reason to suppose that the Swiss more than anybody else is born an artilleryman. Any other citizen could do the same. These two batteries belonged to the Canton de Vaud, in French Switzerland, and, as an ex-artillery officer, I may say that I could form excellent gunners in eight or ten weeks if I had to deal with healthy men, and if I were allowed to teach them properly.

The same is true about infantry. Here, again, it has often been shown what two months' training can do, and I must refer the reader to my book for details. In the case of engineers it is only necessary to say that sappers are really only skilled workmen, and, if these are carefully selected, there will be no difficulty in training them quickly. As to cavalry, which is always brought forward as a case in which it is said permanent soldiers are necessary, we need only say that a citizen army is a different thing to a permanent army and that in the altered condition of things new methods must be employed.

We must first notice that there will be fewer cavalry soldiers in the future, and that people always talk as if the new armaments, the railways, the telegraphs, the balloons, &c., had not altogether changed the importance of the sword and of the lance. But here the problem is how to form cavalry soldiers in three months. Let us see how the Swiss solve the problem.

When the young cavalry soldier goes home after his time he takes his horse with him, after paying the State half the price. For £10 he has an excellent trained horse, four or five years old; he can use him in his business, but he must keep the animal in good condition. This is assured by inspection, and also every time the man is called he must bring his horse. After his first training a cavalry soldier must attend drills ten days a year for ten years. Each year he gets back a tenth of the price he paid for the horse, and at the end he has the horse for nothing. So that, after paying down half the price once which he gets back, he has, in addition, the horse. He is allowed to borrow the money, so that poor men can enter the cavalry. Thus a farmer may buy a horse for his coachman or for one of his labourers.

It would take too long to go into the question as to how cases in which the horses become unfit for service are dealt with. I have only wished to

show how the Swiss have succeeded in forming their cavalry, although they are not a nation of born horsemen, like the Cossacks or the Boers. This method has given two great advantages to the Swiss cavalry. If it is true the soldier cannot do fancy drill like our soldiers, yet he knows his horse well, even if the animal has a temper, and he can always master him. Then the cavalry can be mobilised at once; the man arrives on horseback ready armed and ready equipped, and is ready to start at once. If anyone without prejudice will look at this question, he will admit that the Swiss can form good soldiers in a very short time. To do this it is only necessary to specialise the men, not to make them lose their time by parades, by barrack drill, or by acting as a police, or in many ways which have nothing military in them.

They must also be prepared from childhood to receive later on military instruction. Gymnastics must be taught just as reading is now. The children must not be made into acrobats, but their limbs must be made more flexible and their physical health improved; they should also be taught to march, and know how to handle a gun and to shoot. They must also be taught their rights and duties as citizens. It is said that citizen armies are opposed to the military spirit. If the military spirit is opposed to the civic spirit *it ought not to exist*. There are not two rights, a military and a civic right, but only one—*civic right*, which implies certain duties in time of peace and certain others in time of war. Instead of saying that our soldiers should have the military spirit one must say that our citizens must have *the civic spirit under its double form, civic and military*. Now this civic spirit must be taught in the family and in the school. If the nation cannot teach it, then it is not fit to govern itself; it is not a democracy, and each citizen must know his duties to the State, and he will not learn them in the barracks. He should be taught them at home, and that is why it is right that women should have sound views on politics and morals.

It was not in barracks that the Americans of the War of Independence, the soldiers of the French Revolution, the Landwehr of 1813, the Yankees, the Garibaldians, the Mobs in 1870, the Cubans, the Philippines, or the Boers learnt how to fight, and if these men had been trained they would have fought better still.

The question of the need of the military spirit is not, then, an argument against a citizen army.

A CITIZEN ARMY.—THE OFFICERS.

One of the questions which often troubles those who are in favour of a citizen army is how to provide a sufficient number of officers. Militarism is a business which must be learnt just as any other business, and though many officers of the reserve and of the territorial army are able, yet it would be imprudent to trust them entirely with the destinies of the fatherland.

We must first notice that all officers would not be citizen-officers. There must be a corps of permanent officers or instructors who will have to keep abreast of all the progress in military science. And the Swiss instructors are as able as the officers of any army. The scheme that I have drafted provides for 4,875 of these officers (for France), not including those of the colonial army. As to the officers of the citizen army, they would be better than our officers of the reserve or the territorial army. They would form a homogeneous body whose ability would be quite equal to those of the ordinary officer, for there is a great difference between one officer and another. According to the

proposed scheme they would receive many practical and theoretical lessons exclusively confined to their functions in time of war, that is to say they would lose no time, not even a day. Each time they marched it would be as in war, acting, as they would then, with the very men they would have under them in war. Those who were posted to a fortress or to act as covering troops would always act on the very spot they had to defend with the help of the inhabitants. Under these conditions it would be easy for them to learn their business.

And, taken together, these terms of service mount up. In Switzerland, for example, an infantry soldier, from his 20th to his 32nd year, does 119 days, a sergeant 222 days, a lieutenant 440 days. An artillery captain serves till his 38th year in the élite (active army) and does 530 days altogether, that is to say, 14 months of effective and assiduous work. It is not Swiss officers who could be said to pass their time "actively in doing nothing," as a friendly critic says of our officers in the *Temps*. If we remember that everyone works, and that everyone (officers included) must belong to a rifle club, it will be seen that such an army can have very efficient officers. But it will be said it will be very difficult to find officers under this system, for in France we should need about 144,000 officers and 450,000 non-commissioned officers, and we could only find them in the aristocracy and the idle classes, and that would not give us a democratic army. It is easy to answer this objection.

First of all, we may say that it would not cost the officers anything, for both officers and men during their period of service would be lodged, clothed, equipped, mounted and fed by the State. The poorest citizen could thus fill the position for which his ability signalled him out. On the other hand, we may well suppose that the position of officer in the army would be sought after. It would be easy to find any number of lieutenants, and for these reasons: First of all the corps of instructors would be formed by competition, the competitors being lieutenants in the citizen army. The promotion would be rapid, and there would be no lack of candidates, as there would be a pension; many young men would be eager to become lieutenants of the citizen army so as to become an officer in the instructor corps. And many Government positions would only be filled by lieutenants of the citizen army. All prefects, judges, engineers, &c., might be taken from this class. Inferior posts might be filled up from non-commissioned officers. And as there is no lack of candidates for Government situations in France, there would be no difficulty in getting officers and non-commissioned officers. And certainly ordinary citizens would be ready to show that they as well as the officials were capable of being officers. As to promotion, though this would require men to study and pass examinations, there would be no difficulty in getting men to undergo the additional labour.

It is a great point in this system that regiments, battalions, and companies are local, and that a man would know that he would have to lead the men of his village, his canton, or his department, and this would lead to a great desire to distinguish oneself. As in Switzerland, *the officers would be the intellectual part of the nation*, and this would give them more real authority and real power than the present draconian codes, the basis of military discipline, for discipline is really the *willingness in accepting a necessary co-operation of effort*.

This is only a general view of the question, but it is sufficient, I hope, to show that these questions may be as satisfactorily regulated in a citizen army as in a professional army.

The more one studies the Swiss army the more one agrees with General

Brunet—a French officer of deservedly high reputation—who, after assisting at the Swiss manœuvres of 1896, said: “*Alone in Europe Switzerland has solved the problem we have all attempted in vain—to arm all its citizens, and to make of each citizen a soldier, though not one single citizen is taken from his country.*” Are not these words, uttered by so competent an officer, a damaging admission of our failure? *Alone in Europe!* And why then, and owing to what incapacity or to what guilty afterthought, have we not tried to adapt these admirable military institutions to the needs of our national defence?

G. MOCH.

(Translated by Jacques Bonhomme.)

(To be continued.)

WAR AND AFTER.

EMPIRE-WRECKERS.—PARASITES, NOT PATRIOTS.

IN an article, unsigned, which appears in the *Westminster Review*, the war is condemned vigorously as naught but sheer buccaneering, and the spectacle is described as “an Empire of 300,000,000 straining its resources to crush two small Republics, numbering all told—men, women and children—not more than 160,000 souls.” It is pointed out that not many months since the yellow press was promising the decadence and predicting the downfall of France because of the Dreyfus scandal, and have we not ourselves condemned, it is asked, on manufactured evidence and without a fair trial, a whole race? By how much more is the decadence of England apparent, and the downfall of England imminent? asks the writer.

Regarding the theory of “fighting for the Outlanders,” the position is ridiculed as follows: “Tommy Atkins—so cheap that even as ‘food for powder’ he can only command 1s. a day above and beyond his kit and rations—Tommy Atkins—recruited, doubtless, by hunger and want, best recruiting sergeants of the British army—fighting for the franchise for, fighting to redress the grievances of, Outlander miners earning their £1 a day.”

It is further pointed out that it is the duty of the Liberal Party to insist upon a just, a liberal, nay, a generous, settlement of our differences with the Boers—a settlement in the best interest of both countries, not in the interests of the speculators; to insist upon a free, full and impartial inquiry into the hidden causes, the secret intrigues and the dishonourable wire-pulling that led up to this war. Let the Liberal Party place on present values the land tax, 4s. in the £, now fraudently levied on the values of 1692, and bringing in £1,000,000 only, and they would then net £40,000,000 a year; with this they could:—

1. Give Old Age Pensions (£25,000,000).
2. Abolish the Breakfast Table Duties (£5,000,000).
3. Give Payment of Members and of Election Expenses (£1,000,000).
4. Pay interest and sinking fund charges on £100,000,000, the probable cost of the present war (£5,000,000 a year, say).
5. Have some £4,000,000 to spare to knock a penny off the income-tax and reduce the taxes on tobacco, or what you will.

HEINRICH HEINE.

H. Heine was born on December 13, 1799, and on the centenary of his birth articles have appeared in many newspapers. Owing to limits of space, I will only translate one which is comparatively short, and which appeared in the *Volksblatt* (People's Journal) of Halle.

A HUNDRED years ago, on Dec. 13, 1799, Heinrich Heine, who was called Harry by his friends, was born at Dusseldorf, the son of Solomon Heine, a Jewish cloth merchant. Half a century before, in 1749, Goethe was born at Frankfort. Both men revolutionised the world in a way that is only given to a few of the immortals, each in a different way. But Goethe retained right through life, even to his eightieth year, a vigour of body and mind which it is given to but few men to attain. On the other hand, Heine was for many years a great sufferer, and when, on February 17, 1856, on a grey morning, he died in Paris, he had been so weak and ill for many years that he had to be lifted in and out of bed, and his poor body had become so shrivelled up that it seemed a child's body. Yet all through these years, though he suffered untold agonies in his poor weakened body, H. Heine still was the keen philosophic mind and the bitter scoffer.

A few days before his death a friend asked him if he had made his peace with God. Now, Heine had always used his keen wit to scoff at the belief in God, and he answered laughingly, "God will be sure to forgive me, for forgiveness is his trade." His whole life was full of laughter and jest. At times he would fight with the whole world, perhaps estrange his best friends, battle on behalf of his ideas, not scruple to use personalities, and at another time he would sing the sweetest songs which everybody must love. Heine was, so to speak, the very personification of wit, and yet he was a warm-hearted man who would fight against a thousand devils if he thought it necessary and if he found any joy in the struggle. Some of his songs were as joyous and as loving as the spring songs of birds, but others were as hard and as mournful as the midnight wind howling through the forest; others, again, rang out as clearly as a blast of trumpets, and yet again in others Heine mocked and jeered at his enemies with diabolical keenness.

Because every reader can find some mood of his soul in Heine's verses he soon became popular, and that is also the reason why he was so bitterly attacked, as he found fault with so many. And, too, this is why the critics have come to such different opinions over Heine's works.*

When Heine was 25 years old he became a Protestant. He made no secret that he did not adopt this religion because he believed in it, but because at that time it was impossible in Germany for a Jew to be allowed to study at a university.

The sympathies of the leaders of the working men's movements have always been with Heine, and even now the hypocrites and the parasites cannot hear his name mentioned without saying bitter things, though nearly half a century has passed since his death.

In 1831 he left Germany and went to Paris, where he remained till his death. He wrote many bitter political satires against Germany, and this so exasperated the Government of the day that in 1835 the Bundesrath passed a resolution forbidding the circulation of his works. And this decree was a

* I may, perhaps, refer the English reader to Matthew Arnold's Essay and the translations of B. V. (James Thomson).—JACQUES BONHOMME.

very comprehensive one, as it applied not only to his existing works, but to any that he might write afterwards. But Heine only wrote sharper things against the stupid diplomatists, the Philistines and other long-eared gentry whom he loved to revile. He easily conquered these people who thought they could stop all free thought because they were "Excellencies,"* or Court-councillors, or because they had Orders and could punish their servants and lead maidens astray.

In Heine was embodied the thoughts of the French Revolution, which destroyed the feudal chains, shattered the religious beliefs of the Middle Ages, and enunciated the gospel of individual liberty and of equal rights for all. Heine saw that the proletariat were going to fight, and he knew that victory in the end would be on the workmen's side. Socialists will not forget the verses which he wrote, as when he said, "We will be happy on earth, we will no longer starve, the idle belly shall no longer swallow what industrious hands have earned." Or these, "There grows enough corn on earth for all men's children. We leave Heaven to angels and sparrows."

These and other ringing verses with which Heine tore down all cobwebs have made him for all time the friend of the workers. He was coarse and bitter when he fought against lies, oppression and power, and so shall we be against the same foes till we have finally conquered. Heine, in many of his works, has shown the weakness of rulers, the stupidity of the classes, and the malevolence of the rich. And in his later poems he has shown us what the future will be. He is one of us. And if last August the proletariat were right in honouring Goethe, still more so should they now render homage to Heinrich Heine.

Ten years ago in Paris, at the International Congress, I suggested that he should be honoured, and in Montmartre I went to see his tomb. As I gazed on the simple tablet bearing his name, I thought of his lines, "No mass will be sung, no prayers will be said, nothing said and nothing sung on my lowly bier."

What heroic and sad words these are! But he who worked not for himself but for truth and liberty shall not be forgotten.

Heine shall never be forgotten by the workers of Germany. It is true that he has no stone or bronze monument in Germany, but these can be put up by dozens to nobodies; our Heine needs no monument. His enduring works have built him a monument higher than the Eiffel tower and his name is inscribed in everlasting letters in the hearts of all generations to come. If the ruling powers do not allow his statue to stand, this does not diminish Heine's greatness but only shows their meanness. This was well shown by a sketch in a satirical paper showing a design for a Heine monument and these words "Aegir, Lord of the Fleets,† banishes the Lorelei from German poetry."

So it is! For if in our time we must spend millions on useless fleets and immense armies we cannot appreciate the poems of Heine. For "patriotic" Germans are too well trained and too well drilled to be able to rise to the regions of pure imagination where the heavenly muse of poetry dwells.

But we who are "unpatriotic," we ask the German people in the name of Heinrich Heine to work for progress, for truth, and for the welfare of the whole world.

TH. (translated by Jacques Bonhomme).

* German equivalents for right honourables, baronets, knights, &c.

† A "poem" composed by The German Emperor.

A READING FROM PAST HISTORY.

SOME time ago there broke out a disastrous war between Great Britain and a certain obstinate people. Nobody was surprised when it came. Bitter quarrelling had been going on for years between the opposing nations, and public feeling on both sides was violently inflamed. Our adversaries were a harsh, unprepossessing race; there was little about them to admire, save that they would not submit to dictation from without, and that they shed their blood in resisting it. For the kernel of their contention was this: they refused, as an independent political community, to be governed in a manner contrary to the wishes of the great majority of citizens.

Of all that was spoken and written in England by the party favouring this war practically nothing remains but the bitter memory of the scorn, calumny, and vituperation that were directed upon the unamiable or unheroic qualities of the enemy. The idea that those they were attempting to crush were, whatever their claims, a people objectionable socially and politically, was the nearest approach to a high principle that the advocates of coercion could bring forward. Before the war broke out statesmen of high importance publicly and scurrilously denounced the leaders of our opponents,* or spoke of them as "raw, undisciplined, and cowardly men, who would fly at the sound of a cannon."† A man of letters wielding an immense influence over the national mind‡ denounced them in print and vilified them in conversation.

Among the pieces of prejudice summoned to their aid by the Ministerial party was the reproach of slavery made against our opponents.§ It is interesting, too, to note that the Government, finding their original case to be a weak one, soon shuffled into the background those substantive issues upon which the quarrel began, and, raising the cry of "British supremacy," loudly asserted the existence of an organised but secret design on the part of our opponents to subvert that supremacy. A debate in the Lords is thus described:—"On one side the dangers of a . . . war were shown, as well with respect to its domestic as foreign consequences, and its miseries strongly painted, our situation deplored, and the men and measures execrated that involved us in such a labyrinth of evils. On the other, the dangers were in part lessened. . . . The evils of rebellion . . . sprang, in the present instance, entirely from the *original traitorous designs, hostile intentions, and rebellious disposition of* (our opponents)." And a little later occurs this passage:—"It was asserted that (our opponents) *had long been aiming at independency*; and that as soon as they thought themselves able, and a pretence occurred, they insolently and openly avowed their eagerness to put the design in execution. That it was our business and duty as Englishmen, at any price and at any hazard, to prevent its completion and to crush the monster in its birth."|| Thus "diplomacy was poisoned and perished in an atmosphere of suspicion."

* Wedderburn's invective against Franklin at the Committee of the Privy Council.

† Lord Sandwich in the House of Lords.

‡ Johnson.

§ This point gained dignity from being put forward by the Bishop of Gloucester in an annual sermon in London, in February, 1766.

|| "Annual Register," XVIII. (1775), pp. 61 and 68. [For this reference I am indebted to a learned correspondent of the *Westminster Gazette* of December 7. Doubtless our parallel has occurred to many.]

The heart and soul of the popular attitude was a reckless determination to assert, against a puny and despised adversary, a right that was insisted upon in an arrogant and selfish spirit of proprietorship ; a determination that would hear no reasoning and howled down all argument. The war was begun in a temper of pompous indignation, as being provoked by an enemy ludicrously small and weak, who not only had no chance of winning, but had no national status separate from the British Empire. Other motives there were : a sordid grasping after wealth that underlay the action of many of the great men of commerce, who were powerful with the Ministry ; a nobler wish for the maintenance of an Empire said to be threatened, that was the dominant influence with some ; but the derationalising of the vast majority of Englishmen was due to the unworthy feelings described above. Rights over this people Great Britain undoubtedly had. The legal testimony, divided as it then was, seems clearly to point to this conclusion. But Englishmen, as it has been said by Mr. Morley, saw no step between the existence of an abstract right and the propriety of enforcing it.

Towards those loyal Englishmen and true statesmen who were against a war the attitude of the Ministerial party was not more creditable. To the eloquent reproaches and appeals made by the Opposition against the policy of coercion the replies of the supporters of the Government were astonishingly trivial and foolish. Opposition leaders were constantly taunted with the desire to get into office. The following words were uttered in the House of Commons by a member* :—" If gentlemen are of opinion that the enemy are in a state of resistance which they justify, they are called upon to take up their defence, not by speeches, but by arms. Why do not they go and join them ? That would be the true mode." It was freely and frequently asserted that the obstinacy of our opponents was largely due to the encouragement they derived from Opposition speeches and writings ; that they were " incited to resistance by European intelligence from men whom they thought their friends, but who were friends only to themselves."† A great orator‡ exclaimed that " whatever was said by moderate men to incline the Government to lenity was construed into a countenance of rebellion ;" to which the triumphant answer of the Ministerialists was that " the greater disposition Great Britain showed towards conciliation, the more obstinate, rebellious, and insolent our opponents would become." Never, perhaps, in history had an Opposition been more unpopular.—(Abridged from the *Speaker*.)

* Sir George Hay. Many of this statesman's posterity are with us to-day—we fancy several millions.

† Johnson in " Taxation No Tyranny : An Answer to the Resolutions and Address of the American Congress."

‡ Burke.

An English statistician reckons that although the South African war will cost thousands of lives and millions of money, it will pay in the end, by bringing larger profits to the mining companies than could have been gained by peaceful means. His cold-blooded calculation runs thus : " If it costs 20,000 British lives to conquer the Transvaal, and this expenditure produces an increase of \$11,000,000 a year in mining dividends, each life will be bringing an annual return of \$550, more than an ordinary life of the class from which most soldiers are drawn is considered to be worth in any civilised community." Here is British patriotism with a vengeance.—*Minneapolis Tribune*.

LESSONS OF THE WAR.

WRITING on this subject in the *Contemporary*, the author, who merely signs himself "Miles," does not agree with the theory that the one thing we have to do is to create a body of mounted infantry of some sort or other, which must be at a terrible disadvantage, being necessarily inferior to the Boers. We can, no doubt, the writer says, obtain men of an analogous training to the Boers themselves, from our colonies, and in very limited numbers from this country itself, and when we are able to do so it will be well to secure their services.

The lessons of the war, "Miles" continues, are all of simple character. They are that your blows should be directed at the point where they will tell most against your enemy, that your method should be adapted to bring out your strength, and to tell against the enemy's weakness, and that you should not allow the enemy to gain these advantages over you. Our tendency, the writer goes on to say, to erect a fetish out of some fancied advantage that the Boers have over us is characteristic of the mistakes which we are always apt to make from not looking below the surface of things. The nation suddenly wakes up to an interest in military affairs which it has never taken before, and it rushes headlong to conclusions that are not in the least justified by facts. The writer considers the danger of the hour is lest demagogues, appealing to mere popular excitement, should drown the voices of wisdom amongst us by their hysterical shrieking.

In the matter of their armaments, he continues, the Boers have the advantage that coming last into the field they have naturally purchased the latest and most improved weapons that they could. It is well to remember also, the writer points out, that we have fought under the disadvantage which was imposed on us by physical conditions which it was impossible to avoid; and he expresses the fear that the anxieties of the present hour will be only too soon forgotten, and that as soon as the war is over, and when it has been brought to a triumphant conclusion—not immediately, but after much struggle and difficulty—the nation will relapse into its old condition of thinking about the Budget and ignoring the necessities of national defence. First among the latter, says "Miles," is undoubtedly that our army must be adapted to the conditions of Britain and not to the conditions of Switzerland, which are markedly distinct. That we require a very considerable increase of artillery, and probably such increase of our cavalry as we can make thoroughly effective, is pointed out as doubtless; and, finally, that we require above all things that the real needs of the Empire shall be soberly considered and strictly maintained during the long years of peace, and that we shall not be forced to lavish hundreds of pounds for every shilling that we have saved by petty economies during the years when the country was not interested in the question.

The author takes the trouble to point out at the commencement of his article that he speaks more freely in the *Contemporary* than it would be possible to do in any magazine that is at all likely to fall into the hands of the private soldier, and thus in some fashion tend to shake the soldier's confidence in his officer.

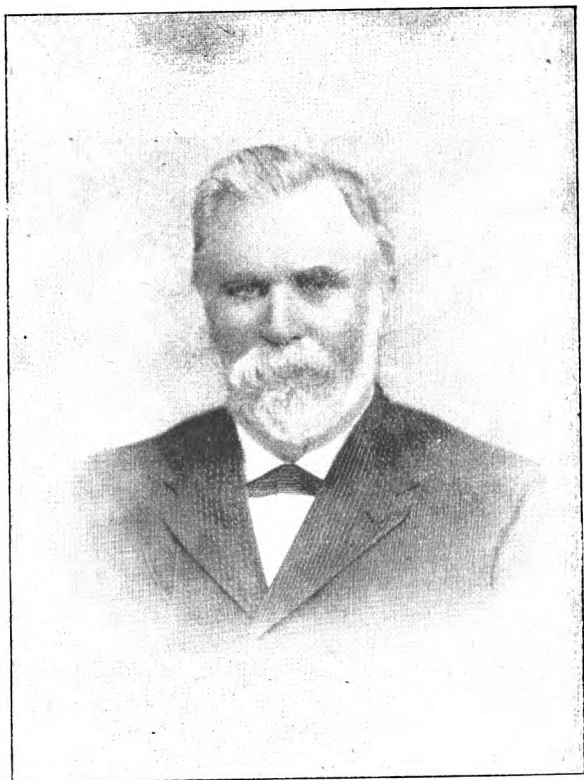
THE German Emperor's Imperial train cost £150,000, and took three years to construct. There are altogether twelve cars, including two nursery carriages. The reception saloon contains several pieces of statuary, and each of the sleeping cars is fitted with a bath.

THE CARRIER PIGEON OF LADYSMITH.

A carrier dove from the cage they bring,
The keenest of vision and fleetest of wing.
Of love and peace once the avatar,
Now held for the grim, sad service of war.
They write a message of hope and cheer
Tho' the vengeful shells are bursting near.
Beneath her wing it is bound with care,
And they set her free with a silent prayer.
She stands at gaze for a moment's space,
And warily poises with airy grace.
Then, lightly leaping, a gleam of white
Goes flashing upward in pulsing flight.
Up, up, to the freedom of God's blue sky,
In widening circles she mounts on high,
Till far beneath her she gazes down
On Natal's green veldts and the kopjes brown.
The boom of cannon and shriek of shell
Of the grisly tumult of war still tell.
Still flame the hill-tops with fitful red,
And the slopes and summit are strewn with dead.
But a scene more joyous, in vision bright,
Allures the dove in her strenuous flight.
There's a cote in Durban, beside the sea,
Where home and her own dear nestlings be.
And tho' an empire may rock below,
On the lurid tides that ebb and flow,
She sees beyond to the peaceful nest,
And the heart is singing within her breast.

I, too, o'er the green veldt sweep along,
On the pinions of fancy, swift and strong.
I see the flashes and battle gleams,
The stiffening forms and thin red streams;
And I, too, looking beyond the strife,
See a fairer vision of peaceful life: —
One great republic that stretches free
From cape to desert, from sea to sea;
Where crown and sceptre shall find no rule,
And freedom brightens o'er church and school;
Where class and privilege fade from sight,
And the Right of Man is the sovereign right;
One more broad continent consecrate
To the people's rule in a mighty State.
God speed the vision and bring it true,
As the world rolls on in a century new.

EDWARD J. WHEELER.



Shu Richardson

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

VOL. IV., No. 3. MARCH, 1900.

JOHN RICHARDSON.

THE subject of our sketch this month is not one of our representatives, nor is he even a member of the S.D.F., nevertheless Mr. John Richardson deserves a place in the SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT as a representative Socialist, and one who has done good service for the cause with our comrades of the ancient city of Lincoln. It is generally asserted by ignorant or foolish opponents of Socialism that all Socialists are ne'er-do-wells, men who have failed in life, and so on. When, in disproof of that, eminent Socialists, who have also been eminently successful men, such as William Morris, are cited, we are told that these men are men of the study, men of great gifts, undoubtedly, but men who by reason of their exceptional gifts are lifted out of the sphere of actualities, who, therefore, are not practical men of affairs, and know nothing of real practical life, but create imaginary conditions of existence out of their own fertile brains. Mr. Richardson, however, is not a dreamer nor a mere theorist. He is a keen, shrewd, practical man of business. He is, moreover, an eminently successful man, and he is, what most rejoices the heart of the Philistine, what is called a self-made man. There are, however, none of the characteristics usually ascribed to the self-made man to be found in Mr. Richardson. His most striking qualities are his absolute earnestness and sincerity, and his great strength of character. "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might," may well have been his guiding principle. His Socialism is a matter of conviction, and of a practical knowledge and experience of the possibilities of industrial organisation. He speaks of that which he knows when he says that, given the organisation of the industry on a national basis, it would be possible to immeasurably increase the output in his own business, and at the same time greatly reduce the hours of labour while doubling wages even

under present conditions. Once convinced that a thing is right, Mr. Richardson is not to be turned from it. At one time he had great hopes of accomplishing all necessary social changes through the medium of the Liberal Party. But the attitude of that party towards questions of urgent importance has destroyed that hope. He has, too, on more than one occasion greatly offended his Liberal friends by the independent stand he has taken up on public questions. He is strongly opposed to the present war, and has not hesitated to join in a public protest against it in opposition to the views of his business partners. Mr. Richardson is a temperance advocate and an ardent educationalist, and believes with Owen that the road to a peaceful social revolution lies through the proper training and development of the young. His views on this subject are well and clearly set forth in his book "How it Can be Done," recently published by the Twentieth Century Press. We are indebted to *Cassier's Magazine* for the following interesting sketch of Mr. Richardson's career:—

It is a characteristic of the series of biographical sketches of distinguished engineers that have appeared in this magazine that their subjects, with very few exceptions, are drawn from the ranks of men still living who have achieved prominence in the engineering world. Even with this limitation there is available a wealth of material, sufficient to continue for years in unbroken series this record of notable inventors, teachers, and workers.

Into the first of these classes naturally fall the names (to quote at random from those already noticed) of Bessemer and of Edison. Typical examples of the second are Kelvin, Reuleaux, Dwelshauvers-Dery and Unwin; while the third group includes those captains of industry who have reduced science to practice, organised an army of labour, and conduct in person the operations of some great engineering enterprise.

The name of John Richardson, the subject of the present sketch, is inseparably bound up with that of the great Lincolnshire firm of Robey and Co., Limited, of which concern he has been for more than a quarter of a century the engineering director. Twenty thousand steam engines scattered broadcast over three out of four quarters of the globe bear the stamp of Mr. Richardson's design, and the factories of his firm at Lincoln, at Budapest, and at Breslau are strained to their utmost capacity in an almost hopeless attempt to meet the ever-increasing demand.

The true engineer, like the poet, is born, not made, and it is peculiarly interesting to trace the career of one whose natural instincts, aided by his own indomitable energy and perseverance, in spite of early disadvantages, made an engineer of him and marked out the path in which he was to travel through life.

Born in the year 1841 of parents who, sacrificing comfort for principle, were at that time in great poverty, young Richardson began his industrial career when only nine years of age. There was little to spend upon education in those days, and to this day he does not recollect learning to read. The family library consisted of only three books, until, at a time when the boy was recovering from a slight illness, it was enlarged by the addition of

a copy of *Cassell's Family Paper*. This piece of extravagance on his mother's part (for, as Mr. Richardson remarks, "she couldn't really afford the penny") led, as not infrequently happens in such cases, to further excesses; for the boy, having once tasted the delights of modern literature, resolved that he would possess a copy of his own every week. With this end in view, he undertook, for the first, though certainly not the last, time in his life, a water supply contract. For the sum of one halfpenny per week he carried for a neighbour a bucket of water once every day and twice on Saturdays from a spring half a mile distant. The precious coin so hardly earned was regularly expended in the purchase of a secondhand copy of *Cassell's Family Paper*, which another enterprising neighbour had at disposal.

After four years' education at a juvenile school, young Richardson, then nine years of age, was put into the commercial office of Messrs. Doughty and Sons, of Lincoln, a well-known firm of oil-cake and artificial manure manufacturers, of which, it may be noted in passing, his eldest brother, Mr. W. W. Richardson, J.P., is now the head.

The boy's sense of duty alone kept him closely to this somewhat un congenial employment, every shilling earned being an important addition to the family income. But by the time he was fourteen his parents were in a position to gratify his highest earthly ambition by apprenticing him to the engineering works of Messrs. Clayton and Shuttleworth. He had found his opportunity, and, as may be easily imagined, was not slow to avail himself of it. Some of his own work in engine-fitting was exhibited by his employers at the great Exhibition of 1862, and as a reward he was allowed a week in London to see the great show of machinery. His expenses, when totalled up, amounted to less than thirty shillings; but the lessons learnt from that week's visit, there can be no doubt, contributed largely to develop his natural instinct for invention.

When the School of Art was established at Lincoln, the first pupil who presented himself when the doors were opened was John Richardson, who followed up his entry by securing four prize medals and an honourable mention in a competition open to all England, during his first year of pupilage.

In the year 1864 Mr. Richardson was offered a position as draughtsman in the firm of Robey and Co., then in a very small way of business as manufacturers of portable engines. The late Mr. Robert Robey, originally a workman at Messrs. Clayton's, was a man of great practical ability and enterprise, and when these qualities were supplemented by the theoretical knowledge and inventive skill manifested by young Richardson, who threw himself heart and soul into the business, the new firm speedily found itself advancing by leaps and bounds, the turnover quadrupling itself within the first ten years.

On the death of Mr. Robey, Mr. Richardson assumed the full control of the engineering affairs of the firm, in which he had been for some time a partner. Upon its conversion into a limited liability company in 1894, Mr. Richardson became, with Mr. Thomas Bell, J.P., joint managing director of the company.

Though during the last 25 years manufacturing engineers have had many troublesome times, it is worthy of remark that during the whole of that period there had been no strike among the workmen employed by Messrs. Robey, and no dispute which has not been promptly met and fairly settled. That the measure of success which has attended the firm's operations is largely due to the inventive, constructive, and administrative ability of Mr. Richardson, few could be found to dispute.

For twenty-five years past Mr. Richardson has been a member of the Institute of Mechanical Engineers, and five or six years ago he was elected a member of the Institution of Civil Engineers. He has read several papers on mechanical subjects before these bodies, and before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and received from the Civil Engineers the Crampton prize in 1895 for his paper on "The Electrical and Mechanical Control of Steam Engines." Mr. Richardson has been an extensive traveller, mainly in the pursuit of the business of his life, and has almost invariably returned from a foreign journey with the full colloquial command of the languages he has encountered.

A man of absolutely untiring industry and blessed with vigorous health, Mr. Richardson is always to be found on the side of progress, whether the subject be engineering, politics, or education. Though for ten years, from 1886 to 1896, he was the chairman and recognised leader of the Lincoln Liberal party, he found himself so far in advance of the views of his party that he felt compelled to resign. He still, however, gives much of his time and attention to the urgent question of social reform, and his book on Constructive Socialism has attracted much attention. Mr. Richardson has often been pressed by various constituencies to enter Parliament, but has always declined to take a step which would withdraw his attention so much from the great manufacturing concern with which he is identified. Mr. Richardson is a magistrate for Lincoln, and is connected in many ways with his native city's local institutions. Needless to say, he is an active supporter of the now flourishing Lincoln School of Science and Art, which in its earliest days helped him in the first step of his successful career.

His absolute sincerity, combined with his singularly convincing methods of reasoning, and his imperturbable good temper in argument, render him a formidable opponent upon the platform, but he has earned the respect and admiration even of those who cannot subscribe to the advanced views which he holds upon different subjects. Mr. Richardson has been twice married, and is happy in the possession of a large family for which no better wish can be formulated than that they, under widely different social conditions, should continue the Richardson tradition of integrity, earnestness and perseverance.

THE WAR AND DEMOCRACY.

IF on the Dreyfus case a difference of opinion might have been with some plausibility maintained, there would seem to be absolutely no ground, short of pecuniary interest, for such a difference with regard to the present war. Either you have a stake in the South African gold industry, and then you are for the war; or you have no such stake, and then you are against it. A third attitude would seem to be impossible, seeing how absolutely iniquitous in every imaginable respect is the attempt of the British Government to crush the freedom and independence of the two Republics. Yet what a confusion of ideas we see in the minds of the people on all hands—a confusion which has even made its way into our own ranks! Some defend the war absolutely and unconditionally from its very beginning up to the last. Others regard it as unjust *per se*, yet calling for our sympathy on higher patriotic grounds, whilst the third condemn it right through as a criminal enterprise started and carried on in the interests of a group of financiers, but still wish it success for the sake of democracy and political liberty. This latter attitude forms the undertone of many otherwise sincere attacks on the present British policy; it makes itself, to a certain extent and with certain qualifications, heard even in some speeches and articles of well-known Socialists, such as for instance, in that of Headingley in a recent issue of *Justice*. It is, therefore, more than necessary to show its utter untenableness, lest by its seeming progressivism it entices us into a justification of what is otherwise unjustifiable.

To be brief, the argument is as follows: England, with her colonies, has been and still is the most progressive country in the world. Whatever her shortcomings in this or other respects, she always stood for democracy and political freedom, showing a bold and effective front to the reactionary forces in the world of international politics—to the aggressive despotism of Russia in particular—and serving by her example, active sympathy, and right of asylum as a great encouragement to those who struggle for liberty in other lands. The present unfortunate course of the war is, therefore, to be greatly lamented, if but for the reason that it has lowered the material and moral prestige of England, and has thus weakened the most progressive factor in contemporary history. Were it, however, to end in England's defeat, and, what is under the circumstances a possible contingency, in the loss of South Africa and other colonies, the harm done to the cause of freedom all over the world would be incalculable. The agencies that work for democracy would be reduced to a state of impotence, the reactionary forces of Russia and Germany would gain ascendancy both in Europe and elsewhere, and the normal and peaceful development of civilised mankind towards political and economic emancipation would be set back for at least half a century. We must, therefore, regardless of all other considerations, wish for English success.

So runs the argument, and much common-sense and true progressivism seem to be at the back of it. However, let us look at the matter closely.

I shall not speak of the glaring contradiction, both in conception and in fact, under which the argument labours—viz., that of the cause of Democracy and Freedom being promoted, or even maintained, by crime and conquest. Nor shall I speak of the remarkable conclusions to which it logically leads, namely, that any buccaneering and liberty-extinguishing enterprise of a democratic country is to be justified and supported on the ground that its failure would mean a shifting of the political balance to the side of reaction. That would justify the conquest of Turkey by Russia, of Russia by Austria, of Austria by Germany, and of all of them by France or England, which is *prima facie* absurd. I shall confine myself to the particular case in point and see whether the argument does not contain some fallacy in its premises.

A glance at the latter will prove that this is precisely the case, that the argument is logically fallacious. *It treats the present war incidentally, instead of symptomatically*, and without paying so much as a single thought to the question whether it may not be a legitimate result of the past history of England, a mere, so to say, breaking out in an acute and visible form of a disease that has been gnawing at the vitals of the body politic for a long time, it regards it in the light of a passing accident which may certainly have some bad consequences, but has been brought about by a mere concurrence of exterior circumstances. And this is as erroneous a view as can possibly be conceived. The present war, so far from reducing the influence for progress which England has hitherto exercised in the world, is in itself but a product of the growth of reaction in this country for the last twenty-five years or so. From the beginning of the seventies the English middle-classes, which were the custodians of liberal traditions and principles since the beginning of the century, have been drifting more and more into a retrograde policy. They have fulfilled their historical mission of freeing English society from the last economic and juristic trammels of feudal landlordism, and their position under the pressure of bourgeois industrial competition grew more and more precarious. They were unable any longer to afford that generosity of action which distinguished their policy at home and, to a still greater extent, abroad, and with every year their thoughts began to turn more and more decisively to other methods of self-entrenchment than those of the old Radical school. It would be impossible to elaborate here the point in detail, I might do it on some more suitable occasion; but the most glaring of those methods, if not exactly the most efficacious, was and is the banding together of England and her colonies into one gigantic empire for the purposes of industrial self-defence and aggression. Those who have read the first volume of Paine's "Origines" might remember the stirring pages about the revolutionary idea of eighteenth-century France being merrily handled about, like some pretty toy or doll, by all classes of society, including those who stood round the throne. It was played with in all philosophical and political circles, fallen in love with

in the fashionable saloons of the aristocracy, dressed in bright colours, adorned with ribbons and sparkling jewels—and all in innocent ignorance that out of this pretty thing a monster is growing that will devour them all. Similarly with the imperialistic idea of England at the end of the nineteenth century. Hatched out by Beaconsfield, it soon found its way into all classes of the community, and became a favourite pet with the politician and fashionable lady, financier and workman, reactionary and reformer. It passed from hand to hand with a joyous swiftness, evoking peals of laughter and admiration and growing in definiteness with every turn of the ring. What fancy dresses, what sweet nicknacks has it not become possessed of under the loving caresses of its admirers. Ah, these admirers did not know that they are breeding a monster, that that little innocent-looking thing is going to devour them. They thought they would just play with it and leave it. But no. It grew big and strong, and, shaking off the ridiculous drapings in which it had been clad, appeared before their eyes in all its hideous reality. People now recoil at sight of it. "We did not mean that, we meant quite another thing," they say. It is too late. You have said *A* and you are bound to go right through the alphabet up to *X Y Z*. The seed has been thrown, but instead of rooting it out you spent on it the best labour and sunshine you could command—and now you have to reap what has been sown.

It is, therefore, idle to say that the present war, if unhappily ended, portends reaction. It would portend reaction were it ever so successfully carried out and terminated, because it is itself the outcome of reaction. Do not, consequently, say that the war is lamentable from the democratic standpoint; reaction would have set in all the same even were there no war, only it would have moved, perhaps, more slowly.

I will, however, go further, and at a risk of being called a foreigner who cannot feel sympathy with the English, say, rather than be successful and give additional glamour to Imperialism, may the war end in the loss of South Africa and of the whole of the so-called Empire. For who would lose by it? The colonies—Canada, Australia, South Africa or India? But the first two can very well do without an English governor, whilst the latter, too, will only gain by getting rid of a terrible incubus. Or is it England? But apart from the lustre which possessions in every part of the globe shed on this country, and which we Socialists, at least, ought to value at its real worth, there is absolutely no material advantage, short of exploiting India and some parts of Africa for the benefit of a handful of shareholders, which England gains from her colonies and which she would not gain were they independent States. Who, then, would be the loser? It is time to recognise that England's greatness and might lie not in her colonial possessions, but in these very islands, with their enormous material wealth and moral stamina of the people. It is the English shipping, engineering, cotton, wool and coal, coupled with her literature, science, art and political and municipal institutions that have made her great, and all this would remain and, perhaps, receive a further stimulus were she to lose her colonies this very day. And the gains? The gains would be that she would once for all get rid of the imperialistic nightmare that has been sapping the very marrow of her bones. Freed from the most pernicious of red herrings that has ever been trailed across its path, the democracy of England will receive a new impetus and will then really be in a position to head the movement for progress and liberty all the world over.

TH. ROTHSTEIN.

THE SMALL DWELLINGS ACQUISITION ACT, 1899.

A SOCIALIST VIEW.

THE nineteenth century has been described, on many hands, and from various points of view, as a wonderful one.

Undoubtedly, science has added vast domains to her regions of discovery and invention. And art and literature may have gained much from new experiences and proved truths; but we can hardly, I venture to say, refer to the arena of politics and government and claim any quality, either of discovery, progress, or commendable initiative in this sphere of labour.

In our own country, at least, the efforts of the Legislature have been very feeble indeed, in dealing with social questions especially. "The Small Dwellings Acquisition Act, 1899," is an example of what we may expect from a bourgeois government—either Liberal or Tory—in the way of working-class legislation.

Let us review its provisions.

It is "An Act to empower Local Authorities to advance money for enabling persons to acquire the Ownership of Small Houses in which they reside."

In Section 1 it is enacted that "A local authority for any area may, subject to the provisions of this Act, advance money to a resident in any house within the area for the purpose of enabling him to acquire the ownership of that house, provided that any advance shall not exceed—

"(a) Four-fifths of that which, in the opinion of the local authority, is the market value of the ownership; nor

"(b) £240; or, in the case of a fee simple or leasehold of not less than 99 years unexpired at the date of the purchase, £300;

"And an advance shall not be made for the acquisition of the ownership of a house where, in the opinion of the local authority, the market value of the house exceeds £400."

Now, leaving out of the question the conservative tendency of small proprietorship, this Act will not even assist the steady, thrifty and careful amongst the working class, as almost every clause bears the impress of Capital—security! security!

According to Clause A, Section 1, just quoted, a person will have to possess at least one-fifth of the value of the house, which, if the house is valued at, say, £300, would be £60, which, we venture to assert, is out of the reach of the vast majority of the working class.

And, further, as houses of more value than £400 are not eligible, it is certainly of no benefit to dwellers in large cities and towns, where there are joint tenancies subsisting between persons who live in houses worth from £500 to £1,000 each. In Section 3, Clause 1, it is enacted that "the proprietor of the house shall reside in the house." This condition of

residence is one of its most baneful features, and, although Clause 2 of the same section provides that—

“The proprietor of the house may, with the permission of the local authority (which shall not be unreasonably withheld), at any time transfer his interest in the house, but such transfer shall be made subject to the statutory conditions,”

it is obvious that such transfers would entail heavy legal charges, which, probably, most persons would not care to pay.

There are several clauses of a strict nature relating to entry and powers of sale by the local authority if default be made in payment of interest and proportion of principal at the proper time.

Section 7, Clause 2, provides that a person must actually reside in the house at least eight months out of every twelve. Owing to the precarious and shiftY nature of employment this clause would at once render the Act inoperative in the majority of cases.

There are special provisions relating to its application to Scotland and Ireland.

Altogether, this Act is a very feeble and paltry attempt to deal with the problem of the housing of the working classes, and whilst we are not much surprised (when we find our legislators so busily engaged adjusting the relations of the classes), we did at least expect that the time had arrived when this problem had, at least, a claim to some genuine consideration from the Legislature.

It was a false and vain hope. And we are again confronted with the problem.

The Government machine is so slow, and although, probably, we have had as much tinkering with this question as any other in the shape of “Housing of the Working Classes Acts,” “Land Purchase Acts,” “Building Societies Acts,” “Public Health Acts,” and the “Small Dwellings Acquisition Act, 1899,” we are still a long way from the realisation of our desires.

Even if we had a fair and equitable Act relating to the housing of the working classes in operation, and which was wisely and fairly administered, we should still have to contend with the ground landlord with his exorbitant demands and his ruthless enforcement of them.

Indeed, the question involves the consideration of, and the dealing with, our present land system, with its monopolist ownership and its capitalistic employment thwarting every aspiring public enterprise and every noble public desire to alter the present state of affairs. And, having in view the dependent character of the propertyless proletariat, we can only labour to educate and convince our fellows that this question—the housing of the working classes—vast as it must be, is but a small portion of the wrong which capitalism brings in its path, and we are confident, therefore, that the proper solution of this question carries with it, necessarily, the displacement of the ground landlord—as such—as part of the condition of the solution of the problem.

JOSEPH LEECH.

SOCIALIST CRITICS.

V.—RUSKIN.

THE death of Ruskin deprived the nation of a great ethical teacher. The high character of his teachings appeals to us more strongly, perhaps, because society has never before reached such a high pinnacle of selfishness and of intellectual dishonesty; neither have mercenary motives ever held such sway over its conduct. Ruskin's soul, which yearned for justice, truth and honesty, artistic beauty and intellectual vigour in the nation, stands out in marked contrast to the spirit of nineteenth-century commercialism.

Ruskin was essentially an idealist and a utopist, a sort of paternalist or benevolent despot, and his views run in accord with the spirit of the text from which he took the title of his work, "Unto This Last."

In the parable of the labourers in the vineyard, Christ represents a vineyard lord coming across some labourers late in the day standing idle in the market place. Addressing them he said, "Why stand ye here all the day idle?" To which they replied, "Because no man hath hired us." Finding that they sought work he sent them into his vineyard, agreeing to give them a penny, as he had agreed with others at early morn. At this the first batch of labourers employed naturally grumbled, having been at work eleven hours longer for the same price. To the expostulations of one of their number the vineyard lord responded, "Friend, I do thee no wrong. Didst not thou agree with me for a penny? Take that thine is, and go thy way. I will give UNTO THIS LAST even as unto thee." This dealing of the vineyard lord with his labourer is quite in harmony with the spirit of Ruskin, and the phrase "unto this last" aptly illustrates his paternalism.

Like the benevolent vineyard-grower, Ruskin would grant unto the workers a price which should requite them according to their service and the position which they held in society. He would, however, be no niggard. He would make no deductions for accidental shortcomings; every man should have a fixed wage; all should be employed at a price which should enable them to enjoy life in the highest sense in the social circle in which they moved, but the services of the common labourer would not be rewarded like the services of the more enlightened citizens.

From the paternalist point of view Ruskin comes near to that of the Positivists, who would be content with the capitalist system of exploitation if the capitalists would become moralised, and let the welfare of society be paramount over their own individual interests. Ruskin also reminds one of Bastiat, the French economist, who formulated a theory of value on the basis of services rendered.

Ruskin was essentially a critic. It was his wont to compare existing society with his ideal, and then to condemn. To historically trace the evolution of the capitalist system from simple exchange to a collectivist

system, in which society would control the means of industry, and thus liberate the "soul" of man, was to him too tedious, too mundane, and too mechanical a proceeding.

The vineyard lord is a fair illustration of how Ruskin regarded the relations of employer and employed. The impersonal relations between the exploiter and the exploited arising out of the system of exchange do not appeal to him. What attracts him is the personal or social relations between employer and employed. The vineyard lord may be a vineyard lord and exploit if he is honest, just and benevolent, and does not fall short of Mr. Ruskin's ideal of an employer. The employee may remain an employee if the conditions of his employment allow him to become an artistic worker and to realise his best activities in the product of his work.

In his first essay Ruskin deals with what he calls the "Roots of Honour," the relations of honour which should exist between members engaged in various occupations and of employers and employees. He does not see that there should necessarily be any antagonism between them. Because the interests of employers and employed are in opposition to each other, that is no reason why they should be at enmity. When a family is short of food, he says, the mother's interest is opposed to the child's, but she gives way to the child. She refuses to eat that the child may not hunger. Here Ruskin brings in personal affection to solve the difficulties existing between exploiters and exploited, and shows his utopianism by ignoring the impersonal relations existing between owners of commodities or exchange-values as opposed to exchangers of social use-values. He would appeal to the benevolent and higher social instincts of an employer to settle all differences, independent of the material relations dominating capitalist production. To illustrate his meaning, he examines five professions to show the "roots of honour" underlying the relation of each to the nation.

"The soldier's profession is *to defend it*.

"The pastor's *to teach it*.

"The physician's *to keep it in health*.

"The lawyer's *to enforce justice in it*.

"The merchant's *to provide for it*.

"And the duty of all these men is, on due occasion, *to die for it*.

"On due occasion, namely:—

"The soldier, rather than leave his post in battle.

"The physician, rather than leave his post in plague.

"The pastor, rather than teach falsehood.

"The lawyer, rather than countenance injustice.

"The merchant—what is his 'due occasion' of death?

". . . . It is no more his function to get profit for himself than it is a clergyman's function to get his stipend This stipend is a due and necessary adjunct, but not the object of his life, if he be a true clergyman, any more than his fee (or honorarium) is the object of life to a true physician. Neither is his fee the object of life to a true merchant. All three, if true men, have a work to be done irrespective of fee—to be done

even at any cost, or for quite the contrary of fee; the pastor's function being to teach, the physician's being to heal, and the merchant's, as I have said, to provide. . . . And as the captain of a ship is bound to be the last man to leave his ship in case of wreck, and to share his last crust with the sailors in case of famine, so the manufacturer, in any commercial crisis or distress, is bound to take the suffering of it with his men, and even to take more of it for himself than he allows himself to feel; as a father would in a famine, shipwreck, or battle sacrifice himself for his son."

To have made his simile complete Ruskin ought to have enumerated the duties of the ordinary employer and employee. The illustration with the factory worker excluded is something like the play of "Hamlet" with the Prince of Denmark left out.

From the social standpoint of economics, no one would dispute that it should be the function of the soldier to defend society, of the lawyer to enforce justice, and of the merchant to provide for it, but under present economic conditions, in which production is carried on for individual profit and distribution governed by exchange, it is the function of the soldier, the lawyer, and the merchant to look after their own individual interest. The welfare of society to them is a secondary matter. The salary of the soldier and the lawyer and the merchant and the employee is "the first object of their life," despite Ruskin's idealism. Under capitalism it is the individual first, society second.

It is here where Mr. Ruskin plays the part of the sentimentalist and becomes the utopist. He tries to build up an ideal community out of a society whose economic basis does not permit the realisation of his ideals. A Socialist might as well try to establish a system of social equality on the basis of a capitalist society which necessitates class distinction between workers and bourgeois employers.

The apologist of present society is hypocritical enough to assert that capitalists produce primarily for use and not for profit, and that the utility of an article has to be first considered before profit can be realised, and that therefore profit is a subsidiary factor in production; but experience tells us that profit is the primary factor which entices the capitalists, and that the starting point of production is the employment of capital to secure a given rate of profit, the usefulness of the product being quite a secondary matter in the eyes of the capitalist.

In his second essay Ruskin attempts to lay down the principles of a just wage. At first it would appear as if he favoured the Socialist contention, labour for labour measured by time, but he gets no farther than labour for labour, leaving his standard of measurement to be assumed by the reader. "The abstract idea of just or due wages, as respects the labourer," says Ruskin, "is that they will consist in a sum of money which will at any time procure for him at least as much labour as he has given, rather more than less. For, instance, if a man gives me a pound of bread to-day, I should not give less than a pound of bread to-morrow."

As we are dealing with equivalents, we will pass by the phrase "rather more than less," which is a contradiction, and meaningless, dealing only with the statement that the wages of the labourer should be governed by "as much labour as he has given." Now, the above statement begs the whole question. Exchange does not imply bread for bread, but bread for another commodity. What we want to know is the basis of exchange between a baker, an architect, a tailor, an artist, and other kinds of labour. Ruskin leads one at first to believe that the

relation is one of labour governed by time, but in reality he refers the reader to the market price of labour. Ascertain the price of a loaf, tell me the number of loaves which the labour of the baker represents, and I will tell you what should be his just wages, says Ruskin in effect. But what we want to know is how does Ruskin arrive at the price of a pound of bread? How does he equate one class of labour with another? To say that every man should be given his just price reminds one of the answer of Jesus to the question, "Is it for us to give tribute unto Cæsar, or no?" To which he answered, "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which be Cæsar's, and unto God the things which be God's." Such a reply was an excellent repartee on the part of Jesus, but it was no answer to the question. Ruskin believed in regulated labour, and regulated payment according to the particular class of work in which a worker was engaged. He distinctly denies, on page 95, uniform payment, though he leads us, as we have already stated, to imagine he supports it by what he says on another page. For instance, on page 83 he says, "If a man works an hour for us, and we only promise to work half-an-hour for him in return, we obtain an unjust advantage." This statement seems to infer that he is at one with the Social-Democrat respecting the equality of labour, but the whole tenor of his work is against such a supposition. Labour for labour, life for life, but only special labour and special lives may be equated. Time with Ruskin is not the standard by which labour can be measured, but utility, as known by service. How are we to measure service? How are we to measure utility? That question must be left to the individual, for it is only the individual who can tell what is useful to him. I may like sweets. You may like acids. The utility of sweets and acids appear different, and must be determined by each of us.

Ruskin has thus really no basis to his theory of value except his paternalism and individual sense of justice. This explains why he considers "a colonel should not have the same pay as a private, nor a bishop the same pay as a curate." Both should be paid well, but in what proportion Mr. Ruskin and his fellow-paternalists have to decide.

Giving a liberal interpretation to Mr. Ruskin's principles, they might permit of a restricted form of State Socialism, the State to determine the relative social status of a producer, leaving intact class distinctions and their antagonisms.

Ruskin's ideal was, needless to say, better than his formulated principles of political economy. Probably, if he had understood the principles of Social-Democracy he would, like William Morris, have been a Socialist. It appears Ruskin was entirely ignorant of the aims of Socialists, and actually accepted the absurd and ofttime exploded notion that they believed "in dividing up."

Ruskin, as a sentimentalist, as an idealist, as one who strove to do that which was right, will always appeal to a great number of persons who would not listen to a Socialist, relying on the more materialistic side of economics as fundamentally determining the social welfare of the community.

Ruskin's "Unto This Last," with all its blemishes and economic heresies, is a great and noble work. It lifts the reader above the miserable quagmire of selfish commercialism, and appeals to his higher instincts. To Ruskin the creation of wealth is the creation of life. To manufacture vile adulterated goods is to create a mean, sordid life. To produce the most perfected and artistic forms of wealth is to create the highest type of human life in which love, truth and justice shall ever flourish.

A. P. HAZELL.

"TREACHEROUS TOLERATION," ETC.

AFTER reading our comrade Bax's article on the above subject, I could not help thinking of the movement lately amongst European Governments for special treatment of anarchists. Socialists maintained at the time that hitherto the common law of countries had been sufficient to deal with unjustifiable outrages and offences, and that no special legislation was necessary. It seems to me that the "common law" of the S.D.F. is good enough to deal with renegades and impostors, without taking up the time of an International Congress with the subject.

If our Continental brethren choose to retain within their ranks people whom we think misrepresent us, then what can we do beyond protest? If the party is satisfied in the matter, what can be done by others who are likely to know still less about the orthodoxy of the person in question? So far as our own organisation is concerned, it is open to a branch to expel any member who in their opinion is undesirable or who preaches reactionary doctrines. If Bernstein preaches in England doctrines against those held by the S.D.F., then we can only denounce him and protest to the German S.D.P. against him being allowed to pose here as the representative of International Socialism.

The case of Blatchford however, to me seems a rather different one. True, he has said in his paper that he is a member of the S.D.F., but that was some years ago, and it is rather doubtful that he has been a member right up to now.

What a good many men do not appear to grasp, is the fact that the *Clarion* was founded in order to preach "Clarionism." The *Clarion* Board preach what they like and allow only what discussion they like. "Clarionism," as it happens, was Socialistic, and was pushed by branches and members of the S.D.F., but for whose work the *Clarion* would not be alive to-day.

As has been pointed out in *Justice*, it is extremely doubtful whether "Nunquam" has ever assimilated the fundamentals of International Socialism.

"Socialism," according to Blatchford, means "England for the English," we understand it as meaning "The world for the workers." "Capital," too, is not wealth used to exploit the workers with, but "tools of industry." "Nunquam" does not want capital abolished—we do. What Blatchford says in his paper is, moreover, he tells us, "his own private business," and therefore may not be denounced. The opinion of the majority of the Socialist Party, about his views and utterances on the war, should by now be fairly clear to readers of Socialist newspapers; England is, however, a free country, and if Blatchford and the hero-worshippers, S.D.F.-haters and cranks, who form the bulk of his followers, choose to call themselves Socialists, who is to say them nay?

G. FOSTER.

THE MILITARY FORCES OF OUR COLONIES.

UNDER this title Lieut.-General Owen, writing in the *Forinightly*, says that these forces consist, generally speaking, of a "Permanent" force, a "Militia," and of a "Volunteer" force. The first-mentioned correspond to our "Regular" forces, the officers taking up arms as a profession; the non-commissioned officers and men are enlisted for a fixed term, usually from three to five years, and are paid, housed, clothed, and fed by the State during the term of their engagement. "They are for the time," says the writer, "soldiers by profession, coming under a more or less stringent military law; in fact, the nucleus of a standing army. Their numbers are very small compared with the totals of the forces. On account of the cost of living and the comparatively high rate of wages, the expense of maintaining this force is considerable. Both officers and men are paid at much higher rates than those of our army."

The Cavalry and Infantry totals in the three groups, continues the writer, amount to about 3,500. Canada has in its permanent force one regiment of Cavalry, two batteries of field and two of garrison artillery, and one battalion of Infantry. The mounted police number about 5,000 men.

The writer proceeds: "By far the greater proportion of their military strength lies in the 'Militia,' 'Defence,' or 'partly paid' force. They are all of a description of Militia, and, as in England, Acts exist under which the ballot can be put into action for raising the force when necessary, though they have never, as yet, been brought into play. The members of the force are enlisted for a short term of years, and are paid at definite rates up to a maximum of so many days a year, the number of days for which pay can be drawn being fixed, under the provisions of their Defence Acts, by regulations issued each year. The maximum number of days for which pay is allowed may be taken at sixteen, though it usually does not exceed twelve days, too short a period." The rates of pay for an infantry private, the writer informs us, averages about 5s. per day, which is entirely earned by work done; for an evening drill of three hours, a quarter day's pay; the strength of the militia force in the three groups is approximately: cavalry, 3,000; mounted infantry, 2,500; field artillery, 24 batteries; garrison artillery, 3,500; engineers and torpedo corps, 1,100; infantry, 41,000; departments, bands, &c., 1,500, or a grand total of about 52,000 officers and men, of which Canada furnishes 45,000. There exist also under this head some 2,000 to 3,000 so-called naval reserves and naval artillery, mostly available for land defence.

The writer states that mounted infantry is the nature of force best suited to the conditions of life and climate of the colonies excepting in the capital cities and a few large towns. Finally with regard to the future, the writer states that a thorough reorganisation will be necessary in many ways both in Australia and South Africa; if ballot for the militia in some form be introduced in England—it is heartily hoped by the writer that it will be—the colonies may follow suit; in any case it will be necessary to have an Imperial defence scheme much more thoroughly worked out and the forces of our colonies definitely brought into it, for we must stand or fall together.

GREATER GERMANY.

IN the current number of *La Revue Socialiste*, M. Paul Louis contributes a paper reviewing the development and changes of German colonial and foreign policy during the last few years. The term "Greater Germany," used by Count von Bülow in a speech in the Reichstag last December, is not merely a piece of empty Parliamentary rhetoric, but is the expression and *résumé* of the new colonial policy which Germany has now adopted.

"Until a relatively recent date the German Empire had concentrated its attention upon the continent of Europe. It watched France in the West, and Russia in the East. Strictly maintained the Triple Alliance. Italy against France, Austria against Russia seemed to be the essential pivot of German prestige. Its relations with England were vague but amicable, and no one would be astonished if it someday became known that at the commencement of his reign William II. had made attempts to attach to him the nomadic sympathies of that Power. The Eastern Question was of little interest to the Cabinet at Berlin. . . . As regards the extreme East, it was to the Germans as a planet lost in the immensity of space. Finally, if German colonies had been implanted in Africa and elsewhere they were considered as a rather regrettable mistake, as a deviation which must be amended with all possible haste.

"The period from 1891 has been marked by an enormous change in the general attitude of Germany. William II. has endeavoured to disarm the suspicions of France and to conciliate Russia. Instead of a state of reciprocal defiance, of latent war which had hitherto prevailed, he has substituted a continued peace which presents all the characters of a defined situation."

The frontier incidents which Bismarck so well knew how to create, have ceased. Germany, France, and Russia have in concert protected China against triumphant Japan.

Whilst the relations of these former antagonists are thus tending toward harmony, the relations of England and Germany are becoming more hostile. The fact that whilst William II. was protecting the Celestial Emperor, the flag of England waved side by side with that of the Mikado, can be attributed to no accident whatever. The same may be said of the Transvaal war, the Spanish-American war, and the affairs of the Samoan archipelago. "It will take more than Mr. Chamberlain to prove the non-existence of antagonism between Germany and the United Kingdom."

"The phenomena of this rapid change of policy," continues M. Louis, "has deep economic causes. . . . The industrial development of the Empire has been a sufficient and necessary reason for this alteration of front and the abandonment of the narrow Bismarckian policy. In 1870, Germany, cut up in sections and divided against itself, did not rank among the great commercial countries. Essentially agricultural, it lived by the cultivation of the land and adopted the great industry, the characteristic of modern labour, slowly and with regret. Then suddenly, with unification and imperial resurrection, a new era opened. From Upper Saxony to the sea a prodigious fever of activity spread throughout the land, the idea of a different national life, a kind of frenzy of imitation; the great industry increased and became a formidable stream which still continues. To-day the Empire has only two rivals: England and the United States.

"Its exchanges exceed £400,000,000; its exports are more than £200,000,000. Hamburg has become the premier port of the Continent, and for the last two years has attained a greater importance than Liverpool. Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Antwerp tend more and more to rank themselves among German ports. Throughout the length of the Elbe, the Weser and the Rhine an astonishing circulation of wealth has been created which is unequalled in the world. The receipts from railways attain extraordinary increases every year, at the same time that the merchant marine formerly of so small a tonnage has risen to at least double that of France.

"But the very laws of capitalist production compel Germany to be continually seeking new markets. Its continued progress in Turkey, China, Japan and the South American Republics—although causing much disquietude to its competitors—has failed to satisfy its needs, and in imitation of other Powers who have preceded it in commercial activities, Germany has now begun to believe in the effectiveness of colonial foundations. . . ."

This policy of a "greater Germany" will lead inevitably to war. To war, not with France or Russia, the traditional enemies of Bismarck, but with the United Kingdom.

"Germany in possession of foreign markets, with a great or small colonial empire, will necessarily hinder more and more the movements of Britain. As the idea of Anglo-Saxon federation arises in the minds of English publicists, simultaneously with the demonstration of the economic decadence of the United Kingdom, a day will come when their successors, or perhaps they themselves, with sorrow or with joy will issue an ultimatum to the German Empire as the only remedy possible. Carthage threw herself upon Rome to conquer or die. But this time the struggle will not be confined to the limited fields of antique combats, the Mediterranean. It will extend to every sea, and involve the whole of humanity, throw 350 millions of men into conflict, destroy battalions and cities, in order to decide this sovereign question of capitalist society—whether the weavers of Lancashire or those of Saxony shall keep the *clientèle* of the Eastern markets"

A. E. L.



"GENERAL KITCHENER, at the time of the Soudanese war, never spared himself and cared little for others. He treated all men like machines—from the private soldiers whose salutes he disdained, to the superior officers he rigidly controlled. The comrade who had served with him and under him for many years in peace and peril was flung aside incontinently as soon as he ceased to be of use. The Sirdar only looked to the soldiers who could march and fight. The wounded Egyptian, and latterly the wounded British soldier, did not excite his interest, and of all the departments of his army, the one neglected was that connected with the care of the sick and injured. The stern and unpitiful spirit of the commander was communicated to his troops, and the victories which marked the progress of the River war were accompanied by acts of brutality not always justified by the harsh customs of savage warfare."

MILITARY REFORM.

(Concluded.)

THE ERROR OF ONE YEAR'S SERVICE.

I must warn the public against a mistake which is made by some people who denounce vigorously the present military system; I mean those journalists who are in favour of the system of one year's service.

They agree with me that a citizen army is the best, but they think that the difficulties in obtaining it are too great, and they are strongly in favour of a system in which everyone should do one year's service.

But the citizen army is not a permanent army; it is an intermittent army and the essential idea is that whenever it is called together it is really mobilised on a war footing.

Now, under our system there are really about 570,000 men under arms. Of this about 110,000 are permanent (including officers, non-commissioned officers, gendarmes, &c.), and there are 460,000 men. Those who only serve the time prescribed by law are, so to speak, the muscles of the permanent army, and the others represent the skeleton and the nervous system.

Now, every year there are on an average 240,000 recruits. If these men only serve for one year there would only be 350,000 men instead of 570,000, and there would be a deficit of 220,000 men.

Therefore, there would not be a permanent army, for we cannot call a permanent army one in which a company of infantry would only be up to half its normal strength, and in which the skeleton units would be replaced by phantom units.

On the other hand, when these one-year soldiers were discharged they would be replaced by untrained recruits. How then would the permanent staff be kept up? People will say that recruits could be called up in two batches; one series being called up every six months, so that there would always be serving under the colours one class having more than six months' service, and one having served less than six months.

This hardly seems possible in practice. It would throw a great deal of extra work on the instructors, whose numbers would have to be increased, thus making the expenses more costly. It would also increase the cost of all manoeuvres.

Therefore, this system would really meet with much opposition. It would destroy a permanent army, with no compensating advantages, and would endanger the national defence.

In keeping men with the colours for a year public money would be wasted, instead of carefully preparing for war, as in Switzerland. And then it would be impossible to effect a mobilisation, as under a citizen army.

But then, it is said, if this army was not satisfactory we should have to recruit a professional army as well. Now this, for one thing, would be very expensive, for a professional soldier costs more than an ordinary soldier, and we should want 220,000 of them. This scheme, even if this difficulty were surmounted, is also objectionable, as it means a mercenary army. Now, all reactionaries have always favoured this system, as it would be much easier to get an army of that sort to do their bidding. If ever there were such an army Déroulède would find it easy to get them to follow him to the Elysée unless some other Pretender had got there before him.

To sum up, the system of one year's service would either destroy the permanent army without the advantage of a citizen army which would preserve our independence, or it would lead to the formation of a professional army, which would greatly favour a *coup d'état*. I think if Republicans will consider this dilemma they will see that this so-called reform would be a very dangerous one.

Since the middle of the century clear-sighted and able men have denounced the misdeeds of European militarism. But, though they have spoken clearly and shown the stupidity of war and of that armed peace which can only lead to war or to ruin, yet they have always failed on account of the opposition of certain privileged classes which are interested in the maintenance of the present system, to the prejudices of a small number of jingoes, and especially owing to the ignorance of the bulk of the population.

The great majority of the people is pacific unless they are excited by those who should enlighten them. German Michael, English John Bull, and French Jacques Bonhomme do not wish to gather laurels which, after all, are not for him; he wishes to work in his garden, and to feed his wife and children. But each one does not know the other and do not see that their needs are the same; they have been carefully brought up to hate their "wicked neighbours" and to fear the ogre. And that is why the people, fearing the aggression with which they are threatened, are led like sheep to the slaughter.

The generous men who have fought against militarism have not taken this into consideration. They have simply spoken against standing armies and have not realised that the masses, having been taught these were an indispensable barrier, would not follow them; they have unwittingly played the game of the reactionaries who lay claim shamelessly to a monopoly of patriotism and wish to make use of the faculty of conservatism which is innate in man. And thus they have not succeeded.

It is no use talking about a citizen army if we do not make quite clear what we mean by the term. We must show the people what we mean to do, and that is to transform a standing army into a much less costly army which would only ask a citizen to sacrifice a few weeks' labour, and which would be certainly far more efficient for defence than an existing army. If this was clearly put before the nation it would be much better, and other neighbouring nations would be likely to imitate us.

Now, this is not a theory or a dream; all that we have to do is to reorganise our army on the Swiss plan. I do not claim to have a perfect plan, but I do say that I have been the first to call attention to this army and to enunciate sound principles. As to the details, they need discussion, and I hope that they will be discussed. All that I ask is that the question be not shelved.

If we adopt the Swiss plan we should be invulnerable on our own territory. We should be able to save a great deal of money. We could reduce our debt and undertake many valuable public works, &c.

We should liberate 460,000 every year from barracks, and increase in that way the wealth of France. By so doing men would be able to get married earlier and would be preserved from the evils of barrack life.

France would deserve the admiration and the gratitude of humanity by undertaking the greatest reform which the world has yet seen; she would acquire an imperishable glory, she would become the liberator of nations, the moral director of the civilised world.

G. MOCH (translated by Jacques Bonhomme).

THE INTERNAL ORGANISATION OF THE BELGIUM LABOUR PARTY.

THE Social-Democracy of Belgium is not only a political party, it is a State within a State, a collectivist embryo in the midst of capitalist society. In his excellent study on the "Organisations of the Socialists of Ghent," Louis Varley says, speaking of our twenty-six district federations :—

"The Federation of Ghent consists of a series of organisations, which have in view the satisfaction of every need of the working class; the bringing of every side of the social life of the workers into their sphere of activity, and the creation of a miniature Socialist world, wherein every member can find everything that is of interest or utility to him."

Varley has calculated that a Socialist worker's household, with a weekly wage of from 25 to 30 francs, pays the following amounts each week to the federation :—

	Francs.
For newspapers	0.14
„ insurance against sickness or accident ...	0.30
„ life insurance	0.05
„ members of the family	0.10
„ invalid fund	0.02
„ trade union	0.20
„ the district club	0.05
„ another club	0.05
„ pamphlets and books	0.10
„ bread	3.55
„ entertainments, &c.	1.00
„ other expenditure (grocery, clothes, firing, light, &c.)	10.00
Total	15.56 f.

At the end of the year the household receives on this expenditure a bonus of 75 francs, payable in goods produced or dealt in by the Vooruit.

There are in Ghent about 1,000 families who pay each week a half of their income to the federation. In other parts of the country the number is, of course, not so great, but one can confidently say that there are a certain number of workers everywhere, especially the personnel of the large co-operative establishments, who lead a socialistic life.

Take, for example, a baker at the Maison du Peuple at Brussels. As a shareholder in the company he takes a share in the profits in proportion to his consumption, as a producer he works in the bakery eight hours per day for a wage of five francs per day, plus a share of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the profits; as a consumer he buys, in his warehouse, his bread, meat, groceries, milk and butter (produced in the Socialist dairy), his clothes, from hats to boots, his coals, tobacco, books and newspapers. In a word, all he earns comes from the party, all he expends, with the exception of rent, taxes, and minor purchases, goes to the party; all he does, from his daily labours to the propaganda work on Sunday, is done for the party.

In this manner there is being built up in each of our industrial centres, another centre almost entirely outside the influence of the capitalist environment, and gathering around it thousands of workers who, although employed in capitalist production, yet, as consumers, as trade unionists and members of the co-operative society, take their part in the activities of the workers' party.

We will here give only a short account of the most important points in the organisation of the Belgian Socialist Party, and refer the reader who desires to study the details of the movement to the many monographs which have lately been written upon the subject.*

(1.) THE GENERAL COUNCIL.

According to Article 6 of the Statutes, the direction of the party is vested in the hands of the General Council; it "decides questions of tactics, sees that the programme is upheld, that the resolutions of the party congresses are carried out, and decides the business of general interest."

The full meeting of the council is composed of three elements—the bureau, the delegates of the federations, and the deputies—which to a certain extent represent the three forms under which the Social-Democracy exists:—

1. The great mass of Socialist voters, represented by 28 deputies and one senator (elected by indirect suffrage by the Provincial Council of Hennegau).

2. The members of the party, who belong to one or more of the 500 groups, whose delegates meet together yearly at the party Congress. The party Congress appoints the bureau of the General Council, which forms a cabinet of the general administration of the party. Its nine members must be elected from the members of the party who live in Brussels, where the General Council meets.

3. The Independent Federations, which are of a local or trade character (metal-workers, wood-workers, cigar-makers, miners, textile-workers, &c.). Each of these federations are represented on the General Council by one delegate.

Only the members of the bureau and the delegates of the federations have the right to vote. The deputies, as such, have only an advisory voice. The deputies naturally have most prominence, being generally well-known public men; but, having for more than fifteen years assisted in the sittings of the council, we can well bear testimony to the exceptionally important rôle of the other elements, mainly unknown proletarians, representing the local federations or the great trade unions.

For, while the deputies have either never worked in the workshop, or have not done so since their election, the remaining members of the council are mostly artisans, who come daily in contact with their comrades, and are entirely uninfluenced by considerations of electoral business. The fertile union of these two elements has resulted in that moral authority which compels the admiration of our opponents. "When your General Council has spoken," said a Catholic deputy lately to us, "it will be obeyed better than all our bishops put together!"

It must be remarked that although the moral influence of the council is so great, it in no way governs the party funds. On the contrary, its

* Destrée et Vandervelde, "Le Socialisme en Belgique"; L. Varley, "Le Fédération ouvrière gantoise"; Müller, "Le Vooruit et l'Organisation Socialist en Belgique"; Halévy, "Les Maisons du Peuple en Belgique."

monetary resources are very limited. "Each of the unions belonging to the party shall pay a contribution of one penny per year per member to cover cost of postage and propaganda." That is the ordinary budget. Above this however, a very considerable income is received from the contributions of private persons, co-operative societies, or other groups of the party.

Until 1898 a quarter of the 4,000 francs received by each deputy from the State was paid to the party, but the congress of Antwerp rescinded that resolution.

It has been lately decided that the General Council, in order to uphold its budget, shall take the whole surplus of the Tobacco Co-operative Society. This society has only lately been started, and a rapid increase is expected in its business. In a country such as ours, where hundreds of thousands adhere to the Socialist idea, tobacco will certainly find a large sale in the party's stores.

(2.) THE FEDERATIONS.

The Trade Federations represent principally the power, the life, or better still the body of the workers' party.

In spite of all local differences, in spite of different degrees of concentration and development, from the great federations of the industrial centres to those of Hesbaye and Ardennés, from the federations of Ghent, Brussels and Antwerp with their well defined centralisation, to those of Charleroi and the Borinage, where the local groups preserve more individuality, the unions are essentially composed of five kinds:—

1. Co-operative societies.
2. Trade unions.
3. Mutual assistance unions.
4. Political unions (workers' unions, electoral unions, &c.).
5. Unions for education and enjoyment (students clubs, art unions, temperance unions, juvenile unions, &c.).

But the basis of all these organisations, or of the local groups, of which they consist, is always the co-operative societies, which have their headquarters at one or more Maisons du Peuple, and where all the other unions find accommodation, fire and light.

It is these who furnish the party with war funds, pay the newspaper deficit, make up the insufficient contributions of the trade unions, organise the medical and medicine services of the mutual assistance unions—who, in a word, supply almost all the support without which the present struggle could only under very great difficulties be carried on. At the present time it is very seldom that a co-operative society of any importance fails. If one is in difficulties it is assisted by others either by money advances or by the sending of a capable man to put things in order.

These relations between the Socialist co-operative societies have become very hearty, and since the establishment of the Federation of Co-operative Societies—our Wholesale Society—they have begun to buy many goods in common.

The trades unions have likewise recently established a federation, whose central committee are pushing trade unionist propaganda very zealously in the industrial centres.

In a word, the ties that bind group to group interweave themselves into a complete net and contribute to the greater unity of the party.

At the same time each federation possesses a very great amount of individuality, and the unity in Social-Democratic action rests less on strict

statutes than on the spirit of communism which dominates their party and on the true brotherly unity among their foremost fighters.

(3.) THE LOCAL GROUPS.

The trade unions, the mutual assistance unions, and the co-operative stores which form the economic basis of all our federations have already been described, and we will not deal with them further; but other special institutions must be mentioned, whose principal object is to carry on or to complete the Socialist education of the workers, and to bind them by all possible ties to the workers' party.

1. *Juvenile Clubs*.—Whilst quite young, during the first school year, the child enters the Socialist world. He is provided with toys, and mixes in the games of his elder comrades, and a little later on enters one of the children's choirs, where he remains till he is about fourteen or fifteen years of age.

2. *The Young Guards*.—When, at the age of fifteen to sixteen years, the young Socialist leaves the Juvenile Club he can enter the Young Socialist Guard, whose federation has for some years been greatly increasing in extent. They are especially devoted to anti-militarist propaganda. From the Young Guard are recruited the gymnastic clubs, elocution schools, temperance unions, cycling clubs for rural agitation, &c. In Brussels the more zealous members attend the lectures of the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes*.

3. *Clubs for Enjoyment*.—In most of the *Maison du Peuple* there exists theatrical societies, bands and choirs, which play an important part in the Socialist demonstrations, entertainments, &c.

4. In addition, there are also students' societies, art unions, local committees of the University Extension, not to speak of the New University which is entirely impregnated with the Socialist spirit, to one of whose sections, the Industrial Institute, the party directly belongs.

"The aim of the Institute," writes our friend De Brouckère, "is to educate the youth of the working class so that they will be able to attain the premier position in the industrial hierarchy, to become foremen and designers, to be able to fill other technical positions, and later, perhaps, to reach the highest positions in the conduct of industrial enterprise. But, before everything, any instruction required is given in the management and effectiveness of labour organisations."

The Industrial Institute takes the child when he leaves the elementary school at the age of 14, and continues his education for four years. Technical education is given for four hours daily in the workshops of the Institute, in designing and practical work, as far as possible of an industrial character, in mechanics, physics and chemistry. For the first three years the instruction is throughout of a general character in order to give the pupil a knowledge of the combined activities of industry. In the fourth year special instruction is given for particular trades.

In order to realise this object a number of our friends, under the control of the party, have established a co-operative society, whose managing committee consists of twelve members, six representing the professors and six representing the central and federal organisation of the party.

The expenses, which are less than 20,000 francs per year, are raised by private contributions, and by the subscriptions of the co-operative societies and the party.

5. The Labour Party possesses also the following daily papers: *Le Peuple*, *L'Echo du Peuple*, *De Vooruit*, *De Werker*, which are the official organs of

the party. It also possesses a weekly journal, *Le Laboureur*, which appears in both the French and Flemish languages.

No other organ can be issued without the consent of the party Congress, and, in case this is not unanimous, without the consent of a two-thirds majority of the General Council. Without reckoning the *Journal de Charleroi*—which is not an official party organ—the Socialist press has a daily circulation of nearly 100,000.

Such is the essential character of the Socialist organisation in Belgium.

Of course, among our 26 federations there are some whose organisation is not perfect, is perhaps only rudimentary. Still, our progress is certain, and we can say that to-day no industrial commune of any significance exists that has not its Socialist church, its *Maison du Peuple*—at once a temple and a fortress.

EMILE VANDERVELDE (translated by A. E. L.).

THE CIVIL AND MORAL EFFECTS OF DRILL.

THE REV. G. SALE REANEY, writing on this subject in the *Nineteenth Century*, suggests that the words "compulsory drill" are most repugnant to a certain class of people, but points out that there is nothing new in the idea of compulsion as applied to the British boy; that compulsion has been the watchword in regard to child labour, and its cognate matters, of those very people who denounce it as a tyranny when it is proposed to apply it to any subject outside their programme. "More compulsion," he says, "looms in the near future, for the new Socialism both hates and fears individualism, with its licence so often confounded with liberty. At the age of 14," asserts Mr. Reaney, "the boy is in the gravest need of discipline, not dependent upon the fitful opinion of parents, but upon the conscience of a great self-governed people. Let those boys alone," says the writer, "and thousands will grow into 'Arries,' the butt of cheap wit, or into Hooligans, the perplexity of the police and the nuisance of the cities of the poor." The manufacture of these much-abused "city boys" is put down to School Boards and free education. But the making of these "social problems" is the result of letting the lads alone after they leave school.

"Drill," continues the writer, "would come to them if it were made national with a bigness that would make it intensely popular. It would present attractions dear to every boy's heart and imagination; it would be 'play' not 'work,' recreation not 'school;' it would be strongly attractive by its *comradeship* and *emulation*, things greatly admired and sought after by all boys.

"The objection will be raised," the writer proceeds, "that you want to make the boys into soldiers;" not this, but *citizens*, and what ought the ideal of citizenship to be?

The Parliamentary and municipal suffrage, with political parties, and legislation for your own class, and to pay rates and taxes whereby other people's "limbs and lives" may be bought to defend the non-fighting citizen in times of national danger? That is the citizenship of a shopkeeper, not the citizenship of a great and splendid nation.

"The movement of national drill should be," says the writer, "both national and local. The nation, acting through municipalities and County Councils, and by the help of volunteer officers, should undertake it."

CAN LIFE BE CHEMICALLY PRODUCED?

WHAT is boldly called the "chemical production of life" is announced by the daily press to have been accomplished at the Marine Biological Station at Wood's Holl, Mass., by Professor Jacques Loeb, of the University of California. Shorn of all sensational and poetic diction, the statement is that Professor Loeb has chemically fertilised the eggs of "sea-urchins," and has hatched the eggs so fertilised. His experiments are thus described in the *Boston Herald* :—

"The experiments were performed during the last summer and fall. Professor Norman, of Texas University, had already shown that the eggs of certain marine animals, when unfertilised, had tendency to develop when sodium or magnesium was added to the sea-water in which they were. Following this out, Professor Loeb began experiments with the sea-urchin, a common marine animal, the male and female of which, as of fishes, are separate individuals. The unfertilised eggs of this animal Professor Loeb subjected to a solution of sodium and magnesium, and within two hours they hatched, producing 'blastulæ,' or the first larvæ. Placed in normal sea-water, these developed into 'gastrulæ' and then into 'plutei,' the latter bearing the same relation to a sea-urchin as a tadpole to a frog. Further experiments convinced the scientist that only the presence of calcium and potassium in the sea-water prevented the development of all unfertilised eggs, and that all the milt deposited by the male needed to do was to overcome the effect of these chemicals.

"Professor Loeb's announcement of his experiments, and the belief to which he is forced, practically establish a new theory of the reproduction of species. According to this, the union of two elements is not necessary for reproduction, but any cell may divide and reproduce. This throws at once what may be a most important light on the subject of cancers and of dermoid cysts. It becomes possible, and, indeed, almost unavoidable of belief, that these are abnormal attempts at reproduction, due to local lack of that chemical element necessary to restrain the cells from dividing and developing. Scientists at Wood's Holl have taken up this side of the question with eagerness, and are making experiments to find in how large measure this is true, and whether it may not lead to the discovery of a cure."

Professor Loeb is quoted as making to a reporter the following statement regarding his work :—

"The development of the unfertilised egg, that is an assured fact. I believe an immaculate conception may be a natural result of unusual but natural causes. The less a scientist says about that now the better. It is a wonderful subject, and in many ways an awful one. That the human species may be made artificially to reproduce itself by the withdrawal of chemical restraint by other than natural means is a matter we do not like to contemplate.

"But we have drawn a great step nearer to the chemical theory of life, and may already see ahead of us the day when a scientist, experimenting with chemicals in a test-tube, may see them unite and form a substance which shall live and move and reproduce itself. It will be the first protoplasmic cell, the origin of all life, which was produced in the test-tube of nature ages

ago by the union, in the course of the world's evolution, of the same chemical substances with which he will have worked."

Numerous comments on Professor Loeb's discovery made by prominent biologists are gathered into an editorial in the *Topeka Capital* (November 23). According to this paper, Professor Gage, of Cornell, speaks of it as follows:—

"The development of animals by parthenogenesis—that is, without fertilisation—is a well-known phenomenon—in nature. It is found in animals, even so high in the scale as the honey-bee. Judging from the results of researches already made in experimental embryology, it does not seem incredible that parthenogenesis might be brought about experimentally in simple animals; but that the method will ever succeed with the higher ones and with man probably the most enthusiastic experimenter would doubt."

Professor McCloskie, of Princeton, says:—

"The question is still in a tentative stage. Recent investigations have rather gone in favour of it. The unfertilised eggs of both animals and plants have been found to produce embryos, but usually the vitality of these has been short, and the real question may be one of nutrition, as it is very difficult in experiments to rear the young artificially."

Professor Loeb's results, if they are as represented, are certainly noteworthy and may even prove epoch-making, although it does not quite follow from the chemical fertilisation of a sea-urchin's egg that a human infant will ever be shaken out of a test-tube. The professor is a German, born in 1859 and educated at Berlin, Munich, and Strasburg universities. He came to this country in 1891, and before accepting his present post, occupied chairs at Bryn Mawr and Chicago.—*Literary Digest* (New York).

HOW TO PAY FOR THE WAR.

ON this subject, writing in the *Fortnightly*, Mr. Hugh Chisholm expresses his opinion that "the people who will benefit from this war will be the owners of Transvaal gold-mines and, incidentally, all the inhabitants of the Transvaal, for whom the State will be more economically and more beneficially administered," and that "the industry of future generations, or of a single generation, in the Transvaal may justly be mortgaged for this object. It is expected," the writer proceeds, "that under a reformed Government a saving of £2,000,000 a year could be made, and on the existing basis of taxation, which was not oppressive. That saving would cover interest and sinking fund for a debt of £50,000,000. It is obvious," the writer continues, "that if this is the result aimed at, our business is simply to raise the money by a temporary loan, which can be converted into Transvaal Consols, secured on the mining royalties, and guaranteed by Great Britain, when the time for that final readjustment arrives."

Mr. Chisholm also points out that we have to find money not only for the war, but also for improving our military organisation, and that in making this new effort we are essentially acting in the permanent interests of the Empire, and strengthening it for the benefit of posterity.

THE MARRIED WOMAN IN BUSINESS.

WHEN we come to consider the status of the married woman in business we, perhaps, find ourselves discussing a problem not dissimilar to the case of any woman entering the lists of labour for the sake of the "pin-money" there is in it. The married women to whom we have reference may be divided into two great classes, namely, those whose husbands are earning enough to support their families, and those husbands are either for any reason not earning anything at all, or who are unable to earn enough to keep their families. By earning is meant not only the actual wage or salary received, but income from any source, whether earned by the husband, his property, or in any other manner. For the wife in the second of the two classes we have mentioned there is some excuse—the husband either earns not enough or nothing at all to support their family. It is generally accepted as natural that when a man and woman wed, the man is expected to support the family. It has been so and is so to-day, the so-called new woman notwithstanding. When the wife assists, therefore, or even, it may be, supports the family, instead of the husband, the situation is abnormal. It asks an excuse. When from physical or mental incapacity, or any other good reason, the husband cannot earn the necessary income, if the wife can, it becomes her duty, generally speaking, to do so; but when the husband can support his family upon his sole income he should. In these times, when there are so many seeking employment because they actually need it, a husband and wife should not both be permitted to draw an income by competitive labour when either alone is competent to support the family.

For this reason it seems to us that the attempt now being made to weed out from the Post Office department at Washington such of the employees as are trying to do as we have mentioned is a step in the right direction. First Assistant Postmaster-General Heath has the correct idea when he asserts that the presence of husband and wife as clerks in the same office is inimical to the service, and that the woman's position should go to someone who has no means of support. He says, "I intend to apply this ruling to female clerks who in the future marry. Female Post Office clerks already married, and whose employment under their married names has been approved by the department, will not be disturbed under this ruling."

If School Boards would do the same with public school teachers, and if business men generally would take into consideration something of the family requirements of those they employ, it would be commendable. While an employer has no right to extend too far his investigations of an employee's private life, he certainly can do so to a limited extent. If a man or woman is in private life notoriously what he or she should not be, the employer should know it; conversely, if many a man or woman employee's unfortunate domestic conditions were brought vividly home to an employer it is possible that a reasonable increase in pay might follow or other humanitarian step be taken to alleviate misfortune. It is a rule that would work both ways. However, without in the least radically altering business conditions as they now exist, it is submitted that every business man who employs a married woman ought first to so far intrude upon the conditions that attend her family life as to ascertain if she really needs the employment, or is only entering upon it for "pin-money" or other unimportant consideration.—*Anglo-American Magazine*. (From *Public Opinion*, New York.)

HOUSING THE POOR.

WRITING under this title in the *Contemporary*, Mr. Robert Donald, after referring to the efforts that have been made by various members of Parliament, workmen's councils and other bodies in this direction, points out that houses are as scarce as ever they were in the places where they are most wanted, rents are just as high, and we have the same problem before us. The cause of this stagnation, the writer says, is due chiefly to causes beyond the scope and influence of the law as it stands. It is useless, he says, to invite people to occupy a tenement of two rooms in a model municipal dwelling at 6s. per week, if the family budget hardly leaves a living margin when 3s. 6d. or 4s. is absorbed in rent. Quoting Mr. Shirley Murphy, the County Council's Medical Officer, the writer states that there are over 500,000 people in need of rehousing; the census also shows that there were 829,765 persons living in tenements with more than two in a room, and of these 214,843 were packed in the "one-roomed house," with all its appalling evils, and in numbers ranging from four to twelve persons to the room. The Guinness Trust, proceeds Mr. Donald, does what the Council cannot do, and gets down to the poverty line. It has an advantage over the industrial dwellings societies, because it has no shareholders waiting for dividends.

According to the writer, these are a few of the required amendments:—
 "The authorities should be allowed to sell cleared land in an improvement area which has been set aside for housing—before waiting five years—for commercial purpose, and build on a more suitable site in the neighbourhood.

"Closing orders should be executed more promptly in the case of houses which can only be patched up, but can never be made decent habitations.

"The same power which exists under Part I. of the Act for enabling authorities to acquire neighbouring property in a slum area to make a comprehensive scheme should be extended to Part II., and more latitude given for securing building sites if necessary outside the city boundaries. Glasgow has already power to go outside, and the Government has promised to introduce a Bill to enable the L.C.C. to do the same.

"Loans on municipal dwellings should be granted for more than sixty years, as the life of the buildings is over a hundred years. An extension of the period for repayment would enable the authorities to build for a poorer class; the alternative would be for the authorities to build cheaper dwellings.

"The procedure for closing, or demolishing, a house 'unfit for human habitation,' which may now pass through seventeen stages, should be expedited.

"The Act should extend to rural districts the same facilities which the towns enjoy, and power should be given to Parish Councils to carry it out.

"Registration of owners of land and property should be compulsory.

"Vacant land should be rated, as proposed by the Commission of 1884.

"Compulsory purchase should be rendered simpler, less expensive, and more expeditious."

POLYGAMY VERSUS POLYGyny.

CAN Christian monogamy, with its notorious promiscuity in its sexual indulgences, cast the first stone at Mormon polygamy? Polygyny, or promiscuity, is far more plentiful in Christian United States than in Mormon Utah. There are monogamous fathers in New York, Washington, Boston, and Chicago whose promiscuity has extended over hundreds of women during their married lives. There are national fathers in Washington and elders in the Christian Church whose polygynian lives would put to shameful insignificance the polygamy of the most polygamous Mormon elder. There are far more immoral Brighams parading under the colours and protection of Christianity than Brigham Young or Brigham Roberts. There are Congressmen who indulge in promiscuous polygyny at the expense of the people, their mistresses being in the employ of the Government and owning their positions to the favour of their Congressional protectors. Why then cast these stones at Mormon polygamy while our monogamous skirts are so polluted with promiscuous polygyny?

The *Conservative* is not interested in entering upon a crusade in favour of polygamy. It is interested in calling to mind a few seemingly unrecognised facts. Polygamy is not of the devil nor is there necessarily anything satanic in it. Monogamy is not of heaven nor is it infallibly heavenly in its results, even though it has a self-claimed infallible Church to uphold and bless it. Both are natural, even as all things are the result of natural necessity. Polygamy and monogamy are social institutions, the result of economical necessity. Were the statistics of the human world accurately at command polygamy would be found to largely predominate over monogamy. If there is anything sacred in the modern fad for antiques, polygamy has the advantage of age and numbers over monogamy. If the exact facts were known we should probably be horrified at finding that the primitive natural condition of promiscuous polygyny far outnumbered both polygamy and monogamy. Polygamy developed out of promiscuous polygyny, as did monogamy out of polygamy, as a result of economical necessity.

Marriage is not a religious institution, though ecclesiasticism has sought to make it so, that the ecclesiastics might benefit by the fees and the Church hold the people in its chains by terrorising their superstitious ignorance. Marriage is a strictly social institution. The social purpose in marriage was and is to fix male responsibility for the children. The primary purpose was to lessen the number of children produced, which could only be done by making the male responsible. The only way to reach monogamous promiscuity effectively is to give all children the same paternal rights to support and inheritance, whether born in wedlock or not.—FRANK S. BILLINGS, in the *Conservative*, Nebraska City, Neb. (Condensed for *Public Opinion*.)

THE THREE BROTHERS WHO STUDIED PHILOSOPHY.

THERE were once upon a time three brothers who studied philosophy. These were all three stupid, and each was more stupid than the other. Their father was dead. He had been a very clever and a very learned man. But they had not inherited these gifts from him. But as everybody knew that their father had been so clever they thought they were obliged to study philosophy as a duty to his memory.

The eldest first started it. He read day and night the books of his clever father, but, unfortunately, he could not understand a word, and this seemed a dreadful thing for a man of his position.

"This is terrible," he said, "I cannot understand a single word. I always think that I shall make out the meaning as it must mean something, but I do not know how it is, I cannot make it out. Always something in me seems to ask, What is it all about? Cannot you understand it? There must be something wrong with me. If this goes on I shall go mad."

And he did. He became quite mad and thought he was a stone. He had to be put in a strait-waistcoat and to be taken to an asylum. Now this was a dreadful thing for his family, for it was a fine family.

The doctor in the asylum said: "He never was very clever, and the little brains he had are gone and will never come back." And they did not.

"Now," said the second brother, "I must study philosophy, or people will say that we are too stupid to understand it. We who had such a clever father!"

And so he read day and night, but he did not understand much, only his head began to ache. "I cannot make anything of this," he said; "philosophy must have something to do with the devil, or I should understand it. I wish I could learn it as I did reading, or writing, or card playing, but I cannot. I think the devil has written this philosophy."

Now, that was a good idea. The young man said it, and wrote that philosophy was the devil's own work, and people said that he was a pious man and was right. And he became a parson, and he preached well. In course of time he was made Dean of the Chapel Royal, and made a good thing of it. But he left philosophy alone.

"I cannot understand it," he said. "It is the devil's handiwork. Better leave it alone if one does not wish to go quite mad. My brother lost his wits at it, and so nearly did I."

That was the second brother. He was well out of it, and yet he was a bigger fool than the eldest brother.

Now as to the third brother.

"What can there be so dreadful in it?" he said. But his head did not begin to go wrong. It was all quite simple. "Good Lord," he cried, "this will do. It is no worse than reading a primer."

He read what one great thinker had said and then what another great thinker had said, and then he wrote this out, and in that way he made a big book. And he was made professor of philosophy in the King's Own University.

"What a clever man!" the people said. "He is more clever than his father. He reflects great honour on his family." That was the third brother.

And he was the most stupid of the lot.

P. A. ROSENBERG.

L'HOMME SANS NOM.

Whence comest thou, Man of No Name?
Out of the darkness, out of the gloom;
Born of the vice of Wealth, mine is the blame—
There was the evil wrought; here is the doom!
Theirs was the pleasure, mine is the pain;
Mine is the loss, theirs was the gain—
Gain of an hour of joy, loss of a soul for aye;
That was the debt they owed, this is the price I pay!

I have no name
Save that of shame!
The name of the sire 'tis forbidden to bear;
The name of the mother who never was wife
Brandeth with shame the undesired life,
But I own not a name that I never may share
In honour with others,
Sisters or brothers,—
I spurn it! I scorn it! If nothing beside
I inherit therefrom, I inherit the pride!

God-made, or Devil-spawned, it matters not.
Justice! there is none. God hath forgot
Whether he made me. The Devil will share
None of his luck with me,—he need not spare
Time in the winning
What from the beginning
Was his evermore; damned in the womb,
Cursed in the cradle, and lost in the tomb!

JOHN E. ELLAM.



HARRY YOUNG BIRD.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

VOL IV., No. 4. APRIL, 1900.

OUR REPRESENTATIVES.

XII.—HARRY YOUNG BIRD.

OUR comrade Harry Bird, who has just been elected to the Walthamstow School Board, was born on February 25, 1860, at Sittingbourne, in Kent, and was the eldest of a family of four. His father was a journeyman carpenter, of an intelligent turn of mind, being very liberal in his ideas, and often fulfilled the duties of foreman of a job. He was a good husband and studied well his responsibilities as a citizen and the welfare of his growing family. His mother had the advantages of a good middle-class education, and was a devoted wife and mother.

Want of employment compelled the family to move into the Midlands, where they remained for about ten years. While living at a small village near Market Drayton, called Cheswardine, Harry Bird, who was then about twelve years of age, commenced life in earnest with his father at carpentering. This had only lasted for a year, however, when a vacancy occurred at the Church National Schools for a pupil teacher. He accepted the position and passed successfully for two years. At the end of his second year, his father, who was then in London, offered him an opportunity to again start at the trade in which he is now engaged, carpentry and joinery, and the family finances being none of the best, in 1875 he began his new career in London. His prospects were bright at first, but at the age of 17 he was thrown upon his own resources, and had to fight the battle of life alone. Although a rough struggle at times, he found many friends to give him a helping hand.

Brought up at a Church school and belonging to the choir, he worked hard as a Sunday-school teacher until he was 22 years of age, when he went to work for a firm in Wolverhampton and there joined the local branch of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners. In 1884 he returned

to London and finally settled down in Walthamstow with his wife and three children. He worked hard for his trade society, acting in official capacities on demonstrations, deputations, &c. In 1889 the Co-operative Stores were started, and Harry Bird, together with his friend T. P. Jackson (now of Coventry) put in a considerable amount of time helping on the movement. Up to this time Harry's beliefs were bound up in the Liberal and Radical Party, and he first came into contact with Socialism when a great demonstration was organised by the Walthamstow branch of the S.D.F. in 1894 on behalf of the sufferers in the Welsh mining disaster. All the trade organisations joined in the work of relief, and the most successful demonstration ever held in Walthamstow was the result.

From conversation with members of the S.D.F. he gained a knowledge of the meaning of Socialism, and soon after joined the branch, in which he has remained ever since. In 1898 he was sent as delegate to the Trades Union Congress at Bristol by several branches of his society, and in 1899 to Manchester on the question of Federation. In 1897 he gave up the secretaryship of the local branch of his trade society in order to devote more time to Socialism. In 1894 he was one of the candidates for the Board of Guardians, but was unsuccessful; but this year he was nominated for the Walthamstow School Board by the Trades and Labour Council, and was returned with 2,538 votes, being third from the bottom of the list of successful candidates.

In conclusion, I should like to add these few remarks. Harry Bird is not one of our brilliant orators, but nevertheless, I venture to think he is an attractive speaker, and with practice would become one of the best speakers in the movement. He is a really hard worker, doing the humdrum work of house-to-house distribution of literature and canvassing, which is shirked by the majority of S.D.F. members. Regularly every Sunday for months, he would go to the club, and sort out some leaflets or pamphlets, and for a considerable time he took the Sunday-school in the afternoon. Like so many other of our foremost men in the movement, Harry Bird has worked hard in the religious and trade union movements before bringing his energy into the S.D.F. There can be no doubt that his parents exercised a considerable amount of influence over his character, and his straightforward honesty of purpose and quiet energy will make him respected by all those who have the sense to appreciate such virtues.

To show the kind of opposition we in Walthamstow have to put up with, I give two extracts from the same paper, the *Walthamstow Reporter*, to wit, edited by Mr. McSheedy, the leading light of Liberalism and Radicalism in these parts. The first is from the issue of March 16, the week after the election :—

“Mr. H. Bird, who claims to be a Socialist, has been elected. He will be the first, we hope, to admit that he has obtained that position, not by the votes of the Socialists of the town, but by the support of practical and Progressive trade unionists. Our readers will have noted that during the campaign we did not utter one word against his candidature. On the contrary, next to the success of the Progressive candidates, we hoped for

his election. Mr. Bird is a carpenter employed at the Walthamstow Isolation Hospital, and he is a good, conscientious workman. He is a reserved, quiet, thoughtful, and unobtrusive man, with nothing of the blatant mouth and red-tie propensities. We trust his election will justify itself, and we venture to think, if allowed to follow the dictates of his own judgment, he will be on the side of practical progress, rather than waste his time and energy in ploughing the sands in search of chimerical and utopian objects."

The next is from the issue of March 23, after the first meeting of the new Board and a week before the District Council election for which George Hewitt ran. Harry Bird first voted for a leading Progressive who, however, declined to be chairman, and afterwards voted for the old chairman, a Moderate. Besides this extract the whole paper is filled with scurrilous abuse of the "spurious Socialists" and all their doings.

"Considerable curiosity was shown as to how Mr. Bird, who poses as a 'Socialist,' but who was undoubtedly elected by Progressive trade unionists, would vote in the selection of chairman. If any doubt existed as to the compact between the Tories and the 'Socialists' of Walthamstow, Mr. Bird's voting on Tuesday evening will effectually dispel it. The poor man had, evidently, his marching orders, which he was compelled to obey, and he felt wretched and miserable in doing so. His face was lividly pale, and he trembled like an aspen leaf. While saying a few words of justification for his conduct, his head was on the constant move between turning to the chairman and the audience, just like an automatic figure. Even those who feel nothing but contempt for his treachery to those who elected him, pitied the unfortunate man. He is a square peg in a round hole. The workers, who trusted him with their votes, have already been deceived. His policy is to assist the Tories to defeat the Progressives. In the first attempt he made to carry out the Tory-cum-Socialist compact, he ignominiously failed, and Mr. Tyler was elected chairman in spite of his opposition. To Mr. Jolly's support Mr. Tyler's election is due. Mr. Bird is doomed to utter failure. We hope the Progressive members of the Board will deal with Mr. Bird in accordance with his merits and his policy, leave him severely alone, and allow him to seek for assistance, in any Socialistic proposals he may submit to the Board, from his friends the Tories."

C. E. B.



SOME Australians at the war, by their own letters, glory in looting and cutting ringed fingers off dead Boers. This suggests a beautiful thought. The Gatton, Woolloongabba, and Winton murderers may be amongst our crowd. The contingents have one good point if they take away and lose our ruffians.—The *Worker*, Brisbane.

TRADE UNIONISM, SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY AND LABOUR REPRESENTATION.

Hope springs eternal in the human breast. Probably that is why such rosy anticipations have been excited by the recent Conference on Labour Representation. Yet it might reasonably be supposed that anyone acquainted with past efforts and past failures would not be over sanguine as to the success of this, the latest attempt to form an independent working-class party. We Social-Democrats can at least claim to have cherished no illusions in this connection. We have always held that a working class party which was was not a Social-Democratic party could not long exist as a distinct organisation. It may be a comparatively easy matter to elect "Labour representatives" who are either Liberals or Tories. But how could these form an independent party, or where would be the need for them to do so, seeing that they would be allied by all the ties of sympathy, and loyalty to principle, to one or other of the two capitalist parties? To say that is not to suggest anything against the sincerity or honesty of such representatives. The fact, which must be patent to everybody, only demonstrates that these gentlemen are totally unconscious of the need of an independent party, and of the basic principles which underlie any definite class movement. In the present instance, although it has been decided to form, or to attempt to form, an independent party in the House of Commons, there has been a marked but not unexpected reluctance to give form and substance to such a decision by agreeing to definite principles as the basis of such a party. Therefore there is little reason to hope for much better success now than has attended past efforts in the same direction, and if the committee succeeds in preventing the unseemly opposition of labour representatives to labour candidates in the future which has caused so much scandal in the past, it will accomplish all that we can reasonably expect from it.

Social-Democrats do quite right to show their willingness to co-operate for a given end with anybody who will go any part of the way towards the object we have in view ; but during the last dozen years we have witnessed too many vain attempts to bring together into one party people who do not agree, to suppose that in taking part in the recent Conference we were really assisting at the formation of a distinct and definite independent working class party. To say nothing of the Labour Electoral Association of Champion and Threlfall, in 1888-89 and later, there was the inception of the Independent Labour Party in Glasgow in 1892, on the occasion of the Trades Union Congress there, when all delegates to the Congress were invited to attend a conference, the object of which was to form a combination of all those favourable to labour representation ; and this was followed by the formation of the Labour Representation League of the London Trades Council and similar efforts. But two years before this, at the Trades Union

Congress at Liverpool in 1890, Mr. E. Harford, representing the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, moved the following resolution :—

“That this Congress is of opinion that a much larger representation of labour in the House of Commons by men drawn from the ranks of the workmen is both desirable and necessary ; and, therefore, urges all trades and industries to use their utmost efforts to give practical effect to such representation.”

To this Mr. Threlfall moved as an amendment :—

“That this Congress condemns the State barriers to constitutional equality in Parliamentary and local representation which prevent the industrial community from exercising the full force of its political rights, and which limit its freedom of choice in the selection of candidates ; and that the Parliamentary Committee be instructed to give urgency to the question with an earnest attempt to bring about as soon as possible a joint conference of all associations of a kindred nature, and that such conference be invited to devise the best means of enacting :—(1) A law for the payment of members of Parliament. (2) Returning officers' charges to be borne by public funds. (3) To place the election of local government boards and boards of guardians on a popular basis, and generally to assist the national and local labour movement.”

This amendment was accepted by the mover of the resolution, and carried with but one dissident. Before that result was reached, however, James Macdonald moved the following amendment :—

“And declares that no candidate shall receive the support of the working men unless he declare in favour of the nationalisation of land, shipping, railways, and all other means of production.”

This amendment, which was to have been seconded by the present writer, was, at his own request, seconded by Mr. John Burns, who said that labour candidates had been too often tied to the coat tails of the Liberal and Tory parties. They must raise labour representation from the mud and mire of party politics by adopting well-defined principles. They must let it go forth to the world “that the Labour Congress of 1890 was in favour of labour candidates irrespective of party politics, and would vote for a solid working-class Social-Democratic programme, irrespective of Liberal or Tory politicians.”

This amendment was defeated, 55 voting for it and 363 against. Two points are worthy of note in this connection—first, the similarity of the resolution which was passed at Liverpool nearly ten years ago and that which was passed at Plymouth last year, and which led to the calling of the recent Conference ; and, second, the change of attitude of men like Burns, who supported Macdonald's resolution in a Trades Union Congress in 1890, but oppose a similar resolution in a joint conference of trade unionists and Socialists in 1900. The whole discussion on the resolution forms very interesting reading just now, and will certainly bear comparison with the discussion on the same issue in the recent Conference.

At the Trades Union Congress of 1891, at Newcastle, a resolution

emphasising the need of labour representation and declaring for payment of members of Parliament, was carried almost unanimously. At this Congress Macdonald again brought forward his amendment, seeking to pledge labour representatives to the Socialist programme. On this occasion, however, the chairman ruled it out of order, expressing the view that it was a short cut to the millennium. Nevertheless, the same amendment was brought forward by Macdonald, on a similar discussion, in the Glasgow Congress in 1892, and there it received a considerably increased support, although it was not carried. But at the Belfast Congress, in 1893, the following resolution was moved by Mr. Ben Tillett, on behalf of the Parliamentary Committee:—

“(1) That a separate fund be established for the purpose of assisting independent labour candidates in local and Parliamentary elections. Contributions to such fund to be optional. (2) Each society desiring to affiliate with the movement shall subscribe annually to the election fund the sum of 5s. per 100 members. (3) The administration of the aforesaid fund to be entrusted to a committee of thirteen persons (including secretary and treasurer), who shall be elected annually at the Congress by and from the delegates representing the contributing societies. The committee shall present annually to the contributing societies a statement of money received and expended by them during the year.

“SELECTION OF CANDIDATES.—(1) The selection of candidates in every case to rest with the localities in the first instance. If at any time, however, it should be impossible to secure a suitable local candidate, a candidate may then be selected by the locality from a list of persons approved by the committee. (2) All candidates receiving financial assistance must pledge themselves to support the labour programme as agreed upon from time to time by the Congress.”

This resolution, which was seconded by John Wilson, M.P. for Durham, was amended, on the motion of Mr. Summerbell, by the addition of the following words to Clause 2 of the financial proposals:—“Except in the case of a Trades Council, or like organisation, which shall only be called upon to pay for those members who are not already subscribed for through their own particular societies.” This being agreed to, Macdonald moved that Section 2 of that part of the resolution relating to the selection of candidates be struck out, and the following be inserted:—“Candidates receiving financial assistance must pledge themselves to support the principle of collective ownership and control of all the means of production and distribution, and the labour programme as agreed upon from time to time by the Congress.” This amendment was seconded by Curran, and supported by J. H. Wilson, M.P., and John Burns, among others, and was carried by 137 votes to 97, the amended resolution being eventually carried by 150 votes to 52. A further resolution by Mr. Keir Hardie, that labour members of the House of Commons should be always in opposition, was defeated by 119 votes to 96.

It will thus be seen that so long ago as 1893 the Trades Union Congress was committed, not only to the principle of an independent working-class party,

but also to the principles of Socialism as the basis of such a party. A year later, at the Norwich Congress, a motion in favour of the socialisation of the means of production, moved by Keir Hardie as an amendment to a resolution in favour of the nationalisation of land and mines, was carried by 219 votes to 61, and at the Bristol Congress in 1898 the following resolution was carried by a two-to-one majority :—"That this Congress, believing that the labour problem will be solved only when the means of production, distribution and exchange are held as common property, and that political action is the best method to reach this end, recommends trade unionists to give their support, moral and financial, to the working-class Socialist parties." For nearly ten years, therefore, the Trades Union Congress has been clearly committed to independent labour representation, and over and over again during that time it has declared in favour of a thorough-going Socialist programme. Yet now we find a conference, not consisting solely of trade unionists, but a conference of trade unionists and Socialists, declining to accept the principles of a class-conscious Socialism as its basis, lest, forsooth, the trade unionists, who have declared over and over again in their Congresses in favour of these principles, should be offended, and should decline to play on the ground that the Socialists were trying to force their views upon the conference. Surely the vote of the Trades Union Congresses may be taken as representing the opinions of the representatives of trade unionism. If not, then there is no body which can speak for the trade union movement. But if that is so, then what is the use of such a conference as that which has just taken place? If, as is sometimes contended, the resolutions of the Trades Union Congress are mere expressions of opinion, representing nothing more than the views of the delegates themselves, and committing the unions to nothing whatever, surely the decisions of that conference, not nearly so representative of the trade unions as is a Trade Union Congress, are worth still less. It is certainly difficult to see how trade unionists, who have not felt themselves influenced in the slightest degree in their political action by the repeated declarations of the Trade Union Congress in favour of an independent working-class party, are going to be influenced by a hybrid committee, or conference, where not half the number of trade unionists are represented. That conference or committee may be ever so ardent and ever so willing; it may throw all principles, watch-words and shibboleths to the winds, in order to conciliate the timid or reactionary, but the main body of the trade unionists, who would not march at the repeated bidding of their congresses, will certainly not march for such a committee.

After so many admirable efforts, after so many expressions of opinion favourable to the formation of an independent working-class party, and after so many failures, we may be pardoned for not being over-sanguine as to the success of the latest effort in this direction. The truth is that the initial difficulty in the formation of an independent working-class party on the lines laid down by the recent Conference lies in the fact that the trade unions do not exist as political organisations, and the trade union

movement has no existence as a political entity. Trade unionists are anything—Liberal, Conservative, Radical, Home Rule, Socialist, Nothingarian (especially the latter); and while that is true there is little hope of combining them together for political action. When that is no longer true, we shall have a real working-class party, but that can only be when there is general agreement on basic principles. Until that is arrived at a united party is impossible, no matter what sacrifices we may be prepared to make for the mere sake of unity. It is now said that the Liberal Party has gone to pieces because it is not in agreement about the war. It is conceivable that a division of opinion on so important a matter should cause the break-up of a party. But there are questions of principle even more important to the working-class party upon which the recent Conference refused to agree. And it would be too much, therefore, to expect, as the outcome of such a conference the formation of a strong and united independent working-class party. Such a party will come in the future, when Social-Democracy has still further permeated the ranks of the trade unionists, and they clearly recognise the principles which necessarily underlie the working-class movement and the essential antagonisms of a class system of society. In the meantime we must work and wait. We can heartily and honestly co-operate with anybody for any immediate end which makes towards our goal, but there can be no united party without unity of principle, and to pretend a unity which does not really exist in order to display a strength which we do not actually possess is only to eventually make ourselves appear weaker than we really are. Our object is Social-Democracy; as an instrument to aid in attaining that object we strive to form a Social-Democratic party in the country and in the House of Commons. That party is being slowly formed, it is the only party which represents the principles of working-class emancipation in antagonism to the principle of bourgeois domination. We shall not hasten the success of this party, nor accelerate its growth, by lowering our flag or abjuring our principles for the sake of seeming unity.

H. QUELCH.

THIS foundation of the class struggle which Marx has given to the modern labour movement is the main point of attack in the battle which the bourgeois political economy is waging with Socialism. If it were possible to create a breach in this bulwark, in this citadel of the Social-Democracy, then the Social-Democracy is conquered, and the proletariat is thrown back under the dominion of capitalist society. Growing out of the class struggle, our party rests upon the class struggle as a condition of its existence. Through and with that struggle the party is unconquerable; without it the party is lost, for it will have lost the source of its strength. Whoever fails to understand this, or thinks that the class struggle is a dead issue or that class antagonisms are gradually being effaced, stands upon the basis of bourgeois philosophy.—LIEBKNECHT.

THE STORY OF THE CHARTISTS.

CHAPTER I.—INTRODUCTORY.

THOU of an independent mind,
 With soul resolved, with soul resigned;
 Prepared Power's proudest frown to brave,
 Who will not be, nor have a slave;
 Virtue alone who dost revere,
 Thy own reproach alone dost fear—
 Approach this shrine and worship here.

ROBERT BURNS.

(Inscription for an altar to Independence).

OF all the great reform movements which the wrong and unrest of the ages have brought forth, not one possesses so deep and permanent an interest to the Democracy of to-day as does the story of the Chartists and of Chartism. Even that chess-board game which the wordly-wise call statesmanship, and in which the rooks and pawns are empires and dynasties, can boast of no records more valuable to us than the story of that great struggle for reform which lightens up the darker pages of working-class history, during the first half of the present century. Nor are those events less valuable to us because they embody tales of secret envy, jealousy and wranglings, tales, too, of blunders in policy and performance from which reformers of to-day may learn some wholly pertinent lessons.

Like most men who have had the fortune and misfortune to be "born with time, in advance of time," the Chartists, even though dead, have earned a goodly share of ridicule and most self-righteous-like contempt. Generally too, the people who are farthest removed from those who are without sin, have cast at them the most prolific showers of stones.

Even in a comparatively sympathetic but exceedingly slipshod volume by Mr. J. Holland Rosse, entitled, "The Rise of Democracy," the offensive epithets are strewn with remarkable liberality. From the pages devoted to Chartism, I cull at random the following choice epithets hurled at the Chartists. They are the "mob," "hobble-de-hoys," a "sprinkling of zealots along with hobble-de-hoys and thieves"!

Elsewhere the same supercilious spirit prevails. In most cases the sinners above all other sinners are the compilers of histories for use in schools. In them we usually find the Chartists represented as bloodthirsty rioters whom adjectives cannot describe, men for whom the hangman's rope were a tender mercy in disguise. Nevertheless, with the most profound deference to those learned historians (in so far as they *merit* it), I submit that the movement in favour of the Charter, representing as it does the first independent efforts of the working-class to secure their own emancipation, is worthy of the fullest consideration and the highest respect from social

reformers of every creed and party. They were the pioneers of the new democracy, the heralds and forerunners of modern Socialism. Quelled though that uprising was by the blood-red arm of the law, aided by the wiles of Pluto's own politicians, it nevertheless stands forth in lurid light as one of the most hopeful auguries in all the realms of working-class politics. Nor is the spirit that animated those valiant heroes who fought and failed in days gone by yet dead in our modern world. Still the spirit of freedom speaks :—

“ Farewell, but not forever farewell,
Thou cannot kill the spirit, my brother ;
In thunder I'll rise on the field where I fell,
More boldly to fight out another.”

Holding, then, those views as to the value of this reform movement, we shall try to place before our readers as fairly and briefly as possible the story and the inward meaning of this great Chartist upheaval. Without more ado, then, let us hie ourselves at once back through the bygone years to the dawn of the present century, for, ere we can fully grasp its significance, we must learn the nature of the soil from which this movement sprang.

At this time our manufacturing system had just begun to develop by leaps and bounds. Unrestrained by Factory Acts, the capitalists were “grinding the faces of the poor” by night as well as day. Machinery was displacing hand-labour, and throughout the country the Luddites were destroying by fire and sword those great factories which but yesterday had sprung up in their midst. All throughout the land the poverty of the people was appalling. Everywhere the truck system was prevalent, binding the people with iron chains to the Juggernaut of commercialism. In many of the rising centres of industry three-fourths of the population lived in courts and cellars. Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, writing of those times, says : “The independent workman cannot procure by his earnings more than 122 oz. of food per week, including 13 oz. of meat ; the able-bodied pauper at the charge of the parish receives 151 oz. of food per week, including 21 oz. of meat ; the felon receives 239 oz. of food per week, including 38 oz. of meat.” In a Parliamentary paper issued about this time it is stated that the average wage of a hand-loom weaver was 2½d. per day. On this industry 800,000 persons depended for a livelihood. Nor were those ills confined to one fateful spot. Sodoms and Gomorrahs were to be found in plenty throughout the whole of Britain. In the far north of Scotland William Thorn, the weaver bard, who sung the sorrows of the “Mitherless Bairn,” and who at this time was engaged in a deadly wrestle with the grim wolf of poverty, has left us in his “Recollections of a Hand-loom Weaver” a terrible picture of the trials of those dark days. “Imagine,” he says, “a cold spring forenoon. It is eleven o'clock, but our little dwelling shows none of the signs of that time of day. The four children are still asleep. There is a bedcover hung before the window to make all within as much like night as possible ; and the mother sits beside the beds of her children to lull them back to sleep whenever any shows an inclination to awake. For this there is a cause, for our weekly five shillings have not come as expected, and the

only food in the house consists of a handful of oatmeal saved from last night's supper. Our fuel is also exhausted. My wife and I were conversing in sunken whispers about making an attempt to cook the handful of oatmeal, when the youngest child awoke beyond its mother's power to hush it again to sleep, and then fell a-whimpering, and finally broke out in a steady scream, rendering it impossible any longer to keep the rest in a state of unconsciousness. Face after face sprang up, each with one consent exclaiming, 'Oh, mither, mither gie me a piece!' How weak a word is sorrow to apply to the feelings of myself and wife during the remainder of that dreary forenoon." Need I add what followed. First one child died and was laid to rest in a quiet corner of Kinnaird kirkyard. Then Jean, the mother of his children, she, too, was laid to rest.

"Far from her native Tay she sleeps, and other waters lave
The markless spot where Ury creeps around my Jeannie's grave."

Poor Thorn's "recollections" are well worth perusal, were it only for the lurid light they shed on the lot of the lowly, in the days when the Chartist movement commenced. So utterly valueless was education deemed in England that in the town of Bolton, where 100,000 working people lived, not a single public school existed. This furnished picture number one. On the other hand 150 people could at this time return a majority to the House of Commons.

Now, this state of matters naturally incensed the rising commercial classes. True, they were coining gold from the people's poverty without let or hindrance from the socialistic Factory Acts, but even that did not wholly compensate them for their lack of political power. Still, though rich in gold and greed, they were but few in numbers, and saw scant prospects of obtaining the coveted franchise by their own unaided efforts. Accordingly, taking, as it were, the working classes into their confidence, they said to them in effect, if not in words, "We deplore your poverty and your wretchedness from the bottom of our hearts, but you, as sensible men, must know that whilst the Legislature is in the hands of a mere fraction of the community redress for your many grievances is impossible. Come, now, first help us to get our Reform Bill passed and then we, in turn, shall use our power to gain for you your just political rights." The workers agreed, and thus it came to pass that, after many weary efforts, the Reform Bill was passed in 1832, and the middle classes were enfranchised. And now was to come the turn of the workers. But alas! alas! for their blind and childlike faith. Only an infinitesimal portion of the middle class responded to the workers' appeal for help. Like the "unco guid" of Palestine, "they all began with one accord to make excuses." It was the world-old story re-enacted. Once in power, they soon forgot the humble, horny-handed ladder on which they had mounted upwards to their coveted place of honour. The working classes were to be put on their mettle that the world might know of what material they were really made. Right soon did they take up with zest the silent challenge thus thrown down to them.

The last echoes of the French Revolution had barely passed away, and men still talked of Robespierre, Danton, and Rousseau as one talks of living leaders of men and of movements. Nay, did not every other Radical workman who had fathomed the mysteries of words and letters possess one treasured volume called the "Rights of Man," from which he would read to his fellows the vigorous, vital words of one called Thomas Paine? No "Merrie England" in these our more enlightened days enjoyed half the popularity (and execration) which this one volume called forth upon itself. But, above all, the people, as I have already said, were sunk down into the lowermost depths of poverty. How it was they could not rightly tell, but somehow, somewhere, they thought their lack of political power lay at the root of all their social misery.

CHAPTER II.—THE CHARTER.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles and organising its powers in such form as shall seem to them most likely to effect their safety and happiness."—From the American Declaration of Independence.

In the days that gave birth to Chartism trade unionism also received its first great impetus, and many of the working men reformers thought they would succeed in inducing the unions to take up the whole question of adult suffrage. In this, however, they were unsuccessful, and so in London on June 16, 1836, William Lovett, Henry Hetherington, and one or two others, formed an organisation called "The Working Men's Association," which afterwards drew up the far-famed Charter. Save as purely honorary members none but working men were admitted. A joint committee composed partly of Radical M.P.'s and partly of delegates from the Working Men's Association, was at once formed to give specific form to their political demands. To the document which they then drew up they gave the name of the "People's Charter." It contained six—now well-known—cardinal points:—

1. Equal representation, *i.e.*, equal electoral districts.
2. Universal suffrage.
3. Annual parliaments.
4. Abolition of all property qualifications.
5. Vote by ballot.
6. Payment of members of Parliament.

With the Chartists the phrase "universal suffrage," which third-rat politicians now-a-day use so glibly, was given a very liberal interpretation.

They defined it as including every competent male above 21 years of age and also paupers and criminals who were not then under sentence. At first the Bill included female suffrage also, but this item was omitted at an early stage partly for political reasons and partly to secure a greater unity of purpose among the Chartists themselves.

In these six points there was nothing that was actually new to the student of political progress. In England the French Revolution had produced many such sporadic programmes. The Duke of Richmond and his friends urged them on a dead Legislature forty years before. Major John Cartwright bore noble testimony to their justice and equity. So also did Mr. Hunt, Francis Place, and the advance Radical guard of the Reform Bill era. Even Daniel O'Connor, who, handing the Charter to Wm. Lovett, exclaimed, "There, Lovett, is your Charter; agitate for it, and never be content with anything less," was in early life a staunch adherent to these principles, although, alas, he soon degenerated into a most virulent apostate.

The Charter was framed by William Lovett, John Arthur Roebuck, M.P., and Francis Place, a well-known leader of the rising Radical Party. It consisted of a long and elaborately drawn up Act of Parliament, far too long for reproduction here, which dwelt in detail with all the various points of their programme. Much time and trouble had apparently been devoted to their task, for it was not until more than nine months after the initial meeting that the Charter was finally adopted by a representative gathering of the Working Men's Association held in London on February 28, 1837.

Shortly after this King William IV. shuffled off this mortal coil, and the young Queen Victoria took her seat on the vacant throne. This, thought the Working Men's Association, was an opportunity not to be lost. They would present to the youthful sovereign an address and an appeal setting forth therein the crying need for social and political reform. Accordingly they wrote, asking an audience of the girl-Queen, and this was the answer they received :—

September 8, 1837.

SIR,—I am directed by Lord John Russell to inform you, in reply to your letter of the 1st inst., that the address of the Working Men's Association cannot be presented till Her Majesty holds a levee, when the deputation must attend in Court dress. No time for a levee is yet fixed, but it will be publicly announced in the *Gazette*.—Your obedient servant,

F. MAULE.

To have seen these stalwart democrats bedecked in jewel-arrayed and glittering Court apparel were a sight worth travelling many a mile to see, but the knee-breeches interview never took place, and soon indeed were those self-same Chartists called upon to act a manly part in far more thrilling scenes than those which characterised the young Queen's first levee. Nevertheless, it taught them once and for all that on themselves and themselves alone must they rely for the realisation of their hopes and aspirations. The freedom that they sought for could only come through incessant toil,

strenuous and long-continued; through the peerless faith that removes mountains, aye, and the loving self-sacrifice which lightly looks on every loss to self that counts as gain to the people's cause. Nor was the lesson lost on the Chartist reformers. From the critical and sarcastic comments on Lord John Russell's letter which appeared in the advanced publications of that date, they seem to have realised very clearly the servile and time-serving spirit which animated the works and ways of Parliament.

The following extract from an article on "The Inauspicious Commencement of the New Reign," which appeared in the first number of the *Democrat*, dated January, 1838, will illustrate our meaning.

"The first act connected with politics which the Whigs performed in the name of her amiable and 'most gracious Majesty' was the ungracious trick of refusing to receive a deputation of the Working Men's Association unless they would consent to make 'guys' of themselves by disguising themselves in Court costumes. Operatives dressed in plain clothes are not sufficiently in keeping with the splendour of a Court. Lord John told the 'workies' that if they wished to present an address to Miss Hop-o'-my-Thumb they must wear coats of a very peculiar cut, 'tights,' silk stockings, buckles to their shoes, and long skewer-like swords dangling at their sides. The impertinent little aristocrat should have told the operatives how they could afford to purchase the tawdry masquerade trappings. He ought also to have reflected that the plain clothes of working men are considered good enough to go to places of worship in, and that which is good enough for the House of God is quite good enough for the house of a Queen. These arrogant royalists and aristocrats require greater veneration and adoration for their idol than for the God they professedly worship. In the churches it is optional among the fashionables whether they kneel or not; but on certain occasions persons who go to Court *must* kneel before the royal puppet. They assume the same titles as they give to God and Christ. The conceited progeny of the Duke of Bedford is called *Lord John Russell*; God is styled 'Divine Majesty'; a girl of 18 is addressed as 'Sacred Majesty.' We must buy Court dresses if we wish to have an interview with these impious and impertinent persons. The joke is rich. . . .

"This ungracious refusal was one of the first acts of the present reign. It was not very important, yet it exhibits the Queen, the Whigs and the whole concern in an odious light—for which we are thankful."

Thus, under a sullen, threatening sky, with black, lowering clouds looming seaward, was launched the far-famed craft, the Charter. Of stout old British oak were her timbers built; for generations back the parent trees had slowly gathered strength and solidity in the forests of freedom that are slowly but surely springing up in our sea-girt isle. Skilful hands had fashioned her stately form, and now the ship was floating free, bound for the harbour of the "Yet Shall Be." On her bosom she bore the hopes and aspirations of tens of thousands of toilers. The health and happiness of countless children yet unborn depended upon her safely weathering the adverse gales that threatened her. Speed, then, fair vessel, speed. Storms shall

assail thee and tempests hurl thee before the blast. Sunken, treacherous rocks abound on the shores that lie between thee and the land of freedom. Wreckers lie in wait for thee and pirates even now are plotting thy destruction. Nevertheless, brave and dauntless men are at thy helm, men who fear not the threats of the tyrant nor the dangers of the deep sea of calumny that laps the borderland of freedom—men who love justice and liberty and hate all tyranny and wrong. Sail where thou wilt, visit what lands ye may, loving hands shall care for thee and million eyes watch tenderly thy comings and thy goings o'er the sea. So speed the Charter—speed, fair vessel, speed.

W. DIACK.

(To be continued.)

THE FUTURE OF SOUTH AFRICA.

MR. WILLIAM HOSKEN (chairman of the Outlander Council and the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce), writing on this subject in the *Fortnightly Review*, says that he looks on it as assured that the Dutch Republics will no longer be allowed to continue their political existence. The British Dominion, he says, should embrace the whole country, from Cape Agulhas to the most northerly limits of Rhodesia. Referring to the treatment of the natives by the Boers, the writer asserts that the record of it has yet to be written in all its ghastliness, and that in cruelty and horror it can only be equalled by the Arab slave-raiders of Central Africa.

The Dominion, continues the writer, should be divided into six provinces, viz. :—

- | | |
|------------------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Western Provinces. | } Cape Colony. |
| 2. Eastern Provinces. | |
| 3. Natal, with enlarged territory. | |
| 4. Free State. | |
| 5. Transvaal. | |
| 6. Rhodesia. | |

To give the new State a reasonable administrative chance, it would be absolutely necessary to sweep away all monopolies, Mr. Hosken proceeds. They should be abolished—

- (a) As being contrary to the public interest ;
- (b) Contrary to British principles in trade and industry ;
- (c) Being in restraint of trade ;
- (d) Limiting the powers of Government regarding fiscal matters, and the tariff as affecting revenue ;
- (e) From having been obtained by fraud and collusion, and against the will of the people.

Further, the writer says : "It would be necessary to provide for a suffrage on a broad and liberal basis ; the suffrage should be safeguarded by some income on property qualification and an educational test. It should protect the natives from pass or apprenticeship laws that in their form in any way approach serfdom or slavery." In addition to this, Mr. Hosken says that all exercising the franchise should take an oath of allegiance to the British Crown.

LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY !

THE hope of the human race has embedded itself in the three great words Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. Words are things; things are the historic manifestation of the degree of consciousness attained by man in the conquest over and in the analysis of what he deals with; words name the forms of material substance; words name the forces to which the substance conforms; words express the design which is impressed in substance by force.

The ideal state which liberty, equality and fraternity connote is still a vague dream, while the real state slowly shapes itself according as the ideal design reveals itself and as the necessity of economic development thrusts it upon the actors.

Liberty! that ever progressive condition which gives us freedom from restraints! The extent of our freedom depends upon our confines of liberty.

In the world of emotion liberty may mount high and yet higher to the top rung of human aspiration. If emotion fall below the normal poise liberty turned to licence may descend down to the bottom of the bottomless pit.

Only man himself puts bolts, bars and chains on the activity of his mind. The greater the capacity to feel and think, the larger the range of liberty, of reason. The environment which sustains and stimulates capacity gives the possibility for larger liberty.

Let us hail liberty as the first pre-requisite to the establishment of a state in which vastly improved environment will again react, by increased capacity, in the elevation of that ideal state to which we all look for the pattern of our work.

Equality! To accept the anarchistic philosophy of independent individual action is to cut off reciprocity, therefore to break down physical structure, to annihilate mankind.

To accept the fundamental principle of Socialist science, the organic unity of the race (which is demonstratable whether one believes it or not) admits of the manifestation of equality in opportunity up to the point of capacity, on the basis of citizenship. A democratic state is reasonable and obtainable.

Fraternity is a social quality. Only great men who are conscious of their own inherent right to life, in interdependent relationship with mankind, are able adequately to respect the rights of other men. Only lofty souls who will not rule and who cannot be ruled attain the commanding virtue of fraternity. To be a dominant leader amongst men is to be great in contact with the company of the servile. To speak the social voice of the executive power and to perform the social act of authority according to the command of a fraternal body of men of various stations and attainments is proof that

liberty, equality and fraternity are living factors that are playing great parts with great men. The combined qualities of these three words have been, and still are, forcing recognition: first in emotion, second in thought, then in action, which registered its pathway throughout all the ages.

The sharp analysis of the great Republican, Victor Hugo, brought the motive power of the words, as applied directly to citizenship, to this statement: "The rights of one citizen end where the rights of other citizens begin." So powerful is the combination that kings tremble before it even when men cherish it in secret. It sees the light in the stormy days of revolution when personal consideration is flung to the winged winds. It is passion, it is power; it is the fine mantle of democratic courtesy, it is grace.

The love of citizenship it is that is gradually embedding itself in the institutions of men, in governments. Upon the proclamation of our Republic of equal rights to life, to liberty, and to the pursuit of happiness for all we still build. Its flame burns brighter and ascends higher. The love of liberty, the justice of equality, the dignity of fraternity in action hastens a higher civilisation made possible—nay, necessary—by the evolution in industry.

The individualistic method of producing wealth, with its hand tools and its puny power, is a thing of the past, and along with it has gone the isolation of men. To-day wealth production is social in its character. Chains of activity are set up that link men of different crafts and of minute sub-divisions of different crafts throughout the country and throughout the world to the performance of a single task. Each person who performs useful labour aids in sustaining each and every other worker in the civilised world, while it is equally true that those who are able but do no work are paupers living by the sufferance of the workers.

Says the artist La Farge, "Art is the love of certain balanced proportions which the mind likes to discover and bring out in what it deals with, be it thoughts or the actions of men, or the influences of nature, or the material things in which necessity makes it to work." Socialists have discovered that the qualities of liberty, equality, and fraternity in balanced proportions may be maintained in the relations of men from the world of bread and butter, ascending up through the commercial, political, social, artistic, moral, and spiritual life of man.

The co-operative commonwealth is resolved upon. Wage-workers, because their necessity is greatest, first speak the fraternal voice at the polls that wage-slavery and economic mastery shall be abolished, and that social liberty and economic equality be instituted.

The flaming light of liberty rests on the deep foundation of science. The great discoveries of Marx makes conscious and confident the band of world-wide Socialist workers that the best of all things and enough of all things to take the burden from the back, to smooth the brow of the world that is weary and sick of hollowness and strife, will be given.

Victory will one day translate the ideal state into the real state.

Our responsibility is equal to our opportunity.

MARTHA MOORE AVERY (Boston).

SOCIALIST CRITICS.

V.—M. GUSTAVE LE BON.

PSYCHOLOGY has only in recent times been recognised as a science. Unfortunately, its ancient professors at one time speculated on the origin of the human soul, and for this reason it fell into disrepute among scientists. But it has successfully passed through this primitive stage of metaphysics, and its most earnest exponents now claim that it only deals—in common with other sciences—with facts of experience. One eminent English writer on the subject describes it as “the study of the nature, mode of origin, and manner of sequence of our states of consciousness.” A science which analyses the nature of our experience as expressed by our states of consciousness bids fair to satisfy the exactions of a Darwin ever ready to subject everything to the test of the senses.

Having read some works on psychology, and finding nothing in its principles to undermine the teachings of Marx, or, for the matter of that, of any prominent Social-Democrat, I was rather puzzled to find that a French psychologist had come to the conclusion after a careful (?) study of Socialism that it represented only a bundle of stupid beliefs and prejudices, which, founded on ignorance, had become crystallised in the brains of the Socialist and resolved themselves into a kind of religion or fetish. So convinced is this psychologist of the errors of Socialism and so apprehensive is he of the mischief its adherents would do to society and to themselves that he has felt bound to attack it in three separate works, the last being the one at present under review, entitled “The Psychology of Socialism.”

It is a pity that M. Le Bon before he wrote his work had not taken to heart the truism uttered by John Stuart Mill to the effect that “he who does not know what is to be said on the other side only knows half his case.” M. Le Bon shows great ignorance of the writings of Marx, and of other representative Socialists. He sneers at Marx and Engels, and then dismisses them as confuted, so the reader has only a kind of bogey Socialism presented to him against which M. Le Bon pours forth his diatribes.

So far as can be judged by his writings, M. Le Bon is an ardent Individualist and French patriot consumed with a fear that the decadence of the Latin races has seriously set in, and that his own nation is in danger of extinction because she will persistently coquet with Socialism and the State control of her industrial activities. Le Bon contrasts France and the Latins with the Anglo-Saxons, whom he regards as being commercially successful through their strong individualism and equally strong aversion to Socialism. England, to him, is an ideal nation because she eschews Socialism and all its works. Unlike France, her municipal life is not honey-combed with Socialist undertakings. This analogy is rather amusing, for municipal Socialism is probably more general and more firmly established in England than in France. What it lacks, perhaps, is that demonstrative

publicity which obtains in Paris. He is apparently unaware of any Socialist progress being made in Great Britain.

M. Le Bon's views of Socialism are of the crudest character. He seems to have drawn his picture of it from the capitalist press account of the stormy period of the French Revolution and of the Commune, and he evidently expects it to march to victory through a sea of blood, which he regards as essential for its heart's delight. He fears that Socialism will be victorious, and he thinks it more likely to win than otherwise because it is a delusion. You have only, says Le Bon, to convert a bundle of false notions and ignorant prejudices into a fetish, and it is bound to make headway and finally triumph. If people were to question the truths of Socialism it would immediately collapse. In this respect it is analogous to religion. Religions have triumphed because they have been based on faith. As soon as a religion has overcome all its enemies, then its tenets are examined and its dissolution takes place, giving way to another phase of beliefs. Socialism likewise may triumph. Its fanatics may overcome all obstacles standing in the way of its success, but the day of its triumph means the first day of the beginning of its downfall, for men will examine its principles; disillusionment will commence, and perhaps retribution will overtake its zealots, and we do not, I think, libel M. Le Bon, if we add that he hopes when such retribution does come, it will be of a drastic character.

We said that M. Le Bon's idea of Socialism was of a very crude character. A few quotations from his works will demonstrate this. He writes:

"By Collectivism a man's least actions are directed by the State, that is to say, by the aggregate; the individual possesses no initiative, all the acts of his life are mapped out."

"Under Collectivism the country would be nothing else than an immense monastery subjected to a strict discipline."

"In exchange for their rations, which the theorists of Socialism promise them, the workers would perform their work under the surveillance of State functionaries, like so many convicts under the eye and hand of the warder. All individual motive would be stifled, and each worker would rest, sleep, and eat at the bidding of headmen put in authority over matters of food, work, recreation and the perfect equality of all."

"Germany is collectivist only because she has had 100 years of Prussian martinetry."

Herbert Spencer is also quoted to prove that "the triumph of Socialism would be the greatest disaster the world has ever known, and the end of it would be military despotism."

Socialists, to M. Le Bon, are essentially tyrants by nature, and the real enemies of liberty, science, art and literature. "Socialists," he writes, "are not at all eager for liberty, as is proved by the enthusiasm with which they have acclaimed all the Cæsars when a Cæsar has arisen; and they care as little for all that goes to make the greatness of a civilisation, for arts, sciences, literature would disappear at once in such a society."

A man who can write such rubbish as this must be ignorant of the

elementary principles of Socialism, and when he further goes on to seriously argue or rather assert that "Socialism ignores economic problems," one is fain to smile at the audacity which his dense ignorance allows him to parade.

Le Bon does not stop to reason. Though he professes to have a full knowledge of the principles of Collectivism he is afraid to do more than caricature it, not daring to take the arguments of a representative Socialist to show the falseness of his reasoning. Socialists, he must know, proclaim that they understand the basis of the present commercial system, and the trend of its evolution, which they assert is Collectivism. Here, then, is an opportunity for Le Bon, who professes to unravel all the subtleties of the human mind, and especially the Socialist mind, to lay bare the absurdities of the latter and expose its sophistries.

Collectivism, in the widest economic sense, implies that the instruments of industry should be collectively controlled by society as opposed to capitalist control, just as Socialism implies a "universal system of co-operation as opposed to co-operation under capitalist control."

Capitalism at its present advanced stage, Socialists submit, is but an abortive or restricted form of Collectivism controlled in the interest of a class. The laws which govern the evolution of capital necessitates its perpetual growth into gigantic monopolies of a collective character. No one even pretends that the trust form of capital is not inimical to the well-being of society, and the general opinion is that the community will have to step in and take control of trustified industries. We can see the evolutionary process of capital going on under our eyes: the smaller capital being absorbed by the larger and then the latter falling into the hands of the municipality and the State as illustrated by the lighting, supplying of water and running of trams by the large towns, and the taking over of the telegraphs, delivery of letters and parcels, and the education of children by the State. Trustification is, therefore, only one remove from the Collectivism so dreaded by Le Bon and his friends, the capitalist exploiters of labour.

Co extensive with Collectivism is the principle of co-operation. The evolution of the capitalist system necessarily resolves itself economically into Collectivism from the point of view of the instruments of production, and of co-operation from the standpoint of labour, whose activities under the present system are exploited in the interest of a dominant class. These co-operative and collectivist groups are now on the markets of the world being placed in antagonism to each other through the competitive laws of exchange. The absurdity of the producers working in antagonism to each other in the interests of an exploiting class is fast becoming apparent to all but men of the type of Le Bon and of those whose benighted intellects and class-training prevent them from recognising the evils of individual control.

Le Bon, however, does not attempt to deal with the historical and evolutionary side of Collectivism.

But failing an attack on the historic conception of the evolution of capitalism to Collectivism it is surprising that Le Bon did not seize the opportunity of exposing the Marxian conception of value, a subject which he, as a psychologist, ought to find no difficulty in pulverising, realising as he does that it is contrary to psychologic law. Marx's view that labour is the substance of exchange-value and the creator of all wealth, and that there is no alternative for the human mind but to accept labour as the basis of comparison in value, is, however, not even touched upon. All that Le Bon can definitely say of Marx is that the latter "understands by the term work,

nothing but manual labour," a remark which shows that he is totally ignorant of what Marx or any other Socialist writer has written. Marx, as it happens, does not use the word "work," preferring the word "labour"; but his editor, on page 9, sec. 3 of "Capital" puts a note, that "work" is a term which covers any labour which creates a use-value. Therefore, any labour that is useful is included in his meaning, whether manual or mental. No one acquainted even with the elements of the Socialist arguments on value would dream of exposing his ignorance by making a statement that Marx only means manual labour in his description of the substance of value. Le Bon, so far from making an effective attack on Collectivism, only demonstrates that he knows next to nothing of Socialist economics and as little of the laws of psychology which happen to find expression in exchange-value.

As Le Bon predicts that tyranny, ruin and degradation will follow the advent of Socialism or Collectivism, let us see what kind of society he promises us under the continuation of the present capitalist system of competitive conflict.

The outlook for society is very gloomy indeed. Le Bon says that history teaches us that conflict was ever present in the past, is so in the present and will be so in the future, and he draws the conclusion "that where there is no conflict there is not only no progress, but a tendency towards rapid degeneration," and that the process of selection will end in the continued survival of the fittest and the continued and the persistent collapse of the unfit. Conscious of the brutality of his doctrine, he apologetically admits, on page 324, "that this may appear to be extremely barbarous, but we must remember that were it not for this conflict we should still be miserably disputing an uncertain prey with all the animals we have finally subjected." We leave to the unfit all the consolation they can gather from being the certain prey of the human capitalist wolf fitted by nature to destroy them, or of being an uncertain disputant with animals now subjected.

The only amelioration for the individual, according to Le Bon, is perpetual struggle, in which the strongest and best adapted survives. He believes that this struggle will be more intense in the future, and in conformity with this view he holds that "labour is now passing through its golden age." Capital is at the present moment really subject to labour, despite what noisy Socialists say. To maintain commercial supremacy the workers will have to submit to the economic tendencies of the hour, and reduce their standard of subsistence to that of the Asiatic competitor. The most formidable competitor is not the Japanese, but "that small skulled Asiatic," the Chinaman. He is the rival to be dreaded in the near—aye, very near—future; and for this reason Le Bon opines that "civilisation can be prolonged only by harder and harder servitude on the part of the mass of the workers"!

Here is a splendid picture of the logical outcome of commercialism, the offspring of competitive conflict, as understood by a popular exponent. The standard of comfort of the mass of the workers is to be reduced to the level of the "small-skulled Asiatic" that civilisation may be prolonged in the interest of capitalist exploiters. Civilisation is to be represented by capitalist millionaires on the one hand, and white wage-slaves degraded to the level of beasts of burden on the other. And all this is sanctified in the name of the law of the survival of the fittest and natural selection. What a picture of progress. Surely Le Bon should advocate degeneration rather than progress if this is to be the outcome of his laws of progression.

Le Bon, and all his school, in accepting the doctrine of competitive conflict as necessary to progress—or, as he puts it, “where there is no conflict there is no progress, but degeneration”—starts with a premiss which is quite fallacious. Darwin never set out to prove that conflict was essential to progress; he only showed that it was a factor which had attended the development of animal life. Man has reached his present height of civilisation, not by means of, but in spite of, conflict. Man is a gregarious and social animal only in so far as he accepts co-operation and forsakes conflict. Conflict is really only a specious mode of human and animal activity. Le Bon assumes the perpetuity of conflict, and enters into no argument whatever to show that it is a necessary concomitant of progress.

We contend that man by co-operation can expand his mental faculties and increase his physical development independent of competition or any form of conflict. Sandow has not attained his high degree of muscularity by engaging in mortal conflict with his fellows. That may happen with carnivorous beasts, but not necessarily with human beings. Progression is not lacking among cattle and sheep under the care of man. Horses, oxen, and sheep never enter into conflict, yet they increase in weight and size and strength. They should not perform these strange antics with the law of progression if conflict is its universal accompaniment.

Competition, no doubt is a specious form of conflict inherent in capitalism, but progression even under capitalism is only possible as the law of co-operation asserts itself. It is collective control of the means of industry, the collective or co-operative effort which secures the market by producing the cheapest article or the commodity with the least amount of labour representing the lowest cost of production.

Le Bon, if he be a psychologist, ought to perceive that conflict is only an incidental phase of activity which has attended the evolution of the human race, and that it is destined to disappear as its social activities gain force and become influenced by the intelligence of the intellect.

Le Bon is so ignorant of the laws of production that he imagines that the cost of production of an article can only be lowered to the minimum by the reduction of the standard of the comfort of the worker, and he actually adduces that as an argument against Socialism.

Socialism, as expressing the highest form of collective control and co-operative effort, must necessarily be able to produce the maximum quantity of wealth with the minimum amount of effort.

Under capitalist conflict the efforts of the vanquished must be evidently wasted, and the small conflicting group of competitive workers become less able to reduce the quantity of labour to the minimum of a national group. Here we have a waste of effort of one group of workers, coupled with a low standard of productivity from the other relatively to the national group.

Le Bon's stupid idea that to attain the maximum of effort you must reduce the standard of comfort of producers down to the level of the small-skulled Asiatic is as ridiculous as it is false. What Le Bon sees is that the less the worker receives for the remuneration of his labour the more there is for the capitalist exploiter, and that the wages of the present Chinaman affords a possibly greater margin of profit than that of the European; but even on this sordid and anti-social basis the reduction to the present Chinese standard of living would mean inefficient labour and a consequent decrease in the output of the capitalist. “Low-price labour” would spell “dear labour.”

Le Bon is very free with his adjectives. Socialists are “incapables,” they are the “new barbarians” who are to destroy the modern Rome; they are

"unfit" to survive, and this is why perhaps he hopes to see America take in hand their extermination.

Le Bon is really nothing but a quack psychologist who hopes to impose upon the people by a bombastic and pretentious knowledge of psychology so as to persuade them that he has discovered the sinister motives which make for Socialism. His knowledge of economics is not more profound than that of a schoolboy. The only merit in the book is of a descriptive character when the writer brings together a number of facts to show that the Latin races are being bested in the competitive struggle for the world's market.

Le Bon, we should say, has talents to fit him for a journalist of the *Daily Telegraph* type, and should admirably suit the editor for descriptive articles of, say, "Round the Crowd," or "The Streets by Night," where fancy can take the place of facts, and description supply the place of argument.

A. P. HAZELL.

SOCIALISM IN VILLAGES.

SOCIALISM flourishes in the large towns and the industrial districts in Belgium, but it has hitherto been difficult to undertake a propaganda in the country districts. A very interesting article has appeared in *L'Avenir Social*, a monthly Socialist magazine published in Brussels, on this question, a summary of which may be of interest. The writer, J. Wauters, draws attention to the importance of carrying on a campaign in the country districts, and gives an account of a propagandist campaign undertaken in Hesbaye, an agricultural district about 30 miles from Brussels. The movement began in 1898, the meetings being held at Waremmes on Saturday nights. The first resolution was to prohibit drinking during the meetings. Unfortunately there is a great deal of hard drinking, especially of bad spirits, in Belgium. About 60 members joined, and each one paid a penny a week; a large number of pamphlets were bought and distributed, and one public meeting was held. Subscriptions were handed in for various strikers. Every week the members met and discussed some question. The following are a few of the subjects discussed: The need of a labour party, the eight hour day, trade unions, old age pensions, co-operation, the Paris Commune, the Communist Manifesto. Much was done, but, as the writer says, there is still much to do. What is really wanted is that some competent person should give a series of lectures on Socialism and explain its different meanings; but here, of course, the money difficulty comes in and it will not be done until the central body is more powerful. There has also been a beginning of a small library of economics.

The movement is to be continued next winter, and it is to be hoped that in other districts of Belgium similar measures will be taken, so that there shall not be such great differences between life in the country and in the town.—From *L'Avenir Social* for March, 1900. (Summarised by Jacques Bonhomme.)

BEFORE AND AFTER THE RAID.

THE SHARE TRANSACTIONS OF RHODES AND CO.

MR LABOUCHERE, it will be remembered, made a strong effort at the time of the Raid inquiry to obtain from certain witnesses details as to their transactions in the shares of the Chartered Company before the raid. In this he failed owing to the limitations imposed on him by the committee. But, not to be balked, he has made a laborious investigation into the registers of the company, the results of which have been published in *Truth*. From these we can discover the differences between the holdings of certain eminent South African magnates before and after the raid. The dates, however, are necessarily only rough dates—July, 1895, and March 31, 1896—and it is, of course, not to be inferred that all the sellings in the interval were at the top prices which prevailed before the raid. We quote the figures as given in *Truth*, and leave the reader to form his own conclusions:—

	Shares.		Shares.
DUKE OF ABERCORN.		MR. RHODES (in sole name).	
Held as original shareholder	...	Held as original shareholder	45,112
...	...	Acquired as shareholder of	...
...	9,000	Concessions Company, 1894	108,000
Allotment of shares, July, 1895	1,354	Allotment on holding, July,	...
Holding March 31, 1896	6,773	1895 ...	12,945
Therefore he had sold 3,581 shares.		Holding March 31, 1896	29,463
		Therefore sold 136,594 shares.	
DUKE OF FIFE.		MR. A. BEIT (in sole name).	
Held as original shareholder	8,000	Held as original shareholder	16,000
Allotment on holding, July,	...	Acquired as shareholder of	...
1895 ...	900	Concessions Company, 1894	100,000
Holding March 31, 1896	5,223	Allotment on holding, July,	...
Therefore sold 3,677 shares.		1895 ...	6,376
		Holding March 31, 1896	7,496
		Therefore sold 114,880 shares.	
EARL GREY.		MR. ROCHFORD MAGUIRE.	
Held as original shareholder	9,000	Held as original shareholder	18,695
Allotment on holding, July, 1895	1,271	Acquired as shareholder of	...
Holding March 31, 1896	3,368	Concessions Company 1894,	40,000
Therefore sold 6,903 shares.		Allotment on holding, July,	...
		1895 ...	338
		Holding March, 31, 1896	1,818
		Therefore sold 57,215 shares.	
LORD GIFFORD.		GOLDFIELDS OF SOUTH AFRICA.	
Held as original shareholder	10,300	Held as original shareholders	97,505
Acquired as Concessions Com-	...	Acquired as shareholders in	...
pany shareholder, 1894	32	Concessions Company, 1894	11,000
Allotment on holding, July,	...	Allotment on holding, 1895...	10,772
1895 ...	278	Holding March 31, 1896	None.
Holding March 31, 1896	1,013	Therefore sold 119,277 shares.	
Therefore sold 9,597 shares.			
SIR HORACE FARQUHAR.			
Held as original shareholder	8,000		
Acquired as shareholder of	...		
Concessions Company, 1894	8,000		
Allotment on holding, July,	...		
1895 ...	1,589		
Holding March 31, 1896	2,357		
Therefore sold 15,232 shares.			

	Shares.		Shares.
THOS. RUDD (in sole name).		BEIT AND RHODES (in joint names).	
Held as original shareholder...	935	Held as original shareholders	210,000
Acquired as shareholder in		Holding March 31, 1896 ...	509.
Concessions Company, 1894	2,000	Therefore sold 209,491 shares.	
Allotment on holding of July,		BEIT AND CAUSTON (in joint names)	
1895	75	Held as original shareholders	6,475
Holding March 31, 1896 ...	26	Holding March, 1896... ..	None.
Therefore sold 2,984 shares.		Therefore sold 6,475 shares.	
C. D. RUDD (in sole name).		RHODES AND BEIT (in joint names).	
Held as original shareholder	17,897	Held as original shareholders	11,300.
Holding March 31, 1896 ...	1	Allotment on holding, July,	
Therefore sold 17,896 shares.		1895... ..	100.
LORD ROTHSCHILD.		Holding March, 1896 ...	None.
Held as original shareholder	10,000	Therefore sold 11,400 shares.	
Acquired as shareholder of		RHODES, RUDD, BEIT (in joint names).	
Concessions Company, 1894		Acquired as shareholders of	
(about)	30,000	Concessions Company, 1894	17,000.
Allotment on holding, July,		Holding March, 1896... ..	None.
1895	2,309	Therefore sold 17,000 shares.	
Holding March 31, 1896 ...	1,410	RUDD AND BOYLE (in joint names).	
Therefore sold 41,899 shares.		Acquired as shareholders of	
GEORGE CAUSTON (in sole name).		Concessions Company, 1894	270,000.
Held in July, 1895	6,957	But how these shares were	
Allotment on holding of July,		allotted in the share list of	
1895	1,739	the Chartered Company	
Holding March 31, 1896 ...	2,000	does not appear.	
Therefore sold 6,696 shares.		ECKSTEIN, WERNHER, WAGNER.	
BEIT SYNDICATE.		(Partners in Wernher, Beit and Co.)	
Held as original shareholders	32,500	Held largely in their individual names.	
Holding March, 1896 ...	None.	But difficult to trace their holdings	
Therefore sold 32,500 shares.		at any particular period, as they	
		were constantly "in and out."	
		Holding March, 1896... ..	None.

"Considering the premiums obtained on the sale of the shares," observes Mr. Labouchere, "the gains of the gentlemen whose names are here recorded must have been enormous. In the October before the raid, the price of the shares was as high as £8 per £1 share."

THE population of the Transvaal is 345,897. The population of Sydney and suburbs is 426,950. Take away 81,053 people out of Sydney, and imagine the strength of the whole British Empire arrayed against the remainder of the population and you have the position in South Africa at present.—The *Worker*, Brisbane.

SOME LESSONS OF THE TRANSVAAL WAR.

THESE are, according to Jean De Bloch in the *Contemporary*, that, "whatever form hostilities between nations may assume in the future, it is absolutely certain that superiority of financial resources will ultimately decide the issue, and for this reason money must be husbanded for the occasion instead of being lavished upon useless organisations; that inequality of numbers within very large limits is a matter of third-rate importance; that modern tactics are as useless as those of the Roman Legions; and that in consequence of all those changes, militarism, as it flourishes on the Continent of Europe, is but a selling of the nation's soul to Moloch, for a promise which can no longer be redeemed."

The writer argues strongly against conscription. He says: "It is extremely doubtful whether, if obligatory military service became the law of the land, the British people would take kindly to barrack life; that emigration to the United States might assume much larger proportions than at present, and it is certain that the perturbations caused in every department of the nation's life and activity would be so great that no effort of the intelligence to allow for them beforehand, would have the slightest chance of success. Freedom from social revolutions, continues the writer, and from underground volcanic eruptions of the world-improving kind, constitutes one of the sources of England's peaceful development and political greatness; and the reason is because, when a reform is called for, the Government, unhampered by enormous financial burdens and military cares, can proceed to introduce it into Parliament, and the legal agitation which preceded its realisation subsides into satisfaction. In order to do this," Mr. Bloch goes on to say, "there must be a Government disposing of leisure and funds, and both of these will vanish with military service. If England is to keep abreast of Continental Powers in the matter of land forces, and to maintain her supremacy at sea besides, the funds available for that gradual and peaceful evolution of social reforms which heretofore cut the ground from under the feet of would-be agitators will no longer be forthcoming."

"Further," the writer proceeds, "barrack life would tend to cripple the productiveness of the people by arresting the growth and development of certain of the best qualities of British workmen and merchants and administrators; the spirit of enterprise, of initiative, and self-reliance needful to the successful tradesman, the ingenious artisan, and prosperous colonist, are dulled or killed out as something harmful under the rule of blind obedience necessary to the army; besides which the existence of idleness, the goal of which seems to be to kill time pleasantly, not to employ it profitably, is hardly the kind of schooling that fits a young man for a successful commercial career." According to the writer the navy is Britain's bulwark, and when it ceases to be supreme, the Empire's days are numbered.

BLOOD IS MONEY.

CAN we believe that the English people are trying to take away the independence of the Boers, and to crush the republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State by annexing them to the British Empire?

The English people were always supposed to be the most stubborn defenders of liberty. The English people were always supposed to be the friends of liberty, and the expression "I am an Englishman" was equal to the "*Civis Romanus sum*" of antiquity. This was the English people to whom the nations turned in times of great crises as if it were the one nation which in times of despotism and moral anarchy had not abandoned the glorious traditions of liberty and freedom of conscience.

And now this people and its Government from the Queen downwards, whose old age is dishonoured, down to the snobs and cockneys, including statesmen, servants, and literary men, all this people shows an astonished universe that it has lost all ideas of right and justice. It is on a level with the savage nations whom it has conquered.

It is a crime to attack the liberty of a man. What shall we call this misdeed against the life and liberty of a nation?

And it is all done coolly. Journalists praise the calm way in which it is being done. It was even being done joyfully before the repeated defeats changed their laughter into tears. That criminal, Cecil Rhodes, at Kimberley, placed insolent words on the shells which were discharged at the peasants who were besieging him. No doubt he did this after champagne parties where healths were drunk to the "consolidation" of diamond and gold mines.

Ah! how well this joker typifies the bloody work which had been prepared a long time beforehand by some carefully chosen adherents, and how it shows the real reasons of this criminal war, which are no longer a mystery for the conscience of the world.

The ordinary man in England, carefully coached by the yellow press, thinks that England's honour is in question. This honour must be avenged on the peasants who have dared to resist the Queen whom God protects ("God save the Queen") and have attacked that nation which rules everywhere ("Rule, Britannia!") But this is not the real reason which has covered the ocean with transports going to the Cape of Good Hope. It is not this reason for which troops were sent out. No, the real reason is money. It is for gold that all these crimes are being committed. It is to steal mines so that more piratical Stock Exchange speculations may take place.

Already, as was shown recently in the *Revue Encyclopedique*, these mines had been over-capitalised, and many poor dupes had lost their all. But it was not enough, and new syndicates must be formed. It is for these wretches that English blood stains the Modder and the Tugela, and that Boers have died at Spytfontein and Colenso. But this does not matter, there is money in it. Blood is money; that is a better motto than "Time is money."

All this tragedy is being manœuvred by invisible hands. All these crimes are caused by one factor alone—by finance. "Blood is Money."

E. PICARD in *Le Peuple*.

(Translated by J. Bonhomme.)

A LIFE FOR A LIFE.

"Go on, lads; give it to the beggars; exterminate the vermin," shouted young Symons, a subaltern of the Blankshires, as the order "Fix bayonets, charge!" rang out, and the now sadly thinned ranks once more pressed forward up the deadly slope. Hardly had he uttered the words than he fell forward on his face, as a fresh burst of leaden hail from the heights before them staggered the advancing British.

All day long the fight had raged. The attempted surprise of the strongly fortified Boer position in the early morning had failed. Hour after hour the British artillery had shelled the heights, its fire sullenly replied to at intervals by the enemy's guns. Slowly the attacking infantry had been pushed forward under such cover as the inequalities of the ground afforded, many a man falling under the hail of bullets which steadily poured down upon them. Now they had got to within charging distance, and the day was closing in. Maddened with thirst and weariness, frenzied with hate and the lust for blood, they struggled up the slope, the leaden hail beating down upon them, men dropping at every step. Time and again they staggered and hesitated; again and again they rallied and pressed on; shouts, orders, curses, the groans and cries of falling men and the commands and imprecations of officers mingled in horrible confusion as again and again the ranks were swept by the withering fire from above. In vain they rallied, in vain the officers cursed and swore and begged and implored and threatened. The task was impossible. The wavering line broke and fell back before the withering fire, men falling here and there as they retreated down the slope. The attack was over.

It was nearly dark now and Corporal Scott, as he limped along with a bullet in his leg and another in his shoulder, felt, as he heard the occasional "spat" of a bullet as it struck the ground, that he didn't much care if one put an end to him there and then. Presently he heard a low moan, and turning in the direction from whence the sound proceeded, he came across Lieutenant Symons.

"Can I do anything for you, sir?" asked Scott.

"Give me water," feebly murmured the officer, pointing to Scott's water bottle. The other shook his head. The bottle had been emptied hours before.

"I'm afraid I couldn't carry you, sir, even if you could get on my back," he said.

"It's no use," the other replied. "I'm afraid I'm about done for. Anyhow, I couldn't get on your back."

"You musn't give up, sir, and I can't go and leave you here," said Scott. "Where are you hurt?"

"It's gone right through me, I think," said the other. "I've tried to get up and crawl back. But I can't."

Scott knelt down by the officer and undid his tunic. He found that he was badly hurt and had bled freely. He bound him up as well as he could. It was getting cold and the rain was beginning to fall, its patter on the ground being occasionally broken by the more emphatic "spat" of a bullet. Scott gathered a few of the smaller boulders which were scattered about, and formed a sort of rampart for the wounded officer, and caught

some of the raindrops, with which he moistened his parched lips, and then lay down by him and took him in his arms to protect him from the biting cold. Hour after hour they lay there; occasionally in the distance Scott saw the will-o'-the-wisp glimmer of the lanterns of the bearer parties as they sought over the field for the wounded, but none ever came near them. Occasionally Scott dozed, only to be awakened by the patter of the rain. It was dawn before they were found and taken into camp.

Serious as Lieutenant Symons' wound had been, he was first out of hospital. The cold and exposure of the night had caused inflammation in Scott's wounded limb, and as soon as he could leave the hospital he was invalided home.

Before leaving the hospital Symons visited his subordinate's bedside. "Good-bye, Scott," said he, "I am off to the front again to have another shot at the beggars. I owe it to you that I am alive now. It may be that we shall never meet any more, but if I come through all right don't forget to come to me if ever you should want a friend."

A colliery village in the north of England in the dusk of a November day. A dull, leaden sky, from which a cold, almost imperceptible drizzle was falling. Near the pit-head, and in front of the manager's house, a detachment of the Blankshire regiment was drawn up; the men in their dark grey great-coats, looking sinister and threatening in the gathering gloom. Further down the lane leading from the house, and facing the soldiers, was a crowd of people—colliers and their women-folk—neither noisy nor demonstrative, but angry and menacing.

The great lock-out of miners had been in progress some two months; both sides were angry and obdurate. Distress and hunger were rife among the colliers and their families, and the men were becoming exasperated, but the masters refused to concede a single point. There had been some incipient rioting at several places; at one of the mines near the village of Wingstone the engine-house and timber-stacks had been set fire to; and the owners and the magistrates were fearful of worse disorders. They had, therefore, requisitioned military protection, and a detachment of the Blankshires, under the command of Captain Symons, had been sent to protect this particular colliery, whose manager the colliers had expressed their intention of interviewing, as he held an official position in the masters' association. The interview was refused, the manager alleging that he feared violence. As the hours slowly passed the colliers, held at bay by the soldiers, grew more angry and menacing. As the evening drew on the crowd increased in numbers.

Captain Symons, withdrawn from the social gaities of the county town, voted the whole business a "beastly bore," and muttered deep curses, under his breath, on the colliers, the lock-out, and all connected therewith.

The silence, broken only by the scarcely perceptible drip of the rain, and the low murmur of the crowd, was ominous. The air seemed charged with the pent-up elements of coming storm.

On horseback, by the side of Captain Symons, was the local magistrate, one of the most unpopular colliery owners in the district. Turning to the officer, he said a few words in a low voice at which the other nodded, then, urging his horse a few paces towards the crowd, who on their side pressed towards him, he shouted, as he waved a paper in his hand: "I have stood

this long enough. I am now going to read the Riot Act, and if you don't immediately disperse I shall order the troops to fire."

He rapidly read over a few sentences from the paper he held in his hand and then wheeled his horse and resumed his place by the side of the officer.

How much or how little of what had taken place was understood by the crowd is problematical, but, as the magistrate turned his horse, a stone, flung by someone in the rear of the crowd, struck him in the side. At the same instant a tall man in the front stepped forward and raised his hand, as if about to speak.

"Did you see that?" shouted the magistrate to the officer. "You must disperse this crowd or there will be mischief."

The captain turned to his men with a sharp word of command. There was an ominous rattle as the rifles were brought to the "present." Fire low," said the officer, "we must teach these cattle a lesson." "Here, what the devil are you up to?" he shouted to the man nearest him, snatching the rifle from his hand. "Do you think you are rook-shooting?" A volley rang out as the officer levelled the piece at the tall man, who had his back towards him and was facing the crowd, whom he appeared to be urging to disperse. As the volley sounded the man swung round and fell forward on his face, his arms outstretched, the blood gushing from his mouth. Several others had fallen too, but the crowd did not move. For a moment there was silence. Then a shower of stones rattled round and upon the soldiers. Then another sharp order, and then another volley and another. The crowd broke and fled. "Fix bayonets," cried the officer, "and clear the street." With bayonets fixed the men advanced at the charge, but the crowd scattered and ran in all directions, leaving several of their number on the ground, some of whom were killed and others too seriously hurt to get away.

"That's my buck," remarked the officer, as he passed the man whom he had shot, and turning him over with his foot, so that he caught a glimpse of his face. Something in the features seemed familiar to him, and for a moment there came to his mind the memory of a cold wet night on the South African veldt, but only for a moment, as he shrugged his shoulders and passed on.

"Who was that tall fellow who was shot? Do you know?" asked Captain Symons of the magistrate, as they were dining together that evening. "He seemed to be a ringleader, and a regular fire-brand, I should imagine."

"He was something of a leader," answered the magistrate, "but I don't think he was much of a fire-brand. He had the reputation of being one of the coolest and most moderate among them. He had been a soldier, I believe. Oh, only a common soldier, I mean," he added, as he noticed a curious look in the other's eyes, "but he had a fairly good character, and had seen service in South Africa. His name was Scott."

The captain relapsed into silence. He had paid his debt.



THE KHAKI SOUTH.

WHEN England rose and forced her monarch's sway
To subjects subject; when amid blood and tears,
Fair France o'er-turned the iniquities of years
And broke the back of "Right Divine" for aye—
Marched their brave children songless to the fray?
Or did such uncouth doggerel rack their throats,
Such self-applauding hurdy-gurdy notes,
As "Soldiers of the Queen," and "Pay, pay, pay" ?
Freely, 'gainst stubborn precedents to fight,
And rid the world of many hideous wrongs,
Those warrior-citizens of earlier days
Went conquering in their *consciousness of right*,
Or gravely stern to holy David's songs,
Or proudly elate to the tune of "Marseillaise."

"Thrice is he arm'd that hath his quarrel just"—
To what dark depths of infamy we fall!
Of right and wrong we reckon not at all,
Our armies simply fight because they *must*.
Far off—poor panders to an Empire's lust,
With parrot-cry—"My country, right or wrong!"
And jingo bardlet's vile insulting song
To serve as requiem, they bite the dust!
Oh, Beggars absent-minded! Tools that knaves
Do work with!—What's your duty but a show?
The foulest scumming of a servile creed?—
Unquestioning blind obedience is for slaves—
Knowing not duty to yourselves, ye owe
None to your neighbours, and are slaves indeed!

G. W. S.



THE TWENTIETH CENTURY PRESS STAFF, 1894

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

VOL. IV., No. 5. MAY, 1900.

THE STORY OF A SOCIALIST PRESS.

SOME years ago a candid friend of the Social-Democratic movement in this country was good enough to inform the world that, however noble might be the ideals of that movement, however lofty its aspirations, however broad and comprehensive its views, it did not in itself contain sufficient ability to run a whelk-stall. Never having investigated the mysteries of the street trade in the succulent crustacean so beloved of cockneys, we are unable to determine the precise amount of ability required to properly conduct the portable emporium from which the welcome whelk is dispensed; but we have found in the Social-Democratic movement sufficient ability, determination, and perseverance to carry to a successful issue enterprises which might reasonably be supposed to impose at least an equal tax upon its powers.

We of the S.D.F. have never been ashamed of our poverty or our weakness; we have never pretended to be stronger than we are, and we have never disguised the fact that it has been a hard struggle to keep things going. But we do not know any other body which has accomplished so much with such slender means or against more adverse circumstances. We are sometimes called narrow and intolerant, but we have had to fight for our own hand, and for what we believe and know to be the truth; and we are jealous of our cause, and determined that, so far as in us lies, our flag shall be kept unsullied by compromise.

When, in 1884, we first established our weekly paper, *Justice*, few thought it could possibly have a lengthy existence, yet it has never once failed to appear during the whole of the sixteen years which have intervened. Maintained at first by a few comparatively well-to-do sympathisers, it soon devolved upon the working-men members of the party to keep it going, and for several years it was only by dint of self-sacrificing effort on

their part that *Justice* was kept afloat. For some years the work of printing the paper was carried on largely by voluntary labour. At length the idea was suggested that, if it were not yet possible to make the paper self-supporting, it might be possible to establish a printing press from the profits of which *Justice* might be subsidised. That was the inception of the Twentieth Century Press. The founders of the Press were not eager to enter into business competition with other printing concerns; but they were concerned in maintaining *Justice* as the organ of Social-Democracy, and in establishing a Social-Democratic press. To these two objects the ordinary business of printers was, and is, subsidiary.

The Twentieth Century Press was established as a limited liability company, with a nominal capital of a thousand pounds. Some of our friends, in view of the guilelessness with which people with money invest in gold mine speculations and other wild-cat schemes, anticipated a great rush for our humble five-shilling shares. But the investing public, probably having in mind the predicted collapse of the hypothetical wheel-stall, left our venture severely alone. Even our friends did not display very much faith in us. Although those who were actively engaged in the work were practical and experienced printers, there was a manifest inclination on the part of those we wished to interest in the venture to regard it as the project of a few earnest and well-meaning, but inexperienced, amateurs, which was foredoomed to failure. The result was that at the end of three months the total subscribed capital did not amount to more than a hundred pounds. With this sum, and such type as had already been acquired for printing *Justice*, a start was made at 44, Gray's Inn Road, early in 1892. With nothing but a small treadle machine for jobbing work, it was impossible to turn out enough to cover the steady weekly loss, and the most strenuous efforts were made to increase the capital and plant. But the subscriptions for shares came in very slowly, and it seemed impossible to make any headway. Still, we did not despair. A few kind friends were found to advance sums of money on loan, a machine and gas-engine were procured on the hire-purchase system, and then our fellow-tenants in Gray's Inn Road complained of the noise, and we had to find other quarters for our enterprise.

The present premises on Clerkenwell Green, which had previously been occupied by the Patriotic Club, were then vacant, and it was these none too magnificent premises—rather, indeed, reminiscent of the sixteenth than suggestive of the twentieth century—which thenceforth became the scene of our labours.

From that time on we have grown and increased. Our growth has not been by leaps and bounds, but has been persistent and steady. We may not have absolutely overcome the prejudice and distrust with which our venture was at first regarded, but very little indeed now remains, and we have secured a connection and a *clientèle* among business houses, as well as among the working-class organisations for whom we especially cater, the patronage and support of which we have won and retain, and which we are continually extending, by aiming at the highest excellence of work with the lowest

charges compatible with the observance of the best trade union conditions for those who are employed in the work.

As we have said above, our object in starting the Twentieth Century Press was to keep afloat our paper *Justice*, and to establish a press for the publication of working-class literature. We had no lofty ideas of "putting Socialism into practice" on Clerkenwell Green, or of inaugurating a microscopic millennium for the compositors and other workmen employed in our Press. While capitalism exists Socialism is impossible; we can only co-operate to compete, and a business enterprise to-day must be run as a business enterprise on capitalist lines. The Twentieth Century Press, therefore, is not a philanthropic organisation, run simply for the purpose of giving slightly better conditions of life to the handful of workpeople it employs. It is run frankly in order to make profit, as all similar enterprises are, and must be, run under modern conditions. But the profits, instead of going into the pockets of a single capitalist or into those of a few privileged workpeople, are devoted to forging weapons for the destruction of the profit-making system altogether.

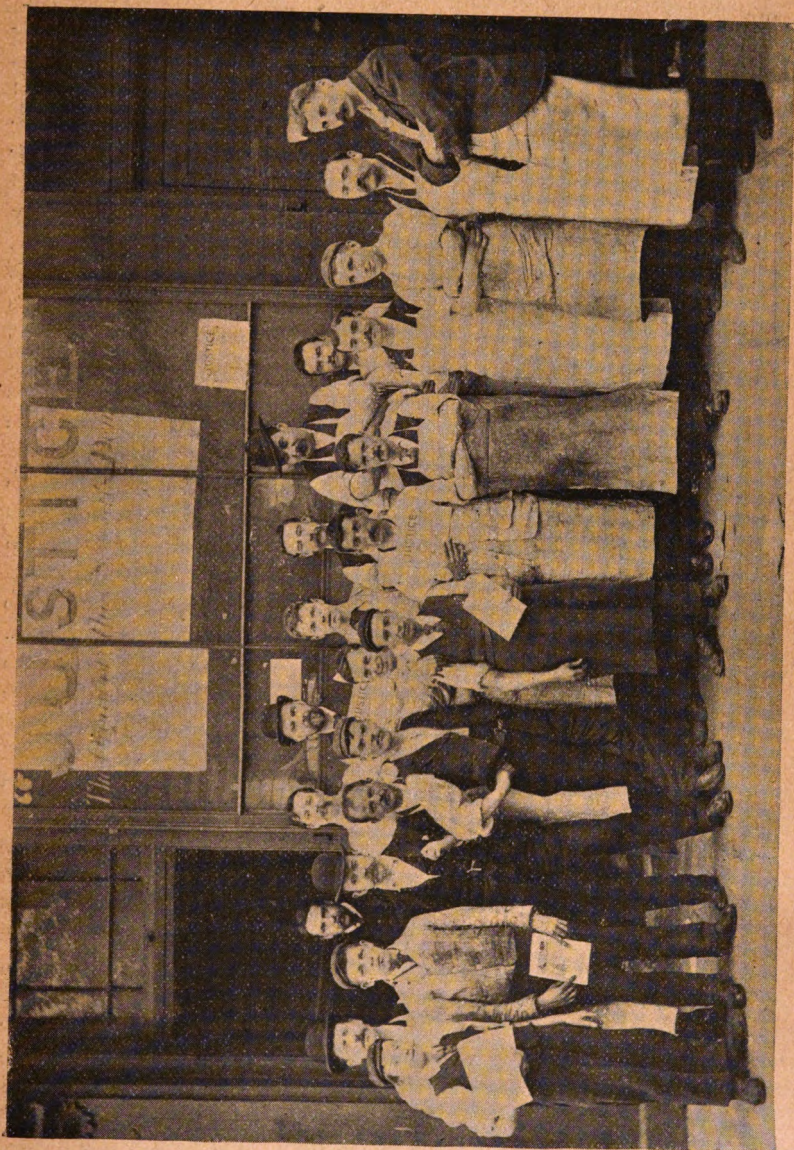
But while there have been no vain pretensions and no illusions on this head, those responsible for the conduct of the Twentieth Century Press have aimed at placing the establishment in the front rank of employers so far as its conditions of employment are concerned. With increasing prosperity it may do even better in this direction than it has done hitherto, but at the present time it pays the full union rate of wages for a week of 48 hours as against the union week of 54 hours. It has, moreover, alone, we believe, among printing establishments, raised the rate of wages of the piece-workers—to whom in ordinary circumstances a shorter working-day does not come as an unmixed blessing—so as to put them on the same level with the time-workers. In addition to this it provides each year for an outing for the whole of the employees and besides religiously observes May Day as a paid holiday for them, which, we think, is not done by any other establishment in the kingdom.

Our two illustrations show the increase in the number of the staff within five years. Further evidence of the steady growth of the business is afforded by the following figures. The turnover for the year 1893, the first year at Clerkenwell Green, amounted in round figures to £1,196; for last year, 1899, the amount was £3,658. In the former year the wages paid—apart from *Justice*—amounted to £500; in the latter year they were over £1,500. In the first year of its existence the weekly wages paid by the Twentieth Century Press averaged about five pounds; at the present time the average is at least six times that amount. During the first two years, in which everything was against us, there was a loss which totalled up to nearly three hundred pounds. That loss has been completely wiped out, and the balance is on the right side of the ledger. In addition, and beyond the work of issuing at a cheap rate hundreds of thousands of Socialist tracts and leaflets, which but for its existence might never have been published, the Twentieth Century Press, during the nine years of its

existence, has subsidised *Justice* to the amount of at least £500. It has thus rendered the same service to the movement in this country, in proportion to its means, as the magnificent co-operative concerns of our Belgian comrades render to the movement in their land. Furthermore, the Press has been of material assistance to the movement; in the branches and as a whole, especially at election times and other periods when there have been special reasons for issuing a large amount of literature and the means for doing so have been small. The services of the Press in this direction have only been limited by its means, which, although they have steadily increased, are still so small as to sadly hamper that further development which we look forward to as the result of past, and the harbinger of future, success.

We have taken up space to lay these facts before our readers, not because we wish to boast of the measure of success which has so far rewarded our efforts, but in order to secure their sympathy, support and co-operation. In the most literal sense of the term the Twentieth Century Press is the property of the Social-Democratic Federation, and we look to its members to assist us in making the Press one worthy of the cause in whose service it was established. We do not boast of what has been done—to do so would be to halloo before we are out of the wood, for we do not claim that, when all is said and done, there is anything to boast about. But we do claim that the Twentieth Century Press has justified its existence and is entitled to the active support of all who agree with our objects. We ask for their support in taking up shares, and in bringing us their custom. We do not ask for charity, or that any special favour should be shown us. We ask that our work and our terms should be judged by those of others, and should stand or fall by the comparison. But we further claim that, other things being equal, every Socialist, every trade unionist, every man and woman who has any sympathy with the working-class movement, certainly every working-class organisation, should bring patronage, support and custom to our Press in preference to taking it to some individual capitalist, or to some purely joint-stock concern.

It is in this view that we have put the few foregoing facts before our readers. We want their aid, and we wish to show that we have at least deserved it. This is the last year of the nineteenth century. Next year will be the first of the century after which our Press is named; we should start the new year of *our* century in larger premises with increased plant, and extended means for carrying on the work set for us to do. That is our aim and it will not be our fault if it is not attained.



THE TWENTIETH CENTURY PRESS STAFF, 1899

THE SYMBOLISM OF THE FIRST OF MAY.

THE First of May is not only an international festival. It does not merely extend over a great portion of the world at this present time, but it can be traced backwards throughout the pages of history till we reach dim and uncertain pre-historic periods. Whether by accident, intuition, or because a few *who knew* gave an appropriate impulse, it would have been difficult for the bearers of the Red Flag to have selected a better date. For my own part, and I only want to write in my own name, without consulting any colleague in the movement, and therefore solely on my personal responsibility, I think the weak side of the Socialist movement rests in the fact that it has not yet initiated a line of policy dealing effectively with the religious question. Now, religions derive much of their strength from ancient legends and traditions, the observances of forms and ceremonies, that recall this past and bestow a halo of antiquity over modern festivals. There is something romantic and sentimental about this which charms and fascinates certain natures; it is therefore a force, which the leaders of the peoples of the world have known how to employ to their own advantage, and for the more complete enthrallment of the masses. But it is a mistake to believe that human beings are so extraordinarily vile that a number of clever men will deliberately sit down, twist wet towels round their heads, and then ponder and discuss what sort of lie they will tell, what sort of legend and fable they will invent, so as to better enslave, rob and exploit the masses. In any case, I have a better opinion of humanity, and believe that, in the great majority of cases, when some such gathering has taken place most of those who participated at least believed that they were working for some good and, generally speaking, beneficent purpose. Indeed, as a rule, it is only those movements which were started for what was believed to be a good object that have succeeded. It is only later on, when the initiators had surmounted many obstacles and perhaps endured some persecution, and when some measure of success had been achieved, that selfish and bad people have joined so that they might profit by the credit the good and the benevolent had at last secured. Therefore, the best way to combat dangerous dogmas and stupid superstitions is, not to fly in the teeth of acquired convictions, however false, to deny and to mock that which others hold to be sacred; but rather to trace back to its origin that which has been so hidden and disguised by the excrescences the wicked and the deluded have added as to be unrecognisable.

This is precisely what the Socialist Party are doing in selecting the first day of the month of May for their annual festival. They are bringing back mariolatry, or the worship of Isis, to its primitive expression. Doubtless such a connection is not only ignored, but would be indignantly repudiated by most Socialists. The charm, however, of tracing crude superstitions

back to their origin is that we ultimately reach the expression of such simple truths that they commend themselves to the reason of even the most bigoted atheist. Of course, I cannot here treat the question of the origin of religions, popular beliefs, superstitions, &c. I have to deal with the First of May. But for this purpose I must at least explain that nature-worship will be found to be the rock-bed of all beliefs and religious stories, legends, or allegories. Now, it is impossible to contemplate nature without recognising the presence of a dual principle. All the Messiahs that have ever come to redeem the world bear a striking resemblance, by the events of their lives, the spelling of their names—that is, the numerical value given to each of the letters employed—their appearance, colour of their clothes, &c., to the sun in its journey through the twelve signs of the zodiac. The Socialist Party, in selecting red as the colour of their flag, took the colour of fire, of heat, of the sun, of summer, of the creative and masculine force in nature that regenerates and renovates. Nothing could be more appropriate.

But there is a dual principle in nature. We cannot conceive heat without having some knowledge of cold; summer would not be summer but for the contrast afforded by winter; and the creative power would be useless if not brought into contact with the productive or realising power. The artist conceives or creates the scheme or idea of a picture, but what would be the use of this if he had neither paints nor canvas to realise his conception? The seed is useless unless we have a suitable soil in which it can be sown. While heat, or the sun, creates life, it is with the aid of earth and moisture that this life develops and grows. Here, then, we have the dual principle of fire and water, summer and winter; or, to descend to animal nature, the male and the female, the creator and the bearer or producer, materially and symbolically represented as the sun that projects life-giving heat and light, the positive, active, or male principle; and the earth and the moon, which receive the heat, reflect the light, constitute the producing womb, the negative, passive, or feminine principle. Most festivals, religious rites, &c., are based on the adoration of one or other of these principles. Thus all the Christs of all the religions, whether they are called Bacchus or Hercules, Apollo or Adonis, Mithras or Osiris, Vichnou, Christna, Christos or Christ, are all human, dramatic personifications of the greatest material manifestation of the incomprehensible First Cause, Fundamental Law, or God; and this material manifestation which affects us most in every detail of life is undoubtedly the giver of light and of heat, the Sun. When we sport the Red Flag we are, unconsciously perhaps, though not always so, sun or fire-worshippers. But most other religions, before they were corrupted by the selfishness, superstition, and ignorance of man, meant no more than what we mean—namely, to regenerate human society, as the sun, with the advent of spring, rises at Easter from the under-world, and, after being transfixed on the cross formed by the ecliptic and the equator, comes over to our side of the world and regenerates all nature in the glorious light and warmth of summer.

But this sun-worship only takes account of one side, the male or positive side. It is the steeple and not the body of the Church ; it is not the cross but only the vertical line of the cross. The earth, the flat or horizontal surface of the water that always finds its level, forms the transversal line of the cross and the body of the Church, the womb of nature, "mother earth." And the period of gestation, which is the most essentially feminine attribute, is most active in the month of May. This very word, in Egyptian, means seminal fluid, the breath of life condensed into dew, and it was an old English custom to wash the face with the dew in the early morning of the First of May, so that the work of the year might be fruitful. Later on, the dew became the first water of life shed by nature's wet-nurse, called Mena, Maka, Ma, or May, and the mothers of Buddha, Christna, or Christ were alike named after this month and called Maia or Mary. In all the Roman Catholic churches, to this day, May is celebrated as the month of Mary. The Virgin Mary always wears a blue cloak, the children are decked with blue ribbons in the month of May, and blue is the colour of water, the female element, as opposed to red, the colour of fire, the male element. Our Jacks-in-the-Green are, of course, another form of honouring the fertility of the All Mother, and the Maypole, crowned by the female symbol, is an obvious survival of phallic worship. Whether it be Isis in ancient Egypt, Nishagara in India, the Venus of the Roman Empire, the Frietag of Scandinavia, the French Vendredi or the English Friday, or the Mary of the modern Roman Catholic, all these peoples, in honouring these divinities, have worshipped the second or female half of the dual principle that governs the world ; and Socialists are instinctively doing exactly the same thing. But then, unlike the blind idolators of the various creeds, let us at least know what we are doing. Let no one, in after ages, graft on our First of May Celebration some crude superstition. We have followed in the wake of the humanity that has gone before us, but with our eyes open. We worship no idol, but we recognise a scientific fact. We recognise a positive and a negative in all things and the necessary association of the two for successful realisation. Thus our Red Flag is the male creative idea of Socialism, and the First of May recalls the blue waters on which the spirit or idea moves. The Red Flag is the heat that makes the earth absorb the water which fructifies the seed or idea sown. May is the pure or virgin mother in whose womb the idea of Socialism germinates ; and by enjoying a holiday on the first day of the month consecrated to the All Mother, we are, to some extent, realising, giving a substantial existence, to our idea of a happier and more harmonious life. The first principle is symbolised by the Red Flag, that is the idea, the enthusiasm it engenders, the desire to act that ensues, the force such inspiration gives us ; then the second principle is the matter on which we act, the *mater* or mother from which we derive the word material, the substance which we animate and impregnate with our ideas. The idea is the motive force, but we should strive to make it a moral force, otherwise we drift towards chaos. Force and matter, the motor and the instrument, the function and the organ, these

two are intimately connected throughout the universe, and struggling humanity addresses itself sometimes to the one, sometimes to the other, for its salvation. This is the necessity the creeds have cleverly exploited, and the symbols, the Sun, the Moon, the Redeemer and the Virgin Mother, have become the idols of the ignorant, instead of being considered as allegorical representations of the dual principle in nature.

It is necessary to note that it is the passive, or female, or material principle rather than the active, male or mind principle which is generally associated with evil, though it is not evil in itself. In practice, however, it is in the material realisations that the danger of corruption arises. Therefore the idea that is to be the motive force giving life or animation to matter must be a moral idea or mischief will ensue. Further, matter, if left to itself, will corrupt the mind ; a bad climate producing savages, a good climate lazy, vicious sensualists. But mind can conquer the mere animal matter of the human body and make man love duty better than pleasure, a heroic death to an ignominious life. Such is the nature of our First of May Celebration, for it is wholly unselfish. It is not in favour of one class of workers, but of all workers ; not for one nation, but for all nations. It does not aim at the acquisition of wealth and privileges for a few individuals, but at equality in happiness for all. The object is material, but of conquered, subdued moralised matter. Therefore the Red Flag should ever be present, for it is the idea, the moral force, without which material success is worthless and degrading in its results. That is the real root teaching of all religions before they drifted into idolatry, so that Socialism is really a revival of that which is true and good in all religions, and instinctively the Socialists have adopted the symbolic dates and colours that were meant, in their origin, to teach this moral.

All these arguments may, however, be qualified as futile, for it may be said that it does not in the least matter whether there be a connection or not between what we are now doing and the traditions and customs of bygone ages. At best it may be said that I have only demonstrated a curious coincidence, and that we have better work to do than to go about curiosity-hunting. But what if our intuition in this respect be meant to teach us a law of nature which we must understand so as to be able to govern ourselves ? It is no use attempting to form a new society if we do not know what laws govern all societies. We shall never succeed if we do not realise that our first object is to maintain a just equilibrium between the dual principles, force and matter, symbolically fire and water, summer and winter, Orisis and Isis, the Red Flag and the month of Mary. Again, such a study will be of some practical service, for it will arm us with the very best arguments for the destruction of that which is dangerous in the dogmas of the creeds.

A. S. HEADINGLEY.

THE STORY OF THE CHARTISTS.

Continued.

CHAPTER III.—THE CHARTISTS.

"I, being with those Chartists through nearly the whole of the conflict, in close companionship with some of their leaders, had opportunity of knowing what they were. . . . Among them were some of the noblest, the most disinterested, the bravest, aye, and the most intelligent men in England. I am not prouder of Mazzini's friendship, of the friendship of some others whom England consents to honour, than I am of the friendship of these men of 'the poorer classes,' 'only workingmen,'—my Chartist comrades."

W. J. LINTON.

PERHAPS at this juncture I had better submit to you one or two snap-shots of the more prominent Chartist leaders, lest there should chance to be amongst my readers any who share the Philistine view of Chartism and its apostles. "Discontented rioters of the poorer classes," grunts the arm-chair philosopher as he placidly views the instructive panorama which history displays before him. "Apostles of pillage, incendiarism, and whole-sale confiscation," shrieked the Tories of the time. A writer in *Blackwood's* for September, 1839, declared: "The first thing that must strike every impartial mind in considering the present state of the country is that the working classes have now proved themselves unworthy of that extension of the suffrage for which they contend; and that, whatever doubts might formerly have existed on the subject in the minds of well-meaning and enthusiastic, but simple and ill-informed men, it is now established beyond all doubt that universal suffrage in reality means nothing else but universal pillage. This we always said was the case. . . . What the working classes understand by political power is just the means of putting their hands in their neighbours' pockets. . . . The Chartists doubtless deny this, as all men will do till they can admit it with impunity. . . . but if they had the command of the empire for a month and a half they would confiscate and share among themselves all the property it contains."

Having resurrected this choice morsel of Tory Ripvanwinkleism for the delectation of our readers, and also to show the spirit in which the propertied classes viewed the Chartist agitation, we shall now examine more closely the personnel of those much-villified reformers, for, fortunately for the world, neither armchair philosophers nor Blackwood critics are infallible judges of men or of movements.

WILLIAM LOVEIT.

One of the bravest and best amongst many noble leaders was William Lovett, a working cabinet-maker. To him belongs the unique honour of framing the People's Charter. Born on the wild Cornish coast, in the year

1800, he was, even from his earliest infancy, inured to poverty and hardship, for ere the Chartist leader yet to be had seen the light of day his father perished in a storm at sea. In early life he received from his mother a rigorous Methodist education, but other influences soon began to broaden out his mental and moral life. The stern unbending world of practical experience was soon to teach him many things that his own dissenting churchmen little wot of. What knowledge he was able to attain in after years was mainly self-acquired, garnered patiently little by little during his scanty leisure time, for Lovett, like most of his colleagues, belonged to that entirely praiseworthy class of Britain's sons—the self-taught men. At first he tried rope-making, but trade grew dull, and he resolved that “a sailor he would be.” His first voyage cured him of that boyish fancy; sea-sickness, aided by the “snell” blasts of winter, brushed the glamour rudely off his dream; his thoughts turned landwards once again, and he betook himself to master the craft of cabinet-making. In a few years he became President of the Cabinet Makers’ Society, and was thus brought closely into touch with the burning questions of the day. He took part in promoting the first co-operative society that ever existed in London. Along with Henry Hethrington he took a prominent part in the agitation for the unstamped press. One reads with mingled feelings Lovett’s story of how more than 500 persons suffered imprisonment in the struggle to free British journalism from the objectionable stamp duties. While living in London he came into close contact with Richard Carlile, Robert Owen, and other leaders of the advance thought of the time; and soon he had himself imbibed most of their principal theories of social and political freedom.

This was the manner of man who was elected the first secretary of the Working Men’s Association, and who during its whole career, when its nominal chiefs were changing with the changing moon, and when from amongst the multitude of its counsellors there came but little wisdom, was in very truth *the* leading spirit, the helm and compass of the whole organisation. Most of the publications of the Working Men’s Association are the work of this self-taught artisan.

In consequence of his prominent position as a Chartist, he was naturally one of the first to suffer at the hands of the Government. When, in 1839, the police broke up a quiet but forbidden meeting in Birmingham, he was seized, tried for seditious “libel,” and sentenced to twelve months’ imprisonment in Warwick Gaol. But, as gold is but purified by fire, so Lovett emerged from prison a more powerful force in favour of Chartism than he had ever been before.

One of the first-fruits of his temporary seclusion from the world was the production of a little volume of essays entitled “Chartism; a plan for the education of the people politically and socially” (written in Warwick Jail). This little work may still be picked up occasionally at second-hand book-stalls, and, like good salt, it has not yet lost its savour. Indeed, taking it all in all, it is undoubtedly one of the most educational volumes ever issued from the Chartist press. Still more valuable, however, to the student

of working-class history was that other work which he gave to the world in his declining years, entitled, "The Life and Struggles of William Lovett."

Like all that came from the author's vigorous pen, the autobiography is written in a simple, lucid and homely style, and throws invaluable side-lights on the story of the Chartists. To fully narrate his life's work here, however, would be to anticipate much that I have yet to say on the progress of the movement as a whole, for his life's story is inextricably intertwined with that of the cause he loved so well. His long career well merits the remarks that leal-hearted Linton has made concerning him: "Poor his life through—for he gave his days to the people's cause and took no reward. A true patriot, history records none truer. Not a strong man, but essentially good, of kindest nature, clean, just, intelligent and peace-loving. What epitaph or praise needs he beyond his title—the framer of the People's Charter."

FEARGUS O'CONNOR.

With slight variations this might form a summary of the lives of other Chartist leaders I have mentioned. Penury and privation; knowledge gained painfully by burning midnight oil and sacrificing material necessities; imprisonment and even outlawry ere their life's work was over. Lovett was the author and practical business man of the party; Thomas Cooper was its poet and philosopher; Henry Vincent was popularly crowned as the Demosthenes of Chartism. Richard Moore, William Watson, Henry Hethrington and Julian Harney constituted the Old Guard of the movement, one and all earnest, strenuous, upright, self-drilled warriors in the Army of the Right to whom such words as "defeat" and "dismay" were utterly unknown. A goodly heritage, indeed, have those reformers left to the Democracy of to-day!

Of a vastly different type, however, was that red-haired eccentric Irishman, Feargus O'Connor. Right here, at the outset, let me say that I do not like this bluff agitator. Strong, powerful qualities he undoubtedly possessed; but he was only fit to lead an unthinking people, who could trust in him profoundly. He lacked that broad, cosmopolitan sympathy that comes of a thoughtful, cultured mind; he lacked that spiritual insight into human life that constitutes the justified leader of MEN. After following closely his whole career, I have little hesitation in saying that his foolish bombast, his blustering habits, and finally, his trafficking with the official Whigs did more to ruin Chartism than any other cause that can be mentioned.

Up to the year 1838 O'Connor, who, by-the-bye, could boast of his descent from "Roderick O'Connor, King of Connaught, and last king of all Ireland," had worked along with Daniel O'Connell in endeavouring to build up an Irish Liberal Party in Parliament. Quarrelling with his chief, however, he came over to England—the sworn foe of Irish Dan O'Connell—an unemployed agitator. Yet not for long. He joined first the Anti-Poor-Law agitation, then the Working Men's Association, and soon became one of the most prominent advocates of Chartism. A skilful open-air speaker—with

far more sound than sense in his speeches—he soon earned for himself immense popularity. His tremendous voice made even the careless pause and listen. In his “History of the Chartist Movement” Mr. Gammage declares that “he conveyed every word in a voice that made the vault of heaven echo with its sound, and which out-Stentored Stentor himself.” Having received a sound legal training, the knowledge of law which he possessed helped to enhance his growing prestige in a party where such knowledge was all too scanty. But this “Lion of Freedom,” as his devotees termed him, was equally at home in trouncing a political opponent, bullying a rival Chartist leader who dared to challenge his “right divine to govern wrong,” or charging at the head of his cheering followers against the hireling roughs of Toryism. But, above all things else, his self-consuming love of popularity was at once his strength and his weakness, making him a boon and yet a bane to Chartism.

Not without many genuine qualities, however, was this rough, blustering agitator. If he made his Chartist preaching pay, as his enemies so loudly asserted, he spent his money freely in the cause, and proved his sincerity by undergoing, with many of his colleagues, a temporary confinement in York prison. It was the autumn of 1838, however, ere O'Connor joined the Working Men's Association, and by this time Chartism could boast of nearly a million sympathisers.

JAMES BRONTERRE O'BRIEN.

Next to Feargus O'Connor in point of popularity we must rank James Bronterre O'Brien. Like his chief, Mr. O'Brien was a native of the Emerald Isle. In intellectual ability, however, he was in every way superior to the nominal head of the party. Even the *Weekly Chronicle*, whilst emptying the vials of its wrath on his hapless head, declared that he had far more in his little finger than all the other Chartist leaders put together. This, of course, was not by any means true, but still as a testimony from the enemy's camp of his keen critical insight into the political and social problems of his time, it is significant of much. O'Brien belonged to the middle class, and ere he joined the workers' party he had earned for himself the reputation of being a distinguished linguist, a first-class mathematician, and one who was skilled in many subtle sciences that take both time and trouble to master.

Orator Hunt, the stalwart Radical of Reform Bill fame, was the first to introduce Mr. O'Brien to the world. This he did at a Reform gathering held in London in 1830. A young man was there that day, he told his hearers, whose great abilities would prove a welcome accession to their cause. “Come up, my man, and speak for yourself,” he added, turning to young O'Brien. Thenceforward Mr. O'Brien had spoken, and written and acted, not for himself alone, but for the great democratic cause as well. In the battle for the unstamped press he was Henry Hethrington's bravest ally. He translated Buonanotti's History of Babeuf's “Conspiracy for Equality”

into English, added voluminous explanatory notes and a scholarly critical introduction, and did his work so well, too, that he won the praises of even the *Quarterly Review*. Next he published a "Life of Robespierre," in which he defended that revolutionist against the vile calumnies usually heaped upon him—no mean task this, it must be remembered, at a time when Carlyle's great work was yet unwritten, and when stolid British prejudice against the revolutionists was bitter even to burning point. In addition to all this he had written largely on all the social and political problems of his own land. Some such man as this was James Bronterre O'Brien, one of the intellectual kings of Chartism.

JULIAN HARNEY.

"Do you know anything of Julian Harney? I enclose one of his letters I have the honour of his personal friendship, of which any man might be proud. The wildness of his earlier political outbursts had rendered him amenable to the punishment of British wisdom in the shape of *law*. His native energies only grew in the dungeons of Lancaster, and instead of being subdued became in their very quietness more potent. He changed the dagger for the whip. Lord, how he lays it on. With a hundred of such friends around I can now and then afford to lose a man of straw or paste-board crony." Thus wrote William Thorn while sojourning in London, an exile then from the "wimplin' Ury" whose praises he could sing so sweetly. To Julian Harney it was given to see not only the birth and death of organised Chartism, but the gradual development in our social life of many of his cherished principles. One of the first in the early Chartist battle-field he was. For a long half-century he fought in the very forefront of labour's battles. He never laid down the whip with which he scourged so effectively the money-lenders of commercialism. Not till death said "Come," did he lay aside the Chartist armour that he loved so well. And he died fighting. In the earlier years Julian Harney, along with Dr. Taylor, was accounted the head and front of the physical force party, although he was never guilty of the blunders and follies that characterised the extremists of that party. He also seems to be one of the pet aversions of the historian of Chartism, Mr. R. G. Gammage, and to our mind is more than once unjustly censured by that writer. In view of this it might have been necessary under certain circumstances to defend at greater length the character of this reformer. But that is unnecessary now. Julian Harney long outlived all those rude suspicions, and when, last year, he passed "from sunshine to the sunless land" he carried with him the love and homage of all the younger race who were following fast in his footsteps. Moreover, our readers will doubtless recollect the interesting sketch of his life which appeared in the SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT but a few months before his death, and to that enquiring friends are again referred. That sketch but corroborates the words that Thomas Cooper (with whom he fought many a bitter wordy battle) has written concerning him: "A more sincere or honest man than Julian, perhaps, never existed."

THOMAS COOPER.

One of the most remarkable geniuses, this, that the Chartist movement produced. He was born at Leicester on March 20, 1805, and was thus in manhood's vigorous prime when he joined the ranks of Chartism. Before the poet yet to be had completed his fourth year his father died. At no time had the family been well-to-do, and the loss of the one bread-winner soon plunged them down into the deepest abyss of poverty. His mother could earn but a meagre pittance by making pasteboard boxes, and more than once did she go a-fasting that her son might not lack either the bread that perisheth or the imperishable bread of knowledge. On one occasion, when the village sweep offered her two golden guineas to let him have barefooted, six-year-old Thomas as a sweep's apprentice, all the fortitude and self-denial at her command were necessary ere she could spurn the glittering gold she so greatly needed. Through the kindness of John Briggs, schoolmaster at Gainsborough, he was enabled to continue his education far beyond the ordinary working-class lad of the period. His love of knowledge, once thoroughly whetted, grew stronger still by what it fed on. History, poetry, philosophy, mathematics, fiction, and linguistic studies—all were grist that came to his mill!

At fourteen years of age he, like William Lovett, began to sigh for a life on the ocean wave. One voyage cured him. The brutish vulgarity of some of his sailor-mates, he said, became utterly unendurable and contemptible. A few months later he was apprenticed to one Thomas Clark, from whom he learned the art and craft of shoe-making. Sitting in the cobbler's chair by day and in the student's den at night and early morn, he soon became both a proficient scholar and a skilful artisan. French and Latin, Hebrew and Greek, he studied closely. Euclid and algebra he successfully mastered. He committed to memory the whole of Milton's magnificent epic poem, "Paradise Lost," and more than one of Shakspeare's greatest plays, and, as a natural result of all this, he utterly ruined his health for a time. When at length his strength returned, he laid aside for ever the shoemaker's awl and, at the early age of 23, opened his first school at Gainsborough. His school was his passion, and for the first four years it flourished like a green bay-tree. But even that did not absorb all his stupendous energies. He soon became one of the leaders of Wesleyan Methodism, and on Sundays and week-nights would eloquently expound the law and the prophets. In his new-born religious zeal, his scholars were neglected and dwindled rapidly away, and so, in the year 1828, he removed to the ancient town of Lincoln, and there, under the shadow of the great cathedral, opened his second school. Shortly after this, he was engaged as local reporter of the *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, at the annual salary of £20. As his duties in connection with the paper increased this sum was raised, first to £60, then to £100. Eventually he went to reside at Stamford as assistant-editor of the same paper, at a salary of about £300 per annum. Thus fully embarked on his literary career, he, of course, left his schoolmaster's life wholly behind him.

Dissatisfied with his post, however, he left for London in a "dorty" mood, as Allan Ramsay would have said. On his grim struggles there we need not dwell. The colours are none too brilliant. Suffice it to say that, after 18 months of wandering in that modern wilderness, he again returned to Leicester, the city of his birth, to fill a minor part on the *Leicester Mercury*. One memorable evening he was told off to report a Chartist gathering there, and thus it was that he first came in contact with the Working Men's Association. The result was that he soon became more enthusiastic than any in the cause of the people. His *Mercury* writings rung with the dominant note of Chartism, and as he would not deign to sell his soul for lucre, he was promptly dismissed from his newspaper post. Nothing daunted, he accepted the editorship of the *Midland Counties Illuminator*, a Chartist organ; opened a coffee-shop, where he also sold Chartist literature, and undertook the post of organiser for the Chartist body there. For this he was promised the sum of 30s. per week, and occasionally he received it. Thenceforward his life's story is identical with that of Chartism.

A masterful, passionate orator was Cooper, leal and warm-hearted too, but unfortunately acting often from impulse rather than reason. At first he was O'Connor's chief lieutenant. No voice sang his praises more loudly than he, but eventually, as we shall in due course learn, they were destined to become uncompromising enemies. Our poet-orator suffered two years' imprisonment (all for the cause) and during that temporary seclusion from public life he wrote the greatest of all his works, "The Purgatory of Suicides," a magnificent poem which called forth the highest praises even from scoffing Disraeli, Tory William Wordsworth and critical Thomas Carlyle.

W. DIACK.

(To be continued.)

THE FUTURE OF THE BRITISH ARMY.

THEODORE VON SOSMOSKY, writing under this heading in the *Fortnightly*, recommends the following measures for the amelioration of the British military system:—

1. Limitation of the powers of the Secretary of State for War, who should no longer be a civilian, in favour of the Commander-in-Chief, who should be given a free hand.
2. Immediate survey of all British dependencies, and speedy publication of the resultant maps, so that leaders, in case of war, do not have to operate on unknown ground, as at present in South Africa.
3. Increase of floating Government transports and a guarantee of hired sports necessary for the simultaneous despatch of two army corps.

SOCIALISM AND OUR CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE.

WE all want change at times. Not the disc variety. Change of thought. After a tussle with Marx I have just picked up the April number of the *Chamber of Commerce Journal*, reporting the Conference of the Associated Chambers. Here I shall find relief; no views, no faiths, no "fads." Fare thee well, Socialism, for the nonce. I am going into another world.

Zounds! Furies!! Parallelograms!!! The Socialist angel is troubling even these green-coated waters. "Her bright smile haunts me still," as the escaped bather said to the crocodile. I find that Lord Avebury, better known as Sir John or Search-on Lubbock, is making commercial blood run cold by a paper on "Municipal Trading." "The following," he says, "are among the businesses which (Mr. Morse kindly informs me) have been proposed or which various municipalities in Bills before Parliament this session ask for powers to undertake: banking, pawnbroking, coal supply, saddlery, telephones, tailoring, manufacture of electrical fittings and of the residual products of gas, supply of apparatus for games, Turkish baths, cold-air stores, refrigerators, estate agency, printing, constructing lifts, &c. Such proposals seem open to many objections."

Unconscious wisdom, like unconscious humour, is often the best. I glean incidentally from Lord Avebury (though it is not what he is setting himself to enforce) that a little Council housing is a dangerous thing. Tinker at it, and you will do next to nothing by way of your own palliative. But you will check private enterprise's palliative. Had no Councils done any housing we should have had many more dwellings to-day, says Lord Avebury. Indeed, your L.C.C. "have dishoused rather than housed." Hands off. Don't tinker. He does not see that though timid Councils may at the outset do *some* tinkering in this increasing difficulty, private enterprise is never likely to do anything but tinker.

Again, Avebury deplores that electric light was hindered in England because municipal gas-sellers "looked upon electric lighting as a rival." You expect to hear him continue: "The natural course was to let the municipality supply both forms of light; rivalling itself could do no harm." He does not say this. His pen is at the service, not of logic, but of preconceived prejudice.

Mr. Sydney Morse opened the discussion. He believed "Socialism was at the bottom of the movement for municipal trading." Most discerning Morse. "Unfortunately, Government during the last few years had not been able to resist the desire for Socialism in some form or other. It had begun with tramways and electric lighting, and was now going on to many other trades. This would do away with private enterprise, and lead to a waste of public money, because it could not be expected that a body of perhaps 30 or 40 members would be able to carry on a trade with the same economy

and success as men who had spent all their lives in a particular enterprise and gained long experience therein. Again, municipal trading would make for jobbery and corruption. Was it unreasonable that they should ask that municipalities should give their time and attention to the many matters of real value within their own province, and that they (the Chambers of Commerce) should ask Parliament for an inquiry into municipal trading?"

The Earl of Wemyss listened to a tale of the telephone charge at Brighton coming down from £10 per annum to £3 10s. when the private monopoly ceased, but nevertheless he rushed in with his sweeping dictum. "Municipal trading ought not to be allowed." *Bos locutus est*; the ox has spoken. Mr. John Nicholson thought such councillors should be elected as would keep any trading which might be done within reasonable bounds. A Mr. Wharton deplored a sort of trade union which seems to have been formed among the higher paid Corporation officials; and soon the Conference proceeded to breathe again.

Other pages show an Indian railway discussion, and Professor Bryce, M.P., warning the Conference "that the opinion of every wise man with whom he had had the opportunity of consulting in India, and every wise man knowing India whom he had consulted since, was that there was only one danger which threatened British rule in India, and that was—overtaxing the people. (Hear, hear.) The condition of a very large part of the Indian population was not far removed from want, and any exceptional catastrophe, such as a drought, brought the people very near the limit of starvation. The taxation must not be raised very much, if at all, beyond the point at which it stood now. It was impossible in India to have recourse to a wealthy class to raise taxation by exceptional means like the income-tax; in India the tax fell upon the large class of cultivators. The true remedy was economy, and he hoped, considering what immense sums had been absorbed by *military railroads and frontier defence works within the last 20 years*, that the Indian Government would be able to see itself near the end of those military expenses, and would be able to vote an increasing proportion of its revenue in future to the construction of reproductive internal works." (Italics, of course, mine.)

Mr. Joseph Walton, M.P. for Barnsley, said it was a misfortune at the present moment that for the guaranteed lines in India over £40,000,000 sterling had been borrowed at 5 per cent. sterling interest. It could have been far more cheaply obtained. "He regretted very much to find that, owing to the exceptional expenditure on famine and plague, railway construction had for the time been practically stopped in India."

"Commercial education" was discussed. Education was the interest of the State, said Sir Albert Rollit, M.P. Mr. Stiebel, of Nottingham, said it "was not commercial education which had brought Germany to the perfection it presented—it was *the general culture, the general education* (italics mine). He thought it was infinitely better for a child to know three subjects well than to have three-ha'porth of that and three-ha'porth of this. He had no sympathy whatever with the words commercial education. Teaching children

so many things was neglecting one of the most important parts of English education—namely, manly sports, which, in his opinion, had done more to form British character and make Englishmen what they were than all the ologies in the world. (Loud cheers.).”

Mr. Bryce, M.P., spoke again: “If children were to be taken away at thirteen or fourteen, if they were going to receive only the education of the elementary school, it would be far better for them to confine their attention entirely to general education. (Hear, hear.) It would be far better to stimulate their faculties and to make them adepts at those branches of instruction which were the necessary instruments and tools of all kinds of knowledge than to carry them into the subtleties of commercial education. If, on the other hand, the children were to be kept at school *until fifteen, seventeen, or eighteen*”—that they should have lived to hear this sort of suggestion in the very temple of individualism!—“there would be time enough to give them some of the special instruction which would be of the utmost possible value to them in prosecuting their commercial pursuits.”

Lord Russell's Business Bribes Bill was discussed, and of course blest. No one said that to competitive traders, and from the point of view of profit-making as the highest good, the remedy would very possibly be much worse than the disease; that some firms are saying, “no doubt our men get tipped, but it would not pay us to interfere even if it were brought openly to our knowledge.”

Finally, I note a discussion on the way railway companies are defying instead of deifying the sacred principle of free competition which “has made England, &c.” They buy up canals—to obviate their embarrassing rivalry. Mr. Arthur Lee, of Bristol, moved: “That in the opinion of this association it would materially benefit the trade and commerce of this country if the State acquired the ownership and control of our internal water-ways, with a view to the development of a national canal system.” He pointed out that cheap transport had become of vital importance, especially if the manufactures of the Midlands were to maintain their position. The policy of foreign competitors had been to maintain efficient working of railways and canals side by side, and even in countries where the principal part of the railways was State-owned, the greatest possible care had been taken to improve and develop the canal system. In the last twelve years, although the greater part of the railways in Germany was State-owned, the German State had invested something like eight millions in canals. In Austria-Hungary seven millions had been invested by the State between 1867 and 1896 in canals. In France and Belgium very large capital sums had been expended during recent years in improving the canal systems in those countries. Belgium, which was a *beau-ideal* country so far as canals were concerned—“a small country inhabited by a great people,” said Hyndman on Labour Day; how our authorities agree—had 2,839 miles of railway, with 1,363 miles of canals, or an average of 2.08 miles of rail to each mile of canal. Austria-Hungary had 2.63, France 2.65, Germany 3.24; but the United Kingdom had only one mile

of canal to five and a-half miles of railways. The discouragement of the canal system in this country was due to the policy pursued. Railway companies had regarded the canals, not as alternative lines of communication which ought to be encouraged and developed, but as *competitors who ought to be destroyed*; and the result had been that rates had been lowered unduly to competition point, and the loss had been made up by charging higher rates where there was no competition. The railways controlled 1,138 miles out of 2,906 miles of water communication in this country. The railway companies had managed to get hold of the most important links, the main lines of communication. By the Government return which was lately issued, the revenue in 1898 per mile of the railway-controlled canals was £342, and on independent canals £729. The net income of railway-owned canals was £40 per mile, against £216 on the independent canals. The canals were also allowed to go out of repair, and, although there was legislation which compelled a railway company to keep a canal in proper repair, that was a costly procedure to adopt.

The alternative was purchase by the State, or permanent inefficiency of the waterways of this country. The principal argument adduced against it was that it would be impossible to arrange equitable terms of purchase, but there was a net profit throughout the country of about £600 per annum. New capital would not be required to take over the present canal system, but only for its development. Doubtless shareholders in the present canals would be very glad to exchange on equitable terms their present securities for Government securities. Another objection was the rooted objection in some minds to nationalisation of any kind. His reply to that was that without State control of some kind there would be no control at all. It was just one of those matters which had to be made an exception, unless the trader of this country consented, as far as communication went, to live with one hand tied behind his back. Mr. G. H. Cox (Liverpool) seconded the resolution. The Chairman said that, however desirous he might be that the State should acquire the waterways of this country, he was sure that all the pressure which the Association might bring to bear upon the State would not make them enter into a trade arrangement with the owners of the waterways of this country. If a great National Trust could take over the canals to work them, it would be much preferable, and any request to the State would only receive a curt refusal. The resolution was then put, and the Chairman declared it lost. Mr. Arthur Lee asked for a vote by Chambers, which, upon being taken, showed 32 for and 21 against, which was not a sufficient majority to enable the Association to act upon it. None the less it is evident that this Conference which came to scoff at Socialism remained to pray.

There were other discussions which touched matters of Socialist interest less directly.

FRANK COLEBROOK.

PETER LAVROFF.

PETER LAVROFF was born on 2/14 June 1823 at Mehchova, in the government of Pskov. His family belonged to the nobility and was very wealthy. His father was an artillery officer and was very well educated, but being a strong Conservative he was very strict and very tyrannical. Lavroff had two brothers who were much older than he, so that he was much alone at home and spent most of his time in study.

When he was 14 he entered the artillery school, where he greatly distinguished himself. But he was already much interested in politics, and he has told how at night he lay on the floor hiding the light of a candle, so as to be able to read Thiers' "History of the French Revolution," and he has said how he was impressed with the story of the judgment of Louis XVI.

One year after leaving the school he re-entered it, when aged 21, as professor of mathematics. He also held a chair in a new military school which was established about this time.

Lavroff began to play a part as a writer and a Socialist after the death of Nicholas I. in 1855. Till that time he had only written on science except a few revolutionary verses which circulated in manuscript. At that time important reforms were promised by the Emperor Alexander II. He proposed to abolish serfdom, to give freedom of the press and to institute trial by jury. There was then a kind of new birth in Russia, and the press became very influential. Like many others, Lavroff could believe that public opinion would be born in Russia and that an era of social progress would begin for his country. His illusions did not last long. The natural boldness of his mind and his conviction of the vanity of reforms granted by a "liberal" emperor as a mere political dodge, soon made him a follower of the most advanced thinkers of his time. His ideas at that time (1860) are summed up in a pamphlet, "Personality," dedicated to Herzen and to Proudhon. At that time he had many enemies among the clergy, who tried to send him to penal servitude, and even among the Liberal Party, who found fault with him for being a materialist.

In 1862 he joined the revolutionary party "Earth and Will" at the request of Engelgardt, and the head of the party was then Tchernichewsky. After these had been arrested Lavroff was one of those who continued their work till he, too, became acquainted with the vengeance of the Czars and their summary justice.

This occurred in 1866 after the attempt of Karekosov to kill Alexander II. A general was ordered by the "liberal" emperor to "restore order." Lavroff was arrested and brought before a court-martial. He was found guilty of having (1) written four insulting verses against the Emperor; (2) of having been in communication with advanced revolutionists; (3) of having undertaken an active propaganda. He was sentenced to a few months imprisonment, but the Emperor did not think that this was enough, and by the Czar's order he was deprived of all his appointments in February, 1867, and sent in exile to a distant province under the surveillance of the police. He lived at Totma and at Kadnikov. There, under the pseudonym of Mirtov, he wrote in several papers, especially in one—*The Annals of the Fatherland*—which was then edited by the great poet Nekrassov. At this

time, too (1868-69) he wrote several historical letters which were of great influence in forming the opinions of the educated young Russians of the day.

But Lavroff wished to get to Europe, and with the help of Lopatine he managed to escape and arrived in Paris in March, 1870, shortly after the death of Herzen.

At Paris, Lavroff divided his time between scientific studies and Socialism. He studied Marx and the foreign working-class movement, and this drew his attention to economics. Now, at that time, few Russians studied these questions, as they considered political questions to be more important. He always sided with Marx, and about this time he joined the International, being proposed by Varlin, who was a member of the General Council.

The gravest events were taking place in France. Lavroff took an active part in the Commune, and did what he could to help them. For them he went several times to Belgium and to England to ask help from several foreign members of the International, especially from Karl Marx.

Afterwards he worked for Russia. Revolutionary Russia was at that time in its heroic stage. People began to recover from the period of breakdown which had followed the attempt of Kareksoff. Every day men and women were ready to *go among the people*. This became the great party of Narodnaia Volia (the Will of the People), which for more than ten years gave to the world an admirable example of audacity, of endurance, and of abnegation in spite of the gallows, the prison, or exile. This great party, during ten years, replied to the autocratic terror by the revolutionary terror. Two men especially, Bakounine and Lavroff, during that period influenced the movement, and influenced greatly the young men and the young women from Russia who had gone abroad to flee from persecution and to continue their studies. At this time, in 1872, Lavroff edited, first at Zurich, then at London, the *Uperied* ("Forward"), first organ of the Russian Workmen's Socialist Party, and which maintained the doctrines of the Narodniki. At first he and Bakounine edited the paper, but after some little time they separated. Lavroff also wrote at this time a series of articles on Socialism and the condition of Russian workmen.

In 1882 Lavroff tried to organise in Paris a branch of the society for helping political prisoners. The French Government expelled him, and he went to live in London, where, with Tikhomirov, he founded the *Messenger of the People's Will*. In this paper he fought against autocracy and economic exploitation, thus laying the foundation of a Russian Workman's Socialist Party.

The exile passed the last years of his life in Paris, in an old house of the Rue St. Jacques, which had become a holy place for Russian refugees. Though he still took an interest in politics, though he still lectured and wrote articles, yet he stood rather aloof from current events, and in his old age he wrote a work on the "Evolution of Thought and especially of Socialist Ideas," which was the work he thought most of. For he was not only a learned man, but a great thinker. In addition to this history, of which two volumes have appeared, he began in 1892 to write a work on the history of the revolutionary Socialist movement.

To sum up, we may say that Lavroff was more a Socialist than a revolutionary, he was more a man of theory than a man of action, and he came to Socialism more by reflection than by impulse. But, when all is said, he was one of the greatest men of his country and of his time, and we

do not know what to admire most: the beauty of his life, the breadth and extent of his knowledge, or the beauty of his intellect.

In these few words we have tried to sketch the life of the great man who was taken to his last resting-place accompanied by representatives of all Socialist parties in France and also by representatives of all nations.

CHARLES ALBERT in *La Revue Franco-Allemande*.

(Translated by Jacques Bonhomme.)

THE LIBERAL PARTY AND IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

MR. J. A. MURRAY MACDONALD, writing on this in the *Contemporary*, says: "The necessity of having a clear policy with regard to the future of the Empire is forced upon us; it is the condition of the existence of that Empire that its interests, and the policy based upon them, should not be in permanent opposition to the local or domestic interests of any part of it . . . though in scope and practical methods imperial and local interests are entirely different."

Mr. Macdonald suggests the delegation of the local or domestic functions of the present Parliament of the United Kingdom to the several countries it represents, and, having placed all parts of the Empire on the same plane as regards the control of their strictly domestic interests, the raising of them all to the same level as regards the control of their larger and common interests.

The initial stage of the reform, says Mr. Macdonald, would be "Home Rule all round," and its final stage an invitation to all the self-governing portions of the Empire not already represented in the Imperial Parliament to share in that representation, and in the burdens and responsibilities it involved. Towards the accomplishment of the initial stage, the writer remarks that the Liberal Party have been working for the last fourteen years. Their actual proposals were limited to a local legislature for Ireland, the writer proceeds, and it was the sectional attitude of the Irish representatives, the subordination of all their interests in the Empire to the peculiar interests of Ireland, and the barrier that this attitude placed in the way of all reform for England or Scotland, it was this attitude that constituted the great ground of appeal to the British electorate to support the policy, summed up in the phrase, "Ireland blocks the way." The reasons, continues Mr. Macdonald, that induced Liberals to adopt the policy of Home Rule for Ireland could be applied with at least as much force in support of Home Rule for England and Scotland also, and our political life, as a whole, would be simplified and strengthened by the adoption of the wider policy, and Liberal principles would have a larger sway.

There now presents itself, the writer goes on to say, the desire of federating the Empire, and the need for this purpose of separating domestic from its imperial interests, and this desire, he says, must be determined in its character by reference to the great historical principles of Liberal policy—political freedom in its association with political responsibility. On any ground of determination less large and complete than this, says Mr. Macdonald, the Liberal Party would find it difficult, if not impossible,

successfully to oppose a plan for uniting the Empire on a military basis, and all the more difficult if the acceptance of the plan was urged—as it probably may—merely as a first step towards the kind of union that they themselves might aim at.

“The Liberal Party,” asserts the writer, “can claim as being its own the work of preserving the British Empire from being a great military organisation. Defence,” he continues, “against external attack, is one of the most sacred duties, but defence does not derive sanctity from itself; all its moral value springs from, and is the immediate reflection of the things defended; freedom and responsibility in the general relations of life are the things we value most and hold most sacred; but to consent to the establishment of a great permanent defensive organisation, in which all parts of the Empire would share, whilst we withheld from some of these parts a full participation in the privileges that alone justify defence,” concludes Mr. Macdonald, “would be to consent not merely to the subversion of the principles of the Liberal Party, but to the destruction also of the most humane and beneficent feature of our civilisation.”

THE TESTIMONY FROM JOHANNESBURG.

UNDER this title there appears in the *Contemporary* a reply by Mr. Hobson to Mr. Hosken's article in last month's issue of that magazine, to which the latter writer again rejoins.

Mr. Hobson opens his remarks by saying that “when a correct analysis is possible of the processes by which public opinion relating to this war has been formed it will be found that a small number of mining capitalists of Johannesburg have, by their personal authority or by the press which they have owned, influenced, or inspired, exercised a dictatorial power unprecedented in its efficacy. It is reasonable that men who have so particular an interest in South Africa should be heard, but it is not reasonable that impartiality should be accredited to their testimony, and that the moulding of the public mind and policy should be handed over to their manipulation.” Mr. Hosken is counted as one of these men, and it is pointed out that in describing himself as chairman of the Outlander Council and of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce he withholds two important qualifications—the directorship which he held in that company “whose conduct has been the gravest scandal in the whole history of the Transvaal,” the Nobel dynamite monopoly, and the recent directorship of the company which established last spring the *Transvaal Leader*, whose inflammatory language was expressly designed to force this country into war with the Transvaal.

Mr. Hosken replies to this by stating that he is not a director of a single mining company, but that he was a merchant, and chosen regularly for the last seven years to represent Johannesburg at the annual conferences of the South African Chamber of Commerce. He also mentions that the first meeting of the Labour Union was held in his office, and that by request of the labour leaders he took part in the proceedings. Mr. Hosken then admits that he was director of the Dynamite Company, but had nothing to do with the negotiations with President Kruger regarding its formation.

He represented British capital that had been placed in the company ; and in 1895, directly he knew it was possible to form a party to actively oppose the "corrupt Kruger Administration," he at once resigned so as to have a free-hand to go in for the work of reform. The chairmanship of the syndicate that owned the *Transvaal Leader* Mr. Hosken acknowledges.

Mr. Hobson refers to the other's statement that "every section of the Christian Church in South Africa has affirmed the righteousness, the justice of our cause," and points out that there is a Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa, which has more adherents than all the other Christian Churches put together, and that this Church has denied the "righteousness and justice" of the war with even more unanimity than the British Churches have affirmed it. Mr. Hosken says that in the first statement Mr. Hobson is misled.

Another sin of omission Mr. Hobson mentions is that in calling attention to the 21,000 signatures to the Outlanders' petition organised by the South African League, Mr. Hosken makes no mention of the counter petition signed shortly after by several thousand more Outlanders expressing confidence in the Transvaal Government. Probably, Mr. Hobson remarks, the signatures of neither petition would have borne close examination, but why omit one and name the other ?

To this Mr. Hosken replies that he had not considered the pro-Kruger petition a matter of any moment, and asks if the Boer Government had so many supporters, why they should so persistently refuse to enfranchise the Outlanders.

Mr. Hobson in quoting the remark that "the public meetings in Johannesburg were held under great strain, as the Government-subsidised press did its utmost to rouse the Boers to break them up by force," says that in point of fact there was right up to the war far greater liberty of speech and public meeting in Johannesburg than there is in any town of England to-day.

To this Mr. Hosken says that an overwhelming majority of the people of Johannesburg were in our favour, and that it would have been a physical impossibility for the Boers to have broken up our meetings except by the use of firearms, which at that time would not have suited their policy. Mr. Hosken then adds that the Boers were "armed to the teeth while we were unarmed."

Regarding Mr. Hosken's condemnation of the Seven Years' Franchise Law, his critic says that it compared fairly with the English Franchise Law, it will be discovered that the difficulties set by the latter in the path of the stranger within our gates, who seeks full citizenship, are almost, if not quite, as great. To this Mr. Hosken does not reply.

The question of liberty for the natives is referred to by Mr. Hobson as amazing, in view of which he quotes the following :—A missionary in Natal (states the Rev. W. C. Wilcox in the *Independent*, New York, December, 1899) had occasion to send one of his Christian natives on an errand, and it was necessary for him to pass a railway platform on which there was a crowd of white people. He may have brushed against somebody, but he did not know it until a big Englishman knocked him down and kicked him off the platform. When asked why the brute was not arrested he (the missionary) said it would be no use to bring a case of that kind in any court in the Colony. Mr. Hosken replies to this by stating that "the statement that a native could not get justice in a Natal court of law is a gross libel," and that, although the treatment of the natives in the British Colonies may not be ideal, it is vastly in advance of that of the Dutch.

TEN YEARS OF A SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER.

THE *Volksblatt*, a Socialist daily published at Halle, in Prussian Saxony, first appeared on April 1, 1890. In the issue of April 1 of this year a long account of the life of the paper during the last ten years is given. Perhaps a short account of this history may be of interest. For a long time there had been Socialists at Halle, which is a manufacturing town, but it was not till 1890 that they succeeded in returning a member to the Reichstag. It was then determined to run a paper; the difficulties were very great as the Socialists had no money, no credit and but little organisation. Still, where there is a will there is a way, and they set to work. After great trouble a printer and a publisher were found, and an editor was obtained from Leipsic. It had been hoped to get 5,000 subscribers, but the paper was started with about 3,000, and at first no advertisements could be obtained. However, they were not discouraged, and the subscribers increased so that at present there are 14,800 people who buy the paper and pay at least one month's subscription in advance, and last year £1,900 was received for advertisements. The offices have been enlarged, there are now 24 workmen employed, and the wages paid last year came to £1,470. Of course, there have been lawsuits and prosecutions by the Government; once, on February 14, 1897, the police confiscated all the copies they could find in hotels, cafés, restaurants, &c., and altogether the writers have been sentenced to 56 months' and one week's imprisonment and the paper has had to pay £625 in fines.

Still, it is very vigorous, and, as it says, ten years' struggles have been ten years' progress, and it looks forward to fight in the good cause for many years. May it flourish and its circulation increase tenfold!

JACQUES BONHOMME.

THE BRITISH SPHERE IN ASIA.

WRITING on this in the *National Review*, Mr. Charles E. D. Black says that "the recent threatening activity of Russia against Persia and Afghanistan may be a blessing in disguise in compelling the British Government to take measures for securing her influence in these regions; the best and surest way to consolidate our Asiatic Empire is to use the same means that Russia is using to unite her Western and Eastern possessions."

The writer continues, "If Lord Salisbury is correct in saying that Western policy in China is a policy of railways, the same certainly holds good of Western Asia." Mr. Black suggests that a great trunk railway from the Nile to the Yang-tze would be a magnificent enterprise, benefiting Great Britain, and from various points of view, apart from its commercial and administrative importance, the Post Office, the India Office, the Colonial Office, the War Office, and the Foreign Office would all profit. The best way to approach this subject, the writer continues, would be to appoint a confidential committee who would be charged with the duty of "considering the strides made by foreign nations in the countries east and west of India, the railway and other concessions contemplated therein, and their general development, and to examine and report how British interests may best be safeguarded, having especial heed to the opening of trade routes and the shortening of land communications between India and the Mediterranean on the one side and China on the other."

"A representative," goes on Mr. Black, "from each of the public departments mentioned ought to serve on the committee, with the addition perhaps of one from the telegraph branch and another from the Treasury; an equal number of non-official members, merchants, M.P.'s, an engineer and others would be requisite, to prevent the official element from being too heavy and overpowering."

Mr. Black mentions the fact, in conclusion, that one of the most eminent engineers of the day, after going carefully and at length into the project, is of opinion that the British Trans-Asiatic Railway could be built for £40,000,000.

STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS OF BOER MILITARY ORGANISATION.

In the *Volksstem* (Pretoria), Dr. Engelenburg gives an interesting sketch of the extraordinary military organisation of the Boers, revealing at once its strength and its weakness. We condense his article as follows:

There is little or no compulsion. The only effective punishment is the fact that men who do not come up to the mark are ridiculed by their comrades. Piet Joubert, the commander-in-chief, wore no uniform, because anything approaching to the European idea of discipline is utterly distasteful to the Boers, and an air of command is not tolerated where the officer is only *primus inter pares*. The orders of the officers sound more like requests. Bragging, boasting of one's exploits, is likely to meet with utter contempt. The Boer acknowledges openly that he has no "feeling of joy" at the approach of battle. Yet he will hold out, if necessary, under a perfect hail of shot and shell. Surrender is an awful thought to the Boer, yet he does not admire foolhardiness. The man who recklessly exposes himself is not decorated or praised. On the contrary, he gets a regular "blowing up" from his veldkornet, for not only does he rob his family of its supporter, in case he is hit, but he weakens the force to which he belongs, and thus lessens the chance of victory.

His greatest weakness is his want of implicit obedience. It is impossible to get the Boer to obey an order which does not seem sensible to him. While thousands of British soldiers do not know what they are fighting for (as conversation with the prisoners amply proves), every Boer fully understands the causes of the war, is conversant with the arguments on both sides, and is willing to risk everything for his freedom. But he refuses to be butchered uselessly, and expects to be made acquainted with the object of an order. The officers know this, but they also know that the Boer never fights better than when he is in sore straits, and it is no unusual thing for a Boer commander to place his men in a position where they must fight or surrender.

A writer in the *Militär Wochenblatt* (Berlin) points out that this individualism of the Boers, while it strengthens them in positions of defence, makes them unfit for an aggressive movement. Much as intellect, calmness, and individual tact are to be appreciated, confidence in the commander and obedience must accompany them to enable an army to strike a sudden and decisive blow. This criticism has obtained wide acceptance since the failure of the Boers to capture Ladysmith and Kimberley.—*The Literary Digest*.

BUSINESS AND PATRIOTISM.

INTO the workroom of a Brisbane tailor's shop the boss came with a patriotic list. "How much are you going to give?" he asked of a girl. "I'm a Boer," was the reply. "Nonsense," said the boss, laughing incredulously, "how much shall we say?" "I'm a Boer," said the girl again, with determination, "and I won't give a penny." The boss became indignant. "You're a Boer, then; are you? Now what would you do if the Empire was to fall, and the Germans invaded the country?" "Do," said the girl, "I'd do nothing. I can't see how I'd be any worse off than I am now. I suppose I'd get as much wages as you pay me, for you don't give me any more than you can help." Such audacity astounded the boss. "What are all your mates here? Boers, too, I suppose." "Yes," said the girl, "they're all Boers right enough." Were they all sacked in defence of the Empire? No! not one of them. You see, girls are scarce in the tailoring trade at present; there are plenty of billets to be had, and the boss's patriotism mustn't interfere with his business. If it were otherwise the incident wouldn't have happened, and the girl and her mates would have been fired out without being able to indulge in the luxury of speaking as they felt and thought. How many people in Queensland are there in this position to-day?—*Queensland Worker*.

THE DEGRADATION OF THE PRESS.

WHEN the causes of the present war are investigated, it will be found that the British Press has played an ugly part. Calumny, misstatement, and ingenious perversion of simple facts have filled column after column in English papers, and the same conspiracy to suppress the truth is at work to-day. Just recently, for instance, a public meeting at Shoreditch Town Hall was held by the Social-Democratic Federation. A certain number of people endeavoured to break up this meeting by singing "Rule, Britannia," and were promptly ejected by the stewards. When these disturbers had been removed there was no further interruption, and a reasonable opportunity was allowed for an amendment to a resolution condemning the war—an opportunity that was fully made use of. This meeting, held in London, attended by some 1,500 people, and well reported in several London papers, was actually described by the *Standard*, *Daily Telegraph*, and *Echo*, newspapers once accounted to be respectable and reliable, as having "broken up in disorder"! Now, if these important and representative papers cannot tell the truth concerning a simple public meeting in London, how is it possible to expect that they will tell the British public the truth concerning events in South Africa? Then a large number of meetings are held week by week in various towns to protest against the war policy of the Government—but no report of these meetings ever appears in the papers that publish reports of meetings broken up by jingo patriots. A free press may be a mighty power for good. But a capitalist press degraded to the depths of present day "yellow" journalism, heedless of principles and indifferent to truth, is a mere engine of destruction.—*The New Age*.

FOUR MODERN LOVE STORIES.

Young, ardent, passionate, they did not believe in any absolute bond for their love. . . . "While we love we will be together; and the feeling that there is no bond but love to bind us will keep us ever at our best to one another."

That is what they said.

They happened to be real lovers, whose love increased with marriage-ecstasy; they loved one another with passionate intensity; then at times there would recur to each the absence of ceremonial bond, the permission to change without blame; when such memory returned to either, then he or she was devastated with a terrible sick dread.

When she was near her motherhood this anguish for what might be reached such a pitch with her that it even seemed inevitable that her poor child would go fatherless, though its father were alive. Had they not admitted the possibility, indeed reckoned with it?

Had they not said: "Love comes and goes; none can help or hinder it; let it go unblamed?"

Then she had left him free to crush her life into the shapeless, loveless misery. . . . Death in life.

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Ere the child came, they married.

You see that poor, sad prostitute at the street corner. . . . ?

A certain poet, when they were maid and youth, loved her; he left her with her babe to bear all the shame; but out of her grief he made a famous poem. . . . Do you remember it?

Do you remember the lines where he makes the sad, betrayed heroine to say that the feelings that led to her ruin were the holiest in her nature. . . . ?

Of their love he left her all the sting, of their poem he took all the glory. . . . !

He had been somewhat wild in his youth; had married, and the marriage proved unhappy. His wife died when he was about 40, leaving him with a little girl of six.

He lived with the child, a solitary brooder. She was his sole companion. He had retired from the world, melancholy, dissatisfied. He brooded over religion, and sought happiness in self-suppression.

He thought over his experiences with women . . . the orgy of his youth revolted him in its hideousness. The perpetual disagreement of his marriage, which was, therefore, in its sex-side, loveless, ugly, unnatural, seemed to him to mark it out as being as godless as his earlier wantonings.

He wrote a terrible book against the Flesh. "The Sin is Marriage," he called it. He preached complete abstinence with a fury only attainable by the libertine grown old. The ideal of the Christian Church, he said, was abstinence.

Sex was taught by the Serpent, and was the Sin. Poets, novelists, all who taught of sex-love as a beautiful thing, were branded together as

deceivers, blind guides to the unsavoury slough of animalism, called marriage. His ascetism was furious; when he finished his book it gave him a voluptuous shiver.

He showed it to his daughter. She was now nineteen, and, like himself, a wild-blood and a brooder. He loved her with a strange, deep, silent love.

She read the book, and all her pride revolted against it. With blackened brow she said to him:

"Did you make me in lust?"

The question overwhelmed him. He stammered in answer:

"You see the point of view . . . all marriage . . . is alike . . . animalism."

The girl had nourished passion and pride in her loneliness. Her voice rang with anger and scorn.

"Did you make me in lust?" she asked.

Her whipped blood tingled, and every outraged nerve quivered under the insult of her birth. . . .

They were independent, both in their views of things and by their worldly goods; they were free lovers, believing marriage to be stupidity. They had a connection for as long as the novelty proved attractive, and they called it a love-union; then he left her. She had a child some six months later; but a feeling, perhaps of shame, kept him from even seeing it. Besides, had they not agreed that the child was entirely the woman's affair? . . .

It was a dozen years later; he was wearied, bored; the desire came strangely and strongly upon him to see his child. So, on a day, he went to the house of the mother. She received him with a smile more contemptuous than scorn could have been.

"And how is our child?" he said.

"Our child?" she repeated with mocking contempt. "In what sense is he *your* child?"

"Of course," he said apologetically, "I know our principles—the child is the woman's affair. . . ."

"That," she interrupted, "was our *lie*. Every day, by some unwelcome resemblance to you, he reminds me of your duty to him, a duty you were wrong in shirking, a duty I was wrong in allowing you to shirk. Every day I see something a father's loving care should do, and blame myself and you for bringing a fatherless child into the world."

"That is all very well," he said, "but we could not have endured the stupidities of ordinary marriage. What we did was but natural. We were young, passionate, full-blooded . . ."

"No," she said, "but that is precisely what we were not. Our passion was so conscious of its triviality that we arranged before our union the conditions of its termination. We were not even young enough to imagine our love would last; and as for blood, you had not blood enough to interest yourself in the new birth from your own blood. What were we prepared to give to our passion? *Nothing!* in our eyes it was not worth the thought of sacrifice. . . . What youth or blood had it?"

W. P.

A DEAD BOER.

Here, where at break of dawn to-day
The shameful might of England reeled
Back from the patriot band at bay,
The tide of war hath ebbed away,
And left him dead upon the field.

The cold night wind around him sighs,
Yet vexeth not ; there dwelleth naught
Save peace within the weary eyes,
And on the bearded lips their lies
The smile of one whose fight is fought.

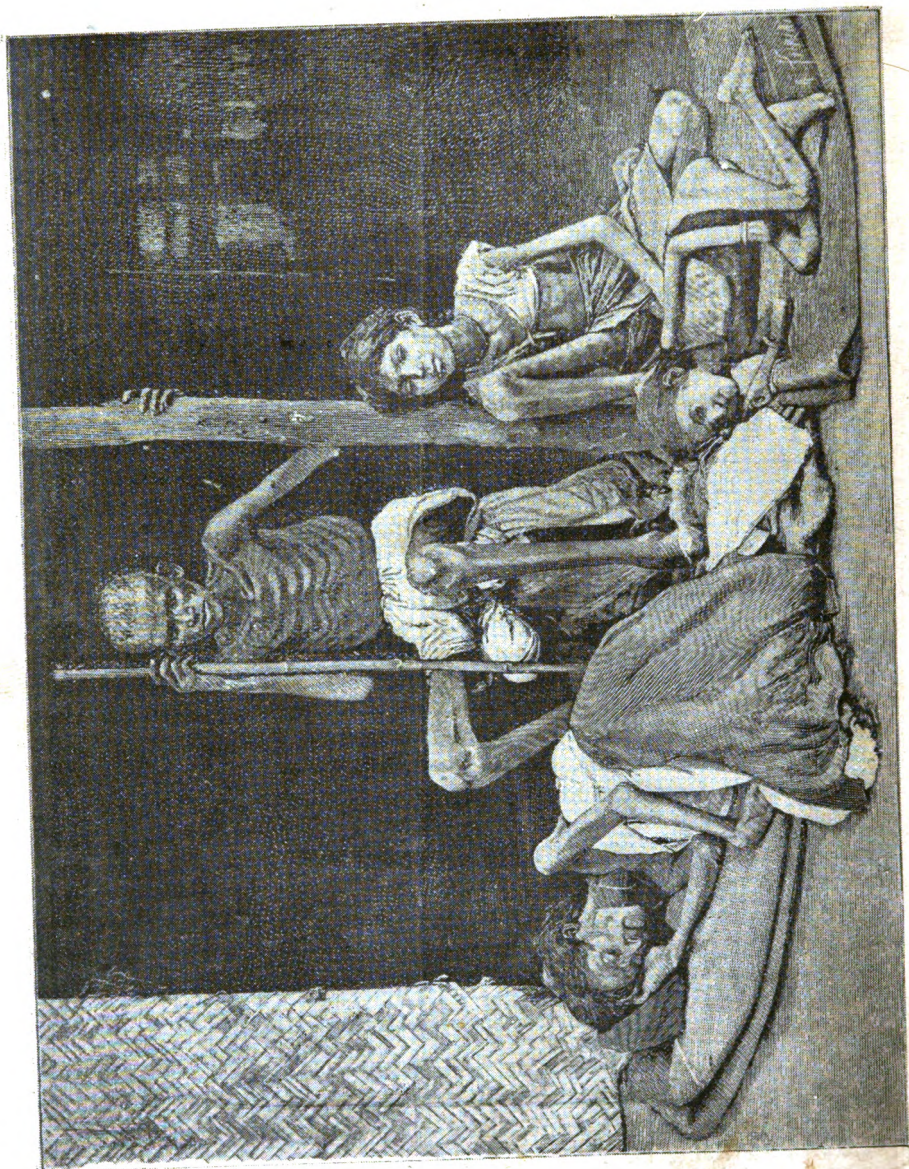
For him who cometh not again
(Alas, he rode so bravely forth !)
No doubt some woman weeps in vain,
Through the dull days that wax and wane,
In some lone homestead of the north.

Yet, well for him thus laid asleep !
He shall not see his native land
Swept through with fire and sword, to reap
A golden harvest that may heap
The coffers of a robber band.

Ignorant, brutal, rough, and rude,
We call him, scorning, but he knew
At least that liberty is good ;
And boldly for his faith he stood,
The quaint old faith he fancied true.

Though the world knoweth not his name,
Yet one who played his part so well
Shall share his people's deathless fame,
When England's greed, and England's shame,
Make scorn in heaven and mirth in hell.

And, now that he no more shall wake,
All praise to this poor countryman,
Who staked his life, and lost the stake
Striving for Freedom's holy sake
In the good Cause Republican.



SOME VICTIMS OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

VOL. IV., No. 6. JUNE, 1900.

THE RAVAGES OF EMPIRE.

DURING the past eight months public attention has been so completely concentrated on the crime being perpetrated by our imperialist brigands in South Africa that the fearful tragedy imperialism is enacting in India has practically gone unnoticed. Atrocious as is the infamy of the Colonial Secretary and his backers, by which two independent nations are to be crushed and blotted out, it is a mere bagatelle compared to what is happening in our "empire in the East." In South Africa, even if the most blood-thirsty of our jingoes have their way, and the people of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State are all massacred, they are not, at the outside, more than half a million human beings to be sacrificed to the lust of gold and territory of our governing classes. In India a hundred millions of people are being starved to death in the same interest. The famine in that great dependency, deliberately created by our dominant classes in their insatiable greed for wealth and power, is the most terrible that the unfortunate people have ever had to endure. Three years ago India was suffering from the worst famine that had ever afflicted that unhappy country, but in 1897 there were only 3,000,000 of people on the relief works—only 3,000,000, think of it!—to-day there are double that number. The people of India have to starve all the time. Millions of them never know what it is to have enough to eat, and every succeeding famine finds them in a more deplorably helpless condition—weaker, more poverty-stricken, more open to the attacks of famine, and less able to resist its ravages. They have had no opportunity to recover from the last great and terrible famine before this worse one is upon them. The people are never really free from famine, but, as long as the numbers of those who die of starvation do not run into millions, India is fairly prosperous. Now tens of millions are suffering; even their cattle, upon which they depend for cultivation of their crops, and which they do not kill and eat, are dying by thousands of starvation. In one district alone, out of a total of 1,300,000, a million oxen have already perished. When the drought is over, then, when it is possible to resume agricultural operations, these poor people will find themselves entirely helpless, without seed and without cattle.

And in the track of famine comes the plague, the dread consequence of poverty and starvation; and the plague is followed by cholera. Famine and plague and cholera! Starved and emaciated creatures who have not

succumbed to famine are falling by thousands an easy prey to pestilence. It is said that in many districts the people are in a state of sullen revolt in consequence of the sanitary measures it has been thought necessary to take against the plague, and how soon the smouldering discontent may break out into open rebellion it is impossible to say. Such is the condition to-day of the people of India, subjects of the greatest empire in the world ; pestilence and famine, poverty, misery, disease, discontent and incipient revolt ; such are the blessings they enjoy under our beneficent imperial sway in the sixty-third year of the reign of good Queen Victoria.

Even if the present condition of the people of India were inevitable, if it had arisen from natural causes for which our rulers were in no wise responsible, it would be sufficiently appalling, and should move us to the utmost solicitude and to the most strenuous efforts to cope with so terrible a calamity. But it cannot be too often insisted upon that the misery of the people of India is directly traceable to English rule. Their poverty and starvation is the price they have to pay for its inestimable blessings, the direful consequences of that imperialism we are so eagerly striving to extend to the uttermost parts of the earth. For forty years the people of this country and their sovereign have been directly responsible for the government of India. Enthusiastic as we are to enfranchise aliens in the Transvaal, and to extend equal rights to all men there, our fellow-subjects in India, the natives of that country—not aliens or outlanders—have no voice whatever in the government of their own country. We are a great imperial race—that must have been obvious to anyone who has witnessed the rowdy hooliganism of the last few months in our great cities—and so we take upon ourselves with a light heart the administration of the affairs of a nation numbering hundreds of millions, a nation which was civilised before we were a nation at all, and when “wild in woods” our savage ancestors disported themselves. We deny to that nation the most elementary rights of free men, and then we condemn it to eternal poverty and the periodical ravages of famine. With so terrible a responsibility upon us it might have been supposed that we would be reluctant to add to our imperial responsibilities ; at least we might have done something towards the adequate discharge of those we had before we added to them. But that is not the way of the British imperialist. Even charity is well nigh deaf to the cry of the starving despairing people of India, scarcely a quarter of a million has been raised for their relief, yet we eagerly spend a hundred millions to subjugate the South African Republics.

But something more than private charity, however lavish, something more even than a Government grant in aid, is required to meet the case in India. The famine there is not a real famine, due entirely to the failure of crops, or to any other disaster arising from purely natural causes. It is a famine caused artificially, by the persistent bleeding of India through the tribute drawn from that country to meet the charges imposed by the English governing classes. That tribute amounts to thirty millions of pounds sterling every year. Even in this awful year of famine the tax collector is busy screwing the uttermost farthing out of the miserable people who are

dying for want of food. Strange as it may seem, there is, even in this terrible time of famine, no lack of food in India. But the people have been despoiled of their produce in order to raise the money to pay the tribute demanded by their rulers, the British official class, and so they have nothing left to buy food with. If there were no food, no grain in the country, it would be useless to establish relief works, and quite as futile to subscribe to charity funds. There is food in the country, but the people are too poor to buy it, as soon as it rises in price in consequence of a drought or the failure of a single crop. They have become so impoverished that such a failure means absolute ruin for them although it may not produce scarcity in any sense. They are so poor that they have to live for a year on what would barely suffice an English workman for a week, and then they have to bear the terrible burden imposed by the drain of produce to pay the English tribute. When, therefore, their crops fail they must starve, although there may be plenty of food in the country, seeing they have neither grain of their own nor money to buy any with. For years and years the British ruling classes have been steadily bleeding India to death. To-day India is ruined, that is beyond question, and our ruling classes seem unwilling and incapable, or hopeless, of doing anything to remedy the ruin they have wrought. Over twenty years ago H. M. Hyndman predicted the consequences which were inevitably bound to flow from the ruinous policy being pursued in India. Over and over again he and others have called attention to the increasing evils which demonstrated the fulfilment of these predictions. All in vain. Those responsible took no heed. To have done so would have been to have relinquished some of the spoils for which alone they hold *our* "empire in the East." And so the ruin has gone on unchecked, until now we have reached a climax of horror and disaster which should indeed "stagger humanity."

There is a tendency in this country to put the responsibility for the state of things in India upon Providence, or the niggardliness of nature, or the backwardness, sloth, incompetence, or thriftlessness of the people themselves. It is so inconceivable that "God's Englishmen" should be in the wrong that there must be some other cause for famine in India than British misrule, and the question is naively asked sometimes if the British Government can help the failure of crops or the want of frugality among the people. But the people of India are among the most frugal people in the world; and we might point out to those good folk who are always declaiming against the extravagance of the poor, as the root cause of their poverty, that the people of India are almost entirely total abstainers and vegetarians, and yet are always poverty-stricken, and are now perishing by millions from famine. The people are frugal, thrifty, and industrious; the soil is fertile, and, except for droughts, the climate is not inimical to the growth of food-stuffs. Yet India is desperately poor, there is no poorer country to be found anywhere. But if India were as rich as she is poor she could not stand the constant drain of produce, necessary to pay the English tribute, without ruinous consequences. No country in the world could stand it. Everything in India is produced

on a silver basis, but the British Governmental charges are estimated in gold, therefore, with silver at its present low value, the amount of produce which the people of India have to dispose of in order to pay these charges is about double their nominal value. Thus they are doubly bled, and the ruin which was inevitable in any case under the circumstances is effected more rapidly.

It is sometimes urged that the taxation in the native States is heavier than in that part of India which is immediately under the sway of the British Crown. That may very well be the case, and yet the people in the former instance be more prosperous than those in the latter. It is not so much the amount which is raised in taxation as the end to which it is devoted which is of importance. A nation might prosper with very heavy taxation if the whole of what was raised was devoted to the public benefit. But when the larger portion of what is raised is regularly sent out of the country for no return whatever it is obvious that the result must be the steady impoverishment of the country unless it has a practically inexhaustible storehouse of natural wealth to draw upon. That there is a good deal to be said for British civil administration in India we do not for a moment deny, and that it would have been a calamity for the Indian people had that administration been suddenly withdrawn we have no doubt. But the fact that if he desires to bring a legal action against his neighbour he may be sure of strict justice in our courts is scarcely compensation to the Indian native for having despoiled him of the necessities of life, and the fact that there are few abuses to be met with under our rule, or that the withdrawal of our control would involve the country in disaster scarcely justifies us in deliberately starving a whole nation. The greater our claim on the people of India, the greater our power over them, the greater is our responsibility. That responsibility has been deliberately assumed; but how inadequately has it been discharged! Instead of developing native administration we have steadily pursued a policy of Europeanisation, by which the burdens of the people have been increased, and the drain upon the country made more exhausting. India has been sacrificed to an insane imperialism, burdened with an unnecessary military establishment for imperial purposes, and even the money squeezed out of the people for a famine fund, to make some slight provision against the recurrence of that calamity, has been wasted on military operations on the frontier, as deliberate and gross an act of fraud as was ever perpetrated. India to-day is suffering the ravages of imperialism, deliberately produced by a policy as harmful to the working people of this country as it has been ruinous to India. Is it too much to hope that the lesson has not been in vain, or will the cry of the starving millions of India go unheeded by a people maddened with the lust of imperialism and heedless of its consequences? Shall we content ourselves with visions of the glories of empire, of the universal sway of the Anglo-Saxon race, with singing "Rule, Britannia," and appealing to the Deity in raucous tones on behalf of the monarch who, more than any other person, is responsible for this Indian horror, or shall we see in that awful tragedy a lesson and a warning and profit thereby?

OUR POLICY.

THERE is a pretty and rather worn-out story by Moebius of a pike which he kept in his aquarium for purposes of observation and experiment. Seeing that it mercilessly devoured every new fish that came "under the sphere of its influence," he placed in the aquarium a glass-plate, thus isolating it from the rest of its kin. The pike did not at first understand the new arrangement and continued to rush at every fresh arrival. But as each time it bumped its head against the plate and dropped to the bottom nearly senseless, it soon grasped the situation and kept its peace. It swam about in its restricted compartment, never touching the glass with either head or tail, and the sight of the newcomers left it almost undisturbed. A few weeks passed, and the partition was removed. But the pike did not resume its aggressiveness and kept on moving about within the imaginary limits.

The comrades who have ungrudgingly given up the best years of their lives for the cause and have borne the brunt of the unpopular battle in a spirit of matchless self-sacrifice will not take offence when I say that the fortunes of the movement which they have created and is so dear to them forcibly remind one of the above story. It can hardly be a humiliation to confess that Socialism in England has been in the past the pike in Moebius's aquarium. Born at a time when bourgeois ideals in economics and politics were still, though intrinsically well-nigh worthless, quoted above par, it made several attempts to reach the great mass of the people, but bumped each time its head against the glass partition of Liberalism and was, at last, compelled to lie low on the bottom. It did not die, of course. It continued to move about, casting glances at the fish beyond the magic plate; but it restricted its movements within a limited compass and but feebly hoped to ever be able to extend them to a wider sphere. In this it cardinally differed from its sister-movements abroad. There, and especially in Germany, the glass-plate of Liberalism has been thin enough to allow of its being broken through, and Socialism has, almost from its start, acquired a wide field of action, and so was able to get at its prey.

But now the partition of English Liberalism is gone, too. The South African war has forcibly removed it ere it had time to succumb to the fulness of its age, and to the wear and tear caused by the elements. Are we, Socialists, going to act as if nothing has happened, and so to complete the analogy with Moebius's pike? That would, indeed, be very natural. During the long existence of the glass plate we have got used to certain kinds of movements which became fixed, and now we want time to unloosen them. It is a case of social adaptation to the *milieu* leading to a sort of paralysis, with which we are familiar in the biological world. But, whilst it is so, it would at the same time betray a lamentable lack of that higher

sort of intelligence which, both in the individual and in society, serves as a mark of a loftier position on the scale of existence. It is an intelligence which knows how to accelerate the natural course of the evolution of things, and by this means lifts itself out of slavery to the blind forces playing around it into the region of freedom. It is pre-eminently one of great perspicacity—of deep and precise insight into the correlation of things and psychology of men—coupled with a will and readiness to act as soon as the moment for it arrives. Its absence does not necessarily imply stupidity, but its presence saves from waste of time and energy, and allows of an active participation in the course of events. It seizes upon the processes of readjustment of the social forces at their very inception, and even at their eve, and, by throwing itself into their midst, helps, like a wedge, to burst the old and to bring out the new. Thus it is essentially an anticipative faculty. It does not wait for the development of exterior circumstances to call out new corresponding movements on its part; it evolves the latter itself, and so anticipates the former.

The pike in Moebius's aquarium was evidently bereft of that faculty. Are we bereft of it too? I cannot, I do not believe it. We must, we can extricate ourselves from the spell of the magic circle which Liberalism has drawn around us, and we must assume at once a new policy corresponding to the new vistas opened before us.

What are its essentials, then? What are the principles on which it ought to be based? They must be the very reverse of those which govern the action of a sect or of a school of thought. Every organisation which has some ideals to translate into life, but is deprived of the possibility for action, is apt to degenerate sooner or later into a mere sect. It becomes aware of its practical helplessness and ends by withdrawing from the world which it despairs of influencing and reforming. It grows more and more academical. The doctrines which it professes assume in its eyes an enhanced value and their original purity is jealously guarded against the mire of the rough and turbulent actuality like the snow-white skirts which the gentle lady carefully gathers up when crossing the muddy street. Gradually they lose contact with life altogether. They are casketed away from the profane eye, and the sect sits on the top of them critically watching the passing show of events. Criticism, in fact, becomes its very life—not, however, that criticism which destroys in order to build (the sect is powerless and has no aptitude for that), but criticism which exercises its spleen merely because the thing does not correspond with the doctrine. Naturally, that criticism is barren; naturally, it lets slip many objects worthy of its attention simply because they find no room in the space covered by the literally-interpreted doctrine. And so the sect passes its time in quibbling and hair-splitting. It feels itself a stranger to life, and life, in its turn, becomes a stranger to it.

It would be sheer calumny to say that the above description exactly fits in with our policy during the past period of our existence. Neither did we feel entirely helpless, nor did we sit complacently on the pinnacle of our doctrines, merely amusing ourselves with passing criticisms. Still we have

been more of a sect than of a party. We regarded the world with an eye, not so much of active participators, as of "intelligent onlookers," and far from thinking to impress upon it our distinct personality, we contented ourselves with examining it from our particular standpoint. And that standpoint was especially adapted to estrange us from life. For standing as we did on the principle of class struggle, we necessarily, on account of our practical impotence which prevented us from vivifying it by contact with reality—we necessarily, I say, turned our position into one *outside* the moving world, thus making of it a mere vantage-ground for observation, not a lever wherewith to work. And the result naturally was, that we regarded many important social facts and developments as no concern of ours, and those which, we thought, did concern us assumed but a conventional value of illustrations to our principles.

All this was perfectly natural. We could not help it and we are not to be blamed for it. We were born before our time and we paid the full penalty for it. Shame to him who would sneer at our adverse fortunes! We are ordinary mortals, and the more honour to us for having kept our fire a-glow all through the damping influences of the time.

But now we must enter the wide arena of life. The spell is broken and we may at once start on our march towards the conquest of the great mass of the people. How is this to be achieved? In other words, how are we to change into a party?

The first and most obvious condition is to place ourselves in the midst of society and to regard ourselves as a living part of it. Nothing that passes around us is alien to us. Nay, more. Since Liberalism has become a thing of the past and the bourgeoisie has ignominiously abandoned the fight for civil freedom and personal rights in which it formerly took pride, we have become the sole keepers of democratic progress and must not shirk that vast responsibility. This means that we have to take an active interest in every little turn and twist of the country's destinies, and nothing must happen without our positive contribution to its ultimate shape and fate. The very principle of class war which formerly served as a cloud that hid our august personality from the eyes of the world and kept us high above it, ought to become the unbreakable chain that keeps us in constant touch with all points of society. Only it must be understood as applicable to *all* social phenomena, to *every* movement, however inaccessible to a strictly economic interpretation. Our class-consciousness would then become a guide in our dealings, not a means for self-entrenchment, and our proletarian interests would coincide with those of society as a whole. For the truth must never be lost sight of, that distinct as we are, as a class, from the rest of society, we are not inimical to it, and everything that furthers its material and moral welfare is at the same time to our special advantage. Political and civil freedom, cheap justice, wide and sound education, æsthetic culture, and innumerable minor things which, in spite of our professed programmes, very frequently leave us indifferent, are of the utmost importance to the proletarian class, and should concern us as much as its material well-being. In fact, they are all inseparable from each other and mutually interdepen-

dent for support and permanency. It is only a sect that divides them, and it is a party which grasps them as an organic whole.

I cannot better illustrate this thorny point than by reminding the reader of the Dreyfus case and of the attitude towards it of French and other Socialists. How many there were amongst the latter who regarded the case as a family quarrel between the different sections of the governing classes, and, consequently, as no concern of the proletariat! Happily, there was one amongst our comrades in France—a leader with real statesmanship—who understood that justice and political liberty are of the greatest importance to the working classes, and drove them, almost against their wish, into the battle. It is quite true that whether Monarchy or Republic, whether the rule of the aristocracy or that of the bourgeoisie, the worker is exploited and enslaved all the same; but to confine his interests within narrow economic bounds means isolating him from the rest of the community which lives a *full* life—economic, political, scientific, artistic, &c. Jaurès understood this, and by his bold action he at once placed the proletariat in the midst of society, turning, thereby, Socialism from a sect into a party.

The same has happened quite recently in Germany. A Bill has been introduced into the Reichstag making punishable every work of art which offends the feeling of "public decency." As the penal code contains ample provision for cases of real pornography, and the term "public decency" is too vague to allow of any exact interpretation save by the omniscient police, the Bill in reality aimed at suppressing every freedom in creative art, and at making it to conform to the prudish and hypocritical morality of the governing classes. What vital interest in art, it may be asked, has the proletarian, immersed as he is day and night in toil and cares? Yet the Socialists have energetically undertaken its defence, rightly thinking that whatever is good for society at large is good for the proletarian in particular.

And thus we act in every country. It is only here, in England, where we have been a sect, that we disdained those little "ideologies" as so many "fads," important, perhaps, for this or that section of the bourgeoisie, but perfectly valueless for the working classes. The latter live only by bread, and it is only those questions which directly concern bread that are of any interest to us. And so we scarcely lift a finger in such questions of high importance as that of secularisation of Sunday, of making justice accessible to all, and so on, and content ourselves with a paragraph or two in our paper, when for instance, national money is squandered upon landlords, shareholders in the Niger Company, and others.

No, no. If liberty, democracy, intellectual and other culture—in short, all that makes life worth living—has any value at all, it has it for the proletariat. The working classes are the only class which is directly and more permanently than any other interested in progress all round, and it is our bounden duty to stand and agitate for it at all times, at all places.

Naturally, that stand and agitation ought to be real and active, not for mere conscience sake. We have been too apt in the past to content ourselves with words and deeds just sufficient to let the world know what we think and feel. This is lamentably insufficient. Nothing is so little calculated

to help the cause as the attitude of self-sufficient righteousness which contemplates the mistakes and sins of mankind, and does nothing but judge them. We must try and remedy them, and that not by merely pointing them out, but by throwing our entire weight on the scale of right, and by contributing our positive share to the drawing of the balance in the right direction. Suppose we have again before us the question of old age pensions in the forms in which it has been presented to us in the past. The very fact that the initiative in working out a tolerably practical scheme, and in bringing it sufficiently near to the minds of the public, has issued from other quarters than our own, is in itself discreditable enough to our party. It shows a certain lack of appreciation on our part of what we owe to the class we represent and to ourselves. But our policy during the time that the question was under discussion, was still worse. We seemed to shrug our shoulders on the different projects then afloat, and, having riddled them with criticisms, declared in so many words that nothing short of an entire reconstruction of the Poor Law will meet the crying need. Granted, we were right. Granted, the schemes then brought before us were either savouring of humbug or insufficient. Was a mere negative attitude towards them the right way of *solving* the problem at issue? It did, perhaps, serve the purpose of "registering our protest," and so easing our feelings; but it did not help the cause one inch further. We ought to have left our wounded feelings entirely on one side, as a matter of purely private concern, and gone for a healthy criticism, having in view, as its sole object, the development of a positive programme both practicable under the existing conditions and sufficient to meet the most urgent cases. It was no good to speak of the necessity of reconstructing society in order to reach at a complete solution of the problem. We do not speak of that when dealing with the question, say, of the unemployed, which admits as little or as much palliation as the former. We ought to have taken as our basis the scheme of Mr. Booth and, having pointed out its insufficiency, enlarged its scope of application and the extent of the relief offered. By doing so, we would have still left many important flaws unremedied which are absolutely inevitable under the present order of society; but, far from deterring us from the work undertaken, those flaws might have served just the purpose of introducing into the agitation our fundamental Socialist principles. And so, by working out a detailed and practicable scheme and by energetically defending it by all available means of print and word of mouth, we would have done what every party conscious of its duties and responsibilities ought to do, and helped to further the cause of the proletariat to an appreciable degree.

But if a mere negative and, consequently, academical attitude on such questions as that of old age pensions can do absolutely no good, in the sense of bringing them to a workable solution, such an attitude in cases where blood and life are literally at stake, is still worse. Yet, observe how, for instance, we act during a strike. We approach the men with assurances of our goodwill, but, instead of helping them by all means at our disposal, we declare the struggle to be practically futile. We regard it primarily as a text to preach Socialism from, not as an incident in the great class war

which claims all our sympathy and support. Of course, such an attitude is false. Whenever a strike breaks out, it is our bounden duty to lay aside every theoretical consideration—the thing speaks clear enough for itself—and to throw ourselves heart and soul into the matter just as the *Daily Chronicle* used to do in the past, or the *Vorwaerts* does at the moment of writing with regard to the Berlin tramway men's struggle. Is it too much to ask of a Socialist Party to view a strike from a revolutionary standpoint, and to make it an affair of their own? If it is not, than let us once for all leave off the doctrinarian habit of "manifestoeing" in cases where it breaks out and simply do the work which ought to be done.

I am afraid that the space at my disposal will not permit my going into further details with regard to the necessary changes in our policy. I believe that the two points indicated—the need of a *party* policy as distinguished from a *sectarian* one, and the need of a *positive* agitation for the cause's sake as distinguished from a mere *negative* one for our conscience sake—will for the present suffice. I cannot, however, forbear pointing out that these very points, so absolutely vital to our moral existence, are at the same time vital to our material existence; that is, I mean to say, a policy conducted on these lines is not only what we owe to the class we represent and to the principles we profess, but also what we owe to ourselves as an organisation. For, taking the first point, how can we doubt that it is only by identifying ourselves completely with society and its material and moral interests that we can win the mass of the people over to our side and become their acknowledged leaders in the march towards democracy and freedom? It is a mistake to suppose that the enunciation and defence of economic truths only are the best means of bringing the flock of the unregenerated to our fold. On one hand, the "belly" is proverbially deaf and short-memoried and on the other, however basical those truths are in the life of men, they belong to a domain which is held by the mass of the people to be unchangeable and out of the reach of human power. Any stand made on them is consequently bound to meet in the majority of cases with either indifference and scepticism or animosity, and so it comes to pass that people listen most eagerly to those appeals which are made from the lower and derivative platform of political and social reform which history has made so familiar to them. This is certainly strange, but it is, nevertheless, true, as proved by our everyday experience. We may, therefore, safely assume that were we to change and to enlarge our policy in the direction indicated above, the people would naturally turn to us in great numbers, and out of a small sect we would grow into a great party strong both in point of numbers, and in influence. Naturally, that would solve one of those subordinate, though still important problems the grappling with which has cost us in the past many a strenuous and wasted effort. I mean the problem of parliamentary representation. We have long been devising some ways and means of sending our representatives to the House of Commons, and many have been the projects mooted with a view of attaining that end. I cannot agree with any of them. I cannot agree even with that which evidently finds most favour with everybody, viz, that of

bargaining with the Liberals under the threat of transferring our votes to the Tories. I object to it not because of any scruples or doubt as to its efficacy. I object to it simply because it is wholly insufficient to meet the case. To my mind, it formulates what is at best but a clever piece of tactics which can gain this or that incidental electoral battle; but the great problem of how to form a party in Parliament cannot be solved by it, since it depends for its successful issue on a much larger thing, namely, on strategy, on policy. In other words, the way to Parliament lies *only* through the hearts of the electorate, and no amount of successful tactics can take the place of a policy as described above.

As regards the other point, *i.e.*, the need of changing the character of our action, it also will, if realised, impart material and moral strength to our organisation. It is generally assumed that the educational work which is so absolutely necessary to do in order that we may grow, can be carried on mainly, if not solely, by propaganda, that is, by bringing our principles before the public, and by making the latter understand and digest them. Nothing is further from the truth. Not only is not propaganda the only or the chief means at our disposal to educate the public in our principles, but it is actually the least important of the two, the other being practical work and action. Propaganda, *i.e.*, theoretical elucidation of principles, can gain but solitary proselytes in the persons of those who live largely by ideas and ideals; the great mass of the people cannot be reached by it. They are susceptible only to the influence of practice, enthusiastic work, martyrdom, &c. Action is, in fact, the greatest educator on the face of the earth. Like swift and powerful motion it develops a force of attraction of its own, and drags into its orbit, frequently much against their will, all the near standing bodies. For theoretical dissensions, dissensions on matters of principle and conviction, play a far less important part in life than is generally imagined. They exist and assume unnatural proportions and act as mutually repellant forces only in the absence of an appropriate ground for action; that is why sects always quarrel; but such a ground being given, all the dissensions sink in the common work, and become nothing but so many private opinions or even idiosyncrasies which seldom, if ever, emerge to the surface of practical life. Action, like fire in the forge, purifies the opinions of those who enter into it, and welds them together into one common faith and one common enthusiasm. It holds together a powerful organisation of men of widely differing temperaments, views and conditions of life, such as the German Socialist Party is; it bands into one common union innumerable sects which never could agree on the most fundamental principles of policy and tactics, such as our French comrades were before the Dreyfus affair; and it will certainly bring about the long-desired fusion of the two rival Socialist organisations of Great Britain which are now at loggerheads over the most trivial matters. Yes. The latter event cannot be brought about either by persuasion or by order. It will come off in the most *natural* way when one of the organisations will have learnt how to act as befits a party, and thus become the nucleus round which all the congenial elements from the surrounding *milieu* will gradually crystallise. Then the other organisa-

tion, as well as all honest men from the Radicals, will *naturally* join it, and, acting first as allies and then as co-religionists, will form one and the same party of British Social-Democracy.

I have finished. I know how sketchy the article is and how liable it is to misunderstandings and objections. I hope, however, to have set the ball rolling, and now others are welcome to enlarge and to improve it.

TH. ROTHSTEIN.

THE BOER.

MR. JULIAN JENKINS, in an article in the *Westminster Magazine*, says that people who describe the Boer generally contrive to get hold of the lowest and worst specimens that they can find, and describe them as typical of the whole race; and Tant Sannie, in Miss Schreiner's "Story of an African Farm," is about as much a type of a Dutchwoman as Mrs. Gamp is a specimen of English womanhood.

The Boers were found by the writer quite the opposite of rude and inhospitable, as they are so often described. When the war commenced, and the Free Staters crossed into the Colesberg district, national feeling ran very high, yet the writer, a Briton and a stranger living amongst a purely Dutch population, has never from that day to this had reason to complain of ill-treatment or abuse from his Dutch neighbours.

The writer, after detailing the domestic habits of the Boers, and touching upon their lack of class distinction, says that intermingled with the sturdy Afrikaner is a type of cowardly windbags, to whose efforts the racial hostility of Africa may largely be attributed; the nearer one gets to Cape-town and the larger towns the more numerous become these contemptible creatures, who, vastly inferior to the up country Boer, are the most clamorous in boasting of the Majuba and other disasters to the British army—defeats which, without the sturdier men of the veldt, could never have taken place. The writer admits that Mr. Rider Haggard's description of the "Unicorn" and his companion in "Jess" gives two very fair specimens of his class, but assures the reader that such are no more types of the race than Hooligans are types of ours. Good and bad occur in all races, and if a certain coarse type is apt to occur more frequently in Africa than elsewhere we may safely attribute it to the rough, half-civilised condition of the country, and its lack of refining influences. In our big towns, continues the writer, where there is far less excuse for it, we find a type of brutality infinitely worse than Africa can bring forth, and a man might walk from Bulawayo to Cape Town with far less chance of molestation from his fellow man than would be the case if he went by night through the paved and lighted streets of civilised London; the one part of Africa which is more dangerous than an English slum, and which our traveller would do well to avoid, would, strange to say, be that triumph of civilisation, Johannesburg, whether he falls into the hands of an Outlander robber or a Transvaal zarp, he is to be pitied by all lovers of law and order, and it is far better for him to trust himself to the tender mercies of the rough men of the veldt, who, in nine cases out of ten, open their door to the dusty wayfarer as readily as they will shoot him who comes with armed force against them.

THE STORY OF THE CHARTISTS.

Continued.

CHAPTER IV.—AGITATE! EDUCATE!! ORGANISE!!!

The time shall come when wrong shall end,
When peasant to peer no more shall bend;
When the lordly few shall lose their sway,
And the many no more their frown obey.

Toil, brothers, toil till the work is done,
Till the struggle is o'er and the Charter won.

The time shall come when one man shall hold
His brother more dear than sordid gold;
When the negro's stain his freeborn mind
Shall sever no more from human kind.

Toil, brothers, toil till the world is free,
Till justice and love hold jubilee.

The time shall come when the kingly crown
And mitre for toys of the past are shown;
When fierce and false alike shall fall,
And mercy and truth encircle all.

Toil, brothers, toil till the world is free,
Till mercy and truth hold jubilee.

The time shall come when the earth shall be
A garden of joy from sea to sea;
When the slaughterous sword is drawn no more,
And goodness exults from shore to shore,

Toil, brothers, toil till the world is free,
Till goodness shall hold high jubilee.

THOMAS COOPER.

UNDERSTANDING now somewhat of the nature of the leading apostles of Chartism, we shall be better able to comprehend the real scope of the work performed by those men in the earlier part of the present century.

Having once put their hand to the plough, the Chartists—as they soon came to be called—were not the type of men who readily become sluggish ploughboys. Missionaries were at once appointed to visit the distant provinces and waken up their brethren of the north to a sense of their social duties. Chartist societies were speedily formed, alike in the north, south, east and west of the kingdom. From Aberdeen in the far, fair north, to Plymouth in the distant south, the land was speedily studded with active, earnest groups of workers for the people's Charter. Two things, however, ensured this Chartist boom. In the first place, the working classes were

fully ripe for a vigorous reform agitation. Hoary-headed wrongs, gray with all those long, dark years of travail, had stared them so persistently in the face that any proffered change was a promise of joy for them. Forty long years and over had they wandered in the wilderness of commercialism, and now it seemed to them that a Joshua had indeed come forth who would lead them into a land flowing with the milk of human brotherhood and the honey of social justice.

A second cause of its rapid growth lay in the fact that Chartism in its earlier stages drew to itself two popular movements which had already grown powerful in the land. The first was the anti-Poor Law agitation, which, led by Feargus O'Connor, Joseph Raynor, Stephens and Oastler was then in the very zenith of its power. Although, in after years, those two latter-mentioned orators were formally identified with Chartism, still, it would not be strictly accurate to call them Chartists of the school of Bronterre O'Brien, William Lovett and Henry Hetherington. Rather might we say that Oastler and Stephens bore the same relation to Chartism as the self-styled "Tory-Democrats" do to the Socialist movement to-day.

The other movement that came almost wholly over to the Chartist side was the early Socialist movement, brought into being by the grand old Robert Owen, whose name is inseparably associated with almost every effort at social reform which characterised the first bitter years of the present century.

So far as we have gone it may seem very strange to some that a movement, based on principles so obviously just as those embodied in the People's Charter, should so arouse the hostility of the classes and shake to their very foundations the governments of the day. Why should the ruling classes rather send their military to slay the reformers than grant the people the right to the suffrage? Wherefore all this? Depend upon it, not so much because of the Charter itself as what lay behind that comparatively innocent document. All through their career the more stable Chartist leaders recognised quite clearly that their political demands formed but the first step in their progressive career. In one of their very earliest manifestoes this is plainly set forth by William Lovett.

The manifesto begins :—" Fellow countrymen, when we contend for an equality of political rights it is not to lop off an unjust tax or useless pension, or to get a transfer of wealth, power or influence for a party ; but to be able to probe our social evils to their source, and to apply effective remedies to prevent instead of unjust laws to punish. We shall meet with obstacles, disappointments, and, it may be, with persecutions in our pursuit, but with our united exertions and perseverance we must and will succeed and as our object is universal, so (consistent with justice) ought to be our means to compass it ; and we know not of any means more efficient than to enlist the sympathies and quicken the intellects of our wives and children to a knowledge of their rights and duties ; for, as in the absence of knowledge they are the most formidable obstacles to a man's patriotic exertions, so when imbued with it will they prove his greatest

auxiliaries. Read, therefore, talk, and politically and morally instruct your wives and children; let them as far as possible share your pleasures as they must your cares; and they will soon learn to appreciate your exertions and be inspired with your own feelings against the enemies of their country."

Those few sentences contain the dominant note of the Chartist agitation. Valiant men and true were they; never a thought of defeat could pierce their noble breastplate of faith and love; higher laws than the laws of men prevailed in their ideal kingdom. Even yet the world may learn much from the words they spake and the deeds that they accomplished on their march to the newer world where "justice and truth held jubilee."

In the spring and autumn of 1838 monster meetings were held all throughout the land, and the "Charter" and the "Chartists" were words that were on the lips of everyone. To say that the movement could then boast of 1,000,000 adherents gives but scant idea of their power in the land. One incident alone will serve to show the dauntless energy of the party. In October, 1838, a public subscription (minimum payable, 6d.) was called for. Poverty-stricken although the workers of that period were, still well within the prescribed time a sum of £1,700 was handed over to the Executive of the party. Clearly those men were not without much genuine enthusiasm for "the good old cause."

Ere long, however, it became evident that the Chartist leaders were seriously divided on at least one important point of policy. On the one hand were the moral force Chartists, with a profound faith in the efficacy of sound and thorough admonition. They relied wholly on moral suasion. The physical force Chartists, on the other hand, were cast in a somewhat different mould. Like an *Aberdeen Journal* editor of by-gone years, they seemed to think that:—

"Yer fine moral suasion's a humbug,
There's naething persuades like a rap on the lug."

At any rate they had come to the conclusion that unless they were prepared to back up their demands for the Charter by something more effective than oral chastisement, they might talk and talk and talk until the first Monday morning after the crack of doom, and yet not get one step "forrarder" all the while. Serious rupture was, however, averted by the general adoption of the plan of campaign advocated by Mr. Atwood, M.P., a member of the Birmingham Political Union.

First of all, they decided to get up a gigantic petition to be signed by all the supporters of the People's Charter. This was in due course to be presented to Parliament in the hope that the lawmakers would answer the prayer of the petitioners by making the Charter the law of the land. If unsuccessful, they would petition, petition and again petition in order that the legislature might receive the fairest possible chance at the hands of the people. If, however, all their efforts in this direction proved unavailing, they would at once declare a solemn and sacred strike from every kind of labour. The clarion notes of the hammer, the steady swish of saw and

plane, the ringing anvil song—all would be hushed in silence. Factories would be shut and the workrooms deserted. Not a hand would be raised to work until Parliament agreed to concede the demands of the working classes. From a distance all this seems so simple and so easy of realisation! But alas! alas!—utopian schemes—utopian dreams—many a long and bitter struggle lay—aye, and lies even yet—between the toilers and the realisation of their democratic ideals.

Still the agitation went merrily onwards and the great petition was largely signed throughout the whole of the kingdom. There is, however, no need for my narrating in detail every separate incident of that first brilliant campaign. Meetings were held all throughout the land, alike in the most benighted rural villages and the busiest centres of keen industrial life. Reformers were arrested wholesale, torchlight processions were held, forbidden, yet held triumphantly again and yet again. Peaceable meetings were broken up by the police, and in several places rather serious riots took place. The reader will perhaps understand how bitter this persecution was when I mention that at one typical period no fewer than 57 Chartists were on trial at the self-same time for "seditious conspiracy." How little might sometimes constitute an offence may be gathered from the fact that on one occasion four working men of Lancashire were sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment for "unlawfully assembling on a Sunday." Amongst those who fell into the hands of the enemy during that first eventful campaign were many men whose names are familiar even yet to students of working-class history. The number of the arrests, and the brutality of many of the sentences give ample evidence of the guilty fear that was stinging into still more guilty deeds the propertied classes of the time. Black as the darkness of hell, and choked with the fogs of unrecorded crimes, must have been the Whig conscience of the period ere it could plunge headlong into such enormities as characterised those weary years of the Chartist campaign. Upright statesmen and leal-hearted patriots have nought to fear from the transference of either political or economic power to the masses of the people. They and they alone have cause to fear, who betray their trust, perjure their plighted troth, and forsake the sacred cause they swore by, who defraud the labourer and spurn the widows and children whom their avarice and greed have wronged and ruined, and who, when their victims protest, be it ever so mildly, gag their tongues and crush their helpless forms still deeper in the mire. It is hireling politicians and guilty money-grabbers such as these who are the real fomentors of all rebellion and conspiracy, not the patient worm that retaliates after long years of suffering on the treacherous heel that crushes it. Nor were the judges and juries, with one or two honourable exceptions, one whit more merciful. Their attitude towards the reformers resembled that of the notorious Branfield, who, fifty years before, damned himself to everlasting infamy by his behaviour at the trial of Thomas Muir, Scotland's political martyr. "Bring me prisoners," quoth he, "and I will find them law." To one of his jurymen he exclaimed, gleefully, rubbing his hands the while, "Come awa', Maister Horner, come awa' an' help us to hang ane o' thae damned scoondrels." Give ear then to some of the sentences

pronounced by those latter-day Branfields on men whose shoe-latchets they were not worthy to unloose :—

Rev. Joseph Rayner Stephens	...	...	Eighteen months.
Paul Holdsworth	...	...	Three years.
Wm. Lovett	...	...	Twelve months.
Feargus O'Connor	...	...	Intermittent.
Samuel Holberry	...	...	Four years.
James Bronterre O'Brien	...	...	Eighteen months.
Thomas Cooper	...	...	Two years.
James Fraser	...	...	Twelve months.
John Collin	...	...	Twelve months.
Henry Vincent	...	...	Twelve months.

Jeremiah Howell, Francis Roberts, John Jones, and Thomas Aston were sentenced to death, but the sentence was afterward commuted into one of transportation for life. And even those sentences are but a few out of many abnormal punishments that were ruthlessly inflicted on the leaders of democratic Chartism. During the first three short years of the agitation, the Whigs cast into prison no fewer than 430 victims, amongst them being some of the very flower and fruit of the Chartist movement.

W. DIACK.

(*To be continued.*)

ERRATA.—At pages 108 and 109, Chapter I., and at page 144, Chapter III., read "William Thom" for "William Thorn."

CONSCRIPTION.

"A SUPPLIANT of Nemesis," writing upon this subject in the *Westminster*, points out "one little awkward circumstance that the advocates of conscription have overlooked." The writer insists upon knowing what the country has ever done for the average young man, and how he can possibly be called for service. He is ashamed, he says, of his nationality, of a nation where the weak are trodden down by the strong in the furious struggle for existence, a nation of wealth-seekers when it ought to have been a nation of livelihood-seekers and mutual supporters. The barbarity of the Boers, the writer says, is not worse than the mammon-worship of Englishmen, nor has the ambition of Napoleon caused greater misery. It is a catastrophe, he continues, without grandeur to redeem it. The "Suppliant of Nemesis" does not deny that compulsory service may not be desirable, if it will not be necessary presently to keep the Empire intact; but under the circumstances he refers to, ordinary conscription would be a monstrous injustice. The writer concludes by challenging anyone to combat one inference he makes.

THE PHYSICAL BASIS OF EDUCATION.

THE following paper was read by our comrade Dan Irving at the Elected Persons Conference recently held at Glasgow :—

It is encouraging to think that in recent times something like a revival of interest in educational well-being has set in. If that encouragement is somewhat tempered by the thought that the aristocratic party in power in their manifestations of that interest seem to seek the limitation of educational progress in the popular sense, it must after all be admitted that the fault lies with an uneducated democracy, who foolishly entrust their interests in the hands of a class whose ideals are antagonistic to their own. Perhaps it is too much to hope that this is the last lesson the democracy will need ere they awaken to a sense of their own responsibility and take the control of their educational destinies into their own hands and work out their own educational and social salvation. Whilst spending most of our energies in the provision of such educational facilities as tend to improve and cultivate the sound mind we have in the main left the body to take care of itself. The object of this paper is to stimulate an increased interest in the matter of physical culture in connection with our schools, and to establish a keener sense of the inter-dependence of body and mind in the matter of an all-round human development.

IDEALS FOR SCHOOL BOARDS.

The necessity for this is fairly demonstrated by an instance recently quoted in the public press where it was stated that out of 11,000 men who offered themselves as recruits for the army during last year in Manchester, 8,000 were rejected as unfit altogether, only 1,000 being up to the requisite standard for line regiments, and 2,000 for the militia. Were it a matter of compulsory choice between a good sound physical training on the one hand, and a consideration of mental development only on the other, I would, without hesitation, choose the former, leaving the latter to come as it would, by contact with the actual facts of life, convinced that the evils arising from such a choice would be much less harmful both to the individual and the community than the one-sided development of the human being at present so largely predominating in what we call our educational system. The sanitary expert, the general medical practitioner, the eye and ear specialist, the swimming master and mistress, and the professor of physical culture are as much a matter of necessity as the best trained teaching staff in the equipment of any school or group of schools for the training of our children. Whilst it may not be possible all at once to convert the majority of school authorities to this view of their duties, it is yet possible for all advanced men and women connected therewith to set this ideal before themselves and to urge the importance of progressing step by step in the

direction of their ideal until that, too, but becomes the basis upon which to stand to reach forward to one much higher still.

Some few School Boards have already begun to realise their duties in this respect, but only to a partial extent. They have appointed various medical officers and experts to examine and advise as to the health of the children under their control, and as to the sanitary arrangements of the schools. The first result of their work has been to prove conclusively the need for further extension, and also for enlarged powers as to the manner in which the school fund can be expended for the benefit of the children. Unfortunately, most of the appointments made are of such a character that those appointed devote but a small portion of their time to the work of the school, the salaries paid not being sufficient to warrant any authority asking, or professional men of repute giving, the whole of their time and personal attention thereto.

It is for us, in our capacity as trustees for the educational welfare of the children committed to our charge, to stimulate such authorities as have made a beginning to further extend this beneficent work, and by the careful collection and presentation of the evidence favourable to our ideas to induce those who have not already done so to make a start at once. Nor must we rest content until a complete supervision is organised over the health conditions of every child under the control of our educational system. Further, we want an extensive and immediate development of physical exercises in our schools.

SWIMMING BATHS, GYMNASIUMS, AND PLAYING FIELDS.

All schools or groups of schools need to have attached thereto a good swimming-bath and well-equipped gymnasium under the control of properly trained and qualified teachers. Military drill, together with the well-meaning but often ignorant military instructor, must be abolished as harmful, both physically and morally, to the children subjected to their malign influence. Care should be taken to secure as physical instructors of the young only those possessed of sound physiological knowledge, who have themselves gone through a course of systematic training in gymnastics, and who have also good teaching capacity. This is at least as important a consideration and requiring as much care as the appointment of those teachers whose duty it is to care for the mental growth and equipment of the child mind; indeed, one is but the complement of the other. It is desirable, too, that in connection with all schools better playground accommodation, and, where possible, large playing fields should be provided. Of course, in the case of existing schools, it would, perhaps, be difficult to secure an extension of playground space; still even here something may be done, especially if health considerations and not merely rates is the primary consideration. In case of all new schools, at any rate, this important point should not be lost sight of. Most School Boards, even in the vicinity of large towns, might secure a good field easy of access to the older scholars, where, under proper supervision they might strive to uphold the honour of their respective schools in

games of cricket, football, racing, and other sports, with benefit to themselves and all concerned—games to which, except as spectators, access is mostly denied to the scholars of our elementary schools.

The development of this idea would not merely add to the health possibilities of the individual scholar, and thus tend to his mental well-being, but would also develop a sense of corporate being and the common enjoyment which in the long run would tell in the after life of the citizen for the benefit of the community. The present tentative experiment in what is known as manual training should also receive our attention, with a view to extending its scope of usefulness. Manual instruction, as at present understood, consists mainly in woodwork of the most elementary description, and is, moreover, somewhat wasteful in character. We require a development of the system on the lines of advanced work, more useful in character—work both useful and ornamental should be our aim. As a result each scholar would feel an increased interest in his work such as can only come from a knowledge that he is engaged upon a piece of work of practical utility, artistic merit, or, better still, a combination of both.

Wood-turning and polishing, wood carving, &c., might also be added to the work already undertaken and thus make it more complete, together with work in various metals, leather, modelling in clay, &c., thus making a varied curriculum calculated to create a wider and keener interest in the mind of the scholar, all these occupations being helpful to the training of hand and eye and intellect too. Many articles of common use in the school, or in the adornment of its class rooms at present purchased by school authorities could easily, and with benefit, be made in the school workshop.

SCHOOL WORKSHOP.

Along these lines we might progress until in connection with our school system we should ultimately establish various workshops in which all the elder scholars might secure an elementary training in various handicrafts which would stand them in good stead in after life, making them more capable artisans and better citizens. Nor from these occupations would I altogether exclude our girl-scholars, but would rather give them full liberty to take a course of training in any workshop they choose, if physically fit, just as I would extend the same liberty to boys to go in for a course of cookery, laundry, needlework, basket-making, or housewifery or nursing, if they cared so to do, convinced as I am that such an interchange of occupations would be helpful to both sexes.

Of course, I am assuming that these latter occupations, more suitable to girls, on the whole, would be naturally included in any scheme of manual training.

Last, but not least, I come to the question of child maintenance. Recent inquiries have demonstrated beyond dispute the fact (long held as an opinion by many) that thousands of our children are attending school from day to day suffering from an insufficient supply of food. What, perhaps, is not as easily recognised is the further fact that probably a much larger number are also attending our schools suffering from improper feeding.

These two facts demand our immediate attention. I suppose all of us, those who are Socialists, at any rate, will admit that the matter must be dealt with, and that speedily. Further, we must admit that it is a refinement of cruelty to attempt to compel our little ones to put forth mental energy far beyond the physical capacity of their ill-nourished bodies. I should have scrupled some few years ago to trouble a mainly Socialist assembly with a plea for complete State maintenance. Yet recent events have proved that some Socialists yet remain to be converted to this, the only method of meeting the difficulty that promises an effectual remedy. Some, I find, still cling to the old superstition that State maintenance degrades and pauperises, and hence urge a further trial of the already over-tried proposal to leave the matter to be settled by parental responsibility, plus the benevolent charity of those whose very powers to give vent to their charitable instincts are mainly derived from the maintenance of the system which makes it necessary for their charity to be invoked.

THE FEEDING AND HOUSING OF SCHOOL CHILDREN.

Time and space forbid the exhaustive discussion of this question in all its bearings in this paper; still I would say, that to me the thought of feeding and of clothing our children by charity is altogether abhorrent, and even were it not so, charity could never be a satisfactory method of meeting our difficulties. Parental responsibility I am fully in accord with, as being in itself sufficient to meet and conquer the evil, only it can best find its legitimate expression in collective, rather than individual, effort. That, indeed, is all that State maintenance means, the result being found in the assurance that all children would be sufficiently and properly fed, clothed and housed. The whole of this might be accomplished at a cost which in the aggregate would probably be less than that at present expended on the maintenance of our children, nor must we forget that the present expenditure still leaves many thousands of children half-starved, badly clothed and ill-housed. Of course, all these changes would necessarily involve much change in the organisation and arrangement of our schools. That change, however, like anything else, would come about by a course of natural evolution, and I would urge that we should make a beginning by labouring to establish the provision in all our schools of one thoroughly good meal each day for all who need it (the need to be accepted as proved, by the application of the parent on behalf of the child). And on the basis of the experience thus gained we should be able to march on step by step towards the ultimate goal of complete State maintenance of all school children. It would seem to me that a full development of the ideas thus set forth would involve that the school life of the children should be much prolonged, and that the older children should spend more of their time in some manual occupation.

SCHOOL SETTLEMENTS IN HEALTHY SURROUNDINGS.

That all schools should be removed from the evil surroundings of town life (except infant and perhaps junior schools), and might take on the form

of school settlements planted amidst surroundings far more conducive to health of body and mind than at present is the case. Social functions of various kinds would undoubtedly develop, and, in fact, the school life in common would not only develop a theoretical conception of the solidarity of the human race, but would turn out a citizen class in the future who by education would be fitted to carry out the idea to its practical issue in the affairs of life.

DAN IRVING.

THE DECLINE OF LIBERALISM.

MR. H. MASSINGHAM, writing on the above in the *National Review*, says that there is some truth in the view taken by some that the decline and fall of English Liberalism are part of a general movement which indicates that the mission of the Liberal Party is fulfilled, and that its formulæ of enfranchisement for individuals, classes, and industries have lost their reality. Liberalism, says Mr. Massingham, has virtually gone under in Germany and Belgium, and in both cases Socialism has appeared as a successful rival. "Socialism is a faith," the writer goes on to say; "with all its definiteness of philosophical and practical outlook, it is singularly elastic; one phase of English Socialism works from an entirely different economic basis from the Socialism of Karl Marx, and moreover Socialism has been shown to be consistent with almost any kind of political action, from Fabianism to physical force, while it brings out the most diverse and interesting gifts—gifts of action, oratory, administrative capacity—in its followers. It is more reconcilable with Christian ethics than is our conventional politics." The writer proceeds, "with art it has its natural affinities, and taking the broad view that Socialism is a phase of the spirit which insists on a criticism of all modern institutions and habits of thought, and endeavours, in a true evangelising spirit, to build up a society renewed from its foundations, it is difficult to see what phase of modern intellectual life it does not touch."

"From the advent of this powerful and intrinsic spirit," the writer says, "Liberalism was bound to suffer. Assailed on the intellectual and ethical side by Socialism, the Liberal Party has had to meet an invading force of a different character," says Mr. Massingham, and proceeds, "the increasing wealth of the country has developed a solid force of Conservatism, a force distrustful both of political and social change."

Referring to the war as a product of the spirit of imperialism, the writer says that men thoroughly imbued with the Gladstonian tradition shrink from the task of extinguishing two Republics, however serious their quarrel with Great Britain, and it is in the criticism—and if necessary the limitation—of militant imperialism that the obvious mission of Liberalism lies.

Mr. Massingham says further that had Lord Rosebery been a man of original force, and had he clearly marked out his individual line in politics he might have succeeded as a Liberal leader, and if he now goes, he will only be following the lead of men like Pitt, Burke and Gladstone, all of whom slipped their anchorage when it was clear that it could no longer hold them. "Such changes," says the writer, "are of use in public life: they tend to sincerity."

A PLEA FOR A MUNICIPAL MEAT SUPPLY.

THE source of the supply of articles of food for human consumption must always be a matter of extreme interest and importance to the general public, whose physical and financial welfare are, to a greater extent than is usually supposed, bound up in what its members eat and drink. Of late years there has been brought home vividly to the minds of the people, especially those residing in districts like Worthing and Maidstone, the necessity of their obtaining a supply of pure water, and the physical and financial ruin brought about by a contaminated supply for drinking purposes; and for a present-day example of what a tainted supply can do we need only notice the ravages that dysentery and enteric fever are making amongst the troops present in South Africa.

However, it is with the solid articles of consumption that it is the purpose of this article to deal, and of that particular form of food known as meat. This commodity, so far as the English nation is concerned, is a staple food, the roast beef of old England being renowned in song and story. In fact the history of the English people is largely bound up in their meat supply, so much so that the ancient institution of Beefeaters are still perpetuated in name, if not in deeds, in the persons of the custodians of the Tower of London, whose imposing figures in ancient costume are the wonder and admiration of the juvenile who, for the first time, visits that historical building.

Although in different parts of the world the flesh of various kinds of animals is eaten as meat, that chiefly used is beef, mutton, veal, pork and goat. As an article of diet meat is valuable because it contains in a limited and convenient form the necessary constituents for the repair and stimulation of the body, without which the individual would be unable to continue the expenditure of force involved during the hours of labour. Meat, like other forms of foodstuffs, is liable to various forms of disease, many of which, as science has shown us, are positively dangerous to those who partake of meat so diseased. To the average man and woman meat is seldom thought of or suspected as a source of disease, due, no doubt, to the fact that disease is not so easily detected in meat as it is in such articles as fruit and vegetables. Putrefaction is the most positive test applied by most people, and as meat is frequently diseased and dangerous to eat without having signs of decomposition, it is no great wonder that hundreds of people eat meat which is unfit for human consumption. It is essential, in order to determine the condition of a carcase, to see and examine the viscera or offal, as, if the texture of these exhibit well-marked symptoms of certain diseases the carcase should be condemned. Certain symptoms which sometime appear in the carcase, such as upon the plucra or lining of the chest, are removed by the butcher, or, as in the case of measly pork, placed in brine to remove the speckled appearance. Meat eaten in the first case, if

suffering from tuberculosis, is productive of consumption, and in the second case of tapeworm, in those who partake of it. There are many other diseases, such as typhoid fever in swine, sheep-pox, anthrax; animals which have been poisoned, and those which have been killed to save their lives for pecuniary considerations, which are placed upon the London market specially; because, with the exception of Smithfield there are no meat inspectors appointed to look after this important matter in London; it falls to the lot of the local sanitary inspector to take action if his other duties permit him time to look to the meat supply in his district. Again, owing to his imperfect training in this particular department, he is generally loth to seize meat unless it is in a state of putrefaction; further, he has no opportunity of inspecting the offal which plays such an important part in the diagnosis of the disease and the condemnation of the carcase.

The importance of meat inspection cannot be overrated when, upon the authority of Alexander Hill, M.A., M.R.C.S., Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, 120,000 persons out of every 1,000,000 die of tuberculosis, and the Report of the Royal Commission upon tuberculosis has recommended that very stringent precautions shall be observed in passing meat as fit for human consumption where tuberculosis taint is found; and, further, they recommend the erection and maintenance of *public* abattoirs in place of private slaughter-houses, and the employment of an efficient staff of qualified inspectors for purposes of meat inspection only, to replace the present haphazard system. In Munich we find a model public abattoir, where stalling, slaughtering, dressing and cooling are carried out under the best conditions. In England there is a public abattoir at Birkenhead, which, although it is not so good as that previously named, yet is a decided improvement upon any private slaughter-house.

The Jews have embodied in their religious traditions the necessity of meat free from taint, and have always strictly carried out an inspection of all carcases intended for their food; in Germany there are employed hundreds of women, supplied with microscopes, examining samples of pork for symptoms of disease; in England we do little in the way of protecting our millions of meat-eating people from the liability of contracting serious illness through eating diseased flesh food, and, with the backing of such authorities as the members of the Royal Commission on Tubercular Diseases, and dozens of eminent medical men and sanitary societies, not much should be needed to arouse local authorities to the necessity of tackling this question and substituting a public meat supply in place of the capitalist and competitive one, and so put another nail into the coffin of individualist and "poison-for-profit" supply.

W. C. PORTMAN, Assoc. San. Inst.

POSITIVISTS AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATS.

PROFESSOR BEESLY, writing in the *Positivist Review*, of which he is the editor, says :—

“Although Social-Democrats are but a small minority in this country, yet there are few districts—at all events urban districts—where they are not to be found; and everywhere their force is greater than can be estimated by their numbers. This is because, like the Chartists of sixty or seventy years ago, they are drawn from what are intellectually and socially the best elements among the working class. It does not follow that their doctrines are sound, any more than those of the Chartists were. Something of moral and social value there must be in their creed, or it would not attract such believers; and yet its triumph would, as we Positivists hold, be a calamity for society. We cannot be sure that it will not have its hour of triumph, though a brief one.

“If, then, we have no wish to see Social-Democracy triumphant, does it follow that we should deplore any increase in the number and activity of its supporters, and shun co-operating with them even where they and we are combating the same evils and working for the same objects? I condemn as strongly as anyone such immoral coalitions as are often to be seen in French political life, between extreme parties diametrically opposed to each other for the sole purpose of expelling an intermediate party from office, without the smallest provision for what is to take its place. If the imperialist party represented the mean between two extremes consisting of Social Democrats on the one hand and Positivists on the other, I should hold any concerted action between the two latter to be inadmissible. But this is far from being the case, as I will proceed to show. Not only are we heartily at one with the Social-Democrats in their opposition to imperialism, and for the same reasons, but on social and economic questions we consider that we are pursuing the same ultimate end that they are, though by widely different means.

“The principal object of statesmanship should be the improvement, mental, moral and material, of the labouring classes. This will never be seriously studied as long as public attention is absorbed by the concerns of the Empire, and any number of millions can be obtained with ease for war expenditure, while such measures as Old Age Pensions and the Housing of the Poor are dismissed as impossible for want of money. Many of our wars are undertaken with the express object of enabling capitalists to obtain cheap labour.

“While holding that the division of the world into many separate and independent political units is a necessary and permanent condition of normal civilisation, and cherishing love of Country as no less obligatory and precious than that of Family and Humanity, we repudiate any desire to extend our national power, importance, or wealth to the disadvantage of any other country. We look forward to a time when these numerous independent States, with regenerated opinions, manners and institutions, will regard each other not as jealous rivals but as friendly neighbours.

“Now on all these points Social-Democrats are in agreement with us. It is precisely for these reasons that they oppose imperialism, and I am not aware that they allege any others. They are accused of cosmopolitanism, that is to say of discarding the sentiment of patriotism. The same charge is brought against us who repel it as a shameful calumny. I believe it is

equally undeserved by Social-Democrats. It is true that they and we advocate a union and even organisation of a certain kind between citizens of different countries. In our view it is to be a universal spiritual organisation corresponding to that of the mediæval Church, which was never deemed incompatible with separate temporal governments, though undoubtedly there was a tendency on each side to encroach on the other. The Social-Democrats would establish some sort of international union between the workmen of all countries to combat capitalists, who for their part are remarkably devoid of patriotic scruples. But in neither one case nor the other is there any dream of abolishing national delimitations and fusing all Europe into one State or even federation of States.

"If now we turn to the doctrines specially distinctive of Social-Democracy, we find, no doubt, that they are widely different from ours. We deprecate the 'class war' which it proclaims as the only means by which the proletariat can obtain its due share of the advantages of the social state. We believe that the division of the industrial class into employers and employed is for the good of society as a whole and that, though needing great improvement, it is not destined to be superseded. We think that the universal application of democratic methods to the organisation of industry would soon break down, causing great immediate disorder and suffering, and only delaying the advent of the normal and happier state. We believe that there will always be a wealthy class and that it will always—except in very exceptional moments—govern each political community as it has always done in the past. We, therefore, renounce revolutionary attempts to deprive it of its wealth and power, and devote ourselves to the more practicable project of building up side by side with it a spiritual power which will prevail upon it by moral means to govern for the good of the whole community.

"To these doctrines the Social-Democrats listen with a contemptuous impatience which we can quite understand and do not resent. But I do not think they doubt our sincerity or good will any more than we doubt theirs. They will give a more careful consideration to our programme when they come to realise the hopelessness of their own. The events now going on under their eyes must give them food for reflection.

"But though we would not disguise or minimise the differences that separate us from the Social-Democrats, we ought, in my opinion, to offer them a frank and hearty co-operation in all matters on which we agree. I do not know where else we can find energetic, thoroughgoing, root and branch opposition to imperialism in all its manifestations. Their efforts to create an international organisation of workmen, though at once falling short of and going beyond the universal religious union which we aim at, will tend to familiarise the Western populations with such a conception and may perhaps even furnish useful experiences for its practical realisation. Nor is it an unimportant point of agreement that, like us, they build on no mystical foundation, and put aside the mischievous hope of a celestial compensation for earthly suffering and wrong. I am aware that their formulas are silent about theology, but I imagine that as individuals few if any of them retain any faith in it.

"But after all, the best reason why we should cultivate friendly relations with the Social-Democrats is the value of the men themselves. They are serious, earnest and public-spirited. They care for something more than pushing their own way in the world or enjoying themselves. They have a faith and they find their chief satisfaction in labouring to spread it. To such men we cannot but be drawn in sympathy."

"WE ARE ALL SOCIALISTS NOW."

THE times have altered !

Formerly, when there was a property qualification for voters, Clericals and Liberals only looked after the interests of the rich. They did not care for workmen and the poor. If the Socialists asked for universal suffrage, they were told that workmen would sell their vote for a quatern of gin. The peasants were "barbarians, and workmen were the scum of the earth." Now all these gentlemen call themselves democrats.

How the times have altered !

Formerly Clericals and Liberals were against any intervention of the State. Liberty, holy liberty, was all that was wanted. If there was a demand for a law to protect women and children working in mines then, with a touching unanimity, both parties agreed that the State ought not to interfere. In this way the Bill of 1874, which would have prevented children under twelve years of age from working in the mines, was opposed by the Liberals in the Chamber, and the Senate of the day threw out the Bill. Now these same people are in favour of Government interference in order that the weak may be protected !

How the times have altered !

When some years ago Socialists wanted pensions for old workmen it was a dream—as well try and catch the moon. They became more prudent and said that the question is not yet ripe for settlement. To-day they have passed a Bill, but such a Bill, twopence a day for those who are over 65 years of age.

How the times have altered !

Yesterday Clericals and Liberals were reactionaries. Now they are all "democrats." And why ? Well, it is always a good thing to be in favour of progressive measures if the conversion is sincere and disinterested. But is this really so in this case ? Is not the true reason that yesterday only those who had money voted ? But now everybody votes, and we shall not be fool enough to believe you and vote for you.

We do not believe in your professions. We shall vote for those who defended us when we were nothing ; when we were not electors.

As to you, if you are really democrats, prove it by voting for those who are the true defenders of the poor and the humble, by voting for the candidates of the Workman's Party.

From *Le Peuple*, translated by Jacques Bonhomme.

WHAT FREDERICK THE GREAT THOUGHT OF HIS SOLDIERS.—At a review, Frederick asked the Prince of Anhalt, one of his generals, what most struck him in the 60,000 men who were on the parade-ground. The answer of the Prince was that all the men loved and admired their king, but Frederick said, "It seems astonishing to me that you and I, my dear cousin, should be quite safe here, and that these men should obey us. There they are, 60,000 men, who should be our enemies ; they are all better armed and stronger than we are, and yet these 60,000 men, so strong and all armed, tremble before us two."—*Freiheit*, of Teplitz.

BOUM BOUM.

THE child lay in its little cot and gazed with wandering fever-laden eyes round the room ; his eyes had that wonderful unhealthy brightness which allows them to see things which are hid from the living. His mother stood at the foot of the cot and bit her lips so that she should not cry out in her woe, and gazed with anguish at the progress of the illness as shown in the face of the child. The father, a good workman, was keeping back the tears which were burning his eyes.

And the day was drawing near ; it was a beautiful sunny June morning which lit up the narrow room in which little Frank was fighting for life.

He was seven years old. He was fair and rosy, and so lively ; what a difference had occurred since he had been ill, though his illness had only been one of three weeks. But fever had got hold of him ; one day he had been brought back from school with a bad headache and with white hands. And since then he had lain in his little bed and in his delirium he always spoke about his pretty white shoes which his mother had put away in the drawer. "Throw them away, throw them away ; Frank will never go back to school, never again !" The father said, "You must not say that, my boy." And the mother hid her white face in the bedclothes so that the boy should not hear her cry.

But during this night his mind had not wavered. For the last four-and-twenty hours the doctor was anxious because he was so wonderfully quiet, he seemed as if he were already dead. There he lay, dead tired, quite quiet, his head on the pillow ; he would take nothing, he no longer laughed his pretty little laugh, his eyes seemed to look far into the unknown and to see something strange, something far off. "He will soon be in heaven," the mother thought. If he were offered medicine, drink, or a little soup, he turned aside and would take nothing. "Will you have anything, my boy ? No, he would have nothing. "But we must try somehow to get him to take this medicine," said the doctor. "You, his parents, will know best what he likes. You must get him to take nourishment, or his little flickering spirit will go straight up to the clouds."

Yes, his good parents knew him well. They knew how he loved to roll about on the grass on Sundays, and then to come back to Paris in his father's arms, having his little hands full of flowers. Or he liked to go to a puppet show in the Champs Elysées, where he saw wonderful fine things. His father had bought him picture-books, tin soldiers, and coloured pictures. He got them out of the cupboard, and put them on the child's bed ; he showed them to him, and did all he could to make the boy laugh.

"Look, Frank, here is a General. We saw one once in the Bois de Boulogne, don't you remember ? If you take this good medicine I will buy you a General with a fine coat and golden epaulettes ; would you not like that ?" "No," said the child in his trembling voice. "But a gun, and bullets, and a bow and arrows ?" "No," answered the child in his sad little voice, and whatever was offered to him, toys or sweets, still he only gave one answer, "No !" "But, my darling," said the mother, "do say what you would like to have. Surely there is something that you want ; do tell me, now, like a good boy," and she leant over his bed, bringing her ear right down to his little mouth as if he was going to tell her a secret.

Then the child slowly rose on its little bed, and, reaching out its little thin hands, said in a very weak yet earnest voice, "I want Boum Boum."

The poor mother looked with wonder at her husband.

"What does the boy say? Is he wandering again in his mind? Boum Boum." And she could not think what the child meant with these words. He, however, kept on repeating time after time, "I want Boum Boum," as if now at last his parents could make him happy.

She seized her husband's hand, and, crying, said, "What can it all mean? Ah, now indeed he is going to day."

But a smile spread over the father's face and soon he burst out laughing as if he at last saw a way of pleasing the child. Boum Boum! He remembered the Easter Monday when he had taken little Frank to the circus. Yes, he again heard the child's happy laugh when the clown appeared. The clown had on clothes of all kinds of colours and also gold stars on them, and he turned somersaults, stood on his head and did all manner of extraordinary tricks, and every time he did something funny he always said "Boum Boum," that and nothing more.

In the evening the father brought the child a clown—it was a doll, with movable limbs and dressed magnificently, and had cost all his day's wages. But he would willingly have spent a year's earnings to bring a laugh on the white lips of the poor sick child. Frank hardly looked at the doll, but he said sadly, "That is not the real Boum Boum. I want Boum Boum."

Ah, how the father wished he could take the child in his arms to the circus, show him the glittering clown, and say, "See, Frank, there he is!"

But the father did something else which was better. He went to the circus, asked for the clown's address, and tremblingly climbed the stair where the artiste lived. He was undertaking a task of great difficulty, but he had heard that the clown sometimes went and performed in private drawing-rooms. Perhaps he would come; it would cost a great deal of money, but no matter, to see poor little Frank; but then, would he come?

When the workman was introduced into the artiste's room he did not know him and stood twisting his hat between his fingers. The other waited. At last the man stammered out: "I come to you to ask you a strange thing. I know it will appear strange—but you will excuse me . . . But it is for a dear little child, and such a good child. Always the first in the school except in arithmetic, and that he cannot do. Such a dear child, and he wants to"—then he stopped, and summoning all his courage went on to say, "He wants to see you, he is always thinking of you, he wishes to see you as you were in the circus." Then, after he had spoken he became deadly pale, and wondered what the artiste would say. Would he think he was mad and turn him out?

"Where do you live?" asked the clown.

"Oh, quite near, Rue des Abbesses."

"Well, let us go on. He wants to see Boum Boum—well, he shall see him."

When the door was opened the father called out, "Now you will be happy, dear; see, here he is, here is Boum Boum."

A ray of joy stole over the child's face, he lifted up his face, looked towards the door, and when his father again said, "Here is Boum Boum," he gazed earnestly at the clown. He was evidently looking for all the glittering clothes, and he said in a weak voice, "No, that is not Boum Boum."

The artiste looked at him with great tenderness and said to the parents, "The boy is right. Boum Boum is not here," and he left the room.

"I shall never see him again," cried the child; "the real Boum Boum is up in heaven with the angels, where I am going."

But in a very short time the door opened and there was Boum Boum with his coloured clothes, the gold on his breast, and his head all powdered, the real circus Boum Boum.

The child looked at him with glad eyes, he laughed, he cried, he clapped his hands, he was saved, he was happy, and he cried out joyfully:

"Boum Boum! Yes, there he is! Bravo, Boum Boum. Thank God! Here is Boum Boum!"

When the doctor came in he saw a clown sitting by Frank's bed making the boy laugh and telling him to drink his medicine, saying, "If you do not drink that Boum Boum will never come back."

And the child drank it.

"Doctor," said the clown, "do not be jealous, but my grimaces seem to help the child as much as your medicine."

The parents wept, but it was with joy. And every day, as long as the child was ill, a carriage drove up to the door and a man shrouded in a cloak came to the child's room, and when he got there, the cloak was thrown aside and the clown appeared in all his glory.

At last the child got better, and the father went with him to the clown's house and asked him how much he owed him? But the clown took both his hands and said, "Give me a good shake of the hand," and he gave the child a good kiss and said he would put on his visiting cards, "Boum Boum, doctor of circus arts, body physician to young Frank."

Translated from the German by JACQUES BONHOMME.



CHURCH TUNES.

"THE CHURCH'S ONE FOUNDATION."

From nation unto nation
Fair Freedom's gospel flies,
And sounds of jubilation
From myriad peoples rise ;
Proudly they march, and sigh not
For bloodstained flags of yore—
The Flag that blood can dye not
Waves out from shore to shore.

Leave martyrs in their glory,
Leave patriots in their glow,
Not "blood once shed" makes gory
The glorious Flag we know—
Like blood of all the living
Who struggle to be free,
It streams in tide life-giving
From farthest sea to sea.

Oh, Church, have done with fable,
And march with commonweal ;
Rear no more heaven unstable
O'er hells so dark and real.
Again, with dance and tabor,
Your earthly joys increase,
Joined to your earthly neighbour
For righteousness and peace.

Undaunted, undivided,
By lust of gold or fame,
Our Cause, so long derided—
One Faith, one Flag, one Flame—
Moves to its consummation
Through tangled weal and woe,
One happy Earth, one Nation,
One Will to make it so !

G. W. S.



JOSEPH GOODMAN.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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JOSEPH GOODMAN.

THE subject of this sketch is not yet one of "Our Representatives," but that is not the fault of his comrades, but the blame and the loss of the working people of Liverpool, who have not yet had the good sense to choose him to serve them in any public capacity. But we imagine that it will not be long before he joins the noble army of those Social-Democrats who are doing yeoman service at once for the cause and for the public weal on the administrative bodies of this country. He has been put forward for the post of public auditor in Liverpool twice. The last time he polled 273 votes, against 456 scored by the Liberal and 600 by the Tory. He has also been run for the School Board there, and three years ago he polled 3,000 votes. The local comrades hope that on the next occasion success will crown their efforts.

Our comrade Goodman is a native of Bedford, and was educated at the Harpur Schools in that town. From there his father removed into Yorkshire, and in course of time Joseph was apprenticed to the trade of a lithographic printer under Mr. Alfred Cooke, of Leeds. Since his apprenticeship he has led a rather roving life, as he has worked at his trade at different times at Bradford, Leeds, London, and Manchester, finally settling at Liverpool, where he worked at his trade until, being boycotted by the employers, in consequence of his active propaganda work, he was forced out of employment, and found it necessary to resort to other means of earning a livelihood. With the aid of friends he set up a bookshop in Liverpool, and for some four years he has visited the market-places of the Lancashire towns with his books on Saturdays, and lectured for the S.D.F. branches on the Sunday.

In the early years of his life as a journeyman he was attracted to the volunteer movement, and, realising the benefit to be gained by a military training, he joined the Leeds corps of engineers. Although quite young he was speedily promoted to the rank of sergeant, and during the Afghan

campaign of 1885 he was one of the corps of non-commissioned officers selected from the engineer volunteers throughout the country in response to an invitation from the War Office. He served for some little time with the submarine mining battalion of the Royal Engineers, at St. Mary's Barracks, Chatham, with retention of rank and special pay. Goodman is considerably over the average height, and his service in the engineers has given him a well set up and soldierly appearance.

Our comrade has been a convinced Socialist now for a considerable number of years, and it is seven years ago that he set on foot the Liverpool branch of the S.D.F. Ever since that time the Red Flag has been kept flying in that stronghold of Toryism and reaction, at the cost of many a free fight with both Orangemen and Irish Nationalists, as well as with the authorities. Three years ago the police commenced prosecutions against our speakers for holding forth at Edge Hill Lamp. Each one was fined forty shillings and costs, or a month's imprisonment. Every one refused to pay, and each week fresh speakers took up their stand at the disputed spot and were proceeded against. In the police court they declared that if sent to prison they would form a branch of the S.D.F. in Walton Gaol. After sixteen members has been proceeded against and sentenced the police withdrew the prosecution. Not a single penny of fine was paid, nor did anyone go to prison, and meetings have been held at the same place ever since without interference.

Since its formation the Liverpool branch has done yeoman service for the cause. Over 1,000 members have passed through its books, and although most of these are scattered, they are by no means lost to the movement, and the Liverpool branch claims to have produced more speakers for the S.D.F. than perhaps any other branch; among others, J. Jones, H. Large, H. Jennings, Loughran, and B. Myers first came into the Social-Democratic fold by way of that branch.

At the Trades Union Congress held at Liverpool in 1890, at which the New Trade Unionists, so-called, first made their appearance, our comrade Goodman acted as secretary of the Congress. He had been an indefatigable member of his trade union, the Amalgamated Society of Lithographic Printers of Great Britain and Ireland, and was the youngest member who ever occupied the position for twelve months of a member of its Executive Committee. He is well-known throughout his trade for the prominent positions he has held as technical teacher as well as a pioneer of the movement for shorter hours of labour, and when his society became affiliated to the Trades Council he was elected its delegate. In a very short time, although he was the youngest member of the Council, he was appointed its vice-president, and subsequently became secretary. This office he held for four years, during which time he raised the Council from 43 delegates, representing 15,000 workmen, to 123 delegates, representing 47,000 trade unionists in Liverpool and district. He was organiser of the Liverpool Tailoresses' Coat-Making Union, and chairman of their committee, and in less than two months he had enrolled nearly 400 women in the union, had organised a strike which secured them a reduction of two hours in their

working day without loss of wages, the working hours now being from 9 till 7 instead of from 8 till 8. At the close of the strike the Tailoresses presented him with a magnificent illuminated album as a memento of the event.

In the early years of the 'nineties the unemployed question was rife in Liverpool, and in the severe winter of '94-'95 it assumed enormous proportions and a very serious aspect. Goodman was appointed organiser of the first demonstration which was held, and to his energy and judgment such success as the agitation achieved was largely due.

Our comrade has been an ardent student of his own craft, and as an instructor in it he has won high commendation. For four years in succession—1892 to 1895—he won the "Workman's Scholarship" at the University College, Liverpool, the award entitling him to attend classes and laboratory work in two subjects every week throughout the season. Subsequently for two years in succession he was successful in winning the "Polytechnic Exhibition Scholarship" tenable at the same University. The subjects take up during these years were geology, botany, astronomy, chemistry, electricity and magnetism, biology, and political economy, for all of which he holds the University pass certificates. In 1889 he won the second prize, a bronze medal, in the ordinary grade of the City and Guilds Institute examination in lithography. In 1897 he obtained the first prize of £2 and the silver medal in the honours stage of lithography, and is one of the few holding the City and Guilds Institute full technological certificate, which is the highest distinction obtainable in the subject.

The *British Printer* says:—"Becoming instructor of the Liverpool class, the value of his work may be judged by the fact that in the port alone six of his students are occupying positions as foremen, whilst many letters from those leaving for other districts bear testimony to the assistance derived from the classes. The students at the last session presented him with a gold-mounted walking-stick as a token of appreciation. This year Mr. Goodman is teaching the lithographic technical classes at the Manchester Municipal Technical School, as well as at the Liverpool School, making in all six classes per week, he having to journey at least twice each week to Manchester. . . . He is technical expert and consultant for the Liverpool Aluminium Lithographic Printing Plate Company."

It will thus be seen that, although boycotted by the employers, our comrade contrives not to be an idle man, but has generally his hands full of useful work of one sort or another. In addition to his technical work and his book-selling business Goodman puts in a good deal of time as an enthusiastic propagandist. He has lectured and debated for practically every branch of the S.D.F. in Lancashire and the adjacent counties, and has been for two years a member of the Provincial Executive of the body.

OUR POLICY.

THE story of Moebius's pike, with which friend Rothstein opens his contribution on this subject in last month's SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT, would be more interesting if it had any application to the question under discussion, or if the analogy he seeks to draw had any existence anywhere but in his own imagination. For what is it he seeks to show? That, having vainly endeavoured to reach the mass of the people, from whom it was separated by the plate-glass of Liberalism, the Socialist movement, even now that the plate-glass is removed, makes no further effort to go beyond the imaginary partition and get at the people who are no longer separated from it by Liberalism, but contents itself with moving round in the circumscribed limits fixed by the partition. In the view he has put forward with so much force and ingenuity our comrade only makes two mistakes, first, that the partition of Liberalism has been removed, so far as the minds of the mass of the people are concerned, and, second, that we have ceased to make any efforts to go beyond that partition or to break it down. But these two mistakes are fatal to his whole argument. It is very well to say that Liberalism is dead. That is undoubtedly true. But it by no means follows that it has ceased to exercise any influence over the hearts and minds of the people. The South African war, as our comrade argues truly, has shattered Liberalism, it has demonstrated that the old principles which went by that name are no longer workable, that they are quite incompatible with the new ideas of expansion and imperialism, which underlie the commercialism of to-day, as the old principles of Liberalism, of *laissez faire*, of peace and nationalism, underlay the commercialism of yesterday. But although expansion and imperialism have shattered Liberalism, that does not prove that Liberalism, or what goes by the name, has no longer any hold on the people, and that they are now waiting eagerly to drink in the blessed gospel of Socialism if only we would cast off our lethargy, or the kind of paralysis from which we are suffering through being so long cribbed, cabined and confined by the plate-glass of Liberalism.

To argue thus would be the same as to say that because the "higher criticism" has disposed of the Mosaic story of the Creation, of hell and of a personal devil; because the heads of the Church, as by law established, are evolutionists and agnostics, and have no belief in the miracles of Joshua or Jonah; that therefore these things have no influence over the minds of the masses of the people, and that for them hell has no terrors and the devil no temptation.

The South African war has given us an opportunity, which, with all becoming modesty, I think we may reasonably claim to have made the most of, to demonstrate the hopelessness of Liberalism and to rally all the opponents of the war against that hideous business, and on our side. If we have not done more it is because we have not had the men or the means to do more than we have done. No other party has done so much, with infinitely greater means. In this instance, at any rate, we have not

played the part of the pike. We came out into the open, at some little risk, and we led the opposition to this war when everybody else was practically dumb about it. Here was one instance among many in which we absolutely disproved the pike theory, as applied to ourselves. Have we succeeded in rallying the people to the Red Flag and against Liberalism? That we have gained some adherents I have no doubt, but so far as the bulk of those opposed to the war are concerned they are as strongly opposed to us as ever. They have been quite content that we should help them and that we should head the opposition to the war. But, for all the effect this has produced upon them, they will oppose us just as bitterly in the future as they have in the past, and if they have the choice presented to them at an election of voting khaki-Liberal or Socialist, there need be no question about which way they will go; they will vote against us at any cost. That there has been a breach made in the ranks of the Liberal Party, and that we should make the utmost of this, I do not for a single moment deny, but it is a mistake to suppose that all our enemies are already in one camp and that the poor, duped, deluded people are at last disillusioned, and are only waiting for us to give them a lead. We should make the most of the disunion in the ranks of the enemy, and should offer the people a lead; but that is what we are doing, and, indeed, never fail to do. But it does not follow that they will accept our lead, that because we pipe they will dance. Not at all. They will still follow their old leaders, for not yet have they been sufficiently betrayed, not yet have they exhausted the possibilities of error. They err through ignorance, it is true, and it is for us to dispel that ignorance; but that is what we are trying to do. And it must not be supposed that all the Liberals are on the jingo side, and all the people—their erstwhile followers—are anti-jingo. On the contrary, it will be found that the Liberals will have a khaki candidate for a khaki-coloured constituency; but they will have an anti-khaki candidate for those places where other sentiment prevails. They will be all Liberals just the same. This readiness on the part of our middle-class politicians to adapt themselves to any change of circumstances, or of popular sentiment, is one of the greatest difficulties we have to contend with and one of the greatest obstacles in the way of the formation of a working-class party; and it has always seemed to me that the ruling classes in other countries do not show themselves so astute in this respect, or our comrades there would have a greater appreciation of our difficulties.

Rothstein instances what our French comrades did in the Dreyfus case, as an example of the statesmanship which takes account of the actualities of political life, which does not lose itself in abstractions, but lives in the life of to-day, and so distinguishes a party from a sect. That, he suggests, is an example we should follow. I agree, but I say, further, that it is an example we have followed times out of number. This South African war was, for the time being, our Dreyfus case, and under the circumstance and with the means at our disposal, I think we have done as well in that as our French comrades did in their "affaire." If we have not been as successful as they, it has not been for

want of trying, but because the conditions have been against us. When other people here were busy demonstrating their indignation against the French nation on account of its inhumanity towards Dreyfus, we led an agitation against the far worse iniquity into which this country was being hurried, and from months before the war right up to the present time we have not ceased to maintain our agitation of protest against this infamous business. But have we received the support of even the people who have made opposition to this war their special concern? Not at all. It was sufficient that we should help them; they had no intention of helping us in any way; because they know quite well that on some other issue we may be just as strongly opposing them as we have been aiding them in the present instance. They are much too astute to assist in forming or strengthening a Social-Democratic Party, and although we recognise that it is our duty to take an active part in the actual, pressing, questions of the day, and to oppose injustice and wrong, in whatever shape it appears, to the fullest extent of our power, and although we may gain some friends and adherents by so doing, we must remember that we shall only make real progress as the people are converted to the principles of Social-Democracy. In the words of Rothstein himself: "The way to Parliament lies *only* through the hearts of the electorate, and no amount of successful tactics can take the place of a policy" which will bring the masses into our own ranks.

That fact, however, does not render tactics, or opportunism, unnecessary. But this we have always recognised, and it is a change to have Rothstein rating us for being too exclusive and sectarian, seeing how often and for how long we have been attacked in other quarters for being too opportunist and latitudinarian. Rothstein urges that there is need for "changing the character of our action"; yet, he says: "The first and most obvious condition is to place ourselves in the midst of society and to regard ourselves as a living part of it. . . . For the truth must never be lost sight of that, distinct as we are, as a class, from the rest of society, we are not inimical to it, and everything that furthers its material and moral welfare is at the same time to our special advantage. Political and civil freedom, cheap justice, wide and sound education, æsthetic culture, and innumerable minor things . . . are of the utmost importance to the proletarian class, and should concern us as much as its material well-being." I read this with amazement, for it seemed that our comrade had suddenly discovered a fact which we had always known and acted upon. What body first agitated for free education, against the opposition of both Liberal and Tory? The S.D.F. What body has carried on a persistent agitation for the extension of facilities for education? The S.D.F. What body has, in every district where it has any following at all, led the movement for free libraries, free baths, polytechnics, recreation grounds, free evening classes, direct employment of labour, and the recognition of trade unions and of trade union conditions by public bodies? Once more, the S.D.F. What body first raised and agitated the question of the unemployed, and by its agitation forced the authorities into action and saved many

thousands from misery and pauperism? Again, the S.D.F. What organisation has stood practically alone for years in persistently, on every available opportunity, agitating for such political reforms as universal adult suffrage, shorter Parliaments, proportional representation or second ballot, and the payment of members; who even demonstrated for these objects when the chiefs of the I.L.P. thought them too commonplace and opportunist? Still, the S.D.F. What body led the movement for shorter hours of labour, and the legal limitation of the working day to eight hours? Once again, the S.D.F. It would not be too much to say that during the last twenty years there has been no movement for the improvement of the condition of the people, political, moral or material, in which the S.D.F. has not taken an active and a leading part. Rothstein may not be aware of this, but it would not have been difficult for him to have acquired the knowledge, or, knowing it, he may have preferred to ignore it, in thinking that the results, to the party, have been very meagre. It may be some satisfaction to him to be told that if this had not been done, if we had not mingled in the actual life of society, if we had been content to round ourselves up as a doctrinaire sect, the S.D.F. would long ago have ceased to exist.

But in two matters we do not seem, according to Rothstein, to have done the right thing. Our attitude towards strikes does not meet with his approval, nor is he satisfied with our position with regard to old age pensions. As to the first, we undoubtedly do strongly deprecate strikes, and we take the opportunity which a strike presents to point out how great an evil they are, however inevitable under existing conditions, and how, in most cases, far better results could be obtained by political action, and that the true remedy for strikes lies in Socialism. But it is not correct to suggest that we do not throw ourselves heart and soul into the struggle on the side of the men, or do not help them to win by every means in our power. If what we do is not so much as the *Daily Chronicle* has done, or as *Vorwaerts* does, that is due to our material weakness, not to any weakness of will or purpose. With the best will in the world it is still not possible for a few thousand people to accomplish, with the most strenuous efforts, what two millions can do with ease. And, moreover, the Socialist movement in England and America stands, by virtue of circumstances, in a very different position towards trade unionism to that which is occupied by our Continental comrades. In most Continental countries the trade union movement, having sprung out of the Socialist movement, has a definite Socialist basis; here, the trade unions, being older than the present Socialist movement, have been largely hostile; dominated, as in the main they have been, and still in many cases are, by the economic ideas of the middle class. Here, however, we are changing that by going among the unions, and to-day many of the best known men in the trade union movement are active and prominent Social-Democrats; and we have shown our readiness to work with all and sundry, even when they are not agreed on general principles, in a movement for a common object, by allying ourselves with the recently formed Labour Representation Committee. Our

comrades of the S.L.P. of America, on the other hand, find the antagonism between themselves and the old trade unions so great that they have decided to call upon their members who are officials of unions to resign their positions under pain of expulsion from the organisation. That is the very opposite of the course we have thought it wise to adopt, but it is they, and not we, who must judge as to what is best for the movement in their country. As to old age pensions, we did not, as our comrade seems to assume, content ourselves with mere criticism. Our proposals were perfectly clear and definite, and to all intents and purposes they still hold the field. Later on, perhaps, if we persistently agitate them, after the khaki fever has died down, they will be adopted in a modified form, and then friend Rothstein will once more come forward to tell us what we ought to have done with regard to something which has been actually our work, but for which nobody, if they can help it, will give us any credit. That will not affect us at all. We know our work, and shall continue to do it; modifying our tactics and our policy to suit the exigencies of the hour, but never losing sight of our goal—Social-Democracy—and the instrument we are endeavouring to form for achieving that goal—a Social-Democratic Party. In the meantime such criticisms as those of Rothstein's are useful as warnings against straying off into mere utopianism, or neglecting the urgent questions of the hour, and as an encouragement to us to persevere in the path of active struggle which we have pursued for so long.

H. QUELCH.

“THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN.”

THE reign of Queen Victoria has been a reign of peace, in so far as freedom from invasion of the British Isles is concerned; but some forty wars, aside from a number of less serious revolts, have been carried to a conclusion by her subjects since the Queen's coronation in 1837. A list of these wars is given by the *Nieuws van den Dag* (Amsterdam) as follows:

- A war against Russia, 1854.
- Three wars against Afghanistan, 1838, 1849, 1878.
- Four wars against China, 1841, 1849, 1856, 1860.
- Two wars against the Sikhs, 1845, 1848.
- Three Kafir wars, 1846, 1851, 1877.
- Three wars against Burma, 1850, 1852, 1885.
- Nine wars in India, 1857, 1860, 1863, 1864, 1868, 1879, 1890, 1897.
- Three Ashanti wars, 1864, 1873, 1899.
- One war against Abyssinia, 1867.
- A war against Persia, 1852.
- One war against the Zulus, 1878.
- One war against the Basutos, 1879.
- One war in Egypt, 1882.
- Three wars in the Soudan, 1894, 1896, 1899.
- A war in Zanzibar, 1890.
- A war against the Matabele, 1894.
- Two wars against the Transvaal, 1881, 1899.

—Translation made for the *Literary Digest*.

A WORD WITH PROFESSOR BEESLY.

ALL Socialists will feel grateful for the sympathetic remarks of Professor Beesly with regard to them quoted in last month's SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT. Most of us recognise the services the Positivists have rendered to certain aspects of progress in the past, and their outspoken condemnation of points of view dictated merely by the bias of the possessing classes. Perhaps certain of us have sometimes wished that some of their leading lights would put off the "superior person" a little more than they do. But I suppose it is a part of their creed that they, as representing the "spiritual power," are in duty bound to stand upon their dignity. It was at one time, I believe, their custom to refuse to answer criticisms at public meetings they were addressing on the principles of Positivism, on the ostensible grounds that their critics had only wanted to hear themselves speak, and therefore were not worth answering, which may or may not have been true, but was scarcely compatible with the human courtesy one might have expected from the priests of the *nouveau grande Etre Supreme*. This was the more noticeable seeing that one of their number at least (not Professor Beesly) was always eager for the fray in the august columns of the half-crown monthly when his opponent was an archbishop, bishop, or lord, these exalted "types," we suppose, being placed above that level of common humanity which can be suspected of ever speaking or writing for speaking or writing's sake.

But still, these, to unregenerate man, unpleasant angularities of the disciples and successors of Auguste Comte, are as dust in the balance compared with such things as the defence of the Commune against an avalanche of class-hatred and calumny, or the persistent and resolute opposition to aggressive wars.

My object in writing this is to traverse some remarks made by Professor Beesly anent Social-Democracy and Patriotism. "They" (Social-Democrats), writes Professor Beesly, "are accused of cosmopolitanism, that is, of discarding the sentiment of Patriotism. The same charge is brought against us who repel it as a shameful calumny. I believe it is equally undeserved by Social-Democrats . . . in neither one case nor the other is there any dream of abolishing national delimitations or fusing all Europe into one state, or even federation of states." Now speaking, as I believe, for the vast majority of Social-Democrats, I venture to assert the above statement as to the views of the party on the subject of Patriotism and Internationalism to be misleading and incorrect. The majority of Social-Democrats *do* repudiate patriotism as implying any special duty of attachment to the State system in which they happen to have been born as against any other. The Socialist has no affection for any of these national State systems as such. He believes, it is true, in independence for nationalities as against annexation or interference from without by the *force majeure* of other nationalities—acting in their own interests—but in no other sense. On the contrary, he believes, the present nationalist systems,

which have grown up since the Middle Ages, with the growth of capitalism, will likewise perish with it, giving place precisely to that federated Europe which appears to be Professor Beesly's bogey.

The whole system of things economic already tends to become more international or cosmopolitan, if you will, year by year, and the assumption by the people collectively of the control of the means of production and distribution must inevitably, from the point of view of production and distribution alone, lead to some form of international direction. That this would involve the political power in the last resort is obvious. Whether, as I suggested at the London International Congress of 1896, a standing international court of arbitration might form the nucleus of, or first step to, a central administrative organ for a Socialist mankind (or at least for Europe) I will not venture to predict. Anyway, it is clear that a Socialised world must be, in part at least, administered internationally from the outset. The inevitable tendency would follow, which we see to-day in the case of national federal states, such as Germany, and to a lesser extent Switzerland, viz, for the central power, to absorb more and more of the functions of the political unities composing it. This tendency has its complement in the increasing devolution of local matters, and some others perhaps, to municipal and other purely local bodies. Professor Beesly does not believe in a Socialised world in which capital has ceased from troubling; but he seems to forget that the only alternative under the conditions of existing economic evolution, to the international, political and administrative union here indicated, is—precisely that very imperialism against which Professor Beesly, like ourselves, protests. It is not for nothing that the term "Patriotism" has been annexed by the jingo-imperialists. For imperialist expansion is the only possible attitude for the patriot, in the sense of one who wishes the continuance of his own glorious country as an independent political entity against other countries, at all costs. The economic self-sufficiency or autonomy of this island or any other single state at the present time is an impossibility. The only (temporary) alternative to Internationalism is its Imperialism. Imperialism would establish the federation of a group of populations on a racial and unilingual basis dominated by a single nationality. By this means, and by this means only, the economic inadequacy of the parent country would be got rid of, wholly or partially, for the time being. And by this means only can the political integrity and independence of the parent country be also secured for its "patriots." Hence, for practical purposes, Patriotism and Imperialism are synonymous. For the loathsome moral and æsthetic depths to which that patriotism can degrade men, the alleged absence of which in himself and other Positivists is repelled by Professor Beesly as a "shameful calumny," I refer him to a certain extremely patriotic "poster" now defiling our public places. Doth he like the picture?

It cannot be too strongly insisted upon that *international* as opposed to *national* administration of production and distribution, and finally of other departments of life, is the logical outcome of the principles of Social-

Democracy. That the change cannot take place in a moment is obvious, and meanwhile Social-Democrats are prepared to unite with all other honest and decent men in denouncing any act of aggression on the part of one nationality against another. They are none the less certain that it is the duty of the Socialist party of every country to combat patriotism at home, *i.e.*, from within, at every turn and every hour of the day. To this end they will not hesitate to point out that Patriotism at its best is not, and never has been, the noble virtue it is represented to be, and at its worst, is as base and vile a vice as can well disgrace human nature.

E. BELFORT BAX.

MUNICIPAL TRADING.

LORD AVEBURY, in the *Contemporary*, sets out his objections to the above. They are :—

1. The enormous increase of debt which such a policy will involve.
 2. The check to private enterprise.
 3. The demand on the time of municipal councillors, which will :—
 - (a) Preclude the devotion of sufficient consideration to real municipal problems.
 - (b) Prevent men who have any business or profession of their own from entering municipal life.
 4. The undesirability of involving Governments and municipalities more than can be helped in labour questions.
 5. The fact that the interference with natural laws in some important cases has the effect of defeating the very object aimed at.
 6. The risk, not to say certainty, of loss.
- In view of these objections, the writer suggests :—
1. That no extension of municipal trading for purposes not yet sanctioned should be permitted, except after full notice, and special Parliamentary enquiry.
 2. That as regards water, lighting, tramways and telephones, fresh undertakings by municipalities should only be sanctioned if it can be shown there are special reasons why they should be carried on by the municipality rather than by private enterprise.
 3. That any ratepayers objecting should have a right to be heard and give their reasons for opposing the Bill.

It must be admitted, says Lord Avebury, that the subject is one of immense importance. Municipal trading is, he asserts, the essence of Socialism. "Mr. Burns," continues the writer, "is, for instance, quite consistent. He knows what he is about; he supports every form of Municipal trading as part of his campaign against what he has called, and honestly believes to be, 'the tyrannical influence of private property.'" He was asked during a recent discussion at the Society of Arts how far he would go, and whether it was his view that all private property, or what he called "the instruments of production," should be in the hands of the State, or the Municipalities? and he unhesitatingly answered "Yes." That is the clear issue which we have before us. Unless the great tendency is checked, we must be prepared for a great increase in our rates, and in the number of our Municipal employees, for an enormous expansion of our local debt, for a serious check to private enterprise, and a discouragement to the progress of invention and discovery."

SOME EVILS OF THE PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF RAILWAYS.

SOME little time back, when reviewing in the columns of *Justice* Mr. Clement Edwards's book on "Railway Nationalisation," we promised to again refer to it and give our readers a few extracts from it, as a sample of the contents of the volume, and also as being useful to our readers. The columns of a newspaper, especially one such as *Justice*, have, however, to cope with the constant flow of pressing current and up-to-date news and information, and a fitting opportunity has not presented itself. The pages of the SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT, however, offer, if anything, a more suitable medium for fulfilling our intention, and we, therefore, intend to give in this and two subsequent issues some of the more striking facts and figures in Mr. Edwards's very useful book. Let us add that the extracts given in these pages are by no means isolated instances. The book is crammed full with valuable information on the subject—a veritable armoury, in fact, and should find a place on the book-shelves of all our readers.

THE WASTEFULNESS OF PRIVATE OWNERSHIP.

The wastes of the present system are enormous. One of the most serious sources of waste is the heavy Parliamentary and legal expenses. In 1850, Mr. S. Laing, Chairman of the London Brighton and South Coast Railway Company, stated that up to that year this item alone had absorbed no less than £70,000,000. Writing in 1886, he declared that for the previous ten years the companies had spent £5,000,000, or a yearly average of half-a-million in this way. It will certainly be under the mark to assume a similar annual average since that time; but taking it, we find the huge sum of £93,500,000 has been expended by the companies on law and Parliamentary expenses since the advent of the railway system. This entirely leaves out of account the heavy expenses of traders and others in fighting against the companies before the Railway Commission.

In this connection, the following figures given by Mr. Locke some years ago as to cost of land and Parliamentary expenses, *per mile*, are significant :—

		For Land.		Parliamentary Expenses.
London and South-Western	...	£4,000	...	£ 650
Great Western	... ..	6,300	...	1,000
London and Birmingham	... ..	6,300	...	650
London and Brighton	... ..	8,000	...	3,000

The late Sir George Findlay tells us in "The Working and Management of an English Railway" (1892), that—"All over the country, at every

junction of two railways, the Clearing House has number-takers stationed, who record the number and description of every vehicle that passes a junction going from one line to another." And Mr. J. A. Williams says—"The whole of its vast and complicated system will become needless as soon as all the railways are vested in the State; for there will be no longer conflicting claims to decide, disputes to refer, nor cross-accounts to settle. . . . Part of the elaborate machinery of the Clearing House is devoted to the settlement of the rolling-stock account between the different railway companies. For this purpose the daily history of each carriage, waggon, tarpaulin, that passes off its own line on to a strange line has to be recorded. . . . There is something painfully ludicrous in this imposing array of clerks engaged in posting up the history of carriages and tarpaulins. . . . The necessity for keeping such records, the adjustment of demurrage accounts at the clearing office, the inconvenience and loss, caused by the want of a constant supply of waggons, would cease as soon as the ownership of the rolling-stock became one." ("Appropriation of the Railways by the State" [1868].)

The interminable complications arising from the great number of rates, and the elaborate machinery kept going by the companies to check each other, are also causes of preventible waste. Every effort has apparently been made to avoid simplicity. It has been authoritatively stated that there are no less than the incomprehensible number of 250,000,000 separate railway rates for goods. The German State Railway management gets into a small book of 75 pages the whole of the rates on its system, while the London and North-Western Railway alone occupies 2,000 huge volumes with its own rates.

There are over 250 separate boards of directors, with their incidental appendages. It need hardly be added that these are mainly superfluous and all expensive.

But probably the statement of the late Sir George Findlay, *re* directors and directorates, is the most eloquent in respect to wastefulness. Alluding to the Irish railways, he declared that all the work done by the Irish directorates he could do alone in four days a week and take the other two for fishing on the Shannon. ("Report Select Committee on Irish Industry.") While, however, the duties of directors are so nominal, their fees by no means come within that category. Many of them get as much as the salary paid to the Chief of the German State Railways.

There are many other sources of waste, such as each company employing a large staff of canvassers and advertisement agents, the multiplied sets of offices and goods warehouses, the running of duplicate trains, only partly filled, at same time and place, &c. At the lowest computation the preventible wastes of the present system are estimated at 20 per cent. of the working expenses, or, say, £10,000,000 a year.

HOW TRADE IS AFFECTED.

One can only come to the conclusion, after perusing the facts bearing upon the charges made for carriage of goods, that the consumer has to pay much more for his goods than necessary. Upholders of the present system

may require proof, urging that the railway companies would not charge more than a reasonable rate for carriage of goods for fear of injuring the traffic and thereby themselves suffering loss. Let us see.

Friends of private ownership will scarcely agree that 25 per cent. of the selling price of such an article as coal is a fair or even reasonable charge for carriage. It is, in reality, more than this. When coal and iron rose in price the charges were raised, but although both subsequently fell to prices lower than ever known before, the traffic rates were not reduced. This will hardly be conceded as tending to the public good.

Another method of ascertaining the reasonableness or otherwise of these rates is to compare them with other countries. Germany and Belgium are the chief competitors of England in coal production, and the following, which are only a few of many, show their rail charges for an equal distance on the English lines :—

From Ebbw Vale to	British, per ton.	German, per ton.	Belgian, per ton.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Talybont	3 0	1 7	1 11
Talylyn	3 4	1 10	2 1
Brecon	3 9	2 0	2 3
Worcester	6 0	3 11	3 9
Berkhamsted	9 6	6 10	4 10
Dunstable	10 5	8 10	5 7
Bletchley	9 3	6 5	4 8
Banbury	8 9	5 11	4 6

As showing the same thing in another way, Mr. J. S. Jeans, in a report he prepared for the Commission on Trade Depression, stated the average British rates are for :—

	Per cent.	
Iron ore... ..	58	higher than France.
Ditto	87	Germany.
Ditto	87	Luxemburg.
Ditto	82	General average of foreign countries.
Pig iron, works to port	40	France.
Ditto	43	Germany.
Ditto	102	Belgium.
Ditto inland markets ...	68	France.
Finished iron and steel, works to ports	79	France.
Ditto	96	Germany.
Ditto	23	Belgium.
Ditto to inland markets	120	France.
Ditto	115	Germany.
Ditto	30	Belgium.

One of the largest works in Germany, situate more than 150 miles from a shipping port, can reach Antwerp by railway for 3½ marks, or 3s. 6d. per ton of finished iron or steel. Similar produce transported from works in the Midlands to London or Liverpool, similar distances, are charged about three times as much by our railway companies. The ironwork proprietors

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at Couillet, in Belgium, can transport their finished iron and steel to Antwerp—a distance of 70 miles—for 3s., or an average of 0.51d. per ton per mile. As against this low export rate, compare the following rates for export from Staffordshire:—

	Distance.	Parcels of 4 to 10 tons.		Parcels of 10 tons & upwards.	
		Rate per ton.		Rate per ton.	
		per mile.		per mile.	
	Miles.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Bristol ...	94	8	4	8	4
Fleetwood ...	126	14	2	14	2
Gloucester ...	56½	6	8	6	8
Hull ...	134	14	4	12	6
Liverpool ...	97½	10	0	10	0
London ...	115	15	0	12	6

(To be continued.)

LOYALTY AND WAR.

MR. A. E. MADDOCK, writing on this in the *Westminster Review*, says no word is more apt to be misused than that of "loyalty." The outcome of true loyalty, he argues, is not such an expression as "My country, right or wrong," but rather, "May my country be always right, and may I always do my share towards realising that end." Any person in time of war, continues Mr. Maddock, who expresses disapproval of the war or sympathy with those opposed to his country is at once stigmatised as disloyal, though the chances are that he feels a truer love for his country and a stronger desire for her higher interest than the ignorant music-hall patriot who shouts himself hoarse in the gallery, and is regarded as a paragon of loyalty and a pillar of the Empire.

The fact of this so-called sentiment of loyalty being always most rampant in time of war is a very interesting social phenomenon, and seems to indicate its real origin and nature.

Mr. Maddock goes on to say there certainly appears to be no reason why the right of the minority to criticise or censure the actions of the majority should be denied in time of war any more than at any other time—why its voice should be freely heard on all matters of internal politics, but be suddenly silenced as "disloyalty" the moment war is declared. In a democracy, the writer says, free criticism must always be legal and constitutional, since law and constitution themselves derive their sole authority from the general will, and free criticism is nothing else than the general will in process of formation; if war had to undergo the same ordeal of free, fearless, and unapproached public criticism among the belligerent nations themselves, as inevitably awaits all other political acts, it may well be that wars would be less readily entered upon and more readily closed.

THE STORY OF THE CHARTISTS.

Continued.

CHAPTER V.—ON THE CHARTIST PLATFORM.

Daring thoughts to-day are moving in the world's uneasy breast,
And her fitful hopes are streaming with an ominous unrest;
Now a vague suspense is brooding over court and mart and slum,
And the Czars and Kings are dreading that their day of doom has come,
For the world upheaves for Freedom, and she will not strive in vain
As of old, when racial hatred darkened all her heart and brain.

Let courageous friends of Freedom, who would own her regal sway,
Live and work for her alone till she shall surely win her way.
Ah! if only half her praise could flow from any human tongue—
Could the glory of her coming be by any bard outsung—
Gladd'ning hope would fill the nations, all impulsive to be free,
As a glory fills the waves when dawn is breaking o'er the sea.

W. S. RENNIE.

A few brief extracts from some of the speeches delivered by those "crafty agitators," as their enemies loved to term them, will perhaps give a more accurate conception of the spirit of Chartism than any words of mine could possibly do. The platform was their pulpit. Having to educate an ignorant constituency, they naturally went out to the highways and bye-ways to address the people, and there would show themselves in their truest colours before all the world. But Demos has ascended his pulpit—hear him speak. It is a surging Chartist demonstration at Newcastle in the summer of 1838. The speaker is Mr. James Ayr, a Tyneside working man. "I am proud of the thousands who have banded together this day to worship at the altar of Freedom. The sword of oppression hangs over us, but, if need be, we shall draw the sword of justice, and never return it to the scabbard, till justice shall be done to the wronged and outraged people of England. . . . The interests of workingmen are everywhere the same, and our oppressors will find that men are about to be everywhere united. Knowledge is power and union is strength, and, in the diffusion of knowledge and the union that has now sprung up among the people, I foresee, and that, too, at no distant period, the downfall of aristocracy all over the world.

"We had the representative of the despot Nicholas, and the sleek tyrant Louis Philippe, and the representatives from all their brother tyrants assisting to crown sovereign of a great nation a little girl who would be more usefully and properly employed at her needle. But the people will

not be longer led away by their gaudy trappings, they will look to themselves and to their families; for, if we see the gew-gaws of royalty on the one side, we shall see the damnable Bastille on the other."

It must not be supposed, however, that the Chartists deemed royalty the root social evil. Far from that. They saw—only as in a glass darkly, it may be—that in the existing relations between labour and capital lay the grossest social ills. Listen next to Feargus O'Connor on one of his pet subjects—the new Poor Law. The speech is delivered at Newcastle:—

"Harry Brougham said they wanted no Poor Law, as every young man ought to lay up a provision for old age, yet, while he said this with one side of his mouth, he was screwing the other side to get his retiring pension raised from £4,000 to £5,000 a year. But if the people had their rights, they would not long pay his salary. Harry would go to the Treasury, he would knock, but Cerberus would not open the door. He would ask, 'Who is there?' And then luckless Harry would answer, 'Oh, it's an ex-Chancellor coming for his £1,250, a quarter's salary.' But Cerberus would say, 'There have been a dozen of ye here to-day already, and there is nothing for ye.' Then Harry would cry, 'Oh! what will become of me; what shall I do?' and Cerberus would say, 'Go into the Bastille that you have provided for the people.' Then when Lord Harry and Lady Harry went into the Bastille, the keeper would say, 'This is your ward to the right, and this, my Lady, is yours to the left; we are Malthusians here, and are afraid you would breed, therefore you must be kept asunder.'"

"If I witnessed such a scene as that," continued the orator, "I might have some pity for Lady Brougham but little pity would be due to Lord Harry."

Hear now a few pregnant words from James Bronterre O'Brien. They were spoken at a great Chartist gathering at Glasgow where 130,000 listeners cheered to the echo his every sentence. But O'Brien knew well how utterly worthless are the plaudits of the multitude when unaccompanied by vigorous work and faithful devotion to duty. The holiday cheers of an indolent democracy and the pious raptures of the devout churchman, all too often form the Alpha and Omega of the political and religious creeds of the "divine average" of mortals. "I do not give a fig," said O'Brien, "for all your clamouring and clapping of hands unless the people are prepared to do something effective. Your present House of Commons does not represent you. It represents the fellows who live by profits, who live by usury. It also represents a rascally crew of attorneys, bishops and parsons, pawnbrokers and stockjobbers. It represents men who have no interest in the welfare of the country. The stockjobber has the same interest in public calamity as the pawnbroker has in private distress. It also represents military officers, and it is a fact that about 2,000 brothel-keepers in London have votes. . . . I will take this opportunity of telling you the character that your enemies give of one another. The Whigs say the Tories are guilty of perjury, nay, Daniel O'Connell declares that every man of them has been guilty of perjury,

of the most atrocious perjury, and that he could prove it. That is the character of one side of the House. The rascals dare not deny the charge, because they know it is the truth, but they reply that the Whigs have been guilty of more perjury and that they were also endangering Queen Victoria's throne. The Whigs said they had attacked property, and the attack would proceed from one kind of property to another. Therefore, said they, the Whigs are traitors as well as perjurers." Mr. O'Brien then proceeded to sketch an active political policy that the Chartists might pursue, urging that they should insist on the old constitutional law of England relating to the election of Members of Parliament being enforced, that they, the workers, should elect their own member according to the rules of the ancient Folkemote and Witenagemot, and send him to Westminster to speak boldly in their name.

Hear next Julian Harney. Alas! a funeral oration this. Death had visited the Chartist ranks and taken from them sorrow-stricken Samuel Holberry as he lay, amid disease and filth and squalor, a prisoner in Northallerton gaol. Death, the great democrat, severed his galling chains, and so his comrades, with reverent care, gave his body a public funeral—a martyr's grave.

"Our task is not to weep; we must leave tears to women. Our task is to act; to labour with heart and soul for the destruction of the horrible system under which Holberry has perished. His sufferings are over; he is 'where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest.' He sleeps well; he is numbered with the patriots who have died martyrs to the cause of liberty before him. His is the bloodless laurel awarded him by a grateful and admiring people. How different to the wealth which encircles the brow of the princely murderer and the conquering destroyer? Compared with the honest virtuous fame of this son of toil, how poor, how contemptible, appear the so-called glories that emblazon the name of an Alexander or a Napoleon! Desolated empires, or slaughtered myriads, have saved their names from oblivion, but will not in a future and better age save them from execration; whilst with the Tells and Tylers of the earth the name of Holberry will be associated, venerated and adored. Be ours the task to accomplish by one glorious effort the freedom of our country, and thereby prevent for the future the sacrifice of the sons of Freedom. Tyrants have in all ages and in all countries striven by persecution to crush liberty, and by torture, chains and death to prevent the assertion of the 'Rights of Man.' It would appear that our haughty rulers are bent upon following the same, and seeking by the same means to arrest the progress of democracy. We bid them defiance. We tell these puny Canutes that, despite their bidding, the ocean of intellect will move on. Here, by the graveside of the patriot, here, under the bright blue canopy of the skies, let us enter into a solemn league and covenant. Let the honest and true embrace in fraternity, and swear with me—swear by the imperishable truth of our principles, by the dead relics of our murdered brother—swear while the spirit of Holberry hovers over us and smiles approval of this vow—swear to unite in one

countless moral phalanx, to put forth the giant strength which union will call into being, and aid and assist, fraternise with each other to burst the bonds which bind us. Swear as I now swear, that neither persecution, nor scorn, nor calumny; neither bolts, nor bars, nor chains, nor racks, nor gibbets; neither the tortures of a prison death-bed, nor the terror of the scaffold, shall sever us from our principles, affright us from our duty or cause us to leave the onward path of Freedom; but that come weal, come woe, we swear, with hearts uplifted to the Throne of Eternal Justice, to have retribution for the death of Holberry; swear to have our Charter law, and to annihilate for ever the blood-stained despotism which has slain its thousands of martyrs, and tens of thousands of patriots, and immolated at its shrine the lovers of liberty and truth."

Mr. Lowrey, a well-known Durham Chartist, next speaks—a festive gathering, this time, at democratic Sunderland:—

"I am a friend to Democracy, because it is the political law of God. I am for liberty, because it will seat Justice in her temple; her throne is righteousness, and her altar peace. Our oppressors may gnash their teeth and howl, but the fiat of their destruction has gone forth—God has said that the oppressors shall surely perish, and, though their bayonets may bristle and the thunder of their artillery roar, yet Liberty will look them in the face, and they will shudder and be silent before her. Like the vestal fire on the altars of old, it will never die; it will extend from Aikos Peak to Andes Crown, and shed joy and gladness and happiness over all the human race."

I have spoken of the physical-force Chartist. Would you hear next how those men addressed the multitude? Most violent of tongue was one Stephens, a Wesleyan clergyman who had been dismissed from his Church for over-stepping his duties as a pastor, and interesting himself in political questions from the *wrong* side. Stephens, though a popular speaker at Chartist gatherings, was rather a Poor Law reformer than a thorough-paced Chartist. He also rendered invaluable service in facilitating the passing of the first Factory Acts.

"If they will not reform those evils—aye, uproot them all—they shall have the revolution they so much dread. We shall destroy their abodes of guilt which they have reared to violate all law and God's book. If they will not learn to act as law prescribes and God ordains, so that every man shall by his labour find comfortable food and clothing, not for himself only but for his wife and babes, then we swear by the love of our brothers, by our God who made us all for happiness, by the earth he gave for our support, by the heaven he designs for those who love each other here, and by the hell which is the portion of those who, violating his book, have consigned their fellow-men, the image of their God, to hunger, nakedness, and death—we have sworn by our God, by heaven, earth, and hell, that from the east, the west, the north, and the south we shall warp in one devouring flame, which no arm can resist, the manufactories of the cotton tyrants, and the places of those who raised them by rapine and murder, and founded

them upon the wretchedness of the millions whom God, our God, Scotland's God, created to be happy."

Meanwhile, how fared the great petition? Of a truth it was progressing favourably. By the beginning of June, 1839, 1,283,000 persons had signed that first Chartist appeal, and amongst the Chartist leaders great preparations were being made for its presentation to Parliament. On June 14 it was presented to the Commons by Mr. Atwood, and, after Mr. Fielden and Mr. Atwood had spoken, the massive roll was borne away to oblivion on the shoulders of twelve stalwart men. Two months later the petition was again discussed in the House, Mr. Atwood moving that the prayer of the petitioners be granted. But all his eloquence was of no avail. As one Radical member said, the vote proved that "as Parliament was at present constituted they might just as well petition the rock of Gibraltar as address a petition to that House." Forty-eight members voted for the Charter and 287 against it, leaving a majority of 189 on the wrong side.

Towards the end of the same year there occurred the famous Welsh insurrection in which John Frost (perhaps the most maligned man in the Chartist movement), Zephaniah Williams and William Jones led that mad attempt to rescue Henry Vincent from prison. Frost, who, at the time of the rising, was a man of over 50 years of age, was of a deeply religious and benevolent turn of mind. He was greatly revered by the common people of his own town, especially by those warm-hearted Welsh miners who followed him even unto death in the fatal fray at Newport. Needless to say, however, although 10,000 men marched with ex-Mayor Frost across the hills towards Newport, they proved no match for the armed and well-drilled military that confronted them. Ten of their number were killed on the spot, and 50 dangerously wounded. Frost and two others were taken prisoners, tried on the charge of "levelling war against the Queen," and sentenced to death. This sentence would undoubtedly have been carried into effect had it not been for the vigorous protests of their Chartist colleagues, and also the objection on the part of many members of the Government to so evil an omen as the appearance of a public execution on the eve of the young Queen's marriage. The sentence was commuted to transportation for life. After spending many weary years of a convict's life he received a conditional pardon in 1856, returned to England, where he died in 1877, "a hale and hearty old man of 93 years," says his friend Linton, "and unchanged in his opinions."

Three years later the Chartists addressed a second petition to what Mr. Cunningham Graham termed the den of thieves. Mr. Duncombe was, on this occasion, the champion of the Chartist cause, whilst Macaulay led the opposition, telling the assembled legislators that "universal suffrage amounted to nothing less than the confiscation of the property of the rich." Mr. Gammage says, "He uttered during his speech the most unfounded and abominable calumnies against the working classes." This is only another example of the mellowing influence of time. Macaulay could enshrine in noble verse of

the heroism of the Romans of old, of Horatius and Virginius, but the equally heroic deeds of those of his own age were mere acts of rebellion and pillage. On this occasion 51 members voted in favour of the Charter.

Six long years elapsed before another petition was presented. Many new workers had taken their place in the ranks since '42. Ernest Jones was there, and so were Gerald Massey and Mr. Gammage. George Jacob Holyoake had commenced his "Sixty years of an Agitator's life." This time the petition, which weighed nearly six hundredweight, was conveyed to the House in four cabs, and on the evening of April 10, 1848, was presented to Parliament by Mr. O'Connor, who, during the previous year had been returned as member for Nottingham. He told the House that his petition was signed by over 5,000,000 people. A committee was appointed to examine the document. Next day the convener reported that they could only discover 1,300,000 names, and even that number included many such fictitious signatures as "Queen Victoria," "Sir Robert Peel" and the "Duke of Wellington." It is but right to add, however, that those fictitious names were the handiwork of the enemies of Chartism.

From this, and various other reasons, the last petition suffered a complete collapse, and from this period the star of Chartism perceptibly began to wane. On its latter days I shall not seek to dwell. It is a tale of wrangling and jealousy amongst its leaders which darkens many a page of working-class history. The alliance which O'Connor and his party formed with the Anti-Corn Law League was perhaps their worst mistake. Gammage tells us that "O'Connor promised Peel, in the name of Duncombe and himself, the undivided support of the people for this 'Almighty measure' which was to make the people great abroad and therefore great at home." The Free Trade sop to Cerberus proved only too effective. The more stable leaders did, indeed, steer a straight course, but, unfortunately for Chartism, working-class support was given to the Whigs, not wisely, but too well.

But other causes tended to drive on treacherous rocks the barque of Chartism. Death had claimed more than one of their most dauntless and clear-sighted leaders. Ernest Jones had spent two years in a filthy prison cell, and with him lay in durance vile the flower of the Chartist movement. Others, too, were like those loyal disciples—the spirit indeed was willing but the flesh was weak. In the midst of their tremendous difficulties the feeble lamp of faith went out, and they sank into the rut of apathy and despair. Imprisonment, desertion, betrayal, apathy and despair mark the last faint flickering of the Chartist movement.

Says W. J. Tinton: "Is it not the stay of almost all popular, of all first attempts. Matter not to condemn the blundering bluster of O'Connor, to condemn the impolicy of accepting recruits from among the trading politicians who join but to betray. Two things ensured our failure. We were not equal to our task, and also we were before our time. Note yet a third. There was no organisation towards action. Our work was a protest. We had no plan beyond that. Others will learn wisdom from our failings and the time will grow."

Yes! the time will grow, and we Socialists, we who are in the vanguard

of the working-class movement, must in our turn work while it is to-day—
work to realise the dream of the Chartist prison poet who say :—

Mind writ in every face; books million-fold
Multiplied; galleries with breath shapes hung
Rafaele might worship or Apelles old;
Groups from great Shakspeare's world or Chaucer's song
In bronze or marble life, seeming upsprung
From some new Phidian realm of earth beneath
To gem the populous squares; music's full tongue
Telling to millions what Mozart in death
Enraptured heard, but could not the boon sounds bequeath.

And all for all! Rank, class, distinction, badge
For ever gone! Labour by science made
Brief recreation—not by privilege
Avoided, nor its thrift in name of Trade
Or commerce filched. To give a brother's aid
To brethren, and enlarge the general bliss
From Knowledge, Virtue, Health, beyond parade
Of pomp or gold—affording joy—I wis
When Truth doth reign, Earth shall be such a Paradise.

FINIS.

W. DIACK.

“FRANCE, RUSSIA, AND THE PEACE OF THE WORLD.”

KARL BLIND, writing in the *Fortnightly*, in an article entitled “France, Russia, and the Peace of the World,” remarks, in summing up the situation, that “there are great perils ahead for England. Friendly warning,” he says, “may be unwelcome to those heedlessly and headlessly bent upon a course which was formerly denounced by its originator as the most risky and most baneful imaginable. But for the calm observer,” continues the writer, “there can be no doubt that the conscience of the civilised world has, in this South African war, been as much shocked as if some Continental Power were to destroy by force of arms the independence and the Republican institutions of Switzerland, or the independence of the somewhat Conservative institutions of the Netherlands; an outcry of indignation at such a deed would ring all over the world; such an outcry has rung, in the present instance, from Europe to America, and it is being taken up by cultured Indians of the most loyal character; the friends of England abroad are angered and sad at heart; her enemies are reckoning upon what may befall her some day when she will be assailed by a variety of complications. More than one storm-cloud is already in course of formation. The time may not be far distant when those answerable for what is done now will appear before history, not as the makers of new Imperial glories, but as the thoughtless urmakers of England.”

ENGLAND AT THE PARTING OF THE WAYS.

THE course of events in South Africa has reached a point in England when she has to choose either to continue to pursue the path which has led to the war, or to give up a policy which involves the danger of a catastrophe which may lead to the downfall of England.

Those who in their blind hate wish for her downfall are pointing to the present course of events. But what has happened in South Africa? It has been clear that England is not a military State in the German sense of the word. But this we have known all along. It is nothing to be ashamed of. On the contrary, the riches and the freedom of England are due to the fact that she is not a military State. Yet the fact that she has been able to land 110,000 men in South Africa shows that she really has more military strength than we expected. She has never before mobilised such an army. In the Crimea War there never was more than 30,000 men at one time on the field of war, and she did not have a larger army than that in the Napoleonic wars. And in a State which is not a military one the army at the beginning of a great war is never properly equipped. That was also shown in the wars of England against France at the end of the last century and the beginning of this, where English strategy played a very sorry part until her generals had learnt the lessons of defeat and, as in the case of Wellington, capable commanders profited by them and turned them into victories. Countries which, like England and the United States of North America, do not groan under military rule, are not successful in the beginning of a war because they have not been trained in an "armed peace" and are not as ready for war as military States. But they go on increasing their armies. Thus the United States, in their war against the Slave States, had in the fourth year of the war an army six times as great as in the first year, and went on increasing their armies and their fleets. It is foolish to say that because England has experienced reverses in South Africa therefore she has come to an end of her power, and still more foolish to say that she will lose her trade. It is true that she has lost prestige, and prestige bears the same relation to a State as credit does to a merchant. But a merchant having many enterprises in hand would not become bankrupt because one of his ventures had miscarried, and in the same way a great State will not succumb because its prestige had been damaged by a reverse.

The true reasons of England's power have not been affected by her disasters in this war. But, though they have not yet been touched, they will be should the war go on. Russia, the great enemy of England, the only power that has an interest, or indeed, whose supremacy depends on her downfall, has not till now made any move to attack her rival. But it is impossible to reckon on the Czar continuing to adopt this attitude. Russia is in very bad financial straits; the Hague Peace Conference swindle was only an advertisement for a loan, and this she hoped to get from England. Besides, at least a quarter of the Russian population is in a chronic state of famine, and the well known ill-health of the Czar is throwing the whole governmental machine out of gear. But the cat cannot let the mouse alone. In Afghanistan, in Persia, and especially in China, we see the claws of the beast of prey, and England is always the enemy wherever Russian diplomacy

wishes to meddle. And as the war with the Boers drags on and England gets weaker at some place, for that is a test of world Empire, then it is mathematically certain that Russia will not let the opportunity go by.

It is impossible to say that the war will soon be over. There can be no rapid ending to the affair, when England shall have relieved Ladysmith, and when her armies shall have entered the capitals of the two Republics—a consummation, which though “devoutly to be wished for” seems to be far off—her difficulties will not be over. Then the Boers will begin a guerilla war, for which they have more aptitude and ability than the Spaniards. England will have to go on sending troops to South Africa, where, as we have said, they will be locked up and cannot defend her Empire.

In a few words, the state of affairs is that this war compels England to concentrate her military power in a place where her forces are powerless to defend her in places where she is attacked. The interests of England demand that the war should come to an end. Moral reasons are no less powerful than political reasons. The prestige of England has been far more injured by the unscrupulous means by which this war was brought about than by the reverses which her brave soldiers have suffered. But we have already insisted on this before.

What are people thinking about in England? We have not yet heard what the mass of the people think. The Social-Democrats have looked at the question from our point of view, but they have not got the masses behind them. The Parliamentary proceedings do not make matters any clearer. The speech from the Throne gives the reasons, which we knew already. The Government speakers back up the Queen’s speech naturally, and re echo that lie in it that the war is a defensive war. And the Liberal Opposition, which is as capitalist and as jingo as the Government, plays the old, old tune of “my country, whether right or wrong”—that is to say, that injustice and war must go on till injustice conquers.

The Liberals seem to imagine that after the Boers are conquered they will forget all, and will live in peace for ever with the conquerors. And because the Boers will not be conquered, even to please the Liberals, Her Majesty’s Opposition urges a vigorous prosecution of the war. The Irish in Parliament are more sensible, and wish peace to be concluded at once and the war to be stopped; but the Irish have no influence in Parliament, and since Michael Davitt resigned his seat no Irish member has any influence with the English democracy.

All depends on the English workmen. In the sixties it was the English workman, who, by his love of liberty, prevented the Government of that day from helping the Confederate States. Let us hope that the English workman will remember his best traditions and look at this question from a just, international point of view, and that he will protest in the name of humanity, of justice and of civilisation against a shameless war from which England has nothing to gain but dishonour, and that he will insist on the guilty persons who caused this great disaster being punished.

Will the English proletariat awake and fill its high office?

The future of England depends upon it.

—Leading Article in *Vorwaerts*.

(Translated by Jacques Bonhomme.)

[Although the above appeared in *Vorwaerts* months ago, when England had suffered from a series of reverses in South Africa, we think it not inopportune to reproduce it now, when the development of events, especially in China, shows the almost prophetic foresight of the writer as to the consequences of the prosecution of the Rhodesian-Chamberlain Raid in South Africa.]

OUR YACILLATION IN CHINA.

MR. HENRY NORMAN, writing under the above in the *Nineteenth Century*, says: "How the fast rising flames of anti-foreign fury are to be subdued, and the old semblance of order re-established in China, is a problem past my solving. But when this is accomplished a more difficult task will await the statesman of the West, and, as far as I can see, the solution will have to be sought along some such lines as these:—

1. China can only be ruled through the Chinese. Therefore, the Empress Dowager, being deposed and deported, the Emperor must be replaced upon the throne, to rule by the advice of a Council of Chinese Ministers acting under the control of a Council of representatives of the Powers. The suggestion that the capital should be removed to Nanking is probably a wise one, but Russia would exert all her influence to prevent it.

2. The whole of China must be thrown open to foreign trade.

3. This can only be done when foreign troops, or foreign-led Chinese troops, are prepared to defend foreign merchants from molestation. Therefore, the open door policy being dead beyond resuscitation, and the partition of China, in a limited sense, inevitable, each Power should undertake to keep order in its own sphere. These spheres are already overtly or tacitly agreed upon. Korea would form the sphere of Japan, and any Power unwilling to accept this would have to make a different arrangement by force of arms.

4. Every Power would enter into a formal engagement with all the others that no duties beyond those agreed upon by all should be levied, that no preferential or differential railway rates should be imposed in its sphere, that no force should be raised beyond necessary to keep order, and that all matters of intercommunication should be decided by the Council of foreign representatives.

5. England should invite the United States to address a communication to the Powers simultaneously with herself in a sense. The United States would probably not desire a sphere of her own, as there would be no advantage in having one under this scheme except the prevailing use of one's own language in it; and the United States would find this advantage in the British sphere, and be in the same position as other nations in all the other spheres and in the general control. As the American elections would be over by the time this proposal would be under discussion, there would be less difficulty in inducing an American administration to take action. Moreover, if America should ever desire to relieve herself of special responsibility in the Philippines, these islands could be included in this Chinese union as the American islands.

6. As there is nobody at the Foreign Office or in the diplomatic service with any expert knowledge of China, as our Consuls, who are experts, are far away, and as British dealings with the Far East have formed an almost unbroken series of blunders for some time past, a number of gentlemen possessing special qualifications for the task, beginning, I would suggest, with Professor Douglas, should be invited to form an advisory committee to be consulted when necessary by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

THE POLICY OF PEACE.

EDWARD DICEY, C.B., writing on this in the *Fortnightly*, alludes to those questions which will have to be dealt with during the period of military administration in the Transvaal and Orange Free State. "Under martial law," he says, "there can be no question of any meeting of the Volksraad either in Pretoria or Bloemfontein; and it should be clearly understood that, amongst the penalties attaching to the offences of conspiring, or of aiding and abetting any conspiracy against British rule, the least penalty inflicted will be the disfranchisement of the offender. It may also be assumed," says the writer, "that a legal tribunal will be appointed to try offenders accused of any outrages during the war, such as are not covered by the rules of civilised warfare; it is only natural that loyal citizens whose houses have been burnt, whose families have been made destitute, and who have been treated with brutal cruelty during the period when the Boers were masters of large districts of Natal and the Cape Colony, should call loudly for reprisals."

The writer points out the necessity of manual labour being done for some years to come by Kaffirs, in view of the fact that South Africa does not present the same attractions to the ordinary class of British emigrants as are presented by many of our other colonies; the Kaffir, moreover, works willingly under such conditions as no white man would accept, even under compulsion; and he is infinitely cheaper; "added to this, no white man," says Mr. Dicey, "either in the fields or the mines, will consent to work together with black men, except in the capacity of foreman or boss; it is, therefore, obvious that until the conditions of the South African labour market undergo a fundamental change, there is no place for the unskilled European artisan."

The writer goes on to say that wholesale confiscation of the lands of the Boer farmers, on the grounds of their participation in the war, is, of all the possible forms of punishment, the one most calculated to perpetuate animosities.

Land in the Transvaal, he adds, possesses little above prairie value, and therefore any attempt to induce individual emigrants to settle on the veldt by the offer of free lands is not likely to secure the real object for which these grants would be made—that of substantially increasing the number of British residents in the rural districts, now mainly, if not wholly, occupied by Boers. The writer places more reliance upon the development of the mining interest in promoting the increase of the British element than upon any philanthropic or patriotic effort to induce British emigrants to flock into South Africa.

Mr. Dicey concludes by summarising as follows:—

"All armed resistance must be crushed, and the Boers must be made to understand that any outbreaks against British rule, or any attacks on British settlers, will henceforth be treated as acts of rebellion."

"As soon as the war is finished a Commission should be appointed to try outrages committed against British subjects during the war, with general instructions to punish the leaders of these outrages, if convicted, sternly and severely, but to let off the rank and file with no other penalty than disfranchisement, and only to inflict the confiscation of lands in cases of exceptional heinousness."

"Every step should be taken to increase the British resident population in South Africa by encouraging emigration.

"The mining interest in the Transvaal should be placed on a footing of the most favoured trade, on the ground that it is the main source of the State's prosperity.

"The work of reconstruction should be conducted in cordial co-operation with the loyal colonists.

"The British authorities should co-operate cordially with the Progressive Party and its leaders."

ENGLAND'S PROPOSED SCHOOLBOY MILITIA.

MORE important for England's future than any of the army Bills called for by the present war, and more significant of the poor prospects of permanent peace among the nations than the comparative failure of the Hague Conference, is a step that the British Government is about to take, but regarding which almost nothing has as yet been written. Its design is to make every public schoolboy in the land a semi-official adjunct of the British army, compelling him to take thorough military training under Government inspection so long as he remains in the public schools, and providing for the establishment of schoolboy militia in the shape of cadet corps and battalions under the direct control of the War Office, and receiving therefrom \$500,000 a year by way of support. Unless some unforeseen circumstances come up to change present arrangements, the resolution will be presented to Parliament within the next few weeks. It will be broached in connection with the Civil Service Estimate (which follows those of the Army and Navy), in the House of Commons by Sir James Fergusson, a Crimean veteran, and in the House of Lords by Earl Brownlow, formerly Under-Secretary of State for War.

The new plan will affect about 4,000,000 boys in the United Kingdom. They are those in what are called Board schools—the schools supported by Government and attended by children of the middle and lower classes, as distinguished from the private schools patronised by "gentlemen's" sons, with which the Educational Board has nothing to do. The code for the Board school already contains a provision for military drill, but makes no requirements as to the instructors or manner of instruction. Immediately after the passage of this resolution by Parliament, however, the code will be changed, making military drill compulsory in every school over which the Education Board has authority, the training to be in the hands of military men—probably retired non-commissioned officers, and the boys to be inspected regularly by War Office men, just as the volunteers are now.

At present only two European countries are doing this sort of thing, Sweden and Switzerland, and their systems have been copied substantially for the benefit of the British schoolboy. Most of the boys who enter English Board schools do so at an early age, and leave at fourteen or fifteen. Following the new plan, in these years they will have learned the manual of arms thoroughly, as well as marching and formation, using dummy guns. When the boys leave school the cadet corps will be ready to receive them, anywhere between the ages of twelve and nineteen. They will then be armed with carbines, will drill once or twice a week, practice marksmanship, go to camp for a month in summer; in fact, be simply a pocket edition of the volunteer regiments that exist now.—H. R. PINK, in the Boston (Mass.) *Transcript*.

THE MAD DOG.

His master had called him Turk.

Yet the poor thing did not look like a Turk, for he was thin, yellow, sad, his nose was pointed, his ears were badly cut and always bloody, and he had a tail which stood up like a note of interrogation.

In summer Turk went in the fields minding the cows and barking in the roads after carts and passers by, and thus got many a stone thrown at him. His greatest joy was to start a hare and rush after puss, coming back all blown, his tongue out, and streaming with sweat.

In winter, when the cattle stayed in the stable, Turk remained in his kennel. This was a wretched broken barrel, no straw was in it, and all day he either slept in it or scratched himself. His food was bad, some mouldy crusts in dirty water on a broken plate, but whenever he saw a stranger come to the farm he rushed at him as far as his chain would go, and showed his teeth, growling all the time.

He used to go with his master to the fairs when he had a calf to sell, a pig to buy, or wanted a succession of drinks. And he was a faithful and unhappy dog.

One day coming back late with his master from a fair he lost him. The master was drinking bad brandy in a public-house and the dog went looking for a bone. When he came back he only saw two drunken peasants, who kicked him, and poor Turk went on. The public-house was built where six cross roads met. Which was he to take? The poor dog hesitated, but after sniffing a bit and listening for his master's step he went on. But soon he stopped, hesitating which way to go, and quite lost himself. Then he sat down and began to bark, but he only heard the dogs in the farmyards who replied to his yells.

M. Bernard, the notary, left his house at dawn for his usual morning walk. He was dressed all in black as a notary should be. But as it was the height of summer, M. Bernard had taken with him a white umbrella. All the little town was asleep, only a few labouring men were going to work.

"Oh! oh!" said M. Bernard, "I do not know that dog."

In little towns not only is everybody known, but the dogs too, and an unknown dog is quite an event.

The dog passed the fountain which is in the middle of the town and did not stop.

"Oh! oh!" said M. Bernard, "this dog whom I do not know, does not stop for a drink, this dog is mad, certainly he must be mad."

Then, trembling, he took a big stone. The dog came on, trotting gently with his head low down.

"Oh! oh!" cried M. Bernard, now quite pale, "I see the foam on his lips. Help! help!"

And getting behind a tree he threw the stone. He did not hit the

dog who looked at the notary with his gentle eyes, turned back, and ran away.

The whole town was now awake ! Just think, a mad dog ! People looking half asleep appeared at the windows, men in their shirt sleeves, and women half dressed were standing at their doors.

The bravest armed themselves with pitchforks, with spades, with rakes, with scythes, the carpenter held his plane, and the cobbler, who was a hunchback, and read many novels in feuilletons, was terrifying neighbours by stories of hydrophobia."

"Where is the dog ? where is he ?"

While the little town was preparing its defence and getting up its courage, M. Bernard woke up the mayor and told him the terrible story.

"He rushed at me, sir, he was foaming at the mouth, he nearly bit me," said M. Bernard, "I have seen, sir, many mad dogs in my time, but never such a terrible dog and one so mad."

The mayor was rather perplexed ; he shook his head, and thought a great deal.

"It is all very serious," he muttered, "but are you quite sure that he is really mad ?"

"Really mad," exclaimed M. Bernard, "if you had seen him, sir, if you had seen the foam, his blood-shot eyes, his hair standing on end, you would have no doubt. It was not a dog, sir, but a tiger."

Then, becoming quite solemn, he looked straight at the mayor, and said :—

"Listen ; this is not a political matter, Mr. Mayor, but it concerns the health and protection of the inhabitants. If you shirk your responsibilities, sir, and if you do not take energetic measures, you will, mark my words, greatly regret it."

M. Bernard was the leader of the Opposition, and the enemy of the mayor, who was frightened, and determined to have the dog killed. He sent for the village policeman.

Turk had taken refuge in the square, and no one dared go near him. He lay down quietly, and was gnawing a mutton-bone, which he held between his paws.

The policeman, having a gun with which the mayor had entrusted him, followed by a large crowd, came near the dog.

The Mayor and M. Bernard were standing on the balcony of the Town Hall. The mayor said to M. Bernard, "And yet he is eating," just in the same voice as Galileo must have said, "And yet it turns."

"Yes ! he eats, the wretched criminal. It is his artfulness," answered M. Bernard, who called out to the policeman :—

"Do not go near him ; be careful !"

The policeman, his kepi on his ear, his shirt sleeves rolled up, full of ardour, cocked his gun.

"Do not hurry," said one. "Don't miss him," said another. "Aim at his head." "No, aim at his shoulder."

"Attention," said the policeman, who threw off his cap as it was in the way, and it fell in the dust. "Attention."

And he aimed at the dog ; the poor sad dog, who had left his bone, and

was looking at the crowd, wondering why they were all gazing at him. Now all was silent, the women stopped up their ears, so as not to hear the report, the men stood side by side. Everybody expected something.

Bang? Bang! went the gun. A howl of pain was heard, the dog rose, limping on three legs he ran away, and drops of blood fell. And while the dog ran the policeman looked at his gun, the dazed crowd looked at the policeman, and the mayor with open mouth looked at M. Bernard seized with horror and indignation.

Turk had run all day, bleeding, stopping to lick his wounds. But everywhere people think he is mad. Everybody throws something at him, his poor body is full of wounds. Towards evening he goes into a field of corn, and there, poor martyr, in the cool of the evening, he dies, without a murmur, dreaming of dogs who sleep in the magic and shining moon.

The next day one reads in the "Village Sentinel": "A large dog, foaming at the mouth, came into our village on Tuesday. After having bitten several people he was killed by the policeman. A veterinary has made an examination of the body and found he was infected with rabies.

"The people who were bitten have been sent to the Pasteur Institute.

"The mayors of the neighbouring villages have ordered dogs to be muzzled for the next three months."

O. MIRBEAU.

Translated by Jacques Bonhomme.



THE WIDOW'S SOLDIER-BOY.

THE widow stood by her soldier-boy in the light of an evening sky,
And the fresh winds blew on her fevered cheeks, and sang as they floated by ;
And the soldier laughed with the happy laugh that was borne on the breeze's
 breath,
But the widow sighed with the moaning wind as it chanted a song of death.

The soldier gazed on the crimson sky, and the red clouds fringed with snow,
And he saw the flush of the victor's pride as he stood o'er the vanquished foe ;
But the widow uttered an aching sob, and her heart was stung with pain,
For the crimson streaks were the streams of blood that flowed on a battle-plain.

The music soft of the rustling leaves came straight to the heart of each,
And it told a tale to the soldier-boy in a strange and silent speech,
And he heard the shouts of applauding men when the conqueror home should
 come ;
But the softened sound that the widow heard was the beat of a muffled drum.

The twilight shadows crept swiftly down, and the soldier's heart was light,
As he saw the fears of his fatherland, that would flee with the fading night ;
But the widow gazed on the gath'ring gloom, and her soul was filled with dread,
For the form she saw was an angel form who was guarding the lonely dead.

The night flew fast o'er the dark'ning sky, and a star shone faintly down,
And the soldier's breast was aglow with pride as he gazed on the victor's crown ;
But the widow thought of a husband's grave, in a land that lay afar,
And she saw the face of her warrior-love in the light of the trembling star.

Ah, bright is the sun to the happy heart, and fair is the world it sees,
And sweet are the visions that gently float on the breast of the morning breeze ;
But sad is the song of the winter wind as it sweeps o'er the woodlands bare,
And cold are the shadows that softly steal to a heart that is chilled with care.

God hasten the birth of that brighter time when the darkness shall fade away,
And the fearsome shades of the night be lost in the light of the happier day,
When the sorrowing widow shall weep no more, and her heart be filled with joy,
As she feels the caress of her warrior-love and the kiss of her soldier-boy.

ERN. T. COOMBE.



HARRY MAJER.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

VOL. IV., No. 8. AUGUST, 1900.

OUR REPRESENTATIVES.

XIII.—HARRY MAJER.

OUR friend and comrade, Harry Majer, is the one Socialist member of the West Ham School Board. However successful our West Ham comrades may have been in other departments of municipal effort, they have not yet succeeded in securing anything like a fair share of representation on that most important body which has the administration of the elementary public schools of the district. Majer, however, is a host in himself, and if he has not accomplished great things that has not been his fault, and he has always been an influence for good on the Board while he has been a member, and has steadily kept things moving in the right direction.

Harry Majer is now in his forty-third year, having been born on June 14, 1858. He is a native of Wadebridge, a small village in Cornwall. His father was a saddler by trade, and, as Majer himself puts it, a Nonconformist preacher by profession. It was in the latter character that the elder Majer made most impression on his son's mind, and the frequent and lengthy devotional exercises in which the latter was called upon to participate are with him still as lasting but not too pleasant memories. Fortunately, or unfortunately, according to the point of view, they are but memories, for over twenty years ago he found the old beliefs, in which his devout father had trained him with so much zeal and devotion, and at the sacrifice of so many of the hours which should properly have been devoted to sleep, no longer tenable. He does not owe this change of view to any active anti-Christian propaganda, or to the reading of so-called infidel books, but simply to the exercise of his own reasoning powers and to his inability to any longer accept as true the teachings of his early youth.

At thirteen years of age young Majer left home and went to sea, and for some fifteen years he followed the life of a sailor-man. During these years he visited North and South America, China, British Columbia and many other parts of the world. A sailor's life is not by any means a bed of roses, and Harry Majer has frequently had to rough it in the most literal

sense of the term. On one of his later voyages the treatment was so bad, and the food so vile and scarce, that all the men were half-starved and ill, and Majer was laid up in hospital for some months on his return to this country. The skipper was so brutal in his treatment of the men that Majer swore to give him a hiding if he ever met him ashore. They never met, however, and the skipper is still ploughing the briny deep, and probably starving his crew. Curiously enough, a brother of his is caretaker of one of the schools under the West Ham Board. Some years after this disagreeable experience, Majer made his last voyage in a sailing-ship bound for Australia. Off Teneriffe, however, the ship was overtaken by a terrific storm, dismasted, and so battered about that she was unable to continue her voyage, but managed to get picked up and towed into the nearest port.

That was Majer's last experience of a "life on the ocean wave." He had had enough of the sea. From that time on he found work of one kind or another ashore. First he went tram-driving; then working along-shore, eventually getting employment in the docks. When the great dock strike of 1889 took place Majer was active in it, getting the men together, helping to organise the relief, and in many ways making himself useful. It was during this time that he first came into contact with a number of leading Socialists and other advanced men active in the working class movement. In 1889, too, he joined the Stevedores' Union, but later transferred his allegiance to the Dockers' Union, of which he is still a member.

In 1892 he joined the Canning Town branch of the S.D.F., of which he was for some considerable time secretary, and has, since he joined it, been one of its most active members. His work for the movement led his fellow-members to select him as their candidate for public service, and on two occasions he has been put forward by them as candidate for the Town Council. In these contests he was unsuccessful, although he polled well on both occasions. In March, 1899, he was elected to the West Ham School Board, this being the second time he had stood for that position. On the School Board he has been an active and earnest representative of Social-Democracy and the cause of education. The various items of our educational programme he has brought forward on every available occasion. On the question of Free Maintenance he delivered a very powerful and argumentative speech in favour of the proposal, and, although he is the only Socialist on the Board, he got the support of three or four other members when the question was put to the vote. For two years in succession he has endeavoured to induce the Board to grant the children a holiday on the First of May, but has been unsuccessful. He intends, however, to keep pegging away.

He has been instrumental in securing better conditions of pay for the worst paid teachers, and brought forward a scheme whereby equal pay would be secured for all the school caretakers, but that was defeated, although some modifications of it were adopted which have made the circumstances better for these men. He has been active, too, in promoting the establishment of a higher grade school, of which West Ham is greatly in need. This has been agreed upon, but the Education Department now blocks the

way by its new regulations with regard to such schools. Majer also has a proposal on hand with reference to the cost of education—that is, that the actual cost of education itself, teachers' salaries, school-books, the up-keep of the schools, and so on should be thrown on the Consolidated Fund; but that the school buildings belonging to a locality should be provided by the locality. That, he thinks, would meet some of the objections which are made to relieving the local rates of all contribution towards education, and would also secure that local supervision being maintained which, with all its drawbacks, is so essential to an effective educational system.

For the work he has done both on and off the School Board, and for the painstaking attention he has paid to the duties of public administration to which they have appointed him, his West Ham comrades are justly proud of Harry Majer, and when the next School Board election comes round they hope, not only to return him, but to give him a colleague or two to assist him in his work.

LABOUR IN FRANCE.

THE Labour Department of France publishes a very interesting review. In the last number which has appeared, that for June, it is shown that the state of trade is satisfactory in France. Statistics are given as to strikes reported in the month of May. There were 94 in all; of these eight were wholly successful, in 46 there were certain concessions made, and in 36 the men failed; four strikes were still going on. Particulars are also given of arbitrations, &c., and of the state of trade and labour news in other countries. Many workmen will be seeking work, as their labour is no longer required at the Exhibition. Millerand has caused a statement to be prepared showing what work is going on in other places, and this is printed as a placard and posted in different workshops, labour bureaux, &c. This is one of these excellent things which is self-evident as soon as it is done, but it has taken a long time to set the official wheel in motion.

ALL wars are capitalistic and have as their procuring causes the extension of the dominion of capitalism over the world. The Boer-British war is peculiarly so. It had its origin in an economic question—the desire of the British to gain possession of the natural resources of the Transvaal. Of this there is no doubt, and no amount of sentimental or patriotic gush, no pious asseverations concerning the purposes of the Almighty, and no hypocritical cant about extending a superior civilisation can alter the fact. If the English democracy and the American democracy—the common people everywhere who do the work of the world—would organise themselves to seize the political power of their respective countries, and put an end to capitalist exploitation, they would be doing more good for themselves and future generations than by killing Boers in South Africa or Filipinos in Luzon.—The *Social-Democratic Herald*, Chicago.

"GERMANY, ENGLAND, AND THE WORLD-POLICY."

I FEEL that at a time when the problem of Imperialism has assumed so pressing a character the following article, which appeared in *Vorwärts* for May 8 and 10, under the above title, will be, on account of its dispassionate tone and the thoroughness of its analysis, of especial interest to comrades in England.

J. B. ASKEW.

Locarno.

The article commences by pointing out how, for some time past, the German and English capitalist press has been exciting public opinion in both countries the one against the other, and to show the manner in which leading events of the past year have been manipulated as it suited the purposes of the press, it takes on the one side the *Times*, the *Observer*, and the *Daily Mail*, on the other papers like the *Rhine-Westphalian Times* and the *Hamburg News*, and other papers of a like calibre, as having especially distinguished themselves in this respect.

As regards the attitude of the two Governments, while on both sides expressions have been let fall which were calculated to wound susceptibilities on the other side, the Governments have been more driven than driving. Neither the Chamberlain-Salisbury Government nor the German Foreign Office would dare, out of respect for the important commercial and other interests at stake, to push matters too far. In the matter, for example, of the seizure of the German mail steamers, the English Government only consented to this after those "Hotspurs" of the English press, the *Times* and *Daily Mail*, had published long accounts of German officers taking part in the Boer War, and of the smuggling of contraband of war through Delagoa Bay. In the same way the German Government, in spite of concessions to the desires of the colonial enthusiasts, tried to remain on friendly relations with Great Britain, as her conduct in the Samoa affair and during the discussions over the seizure of the steamers, and her attitude towards the various attempts at an anti-English intervention in the South African War, show. The writer points out, in opposition to the emotional policy of four years ago, when the Kaiser sent the famous telegram to Kruger, how little to the liking of the German Government is the recent anti-English tone of the capitalist newspapers, and that the inspired press to-day dwell on the interest of France in the estrangement of Germany and England. If, nevertheless, in putting forward the navy proposals, the rivalry of England and her capture of German vessels were utilised, that was only because they had no other grounds to go upon which would appeal to the capitalist and small middle classes. With the best will in the world, they could not find their fleet requirements on the success of Russia in Central Asia, or the French colonial policy in Madagascar. At all events,

the relative strength or weakness of France or Russia lends itself to new military proposals, and certainly, as on previous occasions, so during the discussions on the next military proposals, the French or Russian danger will be held up as the reason for them; but as a reason for increasing the fleet it would have been absurd to do this. Thus remains, as a semi-plausible ground only, the menace England offers to our foreign trade. The provocative effect of this on England will not certainly be diminished for that reason.

The agitation on both sides is for the most part kept up by groups of interested capitalists through the press. On the German side, besides these, the chorus of the anti-Semitic feudal Agrarians pipe in, out of an instinctive hatred for England as an industrial State and as representative of bourgeois Liberalism. Also, not without reason, the capitalists engaged in the German export trade, as well as the financiers, take up a hostile attitude to England—people who a few years ago made themselves ridiculous by their admiration for everything English. Just as little are the recent remarks in English writings on the necessity of a defence against German commercial rivalry, or the necessity of tightening the bonds of interest between England and her Colonies and the enclosure of so-called spheres of interest made without any object. As we have already said, in the last twenty years circumstances have arisen which have essentially changed the relations of the two countries, and only from these changes can the situation be explained.

The nature of colonial policy as well as the method of exploiting weaker races by the economically stronger has been repeatedly changed. If we go back to the Middle Ages we find the aim of commercial policy of the Powers which then had a trade over the seas—viz., the Italian City Republics, the Hanseatic League, Portugal—to lie in securing to themselves a trade monopoly with certain markets, and either by force or by artificial restrictions to shut out other Powers. After the discovery of America, when Spain had founded her colonial empire and Holland had acquired big possessions, no foreign ship was allowed in the harbours, and special measures were taken to favour the monopoly. For example, in the seventeenth century the trade between China and Spanish America was only allowed by way of Manila and Acapulco, and, further, the joint import and export might not exceed a certain figure—on one side, in order to secure high profits for the trade, on the other to secure the exports from Spain against competition. Besides this the natives were forced to render certain services to the administrators, cultivate their lands, &c., or to the settlers of their own nationality; to societies, missions, &c., great landed estates were given by the conquerors—together with the natives settled on them—as an endowment. Similar trade monopolies were established by England in her American and Indian Colonies. The breaking away of the United States, nevertheless, produced a change. It showed, and the fact was further confirmed by the struggle of Spain with her American possessions, that a colony populated by white people could not be held in complete economic dependence on the

Mother Country, and that a certain independence must be granted to it. England made her Colonies from time to time greater concessions; only in the possessions of the East India Company did the old method of colonial government remain and remains partly even to-day.

But it was not alone the loss of the New England Colonies which produced the change. While formerly the imports and the trade with colonial products were the principal business, so, as towards the end of the eighteenth century the great industry began to develop in England, the export became of the greater importance. Markets must be provided for the national industry. The Colonies must become markets. But the feudal conditions which prevailed in them, the suppression of the native population into slaves without capacity to be consumers, and the creation of a sort of planter aristocracy, were a direct hindrance to this. The old colonial system must therefore be destroyed, the power of consumption of the Colonies must be increased. The same capitalist Liberal who in England supported the unrestricted exploitation of labour, and was in favour of a twelve hours' working day for nine-year-old children in the English factories, became a colonial philanthropist who waxed enthusiastic over human dignity, and the elevation of the natives in the Colonies. In the year 1838 England abolished slavery in her Colonies; the hours of labour for the adult black man were during the transition period under the Emancipation Acts fixed at 45 hours per week or $7\frac{1}{2}$ hours daily.

The English export trade in the meanwhile soon acquired a sort of market monopoly not only in her own Colonies, but everywhere throughout the world. The big industry in France and Germany still stuck in fetters; the United States did not count. Transmarine commerce was very seldom conducted direct; it went for the most part by England or Holland. From the then position of England in the world-market is to be explained, on the one side the sympathy of the Hanseatic merchants for England during the years 1830-60 (the Hanseatic trade was in a certain sense only an auxiliary and a hanger-on of the English world-commerce); on the other side it explains the cool indifference with which Englishmen looked on the English Colonies. Already in the thirties the view acquired more and more influence that colonial possessions were useless; they brought only anxieties, necessitated the maintenance of a colonial army, strengthened the bureaucracy, and the feudal aristocratic elements in the State. Therefore, away with the Colonies. As for a market for her industry, England could find that in foreign States. As Benjamin Disraeli expressed himself in 1852, the Colonies were only a "millstone" round the neck of the English people.

With the economical development of Germany and the United States and the accompanying competition in the industrial market, the estimation of the Colonies among the industrial capitalists of England again changed. Not only in foreign countries but even in the English colonial market, German and American competitors came to the fore, and German and American shipping lines drove their English competitors to the rear. While the declared value of the total export of English produce to her Colonies

stood in 1880 at exactly 75.3 million pounds sterling as against 51.8 million sterling in 1870, therefore $24\frac{1}{2}$ millions higher, in 1890 the value was only 87.4 and in 1897 only 80.7 millions, although the total imports of the Colonies continually rose. Therefore, in the beginning of the eighties in free-trade England the idea began to take root of a Customs union with her Colonies, *i.e.*, the encouragement of English wares in colonial markets. Already, in 1884, the "Imperial Federation League" arose in London; the agitation remained, nevertheless, confined to certain narrow capitalistic circles. It is only since 1895, and especially under the influence of the South African war, that the idea of a British Empire standing over against foreign nations as a complete unity has gained ground considerably.

Simultaneously with this development of Germany and the United States into industrial and commercial rivals of England, there is effected another change in the colonial and foreign markets. The capital made through trade and commerce finds in the home market and the markets of industrial neighbours no sufficiently good investment; they press forward to fresh countries. It is no longer a question of merely securing a market for an increasing superfluity of goods, but also to provide the increasing accumulations of capital with fields for investment. Already under the old colonial system we find individual cases of export of capital to found new commercial undertakings and plantations in the Colonies, but quite exceptionally. Now, on the contrary, the importance of transmarine settlements often recedes as markets behind their importance as fields for the investment of capital.

China is an example. In order to force on her the reception of her East Indian opium, England made in the years 1839-42 the so-called Opium War. To acquire the immense territory of the Chinese Empire with her vast population for industry and commerce, to get the most important harbours opened for trade, the great water-courses freed for navigation into the interior—that was the aim of the industrial States. To-day, also, a large part of their efforts are directed to this end, but the actual struggle to-day turns itself round the question of acquiring certain territories as spheres of influence, *i.e.*, to get markets for laying out capital, railway and mining concessions, &c., &c. And similar struggles for fields of investment we find in Asia Minor, Egypt, South Africa; just in the same way the small republics of Central America are for the United States, as India for England, more of importance as territories to be exploited than as markets.

From this new situation in the world springs the new colonial policy, the hunt for new colonies, the modern American expansion policy, the English imperialism, and, at least partly, the German world-policy. As long as England's industry was in possession of the world-market, colonial possessions—except in so far, as for example with India, they served for the subsistence for officers and officials and for squeezing out high taxes—were of little value. The situation is different to-day, when the competition of other nations assumes a threatening character. Now the Colonies demand more consideration, since not only through differential Customs, but also through different

carrying out of the Customs regulations, legitimization of invoices, harbour dues, it is possible to favour the imports from the Mother Country at the cost of the foreign imports. Then it is natural that the colonial Government should get the materials which it requires for public works and administrative purposes from the old country. In the meantime, to a much greater extent than industry, finance finds satisfaction in the acquisition of colonies. An exclusion of foreign industrial competition in the colonial markets is only to a limited extent possible if the development of the colony is not artificially checked and the colony herself brought into economic opposition to the Mother Country. On the other hand it is for the financier, looking for the most profitable investment of his capital, of the highest importance that his fields of investment should lie in his own State, which secures them with more or less force. Since the State has to decide over the granting of railway, mining, and other concessions, she can, by means of subsidies, raise the value of industrial undertakings, shipping companies, &c., just as on the other side she can, through legislation, limit or cut off their income altogether. Therefore we find that capital invested in foreign countries, so soon as it becomes a powerful factor, always endeavours to bring these countries under the government of their own State. Examples of this are Egypt, the annexation of the Hawaii Islands by the United States at the instigation of the American planters, the Cuban war in consequence of the agitation of interested capitalists in America, the French expedition to Madagascar to ensure the profits on the loan of the "Comptoir d'Escompte" and the people behind it, and the South African war for the purpose of abolishing the Boer peasant *régime* as a hindrance to the British financiers, and to make the South African market free as a field for the investment of British capital.

Therefore the newly-awakened passion of capitalistic States for the acquisition of colonies, and therefore the endeavour to create fields for the investment of superfluous capital, and to get grants in foreign countries of districts for exploitation as so-called spheres of interest; therefore also the rise of militarism in democratic countries, such as England and America. In order to force through concessions, and for the protection of the exported capital, a certain application of force is indispensable. England, Russia, and Germany succeeded in leasing territories in China, Italy did not.

From this altered economic situation is explained the spirit of increasing jealousy between German, English, and North American capitalist circles. Just as certain as it is that England's and Germany's industry are mutually dependent, and that an interruption in the commercial relations of the two countries must have the most disastrous effects on their economic development, it is equally certain that the finance-capitalist has frequently other interests than the industrial-capitalist. If to the English industry the intrusion of German manufacturers in their transmarine markets is not pleasant, nevertheless the constant extension of these markets has hitherto taken away much of the sharpness of the competition, while at the same time the German market for England, and the English market for Germany,

continually gains in importance. Moreover, from the interest which the superior industry of the two countries has in the opening of markets, still more or less closed, result many points of contact. On the other hand, finance-capital is by nature thoroughly monopolist; its endeavour is to assure for itself a monopoly in the exploitation of certain districts. As a matter of fact the English complaints about German industrial competition sound much less bitter than over the intrusion of so-called German capital into new districts, the founding of German commercial undertakings, and banks; the cutting out of English shipping companies, the laying down of German industries, &c. Let us take China as an example. The whole export of Germany to China amounted in 1898 only to 48 million marks (about £2,400,000); on the other hand, from the book recently published by the Imperial Navy Department, "German Capital in Transmarine Countries," there appear to be 105 German houses in China, 43 in Shanghai alone, and more than 20 in Hongkong, with a joint capital and credit of a great deal more than 100 million marks (about £5,000,000). And not less important are the investments of German capital in shipping, docks, and bank undertakings, in railways and mining. The English coast shipping trade is, by the purchase of two English lines (25 steamers) which trade between Siam, the Dutch colonies, and the Chinese harbours (specially the Yangtse harbour), also completely transferred to German hands.

How important the German capital invested abroad is, is shown in the above-named book; the transmarine investments alone amount to over 7½ milliard marks (£375,000,000), with the investments in foreign loans and speculations, &c. In the proceedings over the Bourse Law the latter were estimated at 12 milliard marks (£600,000,000). In addition to this there are the German investments in European countries, so that the sum of the German investments in foreign countries would probably be underestimated at 25,000 million marks (£1,250,000,000). And the amount of English capital invested abroad is naturally much greater.

The mutual estrangement of German and English capitalists is only the consequence of this development, just as are those political tendencies which are designated expansion policy, imperialism, and world-policy. The working classes and manufacturers will certainly be told that it is a question of extending their markets; still the decrease in the export of English goods to the English Colonies, the extraordinarily small value of Tonkin and Algiers for French industry, the still more insignificant importance of the German Colonies for German industrial development, prove how much of this is mere idle talk. Under certain circumstances, the investment of German capital abroad can also bring advantages to German industry. From German railway building in foreign parts the German iron industry may, for example, profit, the founding of German commercial undertakings may cause an increase of German exports; but such limited advantages are balanced by at least equivalent disadvantages, since, through the founding of industrial enterprises, lines of shipping, and commercial undertakings in foreign countries, what German industry gains one way it will lose in another. Let us see the statistics. In China, we find, as we said above,

105 German commercial houses, with a joint capital of 100,000,000 marks. Who believes that these houses only concern themselves with the German Chinese trade, which in 1898 only amounted to 48,000,000 marks, must be very naïve. A greater part of these houses neglect German imports in favour of foreign industries. What alone draws profit from the founding of colonies, from the modern expansion policy, is the finance-capital which draws further advantages from the failures of colonial Governments and the consequent expenditure and loans for colonial purposes.

And then the costs of the world-policy, which to England are now being so forcibly demonstrated in South Africa—the reaction on home affairs, the inevitable strengthening of militarism, the breeding of constantly renewed colonial troubles, the increase of warlike entanglements. Like every other policy, so certainly has the imperialistic world-power policy found, besides their poet, Rudyard Kipling, also their philosophers and sophists, who endeavour to prove that imperialism means the strengthening of democracy, a rise in the general well-being, and many other things besides. Hitherto nothing has been seen of these consequences, but only a renewal of colonial crimes and the colonial wars of previous centuries; of these there is a plentiful choice. We only need look at the war of the United States with the Filipinos, at the last English war with the Indian frontier tribes, at the Matabele war, at the Boer war. These are the most striking triumphs of the imperialist world policy. The prospect of like results for Germany is not enticing.

CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES IN BELGIUM.

ONE of the most interesting features in the industrial districts of Belgium is the formation of co-operative societies. This is well illustrated by the report of the society at Jupille, "La Fraternité." This society was founded three years ago and started with a capital of 175 francs (£7); it now has 227 members and a capital of 11,350 francs (£454); its turnover was 86,986 francs (about £3,480) and the profits were about £348. But the business relations were not the only things aimed at; the co-operators worked for moral and social results. For instance, they refused to sell spirits and have been careful not to sell too much beer; help is also given to members during sickness or when out of work. Meetings are also held at which works on Socialism, &c., are read and discussed. A very good record, especially when we remember that Jupille is only a little place having 5,000 inhabitants.

PROGRESS.—"When one thinks of the Greeks playing, praying, laboring, lecturing, dreaming, sculpturing, training, living everlastingly in the free wind and under the pure heavens, and thinks that the chief issue of civilisation is to pack human beings into rooms like salt fish in a barrel, with never a sight of leaf or cloud, never a whisper of breeze or bird—oh, the blessed blind men who talk of progress! Progress, that gives four cubic feet of air a-piece to its fraternite, and calls the measurement Public Health!"—OUIDA.

SOME EVILS OF THE PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF RAILWAYS.

Continued.

HOME TRADE HANDICAPPED.

WE do not join in the many silly attacks on the foreigner made by the press and others, and which are mainly directed to estranging the workers of the different countries from each other; but we think that home production and consumption (*i.e.*, the home market), should be treated at least equally as well as imports. When the workman endeavours to obtain better conditions he is met with the argument that he is driving trade out of the country into the hands of "the foreigners," but we think the facts go to prove that the railway monopoly does far more harm to British trade than any efforts made by the British worker to improve his chances of living a decent life.

In the iron trades the home trade is handicapped in the following manner:—

				Home, per ton. £ s. d.		Foreign per ton. s. d.
<i>Sheet Iron.</i>						
Antwerp to Birmingham	...	...	...	—	.....	16 8
Birmingham to London	...	...	...	0 15 0	.....	—
<i>Nails.</i>						
Antwerp to Wolverhampton <i>via</i> Harwich				—	.....	16 4
Wolverhampton to Harwich	...	...		1 1 4	.....	—
Antwerp to Birmingham <i>via</i> London	...	...		—	.....	16 8
Birmingham to London	...	...	...	0 18 4	.....	—
<i>Bright Iron Wire.</i>						
Antwerp to Birmingham	...	...	...	—	.....	16 8
Birmingham to London	...	...	...	1 8 4	.....	—
<i>Girders.</i>						
Antwerp to Birmingham <i>via</i> Grimsby	...	...	...	—	.....	16 8
Birmingham to Grimsby	...	...	...	1 0 0	.....	—
Antwerp to Sheffield	...	...	...	—	.....	15 0
Sheffield to Grimsby	...	...	...	1 0 0	.....	—
<i>Iron Castings.</i>						
West Hartlepool to Leeds	...	...	...	0 16 8	.....	11 8
Newcastle to Leeds	...	...	...	1 0 0	.....	12 6

In the above and other tables we hope notice will be taken of the *distances* when comparing the rates charged.

Sir J. C. Lee, a large cotton manufacturer in Lancashire, in evidence given before the Commission on Trade Depression, stated that it cost his firm as much to get their alizarine from the banks of the Thames to Manchester as from Germany to Manchester. His answer to a further question showed the rapacity of the railway monopolists. The rate from London to Manchester is 27s. 6d. a ton. The companies were asked for a rate from London to Church—about the same distance. The reply was 60s. a ton.

The following are from a return supplied by the North-Eastern Railway Company :—

Cotton Manufactures and Yarn.

				Home.		Foreign.	
				s.	d.	s.	d.
London to Liverpool	per ton...	...	...	37	6	25	0
West Hartlepool to Leeds	" "	...	...	25	0	16	8
Newcastle to	" " "	...	...	30	0	18	4
"	" (cotton yarns)...	...	...	23	4	12	6

Woollen Manufactures and Yarn.

				Home.		Foreign.	
				s.	d.	s.	d.
Newcastle to Leeds (manufactures)	per ton ...	...	...	30	.....	18	4
West Hartlepool to Leeds (yarn)	" " ...	...	...	25	.....	12	6
Newcastle to Leeds	" " " ...	...	...	30	.....	12	6

Similar tactics are observable with regard to flax, linen, sugar, glass, timber, pianos, and plated goods, and fishermen are also mulcted in crushing rates for the carriage of their fish.

THE HOME PRODUCTION OF FOOD.

We are no more concerned in fighting the battle of the farmers than we are of the traders and capitalists ; but we are here, and we have to live, and if these rates and charges are higher than they should be, or might be—well, we know the worker is the one on whom the greater part of the burden falls in the long run.

Taking another view of the case, it will be generally agreed that the greater the number of people engaged in the production of food-stuffs the better will it be for the community as a whole. The exodus from the country to the towns would be checked, thereby lessening the overcrowding of the towns ; the struggle for a livelihood would not be so keen and bitter ; and a larger number of people would be enabled to lead a healthier and purer life. Do the railway monopolists help this to be done, or retard it ? From the information gathered by Mr. Edwards, and placed before the readers of his book, the answer must be emphatically against them.

American flour can be sent from America across the Atlantic and 100 miles inland at the same charge as for sending English flour ten miles.

Mr. J. W. Barclay, M.P., states that the difference in rates charged by the railway companies between foreign grain and home grain is equal to a tax of 5s. per acre upon the land on which the home grain is raised.

In regard to cattle and meat, the rate from Newcastle to London for home cattle in small waggons is £5 19s. 3d., and for home sheep it is £5 8s. ; for foreign cattle and sheep it is £4. From Newcastle to Manchester it is £3 7s. for home cattle and £2 14s. for home sheep ; foreign cattle and sheep, £2 4s. 3d. Newcastle to Leeds the home cattle rate is £2 8s. 6d., home sheep, £2 0s. 3d. ; foreign cattle, £1 11s., foreign sheep, £1 9s.

The beef of American cattle slaughtered at the wharf in Glasgow is carried to London for 45s. per ton, while the rate for the meat of home

cattle conveyed under similar conditions is 77s. per ton. English dead meat from Liverpool to London is 50s. per ton, American 25s., or just half.

Here are some striking figures relating to

	<i>Hops.</i>	Per ton.
Boulogne, <i>via</i> Folkestone to London	17s. 6d.
Ashford to London (half the distance)	35s. 0d.
Sittingbourne to London	36s. 8d.
Flushing to London (including sea voyage)	25s. 0d.
Margate to London	19s. 7d.
London to Margate	38s. 8d.
Eridge to London (48 miles)	37s. 2d.
From Dieppe into a Borough warehouse (including shipping freight)...		17s. 0d.

When hops were selling at £6 per pocket the railway rate was 1s. 8d., but when they were at £1 10s. (one fourth), the rate was 3s. (nearly double). Altogether, rather rough on hops.

From Newcastle to Rothbury, (about 41 miles), the rate for foreign hay was 10s. per ton, while for home-grown it was 16s., or 60 per cent. higher.

Vegetables, fruit, nuts, butter, cheese, &c., all tell the same tale. The following is a choice specimen: A Yorkshire farmer states that while making enquiries in Cheshire he found that the cost for conveying cheese by L. and N.W.R. from Chelford (mid-Cheshire), or similar stations, was actually greater than bringing it from New York right past that very station (Chelford) to London.

THE BREAKDOWN OF COMPETITION.

Practically speaking, there is no competition between the railways. In place of the competitive principle we find every means taken to weld the industry into one monopoly. Fares, rates for goods, and times of trains are mutually arranged at conferences between the managers; competing lines are subsidised and bought up, receipts are pooled. The Great Western paid in subsidies to smaller lines—in 1894, £145,088; in 1895, £146,633. The London Brighton and South Coast Railway Company pays the South-Eastern £24,500 annually not to use their running powers to Eastbourne.

Canal traffic is much cheaper than railway, so where a canal is likely to compete against a railway its power to do so is prevented by any means. Legislation having been passed with the object of preventing canals falling into the hands of railways, the following is instructive:

“The history of the Bridgewater Company illustrates how completely the spirit of sect. 16 of the Act of 1873, which makes it illegal for railway companies to take over or in any way control the traffic of a canal, may be evaded by the railway interest. The company was formed by railway men at the time of that Act, and with the direct object of overcoming the difficulty it presented. Its capital was subscribed mainly by shareholders of the Midland and Manchester, Sheffield and Lincolnshire Railway Companies. Its directors are all, or nearly all of them, railway men, and, both in the management of its tolls and its carrying department, it has throughout exhibited all the worst features of the railway policy.”

The Great Northern Railway pay the Witham Navigation £10,545 a

year for the tolls and charges to be fixed at so prohibitive a rate that a yearly loss of £755 is sustained, and also give a subsidy of £9,570 a year to the Channel of Fossdyke in return for an annual income of £689. Another plan pursued is to allow the canal to fall into bad condition, thus forcing traffic on to the railways.

POINTS FOR PASSENGERS.

From all the statistics furnished, the two main points standing out seem to be the great growth of the third-class traffic, and the profitable nature of this traffic. Respecting the first, taking intervals of five years for the quarter of a century, from 1870 to 1895, the receipts from the three classes on all the railways were as follows:—

Year.	First Class.	Second Class.	Third Class.
1870	£3,330,000	£4,365,000	£ 6,177,000
1875	3,983,000	3,293,000	11,082,000
1880	3,250,000	3,061,000	12,750,000
1885	2,646,000	2,494,000	15,212,000
1890	2,637,000	2,278,000	18,164,000
1895	3,034,000	1,935,029	23,796,137

With regard to the third-class passenger from a profit-making point of view, the position may be gathered from the following analysis of the London and North-Western accounts for the year 1888: Of the 11½d. received in that year from each of the 51,500,000 third-class passengers, 6d. each was net profit; of the 5s. received from each of the 1,915,815 first-class passengers, the profit was only 1½d. each; while the 3,331,935 second-class passengers were carried at a loss of £15,000.

This being the case, it would seem only natural that it should be the aim of the railway companies to study the third-class passenger. It would occur to anyone that if one kind of customer was the most numerous and most profitable, that class should be considered more than, or at least as much as, any other class. The grim humour of the case is that this very class is treated worst, as we all know to our sorrow.

The comfort of the best-paying passenger is ignored and flouted almost wherever possible, and the fares he is obliged to pay are too high. Carriages, lighting, waiting-rooms, treatment by servants and officials—in all cases, the worst is reserved for the long-suffering third class.

This is shown in a striking manner when the service is purely of this class. In the ordinary traffic he may sometimes share the advantages arising from sharing the same service as the other classes. When it is only third-class traffic, then the companies show what they can do. This is exemplified in what are called workmen's trains. Terrible overcrowding, inconvenient times, insufficient trains, and running the last train hours before the workers desire to get to work, are how the railway monopolists show their appreciation of the people who are their best source of income. There is no shadow of a doubt about this, as when memorialised to make some much-needed changes they flatly refused.

(To be continued.)

CAPITALISM AND SUICIDE.

THE fact, attested of late by an alarming increase in coroner's inquests, that self-destruction is steadily becoming more and more prevalent, is a sad commentary on the prevailing social conditions of our time. According to an eminent physician, "the most alarming feature of this increase is that, speaking broadly, the suicides are not the profligates or the dissipated, but the responsible people of fine nervous temperament, who are faced with troubles and difficulties which they have not the strength to overcome." And these poor victims of society—for such the major portion of suicides really are—constitute but a mere fraction among the legions who are driven to the wall in the unequal fight with the forces of mammon. The casualties of the South African war (great as they undoubtedly must be) become as nothing in comparison with the holocausts of human beings who are annually crushed beneath the juggernaut of modern capitalism. In Europe—in civilised, Christian Europe—60,000 persons are every year reported as having died by their own hands, while doubtless as many again commit suicide whose fate is never judicially recorded. The number of poor wretches who have taken the final plunge into the dark beyond has throughout the whole of this century steadily increased, and goes on increasing more rapidly than the geometrical augmentation of the population and the general mortality.

What is the cause, or rather the causes, which conduce to this lamentable *tedium vite* which is driving so many good men and women to the terrible conclusion that life is not worth the living? The causes are many. Although heredity, love and jealousy, alcohol, sexual excesses, and religion play no unimportant part in the production of the suicidally-inclined, still the largest proportion is made up of those who have been practically driven to suicide by the inequality and injustice of existing social conditions. "The wear and tear of the age," writes a medical authority, "the methods of life in our large cities—all these conduce to nervous disorder, and suicide follows exactly the same curve as madness. . . . We are becoming too high strung." Yes, our whole modern mode of living involves too great an expenditure of nervous force. Man is a creature of his environment, and this is why our forefathers knew absolutely nothing of the long train of nervous disorders from which we of the present-day suffer. This depletion of the nervous system so prevalent to-day is induced by the peculiar character of our capitalistic epoch—the immense increase of population, the agglomeration of so many thousands in our large cities, the excessive and deafening traffic of our streets occasioned by the wasteful methods of our competitive system, together with the general hurry and scurry of business life.

Suicide is emphatically a crime of enlightened people. Among savage peoples suicide is altogether unknown. In proportion to the advance of

education and civilisation suicides increase. Among European nations Germany is the most enlightened, and Germany has the largest number of suicides. France and England follow second and third. If we take such countries as Spain, Portugal, and Ireland, where, mainly as a consequence of religious superstition (fostered by charlatans interested in its maintenance), ignorance reigns supreme, and the standard of culture is extremely low, we find that in these countries suicide is the least prevalent. Many people have expressed wonderment at the fact that self-murder is not more general among the lower working-classes, especially when account is taken of the shameful conditions under which they toil and suffer. The circumstance that it is not so is easy of explanation. Poverty tends to deaden the intellect, and make men contented with the position in life—be it ever so degraded—which it has pleased the god Mammon to place them in. For there are none so satisfied in their poverty as they who form the lower strata of society—the “submerged tenth” of Boothism—whose lives are one unceasing round of toil and sleep, toil and sleep, broken only by periods of unemployment and consequent semi-starvation, from early youth to the brink of the grave, with no relief save that derived from contact with the frequenters of low pot-houses, and still lower “music” halls.

It is this class who, armed with penny union jacks—mostly made in Germany—and with the seat out of their breeches, have just been so vociferously proclaiming their belief that “Britons, never, never, never will be slaves,” &c.

By no means is it the fact that the poor supply the greatest contingent of self-murderers. On the contrary, history attests the fact that many notable men of genius, as well as men of wealth, have cast off the “burden of life” by one or other of the various forms of suicide. Some of the greatest names on history’s page are those of self-murderers. Aristotle, Cleanthes, Demosthenes, Leno, Themistocles, Petronius, Arbiter, Cato, Brutus, Cassius, Terence, Seneca, Aristarchus, Nero, Mithridates, Hannibal, Haydon the painter, and others too numerous to mention, all ended their career as suicides. It may interest our absent-minded jingoes to know that Dr. Bull, the composer of Britain’s national anthem (hats off!) finished his existence by blowing out his brains with a revolver (and, certainly, he who could perpetrate such vile doggerel deserved no better fate).

Poverty, with contentment, is great gain, saith the Scripture. Yes—to the capitalist and his dependents. But poverty, allied to an enlightened and cultivated mind inevitably breeds dissatisfaction with the deprivations of poverty, and stimulates a desire for greater comforts of life undreamt of by the ignorant, unthinking herd who unfortunately make up the mass of mankind. The enlightened workman comes, in course of time, to despise the vacant-minded, beer-swilling, gambling crew who make up the multitude—the “swinish multitude,” as Burke once aptly styled them. His opinion of his apathetic fellow-workman does not tend in the direction of admiration.

Poverty and education are two irreconcilables. The cultivated working-man acquires an ideal of what life should and would be, but for the

ignorance and apathy of the mass. New ideals create new desires. And if these latter be not possible of immediate or speedy attainment, new victims are often added to the already long list of those sacrificed to the modern Moloch of capitalism.

. "He that trusts you,
Where he should find you lions, finds you hares;
Where foxes, geese; you are no surer; no,
Than is the coal of fire upon the ice,
Or hailstone in the sun. Your virtue is
To make him worthy, whose offence subdues him,
And curse that justice did it. Who deserves greatness,
Deserves your hate; and your affections are
A sick man's appetite, who desires most that
Which would increase his evil."

Is education, therefore, to be neglected? And are we, in the language of Paul of Tarsus, to "let him that is ignorant remain ignorant"? By no means. All progress involves the sacrifice of life. The suicides, like the criminals, the workless, the paupers, the tramps and harlots, are the inevitable consequences of a capitalist order of society; and that capitalist order itself but a sequence in the natural evolution from barbarism to higher forms of social life. As in nature all life exists by the destruction of other life, so economic advancement involves the shedding of the blood of countless thousands. But let us not deceive ourselves into believing that a "good God above" has created and is directing everything for the benefit of all. Is it for the caterpillar's good when the ichneumon darts its sting into its body and deposits its eggs in its inside, to be there hatched into larvæ which eat up the caterpillar alive? Pah! nature is a huge slaughterhouse, and the number of the slaughtered is legion.

"What kind of society," asks Victor Hugo, "is it which, at this period, has for its base inequality and injustice? Would it not be well to take the whole thing by the four corners and send it pell-mell up to the ceiling, the cloth, the feast and the orgie, the gluttony, and the drunkenness and the guests; those who have their two elbows on the table, and those who are on all-fours under it, to spew the whole lot in God's face and to fling the whole world at heaven!"

I have spoken of suicide as a "crime." Perhaps this is too harsh a word. Far be it for me to cast a stone at the poor, despairing wretch from whose life the sunshine of existence has departed and from whose soul the last vestige of hope has disappeared. It is not for us who are without experience to understand the terrible mental condition of such a one. We can neither condemn nor condone. Nor are we Socialists much concerned about what some folk are pleased to term the "right to commit suicide." Gracious heavens! think of it—the *right* to commit suicide! That society must be rotten indeed in which men agitate for such a terrible "right."

Is there no remedy? Yes, whatever may be said to the contrary by religious emotionalists, man, in most cases, acts as he *must* and not as he lists; in other words, man's actions are determined mainly by circumstance

and environment. Our mission, then, is plain. Ours is not a message of despair and death, but one of life and hope: it is to so alter environment, to so brighten the lives of the toilers and make their lot in life easier, that thoughts of suicide would come to none but the mentally-deranged. To this end we press forward the following, among other reforms, for immediate adoption: The provision of State employment for the workless—municipal productive and distribute enterprise, with the object of competing the competition-loving private capitalist out of the field; old age pensions, that our worn-out wage-slaves may end their days devoid of anxiety for the morrow; the reduction of the hours of toil by legal enactment; State maintenance for our children in the Board schools; demolition of the crowded parts of cities, with the provision of parks and open spaces in their place; municipal ownership and control of the liquor traffic, both in production and sale, with the object of substituting pure drink in place of the brain-stultifying poison vended by profit-makers to-day; the establishment of noiseless means of vehicular communication; and many another reform which must suggest itself to the mind of him or her who gives the matter earnest consideration. But, in agitating for these reforms, let us always keep in mind the fact that it is only by the total abolition of capitalism and all its works that any permanent benefit can accrue, not merely to a section, but to the whole of society. With the advent of the Social-Democratic Commonwealth will be realised the dream of the Eastern mystic, Christ, of a society in which none will have need to "take thought for the morrow, saying, what shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or wherewithal shall we be clothed?"

WALTER C. HART.

FEEDING THE CHILDREN.

At Roubaix, a manufacturing town in the north of France, there is a Socialist municipality. Many reforms have been carried out, and among other good things free meals have been distributed to the children. The report for the year 1899 has just been published. No less than 561,291 free meals were given, the average cost of each meal being twopence. The municipality has also made arrangements with a sanitarium at St. Pol-sur-Mer, near Dunkirk, to which weak, anæmic, scrofulous and lymphatic children are sent. A sum of 1s. a day is paid, this including medical attendance, and in 1899 591 children were sent there.

You rear your child up to love its country, and you support a social system which declares that the child has no right to the country, but must pay for permission to live on it as it is the property of private individuals.

* * *

You shout for liberty, and you surrender your children to the mercies of capitalism, which will seize them as soon as they leave school, and will devote their little bones, muscles, and undeveloped brains to the task of grinding out profits for a boss.—The *Workers' Republic*.

PAUL KRUGER.

SOME have gone back from the generation of McKinley and Loubet to compare Kruger with the great dead, and have likened Oom Paul to Old Abe. That is very superficial. In so far as the issues of secession and slavery have touched South Africa—and they are both there—Kruger figures not on Lincoln's side but on the other. He is an arch "secesher," and the farthest possible from an abolitionist. He has the piety and the humour, though both grimmer and less sunny than Lincoln's; he has the shrewdness, only shading rather into cunning; he has the earnestness of character, the sense of a call, the unquailing fortitude, past all cavil; but, alas, he has not the moral fastidiousness, the rigorously clean hands, the unbreathed-on name of Abraham Lincoln. In Kruger, as in his rival, Cecil Rhodes, there are flaws that must make a thoughtful contemporary hesitate to canonise either among the really great. Posterity may or may not stop for such flaws. Her verdict will depend, perhaps, more upon the relative permanence of the two men's life-work, which to contemporaries it is not given to know. But whether or not we dub Kruger great, we must allow him, no whit less than his rival, many qualities of greatness. Huge self-confidence, contempt for ease, unflagging devotion to an aim, tyrannous command over men, and that remorseless persistence that goes far to command events—these are qualities of greatness, and these are common to Rhodes and Kruger.

Of the concession system, in which centres half the corruption of the Transvaal, Mr. Kruger has been the main pillar. To secure the Raad without securing him is, for a concessionaire, useless; in the opposite case he has often used his power to commit and coerce the Raad. Some of his strongest speeches have been devoted to screening and prolonging the worst of the concessions—those in which the concessionaires rob the revenue as much as they rob the miner or consumer. When it came out about certain presents accepted by legislators from concessionaires, it was the president who spoke in defence of such spoiling of the Egyptians, and said he "saw no harm in it"; so that if men misconstrue the large fortune that the President is known to have acquired, it is only by assuming the private example from the public precept. But enough on this subject: it is a wart in the portrait; and a disconcerting one to the painter, for it throws askew an expression which would otherwise, on the whole, be grand and rugged. In this Kruger is a Verulam, rather than a Cromwell.

Paul Kruger is a visionary: what is his vision? It is a sort of oligarchic theocracy, with Paul Kruger as its Melchizedek, priest and king in one. He sees the faithful sitting each under his own gumtree, on his own *stoep*, and as far as his eye ranges that is his farm, and his cattle are on a score of hills. The young men are stalwart, great hunters before the Lord, and the young women are grossly built and fruitful. And to each farm there is a made road and a dam, and the stranger in the land pays for the same. The stranger keeps to himself in the city, and is more or less godless, for he is not of the chosen in the Promised Land. But he gives no trouble, for he is "well disposed," and looks to the Raad for his laws in due season. The burgher has his Kaffirs, who do his work, but they are not cruelly used,

because they obey. The sons of the soil are not too much educated, because that spoils an Afrikaner; but enough so to be able to hold all offices of State, that these may be purged of the Hollander and the German, no less than the accursed English or "English-hearted Afrikaner."

And above all sits Kaul Kruger, father of his people, dwelling in the house that the concessionnaire Nellmapins gave him, wealthy, but thrifty, living as simply as he used to live on the farm, save that sheep's head and trotters come round somewhat oftener. And the judges come to him to know how they shall judge, and the Raad members to know what laws they shall make; and on Sundays all come to the little chapel near to hear him expound the Word of God and the truth as set forth by the Separatist Reformed Brethren. And there is peace in the earth. And it is flat, and the sun goes round it.—*Public Opinion.*

RADICALISM AND LABOUR.

A PROGRAMME AND POLICY.

WILLIAM DIACK, writing under the above in the *Westminster Review*, says that during the past year Socialistic and Labour leaders have given vent to important and decisive utterances on the programme of their party. J. Keir Hardie and J. R. Macdonald in the *Nineteenth Century*, Tom Mann in the *American Forum*, H. M. Hyndman and H. Quelch in the *SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT*, Robert Blatchford and A. M. Thompson in their own organ have all contributed something to the discussion, but the ominous feature of it all is that no two articles express the same view of the existing political situation. After running over the latter as we find it towards the close of the present administration, we find it a policy of class-bribery pursued by the Tories, viz., to the landlords by practically abolishing the Democratic Land Tax of 1685, the wealthier farmers by a substantial grant to relieve agriculture out of the pockets of the city workmen, the Roman Catholics and dissenting Churchmen by an education grant in aid of sectarian schools, the jingoes and military men by a "wiping something off a slate" foreign policy, the lawyers by passing the Workmen's Compensation Act (a measure, says the writer, choke full of little plums for the legal fraternity), the working classes by an I.O.U. redeemable in the dim and distant future, by a promise to pay with an old-age pension scheme the loyalty of their working-class followers.

Mr. Diack asks if it be not possible to so formulate the common programme of the progressive parties at the next General Election, and frame a common policy, as to unite in one homogeneous force the scattered democratic elements in our midst.

With Keir Hardie's and J. R. Macdonald's argument in favour of the abolition of the House of Lords as the groundwork for a primary agitation, the writer entirely disagrees. "Were the working-classes in earnest," he says, "the British constitution, even in its present imperfect form, affords

fairly adequate means of expressing the national will, and the electoral and propagandist work, the rousing of public enthusiasm, the education of the electorate, the agitation and education that would be necessary to secure this constitutional reform, could be far more wisely directed to the realisation of economic and social changes, instead of thus tampering with the political machine." Referring to Thompson's allusion in the *Clarion* to the Referendum as a short cut to Socialism, while admitting the justice of the Initiative and Referendum, Mr. Diack denies that it is a short cut to Socialism or any other "ism;" there is no royal road to progress, he says. "Had the fate of Dreyfus been settled by the referendum principle," argues the writer, "he would not have walked a free man in Europe to-day, and if ten months ago the issues of peace or war between the Transvaal Boers and Great Britain had been settled by a popular vote of the British nation, the present fratricidal war would not have been delayed by a single week. Would the brutal roughs of Toryism, who, with murder in their hearts, broke up an orderly peace gathering in Trafalgar Square, and assaulted a defenceless old man on the platform, have voted for peace rather than war?" asks the writer. As the people is, he continues, so is the Parliament; even the Czar of all the Russias could never rule with his despotic grip if the bulk of the people did not will that he should so rule, or at any rate, quietly acquiesce in his solitary sway. "Thus the great task before reformers," the writer proceeds, "is to forward the mental, moral and spiritual revolution involved in their ideal; that accomplished, all is easy. While there are hungry mouths to be filled, whilst the shoulders of little children are prematurely bent under the crushing weight of commercialism, while the fathers in factory, mine, and forge are overworked and underfed, while the aged veterans of labour, stricken with the deadly weight of poverty and hardship, stagger into the cold and cheerless workhouse, cease tampering with your political machine—your referendum schemes can afford to wait—and turn your thoughts to actual ameliorative measures that will help to make the burden of life sit somewhat more lightly on the shoulders of the poor." Strenuous efforts, Mr. Diack contends, should be made to secure a working agreement between the three progressive parties that seem to be growing in their own special sphere:—

1. The modern Radical and land law reformers ;
2. The Labour or new trade unionist school ;
3. The definitely-avowed Collectivists.

Socialists will not for many a long year be able to return a candidate without the assistance of trade unionists and Radicals, latter-day Radicals cannot do so in opposition to the Socialists and trade unionists without the hearty co-operation of all progressive parties. The writer goes on to say : A decree of fate has harnessed those three parties to the same plough, and the sooner they make up their minds to walk through life in common harness, the better will it be for all concerned ; and, after all, they have much in common, as this tentative programme will demonstrate :—

1. Old Age Pensions.
2. The Land for the People.
3. A Shorter Working Day.
4. Nationalisation of the Railways.

The writer further criticises Mr. Hyndman's article in the *SOCIAL-*

DEMOCRAT, condemning as "sheer foolishness, presented with somewhat questionable taste," the following extract from the same article :—

"We have, I venture to think, arrived at the time 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 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 against them in a mass at every opportunity that offers."

Mr. Diack contends that there is no constituency in the United Kingdom where the Socialists can carry their candidate without the co-operation of Mr. Hyndman's despised Radicals and Progressives, but, at a very moderate computation, there are thirty or forty constituencies where a coalition could win, hands down, even at the first General Election. To throw the Socialist vote in any capricious fashion against those who are in the trend towards Collectivism, and may yet be its friends, would not only raise a barrier of angry prejudice between Radicals and Socialists, but would postpone indefinitely all hopes of a working agreement between the different progressive parties in the State.

Mr. Diack finally suggests "a great assembly of the fearless and the free" to formulate their programme. "Let them select," he says, "say twenty-five or thirty seats, which shall be contested by them at all hazards, but strictly limit the number to those constituencies where there is a reasonable chance of success, selecting Land Nationalisers for rural and semi-rural constituencies, and advanced Radicals where they would most naturally command success; let official Liberalism understand that those divisions will be contested at all hazards, and that it will be in the highest interests of Liberalism to allow those democratic candidates a free fight with the Conservatives. United with the Radical Left, the Labour Party is quite strong enough to dictate reasonable terms to Liberalism. It is the growing party, and every statesman knows it. In 1892, for example, the socialistic parties contested fourteen seats and polled 11,207 votes, or about 800 each. In 1895 thirty seats were contested and 46,350 votes polled, or an average of 1,545. At the 1895 election twelve seats were lost to Liberalism by the running of independent candidates, whilst certainly other twenty were lost by the independent parties withholding their votes from the official Liberal nominees—in other words, had some such policy as we have here indicated been adopted in 1895 the Conservative majority would have been from 60 to 70 less than it actually is to-day."



"Men, in general, judge more from appearance than from reality. All men have eyes, but few have the gift of penetration."—MACHIAVELLI.

A SOCIALIST ON PATRIOTISM.

THE following rejoinder to our comrade E. Belfort Bax's article in last month's SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT appears in the August *Positivist Review* from the pen of Professor Beesly :—

In the July number of the SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT, Mr. E. Belfort Bax disclaims the sentiment of patriotism with which I recently credited Socialists. "The majority of Social-Democrats," he says, "*do* repudiate patriotism as implying any special duty of attachment to the State system in which they happen to have been born as against any other. The Socialist has no affection for any of these national State systems as such." The words "as against any other" import an idea which is not mine. I repudiated for Positivists and, as I believed was true, for Social-Democrats, "any desire to extend our national power, importance, or wealth to the disadvantage of any other country." Special attachment to my own parents does not involve any feeling *against* other people's parents. What my duty is towards my country when she is behaving unjustly towards another country is a question which I argued just before the present war broke out in the *Positivist Review* for last October under the heading "Inter Arma." It may seem presumptuous in me to claim to know the feeling of Socialists better than one of themselves. But I believe that what I wrote then would satisfy most of them.

It is easy to prove that love of humanity is a nobler sentiment than love of country. It is also easy to prove that love of country is nobler than love of family, and love of family than love of self. Nevertheless all of these sentiments are natural and permanent. Their strength is inverse to the order in which I have named them. Capacity for the weaker or more altruistic of them has never been absent in germ at least from man. These germs have been developed by culture so that the more altruistic have gradually modified, though by no means mastered, the less altruistic; and in this human progress has consisted. It may be confidently hoped that this modifying process will go on for a period beyond which it is unnecessary to look. But at the best the *order* of natural strength will remain what it always has been. The *degree* of strength will alone be modified.

Humanity—by which expression I mean all those men and women who have contributed in even the humblest and most passive way to progress—has not been so foolish as to aim at rooting up any of these feelings. For they are ineradicable. Each, even the lowest, is essential as a basis and preparation for the feeling next above it. We could not know how to love our families if we did not love ourselves. Love of family we find largely developed in very early civilisations. It was a necessary training for love of country which was carried to the highest pitch in the City States of antiquity. Love of man, irrespective of the political union, began to be extensively preached in the West by Christian thinkers some eighteen hundred years ago and by the Stoics even earlier. As a doctrine it has established itself beyond question, and in practice it has upon the whole made encouraging progress. But it is still, and ever will be, weaker than the less altruistic sentiments.

Socialist doctrinaires think they can improve upon this graduated scale by suppressing the intermediate steps. Mr. Bax denounces patriotism as a purely mischievous sentiment. It makes one smile that he should think he

can eradicate it from the human heart—particularly with the spectacle he has now before him of its strength in its rankest and most perverted form among the disinterested class who have less reason than others for gratitude to their country. I do not know what he thinks of family. Logical Socialists have denounced that step also in the scale as unnecessary and mischievous. They profess to believe that the sentiment of universal benevolence, left as the sole affective motor face to face with pure egoism, would be victorious. Fortunately such naïve credulity has never been widely spread. Mr. Bax may manage to persuade himself that he has no affection for his country. But I will not believe it even of him. As for the majority of Socialists I am sure that they love their families and love their country. If I am drawn to them it is because I believe that they also recognise love of humanity as the highest, though most difficult, of duties, and look to it for light and discipline in the performance of the narrower duties to which they are more propense. The combined and duly co-ordinated sentiments, love of family, country, humanity, are none too strong for the task of disciplining love of self.

Perhaps Mr. Bax will reply that he did not say a word about love of humanity or universal benevolence, and that he based his argument entirely on economic considerations. Just so. That is the root difference between Socialists—or I should rather say Marxians—and Positivists. *We* take account of all the natural feelings, and aim at training and disciplining them. *They* seem to treat two only as ineradicable and worth taking into account, the nutritive and the sexual instincts. The rest they think they can twist about or suppress at their will.

Mr. Bax says it is obvious that as the whole system of things economic tends to become more international this must inevitably lead to some form of international direction involving political power in the last resort. To most people this will seem a *non sequitur*. His assertion that “for practical purposes, patriotism and imperialism are synonymous,” will be welcomed by imperialists but will have no weight with patriots. Moral and intellectual unity, first of the West, ultimately of the world, is a healthy and inspiring ideal towards which we are approximating continually though we may never completely reach it. Towards political unity there are no signs of approximation, but the contrary. Those who treat politics as a mere department of economics leave out of account the most distinctive and not the least permanent characteristics of our nature.

There is a small matter in Mr. Bax's article which I must not leave unnoticed. He complains that Positivists are supercilious in their attitude towards opponents. “It was at one time, I believe, their custom to refuse to answer criticisms at public meetings they were addressing on the principles of Positivism, on the ostensible ground that their critics had only wanted to hear themselves speak, and therefore were not worth answering.” If Mr. Bax had said that we were not much in the habit of addressing “public meetings” on the principles of Positivism his statement would have been correct. But whenever any of us have done so I am not aware that we have refused to answer criticisms where such was the customary practice. The meetings in our own halls are not “public” except in the sense that, as we have nothing to conceal, anyone may walk in and listen. Everyone has a right to elect in what way he will propagate his opinions, whether by writing, lecturing, or oral discussion. I think I remember that Mr. Bax once declined to meet someone who challenged him to a public discussion on the ground that written discussion was more profitable. That is also my view.

A FACTORY BASED ON THE GOLDEN RULE.

As an antidote to pessimism, and a cheering proof of the practicability of "Christian Socialism" applied to a great business organisation, a visit to the factory of the National Cash Register Company, at Dayton, Ohio, will prove to be very efficacious, in the opinion of the Rev. E. W. Work. The *Independent* (June 29) contains an account of what he saw there recently. He says:—

"A great factory system, organised upon principles of brotherhood, openly professing the Golden Rule as its doctrine, advocating the care and training of men's minds and spirits, while employing their hands, is so unique, so altogether captivating, that it would require not above half-an-hour's inspection most effectually to silence for the time being the loudest grumbler at modern industrial conditions. Quite the most unique thing about it all, too, is the naïve confession by the company that they find business profit in what they are doing for their people. Enter the women's dining-hall on the upper floor of the Administration Building, or the 'rest-room,' or the bath-rooms, or bicycle sheds, or the working-rooms, kept as clean as your mother's kitchen, painted in Colonial yellow to be easy for the eye—everywhere, the same frank placard greets you—'It Pays.'

"The company pays good wages and gives unusual attention to matters of sanitation, cleanliness, light, ventilation, heating, and ornamentation. The health of the employees is made a first consideration. Several years ago the president found a young woman heating coffee in a tomato-can on a heater for the noon lunch. He promptly furnished a stove for heating lunches, and from this has grown the generous noon lunch provided to the young women, at a cost of one cent. The dining-room contains flowers, rugs, pictures, a piano, and a 'rest-room' adjoining, with couches and medicines. The lunch is estimated to cost *three* cents, but the company figures that the increased efficiency of this department amounts to *five* cents per person. The young women are required to wear white aprons and cuffs, which are furnished and laundered at the company's expense. They go to work an hour later than the men in the morning, and leave ten minutes earlier in the evening. There is a ten-minute recess each morning and afternoon for calisthenics or rest. They also have regular holidays. They receive ten hours' pay for eight hours' work. The chairs have high backs and foot-rests. The young women in the binderies and at the machines look as neat as high-school girls. The object-lesson in cleanliness is too plain to be mistaken. The men work nine hours and a-half with ten hours' pay. Weekly baths are granted to all, on the company's time.

"It is believed that pleasant surroundings are conducive to the economical production of good work, while they attract a much better class of workmen."

Evidences of the attention given to pleasant surroundings are manifest on all sides, both within and without the buildings, and this attention is not a mere matter of taste but of business policy:—

"Hence here and there a waving palm among whirring wheels and belts. The lawns and grounds were carefully planned by a landscape gardener. One of the streets near the factory has been pronounced in summer-time the most beautiful in the world. The section of the city in which the factory is located was formerly 'Slidetown,' disreputable and unsightly. Now it is 'South Park,' and is rightly named. The employees themselves have formed the 'South Park Improvement Association.' For many squares about the factory the effect of the factory's attention to beauty is seen in the

homes, in a window-box of flowers, a vine-clad porch, a well-trimmed lawn, or a well-kept back-yard. The company keeps a landscape gardener who instructs the people in the best methods of planting trees and training vines, and the company offers prizes, for example, for the best-kept back-yard. Realising the difficulty of occupying boys and of teaching them usefulness, a boys' garden has been furnished. Each boy has a plot of ground assigned him and is permitted to raise vegetables. Prizes are given for the best result. Last year athletic grounds were added and a club-house for the boys of the neighbourhood.

"There are no strikes here and no lock-outs. Why, indeed, should there be? A prominent German Socialist, visiting the factory, said, 'This is all I mean by Socialism.' Another said, 'You make money and happiness at the same time.' All this costs the company a large sum, but, besides getting its own profits, the lives of thousands of men and women are broadened and made more happy. When capital becomes generous to labour, labour becomes generous to capital. The employer realises that it is to his interest to make the employee as much of a man as possible, physically, intellectually, morally. This represents a distinct advance in factory life. The workman is not merely a 'hand,' he is a 'soul.' Put more into his soul, give him more to think about, give him a better dwelling and better surroundings, open new vistas of life, and he will, out of his strengthened manhood, give you a better service."

The factory has no general manager or superintendent, but is directed by a committee of five experts, representing the different lines of factory work. Employees are encouraged to offer suggestions constantly for the improvement of any detail of the business, and for this purpose suggestion-boxes are placed here and there. The best suggestions receive generous prizes. The more valuable features of the business have been suggested and brought about in this way, and the originality and individuality of each employee are thus constantly stimulated, while courtesy is exacted of all.

Besides many other interesting features for the intellectual and moral improvement of the *souls* here employed, such as lectures, stereoptican talks, and Saturday half-holidays, there are two institutions of a social and partly religious nature :—

"The House of Usefulness is the social settlement. Here resides the deaconess, and here centre all the social organisations—boys' and girls' clubs, musical organisations, kindergarten, mothers' meetings, relief associations. The leverage obtained here upon the lives of boys and girls seems incalculable."

As for the other institution, the Sunday-school, Dr. Work writes :—

"It has seven hundred members, and meets on the third floor of one of the factory buildings. A printed programme is used, with a Scripture lesson. First there is a drill of the Boys' Brigade; then a choir procession; then singing and responsive reading, and quotation of selected verses, Scriptural and otherwise; then a twenty-minute address, and remarks by the deaconess. The subjects of study are practical life lessons, such as 'Work,' 'Charity,' 'Child Life,' 'Liberty.' The basis of the study is the Scriptures, but illustrative material from every source is welcome. Often the stereoptican is used in the school to show scenes of travel, the beauties of nature, best methods of home-making or landscape gardening.

"There is nothing traditional, nothing hoary-headed about this factory system, not even in the Sunday-school. Walking amidst these new industrial conditions, one feels as if he had already pushed through the door of the new century."—*New York Literary Digest*.

CRANKY OLD IKE.

OF course, you and I, whose generous, loving and philanthropic hearts are ever on the alert for all that is best in human nature, would, at the sight of him, have heaved a deep, lackadaisical sigh, exclaiming or muttering: "That poor old man!" Not so the young ragamuffins of East Broadway and its tributaries. To them the grey-haired, bent, dreaming and frequently unkempt cloakmaker of Cherry Street was simply the cranky old Ike, who was so "orful touchy" that he flew into a passion every time a playful "kid" took some liberty with his whiskers, or burlesqued his mode of perambulation, or called him a Sheeney.

For a long time his shopmates shared the opinion of the boys. As will appear hereafter, their reasons were not exactly the same. Anyway, he was never thought or spoken of otherwise than as that cranky old Ike.

He was fearfully nettled by that epithet. In the Yiddish vernacular, in which he did all his thinking—even when he had come to speak what he in the innocence of his heart called English—the word crank meant disease. It seemed to recall to his mind one terrible winter in Russia, when typhoid fever, aggravated by dire distress, had carried off first his youthful wife, and then, one by one, his three little ones, leaving him a branchless tree that had evidently nothing more to do than to stand and wait for the woodman's axe which would cut him off altogether.

Ike came to this country in 1882, during the first great exodus of the children of Israel from the modern "land of bondage," hardly knowing wherefore or whither he went. He escaped the lion's den to enter that of the sweater, just vaguely conscious of the fact, and quietly settled down to work long and weary hours for the benefit of a "cockroach boss" and the Singer Manufacturing Company.

In the workshop he was unpopular because he was exclusive, unsocial, and a good deal too quiet. His redeeming feature was his submissiveness, the result of the almost entire absence of anything like a will. Without bothering to understand the ethics of trade unionism, he belonged to a union when everybody else did, paid dues long after the others had ceased to do so, went out on strike when one was ordered, paid every assessment without grumbling, marched in all processions, did his full share of picket duty, and was generally all right for a man of his age. The trouble with him was that he clearly had no heart in all this. He went automatically, like a clock, only when wound up. In the minds of his mates there was the suspicion that this subservient tool might with equal ease be used by anybody else, not excepting the boss.

And then he bristled up against every harmless joke, and though usually taciturn enough to be mistaken for a deaf mute, he would at times, like a sleeping volcano, burst out in a rage without any apparent reason for such an outburst. This was the case every time anybody in the shop perpetrated what Ike took to be an injustice to a fellow workman, or when some gross though innocent lie was indulged in. People naturally felt such interference to be a breach of god Mammon's first commandment, "Mind your own business," to wit. Thus it came about that the verdict of the urchins was endorsed, and Ike was voted a crank by acclamation.

Years went by without any perceptible change in the old man's ways,

habits, or manners. He aged, though. Toward the spring of 1895 his hair had become perfectly white, his eyesight greatly impaired, and in proportion as the last of his teeth—invalids for a generation—had taken their departure the wrinkles on his face increased and multiplied. Those who, for lack of a more profitable occupation, at times troubled about him, gradually came to the conclusion that "the old crank was fast going to the dogs."

Partly, however, they were mistaken.

About that time there occurred in New York City one of those East-side strikes, which return annually with the regularity of pugilistic encounters in certain Parliaments. A mass meeting was held in Orchard Street, and among the speakers was one old German Socialist, whose calm, sedate, and sincere manner seemed to have made a strong impression on poor old Ike. Not that it was the first speech of the kind he had ever listened to. Nor can it honestly be claimed for him that he caught the true meaning of more than just a few words in each sentence, and, heaven knows, a German sentence can be long enough to test the lungs of a giant. But he was stirred up by it all the same, and was a different man to the end of the final chapter of his life. There is, let me add, reason to suppose that what impressed him more particularly was that part in the eloquent harangue in which the speaker showed that the unsanitary conditions prevailing in the dwellings of the poor render them a sure prey to every contagious disease.

However that may have been, the fact remains that old Ike no longer resembled himself. He not only became talkative, but he talked politics, and a good deal of it.

At first nobody took him seriously. Cranky Ike in the character of a political reformer struck people as no less of a monstrosity than might have been a Jewish rabbi performing on the high trapeze in a circus. Men scorned the very idea, and the recognised wit in the shop raised many a laugh at the old man's expense, the most popular among the many witticisms being to the effect that Ike had swallowed a live alderman. But as time wore on, and the old man's interest in politics, so far from flagging, had actually got more intensified as election day drew near, the jeers and gibes gave place to a kind of silent amazement.

One day in September, 1895, Ike was sitting at his work when suddenly a thought flashed across his mind, and, nudging his nearest neighbour with the elbow, he blurted out:

"Say, how many of them is there in the Twelfth?"

"Don't understand you."

"I mean, how many voters is there in all?"

"Where?"

"In the Twelfth Assembly."

"You mean in the Twelfth Assembly District?"

"Sure."

"Ask me something easier."

"Ask a p'liceman," chimed in the funny man of the place, doing it rather timidly.

And the old man collapsed.

That evening a meeting was held on East Broadway, and, as the speakers succeeded each other, poor Ike's heart expanded, his face beamed with delight, and his eyes sparkled as if they had been newly "fixed."

When pay-day came round, and he got his few hard-earned dollars, he felt so young that he thought he ought to invest a little money in new collars. He accordingly repaired to Grand Street, examined half-a-dozen show-cases and store-windows, and came home with a fine double-portrait of

Marx and Engels, having decided to buy the collars the following Saturday without fail.

As the month of October set in the campaign was in full swing. Ike devoured every leaflet and news-item bearing on Socialism in general, and the contest in the Twelfth in particular. The prospects looked to him brighter and more encouraging from day to day, and as he lay down of nights he dreamed of Albany, of the Assembly, of the first Socialist State legislator. He saw him enter the House, proud and defiant, a veritable Samson among the Philistines, challenging to battle all and sundry, and carrying aloft the purple banner of justice, and freedom, and—well, yes—and sanitary conditions.

He did not sleep well at all, poor old man, and his health suffered visibly. But he did not mind it. "I never felt better in all my life," he would say when anybody upbraided him for staying up late at night after spending the evening, wet or dry, running from one street corner to another to "hear the speeches."

And now the great parade came. He was in it. Rather. His step was almost elastic as he walked in the never-ending procession to Union Square. The thousands of marchers, the flying colours, the bands of music, and afterwards the fiery speeches seemed to give him a new lease of life. When the parade was over, Ike felt certain that "our man" was going to win in a canter, which meant that the thin end of the wedge was driven in, and the dawn of the new era was near. Why, his children might have lived to see it Poor little things!

At length election day came. It was an interminably long day. It could not have been longer if another Joshua had once more stopped the sun in Gibeon. And then he had got up several hours before the usual time. In fact, he hardly slept at all the previous night. Who could sleep?

At noon he went into a coffee-saloon on Division Street. People talked at all the tables. He listened. When the waiter came round for his order, Ike looked at him vaguely, then waking up to the fact that he was to eat there, he pondered over the matter for a moment, and then, to save time, ordered a "regular dinner." The soup came and went back almost untouched, and the meat was set before him. He had hardly swallowed the first morsel when the talk at the neighbouring table turned on the election.

"He ain't got no show," said a well-dressed young man who looked the very type of the fellow with his mind made up to be rich. Ike had a presentiment, and the fork dropped out of his hand.

"Who do you mean?" asked the young man's colloquitor.

"Vy, that Sosh'list feller in the Twelfth, of course."

Ike turned deadly pale. He went up to the first speaker, and in a trembling voice ejaculated:—

"You are a liar. That's all."

The young man got excited, and trouble would have ensued had not the saloon-keeper stepped up to the future Rockefeller and whispered in his ear:

"Don't ye mind him, man. It's cranky old Ike, don't you know."

Hostilities stopped right then, but Ike ate no more. He left the place very much troubled in his mind. A terrible doubt was now gnawing at his heart. Could that "dude" be right? He went out into the street, and bought the Jewish Socialist daily. The editorial was far from reassuring. There was some talk there of succeeding in the end. That wasn't what Ike had come to expect. A cold shiver ran along his back.

Still, he hoped against hope. "The papers," he said to himself, "don't

know everything. They make mistakes all the time. And then it is quite possible that the writer purposely talked in that strain so as to make the victory all the more striking when it comes; yes, when it comes. . . ."

At ten o'clock all was over. The result was known. Ike's man was at the bottom of the poll.

The following morning the old man did not show up at the workshop. The day after he came, but could not work. Then he disappeared altogether.

M. WINCHEVSKY.

New York, July 1, 1900.

A POINTED QUESTION FROM JAPAN.

"Ex Oriente Lux" is the motto of the *Orient*, a Tokio magazine edited in English by Japanese for the avowed purpose of enlightening the Anglo-Saxon world with regard to Japan. Its editor is very anxious for an explanation of the apparent divergence between Christian theory and practice. We condense his article as follows:

Japan enjoys the unique distinction of being the only non-Christian power that has been admitted into what is called the comity of nations on a footing of perfect equality, and to judge from the utterances of the European and American press she is by no means the least respected power. Unfortunately the cause of this respect is not such as to satisfy all Japanese. Japan has made great progress in the arts of peace, but that is not really why she is respected. That respect was earned in a short nine months by the achievements of the Japanese army and navy. Now, that sort of thing is pleasing enough to a nation's *amour propre*, but on calmly thinking the matter over some Japanese would wish that the respect of Western nations had been earned by something else than by mere proficiency in the art of slaughter conducted on modern scientific principles. Russia, too, is respected and feared. Yet she is the only non constitutional country in the comity of nations. The liberty of the individual and of the press is under the tyranny of mere administrative orders in Russia, and official peculation is nearly as rife as in China. And this gives rise to strange misgivings. Are the so-called Christian nations really followers of the religious cult they so ostentatiously and proudly profess?

Without going so far with Count Tolstoy as to say that his rendering of the real meaning of Christianity is the correct one, we do go so far as to say that the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount are the most important in the so-called Christian code of morality. And these precepts unquestionably are against war, and all against according honour to any nation or any man on the mere grounds of success in the exercise of brute force, much less of success in slaughtering enemies. And yet it is precisely on these grounds that non-Christian Japan has been accorded the respect of so-called Christian Europe and America.

We can very well understand the old Hebrews respecting us for success in war, for the old Hebrew God was a God of battles. But we have always understood that the Christian Father in heaven was no mere tribal war-god, but a God of love. The present situation is not a little puzzling to us benighted heathens of Japan, who have earned the respect of those who profess to follow the precepts of Christ on the Mount by success in slaughtering our enemies, and by that alone. Will real Christians kindly explain what it all means?—*New York Literary Digest*.

LIEBKNECHT: "THE SOLDIER."

The criminal of State.* The saint of truth.
Its freeman still, behind the prison gate ;
Himself possessing, thro' that very ruth
Which gave him to his fellows, consecrate.
Great, in the will that strives, the heart that bleeds—
Great men are greater than their greatest deeds.

And "Soldier," thou hast still thy fighting part ;
Uncaged by death, thy spirit roameth free ;
Instinct, in every justice-loving heart
Instinct, in hands out-stretched for unity ;
Instinct, in brain which checks the wily foe,
Instinct, in steadfast faith and hope aglow ;
In all who list wan childhood's weak appeal,
There, re-incarnate is thy deathless zeal.

Raise a plain stone, and simply LIEBKNECHT write.
Enough. The rest is graved in hearts of men ;
How he wore down in life's incessant fight
Those who would gag his speech or bribe his pen.
Raise a plain stone and simply LIEBKNECHT write,
And when temptations try or tempests lour,
Men, at this shrine refreshed with giant power,
Like fealty to his own, shall reverent plight.

FRANK COLEBROOK.

* Eight times imprisoned.



WILHELM LIEBKNECHT.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

VOL. IV., No. 9. SEPTEMBER, 1900.

WILHELM LIEBKNECHT.

NEVER since the death of Marx has international Social-Democracy suffered so severe a blow as befel it on the 7th of last month, when that veteran soldier of the revolutionary army, Wilhelm Liebknecht, breathed his last. The death of that other leader, Friedrich Engels, keenly felt and lamented at the time, did not touch us all so nearly; for Engels, although he exercised a considerable influence in the movement right up to the time of his death, had lived for many years in retirement, while our friend and comrade Liebknecht was actively engaged in the struggle to the very last. He died in harness. The loss to the German Party is great, but we here are more concerned with the loss to the movement internationally. The German Party has other leaders, but there is no man now living who had the knowledge, experience and grasp of the movement internationally which Liebknecht possessed. This is no reflection on any living member of our party, as the fact is due, like most others, to circumstances. But it is a fact, all the same. With the death of Eleanor Marx international Social-Democracy lost a most valuable centre and connecting link, and all that she was to the movement, that was our grand old warrior Liebknecht, and much more besides.

Above all, we English Social-Democrats have occasion to mourn his loss on account of the knowledge he had of this country, of our difficulties and struggles, and the consequent sympathy he manifested for the movement here. None who were present on that occasion will ever forget the magnificent meeting which was held in St. James's Hall during the time of his last visit to this country in March of last year. Liebknecht was no stranger to this country. For thirteen years he lived here, and his love for England and Englishmen was warm, deep, and sincere. It was his love for this country and her people which made him condemn so strongly

the war in South Africa, which, he saw quite clearly, if our jingo " patriots " did not, could only mean loss and degradation for England.

Three years before that historical meeting in St. James's Hall Liebknecht was in London for the International Congress of 1896, and in that year he made a tour of the country, addressing meetings in a number of the large towns of England and Scotland, renewing old friendships and making many new ones. He returned to Germany to undergo four months' imprisonment for a speech he made at Breslau, not for what he said, but for the interpretation which might be put upon his speech. Late in the following year he actually underwent this scandalous sentence. On November 18, 1897, he wrote to us from Berlin: " In a few minutes I have to go to prison. In four months I shall be free again, on March 18—a day of good augury! Good-bye! My and my wife's love to you, and fraternal greetings to all friends." Now, alas! it is good-bye for ever.

The following brief account of his life is taken from the pamphlet written by Dr. Aveling and issued by the Organising Committee at the time of the 1896 International Congress:—

Liebknecht was born March 29, 1826, at Giessen, of what is commonly called a good family. As far back as the beginning of the eighteenth century an ancestor of his was Professor and Rector of the University of Giessen, and as far back as the middle of the sixteenth century a certain ancestor of his, Martin Luther, was making some stir in the world. At the early age of 16 Wilhelm Liebknecht entered the University of Giessen. Theology, philology, and later, and with much more intensity, philosophy, were his studies. Afterwards he was at the Universities of Marburg and Berlin. He was training for the position of a teacher, and at one time he had some idea of becoming an advocate. But events, in their inexorable way, forced him out of these quiet paths—if, indeed, the path of an advocate is very quiet. The absolute rule of Metternich and the writings of Saint Simon were among the forces that drove him into the revolutionary movement. What would be called an accident was another of the forces. Feeling that, with the conditions then obtaining in Germany there was little chance for him as either teacher or advocate, he made up his mind to go to America. He was actually on his way thither when he met a Zurich teacher, who induced him to come to Zurich. Just after his arrival, the Sonderbund War broke out, and then the February Revolution of 1848 in Paris. The young enthusiast hurried over to Paris, and was just in time to be too late. The Revolution was over. The German poet Herwegh had got into his poetic head a scheme to form a regiment out of the German workers living in Paris, who were to march into Germany and found a Republic. As showing the political foresight of Marx and Engels, as a single instance out of the innumerable instances of that singular political foresight, it should be noted that both Marx and Engels had strongly disapproved of this plan as playing with revolution. However, Liebknecht was young then, and he went in for it. Fortunately for him, illness prevented him from going with the poetic regiment, which was completely routed by

the Württemberg troops at Nieder Offenbach on the Rhine. Herwegh fled to Zürich and Liebknecht followed him there.

The next playing with revolution was Struve's attempt to get together troops in Switzerland, who were also to cross the frontier and found republics. Struve started bravely enough with a flag and a dozen or so of men at Lauffen, on the Swiss Rhine. In three days he had a considerable force. Liebknecht, who had joined him, was sent south across the Oberland to bring up another detachment. On his way, he heard that Struve had been decoyed into the plains by the orthodox soldiers, beaten, and taken prisoner. Liebknecht could easily have made his escape, but he pressed across the Rhine into Germany, and was caught for his pains at Freiburg. For nine months he lay in prison without a trial, whilst the authorities were concocting charges by virtue or by vice of which criminal and not merely political offences were to be laid against him. But a day or two before his trial the orthodox soldiers were found fraternising with the people, and the Grand Duke of Baden had run away. Under these trying circumstances an acquittal at the trial was certain.

Then, instead of wisely getting away, our enthusiast made a hopeless attempt to win over a Württemberg regiment bodily to the side of the people, was as nearly as possible re-arrested, and had to get off to Baden. There the precious Committee, with the equally precious Brentano at its head, was sitting. For the nature and actions of this Committee the reader is referred to Karl Marx's work, just published, on "Germany in 1848." Liebknecht, after a passionate interview with Brentano, made up his mind that this worthy was secretly intriguing with the reaction, and he told Struve and Johann Philip Becker, his elders, of his belief. They, however, did not share it at that time, and in a few days he was arrested again, and his cutlass and pocket-knife taken from him, as the bold Brentano for two whole days affirmed, or swore, perhaps, that these deadly weapons were intended for him. At the expiration of the two whole days, Liebknecht was set free, just in time to take his share in the actual physical fighting in Baden. When our English audiences see and hear this pleasant, genial, benignant old gentleman, they will hardly believe that in 1848 he was bombardier in the battery of Becker. When the "Rebels" were defeated, Liebknecht made his way again into the sanctuary of Switzerland, this time to French Switzerland and Geneva. There he met for the first time Frederick Engels, who in the same warfare had served as an adjutant in Willich's volunteers.

The German Swiss Trade Union movement was at that time moving vigorously. Liebknecht tried to unify the trade unions on the basis of a Socialist programme. It was proposed to hold a conference at Murten or Morat on Lake Morat. This gave the necessary pretext to the authorities, who straightway arrested Liebknecht again. This time they determined to get rid of him thoroughly, so he was carried to the French frontier by the Swiss police, handed over to the French police, escorted by them through France, and seen safely into a ship and packed off to England like a bale of contraband goods. This took place in February, 1850. Arrived in London,

he for the first time made the personal acquaintance of Karl Marx and his family, and was an intimate and daily visitor at the rooms in Dean Street, Soho, nearly opposite the present Royalty Theatre, in which Marx was writing the "Kritik" and "The 18th Brumaire." Afterwards, when times bettered a little, the Marx family moved to Grafton Terrace, Haverstock Hill, and Liebknecht with his belongings lived almost opposite the "Mother Shipton" in that neighbourhood. It is worth noticing, as showing Liebknecht's kindness and self-sacrifice, that on one occasion—an occasion never forgotten by Marx—when Marx's wife was down with small-pox, Liebknecht, although he had a child of his own, took the Marx's children into his house.

In those days Liebknecht was very straitened in his means. What little he possessed had been confiscated, and although he had a little newspaper correspondent work, most of the thirteen years that he lived in England were years of hunger, and all of them were years of sorrow. During that time he joined the celebrated Communist League.

In 1862, on the accession of William III., there was an amnesty for political offenders, and Liebknecht returned to work upon the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. Ostensibly this paper was to attack Napoleon. Its editor, August Brass, wanted Liebknecht to write extreme articles to win over the working classes. As a matter of fact, Brass was really working with and for Bismarck, whose astute object in allowing the Liebknecht articles was to get hold of the working classes and use them against the advanced middle class. When Liebknecht found this out, he at once gave up the position, although it was one that secured him against pecuniary difficulties as long as he held it.

About this time, after considerable hesitation, Liebknecht joined the organisation founded by Lassalle, and known as the Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiter Verein. Lassalle was then, of course, dead, and von Schweitzer was the leader of the party. He had founded a newspaper, the "Social-Democrat," to which at first Marx, Engels, and Liebknecht contributed. But here also these three writers believed after a time that treachery was again at work, and they all three withdrew from the paper. In the year 1865 Liebknecht was again banished from Berlin and Prussia. He went to Hanover and then to Leipzig. In Leipzig he met Bebel for the first time, and from their meeting and the work done by them and others dates the commencement of the formation of the present immensely powerful German Social-Democratic Party. The trade unions in Saxony were growing greatly in strength, and between them, Bebel and Liebknecht on the one hand, and the Lassallean party on the other, there was conflict. When the war of 1866 between Prussia and Austria broke out, the workers' unions of Saxony, led by Liebknecht and Bebel, declared, most unpatriotically and most socialistically, against Bismarck and Prussia. About this time Liebknecht and his friends managed to get hold of a Leipzig paper, the *Mitteldeutsche Zeitung*, which was promptly suppressed.

In 1866 again, August, a congress was held at Chemnitz between the

Saxony unions and the Lassalleans. This congress accepted a more or less Socialist programme which had been drawn up by Liebknecht. One of the results of the Congress was the formation of the Saxony Volkspartei (People's Party). This Volkspartei had a short life, for the good and sufficient reason that in 1868, at the Eisenach Congress of the anti-Lassalleans, the great Social-Democratic Party of Germany was founded. This at once absorbed the Saxony Volkspartei, and has since absorbed all other sectarian organisations.

In February, 1867, took place the elections for the North German Parliament. Although Liebknecht was a candidate in the 19th Saxony district, embracing the towns of Stollberg, Lugau and Schneeberg, he could not take part in the election owing to the little accident that he was undergoing three months' imprisonment. This particular imprisonment was due to the fact that when, after the Prussian and Austrian war, an amnesty for political offenders was declared, he thought the amnesty covered him, and went to Berlin to arrange certain business matters. Consequence—arrest, and three months' imprisonment. Further consequence—failure at the elections, a failure atoned for in September of the same year, when he was elected. In January, 1868, the organ of the party, *Demokratische Wochenblatt*, was founded, and Liebknecht was made the editor of it at the princely salary of thirty shillings a month. Then followed more strife with the Lassalleans, ending ultimately in the chief of them coming over to the new Social-Democratic Party.

In September, 1869, Liebknecht, who was a member of the "International," was sent as a delegate to the International Congress at Basel. There he had a brave fight for his resolution in favour of the abolition of private property in all the means of production and exchange. His little work on the land question, written about this time, is still of great value on this subject.

The *Demokratische Wochenblatt* became the enlarged *Volkstatt*, appearing three times a week, and Liebknecht was still the editor. Not very long after its starting occurred the Franco-German war of 1870-71. Here Liebknecht, along with Bebel and others, both in the newspapers and in the German Parliament, raised their voices fearlessly against the iniquity of the war on both sides. They pointed out that the workers of France and the workers of Germany had no quarrel, and they protested against the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine. Both Liebknecht and Bebel believe to this hour that their arrest, which followed hard upon these their righteous denunciations, was prompted by the King and Bismarck, then at Versailles. Anyhow they were arrested on December 17, 1870, on the charge of preparation for high treason. With them was arrested Hepner, one of their fellow workers on the *Volkstatt*. The arrest and the trial both took place at Leipzig; the trial, however, not until three months after the arrest, *i.e.*, on March 28, 1871. Their sentence was two years, and the three and a-half months that they had been lying under arrest was mercifully counted as part of the two years, but only as equivalent to two months. As Bebel

has written of this trial: "The trial itself, in which Liebknecht appeared as the chief accused, was, as far as the party was concerned, the most splendid means of agitation we could have wished for, and the effect it produced was worth all that we had to undergo."

After his release Liebknecht was the chief instrument in bringing about the Congress of 1875 at Gotha, where the final and complete union between the Lassalleans and the Eisenachers, as the others have been called, took place. From that time forward there was only one party in Germany, the German Socialist Workers' Party, and the *Volkstaat* became the *Vorwärts*, with Liebknecht still its chief editor, although Hasenclever was associated with him. In 1878 Bismarck made his celebrated attempt and his most ignominious failure: the anti-Socialist law. That lasted twelve years, up to 1890. During those twelve years Liebknecht was obliged to live at a little village called Borsoff, separated from his wife and children. What a failure the anti-Socialist law was—how during the time of it and in consequence of it the strength of the party grew by leaps and bounds—all the world knows now. And it is admitted on all hands that one of the greatest causes of that failure, so ignominious and so complete, was Liebknecht. Hear again what Bebel says: "How this attempt (to break up the German Social-Democracy) failed, everyone knows. But that it failed to do this, Liebknecht has contributed to most efficiently."

A FRAGMENT OF AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

We are indebted to *Vorwärts* for the following:—

In 1872 Liebknecht was brought before the High Court at Leipzig, charged with high treason. The prosecution gave a fancy biography of him, and Liebknecht's defence is really a fragment of autobiography. He apologises for speaking so much about himself; he says that he came from an official family, and was destined for official life. "But when at school I already had become acquainted with Saint Simon's writings, which opened a new world to me. I was not so anxious to make a living as to endeavour to do my duty to the State and to society. I entered the University when I was 16, and studied many subjects. I had given up the idea of entering the Civil Service, but I had some idea of becoming a tutor, and hoped eventually to become a Professor. But I soon found out that if I wanted to go in for that career I should have to sacrifice all my opinions, and so in 1847 I determined to emigrate to the United States. I was setting out for Hamburg, but in the coach I made the acquaintance of a man who made me quite change all my plans, and I determined to go to Switzerland. I got down at the next stage, and went to Zurich instead of Hamburg. Well, the prosecution say that I wrote a tragedy which I could not get acted. I did nothing of the kind, but I do not mind saying that I wrote some verses in my youth—that is one of the weaknesses of youth, but I soon got over it."

"In February, 1848, I heard of the revolution in Paris, and I thought that the people had won. I went there at once, and found that the fighting was over. I then hoped that a Republic might be established in Germany. I do not wish to conceal my opinion from the judges and the jury. Since I have been able to think I have been a Republican, and as a Republican I will die. Owing to illness I was not able to join Herwegh in his attempt on Germany, and I went to Zurich. Then I took part in all the movements of Struve in Baden, and I was taken prisoner. For nine months I was in prison without trial, but was released and afterwards fought in Baden." After the final defeat Liebknecht went to Switzerland. There he tried to organise trade unions, but was arrested by the Government and put over the French frontier and sent by the French police to England. "In London I became a member of the Communist society, and I then became the friend of Marx; previous to that time I had known only Engels. This society was not one of conspirators, but a propagandist one. It was obliged to be secret, as there was no toleration of unions and societies of this kind in Germany—like the early Christians, we had to meet in secret." "In London I lived thirteen years working at politics and having a very hard time. In 1862 I went back to Germany and worked with A. Brass, who had been a red republican in 1848, on a newly-founded newspaper, the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, which was attacking the empire of Napoleon III. But I did not stay long on the paper, for I found that Herr von Bismarck had a good deal to do with the financing of this organ. Brass tried to keep me and said that I should have full liberty on my part of the paper, that dealing with foreign politics, but I would not stay. And I have always declined to be bought." "I cannot, of course, positively say that Herr von Bismarck wished to buy me, but I can say that agents of Herr von Bismarck wished to buy me. He does not mind apostates, because he knows that they must work hard for their new master and will be very docile." Liebknecht then went on to speak of Lassalle and of a new newspaper which he founded. In 1865 he was again banished from Russia, as he was considered dangerous to the public safety. He went to Leipzig and managed to start a paper, which was soon suppressed. "In 1867, thinking that the amnesty included me, I went to Berlin and was arrested and sentenced to three months' imprisonment. I was told that I could appeal but that I should be kept in prison during the appeal. I declined to do so, and told the judges that I would only appeal to the court of public opinion, and that I have done, since my release, in the press and in the German Parliament.

"Since 1867 you have probably all heard of my actions.

"I have given you these facts about myself with great reluctance, and should not have done so had not the prosecution told a lot of falsehoods concerning me. But I had to defend my honour and the honour of those with whom I have worked. I have kept back nothing. I am what I have always been, and I have held the same opinions ever since I was a lad of 22. I have striven to fight manfully, and I am not an adventurer who only wishes

to make his fortune. I have not thought of personal advantages, and if there was a conflict between principle and interest I have always held fast to my principles.

"I am poor, but I am proud of it, for it is the proof of the purity of my honour. I am not an adventurer, I am not a conspirator, but I am a soldier of the revolution, and am proud of it."

"When I was young I formed two ideals of a free and united Germany and of the emancipation of the proletariat, the freeing of mankind. I have fought for these ideals with all my might, and I will do so as long as there is breath in my body. That is my bounden duty."

LIEBKNECHT'S FIRST SPEECH.

The German papers give Liebknecht's own account of his first speech. "When I was in Switzerland in 1848 at Zurich it was determined by the many German exiles there to found a society of exiles, and after some persuading I agreed to give the inaugural address. It did not trouble me much. The evening before I just noted a few thoughts on paper and then slept the sleep of the just.

"The next day—the day of battle—the first thing I did was to look at my notes, and then it occurred to me that the thing was not so easy as I had imagined. But I was eager for the fray, and had no doubt that I should pull through. I determined to go on, and wrote out the speech. Then I read the mighty work, put a couple of fine thoughts at the end, and a beautiful peroration—and now I was at ease, till midday.

"At dinner I was with friends. They talked about the meeting, about the speech, and all kinds of ideas were developed about which I had not thought. I determined to re-write my speech. I did so, and had just finished when it was time to go to the meeting. Now I first felt the gravity of the situation. Suppose I should be stuck? How ashamed I should be. How foolish I should look. I just said a few words to myself, it went very badly. When we came near the hall I said a few more. Dash it—it went worse. The doors opened.

"I heard many people speak to me who were going to hear me speak. I was led to a seat and the chairman—who had a bald head—was opposite to me. I bowed and smiled mechanically and felt very hot and uncomfortable. I could not help noticing the candelabra and saw what pretty pieces of glass hung from them, and they seemed to go round and round. At last I was called upon to speak. I rose, but everything seemed to be dancing round and round. I began by saying, 'Gentlemen and Citizens,' and then I stopped. But by chance I saw the chairman's bald head. This saved me, the spell was broken, but I had forgotten the speech which I had so carefully prepared, but I felt that I was on my feet. I went on speaking, I do not know how long I spoke or what I said. But I was cheered to the echo and a republican union was founded. I was astonished, however, at the compliments paid me seeing that I had nearly run away. In the same way

a soldier under fire for the first time must often feel frightened, but yet sometimes he rushes at the enemy and gets the Iron Cross.

"Since that time I have always felt much pity for the man who has to make his maiden speech. I mean for those who are not fools. For fools never hesitate, they go straight on and make no mistakes. They are the people who learn their speeches by heart and then fire away. But they will never become good speakers. I have often noticed this and could give many examples.

"The union came to nothing, for the events of 1848 broke it up."

The reader who has to make a speech and feels frightened, even to such an extent that he breaks down, may take courage from Liebknecht's example.

LETTERS FROM LIEBKNECHT TO HIS WIFE DURING HIS JOURNEY TO ITALY
IN FEBRUARY, 1900.

In February of this year Liebknecht was able to do what he had wished to do for many years. A friend invited him and his son to go to Naples and then to make some stay at San Remo. He enjoyed the visit very much, and meditated writing a book on it, but he never had time to do it. We are enabled, by the courtesy of Mme. Liebknecht, to publish the following letters and post-cards which he sent her. These show how he enjoyed with enthusiasm everything beautiful and great in nature, art and life. On one of the last notes are these words: "Italy. Dreams are realities; realities are dreams."

From Milan he wrote:

"My Darling,—We came here in good health, but have had very bad weather, although only for a day. To-day I received your two letters, and also saw the sun of Italy. Yesterday we went to the cathedral and to several other places. . . . I must go out now as the youngsters make me. Greetings from all and a thousand kisses from thy Wilhelm."

On February 17 he writes on a post-card from Rome:

"We are sitting in front of St. Peter's. It is too warm for an overcoat. We are half-dead with looking at all the beautiful things. Professor Soldi is our guide. In an hour's time we are going to Ferri."

On February 18 he says:

"To-day you are going to Grunewald; we have been to the Palatine, we have been in old Rome, and are now sitting in a Roman inn thinking of you and of Germany. We are going to the Capitol. Everything is very beautiful. A thousand kisses."

On February 19 he writes from Rome:

"My Darling,—We are now sitting with Professor Soldi near the Temple of the Sibyl. We have been to see the waterfall and the Cave of Neptune. It is May in February. Everything is green, and the trees are in full bloom. It is wonderfully beautiful. A thousand kisses."

From Naples, on February 22, he wrote as follows:

"My Darling,—We arrived here yesterday at 3.47 p.m., and it is now 1.29 p.m.

"We are with an Italian friend, Signor Croll, who is taking us about. The sky is blue! We have not yet seen Vesuvius. Everybody is very

good to us. The more I see of the Italians, the more I like them. I send you two violets which I gathered near Frascati and Tivoli. I received your dear letter yesterday. It brought good news and made us all sleep well.

"The hotel in which we live is very good; the beds are all right, the food is excellent. Italian cooking is better than its reputation, and in the large hotels it is, of course, international cookery. I am going to send by telegram a birthday greeting to Bebel. A thousand kisses for you and the children."

On the following day, February 23, he wrote from Naples:

"We have just come back from Pompeii; the weather is finer than our May days. On the one side is Vesuvius, on the other side is the sea, snow-covered mountains and the city of the dead. I cannot describe all that we have seen. We all feel as if we were in heaven."

NICE, February 27.—"We arrived here after 25 hours' torture by rail. We have been well received here and are quite well. We shall soon be at San Remo" (where his host lived). "To-day is Tuesday and the end of the Carnival."

Next he sent an illustrated post-card, dated March 2, saying: "As you see, we live here under palm trees, but to-day it was as cold as if we had been in Berlin, and we had to have a fire."

A few days later he wrote: "We have just come from a walk round the town and through the hills near. It is wonderful, and such a cloudless sky. I cannot tell you how beautiful it is here and how heartily people greet us. On Saturday or Sunday we start for San Remo."

From Villafranca he wrote: "We wanted to go to Monte Carlo, where we were going to gamble. I thought that I might win a million; if I had I would send you half. Yesterday we saw the blue tones over mountain, sky and sea which only a painter could paint."

On March 11, writing on an illustrated post-card, he says: "I write you these lines from San Remo. On the card you will see washerwomen of Nice. There, and all along the Riviera, washing is done in the open air and the clothes are put on stones to dry. I am getting home-sick. Nature is so beautiful that I seem to live in a dream, and everybody is so kind."

The next day the "old one" (this is a pet name in Germany for Liebknecht) wrote: "My Darling,—I am feeling lonely and rather melancholy. I send you two violets, which I found growing. Everything seems to grow here in the open air: all kinds of hot-house flowers and cherries, oranges and lemons. Good-bye, one kiss more."

On March 14, he says: "You cannot think how well I feel and how kind everybody is to me."

The last long letter is as follows:—

"My Darling,—It rains, and I am sitting in my room and am looking on palms and cedars. Willy is upstairs and Mr. A. is teaching him how to break the bank at Monte Carlo. We are going to try it on next Tuesday. The rain makes me melancholy, but it does the plants good which have not had a drop for six weeks. Mr. A. is very kind to me and wants to send you a present, but I shall only accept something of trifling value; he wants me to stay longer here, but that is impossible. I shall be at Berlin before the 29th" (his birthday).

Just before his return, he wrote :—

“Yesterday we went to a village which was destroyed by an earthquake in 1887. It is like a modern Pompeii, not a soul lives in the ruin. To-day it is rain, rain, rain. On Sunday I am off; it seems hard to go. I feel like the beggar in the ‘Arabian Nights’ who was a prince for a day. I wish you had been here as my princess. A thousand kisses to you and the children, from thy Wilhelm.”

FUNERAL ADDRESS OF BEBEL.

Liebknecht was buried at Berlin on Sunday, August 12. Orations were delivered over his grave by representatives of all European countries. That by his friend and comrade Auguste Bebel was as follows :—

“We are here because Wilhelm Liebknecht, our great leader, our brave fighter, is no more. It is with a sad heart that we meet here, a sadness which is shared by all workmen of the West. Death has overthrown him as the lightning from a clear sky shatters the sturdy, noble oak. His death was sudden and unexpected. When, on August 7, the news of the death of our dear Liebknecht spread through the world there was everywhere grief and sorrow, but also much doubt. I was among those who doubted. I was in Switzerland, and saw the announcement in the newspapers. The telegram said, ‘Liebknecht is dead.’ ‘Impossible,’ said I to myself. For, had I not read in the newspapers how recently he had made speeches? Did I not know that he was soon coming to beautiful Zurich, and on the very day of his funeral he was to make a speech there in favour of the union of Swiss, German, and Austrian workmen? I thought of all this. And it was not till I saw *Vorwaerts* that I knew that the sad news was only too true. It is, alas, true that the voice is still which has so often spoken in defence of popular rights, and that the pen has fallen from the hand of him who wrote in our defence.

“It is not my object now to say what services were rendered by Liebknecht to German workmen and to the workmen of the whole world. That will be done by others who are better qualified for the task than I am. He was always ready for the fight, and in his seventy-fourth year he was more active than many a young man. His whole life was devoted to the service of mankind; for 58 years he served the working-classes. When a young man of 21 he was working for the proletariat in Switzerland, and when he was 22 he hastened back to Germany, as the Revolution had broken out. Imprisoned, but released, he fought for freedom and the unity of Germany. Then, beaten, he went into exile for 13 years. His activity during the last 37 years we all know. All of us owe him much, especially myself, who have been his friend for the last 35 years, and have fought many a hard battle by his side. I thank thee, my old friend, from the bottom of my heart for the good thou hast done me.

“Whenever there was any fighting to do he was to the fore, whether in Parliament, the press, in unions or in meetings. He was never tired and was always ready to do his best for the cause. The news of his death makes us feel this more. He, who though old and at an age when many retire

from active life, was full of energy and zeal and was struck down by death as by a flash of lightning. He was not only a fighter for the sake of the German proletariat, but he fought for the international proletariat. He was the incarnation, so to speak, of international thought, but that did not prevent him being a good German, in a true democratic sense, though not in the official meaning of the word. All workmen looked up to him and asked him for advice. He never refused to help whenever he could do so. Not only was Liebknecht a great party leader; he was a great man. He was a true friend, a good comrade and a genius. We shall never know a better comrade. He, who, according to our opponents, wanted to destroy honour and family, was the most honourable man, the best father that could ever be found. He was loved by all the proletariat. When four years ago we celebrated his seventieth birthday we saw how he was loved and respected by all. But these last few days have shown how much greater was the love felt towards him. We see around us thousands of tokens of love; there are here hundreds of delegates, not only from Germany, but from the West, who testify their esteem and affection for him. Our opponents, some of whom even now are belittling him, may learn from these tokens his great worth and what an affection the people had for him. The seed he has sown will yield a rich harvest, his name will be inscribed in golden letters in the history of the emancipation of labour. The harvest will be great, the goal for which he strove will be reached by our successors. Farewell, dear and true friend. We will always think of thee and will strive to follow thy example. Rest in peace! We thank thee for thy work!"

LIEBKNECHT'S POLITICAL TESTAMENT.

On July 28 last Liebknecht made a speech at Dresden on foreign politics, and he just finished correcting the proofs before he died. The following extracts give a good idea of this important speech:—

"Great events will soon occur. The future is born of the present. And already in the old world we have glimpses of the new. And instead of the dangerous and disastrous foreign policy of the old world we see glimpses of the new foreign policy, as in the International Textile Congress which was recently held at Berlin. There is a working, a pacific foreign policy. The workmen who come to these congresses have neither stars nor orders, but they have done more for peace than all the diplomatists.

"As long as workmen of different nations are under the control of nationalist capitalists there is a danger of capitalist war. But if once labour is organised internationally then there is no danger. New societies will be formed based on freedom and equality. Noble ideas ennoble men. In a few months we shall have an International Congress in Paris which will be the greatest that the world has ever seen. It will be far different to the Hague Conference, and will not be convened by a semi-Oriental despot. There all the workmen of the world will be represented. There will be a meeting based on freedom, on equality, on brotherhood, whose aim will be

so to organise labour that man may live a life that is worth living, so that all men may share in the advantages which civilisation brings, so that art, science and culture may be for all and not for a few. That is the foreign policy of the proletariat, the foreign policy of international Social-Democracy."

THE LAST ARTICLE WRITTEN BY LIEBKNECHT.

The following is a translation of the last article that Liebknecht ever wrote for *Vorwaerts*. It is only a fragment ; it is called " Fishing in Troubled Waters," and refers to the Junkers (the squires of Prussia) who want to make use of the present situation as they did 22 years ago when they made use of the anti-Socialist laws to get something for themselves. The article begins :—

" In the beginning of 1890 Caprivi suddenly came to the conclusion that the State existed for the benefit of the whole nation and not for the good of a petty clique, and that is why he made commercial treaties with Austria and with Russia. As a punishment for this wicked action of his he was severely punished and buried alive." Then Liebknecht goes on to show how the Junkers managed to make a good thing out of the troubles : " The Junkers want to be rich but they do not want to work ; they want to be kept by the people. They consider that that is their duty. The German people ought to give tithes of all their possessions to the Junkers in order that these may live in idleness." Then he goes on to show how they are always wanting money, and finishes by saying :

" Be on the alert, German people, and spoil the game of these people.

" There is no time to lose."

Thus he wrote in his last article. It is a call to arms which will lead us to battle and to victory. Rally ! " There is no time to lose ! "

JACQUES BONHOMME.

" COMPETITION is doomed. Once a good, it has now become an evil. But simultaneously—and probably as part of the same process—springs up, as I say, a new morality. Everywhere to-day signs of this may be seen, felt. It is felt that the relation which systematically allows the weaker to go to the wall is not human."—EDWARD CARPENTER.

" ENGLAND has become a nation of thieves. Everyone is trying to rob everybody else, and that not bravely and strongly, but in the cowardly and loathsome ways of lying trade."—RUSKIN.

WHEN YOU ARE DEAD !—" Christianity tells the poor man that he may be as well off as his rich neighbour that a day will come when he will be in heaven, and will be in as good a position as the man who rides in his carriage to-day."—REV. DR. RENTOUL, " Evidences of Christianity."

LOVE OF COUNTRY.

IN Professor Beesly's article in the August *Positivist Review*, in reply to my criticisms of his statement anent "Socialists and Patriotism," I find what I cannot help regarding as a serious misconception (if Professor Beesly will permit me to say so) of the relative positions and importance of the three altruistic objects of the moral consciousness. This misconception, I believe, is inherent in Positivism (a system, be it remembered, excogitated and completed during the first half of the century), and hence not peculiar to Professor Beesly, but it largely explains the difficulty expressed in imagining the possibility of a "good man" being without patriotism. According to Professor Beesly, and, I believe, Positivists generally, the family, the country, and humanity constitute the objective trinity of human morality and religion. Now, as to the family, all Socialists in a sense admit this as a genuine social entity, albeit they point out that the great industry is rapidly undermining the present monogamic family system, in so far as the proletarian masses are concerned. And this leads me to explain, parenthetically, the difference between the term *family*, as meaning a social *étape*, recognised by Socialists, and the term *family* as used by Positivist writers. Modern Socialism, in accordance with modern anthropological research, recognises that the "family" is a continuous growth, that the word has meant different things at different times. In early tribal society, to take one important stage alone, it meant a very diverse social group from the patriarchal family of later tribal society and early civilisation, and this again from the monogamic business-arrangement family of modern times. That this latter is necessarily final Socialists do not admit. To Auguste Comte, and it would seem also to his followers, on the contrary, the indissoluble monogamic family is an institution which was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be.

However, to enter the lists with Professor Beesly on the subject of the family would take us beyond the limits of the present discussion. Suffice it to say that while conceding the family, with the above caveat, as a true and real social *étape*, I am quite unable to say as much for the object of present-day patriotism, viz., the modern State or nation. The latter is certainly not a *real*, in the sense of an essential, articulation or stage of human society, but a mushroom growth dating from the close of the Middle Ages (*circa* the fifteenth century). Before this there existed no nations in the modern sense, as Professor Beesly is well aware, but more or less loosely or closely knit confederacies (in the Middle Ages of a feudal character), to which, as such, no such sentiment as patriotism applied. When it *did* apply in ancient and, to some extent, also in mediæval times, it was to the *city*. It is indeed strange that anyone of the historical knowledge and acuteness of Professor Beesly should lump together in one category the "love of country which was carried to the highest pitch in the city States of antiquity" with "the love of country" which inspires the modern music-hall. The devotion

of the citizen of, say, the Greek or Italian city was not so much love of country as love of the corporate social body—the choir, visible and invisible, the living, the dead and the unborn—which constituted the real Rome, Athens, Thebes, &c., of the virile period of those city-States. This so-called “patriotism” was a natural extension of the “family” sentiment, that is, of the personal bond (originally of blood-relationship), which is all that the family sentiment means. This somewhat extended, but still comparatively limited, social group, growing directly, as it does, out of the family or tribal relation, retains to a great extent the organic nature of its origin, and as such is a perfectly natural and conceivable object of human devotion. This city-patriotism of the ancient world, and, in a sense, also of the Middle Ages, I can understand. But when I am asked to feel a “patriotic” emotion for that monstrosity, the modern centralised State, made up of an amorphous aggregate of forty or fifty million souls, or, at least, stomachs—an emotion I am on no account to feel for another similar monstrosity across the Channel—when I am told that it is my duty to entertain a special affection for a boozey, “God-Save-the-Queen” and “Rule Britannia”-bawling mafficker rather than for an equally foolish but not so personally revolting a follower of M. Déroulède, because, forsooth, the one is my countryman and the other not—then I confess my moral sense does not respond; these things are above or below its apprehension. Professor Beesly repudiates for Positivists my definition of patriotism as implying a “special duty of attachment” to one’s own State “against any other.” But if the words “against any other” do not apply, what becomes of Positivist patriotism? Certainly these words are involved in the ordinary definition of patriotism. If you eliminate them you arrive at the somewhat banal result (from the patriotic point of view) that you are to wish well to your country in all things compatible with the welfare of other countries. Socialists, I am sure, will heartily concur in this amiable sentiment, but patriots, I am afraid, will regard its quality as somewhat thin. In fact, Professor Beesly’s repudiation of the words in question would, I think, go far to justify us in claiming him as an internationalist, and no patriot after all.

For what otherwise is the sense, I ask, in stopping short at this artificial stage in our ethical ascent rather than recognise the essential unity of the nations of modern civilisation? Professor Beesly finds a *non-sequitur* in my statement that increased economic dependence must tend in the long run towards political unification. To argue the matter here would take too long. I can only say that, at a proper time and place, I am perfectly prepared to maintain my position. But even apart from this, and discussing on Positivist principles alone, I should have thought that the separation of the great nations of the West on the basis of mere nationalist sentiment could be scarcely absolved of the charge of arbitrariness. If we can love a nation of forty millions we can love Humanity at once, or at least that section of humanity which stands on the same general level of development as ourselves, viz., the European peoples and their offshoots. The perpetuation of the rivalry between Englishman, Frenchman, and German, based on distinction of nationality or State-system, to day can obviously alone subserve

the selfish interests of the profit-makers of those countries, and by no means of the peoples. But logical modern Social-Democracy, while repudiating patriotism, does not even wish to supplant it by a vague humanitarianism. The object it places in the stead of *country* is not directly *humanity*, but the International Social-Democratic *Party*, the party of the class-conscious proletariat. This, which to-day exists in all countries, has only recently given the world a magnificent testimonial of its strength at the funeral of our dear friend and leader, the late Wilhelm Liebknecht. I mean not merely its strength in numbers but its strength in human enthusiasm and devotion. That the present Socialist Party will ultimately embrace humanity is our fervent hope and belief, but that day is not yet, and meanwhile we are content with the lesser object.

And now, before concluding these few words, I should like to put a question or two to Professor Beesly (whom we all respect) with a view of elucidating his views more fully than as given in the article "*Inter Arma*." Believing, as he apparently does, in the modern centralised nation or State as a permanent political entity, does he consider that it ought to be held responsible for crimes it may commit against the comity of nations, as the individual is for offences against other individuals? If so, ought such a State or nation, as such, to receive punishment for its crimes? If this, again, be admitted, supposing the British State to have committed a crime against international justice, and hence against Humanity, would Professor Beesly feel it his duty, as a good Positivist, to desire, and may be to aid, in the punishment of the British nation, or would he adopt the attitude "my country, right or wrong"? Could he, even apart from this, conceive of any combination of circumstances in which it would be for the good of Humanity that Britain should be discomfited and the British power destroyed or materially weakened, and hence in which it would be his duty as a servant of Humanity to desire and work for this consummation?

E. BELFORD BAX.



TAKE a single steel rail producing plant, like Carnegie's, at Braddock, Pa., producing daily 30 miles of steel rails, which in ten days is 300 miles of rail, and in 100 days is 3,000 miles of rail, and in another 100 days is another 3,000 miles of rail, or the equivalent of 3,000 miles of track (two parallel rails), sufficient to cross the American continent. Remember that in recent years the average new mileage of all the railroads of the United States has been less than 2,000 miles. Here, then, we have a Carnegie concern in 200 days, or less than eight months, producing 1,000 miles more of track than all the new mileage of the United States for a whole year. In twelve months the Carnegie concern produces 4,500 miles of track, or two and one-quarter times as much as the total new railroad mileage in the United States. Recollect the various other large rail-producing establishments in the United States, and it becomes self-evident why they must favour expansion.

SOME EVILS OF THE PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF RAILWAYS.

(*Conclusion.*)

THE COMPANIES AND THEIR EMPLOYEES.

The condition of the employees on the railways could scarcely be worse, as regards wages and hours of labour, under any system, and could undoubtedly be better under nationalised railways. "Though their occupation is the most dangerous but one in the country, their wages, instead of conforming to the economic theory of higher remuneration for extra risk, rank with those of the lowest paid." Perhaps we had better give figures to substantiate this. A Board of Trade report in 1893 gives the number of railway workers (excluding certain classes, such as superintendents, &c.) at 264,450. Of these, 76,770 received between 20s. and 25s. a week, and 111,086 the princely amount of between 15s. and 20s. Thus, out of 264,450 the wages of 187,856, or over 70 per cent., were between 15s. and 25s.

Things in this direction do not seem to have improved much since 1893, as the returns for last year, 1899, give the total number of employees at 327,269, and the wages they received £407,338, or an average of just under 25s (24s. 10½d.). When we deduct station-masters, superintendents, and other highly-paid officials, it will be seen that the average wage received by the bulk of the railway workers is an extremely low one.

That the hours of labour are outrageously long is too well known to be argued about. Unfortunately too many instances could be given in support of this, were it necessary in this article. Let us hope that at the present time they are a great deal better than a few years ago, as shown by the numerous cases cited by Mr. Edwards in his book. That there is room for better conditions both in wages and hours is proved by the fact that a great deal of evidence *re* railway workers was given before the Labour Commission, when it was shown that many railway men were working 70 hours a week for a wage of 14s. Our capitalistic system has some glorious characteristics, truly.

As if the small wages and long hours were not sufficient, there is the liability to injury and death to which the railway worker is constantly liable; and seeing that, owing to preventive measures adopted, the rate of killed has decreased from 1 in 320 in 1874 to 1 in 1,052 in 1895, it is safe to assume that if every possible means were taken to ensure the workers' safety the number of accidents could be further largely reduced. Some of the statistics, especially of, say, 20 years ago, are truly appalling, and fully justify the report of the General Railway Workers' Union for 1893 calling the railway service "the slaughter-house of the workers."

The attacks made on the men by the companies forbidding them the freedom to combine is another hardship for the men, although not bearing

directly on State ownership, as our capitalist masters have shown us that in a nationalised industry, if it is run on capitalistic lines, they dislike, and in fact forbid, combination among the workers. We refer to the Post Office. Even where the railway workers have so far overcome the companies' opposition, and won the right to combine in a trade union, the directors still oppose them in every possible way. We have seen a striking example of this in the recent strained relations between the workers and the company on the Great Eastern line, the directors promising and procrastinating with the men until a supply of non-union labour is obtained and the rush of holiday traffic is over. Fortunately the railway workers do not want converting to railway nationalisation; they are already in favour of it. Let them, therefore, carry their belief into all their actions, and also endeavour to persuade the public to the same way of thinking.

STATE RAILWAYS IN PRACTICE.

Mr. Edwards has two instructive chapters under this head, the first dealing with Europe, the other with Australia. As a preliminary he gives a list of the railway mileage under private ownership and under the State in the various countries of Europe:—

	Companies.	State.
Russia in Europe	9,516	11,182
Norway	42	958
Sweden	3,835	1,899
Denmark	301	1,069
Germany	2,083	23,030
Holland	781	885
Belgium	795	2,043
France	23,334	1,634
Switzerland*	2,201	—
Spain	7,301	—
Italy	—	9,280
Austria (Proper)	5,865	4,288
Hungary	2,923	4,618
Roumania	—	1,603

He goes on:—"The question as to whether the cost of administration is greater under State or private management is one of vital importance. There are doubtless a very large number of people who are prepared to nationalise the railways on principle, even if their cost of administration should be greater than under private ownership. And there is certainly a very great deal to be said for their contention, for the railroads have become the virtual highways of the country, and the theory of using the highways for the development of the country, regardless of whether they 'pay,' might not unreasonably be applied to the railways, if necessary, as a final resort. But on the other hand, there are a great many people—probably a large majority of the business classes—who are only prepared for the State to take over the railways as a purely commercial transaction, and who would

* The Swiss railways have since been nationalised, on a referendum vote.

certainly oppose the transfer if they believed the State would be more prodigal of expenditure than the administrators of the present system. It will, therefore, be of advantage to take the question out of the realm of abstract principle and refer it to the test of actual experience for a moment." The following table, compiled by Mr. J. S. Jeans ("Railway Problems"), compares the cost of administration.

Countries.	State lines.	Companies' lines.
	Per cent.	Per cent.
Germany	9.40	13.10
Austria-Hungary	6.50	8.47
Belgium	5.05	10.13
Denmark	6.89	5.77
France... ..	16.16	9.58
Italy	6.49	8.76
Norway	7.30	7.00
Holland	5.30	10.35
Roumania	4.40	10.80
Russia	9.27	13.70

It will be noticed that in France alone is the cost of State administration considerably greater than private administration. This difference, Mr. Jeans tells us, is explained by the fact "that the State only owns the feeders and the companies the main trunks. France, therefore, is exceptional. But in the case of countries where the conditions of the comparisons are more parallel, the State lines will be seen to be invariably the more economically managed as regards administration. Belgium supplies one of the most notable examples of this economy, the State-controlled lines being administered for less than one-half the relative cost of the lines belonging to private companies."

In regard to the rates and charges for the transit of goods, a long list is given, comparing the charges on British lines with those on the German, Belgian and Dutch railways. Although many kinds of goods and produce are dealt with, the British charges are in every instance enormously higher than the continental. We have, however, touched on this matter in our previous articles, and will refer those who want fuller information to the book itself. It is well to remember, however, that when the workers ask for a shilling or two on their wages or a reduction of their hours, they are menaced with foreign competition; yet our railways extort twice and three times the amount for the carriage of goods as the "foreigner" does.

Dealing with the effect of the transfer to the Government in the three countries above mentioned, Sir Bernhard Samuelson, in a report presented to the Associated Chambers of Commerce, says: "The transfer of the railways from private management to that of the State . . . was intended to produce, and has produced, decided economy in the cost of working the traffic, greater uniformity in rates, and increased accommodation to the public; and the result of the inquiries which I instituted in numerous centres of trades, manufactures, and consumption enables me to state that these advantages have been secured without any drawbacks."

The system of management is admirably calculated to serve the best interests of the public, the accommodation for passengers is better than ours, and the management of the refreshment department is an advance on what obtains here. In regard to the treatment of the railway workers, although the conditions of employment of most classes of German workers are considerably worse than in the case of similar classes in England, the State railway servant is certainly better off than our English railway workers. Not only are the wages better in Prussia than here, but large allowances are made for houses, and every workman and his widow and orphans are entitled to pensions as Civil servants!

Prussia (in Germany) has the largest actual and proportional mileage of State railways, and, in spite of its low rates and fares, it makes a very large profit.

The State railways of Belgium have proved an unqualified success in every way—in cheapness of rates, in efficiency of service, and as an investment of public moneys. Says M. Jeans in "Railway Problems": "The experience obtained in Belgium of the working by the State of at least a portion of the railways existing in that country is entirely in favour of that system. . . . Notwithstanding the superior financial result, the lines worked by the State are those kept in the best order, and the working of which gives the greatest satisfaction to the commercial world and to the public in general, as regards regularity of conveyance, cheapness of transit, and the comfort of travellers."

The other countries dealt with show similar results.

By the Referendum the Swiss people decided definitely in favour of nationalising their whole railway system.

The Australian railways are dealt with in detail, and in another interesting chapter we learn all about the zone system and the great reduction of fares which has usually accompanied its introduction. Under the heading of "The Financial Aspects," Mr. Edwards says: "It is exceedingly important to emphasise the fact that there will be no need to raise a single half-penny of the purchase-money by taxation. The process will be essentially one of simple conversion. Assuming that Parliament decides that the Government shall acquire the railways for the people, then upon a given day a State scrip will be substituted for the present railway share-certificate. If shareholders desire to realise in cash, all they will have to do will be to sell the Government scrip as they sell Consols to-day. So that the taxpayer need feel no alarm at the financial magnitude of the undertaking.

"The terms of State-acquisition are broadly fixed by the Act of 1844 (Clause II.). This declares that the price payable to the companies, if Parliament decide to take over the railways, shall be twenty-five years' purchase of the 'annual divisible profits estimated on the average of the three then next preceding years.' This, however, is subject to one or two important provisos."

With this we will conclude, and hope that the facts and information given in these articles have been interesting, instructive, and useful to our readers.

OLD AGE PENSIONS IN DENMARK.

THE *Contemporary Review* for September contains an article by Miss Edith Sellers which describes the working of the Danish Old Age Relief Law. The writer commences by referring to various objections made by the opponents of the law, some of whom described it as dangerous, fraught with danger to the whole Danish nation, &c. Others said it would demoralise the masses, remove all inducements to save, would cause an enormous expenditure which would cripple industry, and finally would do much positive harm and no good whatever. The idea that the new law might better the condition of the respectable poor, or at least render their lot more endurable, was simply scoffed at. That the Danish law of 1892 is open to criticism cannot be denied. Its most ardent advocates admit the need for improvement. Nevertheless, it is impossible not to realise that it is doing much good in the kingdom and has increased considerably the sum of human happiness. Miss Sellers observes that all the old people with whom she came in contact were loud in its praise, if only as an alternative to pauper relief; this latter being considered, in Denmark, as a disgrace, whereas the acceptance of old age relief is rather a credit to the recipient than otherwise.

Old age relief is granted only to the respectable aged poor men and women over 60 years of age, who must never have been convicted of any crime, and during ten years previous to their application must neither have received pauper relief nor have been found guilty of vagrancy or begging.

Herr Wilnau, who as Kredinspector has administered the Old Age Relief Law since it came into force, referring to the discrimination of the Danish poor between the two classes of relief, says: "The respectable poor are keenly alive to the distinctions our law makes between them and ordinary paupers, and are grateful that it should be made. Many, who would rather die than accept pauper relief, accept old age relief gladly."

The relief is administered in various ways, according to the circumstances of the pensioner. Some receive small annuities, others are boarded out with friends or relatives; others again, those standing alone and feeble, are lodged in old age homes; the hopelessly afflicted are placed in hospitals, where special wards are set apart for their use. For although the law decrees that "relief granted must be sufficient for the support of the person relieved and of his family, and for treatment and necessities in case of illness," no hard and fast rule is laid down as to the form such relief shall assume.

In Copenhagen a beautiful old age home is being built for the accommodation of pensioners too feeble to look after themselves. In the smaller towns large houses have been fitted up for the purpose; while in villages a good-sized cottage suffices. All these homes are comfortable retreats, and some—those at Friedensborg and Randers for instance—are quite delightful places. If possessed of furniture the pensioners take it with them to the homes, otherwise the community provides what is required, together with clothing and an allowance of fourpence weekly for pocket money.

Each home has one or more caretakers, whose special duty it is to look after the inmates, who have complete liberty subject to certain necessary restrictions. Disorderly conduct, begging, or frequenting public-houses entail dismissal from the home. The pensioners in these homes are well

fed and clothed, and are infinitely better off materially than those receiving money allowances, which, however, the aged poor, while fairly strong, prefer.

In Copenhagen, the old age pension is £6 19s. per annum for one person, and for a family, usually man and wife, £8 12s. ; in the trading towns, one person receives £7 15s. per annum, with £9 19s. for families. The country allowance is £3 11s. for one person and for families £5 4s. 4d. per annum. In judging of the value of this relief it must be remembered that medical attendance and necessities are added, and that, except in Copenhagen, living is much cheaper than in England.

It is a source of great satisfaction to the aged poor that the acceptance of old age relief does not involve loss of the rights of citizenship. The Old Age Relief Law was passed for the express purpose of bettering the lot of respectable old age, and, in whatever else it may have failed, in this it has certainly succeeded. No other nation cares for its worn-out workers as they are cared for in Denmark.

All classes of Danes are unanimous in praising its effects. Herr Marcus Rubin, Director of the State Bureau of Statistics, says, "Already the law has brought about a very notable change for the better in the condition of the respectable poor, not so much because they are materially richer, but because they are more contented with their lot, being no longer haunted with the fear of becoming paupers." Staatsraad Jacobi, Burgomaster of Copenhagen, and head of the Poor Law Department, says, "So far as the general comfort of the respectable poor is concerned, the law works for weal and not for woe." Herr Kreiger, head of the Home Office Department, watches over the administration of relief in the communes; he holds that "the law has done much good and very little harm." The majority of burgomasters are of the same opinion. Herr Westergaard, Professor of Political Economy and leader of the Christian Socialists, says "the law has undoubtedly brought about a change for the better in the condition of the respectable poor, but not so great as it ought, or as he had hoped." The Social-Democrats, of course, go further. In their opinion it gives far too little and asks far too much. They admit, however, that even as it stands, the measure is much to be thankful for.

In 1892, the first year the law was in force, the total expenditure was £142,108, in 1894 it amounted to £180,523, in 1897 £232,747 was expended. These sums must not be regarded as representing the actual cost of old age relief—i.e., the actual burden imposed on the nation by the law of 1891. Law or no law the poor must be maintained, and a large part of that now spent on old age relief would have had to be expended if the law had not passed. This is proved by the fact that after the law passed the expenditure on pauper relief considerably diminished. In 1890 it was £457,172; in 1894, three years after the introduction of the old age relief system, it fell to £376,137. In 1897 it amounted to £384,109, that is to say, less by £73,033 than in 1890. Herr Rubin calculates that, had the cost of pauper relief increased during the years from 1890 to 1897 in same ratio to population as it did from 1880 to 1890, the cost in 1897 would be, not £384,109 but £495,220. Thus the direct result of old age relief is a saving effected of £111,111 per annum in the cost of pauper relief. But the full cost of old age relief is £232,747 per annum; the actual cost to the nation, therefore, is only £121,636 per annum. And towards this the State contributes £116,373, the annual cost to local ratepayers being only £5,263.

In 1897, in Denmark, 39,048 persons were in receipt of old age relief, having dependent on them 15,240 more, mostly wives. Consequently the £232,747 spent secured comfort for 54,288 persons, old folk of the very

kind who deserve to be helped. This sum is not a high price for even a small country like Denmark to pay for the satisfaction of doing justice to its worn-out workers. The Danish experiment proves that an old age relief system can be devised without entailing any overwhelming expenditure on the nation adopting it. It also proves the possibility, which is denied by English poor law officials, of deciding who are worthy of relief and who are not. Herr Wilnau, who speaks from experience, says: "It can be done, must be done, and as a point of fact, is being done with fairly satisfactory results." Far from discouraging thrift, the Danish working class is more thrifty now than it was before the passing of the law. Herr Storensen, Inspector General Sick Relief Funds, says the people were never so eager to insure against sickness as now. New insurance societies are springing up on all sides. The business of the Dansk Folkforsikringsantalt and other banks in which the workers invest their savings is more flourishing than ever.

The law in its present form leaves local authorities free to decide the amount of relief, which must, however, be sufficient to support the person relieved. Herr Jacobi wishes to amend the law so that persons henceforth would be granted a fixed amount on a sliding scale, persons from 60 to 65 to receive £3 6s. 8d. per annum, the sum increasing with the age of the pensioner. When the pension is given to man and wife, the amount is to be 40 per cent. in excess of that granted to a single person of the same age.

WAGE-EARNING CHILDREN.

THE current number of the *Economic Review* publishes an interesting article by Miss Edith Hogg on the above subject. During the hat-sewing season many girls of all ages are employed before and after school hours by their own mothers; some have been known to work from 6 a.m. until school-time, and after leaving school till bed-time. In addition to these, many are employed without remuneration at cabinet-making and in the boot trade. The minding of other peoples' babies employs many girls of tender age on Sundays and in the evenings, their payment being a few pence weekly and an occasional meal. The large total of 144,026 children are reported as working for profit. Of these, 131 were under seven and 1,120 under eight. In the cases of two children of six, the first (a girl) delivers milk for 35 hours every week, the second (a boy) follows the same occupation for 28 hours weekly, another boy of the same age worked 28 hours per week on a farm. In the higher standards, many hard cases are noted; as an example, the case of a newsboy working 100 hours in addition to the time nominally devoted to the acquirement of knowledge, is worthy of mention. Concerning the labour of girls, their work consists mostly of various descriptions of domestic slavery, as many as 70 to 77 hours weekly in some cases being worked. News-selling employs 15,182 children, and miscellaneous street-hawking 2,435. Statistics from Manchester, Liverpool and Bradford prove amply, from the proportion of children who have drifted into a life of crime from street-hawking, that such children rarely become skilled workers or reputable citizens. Miss Hogg blames the insufficient legislation and the loose administration of existing laws for the existence of most of these evils. She advocates the repeal of Section 98 Factory and Workshops Act, 1878, so as to bring domestic workshops under the eye of the factory inspector. She also suggests that the Home Office and Education Department promote a Bill to enable local authorities to regulate, by bye-laws, street trading and like employments, and to prohibit them during specified hours to young children.

DIVES AND LAZARUS.

"No, I don't go through, I am getting out at Slagton."

Slagton! what sleeping memories did the word waken within me? I was lolling back comfortably in the corner of a first-class carriage, reading the evening newspaper and scarce hearing, let alone noticing, the conversation of my two companions, when all at once, as the word "Slagton" reached my ears, I became all attention. What could it be? I had never been there. My present business took me to the big town beyond, but an irresistible impulse compelled me to stop. The train slackened speed, and as my stranger travelling companion gathered his wraps together I did the same, and alighted with him at the station. I stood thinking for a minute as the train steamed away, and then I remembered what it was.

Slagton was the home of my old school-friend, Harry Clayton, who long ago extracted a promise from me that if ever I passed anywhere near I would call and see him; so here I was, almost in spite of myself, for it was years since I had seen him and long since I had heard of him. Where he lived I knew not, but he was a man who had got on in the world, so I doubted not I would easily find him. The station-master would be sure to know. Seeing him on the platform I asked:

"Does Mr. Clayton still live here?"

"Of Clayton's rolling mills?"

"Yes, that is his business."

"No, sir," he replied. "Left here about three years ago. Still carries on his business here, but lives in a country-house about seven miles away."

"Shall I be likely to find him at the works?"

"Fraid not, sir; generally goes home by the 5.15" (the train I had just left).

"When is the next train?"

"None stops there till the 9.30."

Now this was awkward. 9.40, say, would be too late to drop down unexpectedly even upon an old friend, and the station-master didn't know his address so that I could wire. However, I didn't like to give it up, so, jumping into a hansom, I told the driver to drive up to the works for the address, and to make haste, for it was nearly six o'clock and the clerks would be leaving. We had scarcely gone 500 yards up the main street when among the foot passengers on the pavement I saw what struck me as a familiar face. I hastily stopped the cab and sprang out, and there, twenty yards away, stood Harry, gazing wonderingly at the figure alighting from the cab. A quick smile of recognition lighted up his face, as he knew me at last, and with outstretched hand he came to meet me.

"Delighted to see you, old fellow," he said; "where do you come from? Where are you going? Can you come home with me and spend the night?"

"You're the very man I was looking for," I said; "I have come on purpose."

"Now, that's capital; my wife will be glad. I'll send her a wire at once. Here, dismiss your cab while I step into the police-station here and send the telegram; then we'll go to the Sessions House and have some tea. We'll have to have supper to-night instead of dinner, as I can't get home till nearly ten."

I did as he bid, and when I rejoined him I naturally asked why he should choose the Sessions House, of all places, in which to take tea.

"Oh, I always do that when I have to stay late. I have a comfortable room there, and it's more convenient than going to an hotel."

Still seeing my look of wonder, he continued, "Didn't you know I'm Mayor of Slagton this year?"

"I congratulate you, my dear fellow," I replied; "I'm delighted to hear it."

"And you?" he asked.

"Oh, I'm contented to remain just one of the great unpaid and much-abused body of magistrates; but the other member of our juvenile trio is Mayor of the old place this year, and is giving them a high old time."

"George," he said, almost solemnly, "now, isn't this an object-lesson—almost like a book? Who would have thought that we three lads, who, when we joined Stonely Band of Hope, hadn't sixpence between us, would ever have risen to the positions we have, and entirely by our own efforts? What chance had we? What opportunities? Practically none; and, depend upon it, George, what we have done all others could do if they only tried as hard; now, don't you think so?"

"I'm not quite sure," I remarked; "perhaps if everyone else had lived as hard as we, they might have got on a little better, and we not quite so well."

"Nothing of the kind," he rejoined; "every man has the making of his own fortune, and it's his own fault if it isn't a good one; he is to blame, and nobody else. But here is the Town Hall. What do you think of that for a building? Cost £30,000, half raised by public subscription; gave £2,000 myself. Isn't this a place to be proud of?"

I couldn't but admit that it was. We entered, and while tea was getting ready we looked at the court-room, the splendid assembly room with its great organ, the gallery with the portraits of all the Mayors in their robes of state, my friend amongst them and decidedly the handsomest of the lot. "We've nothing like this in Stonely," I said; "our municipal life counts as many centuries as you do yours, but we can't come up to you in town buildings. True, we have an affection for our old Guild Hall, with its oaken roof and grand old furniture, but I must say you take the shine out of us altogether." Then we looked into the Mayor's private room, and (I may as well confess) we had out the regalia and the robes and saw how each other looked in them, and laughed at ourselves for our weakness and vanity quite as much as any of my readers may, and then the Mayor rang for the tea to come up, but just at the same time the telephone-bell rang, and, after replying, he said, "I'm sorry to leave you for a few moments, but the Chief Constable is on his way to see me here to take some instructions. It's rather a pressing matter. I'll be back directly. Go on with your tea," and he went out.

Left to myself, I took up a paper lying on the table, and, seeing a marked passage in it, I naturally proceeded to read it.

It was a letter from a working man, a Socialist, protesting in very independent language against the Mayor's prohibition of Socialist meetings in the Town Square; all other meetings seemed to be allowed, but the Socialists were dispersed by the police. A smartly-written leader in the same paper backed up the position of the writer, who I noticed had signed his own name, Fred Blackman, No. 4, Lark Lane. As I finished reading, the Mayor came in again, and, curiously, began to talk on the same subject.

"We're having a bit of bother," he said, "with a lot of fellows who call themselves Social-Democrats. Social Humbugs I call them, and I'm determined not to put up with any more of their nonsense."

"And what are they doing to annoy you?"

"Oh, spouting a lot of rubbish in the Market Place every Sunday morning and sometimes of a week night, but I've stopped it. I won't have it. Do you know, I think these are the most pestilent fellows in existence."

"We let them talk in Stonely," I said, "and so long as they cause no obstruction and make no disturbance I don't think we ought to hinder them."

"Oh, you make a great mistake; they preach most dangerous doctrines. If they had their way there would be no safety for either life or property."

"Have you listened yourself to any of the speeches?"

"I should think not, indeed."

"Ah, then you have been reading their books and manifestoes."

"I think I could spend my time better."

"Then," I rejoined, "is it not just possible you might be mistaken about the men? The paper speaks rather in their favour."

"Oh, that scurrilous rag. It's a disgrace to be seen with it. The Chief sent it up for me to look at to-day. I hope you don't think that I would take or read such a paper."

"It seems a reasonable letter the man writes," I said.

"Yes, a great deal too reasonable for a man of that stamp. Don't you see the letter is a bogus one? The editor has written it himself. Even the address is bogus; who ever heard of Lark Lane?"

"Of course, it may be," I answered, having my doubts nevertheless.

We talked of other things and finished our tea. "And now," said the Mayor, "I am at liberty till seven o'clock; what would you like to see? Our museum, public library, art gallery, or new Board schools? We can just glance at them all and if we finish off with the Board schools you can amuse yourself in the park for an hour or two and then meet me at the station at 9.25, not a minute later."

So, carried away by his enthusiasm, off we went, and just saw everything I was really much pleased to see the evident respect and esteem in which my old school friend was held, and I think he was glad that I saw it. I am sure that he deserved it all, for much of what I saw was due to his own initiation or help; there are really few if any better men than my old friend Clayton, yet one thing was lacking.

We finished off, as he said, with the last new Board school, a handsome building standing in a large garden, with the most perfect furniture and appliances for infants, boys and girls and from the infants' nursery, with its splendid toys, to the workshop for the boys, and the kitchen and laundry for the girls, together with the gymnasium and baths for both, all was most admirable.

Clayton was rightly proud of it. He had been chairman of the Board for many years, and it was well for the town that they had such a man.

Then he took me to the park and introduced me to the curator, and went off to his other business.

Now I was glad to find the curator or park-keeper was an intelligent gentlemanly man, and he gave me a splendid object-lesson.

The park was of great size, over two hundred acres, hill, dale, plain, and stream; there were wooded groves, extensive rockeries, shady, quiet walks, gay beds of flowers, a river and lake for boats, cricket and football grounds, and, best of all, a children's paradise all to itself—grassy playground, trees to climb, swings, see-saws, and all kinds of appliances for outdoor games.

"This must have cost the town an immense sum of money," I said.

"Well, the laying out certainly did, but the land was a gift."

"Indeed! from whom?"

"Oh, from the Lord of the Manor, Earl Didcot."

"Well, that was kind of him, very. Did he purchase it for the town?"

"Oh, no, it was part of his estate."

"Farm land?"

"No, open heath like you see beyond on the hillside; it hardly pays for farming."

"Did the Earl lay it out?"

"No, you could hardly expect that. The land itself was a splendid gift."

"Of course," I said.

"The condition was that the land should be laid out as a public park and pleasure ground, and be kept so by the municipality for ever."

"And what does it cost you to keep it up?"

"Well, with the greenhouses and plants, labour and everything, not less than £1,500 a year."

"Well, it's beautifully done, and not dear; it must be very nice, especially for the houses which overlook it."

"Of course it is. You see it's so large and laid out in such a way that each of these houses round has all the advantages of a splendid park and garden without it costing them anything for its upkeep, beyond, of course, the contribution through the rates."

"Exactly, and the business premises and shops which are packed so closely together at the station end, of course they contribute, too?"

"Oh, certainly, but we don't have much of the rough element down here; in fact, poor people's children don't come, they don't feel comfortable among a lot of well-dressed children with their maids; they're not made very welcome by either visitors or attendants, and they know it and keep away."

"I see," I said; "you keep the place so eminently respectable that it is practically monopolised by the inhabitants of this end of the town and those who live in the pretty villa residences around it."

"During the day, yes, but evenings and Sundays a good many others come."

"And the land all round, which could not be let for farming, did it also belong to Earl Didcot?"

"Yes, and does now."

"Has he, then, built all these houses to let them?"

"No, he's done better than that. He has sold every bit in building lots on 99 years lease, at about 10s. a yard. It is said that he has netted over £100,000 since the park was laid out."

"It hasn't been a very bad thing for this benevolent nobleman," I remarked.

"Well, no; when you come to think of it, it hasn't."

"There must be over fifty of these villa residences."

"Yes," he replied, "there will be quite seventy."

"Would they cost much under £1,700 each to build?"

"Can't say. I know some of them cost more; a good deal more."

"And they fall in to the Earl when the lease is up. That will be another £100,000."

"Yes, it will, to say nothing of what he may sell in the meantime, and his ground rents."

"Truly," I remarked, "your generous Earl was wise in his generation to get you to turn 200 acres of worthless land into a splendid garden for him, so that he could let a valuable building plot which brought him in no revenue before."

"Well, sir, to tell the truth, I never gave it a thought, but now as you put it, I'm blest if it isn't so. Fact is, we've been done. We've got to go on spending one to two thousands a-year to keep up the value of the Earl's estate, and he gets all the profit out of it."

"No, you have the park, that's something."

"True it is, but we had that before; it was a sort of common land, like the mountain beyond. An open space we could all enjoy, and which some enjoyed more than now. We've been done, sir, and to think we have put up a marble statue in the town to the Earl as a public benefactor. I shall hate to look at it in the future."

We had got to the park gates by this and I had only two hours to spare.

"Can you tell me if there is a place called Lark Lane?" I asked.

"Never heard of such a place," he said; "but, here," calling to one of the labourers, "Tom, do you know of a place called Lark Lane?"

"Yes," he replied, "it's somewhere over on the other side. I've never been there, but a chap who helped me to do the gravel lived there, and I know he went that way. If I was the gentleman I should take the tram as far as it goes, turn to the right, and then ask at the end of the street."

I followed the gardener's advice, and in about ten minutes I got to the street named. Arriving at the end of it, I asked a policeman where Lark Lane was.

"Can't tell you exactly. There is a place of that name over yonder, but it's a rummish part."

"One of your slums, eh?"

"Well, about that. I've never been on that beat; it's really out of the town, but you go on to the end of this street and then ask again."

I did so, but not with much success. I could get no definite reply, only that it was a low neighbourhood. At last, however, as I was inquiring at a chandler's shop, a voice behind me said:

"Was it Lark Lane you was looking for, sir?"

"Yes," I replied, "do you know it?"

"I'm going there," she said, "and if you don't mind following me I'll show you the way."

"Thank you very much," I said. "I'll walk along with you, if I may."

She was a tidyish-looking woman, very, very poorly dressed, but not dirty, and oh, so tired looking. She carried on her arm a big bundle done up in an old chequed shawl; by her side trotted a boy of about seven, and a girl a year or two older carried a big baby behind.

"Is it far?" I said.

"Well, sir, a goodish step yet, and the little boy is tired, but we'll get on as fast as we can. Here, Polly," she called, "give me the baby and take Tommy's hand."

Nothing loth, Polly gave up her burden, which the mother took on her other arm and then stepped out briskly.

"Now, that will never do," I said, "you have your own burden already. Let me take your bundle."

"Oh, no, I couldn't think of that," she said, and she looked at my frock coat, white waistcoat, fawn gloves, and shiny hat. "We'll get along all right."

I insisted, however, and took her bundle from her, and she gave such a glad sigh of relief as she straightened her tired arm. It seemed to trouble her, though, and she said half to herself, "There isn't many gentlemen as would carry a poor woman's bundle for her through the street."

"Oh, but I think they would," I said, "if they only thought of it." I began then to feel how heavy it was.

"Have you carried this bundle far?" I asked.

"Well, yes, sir, a matter of about five miles, but I rested once or twice on the way; but now I want to get home, for my husband will be coming in and I've got the key."

"Five miles is a good long way to carry a bundle like this," I said. "You must be tired." I felt real mean as I said this, for I wasn't gentleman enough to offer to carry the baby as well.

"Well it's this way," she said; "the children had a holiday from school to-day, and my man went out early to go to the next town after a job of work. They are long days now, and I have a married sister lives over yonder at Blankby. That's where I have been. She is very good to me, is my sister, so we all walked over there this morning, and we had a good dinner with her. She's well off, is my sister, and very kind to me. She married a gamekeeper, and they have a nice little cottage and a garden, and it's such a treat for the children to have a run in a garden and pick the fruit off the trees and bushes. Since my husband has been out of work she's given me many a thing for the children, but they have their own family coming up or they would do more."

"And what is it," I said, "makes the bundle so heavy?"

"Why it's the taters," she replied. "My sister would have me bring some out of the garden. There are a few old clothes for the children I can mend up a bit, a good lot of potatoes, and a basin of dripping; we shall have something to eat for a bit if we can only get the rent paid."

But that bundle bothered me. "Five miles," I said; "you carried this five miles? Why, you must be awfully tired."

"Why, yes, sir. You see, my sister wouldn't have put so much in only she meant me to ride most of the way. She gave me 9d. for the trams, but then there's the rent, you see, and 9d. seems such an awful lot of money just to spend on a ride. So Polly said she would carry the baby, and we made up our minds to walk; and now here's Lark Lane, sir, round that corner. What number did you want?"

"It was No. 4," I replied.

"Then here we are," she said, and pointed to a quite nice, though plain, house on the other side. There were some well-grown plants in the window and clean muslin curtains beyond. I was glad to see that Fred Blackman lived in such a tidy place, but, turning to the woman, I said, "And now where do you live?"

"Oh, it's quite at the other end of the lane," she said, pointing down a hill to a group of houses at the bottom; "but thank you very kindly for carrying my bundle so far. I fear it has been a bother to you."

"It's a pretty good weight," I said, "but I'll see you home with it now, if I may."

The poor woman looked at me with such surprise and gratitude in her face that I felt thoroughly ashamed to think she had received so few kindnesses outside of her family as to deem it almost impossible a man should go out of his way to help her. She protested, but I insisted, and we went on. Then she got confidential and told me how long her husband had been out of work. It turned out he was one of the Mayor's hands, but work was a bit slack then, and he, with others, had been suspended.

"Did he drink?" I ventured to ask.

"No, by no means; not that he's a teetotaler. He has a glass or two now and then when he is at work, and who has more right to it?" she asked, indignantly.

I apologised for my question, and, though an abstainer myself, yet I must admit that if it is permissible for anyone to drink a glass of beer, either for good or pleasure, a hardworking man has the most right to it.

The poor woman felt no resentment, however, towards her husband's employer for his discharge. Such things are so common that people get to think them right; but as we got nearer and nearer to her home I found what was really the sore point with her. They had had to sell their furniture and give up their own tidy home in a better neighbourhood and go and live in a slum court.

R. J.

(To be continued.)



"NOBODY wants a second Chamber, except a few disreputable individuals."—LORD BEACONSFIELD.

"FOR my own part, as I look upon the miserable results of two thousand years of Christian profession and work, my very soul blushes for shame."—MRS. BOOTH.

"IT troubles the church people, in all countries, to think that men have eyes; they would like to be at the head of a society of blind men. But it is more honourable to be approved by men who reason than to dominate over people who do not think."—VOLTAIRE.

PATRIOTISM.—"Why do you kill me? What! do you not live on the other side of the water? My friend, if you lived on this side, I should be an assassin, and it would be unjust to kill you; but since you live on the other side, I am a brave man, and it is just."—PASCAL.

"I do not know anything more ludicrous among the self-deceptions of well-meaning people than their notion of patriotism, as requiring them to limit their efforts to the good of their own country—the notion that charity is a geographical virtue, and that what it is holy and righteous to do for people on one bank of a river, is quite improper and unnatural to do for people on the other."—RUSKIN.

STRAFFORD.

"*He was the first of the Rats*, the first of those statesmen whose patriotism has been only the coquetry of political prostitution, and whose profligacy has taught Governments to adopt the old maxim of the slave-mart, that it is cheaper to buy than to breed, to import defenders from an Opposition than to rear them in a Ministry."—MACAULAY.

Once loved and trusted, calling those your friends
Whose names, immortalised in England's story,
Shine out like stars, while yours for brittle glory
That in the wake of tyranny attends
Adown the clanging aisle of time descends,
Damn'd irrevocably. Such be the fate
Of every dark-brow'd traitor at the gate,
Crushed beneath what his treachery most defends.

For they who buy may *sell* a renegade.
E'en so your masters—who in former time
Sneeringly coupled you with stout Jack Cade—
To keep by favour what *you* won by crime,
Fell back, and left you in destruction's path
To the full fury of a nation's wrath!

You were the people's darling till you turned,
And by your mad apostacy did more
Than e'er by fearless eloquence of yore
To weld their ranks; to one great focus burned
The fires of freedom, one great traitor earned
His title, having lost an honoured name;
Scrambling to power with a great load of shame,
To be for ever spat upon and spurned.

Now robed like saints go graduates of hell—
Search England through and through, haply there's none
So puffed with pride by which the angels fell
As wholly to eclipse his honour's sun
And grace e'en crime; yet many curs abound
Where once live lions roared and shook the ground.

G. W. S.



H. MANNING

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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H. MANNING.

THE subject of our frontispiece this month, Harry Manning, of Edmonton, is now not actually one of our representatives, having resigned his position on the Edmonton School Board, after two years' service, to go to New Zealand. Our comrade has of recent years found himself, especially in the winter months, gradually becoming a prey to our variable climate, rheumatics and general debility manifesting themselves, and he has taken time by the forelock and cleared out. An unhealthy occupation has also assisted in the conclusion he has arrived at. Before going, we requested our comrade to make note of the salient features of his life and it is upon these this article is based.

Born in Stepney, London, in December, 1865, our comrade is, therefore, in his thirty-fifth year, and judging by the following has led a fairly active life. The son of a Thames barge-builder who came from farming stock in Cambridgeshire, and of the daughter of a Somersetshire farmer, he shifted about during the early years of his life so as to be near the several occupations of his father, receiving what education there was to be had in small Church schools. We find him at the age of ten residing with his parents at Hertford, where the ideas which have developed as he has grown older were probably formed. Our comrade went through the experience, with two brothers and a sister (who, by the way, have passed over to the majority) of having his father for six months out of employment, seeing him, if up early enough, go out to tramp for several days at a time in search of employment, many times having a slice of bread for breakfast, a halfpenny with which could be purchased a hard sea biscuit for dinner, and for tea, the last meal of the day, another slice of bread. Whilst this period lasted there were undoubtedly many other experiences which the reader can imagine for himself. However, at eleven years of age our comrade found himself in

employment for a draper, hours 6.30 to 8.45; then to school (the Cowper Testimonial), back to work in the dinner-time, and again at night till 8.30, for 1s. 6d. per week and his food. Our comrade eventually finished his schooling, having passed the sixth standard at the age of 13 at Enfield Lock Government School, in which district his father had found employment.

Manning found various occupations until in May, 1880, at the age of 14, he, with two others, was apprenticed to a silversmith's firm in the West End of London. After serving about four years out of the seven, at 2s. 6d. for every £1 earned, with food and lodging, which meant sleeping in the office barred and barricaded up with a couple of dogs, a conspiracy was entered into between the three to raise the wind, honestly, if possible, but, if not, somehow—a sufficiency to just get them over the herring-pond, when Manning's parents fell ill, and under the circumstances he declined to go. The others went, and being left to himself our comrade became restless, and although not willing to leave the country he organised a conspiracy consisting of himself and—disappeared.

Here might be mentioned one of the causes of his discontent, apart from the insanitary and generally bad conditions. His employer was a man who, if the workmen would permit it, always made it a practice to have an apprentice or two in every shop, for reasons which we will leave the reader to judge by the wages paid. This was tried in the shop in which our comrade worked, and on the men declining to either of them take the boy an attempt was made to get our comrade to do so; on his persisting in his refusal he was taken before the City Chamberlain, he being a City apprentice, and after a week's grace was again taken back and sentenced to 14 days in the City Bridewell. Lads sentenced to this punishment very rarely go through the sentence, as the persuasions of the minister who visits them every morning generally result in the boy caving in; but in this case, when the facts were laid before him, he applauded the lad's action and undertook to make his term comfortable, which he did. In the end the employer was defeated.

We next find our comrade turning up in Sheffield, age 18, looking for employment, which he did not succeed in obtaining, and then after ten weeks' unsuccessful effort, owing to the absence of references, he wrote and informed his employer that as he could not get work he was coming back to make him keep him, which was a bit of a revelation to the employer, as our comrade on going away had so laid his plans that the firm came to the conclusion he had gone to America, and so troubled no more about him. However, being a good surplus-value producer, he was welcomed back and not a word was said for three weeks, when one evening after work, it being our comrade's night in, he was having a smoke in the kitchen when the employer, passing the window, saw him and went into the room. Without a word, he snatched at the pipe, only to receive a counter on the point, which laid him low. The housekeeper and the servant fainted, and there was a scene. This brought the employer to terms, as he was refused a summons for assault at Marlborough Street Police Court, and, so as not to suffer in the eyes of the workmen, he offered our

comrade his own terms; result, broken indentures, and Manning sets out on his own as a full-fledged journeyman.

Here commences the period in our comrade's life having most interest for us. At 21 we find him president of his trade society, and an ardent Liberal; at least, so he thought, he being one of two men who canvassed Ponder's End and succeeded in getting 300 names, the outcome of which was the Ponder's End Liberal and Radical Club. Our comrade served on the committee until thrown off on his inability to understand their Liberalism, which did not seem to him to be much like his. Moving, about this time, to Edmonton, he was attracted to the meetings held at Angel Road by the S.D.F., and for several weeks asked questions for the purpose of trying to prove the Socialists wrong, but only to discover week by week that he himself was on the wrong tack. Finally he joined the branch, and has been one of the hardest workers in the movement locally ever since. He has contested the Guardians election on two occasions and the Urban District Council on six occasions, with varying results, but not once successful. Better results, from the orthodox standpoint, crowned his efforts in the School Board elections, he being elected the third time of trying with comrade Wrampling, succeeding in replacing on the Board two of the oldest reactionary members, Clericals both. Another result of this election was that Maud (Churchman), who had previously been at the top of the list, was on this occasion at the bottom. Wrampling was second, and comrade Manning eighth, out of nine members. Our comrade has been always to the front in elections, as he believes that, whatever the poll may be, we win in the long run, as the educational result of a contested election does far more good than if we only contest those places where there seems a possibility of getting more votes than the other fellow. Had Manning remained long enough in Edmonton he would have had the opportunity of seeing the trees bear fruit, the ground for the planting of which he only prepared.

Since he and comrade Wrampling have been on the School Board together they have initiated and carried through many things which, without their presence, would not have been thought of, and on resigning he takes with him the good wishes of the whole of the staff and most of the members. There are many more incidents in our comrade's life—but space will not permit their recapitulation—the sum total of which goes to show our comrade to be a steadfast, determined fighter for the cause. We will conclude this brief notice with the earnest hope that the place he vacates will be filled by as earnest a man, and that in the new country to which he has gone he will continue along the path trodden by him during the years the S.D.F. has known him. We sincerely trust that some day, should circumstances permit, he will be with us again, if only for a holiday.



"I love people of worth; but bigots I hate, and I fear rogues who govern fools."—VOLTAIRE.

LIBERALISM AND TRADE UNIONISM.

Now that the Liberals, deeply implicated as they are in the present unjust and, from many points of view, disastrous, war of aggression in South Africa, are brought face to face with the prospect of a General Election, they are, with characteristic astuteness, trying to escape from the almost hopeless *impasse* which their complicity in the war and the policy which led to it has created, by attempting to divert the attention of the electorate from foreign affairs to those great social questions at home which appear for the moment to have been lost sight of. Knowing well that they cannot fight the present Tory Government upon the "khaki" issue, the wirepullers of the Liberal Party are posing everywhere as the true "Labour" party, and from its press the identity of Liberal and Labour interests is being preached. That "identity" is the text of many a political sermon, and appeals to trade unionists in particular for support are common. As I write, two extracts from a great Liberal "daily" lie before me—one, the report of a speech by a party candidate who had the audacity to ask for "the support of all true trade unionists for the party which made legal trade unionism possible"; the other, a leading article in which the Liberal Party is described as the "only hope of the working classes—the party of political and social reform; of trade unionism and industrial freedom."

Of course Social-Democrats will not be misled by this sort of election-eering rubbish. Whatever danger there may have been a few years ago of truckling to the Liberal Party, no such danger exists to-day. But, unfortunately, the great bulk of English trade unionists are not Social-Democrats, and I find that these audacious appeals to them from the platforms and press of the Liberal Party are not so unproductive as is generally supposed.

In one of Lord Melbourne's papers he wrote: "The Irish are not such damned fools as the English—they do not forget," and it certainly is true that the average English worker does foolishly "forget" things. He "forgets" the history of his own times, and falls an easy prey to the wiles of the unscrupulous politician. I have called these appeals of the Liberals "audacious" advisedly, for, if there is one chapter in the annals of toil which more than another condemns a political party, it is that chapter which covers the rise and growth of trade unionism; and the party it condemns most strongly is the Whig-cum-Liberal plutocratic party which masquerades at election times as the "true Labour Party."

The apologist of Liberalism who appeals to democratic history, when dealing with the growth of trade unionism usually begins by reminding us that in 1799 the Tories passed an Act—amended in 1800—prohibiting workmen's combinations. That is his starting-point. He does not see fit to mention that the Whigs were in power from 1714 to 1770, and that the Acts of 1799-1800, were, in their final form, in the main a crystallisation of

laws against combination, many of which were passed by the Whigs during the fifty-six years they were in office. Nor, when heaping abuse upon the Tories, does it ever occur to him, apparently, that the Whigs of the time were equally responsible for those Acts, since, as Mr. Justice Stephen points out in his "History of the Criminal Law," there is an entire absence of mention of debates on them alike from "Hansard" and the "Annual Register." The silence of the Whigs was eloquent endorsement of the Tory policy. The "apologia," then, laying stress upon the fact that the authors of the Act of 1824, which repealed all the existing conspiracy laws, were "Radicals," generally jumps to the Act of 1871, and claims for it, as did the leader writer of the *South Wales Daily News* (to whom I replied) in November of last year, that it "gave absolute freedom to trade unionists to combine without any restraint whatever." This, of course, is mere burlesque, not history.

The authors of the Act of 1824, Francis Place and Joseph Hume, were "philosophic Radicals," and the way in which they intrigued and quietly smuggled that Act through the Legislature is probably without parallel in our history. Three weeks after it had passed some Lancashire magistrates sent some cotton weavers to prison, being unaware of its very existence. Even the Prime Minister and the Lord Chancellor, in the debates of the following year, 1825, complained that they had been "quite unaware of the passing of the Act," and that they "never would have assented to it."

The capitalist fury having been awakened, an attempt was made in 1825 to undo the "evils" of the Act of Repeal, but the result of the Tory legislation was, on the whole, satisfactory, for, whilst certain modifications were made, the rights of collective bargaining and concerted action were, for the first time, established. These are the essential and basic principles of trade unionism. So the Tories. But it was left for the Whigs, who were returned to power in 1830 upon the fall of the Duke of Wellington's Tory Ministry, and began now—strange irony!—to call themselves "Liberals," to undo the work of Place and Hume. Lord Melbourne, whose hostility to trade unionism a study of the published volume of his "Papers" will soon prove, had no sooner taken office than he appointed two Commissioners to inquire into the working of the trade unions, which he regarded as "a very formidable difficulty and danger." Bitterly hostile from the start to trade unionism as we now know them to have been, the two Commissioners reported in favour of terrible measures of repression. So terrible, indeed, were their suggestions that the Government dared not even present the report to the House of Commons, much less embody its proposals in actual measures. But Lord Melbourne, true to Whig principles, instituted a system of terrible persecution and tyranny. Workmen were prosecuted under various pretexts in various parts of the country. Standing ever against the Liberal Party of that time are the terrible records of the imprisonment of the Lancashire miners in 1832, the Southwark shoemakers in the same year, and in 1834 the tanners of Bermondsey and the Dorchester labourers. No act of tyranny by any Government has ever called forth from organised labour such a protest as did the

outrageous sentence of seven years' transportation passed upon the six Dorchester labourers for merely taking part in the initiatory ceremony of their trade union—a branch of the once formidable "Grand National Union." And it is certain that no more disgraceful sentence can be found in our industrial annals, if we except the sentence passed in 1840 upon Frost, Williams and Jones, the Chartist leaders, that they be "hung by the neck till dead, and that their bodies be afterwards drawn and quartered." This atrocious sentence also under a Liberal Government!

It is sometimes urged by superficial critics, that the sins of the "Whigs" should not be remembered as against the "Liberals." They take the entirely false view that the change of nomenclature which took place in 1830 denoted a change of principle. Yet they do not see that the argument holds equally good with respect to the Liberal criticisms of the Conservatives who took that name in 1830 also. But if we admit the objection it is easy to see that the greatest hostility towards trade unions was manifested *after* 1830. *Ergo*, the difference between the Liberals and their Whig predecessors consisted primarily in this—they were more aggressively hostile to trade unionism. They are quite welcome to that concession!

In order that the glowing panegyric description of the Act of 1871, from which I have already quoted, may be fully appreciated, it is necessary to take a brief survey of the circumstances which led up to it. Passing over the events of the 30 years or so that intervened*, during the greater part of which time revolt, the child of injustice and oppression, reigned, turn we to the years immediately preceding 1871.

The Liberals were defeated in 1866 upon the Franchise Bill. It is worthy of note that, in introducing that Bill, Mr. Gladstone spoke of creating "a middle class constituency" "rather more strict than exists at present." The Bill would not increase but diminish the relative share of the working classes in the representation. Explaining why he fixed the rental at £7, he said that a £6 rental franchise in boroughs "would, in fact, probably place the working classes in a clear majority upon the constituency." This, he added, "has never been the intention of any Bill proposed in this House." In the same speech he declared that secret voting and shorter Parliaments were questions "which we cannot undertake to view with favour either now or at any other time."† The Tories coming into power, Mr. Disraeli introduced his Reform Bill on March 18, 1867, which gave the vote to the working man in the boroughs, a step bitterly opposed by both Gladstone and Bright.

It was the extension of the franchise to the working man in the boroughs which led the trade union leaders to take up political action. Assisted by Mr. Frederic Harrison and others, they began to press

* I do not forget and am not insensible to the advantages of the Acts of 1859 and 1867—both passed by the Tories. My purpose is not, however, to give a detailed account of the growth of trade unionism, I am only concerned with the policy and acts of the Liberal Party.

† See "Hansard," Vol. 182, pp. 24-52.

the Government very hard. In the records of my own society,* for example, is a minute of the Central Committee, urging that members should only vote for those candidates who would support the demands of the trade unions. In 1869, Mr. Frederic Harrison, then the literary champion of the movement, drew up a Bill embodying the proposals contained in the Minority Report of the Royal Commission just previously, which he, with the Earl of Lichfield and Mr. Thos. Hughes, had signed. The Bill was introduced in the House of Commons by Messrs. Hughes and Mundella. The Liberal Government was strongly against the measure, and only permitted its second reading on the understanding that it should be withdrawn and that they would introduce a Bill in the following year—1870. But it was not until 1871 that the Government could be persuaded to redeem its promise. In that year Mr. Bruce† introduced the promised measure. That measure was a fraud. Whilst providing for the repeal of the combination laws, it contained a penal clause against anything which might be interpreted by the judges to come within the meaning of words like “molest,” “obstruct,” “threaten,” “intimidate,” “watching,” “besetting,” and so on. It also repealed the Act of 1859 which had definitely legalised the use of peaceful persuasive methods to get men to join the unions. Mr. Bruce would seem to have collected all the decisions of the judges under the old law and to have codified them in the Government Bill. The Bill induced a fierce storm of hostile criticism, in deference to which the Government divided the Bill into two separate measures. So the law of legalising trade unions (34 & 35 Vic., c. 31) was passed. But along with it was passed the “Criminal Law Amendment Act” (34 & 35 Vic., c. 32) embodying all those harassing evils for the repeal of which trade unionists had so long been striving. The workers ought never to forget that with Gladstone as Prime Minister trade unionists were being continually imprisoned. Shortly after the passing of the Act seven women were sent to prison in South Wales for calling “Bah!” after a blackleg, and in 1872 Lord Justice Brett sentenced some London gas-stokers to imprisonment merely for preparing for a strike. Nor could the Home Secretary be moved. Trade unionism under the Gladstonian Government was a farce. The principal officer of the association of employers in the engineering trades—the Colonel Dyer of his time—was then secretary of the London Liberal Association! After a memorial by the Parliamentary Committee in 1872, the Nottingham Trades Union Congress sent a deputation to the Home Secretary in 1873 to protest against the injustice which was everywhere being inflicted under the new *régime*, and to urge for the repeal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act.‡ A strong committee was formed to agitate for the repeal of the Act, and trade unionists of standing, like Messrs. Potter, Howell, Broadhurst and Crompton, vigorously denounced the measure. Mr. Frederic Harrison also wrote to the

* The Operative Masons. † Afterwards Lord Aberdare.

‡ It is significant that the Parliamentary Committee could not find a single member ready to bring in a Bill for the repeal of the Act.

Times strongly condemning it. But Gladstone was obdurate. The "strong" Liberal Government cared not for the workers. No wonder that in 1874 they were sent from office with the curse of the workers upon them.

Once again it was left for the Tories to undo the evils wrought by a Liberal Government, and in June, 1875, the Home Secretary, Mr. Cross, introduced two Bills for the amendment of the civil and criminal laws bearing upon trade unionism. The hateful Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1871 was unconditionally repealed, and the Master and Servant Act of 1867 was replaced by the Employers and Workmen's Act, which fundamentally changed the law, and made employer and employee two equal parties to a civil contract. Thus was the legalisation of trade unionism and trade union methods accomplished. At the Trades Union Congress in 1875 a vote of thanks to Mr. Cross for his two Bills was passed with great acclamation, Messrs. Odger, Howell, Broadhurst, and others belauding the measure. One wonders how, after the way they had been treated, these men and others could support the Liberals, and fight under the flag of the very party which, as I have shown, so consistently opposed them.

This, then, in brief, is the story of how the Liberal Party has acted toward the trade union movement. There is no fact more firmly established in the history of trade unionism than this—that the Liberal Party has always been the more hostile of the two great political parties. It is to-day, as ever, the party of capitalistic plutocracy always opposed to democracy, though sometimes adopting its watchwords for political purposes.

J. SPARGO.

[The above article was in type before the date of the dissolution was fixed.—ED.]



CONSERVATISM.—"The Duke talks to me of Conservative principles; but he does not inform me what they are. I observe indeed a party in the State whose rule it is to consent to no change until it is clamorously called for, and then instantly to yield; but those are concessionary, not Conservative principles. This party treats institutions as we do our pheasants: they preserve only to destroy them. But is there a statesman among these Conservatives who offers us a dogma for a guide, or defines any great political truth which we should aspire to establish? It seems to me a barren thing, this Conservatism; an unhappy cross-breed, the mule of politics, that engenders nothing."—LORD BEACONSFIELD.

THE GLORIES OF WAR.—"Let your readers fancy masses of coloured rags glued together with blood and brains, and pinned into strange shapes by fragments of bones. Let them conceive men's bodies without heads, legs without bodies, heaps of human entrails attached to red and blue cloth, and disembowled corpses in uniform, bodies lying about in all attitudes with skulls shattered, faces blown off, hips smashed, bones, flesh and gay clothing all pounded together as if brazed in a mortar, extending for miles, not very thick in one place, but recurring perpetually for weary hours; and then they cannot, with the most vivid imagination, come up to the sickening reality of that butchery. No nightmare could be so frightful."—DR. RUSSELL in the *Times*, on the battle of Sedan.

MUNICIPAL TRADING.

As Lord Avebury's objections to municipal trading are of a kind that find great favour in many Radical quarters, I feel encouraged to have a humble tilt at them. He objects, first, "to the enormous increase of debt which such a policy will involve." He only says "will involve," not "of necessity will," nor "has involved." Having arrived thus far, I take it that the noble lord assumes that the municipality gets into debt solely by the fact that it obtains "capital." As "capital" is obtained nowadays by private syndicates, &c., why should this be objectionable in the municipality?

Is Lord Avebury aware of the enormous amount of capital in this country that is bogus—is never paid on shares taken up in companies? Yet such concerns flourish and wax exceedingly fat, and if the capital is reformed into a higher value—say, for instance, a £1 share is turned into a £10 share—the holder need not worry or dip into his pocket if only five shillings has been paid on that share, or even nothing at all, at all!

Therefore, ought a big debt to concern a corporate mind, since it simply means that a small interest is paid on capital that *has been received*, not interest on capital that exists in the imagination of the hearts of a board of directors. Last, but not least, municipalities could easily raise their own capital by issuing paper to be used as tender by the community, and this should be paid to the workmen, &c., engaged on Corporation works, &c. This tender should be withdrawn by absorbing the profits on the enterprises in redeeming the same. This, I might add, is not new, and has already been done.

I will now turn to the second, the "bed-rock objection of holy capitalism"—the check to private enterprise. There is but little private enterprise now-a-days that could possibly be checked by a municipality. You could put private enterprise, what there is left of it, in the corner of your eye.

It has long been desirable that the workers should have a sufficiency of good sanitary dwellings. Has private enterprise attempted to supply this need? Not an inch of the way. Perchance it has gone on a journey, or it has been dreaming? No. It has been occupying itself in building enormous and super-expensive flats and shops, and *for* flats, the same premises being heavily rated. These are useless to everybody save to those enterprising tradesmen who are desirous of learning how soon a high rent will drive one to bankruptcy. And it is excusable to mention here that the trade crisis of 1873 commenced with the building speculators of Vienna—and they could not have been madder than many in London, Birmingham, &c., to-day.

Our milk supply is also, I suppose, in danger from the enterprise-checking corporations. I know one dairy where the milk has actually got cream in it! They stir it up from the bottom every time they serve you! Some dairies supply you with meat—and drink—milk that is ready to hatch

with germs of tuberculosis. So why does not long-suffering private enterprise try to supply us with nice "dead" milk that is creamy all the way up to the top!

Our bread, too, has been left unattended. At present "private lack-of-enterprise" provides us with an article that is guaranteed to kill a dog in forty days if fed on it entirely. Staff of life! Perhaps "private enterprise" has died from exposure through lack of housing accommodation, aggravated by a hearty meal of bread and milk!

Then he objects to the demand on the time of municipal councillors. The noble lord's objection here is enumerated rather ambiguously. If Councillors have left less time for considering real municipal problems, as far as my experience goes it is a very good thing this is so, as the problem of certain of these gentry is "how to get fat contracts for self and friends."

Otherwise, I do not understand the word "real." I believe Lord Avebury recognises lack of graveyard accommodation in the light of a problem. According to the noble lord, I presume we are, by way of a start, not to have a municipal milk supply, as this would cause less applications for the scarce six-foot allotments—less applications brought on through tuberculosis.

Professional men, too, cannot find time to become councillors. So long as being a councillor is a cheap advertisement, and there is very little to do for it in return, our professional man does not grumble. He gets more patients or victims, as he sells more tripe. Give him something to do for his cheap notoriety and "he cannot attend."

This is not unjust to them, as they have a vote, which many a workman has not. Further, they equally enjoy with the rest of the community the better and cheaper commodities that the municipality can only, and therefore should, supply. But surely the noble lord is joking, as nothing approaches the cheek of such a suggestion that municipal councillors should have so little to do for progress that fortune grabbers could afford time to occupy public positions in order to do nothing "and do it very well."

Fourthly, he objects to governments and municipalities involving themselves more than can be helped in labour questions.

I am half inclined to agree with him there. Some municipal employees that I know of are actually nearly receiving a living wage. Yet they are not satisfied. They actually want enough wages to feed and clothe their families properly! They also want shorter hours so that they can find time to use the Free Libraries, as if such things were provided for them! The idea! Yes! No one should be "involved" in such matters. Eh! my noble lord?

Fifthly, we are told that "the interference with natural laws in some important cases has the effect of defeating the very object aimed at." This also is a trifle ambiguous, as the noble lord does not say "has had." I can only suppose that the noble lord imagines that pure municipal bread, &c., would kill the consumers. Shock their nervous systems, &c.!

Last on the list comes that good old facer "risk"—"the risk, not to say, certainty of loss." He instances some public concerns (and apparently has

ransacked the world for these) not "paying." He has not, I notice, mentioned our Post Office, which makes enormous profits, sweats its employees, and fails to carry letters with efficiency—in fact, as big a fizz-out as a private firm! What does a "loss" of, say, half a million mean when incurred entirely in supplying one commodity for public needs? It really means that one section of the community is receiving a quantity of labour-power value, and giving in return a less quantity of labour-power value.

Every commodity could not be supplied at a loss, because not only sections but individuals would be working, say, six hours a day, and using the results of eight hours' labour, comparing equal quantities. Common-sense organisation would make such an absurdity impossible, not taking, of course, into consideration the hard work done by that section of the community that so effectively is mismanaging nearly every department of the national hive in its own interests, and to-day, from Lord Avebury upwards and downwards, is all of a shiver at the rising sun of Social-Democracy, which alone can foster "the progress of invention and discovery."

NEW DEMOCRITUS.



CIVILISATION.—"That our civilisation has been a failure is the pronounced opinion of some cynical philosopher of transatlantic origin. Civilisation and savagedom march alongside of each other, and savagedom has hitherto had the best of it. Christianity has carried its message of peace to the remotest corners of the Old World, and yet at this moment Europe is one great camp. The sound of the armourer's hammer is heard in the land, beating ploughshares into swords. In every shipyard by the sea great war-ships are being fitted out for the fray. The very blood-stained earth has for months past shaken under the tread of men in arms; and how soon the slaughter is to be resumed no man can foretell. For ages wise men have begged for peace. There were peace societies even in Rome; there were peace societies in the time of the Conqueror. There are still peace societies; but all in vain. The 'United States of Europe' are still far off. Science has made brilliant advances in the arts of peace, but the arts of peace are being pressed into the service of the arts of war. The trade of slaughter is more popular than ever, and the destroyer in a scarlet coat more than ever the calling of an 'officer and a gentleman.' It is a miserable story and a painful subject of thought for men who can allow their conventional ways of thinking to remain long enough in abeyance, to enable them to see what all this means. It is martial glory—military supremacy—great victories—the lordship of the sea, in the language of fools. It is savagedom—butchery—widows and orphans—wounds, torture and death to thousands—homeless and hungry wanderers, and wretchedness unspeakable to every rightly-reasoning, humane-hearted man."—*Echo*, November 30, 1876.

MONKEY-BRAND SOCIALISM v. THE SOCIALIST LABOUR PARTY IN CANADA.

THE educational value of the experiences of our comrades in the S.L.P. of the United States, and the policy they have pursued, as recorded in the weekly columns of that rigid disciplinarian, the *People* (of "arm and hammer notoriety") which now publishes at 2, New Reade Street, New York City, the only daily official Socialist newspaper in the English language, has been, and still is, of inestimable advantage to the rank and file of the Socialist Party in Canada.

Of special educational value to Canadian Socialists, are the now historical records of the Party organ of the fighting S.L.P. of the U.S.A. during the past five years. While the Socialist Labour Party of Canada is separate, and wholly distinct from the Socialist organisation of any other country, issuing its own local charters from national headquarters at London, Ontario, there are many reasons why the history of the development and struggles of the S.L.P. in the U.S.A. is a more valuable guide to the directors of the policy and tactics of the genuine Socialist organisation in Canada than is the history of the International movement in any other country.

Canada, "Lady of the Sunshine" (north of the great lakes—equal in area of territory to the area of the United States, and sometimes advertised as the "greater half of the North American Continent"), is yet very far short of the population of her southern neighbour, and its economic development has, of course, not yet reached the "intense" stage of fruitage now attained south of the lakes.

Canada, however, is destined to develop economically, and also as a political factor in international trade, far more rapidly in the next 10 to 25 years than the Dominion has developed since the first discovery of its originally dis-associated provinces, and for many reasons which we cannot in the space of this article discuss, the history of its economic development will be much more closely allied to that of the United States than to the history of the economic development of England or any European country.

Hence it is natural that the rank and file of the Canadian S.L.P. should find in the historical records of the pioneer Socialist labour party of the United States valuable educational lessons to guide the policy and tactics of the international organisation within the British Dominion of Canada.

Not alone, however, in its attitude towards the disgustingly corrupt political machinery of capitalism on the American continent does the S.L.P. of the U.S.A. give valuable educational pointers to the Canadian student of Socialism, but also in regard to its disciplinary education of the membership of its party regarding—

(1) *Co-operative colony swindles*, such as the Ruskin Colony "fiasco," the

collapse of which much-advertised "colony" fully justified the previous "tactics" of the *People* (New York).

(2) Reactionary "reform" programmes that ignore the revolutionary principle in economic evolution.

(3) The "fakir" in trade unions, who has been the obnoxious "skunk" in the working-class movement of America.

(4) Red herring "Christian" Socialist movements, that strive to bury scientific truth in the garb of discredited ecclesiastical flummery.

All of these humbugs seek patronage in Canada, as in the U.S.A., and it is the task and duty of the Socialist Labour Party in this country, as it has been the work of the fighting S.L.P. in the U.S.A., to shed a clear light, and "blaze" a straight road for the wage-workers of the Dominion, guiding them through the fog and devious swamps of "monkey-brand Socialism" to the bed-rock of class-conscious political solidarity at the polls of the Dominion, aiming at the control of all municipal, provincial, and federal legislative Chambers, there, by constitutional process, to secure the unconditional surrender of the capitalist system to the Socialist demand for obedience to the economic law of collective ownership of all machinery for production and distribution of wealth in a civilised community.

Now that the heroism of the fighting S.L.P. has preserved the vestal fire of International Socialist propaganda through a period of severe struggles, when moral cowards disowned the term Socialism in America, owing to popular prejudice and ignorance of its sterling scientific truths (in bitter antagonism to the scarecrow, "Anarchism of deed"), and now that the result of that same moral heroism has culminated in the development of a political organisation which forces those who have striven in the past to ignore it, to now recognise its vital activity as a coming factor of importance to be reckoned with in the immediate future; now that this stage has been reached in the history of the movement in America, we find that Socialism, so long disreputable, is now "respectable" enough to be a hobby, and "we are all Socialists now." What is more significant, our propaganda is now dangerous enough to the political scallawags in the trade unions in both Canada and the United States to force these gentry into open antagonism to the S.L.P. because of its "tactics," while at the same time they are also forced to flirt with "any old thing" that comes along calling itself "Socialist League," or any name but S.L.P., which will mislead the electorate regarding genuine Socialist propaganda, and, if possible, undermine the educational work of the pioneer revolutionary Socialist Labour Party.

These "Peculiar" People in Canada side-track the important issues of class solidarity at the polls, and class struggles as historical phenomena, in order that they may "broaden" out so as to embrace everybody who is—just "*dissatisfied with the old parties*"; they seek quantity with no regard for quality, and usually wind up with a "fizzle." These freaks in the politico-economic organism of Canada, as in the U.S.A., sometimes misrepresent the S.L.P. as too "ethereal" and aiming at a cloudy future; they prefer to strike

for something "now," which generally comes to them "in the neck," right now.

Sometimes these folk condemn the S.L.P. in Canada for being, "materialistic," and strive to block its progress by vomiting across our pathway a nauseous mass of undigested religious orthodoxy, such as would make an original saint or apostle hold his nose and pass by "on the other side."

In Canada at the present time the headquarters of "monkey-brand Socialism" is Toronto, the breeding-ground of the political scallawags in the trade union movement in the Dominion; and *Citizen and Country* is the name of its mouthpiece, a very unreliable authority on Canadian Socialism.

HENRY B. ASHPLANT.

London, Ontario, August, 1900.

N.B.—The Secretary of the National Executive Committee S.L.P. of Canada is comrade Fred. J. Darch, Dundas Street, London, Ontario. In the municipal elections for January, 1900, comrade Darch ran on the S.L.P. ticket for mayor of London, and his vote officially on record in the City Clerk's office was 2,402; the S.L.P. ticket for mayor on this occasion was endorsed by the local Trades Council.

HIGH TREASON IN GERMANY.

THE following case shows how easy it is to commit treason:—

A little while ago, at a fair, a cheap jack was selling coloured portraits—vilely done—of the last three emperors. In order to get people to buy the chromos he made little speeches. "Here, ladies and gentlemen, are the portraits of William I., Frederick III. and our present Emperor, King and Lord, William II. William I. will always be known by his motto, 'I have no time to be bothered,' Frederick II. will always be remembered by his noble words, 'Learn to suffer without complaining.' And our illustrious ruler, who is always going about, often says to his wife, 'Augusta, go quick and pack up!'"

The people laughed and the portraits sold well, but the police thought that the present Emperor was not treated with respect, and the cheap jack was prosecuted. He was convicted of speaking disrespectfully of the Emperor and of the Empress, and was sentenced to two months' imprisonment.

After his release he resumed his trade, and still refers in the same way to William I. and to Frederick III., but when he shows the portrait of the reigning Emperor he says, "Our gracious master has also a motto, but I cannot tell you what it is."

But the crowd, who knows the story, fills up the gap, and murmurs of "Augusta, go quick and pack up" are heard all round.

Up to the present time the police have not prosecuted, but I should not be surprised if they did. It seems strange that the Emperor has not more sense and that he does not stop these silly prosecutions.

JACQUES BONHOMME.

COMTE'S ATTITUDE TO SOCIALISM.

ALFRED A. HAGGARD has the following article in the September *Positivist Review* :—

Being much impressed with the paper in the *Positivist Review* on the subject of "Positivism and Social-Democrats," I have been induced to reflect upon the utterances of Auguste Comte on the subject of Socialism, and to consider how far his followers consider their opinions thus based to be in harmony with those that Socialists hold. It is clearly shown by the editor of the *Review* that in many of their leading opinions the chiefs of the Socialist movement are in entire harmony with Positivism. They, equally with ourselves, repudiate imperialism, disapprove of militarism, desire the welfare, mental, moral, and material, of the working classes, which a military policy so cruelly interferes with, and to promote peace by the disintegration of the too vast existing nationalities. They seek, equally with ourselves, to effect an union between citizens of different countries. On the other hand, Socialism advocates a class war as the only means by which the proletariat can obtain its due share of the advantages of the social state, while Positivism endeavours to create a spiritual power which shall prevail by moral means upon the wealthy class to govern for the good of the whole community. With so much in common between the two movements it would certainly be desirable that they should work harmoniously together. And, although Socialists may think a "class war" the only remedy in the present circumstances, yet one can hardly doubt that if it were clear to them that the peaceable means of amending the present state of things could prove effective, they would adopt them rather than more violent measures which would ensure opposition and provoke reprisals.

Auguste Comte's condemnation of Communism is well known, but I will quote some of the terms he uses. The compilation cannot be complete, as I am separated from my books for the moment. At the end of the third volume of the "Positive Politics" he describes the rise of Socialism, with its "utopian views subversive of family and prosperity": "Developing the programme which had been indicated under the bloody rule of the Rousseauists, the revolutionists made the organisation of industry consist in the abolition of the one basis which the past supplied for it, the general distinction between employers and employed," whereas "the true solution indicated by the New Philosophy lay in the establishment of a new universal morality, constructed on a positive basis and worthily applied to all ranks alike by an universally respected priesthood, which should be the normal arbiter in the main conflicts arising out of practical life." In a letter to Mr. Hutton, Auguste Comte describes Socialism and Communism as "subversive utopias." Without more quotations, it is plain that the founder of Positivism considered Socialism to be worthy of condemnation as opposed to the institutions of family and property. It will be remembered that it was for a similar reason that in considering the Greek elaboration he condemned the teaching of Plato and his school. Of the tendency of some Socialists to attack these institutions there can be no manner of doubt. A Socialist of the present day, in his so-called "outspoken essays," reverts to the denunciations of marriage which one had thought were almost out of date, advocating a flagrant and almost unspeakable immorality. It is not my

intention to discuss that aspect of the question. Any attack on marriage is in such flagrant opposition to all accepted principles of morality that it seems unnecessary to defend the institution here. If Socialism involves the desecration of the home, Positivism will never have anything to do with it.

But there are Socialists who, whether or not their communistic principles should logically lead to such a disregard of domestic ties, certainly neither in their lives nor in their writings advocate anything of the sort described. Men of blameless personal conduct and of ardent philanthropy, they see in the term property an euphemism for the more odious term of capitalism against which they raise a bitter and an unrelenting warfare. As Comte approved of capitalists as a class, and sanctioned property as an institution, and the division of society into employers and employed, we must consider how far this approval sanctions the state of things now existing, by which wars are waged to cheapen labour, by which slavery is continued, as in the compound system of Kimberley and under the Glen Grey Act elsewhere in the Cape Colony, and by which, throughout the West, some five-twelfths or more of the value of the labourer goes to swell the inordinate wealth of the capitalist and his class.

Now Auguste Comte, of course, sanctioned nothing of the sort. Nothing was further from his intention. Both war and slavery he showed had performed useful functions in the human evolution; war by developing collective activity; slavery by encouraging the growth of industry. But the days for war and for slavery are utterly gone by. As to war, here is one quotation which will suffice: "Where experience has at last convinced society that the only road to riches lies through peaceful activity, or works of industry, the direction of affairs properly passes to the industrial capacity. Henceforward military force, in its turn, can only occupy a subordinate position, as a merely passive force, and one in all probability destined to become finally useless." And one quotation as to slavery: it "is only tolerable as the subjection of the labourer to the warrior. Hence while in antiquity slavery aided the progress both of the master and the slave, by bringing them into closer contact, its unnatural modern form degrades both by separating them." How then did he approve of capital and property which such an earnest, clear-sighted and right-thinking man as Mr. H. M. Hyndman denounces as the source of most of the existing evils of the day.

First we should remember that Comte looked upon wealth as one of the social forces, and as needing an organ for its direction and control. "Material products," he said, "as destined for individual consumption and as perishable by nature, for their preservation and use needed the collective attention of the patriciate, aided by the general watchfulness; they also required to be appropriated to individuals, as otherwise the concentration which is normal for them would become illusory, or rather impossible. By personal appropriation the nutritive reservoirs of humanity are formed which have everywhere to renew man's material existence, whilst their managers direct the labours required for their continuous replacement." The chief office of the patriciate consists "in restoring to each organ of society, the materials he is constantly consuming as provisions for his subsistence or as the instruments of his function." After pointing out the true gratuitousness of all labour, and thus raising all citizens to the dignity of social functionaries, Comte remarks, "The proletariat will feel that the main office of the patriciate is to secure to all the peaceable enjoyment of these home satisfactions in which our true happiness chiefly lies." "Each proletary should own in property all the materials of exclusive and constant use, either for

himself or for his family. The ruler can alone secure order in practical life." "Many estimable men are yet without property in the furniture in most common use, and some do not even own the clothes they wear." "As for the dwellings, most proletaries are still rather encamped than housed in our anarchical towns." He recommends that the people should be enabled to obtain ownership in their houses. In respect of wages they should be "divided into two unequal parts, one independent of the actual labour and attached to the service performed, the other dependent on the results attained."

From their remarks it seems that the capitalism which Comte approves is not one which so far as the remuneration of the labourer is concerned the Socialist need be discontented with. The labourer is to own all materials of exclusive and constant use, including his dwelling; he is to have a fixed wage and a share in the profits. Elsewhere Comte speaks of the working classes of the future, "shielded as they are from liability to want." A truly Arcadian condition if it could only be attained; but, says Comte, "we are far from its actual attainment." However, the Socialist could have little to complain of were such a condition once realised, unless indeed he were to hold that no private property should exist. But whatever Socialists may have originally maintained, it is to be doubted whether such a state of things would be recommended by anyone nowadays. In his hopeless enterprise against the fundamental institutions of moral society, an essayist may run tilt against the institution of marriage, but he would hardly be followed in a similar attack on personal property by any Socialist of reputation. It would involve a contradiction to do so. The very object of the Socialist is to enable the workman to obtain for himself and his class the proper return for his labour. The capital he accumulates at present passes to a great extent into the hands of unscrupulous and grasping employers, and much of it is wasted in wild luxury, while the producer of the wealth and his family languish on a starvation wage. The Socialist of the day wishes rather to transfer than to destroy property. When Mr. Hyndman talks of destroying capital, he proceeds to explain: "Its destruction only involves the change from individual or company ownership to the ownership of the community at large;" and further on he says, "that the members and their families of a great co-operative system need food, clothing, and house room," which indicates that all property is not to be suppressed. It is the concentration of the profits on one class, as at present, to which he objects, not without vast reason.

The dispute between Positivism and Socialism seems to be in the main reduced to the question as to whether capital can be better utilised in the hands of the few or of the many. This is an economic question of great importance and depth. In agriculture the question is that of the *Grande* and the *Petite Culture*. In manufacture, some commodities in certain societies are better worked up by the small capitalist, in others large capital is required; so also in commerce. In both the tendency of the present day is to the massing of capital. And in banking this is eminently the case, in view of the largeness and far-reaching nature of the operations involved. But there is no real disagreement here between the Positivist and the Socialist, at any rate such a Socialist as Mr. Hyndman in his "Economics of Socialism" would appear to be. While the Positivist, in the first place, has no desire whatever to run counter to the natural fitness of things—(he only requires that concentration of capital which the circumstances of the case seem to demand)—in the second place he accepts as highly normal the organisations which apparently Mr. Hyndman would approve. The insti-

tution of the Post Office is not objected to by one Positivist, nor would the railway system be so if worked for the common advantage. But it is clear that whether the great organisations suggested by Mr. Hyndman are worked for the profit of individuals or for communistic purposes, in each case the larger the organisation the greater the necessity of individual concentration of direction, in other words of a class of capitalists. The Positivist ideal involves the extreme limitation of the numbers of such people. It was Auguste Comte's custom to reduce his conceptions when possible to a concrete shape—often numerical in its character—a custom of great utility. This is what he said of the numbers of capitalists: "Two thousand bankers, a hundred thousand merchants, two hundred thousand manufacturers, four hundred thousand agriculturists, in my judgment provide enough industrial chiefs for the hundred and twenty millions who form the population of the West. With this small number of patricians will be concentrated all the capital of the West, of which they will have to direct in freedom the active employment, under a constant moral responsibility, and in the interest of a proletariat of thirty-three times that number."

The reasonable objection of Socialists is to the exploitation of the working-classes of all countries for the advantage of the capitalist class—including their indolent dependents. Socialists show very plainly how enormous is the present spoliation; they are indignant with it, and with a perfectly comprehensible impatience they desire to upset forcibly the cruelly unjust system which now exists, which is the cause of most of the poverty of the Western cities and the rural districts; which is at the root of the starvation of India, the oppression of China and Egypt, and of the present outrage on two free States in South Africa. Socialists are indignant at the idea of effecting any reform by moralising capitalists; as well attempt, they would say, to moralise wild beasts thirsting for blood. None shows more clearly than Mr. Hyndman in the work mentioned, that the present state of things, at any rate in Europe, is only possible because custom, use, social convention fixed in law, enable a particular class to retain a right to exclusive property obtained at the cost of the labourer working on a starvation wage. In what does this custom, convention, or law depend but on the moral condition, or rather the immoral condition, of society? How is it to be removed except by superior moralisation preventing a society from giving any further countenance to an evil state of things? Auguste Comte, and all his followers, no doubt, rest their hopes of the future on the moralisation of the race. They trust that by the gradual institution of Positivism it will be possible, while restraining the proletariat from that use of revolutionary force, which their pressing needs and vast numbers so easily suggest, also to bring in various ways, religious mainly, pressure to bear upon the capitalist class to compel them to make a right use of the capital which the community creates, and with the management of which they are entrusted for the benefit of the community and the human race. But they have no immediate hopes of moralising any capitalist. You cannot moralise any person while he is enjoying or depending upon the fruits of his ill-conduct or of an evil system for his existence, and for the fulfilment of his various satisfactions. It is necessary that individual amelioration should go hand in hand with moralisation of a people or a class. To remove the means of evil is the best way to prevent evil being done. Positivism offers a religious scheme for the reorganisation of the mental, practical, and moral condition of man. Its priesthood are the theoreticians, who see the right course and counsel its adoption. It must appeal to the politicians, the practical men, to carry it out. The Socialists think some

revolution will be necessary, and of course the right of such action remains to the injured, but not only does revolution produce reaction, as all history shows; but, also, it produces a disturbance which it needs subsequent moralisation to correct. Man cannot dispense with moral effort, and he cannot begin it too soon.

Finally, to prove the similarity of Mr. Hyndman's views with those of Positivists, no one has more forcibly shown than Mr. Hyndman how the great inventions, the developments of the power of human production are due to the skill and labour and foresight of the past ages of humanity, no less than how renewal of the material products of the world is owing to the eternal labours of ever-recurring generations. What it is also necessary for Socialists to see is that society is made up of individuals, each receiving infinitely more than he can return, his own contribution being trifling compared with the work of the great collective being. But small though that part be yet it is essential, and when at rare intervals the truly great man arrives on the scene, though subordinate to the whole evolution, it is an important share that he takes. To utilise human products, whether of a spiritual or of a temporal character, individuals will always be needed; they will require some spiritual or temporal reward. Nothing more than adequate temporal compensation is desired by Positivism for the capitalist, and organised Socialism will hardly deny it to him.



VERESTCHAGIN IN DEFENCE OF CHINA.

DIFFERING on nearly every other question, Count Tolstoy and V. V. Verestchagin, the Russian painter, agree with regard to the Chinese complication. They oppose any idea of reprisals and revenge, and insist that the Chinese are more sinned against than sinning. The Count, in an interview, declared himself against all attempts to force Western civilisation upon China. "The religion of the Chinese," he says, "deprecates all war and violence, and Confucius, like Christ, believed in returning good for evil and conquering enemies by kindness and self-effacement." The people of the Celestial Kingdom, he asserts, are peaceable, good-natured, and tolerant, and they never would have attacked foreigners had they not been driven into fury by aggression and greed. The Chinese are satisfied with their own religion and social order and have no use for our civilisation, and they have a right to ask us, who profess to seek their happiness, if we are happy ourselves. Verestchagin, who visited China both as a tourist and in performance of military duty and has had opportunities for study and observation, writes a long article for the St. Petersburg *Novosti* in praise of Chinese character. He says:—

"The philosophical direction of Chinese thought should have deterred us from expressing any contempt for that great nation. The fact that they call us barbarians and foreign devils shows that they do not fear us, but are filled with hatred and detestation. The Chinaman is very intelligent, and his apparent obtuseness is the result of our inability to appreciate his view of life—a philosophical view. The Chinese understand perfectly well the benefits of our civilisation and the utility of our inventions, and gradually they assimilate them. But they do not consider themselves bound to reject all their past and sacrifice traditions of thousands of years in matters of faith, life, dress, &c. They ask: 'Why cut off the pigtail; why change our religion, or give up convenient forms of dress? Is humanity completing its age on earth that we should be in a hurry?'—*Literary Digest*.

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDUSTRIAL SUPREMACY.

MR. BENJAMIN TAYLOR writes as follows in the *Fortnightly Review* :—

"Man," said Teufelsdröckh, "is a tool-using animal. . . . Nowhere do you find him without tools; without tools he is nothing, with tools he is all." There appear to be some who are dismayed because the countrymen of the Professor at Weissnichtwo are beginning to use tools of which we have long held the monopoly, but without any prescriptive right to them. Why should we alarm ourselves because Germany or any other nation becomes richer, so long as we do not become poorer? But while it is good to stir up the national pulse by the rush of competition, it is as well to remember also that the richer other countries become, the better it will be for us and the rest of the world in the long run.

All the same, we should keep a watchful eye on Germany and America. The present appears to be a good time to survey the situation, inasmuch as we seem to be approaching an industrial crisis—not through the competition of these countries—but in consequence of the exactions of our coalowners.

It is not surprising that Germany makes comparatively little progress in Africa; she is still new to this kind of work. Neither is the extension of German commerce in the Far East in any way surprising; it is more adapted to their faculties. The extension of German trade during the last ten years is not properly appreciated in this country. German firms have considerably increased both in number and volume of trade. It is probable that German manufacturers are more prompt to respect the fancies of purchasers and more complaisant as regards conditions of sale. There has been, in fact, a tacit alliance between manufacturer, State and shipowner to assist German traders in the East to push German goods. The number of German firms established in China have increased from 56 to 92 since 1886, and in Japan from 38 to 57. The *Dresden Journal* states that the exports from 1889 to 1896 from the German Customs Union to China have grown from £1,212,500 to £2,262,500, and to Japan from £925,000 to £1,775,000, being 86.72 per cent. and 92.2 per cent. respectively. The increase of imports from the East and China to Germany is from £725,000 to £1,000,000, or 136.5 per cent., and from Japan the increase is from £175,000 to £450,000, or 162.2 per cent. After all, Germany imports from China only one-sixth, and from Japan one-seventh, of the amount imported by Great Britain. Later statistics show that Germany is gaining ground.

In commerce, generally, the German success is mostly due to an infinite capacity for taking pains. It is idle to deny that the Germans are our most formidable competitors in the commercial world, and will be until the United States are economically enfranchised. German competition is no new thing, it has always existed. Out of the Hanseatic League of the Middle Ages has evolved the perfected national movement of export unions and colonial societies of the nineteenth century. Of far more influence on German commercial development than fancy devices, like export unions, has been the introduction of the commercial spirit in the foreign policy of the Empire, which, begun by Bismarck, has taken the definite form of tariff treaties.

Under the Empire, manufacturing industries have taken the precedence of importance formerly occupied by agriculture. In 1882, 425 persons per

thousand of population in Germany were supported by agriculture ; in 1895, these figures were reduced to 327 per thousand. In 1882, the number of persons per thousand of population supported by commerce was 100, in 1895 it was 115.

The Imperial Government finds it difficult to reconcile decaying and nascent interests. Zeal for commercial development has become something like a national mania, which bids fair to dominate the whole country, as did the military spirit after Sedan. Its development was retarded for a time by the military spirit. Commercial unity was only effected 17 years after the political unification of the Empire ; for until 1888 the free cities of Hamburg and Bremen retained their independence. In 1889, the first year after the completion of commercial unity, the total special imports (or commodities for consumption in Germany) into Germany was £200,750,000, and the total export of articles of German produce amounted to £158,335,000; in all, a foreign trade of £359,090,000. In 1896 these imports had grown to £229,453,350, and the exports to £176,630,200 ; in all, a foreign trade of £405,483,550, or an increase of £46,393,550 in seven years. During this period there was a *decrease* of from £49,635,000 to £46,900,000 in articles of foreign manufacture imported, and an *increase* in articles of German manufacture exported of from £104,935,000 to £115,060,000. In the same space of time the population of Germany increased four millions. It is useless to ignore the fact that the imports from Great Britain to Germany decreased by £5,696,000 during these seven years, but it is an error to suppose that this means a dead loss of trade to us. As a matter of fact, Germany is now importing directly from British Colonies and foreign countries a good deal that was formerly received through British ports. The interchange of traffic between the two Empires increases with the increase of the Colonial possessions of each ; it is curious how nearly these imports and exports balance each other :—

	1889.	1896.
Germany imported from British Empire	£40,780,450	£42,842,350
„ exported to „ „	£36,001,150	£41,164,850
Difference ...	£4,773,300	£1,677,500

A large portion of the German increase in exports is due to bounty-fed sugar.

Count von Posadowsky quoted figures last year to show that the foreign trade of the United States was rising, to the prejudice of Germany. It will be thus seen that the fear of the bogey of “ foreign competition ” is not confined to this country. Count von Posadowsky was alarmed at America’s exports being twice as great as her imports, and America is a younger industrial nation than Germany.

Our own English industries are often taunted with the growth of German competition, but the German Reichstag has been treated to a serious warning on the subject of American competition (especially as regards cycles) in departments of industry where Germany should be without rivals. Let those afraid of the German bogey take comfort from this.

Germany’s development as an ocean carrier and coloniser compels her to increase her naval strength. In effective sea tonnage Germany ranks next, though *longo intervallo*, to Great Britain. Germany has few ports and a limited seaboard in proportion to her territorial area, but the development of maritime enterprise is not the least striking feature in the economic expansion of the empire. In consequence of the growing maritime trade Hamburg

has expended £15,000,000, Altona £450,000, Bremen and Bremerhaven £5,700,000, Geestemunde £800,000, Dantzig £400,000, and Stettin £2,000,000 in improved harbour accommodation for shipping. In 1872 Germany had only 81,994 tons of steamers worth about £1,000,000; now she possesses steamships to the value of £20,000,000, which are largely subsidised by the State.

The author disagrees with the Consular reports frequently made, charging the falling-off of British trade to the incapacity of British traders, and the fewness and ignorance of British commercial travellers. He remarks that British travellers go abroad to sell goods and make profits and not to exchange civilities with Consular officers, and that these latter must not suppose that because they do not call upon them, that they never visit the places where Consuls are; on the contrary, he quotes U.S. Consular reports which speak highly of the energy of both English and German traders. It is a foolish error to suppose that all German commercial increase is made at the expense of Great Britain. The world grows, and, industry and commerce expanding, Great Britain cannot keep pace with the expansion. There is no doubt about the reality and vigour of the competition brought to bear against us in Europe, &c., by Germany. And there is no doubt about the folly of the present popular English superstition that everything "made in Germany" is rubbish. There is a larger market in the world for cheap and showy than for dear and substantial goods. Germany occupies a large part of this market without hurting us much. If the Germans make and sell cheap trash it is because they find it profitable so to do, not because the nation at large is not capable of better things. The decline in the price of silver and the consequently restricted purchasing power of the dollar has helped Germany considerably in certain markets. In conclusion, the writer considers the industrial expansion of Germany to have been too rapid; the pace must abate, or there will come a period of collapse. As also will come a rise in the level of wages and standard of living—both now lower than ours—not to be reached without the *Sturm und Drang* of industrial war which Great Britain has passed. He is inclined to believe that German competition in the world-market has reached high water mark. On the other hand, the real strength of American industrial competition has yet to be felt. America has obtained and will retain the lead as the greatest iron and steel-producing country in the world. American coal has come to stay in Europe, though it may cease to come to England when our own inflated industry resumes its normal condition. But America, like Germany, still has her real labour troubles to come.



"My soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace. I am for peace, but when I speak they are for war."—PSALM CXX.

"Fix reason firmly in her seat, and call to her tribunal every fact, every opinion. Question with boldness even the existence of a God; because, if there be one, he must more approve the homage of reason than of blindfolded fear."—JEFFERSON.

THE HOUSING OF THE POOR IN GERMANY.

FOR several years past one of the most important questions has been the need of better dwellings for the working-classes. This question has been considered by communal councils, who see its urgent need, by statistical congresses, by various other bodies who have all been convinced that it is a matter of urgency. Authorities in hygiene have accumulated masses of figures showing how the rate of mortality is increased by the defective sanitation of working men's dwellings, sanitary inspectors have pointed out again and again the evils existing in their districts, but up to the present time really nothing has been done. The net result, according to the judgment of bourgeois writers, is that the poorer classes live in dwellings which preclude them from living healthy and moral lives, which make family life a mockery, and deprive their lives of happiness and comfort.

And it must be remembered that this is not only true of the dwellings in large and small towns, but it is often the fact even in villages. The question is worse than ever it was, even than in the years immediately after 1870, when, owing to the influx of money from the French indemnity, builders' swindles ran riot throughout Germany. More than 10,000 people in Berlin, and quite 1,000 in Hamburg, are compelled for want of accommodation to live in places which were never intended for human habitation; they have to live in cellars, in stables, and in other out-of-the-way corners. And in many other towns things are no better.

The increase in rent has never been so great, and working men who have large families—whose union, as it is said, has been blessed by Providence—find it more and more difficult to obtain decent rooms for themselves. The poorer a man is the more he has to pay for rent. Dr. Schwalbe, the head of the Municipal Bureau of Statistics in Berlin, has published some interesting statistics on this point. Thus, if a man has a yearly income of 900 marks (£45), he pays 24.10 per cent. for rent; out of an income of 900 to 1,500 marks (£45 to £75) he pays 22.11 per cent.; but out of an income of 30,000 marks (£1,500) he only pays 9.20 per cent. In other words, a workman pays about the fourth part of his income for rent. In Hamburg matters are worse. On a yearly income of 600 to 1,200 marks (£30 to £60) the amount exacted for rent is 25.5 per cent., or more than a quarter of the income, but in 1868 it was only 18.8 per cent. In other words, there is a tendency for rents to rise, and statistics show that this is going on everywhere.

In the bourgeois press it is often said that workmen do not wish to live in decent dwellings, and that they pay as little as possible for rent in order that they may spend more in the public-house. It is always difficult to disprove these statements, just as they are never proved, but our comrade Leipart, of Stuttgart, has published some facts concerning that town which show very clearly that the best-paid workmen spend more in rent than those who receive less.

It has been shown that the overcrowding in towns has a disastrous effect on health and morals. Perhaps the worst figures in this respect are to be found in Berlin. According to the census in 1895, out of every 1,000 men 77.2, and out of every 1,000 women 26, had no permanent home. And how did these people live? 39.2 per cent. lived in lodgings where there

was only one room to let, 50 per cent. where there were only two rooms, 7.7 per cent. where there were three rooms, and only 2.5 per cent. where there were four and more rooms.

This overcrowding has bad results from a moral point of view. Schmoller says that the factory hands in our large towns have fallen into a state of barbarism and bestiality which is far worse than anything in previous centuries. A. Braun, who was a member of the Berlin Sanitary Board, says: "Children of both sexes often have to sleep in the same room as their parents, and sometimes with strangers and even at times have to share the same bed. All sense of modesty is gone, there can be no decent family life under these conditions, and the condition of the young is terrible to think of."

It is not to be wondered, then, that prostitution finds its chief recruiting ground in these places. The death rate also increases as overcrowding increases, and Berlin has a death rate from 25 to 32 per 1,000. It has been clearly shown in Breslau, for example, how the death rate is affected by poverty. There, in houses of a rental of £15 a year the death rate was 20.7 per cent., for a rental of £15 to £35 11.2 per cent., and for a rental of £35 to £75 only 6 per cent., and the death rate is still heavier for children, over half dying in the first year.

The statistics for Munich tell the same tale. In the poor districts the death rate is from 35 to 32 per 1,000, and in the richer parts of the town it is only 19 to 17 per 1,000. At Charlottenburg, a middle-class suburb of Berlin, the death rate is 15.10 per 1,000, but in the richer districts of Berlin it was only 6.05 per 1,000. The same tale is told with reference to infant mortality; in the poorer districts it reached the total of 52.27 per cent., and in the richer districts only 8.6 per cent., the average death-rate for the whole city being 31.5 per cent.

These figures speak for themselves. They show that while factory life really kills family life if the woman works, insanitary dwellings kill half the children every year; and, perhaps, under existing circumstances those who remain are most to be pitied. And yet the Government and the middle classes look at these facts with perfect complacency.* It is, therefore, more incumbent on us to ponder over these figures and to devise a remedy for this horrible state of things. Moloch has been propitiated for a long time; it should be our duty to labour so that this earth and its fruits may be enjoyed by all.

From *Vorwärts*, translated by JACQUES BONHOMME.

* Of course, the writer is referring to the German Government. Our rulers think and act far differently.



THE HOUSE OF LORDS.—"Contains more bigots, ignoramuses, profligates, and good-for-naughts than any similar assembly in the civilised world. These poor peers have been reared in the amazing delusion that they are the salt of the earth; and, conscious as many of them must be of how savourless they are, what can we expect them to think of the miserable creatures who in relation to them are merely the earth?"—MICHAEL DAVITT.

DIVES AND LAZARUS.

(Conclusion.)

It was a dreary, dreary road we went down. Once it had been a country lane, where the larks had sung and the flowers bloomed; there were even now bits of ragged hedge left in places, for it was not all built over. The three or four better houses we had left at the town end; then, after a gap, there were long wooden hoardings with some few faded advertisements, then a few shabby houses on one side and a low fence on the other, beyond this a disused brickyard, two or three stagnant pools of water, and several heaps of rubbish; and these, with the broken kilns and old bricks strewn about, gave an air of desolation and untidiness hard to beat. Again we came to a few very shabby cottages, and at last, near the end, we crossed over the road and arrived at the house of my guide. It was down a sort of yard. On three sides of the yard were miserable dwellings, built evidently for temporary dwellings for the brickmakers. A number of ragged children played in the court and dabbled in the dirty pools in the centre, which evidently served as the drainage system.

"Is this it?" I said, and she heaved a deep sigh as she said, "No, it's worse than this. But you shan't go any further."

So we stopped at the end of a passage, through which I saw still more horrors. The children had trotted wearily behind, and as they came up they looked a heap too good for that place.

"Oh, if I could only have a decent home for them I wouldn't mind," she said, "but what will become of them here?"

I could give her no real encouragement, so, placing a couple of half-crowns in her hand and passing her the bundle, I bade her "Good night."

I think nearly all the women and children in the yard came out to see the strange sight, as I turned away thankful to get from the smell of the place.

I walked briskly back again to No. 4 to see Fred Blackman, and in about a quarter-of-an-hour reached his house, but what was my disappointment when I arrived to learn that he did not live there; a girl of about nine was the only inmate, and not so bright as girls usually are, so I began to despair.

Seeing a man standing at a shop-door opposite, I questioned him.

"Oh," he said, "it's not him. In a way of speaking, this is Lark Lane, but it's going to be altered. The Lane begins here, but the Lark Lane houses are all at the other end, and you'll find the numbers begin at yon end and come this way."

So back I trudged once more, past the dirty hoardings, the scrubby hedge, the desolate brickfields, and the shabby houses beyond. But here again I stuck, for the earliest number I could find was No. 12. This was a small shop which sold tapes and sweets. I enquired there, but got no information.

"There must be such a place," I said. "I've got it here. Fred Blackman, 4, Lark Lane."

"I know where he lives."

The words came from a crippled boy, who was nimble enough spite of his lameness.

"Come and show me, and I'll give you a penny," I said.

And, glad enough, off he went, and, to my surprise, led me to the very same court I had been in before.

Now, if I were making up a tale instead of giving a bare statement of facts, I should be taken to the house of my friend of the bundle, but it was not so. My cripple stopped on the outer court, and, pointing to a No. 4, said, "That's where Blackman lives; gimme a penny."

I knocked at the open door, and was bid to come in, and before me I saw a tiny room about 9 ft. square, a table in the middle on which was a washtub, and in which a woman was bathing a child in the suds; another child just ready for bed stood near, by the small fire sat a tired, thoughtful-looking man reading a paper, smoking a pipe slowly, and superintending the toasting of a herring.

Now the combined smell of drains, suds, tobacco, and red herring was too much for me, but there was nothing for it but to bear it. I took the chair the woman politely offered and sat near the door.

"Is this Mr. Fred Blackman's house?"

"Yes. Won't you sit down?"

"Is he in?"

"I'm Fred Blackman," said the man with the pipe, laying down his paper on his knees, and as he did so I saw for the first time that grand, solemn figure of Justice, with the bandaged eyes, the drawn sword, and even balance which adorns the paper of that name. The man seemed civil but not cordial. He thawed, however, when I explained my business. Yes, he wrote that letter. I asked him about the number. Well, he was sorry I had so much trouble to find it. His house was No. 4 in the court, and the court was in Lark Lane, so that was the only address he could give, as the court itself had a name that he wouldn't like to put in a paper.

"You don't think we like to live here," he said, "but what can poor folks do?" He was a hammerman's labourer on half time. A full week's wages are little enough, but half—"Well, it was almost starvation; and still," he said, "there's others a deal worse off than I am." I instanced the case of my poor woman.

"Oh, yes," said the wife, "I know; you mean poor Tom Birks."

"Now, that is a hard case," said Fred. "Tom's as good a working fellow as need be, with a smart and steady wife, and but for her sister they'd be clemming." He told me how he knew that week after week Tom had tramped twenty to twenty-five miles a day seeking work and finding none. I didn't mention that I knew Tom's late employer, but led him to talk of him.

"Oh, he's not a bad sort, as masters go—not at all; pays fair wages; treats his men fairly, but the moment things get a bit slack, off they have to go. Gives away hundreds, he does, for missions and charities of all kinds. Oh, yes, there are plenty worse than him; fact, I don't know a better, but I can't help thinking sometimes, as if he'd think a little more about what happens when a man gets the sack in a slack time, he'd be none the worse for it; and them hundreds of pounds as he gives to the church and the mission and the Jubilee rejoicings would do perhaps as much good if spent among the fellows as makes his money for him. About that meeting in the market place? Oh, he's wrong there; why, every blooming quack and spouter can have a meeting there but the Socialists. Is that right? Is that justice?" he cried, as he slapped the paper on his knee. "Now, he's one of the best on 'em, but when I see him driving in his carriage and pair to church of a Sunday and think of poor Tom there with his wife and bairns starving in that wretched hole, it makes me mad! We do say hard

things sometimes, but we're driven to it. We want no man's charity, but we do want a little more of our own earnings and a chance of a decent life for the children, and, by heaven, we'll have it some day. Why, I'll be bound our Mayor's dog-kennel is a healthier and better place than this to live in, and at least we are human creatures, if not brother Christians, and we are, perhaps, as much use in the world as is the Mayor."

For about ten minutes I sat and listened to Fred's talk, and he taught me some lessons worth knowing, and I began to understand the deep, strong hold that Socialism was taking upon the thoughtful working man. I encouraged him to go on with his meetings as he intended, spite of the Mayor's prohibition; but bid him keep well within the law about obstruction, and, giving him my card with instructions to write if he got into any trouble with the Mayor, I left him.

I had only just time to get to the station when I met my friend, we stepped into a first-class carriage, the door of which the station-master held for us, and in about twenty minutes we arrived at the station. A man in smart livery met the train, and beckoned a porter, who took the bags and followed to the carriage, the door of which the lackey opened. The coachman on the box held the reins of a pair of high-stepping horses, by whose aid in a very few minutes we arrived at the Mayor's house.

The porter at the lodge threw open the gates, and a broad carriage drive, bordered on each side by large trees, led up to the house. The door was opened by a trim maid as we drew up, and in the vestibule behind her was the Mayoress to give us a welcome. It was all very nice, and not, perhaps, very extravagant, but was it quite justice? To help us to cover some five hundred yards we had three men, two women, and a pair of horses; and just about that time poor Tom would be returning from his twenty-mile lonely tramp to seek work.

I glanced round the entrance-hall, with its tessellated pavement, its pannelled walls hung with fine paintings, the great palms in ornamental vases which decorated it, and the fine flight of low steps with the velvet pile carpet. Why, this entrance-hall alone would make four or five of Fred Blackman's houses, rising, as it did, above the roof, where a dome with rich-coloured glass illuminated it. Beautiful marble statues held softly tinted lamps in their hands, and heavy silken hangings cut off the draughts from the door and passages. From one side it led to a large conservatory, with beautiful and rare plants, and in it a fountain played and made a musical splash as its waters fell into a marble basin, where gold and silver fish disported. Oh, how different from the stinking, muddy pool in Lark Lane, and the tiny, stuffy houses where the vision of Justice had been unveiled to me.

My friend was very proud of his house, as he had reason to be, and he took me up the broad stairs with their thick pile, and showed how they led to an upper hall, almost as big. There the centre well was removed, but broad landings all round gave access to the various rooms, and there were couches, ottomans, easy chairs, and lounges of various kinds, flowers, ferns, palms in abundance, statues in corners and niches, and beautiful paintings on the walls. But what struck me as much as the richness of everything was the abundant space, such a contrast to poor Fred's one little room, with its washtub in the centre, and one tiny bedroom for the family.

We examined all: the luxurious bath-room, with its conveniences for hot, cold, and shower baths, its cork-covered floor, dainty furniture and cosy fire. I saw but one bedroom out of the many, but was told they were all in the same style. Mine was not less than 20 ft. square, most richly furnished,

and all parts highly decorated, carpets and rugs in profusion, lovely water colour paintings on the walls, silken and lace curtains to the windows, a richly-carved bedstead with satin-covered eider-down coverlet, and lace-bordered sheets. A cheerful fire was burning in the grate, for though it was summer the night was chilly; easy chairs and couches, of course a writing table, and other furniture, and opening from the bedroom a dressing-room to match, with its bath and all conveniences, and all this was for *one person*! A chance visitor! While those who helped to make the wealth had to huddle, when on half time, a whole family in a miserable filthy tenement where there was scarcely room to stir.

When the gong sounded I went down to supper—"just a snack before going to bed," as my host remarked, and this was the snack for four of us: First, about 7 lb. of boiled salmon, with mayonnaise sauce (poor Fred had one red-herring among two of them); then we had mutton cutlets and tarts, delicate blanchmanges and jellies, cheese, and a variety of fruits. Of course, we didn't eat half of what was brought on the table, and I must admit that in spite of vivid recollections of my friends in Lark Lane, I made a hearty supper.

Then we went into the drawing-room for a chat. My friend and his wife were charming in their cordiality, and a lady friend was both instructive and amusing. The drawing-room was about 24 by 35 ft., with a great bay-window at one end. It was furnished with great taste, and everything was most comfortable and cosy. It would be wearisome to attempt to describe all that was in it, but I must just tell about the overmantel.

"Do you know," said my friend, "that last autumn we took a run down to Brighton. I wanted to buy some furs for my wife, and, though it's a long way from Yorkshire to Brighton, yet you get a better selection there. It is a most splendid shop. Things are dear, of course, but they are lovely. In the morning if we have time I must show you what I got, but there is another shop there. I forget the name of the street, but it runs up north from near the Queen's Hotel. Now, in this place they have the most beautiful ornaments of all kinds, rare things, just the sort that make a room look *recherché*, you know. They had a room fitted up there in their own style, and it looked very fine. 'I wish mine looked like that,' I said. 'Nothing easier,' the proprietor replied; 'what is it like now?' I told him. 'Ah, if I had a good photograph, I should know what to do.' Well, I sent off a telegram at once to 'Vine's' to take a big photo and send me a print. I had it done in two days, and took it to 'Prince's.' 'Now, this has possibilities,' he said. It was the overmantel he was referring to. 'Will you leave the selection to me?' 'Certainly,' I said. So he put out this, and that, and the other, and a good hundred pounds' worth of knick-knacks were put aside in no time. 'And now,' he said, 'you must let me come and arrange it for you. My fee is only 25 guineas and expenses, and I'm sure you'll be satisfied.' Well, you know, I thought it was not worth while spoiling the ship for a ha'porth of tar, so when we came back I let him come. When he had done he looked round and said, 'Now, for another fee of 25 guineas I will make your drawing room a vision of beauty. I don't ask for any more furniture, I may even turn some out, but let me have a couple of handy men, a step-ladder, some picture cord and nails, and leave me to myself. I will just sit here for an hour and study the room while you get the men and things ready, and then in two hours' time you can come in.' So I let him have his way, and the transformation was just wonderful."

I must admit that I admired Prince's work, and in a certain sense he was a workman who earned his wages, but 50 guineas for four hours' work, and

poor Fred with his 12s. 6d. for swinging a 40 lb. hammer for 38 hours—Somehow I couldn't see it was justice, nor was all the wealth of food and comfort and luxury for these two, and such dreary drudgery for the others.

I went to bed at last and dreamed troubled dreams of hungry men and fierce women, with haggard looks, surrounding the house, of street fights, and burning cities, and then of a far-off time when righteousness would cover the earth as the water covers the great deep, and through all my dream I could see this kind Christian lady in the lap of luxury paying even £60 a year for a companion to talk to, and my poor woman who had walked five miles with her bundle, and who thought "9d. was such a lot of money to spend on oneself."

Over breakfast next morning I told my friends of my visit to Lark Lane and what I saw there. The good lady was really sympathetic and seemed most anxious that the conditions of the people should be improved, but the Mayor could stand no Socialistic nonsense. Rich and poor always had been and always would be—the law of supply and demand—the wickedness of these fellows wanting to put their hands into other people's pockets, and all the stale old nonsense that I used to talk myself before my eyes were opened. I knew it was no use trying to convince him just then, though I think I secured a fair hearing for the democrats in the town square.

After breakfast we went to see the stables.

"Only three horses; no ostentation, you know, but I like things nice," and they were. Oh, what a difference from Lark Lane Court was here; large, roomy stables, scrupulously clean, glazed tiles and varnished woodwork on the walls, polished iron and brass fittings, well-drained floor with quite ornamental straw beds for the horses. Stables and harness-room well warmed and ventilated. I don't know enough about horses to describe all I saw there and in the carriage room.

"Only three carriages, you know, dog-cart, victoria for the wife, and the landau; no waste, no extravagance."

Then we went across the tennis lawn, past the shrubbery, and came to the kitchen garden and greenhouses with their wealth and variety of fruit.

"All this, you know, is very nice," said the Mayor, "yet there are barely five acres altogether, but I've just got a bit more to round off the property and increase my orchard. You know it used to be a market garden, just about two acres, joining mine; it was untidy sometimes and there was a miserable cottage, and a lot of children running about—we could see them from the upper windows. I've wanted it for a long time, but the owner wouldn't part. The man who had it was born there and his father had it before him, it was their only living, they had no lease, but the owner's father when he died did not wish them to be disturbed, and he wouldn't do it. Most unreasonable, you know. I made him a good offer; it wasn't a matter of price, I wanted the land; but it was no use, the gardener and his wife got on the tender side of him and he wouldn't give way. I never was more annoyed and vexed. It would increase my orchard, and, above all, I wanted to make a big outdoor fernery and rockery; but no, it couldn't be done. Well, do you know, as luck would have it, the owner went bankrupt—always likely when he had such unbusiness-like ideas. So I just gave instructions to my lawyers to get that bit of land at any price, and, I assure you, I got it for a lot less than I had offered for it, a lot less; and then I had my market gardener at my mercy. But I never saw such an unreasonable man. He wouldn't move till the very last day of his term, and he actually wanted me to pay him some compensation for going from his house—said his father had built it. And then he wanted compensation for improve-

ments, and the trees he had planted. 'No,' I said, 'I didn't want them, he might take them away if he liked.' And, just imagine, that contemptible man took me at my word; what he could take away he did, and destroyed the trees too big for moving. Oh, it's abominable what men will do just out of spite; and do you know," he continued, "that gardener pretends to be a Christian and worships at the same church with me. A fig for such Christianity, I say. It's all very well you wanting to improve human nature, but when we have such selfish men to deal with I tell you it's too bad for improvement."

"Oh," thought I, "'Wad some power the giftie gie us to see oursels as ithers see us.'" But in spite of the sadness and absurdity of my friend's talk, he was serious and thought he was right. Further, he is as good a man as most, and even better than most, but like others he can only see his own side. Such as he is, he is what society and the Church have made him, and will be judged at last according to the light he has, and not according to that he has not.

The carriage and pair came to take me to the station. I bade my courteous host and hostess adieu and carried away many pleasant memories of my short visit. But ever beside the luxurious hearth I could see the gaunt visage of Fred Blackman with the paper containing that grand figure of Justice, and it seems to me I shall never get rid of that vision till the greed and selfishness which has been weighed in that balance and found wanting is swept away—till that drawn sword has smitten the chains and fetters from the limbs of labour, and each shall be free to toil and earn for himself and not for others.

Oh, strange and wonderful "justice," when we shall gather the grain
For ourselves and for each of our fellows, and no hand shall labour in vain,
And the homes of ancient stories, the tombs of the mighty dead,
And the wise men seeking out marvels, and the poet's teeming head,
And the painter's hand of wonder, and the marvellous fiddle-bow,
And the banded choirs of music—all those that do and know—
All these shall be ours, and all men's; nor shall any lack a share
Of the toil and the gain of living in the days when the world grows fair.

R. J.



PUBLIC OPINION.—"It is an undertaking of some degree of delicacy to examine into the cause of public disorders. If a man happens not to succeed in such an inquiry he will be thought weak and visionary; if he touches the true grievance, there is a danger that he may come near to persons of weight and consequence, who will rather be exasperated at the discovery of their errors than thankful for the occasion of correcting them. If he should be obliged to blame the favourites of the people, he will be considered as the tool of power; if he censures those in power, he will be looked on as an instrument of faction. But in all exertions of duty something is to be hazarded. When the affairs of the nation are distracted, private people are, by the spirit of that law, justified in stepping a little out of their ordinary sphere. They may look into them narrowly; they may reason upon them liberally: and if they should be so fortunate as to discover the true source of the mischief, and to suggest any probable method of removing it, though they may displease the rulers for the day, they are certainly of service to the cause of government."—BURKE.

THEN AND NOW.

IN wondrous Rome, sated with gory conquest,
The pomp and pride of pelf obscured the mind ;
Ousting Reflection ; granting Lust her behest ;
And bidding Love and Pity stand behind.

Music and revel here—there carping care ;
The proud man fatuous ; and the poor man deal
To all that bids the son of toil to wear,
A sturdy courage in high hope ahead.

And to the mart the power of Rome was borne
That all men might be equal if they chose,
To barter honours, laurels, in return
For sensuous living, and for dull repose.

When at the gate the bugle call rang clear,
To arms ! To arms ! And sick with livid fright,
They shrank unmanned ; to let the foe draw near,
And so for ever quenched Rome's glorious light.

* * * * *

A greater Empire far, with massive strength,
Since then has time evolved ; on land
Triumphant oft ; on sea omnipotent ;
Girding the world with Anglo-Saxon band.

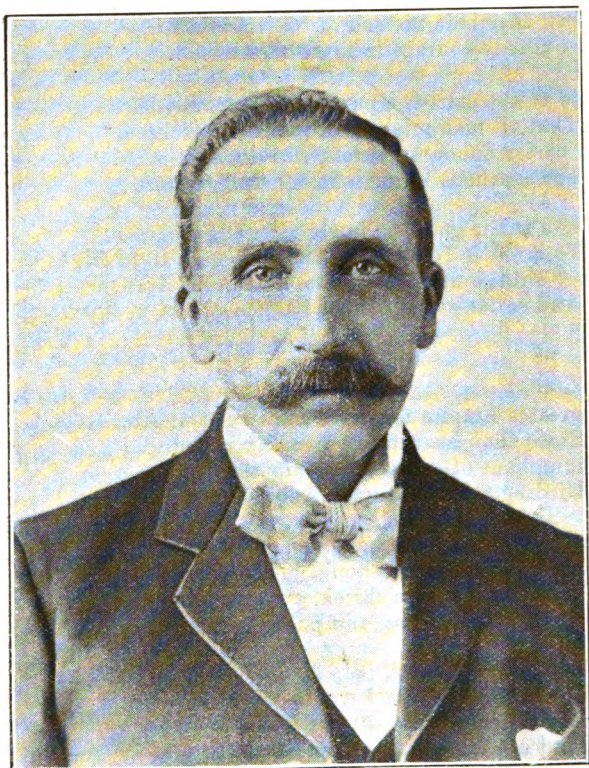
And yet, methinks, the lesson of Rome's fate,
In days like these should bid us fear the worst
When wild hysteric shriek, and cry of hate,
From pulpit, press, and public rise and burst ;

When lies malicious, pass for love intense
Of Fatherland ; and would-be patriots sow
The seeds of strife upon the grave of sense ;
And art defiled, spits venom at the foe.

It was not thus, in Nelson's days of yore,
Your forbears held the sceptre of the sea.
No jingo then ! To stain your hands with gore
Of other men, unnecessarily.

It is not thus, the glory of her name,
Shall shine untarnished in the scroll of fate ;
But better far for England's future fame,
A noble pity, than a vengeful hate.

EDWARD J. GANNON.



A. BROOKS.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

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OUR REPRESENTATIVES.

XIV.—A. BROOKS.

OUR comrade Brooks, member of the Blackburn Town Council and Board of Guardians, although not an old member of the S.D.F., is well-known throughout Lancashire as a sturdy fighter and fearless advocate of the principles of Social-Democracy. Indeed, his name is a household word in Blackburn, and he shares with our comrade Hurley the distinction of being one of the best-known Socialists in the town.

Comrade Brooks, who was born in 1855, is a native of Blackburn. When quite young his father died, leaving seven children, of which our comrade was the eldest. He was compelled to stay at home to look after the younger children while his mother went to work to provide for the family. He consequently got no education and could not even write his own name when he was married, twenty-five years ago.

He learned the trade of a stonemason, and when he was twenty-one years of age he left Blackburn and worked in different towns in the North of England and Ireland. It is said that a rolling stone gathers no moss, but, however this may be, our comrade Brooks gained much experience in his trade during these years of unrest. He also acquired some education by attending evening schools. He eventually settled down in Blackburn and commenced business as a stonemason on his own account, and finally developed into a contractor and built up a flourishing business.

About this time he took a great interest in religious and temperance work. It was the latter which first brought him into contact with the S.D.F. He was a frequent attendant at the S.D.F. meetings in St. Paul's Ward, and he often opposed the speakers by taking up the orthodox attitude of the temperance advocate, viz., "That it was the intemperate habits of the

people which was the cause of so much of their poverty." However, by reading a few Socialist pamphlets he became convinced of the unsoundness of his position.

In 1894 he was elected to the Blackburn Board of Guardians as an Independent. It was the first few months' experience on this body which convinced him that there was hope for the working-class only in the establishment of Social-Democracy. He soon afterwards joined the local branch of the S.D.F., and, when the Town Council elections took place in 1895, he was put forward as S.D.F. candidate for St. Paul's Ward against a strong Tory candidate. He was defeated. In the following November he was again nominated for the same ward. He was opposed by a Liberal, and was again defeated, this time by only six votes. In April of the following year he stood as S.D.F. candidate for the Board of Guardians. A determined attempt was made to oust him, the Liberal and Tory Parties combining to secure his overthrow. This they failed to accomplish, and Brooks was elected for the second time as a Poor Law Guardian.

His work in this capacity has been previously referred to in *Justice*. Among the more important changes he has brought about may be mentioned the establishment of a tailors' shop at the workhouse during the winter season when the tailoring is slack. Tailors who apply for relief from the Guardians are given the opportunity of work in this shop at trade union prices. Brooks, along with three other Labour members of the Guardians, has succeeded in getting a bowling-green made for the use of the inmates of the workhouse. The whole of the work was carried out by the inmates, and the extra cost to the poor rates only amounted to about £25. This is the first place at which a bowling-green has been attached to a workhouse in England.

He was the prime mover in getting the dietary of the children altered. Previously the inmates were only allowed a limited quantity of bread, now they can have as much as they like.

Before he got the dietary scale altered he had a very hard tussle with the other Guardians, who always maintained that the children were well fed. However, not to be beaten, comrade Brooks determined to satisfy himself and others on this point. He attended the workhouse one evening when the children were having tea. They had eaten their allotted quantity of rations when comrade Brooks asked the governor, who was present, if the children had had sufficient to eat. He received an answer in the affirmative. Comrade Brooks, however, was of opinion they had not, and he stepped up on the platform, where all the children could see him, and called out to them, "Those who can eat some more bread and butter hold up your hands." Every hand went up. Brooks ordered a fresh supply, and 300 more slices of bread and butter were eaten after the governor had assured Brooks that the children had eaten full. When comrade Brooks reported this to the next meeting of the Guardians he had little difficulty in getting them to agree to an alteration in the children's diet.

He has also been on the committee for the establishing of scattered homes for the children. These have been recently opened, and contain

baths and libraries. The children are sent to the various schools in the district, and thus allowed to mix with other children. It is thought by this means to remove the taint of pauperism from them.

He has been the means of getting many other useful changes brought about which will do much to lighten the burden of those who are compelled by poverty to have recourse to the poor law. He has been ever to the fore in denouncing harsh and corrupt officials, and has received invaluable assistance in his work on the Guardians from comrade Ward of the I.L.P.

Comrade Brooks was elected to the Town Council in 1898. As a member of this body he has been useful in detecting and exposing the jerry work of contractors. He has also advocated the building of workmen's houses by the Council to be let at rents to cover cost of construction and maintenance only. The usefulness of Brooks and the other three comrades on the Town Council is somewhat impaired in consequence of the "Tory Dictator-in-Chief," who selects all the committees, and always keeps our comrades off the more important ones. This forces them to bring forward all their motions in the open Council meetings. This they do at almost every opportunity. But there are only four members of the Council who speak on them, viz., Brooks and his three Socialist comrades. All the remaining members, Tory and Liberal alike, receive them in cold and stony silence. But there is the greater Council looking on—the public—and thanks to the efforts of our comrade Brooks there are indications that the working men of Blackburn are getting tired of the old reactionary gang, and before long they will be swept out of the position they have monopolised so long, and the seventeen years' work of the S.D.F. in Blackburn will end in the town being won for Social-Democracy.



AN ANARCHIST COLONY.

E. VANDERVELDE gives in *Le Peuple* an account of a colony in Holland, near the Zuyder Zee. It consists of 20 persons—seven men, eight women, and five children. They belong to various professions—one was a farm labourer, one a carpenter, one a hatter, one an Englishman—a literary man, one a student of theology, and one a Protestant pastor. They cultivate a little land, and are all vegetarians and abstainers; they grow their own wheat and their own vegetables. But as they want some money they have started a bakery, and they also sell some agricultural produce. They have to work very hard from six in the morning till six at night. They have a common dining room, which is also the drawing room, it is plainly furnished, but there are some engravings on the walls. The sleeping rooms are very bare. M. Vandervelde was much struck by their earnestness, and also by the hardships which they have to endure.

But this is no solution of the evils of society. They are like monks who leave the world to save their souls. They should not go away from their fellows, but stay in the world and help to reform it.

JACQUES BONHOMME.

DEMOCRATIC PURITY versus ELECTIONEERING TRICKERY.

THE General Election of 1900 has been fought and decided. The great Panjandrum has again ascended the rostrum and claims to sway the rod of Empire. The wires were pulled from Birmingham and the alarum sounded which "waked to ecstasy the living *liar*"; and truth has been relegated to her proverbial position at the bottom of a well. This is, perhaps, not the result which might have been desired by earnest democrats, but as a footstep in the sands of time, it will remain a record, affording many valuable and instructive suggestions, which should not fail to influence our action in the future.

In the political history of our country many difficult problems have forced themselves to the front, the majority of which still remain unsolved; but there is one which has presented itself with a monotonous regularity at every General Election, and with which astute politicians have grappled, with a success which has often been commensurate to the zeal and persistency of their efforts. This problem might be summed up in the query: "How many promises is it necessary to make, and of what nature and attractiveness should they be in order to hoodwink the constituencies so effectively as to secure a majority at a General Election?"

It is within the memory of most of us with what consummate ability the Tory Unionists gauged the gullibility of the electorate in 1895, and the overwhelming preponderance they obtained as a reward of their skilfully elaborated programme. Like time and space, their promises were illimitable, and made with such an amount of skilful and attractive colouring, brightened and emphasised by sophistical ingenuity, as to render them acceptable to the various interested localities and classes.

"The proper study of mankind is man." It will, doubtless suggest itself to the philosophical observer that the sin of duplicity in the politician is merely the sequence of an initial study of the law of expediency. The angler selects the bait which is most likely to attract the fish he wishes to hook; so the prospective legislator, with an elastic conscience, does not scruple to embellish his election address with such profuse and flowery promises as he considers will secure the vote of the sanguine but ingenuous elector.

It might be interesting as well as instructive, at the present juncture, to take a retrospective glance and summarise the schedule of promises, only five years ago, so indiscriminately and unscrupulously propagated, and likewise to note carefully to what extent they have been redeemed:—

Foremost amongst these stands the Old Age Pension scheme, with which the name of our Colonial Secretary was so ostentatiously associated. Although five years have elapsed and several Commissions have been appointed to enquire and report upon the matter, the whole scheme has been

practically burked, as it was doubtless intended it should be. Perhaps, in the distant future, the reports of these Commissions may be of some value, when a Government is in power that prefers to attend to the interest of the aged poor rather than those of Hebraic and Teutonic millionaires in South Africa.

With regard to the "Compensation for Accidents" Bill, something certainly has been done; what that something was is now pretty well known and appreciated. As a monument of unprincipled and tinkering political expediency it stands unparalleled in the annals of this or any other age. More than half the working classes, including agricultural labourers, seamen, shop assistants, and domestic servants were excluded from the scope of its operation. The 30 ft. limitation is alike farcical and malicious, and minimises, almost to the extent of nullifying, its operation in the building trade. It is suggestive that a short time ago, with a General Election approaching, a concession was made in favour of agricultural labourers which would not have been done had they been unenfranchised.

The "Small Houses Acquisition" Bill was something less than a half-hearted measure, which was never intended to, and certainly does not, benefit the working classes, but rather the small capitalists; and in all attempts to deal with the catch-vote measures, which were dangled so alluringly before the electorate, their failure has been notorious.

Welling up from this utopian spring of infinite promises may be noted the following:—"Regulation of Alien Immigration," "Temperance Reform," "Poor Law Reform and Classification of Paupers," "The Extension of Small Holdings," "Registration Reform," &c. But where, oh where are now the fruits of those brilliant efforts of imagination? "Ask of the winds," or seek for them in that cemetery of defunct promises, over whose portal this Tory Unionist coalition has inscribed "*Requiescat in pace.*"

If we are to judge this Government by their omissions, we should likewise judge them by their commissions. It would be wrong to say that their five years' record was a barren one; a certain amount of work was done, and that very neatly and effectively. They certainly were not ungrateful to their friends, those friends, at least, moving in a prescribed social circle, and whose goodwill it was deemed politic to cultivate. In a speech delivered by Lord George Hamilton in November, 1897, he said: "It is to safeguard and protect the interests of *our friends*, not only while we are in office, but even in the contingency of our being out, that we have acted throughout." This is an assurance which cannot be placed on the list of unredeemed pledges. It has been acted up to, not only in the letter, but most scrupulously in the generous spirit which dictated it. Generosity with the national resources, under certain contingencies, in official circles is a notable Tory virtue.

In the Budget of 1894 a substantial reserve fund was provided by the operation of the clauses equalising and graduating the death duties, and bequeathed as a legacy to the incoming Government. This surplus might have been utilised in reducing the taxation of our food supplies, or in forming the basis of an endowment for the payment of old age pensions.

But this would have been somewhat of a check on those generous impulses in favour of their friends; consequently a very large proportion, about three or four millions per annum, was absorbed in providing relief for landlords, supposed to be impecunious, in endowing sectarian schools, relieving the clergy from taxation, and in paying the poor rate for Irish landlords. Like the unjust steward, they doubtless anticipated a prospective reward in the sympathy and support of their grateful friends.

A certain amount of popularity in Birmingham and its vicinity may possibly have been obtained by placing the contract for the supply of cordite in the hands of an influential local firm, despite the high figure quoted in their tender, irregularity in delivery, and inferior quality of material. Taking into consideration the names on the directorate and list of shareholders, suggestion or comment on this transaction would be superfluous.

It would be a pretty safe thing to say that had the Government appealed to the country on the strength of their domestic legislation they would certainly have been relegated to their proper place in the cold shades of opposition. But they, being opportunists and wise in their generation, adopted altogether different tactics.

An issue was raised which was alike unprecedented and dangerous. Domestic questions were swamped by the all-absorbing episode of the deplorable war in South Africa. A spurious spirit of imperialistic jingoism was evoked and is still rampant amongst a boisterous and unreasoning section of the community, which it is the duty of every patriotic Englishman to endeavour to counteract. It would be well for us to investigate closely the means by which this distortion and inflation of public opinion was brought about. We have latterly witnessed a startling evolution in national ethics. The slinging of rotten eggs and the smashing of windows has been regarded as an exalted and glorious outburst of patriotism, and has received a palliation amounting to justification from a Cabinet Minister speaking from his place in the House of Commons. With a few honourable exceptions, our Press has been suborned by the influence of unscrupulous financiers; editors have been dismissed by the proprietors of newspapers for refusing to subordinate principle to interest, and nearly the whole of the Press of South Africa has been bought up by that speculative ring of company promoters who are responsible for the war.

The pretexts put forward to justify this war are alike shallow and inconclusive, and need not be further discussed here. They have been turned inside out and their inadequacy and tainted origin exposed by such honest politicians as Sir Edward Clarke, Mr. Leonard Courtney and Mr. John Morley. Every civilised nation has, by a most remarkable consensus of opinion, condemned our action in this matter.

The Tories and Unionists having fought this election on the strength of their South African policy, it is well that we should investigate what the results of that policy have been up to the present date. These results might be epitomised as follows: 1. 10,000 corpses of the prime of our manhood fertilising the South African veldt and nearly four times that

number of invalids sent home with shattered constitutions and ruined lives 2. The undying hatred of the whole of the Dutch population of South Africa which was previously loyal. 3. An acknowledged extra expenditure on the current year of sixty million pounds, entailing an addition to our debt and a suspension of the Sinking Fund. 4. Additional taxation and an all-round rise in the price of the necessities of life. 5. An undefined but permanent addition to our future military expenditure, with a possibility of conscription. 6. A deplorable decadence in the standard of moral integrity which should characterise our statesmanship. All this has been brought about by an endeavour to crush and destroy the nationality of two small Republics whose united population, exclusive of outlanders, scarcely exceed a quarter of a million. This war, like charity, is expected to cover a multitude of sins, but it should be borne in mind that we have no right to insist that the penalties incurred by the iniquities of the present generation shall be transmitted to posterity. The appeal to the country should have been deferred until after the next Budget estimate, when the Tory election cry might have been "pay," "pay," "pay!"

This unholy lust for territorial aggrandisement and egotistical intolerance of the spirit of nationality in small contiguous States must, by its gross and palpable immorality, so disintegrate the cohesion of our great Commonwealth as to place us on the decadence plane tending to disruption, and, ere many generations have passed away, a second Gibbon may find a congenial task in recording the "Decline and Fall of the British Empire." And yet it was by appealing to the country on the merits of this policy that they have succeeded in sealing an interregnum on progress and reform for a further period of six years.

We have now to consider how we are to frustrate any future attempt which will be supported by the almost unlimited resources of an unscrupulous and interested plutocracy. It is plainly the duty of all who would uphold the Democratic purity essential to preserve our national reputation through this trying crisis, to endeavour to concentrate the great forces: Advanced Liberalism, Labour and Social-Democracy. These are three great organisations, neither of which, singly, is sufficiently powerful to combat the mighty influences which Toryism is able to control; but with mutual agreement and well organised unity there would be little doubt as to the final issue of any future struggle.

Up to the present day Social-Democracy has been greatly maligned and misrepresented. Antiquated and intolerant Clericalism has ever denounced Socialism as irreligious and tending to Secularism; but the intelligent student of the laws regulating the lives and interests of the masses of our population will not fail to perceive that a pure Socialism embodies the most exalted and vital principles of true religion. "The Earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof." A beneficent Creator has made generous and ample provision for the wants of every one of his creatures. The productive capabilities of the world which we inhabit are far in excess of the requirements of its inhabitants, and the equitable distribution of these products is one of the chief responsibilities devolving upon all Governments professing

to be constitutional and progressive. And yet in almost every town and country where civilisation prevails, the workers are living out their lives of perpetual struggle to obtain the veriest fraction of the amount of Nature's bounty which is enjoyed by those, who, by the operation of unjust social laws, reap the profits accumulated by labour. Can it then be said that those who truly and earnestly endeavour to formulate and carry into active operation laws and customs which embody the original intentions of the Creator of the Universe are acting otherwise than in the interests of a religion free from the taint of the narrow sectarianism of our age ?

The opportunity of ridding ourselves of this gigantic fraud, this Government of doles, disasters and fraudulent prospectuses, bolstered up by electioneering trickery, has come and gone ; yet the mighty juggernaut still claims to roll its ruthless course over a prostrate democracy. It is for us to say that the indomitable democratic spirit even now remains unconquered and unconquerable. The knowledge that this result has been due to the want of a thorough and effective organisation should be an incentive to a vigorous and concerted action now and in the future. We must not consider that this reverse has sounded the knell of progress for all time, but rather look upon this interregnum as a breathing space and an opportunity of girding up our loins preparatory to the next great struggle.

If we would cleanse this Augean stable from its accumulated impurities the concentrated force of the streams of Radicalism, Labour and Social-Democracy should be used for flushing purposes. These forces are within our control if the masses, who are the motive power, can only divest themselves of that glamour which has hitherto obscured their mental perception. In view of future electoral conflicts, let us study deeply and note the true significance of the kaleidoscopic jugglery of modern political strategy.

An alarming and dangerous precedent has been established, which may not be apparent to ordinary surface politicians, who are always ready to shout with the biggest crowd. It has now been practically demonstrated that any Government, however peccant, incompetent or nepotic may utterly disregard all the promises by means of which they attained to power ; and then, when the next election is within measurable distance, by embarking the nation in some warlike enterprise, so distract public attention from their shortcomings as to obtain a fresh lease of power, utterly regardless of the thousands of lives that may be sacrificed or the millions of revenue expended.

"Hope springs eternal in the human breast," but hope without vigorous effort and concerted action is nothing more than an ineffective sentiment. It is essential that the millions of our industrial classes should fully realise how the successful gerrymandering of democracy, by means of sophistical cajolery and crafty misrepresentation, has hitherto been achieved ; and determine by every effort in their power to place good and honest representatives in a majority at the next General Election.

There were advocates of a social and political purity by means of which Rome might have been saved, but they were in a minority, otherwise the history of the world might have been differently written.

JOHN GOODMAN.

“WAS THE WAR INEVITABLE?”

“Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep’s clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles? . . . Every good tree bringeth forth good fruit, but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit. . . . A good tree *cannot* bring forth evil fruit, *neither* can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.”

THESE words, spoken or written, many hundred years ago, are pregnant with deep meaning and sage counsel to the political reformer of the present day. They contain the essence of modern materialism, inasmuch as they point, in pithy and unmistakeable terms, to the inexorable law of cause and effect. How far have we learnt the lesson they convey?

I do not think the words quoted ever appealed to me with greater force than when I set myself to examine the decision which British electors have just pronounced in regard to the South African war. Could it, I asked myself, have resulted differently? And I felt bound to acknowledge, as I do now, that the result of the election was at once logical and consistent.

Someone has said that throughout this South African controversy there runs in plain lines what he called “the trail of the financial serpent,” and since these words were used I have often wondered how many inquiring spirits would seek to trace that trail to its beginning—to find the reptile’s nest. And I wondered too, if, on reaching its beginning, and finding there not the abode of *one* serpent, but a very nursery of hideous things, some bold enquirer would turn pale with fright, or if he would stay to do battle with the crawling monsters. And then I ask myself, how many of us who call ourselves Socialists, who subscribe to the materialistic conception of history, and who concern ourselves with the root causes of social phenomena, would be found, in that nether hell, to do battle on his side? Alas! how few. Is it not too true, that while this awful tragedy has been played out on the African veldt, we have, or most of us have, wasted our time and our energy, discussing and debating with every political gossip, not the best means of killing the serpent, by finding and uprooting the material hell which nourishes it and its kind, *but whether its trail passed through the Colonial Office, and if in form and colour it answered to the description of a creature which had once whispered something to Mr. Rhodes, and then passed on to Dr. Jameson?*

The basic political principle of Socialism is the doctrine of the class war. The political mission of the Socialist is to demonstrate the existence of the class war, to analyse and explain its effects, and to prescribe the terms of class peace. He stands conscious of certain facts, relating to the evolution of material things, and seeks to arouse a like consciousness in those around him, and having lodged his protest against the present, he leaves the collective mind to digest, and act upon, or reject his advice. As the

exponents of materialism, in its political aspects, Socialists affirm that the class war is to-day the inevitable expression, and will continue to be the inevitable expression and legitimate fruit of the capitalist *régime*, so long as that *régime* lasts. Every form of social activity affected by the class war rests upon and operates obediently to the predominant, material factor, and each particular phenomenon is, therefore, the necessary and natural growth of the material conditions which create class conflict. Society, with all its civil and religious institutions, all its industrial and commercial methods, has been created and is shaped and coloured by the past and the present pressure of material necessity, and when the system of to-day has by the historical, evolutionary method, exhausted itself, and given birth to the New Era, there will have taken place a radical transformation of the mould in which society is cast. Until that takes place, the class war will ceaselessly be waged, and will continuously express itself in various forms and through various mediums.

In South Africa, within recent years, certain mineral products, of highly concentrated market value, were discovered. That discovery with its consequent development of mining industry, introduced into South Africa certain aggravated forms of the class war. Racial and social distinctions expressed themselves in conflict, and because the circumstances prevented capital from carrying on its part of the struggle profitably, by means of war in the *industrial* sense, war in the *military* sense ensued. Capital found its statesman in the person of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, and his selection arose, *not* on account of his being, *as an individual*, specially qualified to play a vicious part, but because his position in the political world *marked him off* as the instrument, prepared by the evolution of events, for the use of the dominant material power.

Have British Socialists during the last twelve months acted as if their political creed embraced these facts ?

Rapidly recovering as the party was from an insane desire to "smash" the Liberal Party by means of an alliance with Toryism, we now find it once more adrift on the sea of opportunism, this time doing its level best, consciously or unconsciously, to rehabilitate the very party which a few short months before it had set itself to "smash."

We used to be fond of describing the Liberal Party as the "buffer" party—the safety valve of Toryism. Have we begun to doubt the accuracy of this description ? If not, why have we joined so lustily in the cry that this has been a "one man's war"—a cry as utterly devoid of reason as it has hitherto been of facts to justify it ? The reason, I think, is obvious. We have cursed the thorn because it did not bear grapes, and the thistle because it did not yield figs. We listened to the false prophets of Liberalism, and, blinded by a false sentiment, we assisted them to hide the real issue involved in this South African crisis. In plain words we have, temporarily only I hope, lost our heads, and, instead of treating the war as the inevitable symptom of a disease with which we are thoroughly conversant, we have joined hands with those whose political mission it is to treat this, and every other vicious growth of capitalism, as *accidental*, and, therefore,

avoidable by other means than the radical transformation of the material basis of commercialism.

I do not know that any greater calamity could, at the present moment, overtake the democratic movement than Mr. Chamberlain's conviction on the counts preferred against him by such men as Philip Stanhope and the Liberal Party generally. His legal conviction would unquestionably discredit the party to which he belongs, but it would proportionately enhance the prospects of Liberalism, and on that account it would spell temporary ruin to the cause of Socialism, apart altogether from the fact that we have meantime neither financial resources nor organisation to enable us to take advantage of a contingency, which time may enable us to prepare for.

The secret of the success of Tory jingoism is explained when we consider that the policy of the war party was based on hard, material *facts*, and that its policy was opposed by an inane sentimentalism, supported by nothing more substantial than impossible hypotheses and unpractical idealism. When Mr. Chamberlain argued that the war was inevitable, and when Lord Salisbury cynically analysed the "British Constitution," they stated reasonably and logically the facts of the case. War is implied in capitalist commerce, and is its inevitable accompaniment. War with rifles and cannon is *not* worse than the labourer's war with landlord and sweater.

THOMAS KENNEDY.



"As the economists are the scientific representatives of the bourgeois class, so the Socialists and Communists are the theorists of the proletarian class. So long as the proletariat is not sufficiently developed to constitute itself as a class, so long as, in consequence, the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has not acquired a political character, and while the productive forces are not sufficiently developed in the bosom of the bourgeoisie itself to allow a perception of the material conditions necessary to the emancipation of the proletariat and the formation of a new society, so long these theorists are only utopians who, to obviate the distress of the oppressed classes, improvise systems and run after a regenerative science. But as history develops and with it the struggle of the proletariat becomes more clearly defined, they have no longer any need to seek for such a science in their own minds, they have only to give an account of what passes before their eyes and to make of that their medium. So long as they seek science and only make systems, so long as they are at the beginning of the struggle, they see in poverty only poverty, without seeing within the revolutionary subversive side which will overturn the old society. From that moment science, produced by the historical movement and linking itself thereto in full knowledge of the facts of the case, has ceased to be doctrinaire and has become revolutionary."—"The Poverty of Philosophy," by KARL MARX.

CONGRESS OF ITALIAN SOCIALISTS.

IN spite of many difficulties and of the clamours of the reactionary press the Socialists were able to meet in Congress at Rome in September last. There is a good deal of divergence of opinion in Italy on the questions which divide Socialists, and there is, so to speak, a permanent hostility between the north and the south, but good feeling prevailed, and the proceedings were conducted with great decorum.

A burning question was whether in any case Socialists should enter into alliances with other parties in electoral contests, or whether, when they were not strong enough to have any chance of carrying their candidate, they should then vote for a Republican or a Radical candidate. Ferri contended that on no account should Socialists vote for members of other parties, but Modigliani and Treves held that on the contrary it should be left to local associations to decide whether in certain cases the Socialist vote might not be given to candidates belonging to the Extreme Left, and the Congress by a majority of 37 adopted this view.

The Congress expressed its approval of the way in which the *Avanti* was conducted, and hoped that it might be improved. It also hoped that the weekly organ published at Turin might soon become a daily. The direction of the movement was entrusted to a committee of eleven—five members to be elected by the Congress, five by the Socialist deputies, and the Editor of the *Avanti*. No representative could be elected by trade unions, because the liberty-loving Italian Government will not allow it.

It was decided that Socialists should, however, join trade unions, and also co-operative societies, and that they should if possible get elected on local bodies.

It was decided to hold the next Congress in the year 1902.

The meetings, which had been conducted with much enthusiasm, closed with the singing of the Workmen's Hymn, of which the chorus is :

"Se divisi siamo canaglia,

Stretti in fascio siamo potenti."

("Divided we are 'roughs,' united we are strong.")

JACQUES BONHOMME.



"In this experience of mine [round the world] I saw nothing worse, nothing more degrading, nothing so hopeless, nothing nearly so intolerably dull and miserable as the life I had left behind me in the East End of London ; and had I to choose between the life of one of those people in the East End and the life of the savage I would distinctly choose the latter."—PROFESSOR HUXLEY.

AFTER THE KHAKI ELECTION.

IN the *Positivist Review* for November Mr. Frederic Harrison says of the election :—

"The cry of Liberal Imperialism did nothing but damage the Liberal Party. And the more long-headed leaders of the Liberals at last begin to see that, if in July last year they had taken up a policy of peace and honour in a vigorous spirit, and had fought it consistently as Mr. Courtney and Mr. Morley have done, they would to-day be at the head of a strong party with a fine future.

"I did not vote at this election. And publicly and in private I did my best to urge all voters to support no candidate, Unionist or Radical, who directly or indirectly approved or has condoned this infamous war and the destruction of two free States. I do not desire to see the Liberal Party in power. Liberals, if now in office, would inherit all the evil policy of their predecessors, and would carry it on unmodified. They would inherit also all the dilemmas and difficulties of the holders of power, and there could be no free criticism of their conduct. I can see no good in Liberal concentration if it means, as it seems to be intended to mean, the general acceptance of Liberal Imperialism.

"The drawn battle is so full of contradictions and cross voting, the swagger of the one side and the wriggling of the other side are so palpable, the appeal to the electors was either such rank 'buncombe' or such hollow commonplace, that no serious conclusions can be drawn from it. The whole thing was more or less of a dodge or more or less of an empty form. Here and there the dodge won a point; here and there 'the formal vote of confidence' was carried. But on the whole there was no heart in it, except to save or win a seat, no principle to assert on either side, no cause to believe in. Half-hearted electors voted mechanically for the 'old lot,' or laughed with and cheered some lively young blood. It was a moral defeat for the Government, which has failed to recover the position it held when it was formed in 1895; it was a moral defeat for the Opposition which had no union, no principle, no leader; it was a moral defeat to the electors who could not make up their minds at all, or who voted aimlessly on some trivial and local ground; and above all it was a moral defeat for the Parliamentary system which decides its national issues in ways so abortive and discordant."



" Were half the power that fills the mind with terror,
And half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals and forts."

—LONGFELLOW.

LESSONS OF THE WAR.

In an article under the above title in the *Nineteenth Century*, Mr. Charles à Court (writing from the front) describes the tactics of the Boers as follows :—

The Boer has the refreshing peculiarity that he invariably does the exact opposite of what common-sense and military experience lead you to expect he is likely to do. He places his riflemen in trees and watercourses, and some of his trenches in the strangest places; he drags his 6-in. guns with treble spans of oxen to the tops of hills 2,000 ft. above the surrounding country, and secretes his quick-firers in the lowest dongas. If you expect him to attack, he is sure to be going away; and if all reports agree that he is on the trek, he will probably attack you. He does not fight on Sundays, unless you particularly wish it, or open fire before 7 a.m. or after sunset. He will let you go away when you get in a mess without the hammering you deserve, in perfect accord with the maxims of Dogberry. He will make a fortress out of a hole in an open country, and defend it to the death; and he will spend thousands on the forts round his capital, and not defend them for 24 hours. The writer concludes by remarking that the peace manœuvres of European armies give an unfaithful picture of modern warfare under existing conditions, and will certainly result in the ruin of any army that attempts to carry them out in the field if the enemy is as clever a fighter as the Boer, and as little trammelled by effete commanders and superannuated traditions.



CIVILISATION IN CHINA.

Vorwärts publishes a letter written by a German soldier, from which it appears that the instructions of the Emperor in his address to the troops are being well carried out. The soldier says: "We are taking care that the Chinese shall remember the Germans all their lives." He goes on to say how villages are searched and then houses burnt. They took some prisoners; "these were flogged, were given fifty lashes, and were in such a state that they could not say 'Amen,' then they were beheaded with their own swords." He also says that they live well, and steal all they want, so he hopes to bring back much booty. Another letter from a soldier in Tientsin tells much the same tale; he relates how 48 prisoners were shot, and how the Chinese are made to work; "we hit them hard if they do not." One can hardly blame the men, but what shall we say of the Christian prince who, by his savage speeches, has incited these horrible deeds? It is an object-lesson of what militarism means and is in practice.

JACQUES BONHOMME.

THE MODERATES AND THE SCHOOL BOARD.

MR. WILLIAM C. BRIDGEMAN, writing in the *National Review*, deals with the items of the Progressive programme in detail and at some length. On the subject of "Feeding the Children" his remarks may be summarised as follows: That the existing voluntary agencies for providing children's dinners are at present fully competent to deal with all cases of deserving poverty, and if this proposal had been carried it would have been impossible to discriminate between the deserving and undeserving cases and there would have been a large increase in the number of underfed children at school, and a proportionately large increase in the amount of money spent by their parents in drink.

In view of the fact that the Metropolitan Radical Federation has announced its intention of working in favour of secular education at the election, the writer says that it will be necessary for those interested in religious teaching to assert themselves in order to retain the small modicum of religious teaching which at present exists in our Board schools.

After enumerating the "principal charges" against the Progressives in this highly original and alarming strain, Mr. Bridgeman sums up the aims of the Moderate Party. They are: To preserve what religious instruction now exists, to protect efficient voluntary schools from unfair competition, to exercise strict economy in the expenses for maintenance, to resist all extravagant proposals for new buildings or alteration of old ones, to make the school curriculum such as will be most useful to the large majority of children, to assist in the higher elementary and secondary education without usurping functions which may be more properly exercised by other bodies, to reorganise the Evening Continuation schools, and consider the reimposition of fees.

FACTORIES IN ITALY.—Mr. Bolton King, in an article in the *Contemporary Review* for November, gives some particulars of the increase in factories in Italy, and is highly jubilant at their great progress. But factory life is not so very beautiful. For instance, in Italy women are not protected at all, and children are very inadequately looked after. They may not work in factories before they are 9, nor in mines before they are 10; they may not work more than eight hours a day if they are under 15 years of age, and of this not more than six hours must be night work. And to watch over the Acts there are *three* inspectors for the whole of Italy. The Socialists are bringing in a Bill which proposes to prohibit children from working when under 15; fixes the maximum hours of labour at six hours for young persons of 15 to 18, and at eight hours for women and for dangerous occupations. It also prohibits women working for one month before and one month after confinement, and provides that during this time they are to receive 75 per cent. of their wages as sick pay.

THE PARIS INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONGRESS.

THE International Congress held in Paris this year, on September 23 and four following days, is the fifth of the series that has been held, the first having been held in Paris in 1889, the second in Brussels in 1891, the third in Zurich in 1893, and the fourth in London in 1896. A full report of the Congress has appeared in *Justice*, so we do not intend to give anything like a report here, but simply to reproduce the text of the various resolutions which were passed, as they may be useful for future reference. A great deal has been made in certain quarters of the "scenes" and disturbances which took place in the Congress, and it is suggested that these robbed the Congress of all importance and its resolutions of all value or weight, as these could not be properly considered or discussed. It may be necessary, therefore, to point out that such disorder as there was consisted entirely of one or two noisy and angry altercations between the two sections of the French Party itself, and did not concern the Congress as a whole at all; and, further, each resolution which is adopted by the Congress has first of all to be adopted by a Commission, consisting of delegates from each nationality represented at the Congress, and appointed specially to deal with that particular question. Thus each subject is much more thoroughly discussed than it could be in a Congress of many hundred delegates, and the findings of the several Commissions would be, generally, adopted by the Congress as a matter of course, however much they may be discussed in the full Congress—although, as a rule, there is no desire to discuss them at any length, except in the case of a question of unusual interest, such as that of the policy of the Socialist Party in the present instance—because the opinion of the Commissions necessarily represents the opinion of the majority of the Congress. At the recent Congress there were twelve questions down for discussion, and consequently twelve Commissions were appointed to deal with these subjects. In several cases there was a minority report, but this was either negatived or embodied in the final resolution. Below are the resolutions of the Congress as finally agreed to:—

1.—THE SEEKING AND FINDING OF PRACTICAL MEANS FOR INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS AND SOCIALIST UNION, ORGANISATION, AND ACTION.

The International Socialist Congress of Paris, considering:

That international congresses, which will become the parliament of the proletariat, should pass resolutions which should guide the proletariat in its struggle for liberty;

That these resolutions, a result of international agreement, should be expressed as acts;

Decides to take the following steps:—

1. An organising committee shall be selected as soon as possible by the

Socialist organisations of the country where the next Congress is to be held.

2. A permanent international committee, having two delegates for each country, shall be formed, and shall have charge of the necessary funds. It shall settle the agenda, and shall call for reports from each nationality which agrees to the Congress.

3. This committee shall appoint a paid general secretary, who shall—

- (a) Obtain the necessary information.
- (b) Draw up a code explaining the resolutions taken at previous Congresses.
- (c) Distribute the reports on the Socialist movement of each country two months before each new Congress.
- (d) Draw up a summary of the reports discussed at the Congress.
- (e) Publish from time to time pamphlets and manifestoes on pressing questions, as well as on important reforms and studies on important political and economic questions.
- (f) Take necessary means to improve the action and the international organisation of the proletariat in every country.

It was also agreed that the Socialist members of the various Parliaments should form an International Committee.

2.—INTERNATIONAL LABOUR LEGISLATION BY THE LIMITATION OF THE WORKING DAY. THE POSSIBILITY OF A MINIMUM WAGE IN THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES.

I.

The Congress, in accordance with the decision of previous International Congresses, considers that the limitation of the working day must continue to be the object of the ceaseless efforts of all workers, and declares that the daily duration of labour must be fixed by law at the provisional maximum of eight hours for the workers of all countries and in all industries.

It, therefore, pledges the working-class organisations to pursue this object by persistent and progressive agitation and by the unity of trade union effort with political action.

II.

The Congress declares that a minimum wage is only possible where it can be fixed by well organised trade unions, that this minimum cannot be the same for all countries, but depends on local conditions.

It urges workers to agitate on this question, which must be determined by the economic and industrial conditions of each region.

It recommends that all Governments and all public bodies should be urged to fix a minimum wage either by doing away with middlemen or by insisting that the latter should pay it to their employees.

3.—EMANCIPATION OF LABOUR, AND EXPROPRIATION OF THE BOURGEOISIE.

The modern proletariat is the necessary result of the capitalist system of production, which exacts the political and economic exploitation of labour by capital.

Its elevation and emancipation can be realised only by entering into antagonism with the supporters of the interests of capitalism, which by its very constitution must lead inevitably to the socialisation of the means of production.

Face to face, therefore, with the capitalist class the proletariat must range itself as an opposing class.

Socialism, which has given to it the task of constituting the proletariat into an army for this class war, has for its duty, before all, to awaken in it by careful, incessant, and methodical propaganda the consciousness of its own interests and of its strength, and to use, with this object, all the means which the existing political and social situation may place in its hands, and its superior conception of justice may suggest.

Among these means the Congress suggests political action, universal suffrage, the organisation of the proletariat into political groups, trade unions, co-operative societies, mutual assurance societies, circles of art and education, &c. It pledges the active Socialist movement to do everything possible to propagate these means of culture and of education which augment the power of the working class, and will render it capable of expropriating the bourgeoisie, both politically and economically, and of socialising the means of production.

Further, the Socialists of all countries undertake to use every means in their power to secure for the foreign workers in their respective countries the same right of combination as is possessed by the inhabitants themselves.

4.—INTERNATIONAL PEACE.

The Congress declares that in all countries militarism should be daily opposed with zeal, energy and vigour, and that workmen of all nations should unite against the alliance of the bourgeoisie and of imperialist Governments.

The Congress would advise that—

(1) The different Socialist parties should carefully instruct and organise the young so as to fight against militarism.

(2) The Socialist deputies in all countries should vote against military and naval expenditure, especially in cases of Colonial aggression.

(3) The permanent International Socialist Committee should organise in all countries a common and combined anti-militarist agitation.

The Congress protests against so-called peace conferences, similar to that of the Hague, which, in the present state of society, can only lead to disasters, as has been seen recently in the Transvaal.

Military Atrocities.

(1) The Paris International Congress condemns the savage policy of oppression of Russian Czarism towards the Polish and Finnish peoples, and exhorts the workmen of all countries, which are groaning under absolute rule, to unite for the common struggle against the common enemy of democracy and of Socialism.

(2) The Congress condemns the atrocities of the British Government against the Boers of South Africa.

(3) The Congress again affirms its belief in the sympathetic and fraternal feelings which should animate all nations, and denounces the misrule, the cruelty, and the massacres in Armenia; also condemns the criminal apathy of the various capitalistic Governments, and urges Socialist deputies to do what they can for the Armenians, and assures those unfortunate men of the sympathy and solidarity of the Congress.

5.—COLONIAL POLICY.

The International Socialist Congress held in Paris in 1900,

Considering that the development of capitalism leads inevitably to colonial expansion, that cause of conflicts between Governments ;

Considering that the imperialism which results therefrom excites jingoism in all countries, and necessitates ever-increasing expenditure to the profit of militarism ;

Considering that the middle-class colonial policy has no other object than to increase the profits of the capitalist class and to prolong the existence of the capitalist system, while sapping the life-blood and exhausting the resources of the proletariat, and by committing innumerable crimes and cruelties towards the indigenous races of the colonies conquered by armed force ;

The Congress declares :—

That the organised proletariat ought to use all the means in its power to combat colonial capitalist expansion, and to condemn the colonial policy of the middle-class, and to expose categorically and vehemently the iniquities and brutalities which inevitably spring from it in all parts of the world, given up to the greed of a shameless and remorseless capitalism.

With this end in view, the Congress specifies more particularly the following steps :

1. That the various Socialist parties apply themselves to the study of the colonial question wherever the economic conditions admit it.
2. And in all countries where the economic conditions admit it, to encourage in a special way the formation of colonial Socialist parties in adherence to the metropolitan organisations.
3. To create friendly relations between the Socialist parties of different colonies.

6.—ORGANISATION OF MARITIME WORKERS.

The Committee have taken this subject into consideration, not only as referring to sailors and firemen, but also to all those who have to do with the discharge and loading of cargoes, &c. It is strongly urged that they should organise themselves, as their condition is a very bad one.

Sailors ought to form unions, and should use their votes and influence in order to return Socialists, who will work for their interests. If sailors cannot form a union they should combine with dockers, &c, and strengthen those unions.

The following grievances of sailors should be attended to at once :—

(1) All private offices for the engagement of sailors should be abolished, and these offices should be free—i.e., no fees should be levied, and they should be managed by trade unions.

(2) Hotels for sailors should be established under the control of trade unions and municipal authorities, but the men should not be influenced in any way.

(3) Special Courts should be established, some of the judges being workmen, so that disputes arising during the voyage may be settled. The power of punishment given to officers at sea should be curtailed.

(4) A maximum number of hours, constituting a working day, should be fixed, and all extra work paid for as overtime. Only indispensable work shall be done on Sundays and holidays.

(5) Compensation shall be paid for injuries received when at sea ; in cases of death, those depending on the deceased shall be provided for.

(6) There shall be a minimum wage for sailors.

(7) Ships shall be fully manned and equipped and commanded by properly certificated officers.

(8) The food and the sleeping accommodation of sailors shall be improved.

(9) No sailor shall be allowed to contract out of the regulations and laws affecting him.

(10) Surveyors at each port shall have power to detain ships which are unseaworthy, or which do not comply with the above laws and regulations.

As to dockers we recommend :—

(1) Compensation shall always be paid in cases of accident, whether occurring in a dock or in a river, and no insurance shall be paid by workmen.

(2) All gear and machinery shall be periodically inspected.

(3) Wages shall never be paid in public-houses or registry offices.

(4) A labour bureau shall be established at every port.

(5) There shall be a maximum number of hours and a minimum wage. Higher wages shall be paid for night and Sunday work.

The Congress recommends all trade unions of seamen, fishermen, dockers, &c., to affiliate to the International Federation of Dockers, &c., in order that concerted action may be taken to improve their position.

7.—UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

(1) Universal, direct and secret suffrage is for democracy one of the essential means of obtaining political and social emancipation.

(2) All nations which do not possess this method should zealously work in order to attain it. Universal suffrage is in the opinion of the Congress a powerful method of educating the proletariat in its public duties.

(3) The Congress considers that men and women have equal rights and is in favour of women having the vote.

(4) The Congress is in favour of proportional representation in countries where universal suffrage exists.

(5) The Congress is in favour of popular initiative and of the referendum, as it considers that the people is sovereign and that direct legislation by the people is an attribute of that sovereignty.

(6) The Congress considers that the struggle for the improvement of universal suffrage is one of the best means of educating the masses so that they may obtain permanent political and economic sovereignty and may thus be prepared for the government of the Socialist State of the future.

8.—MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM.

Seeing that the term "Municipal Socialism" does not signify a special kind of Socialism, but simply the application of the general principles of Socialism to a particular department of political activity ;

And seeing that the reforms connected therewith are not and cannot be put forward as the realisation of the collectivist State, but that they are put forward as playing a part in a sphere of action which Socialists can and

should seize upon in order to prepare and facilitate the coming of the collectivist State ;

And seeing that the municipality can become an excellent laboratory of local economic activity, and at the same time a formidable political fortress for the use of local Socialist majorities against the middle class majority of the central authority, when once substantial local powers have been obtained ;

The Congress declares :

That it is the duty of all Socialists, without misunderstanding the importance of the wider political issues, to make clear to all the value of municipal activity, to recognise in all municipal reforms the importance which attaches to them as "embryos of the collectivist State," and to endeavour to municipalise such public services as the urban transport service, education, shops, bakeries, medical assistance, hospitals, water supply, baths and washhouses, the food supply and clothing, dwellings for the people, the supply of motive power, public works, the police force, &c., &c., to see that these public services shall be model services as much from the point of view of the interests of the community as from that of the citizens who serve it ;

That the local bodies which are not large enough to undertake themselves any of these reforms should federate with one another for such purposes ;

That in a country where the political system does not allow municipalities to adopt this course, it is the duty of all Socialists on such bodies to endeavour to obtain for municipal authorities sufficient liberty and independence to obtain these reforms.

The Congress further decides that the time has come to convene an International Congress of Socialist municipal councillors.

Such a Congress should have a double purpose :

(a) To make publicly known what reforms have been secured in the department of municipal administration and what moral and financial advantages have resulted.

(b) To establish a national bureau in each country and an international bureau, entrusted with the task of collecting all the information and documents relating to municipal life, so as to facilitate the study of municipal questions. (This paragraph was eventually deleted as the International Committee formed in accordance with the first resolution has charge of collecting all documents relating to municipal life.)

The Congress also decides that the business of convening this Socialist Municipal Congress shall be left in the hands of the permanent international bureau appointed September 25, 1900.

9.—THE CONQUEST OF PUBLIC POWERS AND ALLIANCES WITH BOURGEOIS PARTIES.

I.

In a modern democratic state the conquest of political power by the proletariat cannot be effected by a sudden act of violence, but must be the result of a long and toilsome work of proletarian organisation, political and economic, of the physical and moral regeneration of the working class, and of the gradual conquest of municipal and legislative assemblies.

But in the country where the governmental power is centralised it cannot be conquered in a fragmentary manner.

The entry of an isolated Socialist into a bourgeois Government cannot be regarded as the normal commencement of the conquest of political power, but only as a compulsory expedient, transitory and exceptional.

If in some special instance the political situation necessitates this dangerous expedient, that is a question of tactics and not of principle; the International Congress is not called upon to pronounce on that point; but in any case the entry of a Socialist into a bourgeois Government affords no hope of good results for the militant proletariat unless the great majority of the Socialist Party approves of this step and the Socialist Minister remains the delegate of his party.

In the contrary case, in which such a Minister becomes independent of the party or represents only a section of it, his intervention in a bourgeois Ministry threatens disorganisation and confusion to the militant proletariat, threatens to weaken rather than to strengthen it, and hinders rather than advances the proletarian conquest of public powers.

In any case, the Congress is of opinion that, even in the most exceptional circumstances, a Socialist ought to quit the Ministry whenever the latter gives any proof of partiality in the struggle between capital and labour. No Minister delegated by the Socialist Party can continue to participate in the Government if the party concludes that this Government has not observed absolute impartiality in the relations between capital and labour.

The Commission was unanimous on the following :—

II.

The Congress reasserts that the class struggle forbids all alliances with any fraction whatever of the capitalist class.

Even admitting that exceptional circumstances may sometimes render coalitions necessary (without confusion of party or tactics), these coalitions, which the party should seek to reduce to the smallest possible number, until they entirely disappear, must not be permitted except in so far as their necessity is recognised by the district or national organisation to which the groups concerned belong.

10.—THE FIRST OF MAY.

The Congress adheres to the decisions taken by previous congresses as to the manifestations of the First of May; it considers that these manifestations are evidence of a desire for an eight hour day, and that on that day no work should be done.

11.—TRUSTS.

Partial trusts are coalitions of industrialists and commercial men who wish to increase their profits.

These coalitions are the inevitable consequence of competition in a system of production and of distribution whose aim is not to produce but only to obtain profits for the capitalist. As competition tends to diminish profits it is inevitable that under the present system every effort should be made to put competition aside and to come to an agreement between the producers. Trusts, therefore, in a sense, are an advantage as they tend to do away with waste.

But, on the other hand, trusts have a tendency to cause prices to rise, and to prevent prices from falling to such an extent that the consumer may have the benefit of increased production.

Often, too, the workman is oppressed, as trusts are able to crush unions. Pools have their object, the increase of the cost of the necessities of life, and they are very dangerous to the workers.

Though the Congress wishes to show the evils of trusts it does not recommend their prohibition, as they are a condition of the present state of things, and they could only be modified and not prohibited. Socialists, however, ought to insist on the accounts of trusts being published.

The only remedy is nationalisation, and afterwards an international regularisation of production.

The proletariat should endeavour, therefore, to improve the political and economic conditions; use should be made of co-operation, by which may be brought about the public expropriation of the great branches of production which trusts have made possible.

Thus, private production, having profit as its aim, will be gradually transformed into social production which will look upon production for use as its aim.

12.—THE GENERAL STRIKE.

The Congress again refers to the resolution, adopted by the London Congress of 1896, and states that it is of opinion that strikes and boycotts are necessary means for improving the condition of the proletariat, but it does not see how a universal international strike is, under existing circumstances, possible.

At present the organisation of workmen into unions is necessary, since it is only when unions are formed that strikes can take place.

The above was proposed and was carried by 27 votes to 7, though an amendment was proposed by Briand recommending that the proletariat should organise in order that an international strike might be possible.

MR. F. HARCOURT KITCHIN, writing in the *Nineteenth Century* an article entitled "Casualties of War and Industry," gives the following table:—

—	Non-Com. Officers and Men in South Africa.	Railw'y Ser- vants.	Miners and Quarry- men.	Sailors.	Factory Workers.	Indus- trial Average.
Deaths	36.9	1.2	1.21	7.89	0.205	0.79
Wounded or injured...	67.4	30.96	6.31	10.97	17.07	16.44
Total.....	104.3	32.16	7.52	18.86	17.275	17.23

Mr. Kitchin says: "The rates of mortality and accident in this table are calculated at so many per 1,000 of the persons exposed to risk, and from the deaths of soldiers in South Africa is deducted 15 per 1,000 (the normal rate of mortality of British troops on foreign service)."

THE TRUE AIM OF PREVENTITIVE MEDICINE.

IN the course of an article on the above in the *Contemporary Review*, Mr. Arthur Shadwell says :—

No branch of science has a more direct and practical bearing on the welfare of the community than that which deals with the prevention of disease in the mass ; never has it developed more rapidly than in recent years. . . . Some deadly enemies have been reduced to vanishing point, others brought under more or less effectual control and appreciably diminished. For many years preventive medicine has laid a heavy hand on the community, the requirements of public health entailing not only a large expenditure of money, but a continual interference with individual liberty.

In many instances the dictates of science met with contempt, and the law with defiance. This is still the case in a large number of small places. It may be assumed, however, that the general consensus of intelligent opinion accepts the situation with equanimity. . . . But nothing stands still, least of all so young and vigorous a science as preventive medicine. Innumerable problems press for solution. . . . Are we moving along the right road ? The most promising and active department of modern research seems in danger of going off on a false scent.

Dr. Durham, of Cambridge, in a paper read before the Royal Epidemiological Society, points to some curious and rather disquieting conclusions. His subject was, "Immunity and Resistance as Factors in the Epidemicity and Endemicity of Infectious Diseases," and principally dealt with the fact that specified germs, capable of carrying infection, may be harboured and carried about by persons and animals who are themselves in perfect apparent health, or so little affected as to escape notice or, in other words, may foster causes of diseases without manifesting any themselves. The history of preventive medicine falls in two periods—first division, sanitary science ; second, the rise of bacteriological science—or, first period, drains ; second period, microbes. The first results of bacteriology gave a great impetus to the sanitary movement ; disinfectants came into vogue, and the market was flooded with infallible germicides. It was assumed that each disease had its own micro-organism, which was of a specific character, and could only be propagated by its own species. It was further assumed that the sole field in which each micro-organism grew was the person sick of that disease. Hence the hope of "stamping out" disease by rigorous measures, of which isolation was an important feature. Microbes became fashionable, and their influence materially assisted the practical progress of public health. People imagined microbes to be a sort of repulsive insect, all claws and feelers, and pictured sick persons throwing out showers of microbes with every movement, like a catherine-wheel does sparks.

The campaign against disease is carried on in two ways. 1. The development of the system of isolation, disinfecting and similar means of exterminating bacteria. 2. The introduction of the new system of protective inoculation, such as anti-diphtheritic serum and Yersin's anti-plague serum. It is the latest development of science from which most is hoped.

Unfortunately, the pursuit of bacteriological antidotes is attended by circumstances having a rather unfortunate influence on the dignity and fair fame of medical science. When successful these possess a high commercial value. Every important bacteriological institute has become not merely a temple of knowledge, but a manufactory of drugs for sale, and an unedifying scramble for possible markets is going on. This fact is recognised and regretted amongst bacteriologists.

To return to Dr. Durham's paper. He begins by laying down the axiom that "persons or animals harbouring the specific organisms of diseases affecting human beings are to be regarded as dangerous to the community." He further lays down that "if such individuals are actually suffering from typical attacks of given diseases, they are more likely to be dealt with as such than if they were suffering from unrecognised forms of the disease, and still more than those not suffering at all, although more or less infested with the causative agent of the disease. This is the point. The doctor suggests that there are different classes of persons "harbouring specific organisms" and consequently "dangerous to the community." Some exhibit typical symptoms and are equally recognised and dealt with. But, according to the new knowledge there are others, persons suffering from symptoms of a different type altogether, and persons suffering from no symptoms at all, yet both harbour "specific organisms" and therefore "dangerous to the community."

Dr. Durham proves that a given infective agent may produce extremely different symptoms. For instance, an organism like pneumococcus may give rise to typical pneumonia, to an empyema, to acute cerebro-spinal meningitis, acute osteomyelitis or purulent peritonitis.

Several classes of persons may be distinguished, all capable of harbouring specific organisms without showing any recognisable signs of it. The bacilli of diphtheria, enteric and plague have been found in patients weeks and months after apparent complete convalescence. Virulent cultures of diphtheritic bacilli have been obtained from healthy children.

The difficulty of identifying and isolating cases of this description are obvious. Bacilli are too ubiquitous and too subtle to be circumvented by our clumsy means, and, beyond a certain point, the advantage derived from interference with liberty is not equal to the burden imposed. . . . Probably inoculation may have its proper sphere of utility, but its utility has to be proved, and in any case its sphere would be limited.

Where, then, does the real promise of the future lie? The obvious answer is the study and cultivation of *natural immunity and resistance*. The trend of recent discovery goes to prove that it plays a more important part than is commonly supposed. The very ubiquitous infective agents disclosed by modern research suggests that a very large number of people must be constantly exposed to danger with impunity. It is probable that most of us encounter virulent germs every day of our lives. It is exceedingly probable that the simple condition of healthy tissues constitutes an effective protection against many infective agents—pneumococcus, for instance, and the whole race of bacteria infecting the intestinal tract.

The writer lays great stress on the factor of natural resistance, and suggests that on it, in part at least, general health depends. In this direction, there is room for indefinite progress; this is the true goal to aim at. Air, light, dry soil, pure water, good food, effectual disposition of waste products and refuse, cleanliness of all kinds, combined with healthy personal habits,

moderation in eating and drinking, sufficient work and rest will form a more efficient barrier against most current forms of disease than any artificial devices. For the rest, he suggests that a fruitful and valuable field of research lies open to bacteriologists in the study of natural resistance.



INSURANCE AGAINST INCAPACITY FOR WORK AND OLD AGE.

IN Germany there is compulsory insurance against incapacity for work and old age for all workmen over 16, and for all clerks, teachers, &c., who earn less than £80 per annum.

The funds are derived from a Government subsidy and from subscriptions of masters and workmen. The Government grants 50 marks (£2 10s.) a year towards each pension, and also pays all working expenses. The subscriptions vary according to the salary. The assured are divided into five classes:—

Class	I.	up to	350 marks (£17 10s.)
"	II.	"	550 " (£27 10s.)
"	III.	"	850 " (£42 10s.)
"	IV.	"	1,150 " (£57 10s.)
"	V.	over 1,150	"

The salary is fixed by reckoning 300 times the day's wage, but a man can pay if he likes at a higher rate. The rates are revised every ten years. At present they are as follows per week, these are paid by masters and by men:—

Class	I.	14 pfennigs		Class	IV.	30 pfennigs
"	II.	20 "		"	V.	36 "
"	III.	24 "				

10 pfennigs are equal to one penny.

If these subscriptions are found to be too low or too high, then the subscriptions are revised.

The pension varies according to each class, but there is always the fixed sum of 50 marks from the Government. The pensions are as follows:—

Class	I.	60 marks plus 50	or	110 marks (£5 10s.)
"	II.	90 "	"	140 " (£7)
"	III.	120 "	"	170 " (£8 10s.)
"	IV.	150 "	"	200 " (£10)
"	V.	180 "	"	230 " (£11 10s.)

This is for old age pensions and is granted at the age of 70.

❑ INCAPACITY FOR WORK.—Here, again, the men are divided into five classes, and pay the following weekly subscriptions:—

Class	I.	3 pfennigs		Class	IV.	10 pfennigs
"	II.	6 "		"	V.	12 "
"	III.	8 "				

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The Government grants a fixed subscription of 50 marks, which is increased as follows:—

Class I.	60 marks plus 50 equals	110 marks
„ II.	70 „ 50 „	120 „
„ III.	80 „ 50 „	130 „
„ IV.	90 „ 50 „	140 „
„ V.	100 „ 50 „	150 „

But the amount depends on the number of weeks' subscriptions which have been paid, no pension being paid if 200 weeks' subscriptions have not been paid. The pension depends on the amount of the class plus the number of times the subscription has been paid. Thus, after 50 years, or at the age of 66, the pensions would be in

Class I.	185 marks (£ 9 5s.)	Class IV.	390 marks (£19 10s.)
„ II.	270 „ (£13 10s.)	„ V.	450 „ (£22 10s.)
„ III.	330 „ (£16 10s.)		

A man cannot have both pensions. Since 1891, the year the scheme was started, 355,255 old age pensions have been granted, and 477,930 pensions in cases for incapacity for work. Also, in 526,180 cases in which less than 200 payments had been made the money has been returned. The cost has been 402 million marks (£20,000,000).

—From *Le Peuple* (translated by Jacques Bonhomme).



OLD AGE PENSIONS IN BELGIUM.

THE Belgian Government has established a permanent system of State subsidies in aid of old age insurance. The following points of the law are taken from the last "Bulletin of the New York Bureau of Labour Statistics":—

The law of 1900 does not create a new system of old age pensions, but rather supplements the system known as the "General Superannuation Fund," which was instituted in 1850. The essential point of the new law is the establishment of a permanent State subsidy by which the Government adds a bonus to every annuity or pension purchased in the general fund. Even this is not new in practice, inasmuch as Parliament has voted an annual sum for that very purpose every year since 1891. The new statute, however, greatly increases the amount of such aid and makes it a permanent system.

The new law aims to further encourage insurance in the general fund by granting a bonus to every person subscribing through a friendly society, provided his annual subscription does not exceed 60 f., and to every person who does not pay State taxes of 50 f. or more in communes of less than 10,000 inhabitants, with higher limits for larger places up to 80 f. in communes with a population exceeding 50,000.

The new law limits the State aid to those pensions which are to become payable between the end of the fifty-fifth and the beginning of the sixty-

sixth years of age, the age when the pension may be enjoyed being thus raised five years as compared with the previous practice. The amount of the State bonus is fixed at 60 centimes per annum for each franc subscribed up to 15 f., which makes the maximum annual bonus to each subscriber 9 f. instead of 7.20 f. as formerly. As was similarly the case before, however, the bonus is not granted after the total subscriptions of the insured become sufficient to entitle him to a pension of 360 f. or over at 65 years of age.

By way of providing for those already advanced in years, the law directs that those who were 40 years of age on January 1, 1900, shall receive the Government bonus of 60 centimes per franc subscribed up to 24 f. instead of 15 f., the limit for those less than 40 years of age. Further, every needy Belgian workman who on January 1, 1901, shall be 65 years old, shall receive an annual allowance of 65 f. This same allowance is also to be paid to those who on January 1, 1901, shall be not less than 55 years old, as soon as they reach an age of 65 years, provided that, if they were less than 58 years old on the above-mentioned date, they shall have subscribed to the fund at least three francs per annum for three years and a total of 18 f. To meet the expenditure provided for by the new law a special fund is established by an annual appropriation of 12,000,000 f., to be supplemented, if necessary, by additional special appropriations by Parliament.

Finally, it may be noted that the law of 1900 is really the culmination of a systematic effort by the Government, begun in 1888, to encourage provision for old age, especially among working people. This effort has included not only the subsidies since 1891 and the investigation by the special commission of 1895, but provisions designed to make subscription to the general fund as simple as possible and its advantages widely known. Of the latter the most notable perhaps was the placing of the post offices at the service of the fund in 1890. That these efforts were not fruitless is shown by the fact that while during 1888 the total number of subscriptions to the fund was 4,887 and the number of new accounts opened was 368, in 1898 the number of subscriptions was 332,029, and 43,873 new accounts were opened. And this extension has been mainly among working people shown by the fact that out of 92,000 persons affiliated to the fund from 1891 to 1900, over 80 per cent. belonged to that class. There would seem good reason to believe, therefore, that the very much greater inducement now offered by the new law of 1900 should result in a large extension of old-age insurance among working people in Belgium.—*Public Opinion*, New York.



"The congregation in the metropolis of a vast multitude always on the verge of starvation, and largely recruited by criminals, is in itself a serious danger, which might reveal itself in lurid form in the event of great distress combined perhaps with some national crisis which would denude the metropolis of troops, . . . those who watch the signs of the time may even now discern among us some of the ominous symptoms which led to the downfall of Rome and heralded the French Revolution; while a feeling of dangerous alienation is spreading between the classes and the masses."—
CANON MCCALL.

"UNDER THE LONDON BOARD."

SHE stands alone on inaccessible heights of hypocrisy. Friends she has none, toadies but a few ; that mortal man was ever poor and weak enough in spirit to be overcome and wed by her is a mystery insoluble to all. But his revolt is an old story. Children of her own, she has none ; how could she ? Portly of form, her face ineffable with the dignity which comes from the sublimest self-conceit, clad in her invariable black silk, she sails majestically through her school surveying her slaves. Since her appointment as head mistress, an event concealed in the annals of favouritism, she has browbeaten, insulted, and worried her assistants. For these are her hand-maidens with whom she does "not lower herself to argue." At this school in one of our poorest quarters where a good fourth of the children chronically starve, she indignantly repudiates the idea that any of them are uncared for. She deems bread and butter good enough food for growing children, and accuses her subordinates of want of sympathy for the infants, whom she cuffs on every possible and impossible occasion. It is her little plan to badger and bully her assistants into a state bordering on idiocy ; they are worried as one animal worries another. Not many minutes elapse between her visits to each class. Her orders to her teachers vary a dozen times daily on the same matter. Let but one of her slaves assert a previous command and the class is appealed to for a denial. It is silent. Her majesty frowns. The girls realise what she wants, and they give it to her. The teacher is denied by her own class. The most offensive and insulting remarks are noisily hurled at the assistants to an attentive audience of children. The discipline of the school may be sought in vain. Teachers come and go rapidly, a few characterless nobodies remain. Sometimes one new to the school is stung to the verge of physical response to a taunt. Then the coward, for greater does not exist, starts back with a somewhat blanched face, and, returning to a feminine vocabulary, "dears" copiously. So sensitive is she of her spotless reputation that to see two teachers talking together is an abomination in her sight. Means are always found to separate them. She has been known to creep up quietly from behind, and not infrequently she will question one of the couple as to the subject of their conversation. Should these means not suffice, there are always large first-class girls to hand, and they may be found sometimes peeping at the classes through the glass slides, sometimes behind the door of the teachers' room when these are having their meals.

It is almost needless to state that she is a member of the Church of England and has the strongest religious convictions, especially regarding the hereafter. Her application of it to the children is characteristic.

"Whose work are you doing, you wicked girl ?"

This to a disobedient pupil.

"Satan's work, please ma'am."

"Then whose child are you ?"

"Satan's child, ma'am."

"And whose little girl ought you to try to be ?"

"God's little girl, ma'am."

The whole of this sacrifice of child soul is accompanied with the music of

plentiful sobbing. Or she will question the children as to the meaning of the word heathen. One reply only is obtainable—

"People what worships idols."

The girls seem to take an immense delight in the thought of idols.

"Yes, they worship idols; their fathers and mothers are not nice and kind and loving like yours; they do not clothe and feed their children and send them to a nice school like yours. No; they let them roll in the mud, and grow up neglected without any knowledge of your good God."

Half the girls in the class wear apologies for shoes, and scarce any are clad in immaculate garments.

This head mistress is well aware that a passion for veracity is a thing rare in child-life, and she never fails in her endeavour to plant it there. If a cuff of unusual vigour knocks a pupil down, a storm of words, aided by gentle pats and shakings, so bewilders and confounds the little girl that she is fain to confess she fell.

She is parsimonious to a degree, both of her own property and the Board's. The school is always dreadfully understocked, and teachers (poor fools!) have to supply materials for object-lessons, often for needlework, and have habitually to draw on the blackboard pictures which should adorn the class-room walls. She constantly reminds the teachers of their "magnificent salaries" and they are enjoined to work the harder on that account. Already they are at it for eight and a-half hours daily and have scarce time to snatch their dinners. The school never closes punctually unless its head wishes to catch a train or attend a church meeting. If a slave is away with illness she is remonstrated with on her return—it was nothing at all. There is one exception, that of an infectious disease and then the tune differs. "You should not have come back so soon," drawing herself away and retreating from the contaminated object.

This "head" is known throughout her neighbourhood. No woman, however poor, can be got to work for her at her home. The managers of the school, who should have remedied matters years ago, avoid her; the inspectors shun her presence and visit the school as seldom as is consistent with their duties. Her methods are those of twenty years ago, and she never wearies of thrusting her score of year's experience in everyone's face. She allows no teacher a free hand, she interferes with the minutest details of class routine, and a protest is met with, "Any other head mistress would report you for impertinence. What right have you to an opinion of your own? I think it a crime for one of your years to have an opinion. You would set your poor little experience against *mine* of twenty years!" But the sublimest joke of all is her firm conviction that she is thoroughly up to date. To this end she reads many newspapers and magazines, notably the *Daily Mail*, the *Review of Reviews*, and the *Strand*, as well as all the speeches on matters educational that she can lay hands on.

Out of these she carefully selects the longest worded phrases and plasters them on to each teacher in turn as original reflections without the least regard as to their fitness.

Never to her dying day will she obtain a glimpse of her true self. In her own mind she is the model of all the virtues, the moulder of her own, her teacher's, and her children's souls for everlasting bliss, the rectifier of all abuses, the stimulator of all with whom she comes in contact. A veritable St. George in petticoats. And the ubiquitous London Board, where is it?

O. B.

A DIRGE OF LABOUR.

We are toiling with the masses
Housed in cellars dark and grim,
Where the light itself is dim;
While, above, the bloated classes
In a sea of glory swim.
We are all of one same nation,
Flesh of flesh and bone of bone,
And the gutter props the throne;
Yet we are but the foundation,
And hobnob with dirt alone.
Dives make of us a ladder
Whereupon he rises up,
And we crown his golden cup;
Though it leaves us poor and sadder,
And at famine feasts we sup.
From our silent, sad reproaches,
In his purple and his pride,
He in horror starts aside;
But this greed, that still encroaches,
Would on us to profit ride.

Don't you hear us, don't you fear us, and the turning of the tide.

We are starving with the masses,
Down in courts and alleys grey,
Where we never see the day;
And we catch the clink of glasses,
As you drink our wealth away.
For we wring it at our peril
From the iron grip of need,
While we suffer sore, and bleed;
And the earth to us is sterile,
Though our very souls are seed.
We array your wives in satin,
And your Moloch slays our boys,
That you may possess all joys;
And the priest reserve his patin,
Or the prince his costly toys.
Aye, you do not spare our daughter
If too simple be her trust,
For a moment's idle lust;
You will lead the lamb to slaughter,
And disown her in the dust.

Don't you hear us, don't you fear us, when the passion speaks that must?

We are dying with the masses
Up in lofts below the lead,
Though no honour lifts our head;
And we bear, like patient asses,
Burdens you should bear instead.
O, our bread is but affliction,
And our water only tears
Through the long and labouring years;
And we know not benediction,
Till the pall at last appears.
For you make the bonds and borders
Which beset us darkly round,
With their daily bar and bound;
And if once we fail your orders,
Then we find the burial ground.
Yet it's we who gain you riches
And we give each bitter breath,
If we get just broken faith;
And your robes are wrought, with stitches
Of our weeping and our death.

Don't you hear us, don't you fear us, and the fires that burn beneath?

F. HARALD WILLIAMS.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT.

VOL. IV., No. 12. DECEMBER, 1900.

OUR REPRESENTATIVES.

XV.—THOMAS HURLEY.

WE are indebted to the *Blackburn Weekly Telegraph* for the following interesting sketch of our comrade, Thomas Hurley, Town Councillor for Blackburn, and always affectionately spoken of by his numerous friends in that town as "Tom":—

"Plain 'Tom' Hurley. Not Mr. Hurley, nor Thomas Hurley, least of all Mr. Thomas Hurley. Such formality of address would be an insult to the Socialistic soul, and any of the 'chaps' who encouraged these concessions to orthodoxy would be outside the pale of Socialistic civilisation. The only title recognised in the Brotherhood is comrade.

A king can mak' a belted knight,
A marquis, duke, and a' that,

but only Socialism can confer the decoration of comradeship. It is the one honour of the order, and it is open to all who enroll themselves in the ranks of the S.D.F. or the I.L.P. The movement has no other reward to offer, and he whose aim in life is to feather his own nest and make himself warm and comfortable will not turn to Socialism to achieve his aim. It is a common taunt against men of the 'Tom' Hurley type that they adopt Socialism for what they can make out of it. This is not merely unjust, but ludicrously unjust. There was never on earth a political movement which won so many followers with so little cash as Socialism, which offered the labourer so wretched a hire, or which had a better title to be considered disinterested. It is rich in kicks, but poor in ha'pence. There is nothing the world has so much respect for as prosperous selfishness. It will fawn on the prosperous brewer or soap-boiler who has made his own interests his one study in life. It will watch his soaring flight into the social empyrean with admiring wonder, will play the lacquey to all his ambitions, and will receive the casual cheque with grateful servility. Then, *en revanche*, it turns scornfully upon the poor fools who—having no money, and being, therefore, contemptible—impudently desire to 'make this world a better world for man's brief earthly dwelling.' It reminds one of the incident in 'The Rivals,' where Captain Absolute, having been scourged by his father, relieves his feelings by kicking his man Fag down the stairs, Fag, in turn, getting even with him by kicking the boy in buttons out of doors.

“ ‘Tom’ Hurley is the most conspicuous figure in Socialism in Blackburn to-day. Indeed, he is the most considerable figure the movement has yet produced in this district. And yet I know no one who less suggests the demagogue than the modest, unassertive man who represents St. Paul’s Ward on the Town Council, and whose name has become synonymous with all that is most militant in Socialism. Those who have only studied Tom Hurley through the medium of the Press will doubtless assume that the adjectives I have employed are employed ironically. But the assumption will be wrong. ‘Tom’ is a genuinely unpretentious man, full of the consciousness of his own shortcomings, and without a trace of the strident vanity which is the affliction of some Socialists. He attaches so little importance to his own person that he has never had his portrait taken, and the suggestion of Parliamentary ambition to him only extracts an amused protest. ‘No, no,’ he says; ‘I am sorry my name was mentioned in such a connection. A little local reputation like mine does not entitle a man to attempt to represent Socialism in Parliament.’

“ How comes it, then, that a man of no position, little education of the scholastic kind, and small confidence in his powers has won such influence in local politics? In the first place, ‘Tom’ Hurley is a natural orator. It may be that he owes this fact to the Irish blood that flows in his veins, for, though he was born in Blackburn, his father was an exile from Erin, who in his time won some renown as the only man who could manage a certain vicious stallion belonging to Mr. T. A. Aspden. When Hurley *père* was not available Bucephalus had a holiday. No one else dared approach within range of his fearsome hindquarters. ‘Tom’ Hurley’s oratory is not a mere loose facility of speech, still less is it a raging tempest of exaggerated epithets. He does not tear a passion to tatters or grow apoplectic in his denunciation of the bloated capitalist. On the contrary, he is calm, good-humoured, and eminently argumentative. Over-emphasis is the common failing of the market-place orator, but Hurley is entirely free from that fault. He uses the rapier rather than the quarter-staff, possesses the high quality of restraint both in manner and matter, and is at once convincing and persuasive. It is true that he has not had much success in persuading the Blackburn Town Council yet; but that is because that distinguished body would scorn to be influenced by Socialists ‘and such like,’ to quote Alderman Thompson’s comprehensive reference to these beings of a lower creation. The eloquence of Savonarola himself would fail to move the Blackburn Town Council unless it squared with the views of Alderman Billington and the other enlightened gentlemen who govern us from Fleming Square. The second factor in ‘Tom’ Hurley’s success is his sound sense. He may be wrong in his fundamentals—and a subscription to the Socialist creed is not one of my failings—but when it comes to practical, every-day questions he is always logical, sensible, and illuminating. He does not talk for the love of hearing himself prattle, but because he has something to say; and it will not, I think, be disputed that he is the ablest debater in the Council chamber, and that his presence there has sensibly improved the character of the assembly.

“ ‘Tom’ Hurley has had a good many distinctions thrust upon him since, nine years ago, he graduated from Radicalism to the S.D.F. Six years ago he was induced, much against his will, to stand for the School Board, and gave Conservative Blackburn a shock by romping in at the head of the poll. Three years ago he headed the poll at the election of elective auditors, and last November St. Paul’s Ward placed him upon the Council by a handsome majority. In all these various offices ‘Tom’ Hurley has done excellent work; but especially in that of elective auditor. Prior to his election that position was treated as a mere formality—a petty dignity which carried neither duties nor emoluments. But Auditor Hurley showed that this shadow of an office might be a reality. He burrowed into the accounts with an energy and acumen remarkable in one without training in accountancy, and issued a couple of reports which showed that he can write as pungently as he can speak. His handling of some of the officials was a little unfair; but his exposure of the jobbery which attended the sale of the gas and water works to the Corporation, and which has imposed dear gas upon the town for ever and a day, was done with an incisive piquancy which was admirable.

“ And this incident brings me to the most familiar charge which is levelled against ‘Tom’ Hurley—the charge of laziness. It is a charge which is frequently made against men of his type who venture to poach upon the preserves of their ‘betters.’ All men, according to Goethe, are borne with a natural talent for laziness, and it is only by strenuous efforts that we overcome the natural disposition and at last discover a pleasure in work. It may be that ‘Tom’ Hurley never struggled sufficiently with the inborn indisposition to labour to realise the delights of shuttle-making, but at least his work as elective auditor shows that he is not without the gift of application in toil of a more congenial sort. The credit of being laborious or otherwise very much depends upon the task to which one is put. Munkacsy has just paid the penalty of the passionate enthusiasm with which he devoted himself to his art. Had he been a shuttle-maker he might have lived to a green old age, and won a local fame for his disinclination to work.

“ Councillor Hurley has in his time played many parts, from delving in a stone quarry to delving into the municipal ledgers. At present his only ‘visible means of subsistence’ is the office of secretary to the local branch of the Gasworkers’ Union, which involves small labour, and, I fear, less pay. His popular triumphs have brought little grist to his financial mill, and he probably has a very literal acquaintance with that ‘lack of pence that vexes public men.’ It is doubtful whether Tom Hurley ever earned 30s. a week in his life. Yet the other evening I heard him give a *resumé* of the municipal work of the year from the Socialist point of view which for lucidity of style, soundness of sense, and good-humoured irony could not have been rivalled by any other man in the Town Council. I know the old jibe—‘Oh, yes; these fellows can talk. It’s all they can do.’ My dear sir, that is all they are permitted to do. And at least the capacity to make an intelligible speech is *prima facie* evidence of a capacity for affairs. If a

man talks good law, we do not say that that is all he can do. We say that he is a good lawyer. Why, when he comes to talk of public affairs, should we say that his fluent good sense is evidence of practical incapacity? Why should a stumbling incoherence be considered the only true hall-mark of municipal genius? Why should the 'Bosh!' of one man be so convincing a proof of intellectual grip, while the ordered statement of another is proof of intellectual shallowness?

"What part is 'Tom' Hurley destined to play in the future of Blackburn? He is still a comparatively young man—forty or so—with a healthy, well-nourished frame, and a bright, cheerful eye, which promise length of days in the land. He is at the head of a movement which has become an important factor in local affairs, and will certainly become still more important in the future. Superficially he would seem to have a great future before him. And yet I doubt whether he will achieve anything more than transient popular successes of the sort with which he has familiarised us. For 'Tom' Hurley, with all his fluency and sound sense, is not made of the stuff of which strong leaders of men are fashioned. He lacks the vital fire, the moral fervour that win enduring triumphs. He does not believe in himself sufficiently. He does not trust in his cause sufficiently. In spite of the gay good-humour of his speech, there is despair and hopelessness in the heart of the man. To fight a constantly losing battle against the impregnable rock of place, privilege and power and not to lose heart; to be ever worsted and ridiculed and never flag in the conflict; to win the argument and lose the vote without losing faith—to do this needs a fixity of principle, a moral passion, an almost fanatical enthusiasm that 'Tom' Hurley does not possess. One day he will turn from the struggle in weariness and disgust, and new gods will arise in the Market Place and the Venetian Hall. But the memory of his achievements will remain, and when in the fullness of time some successor of his, gifted with more moral force and more unyielding energy sits in the seat of the Chief Magistrate, he will, doubtless, remember 'Tom' Hurley as the man who first made Socialism a real power in the town and paved the way to its recognition as one of the great factors of municipal government.

"THE TATLER."

In the main the above is so excellent an appreciation of our comrade that we have thought it best to put it in just as it stands without any emendation; but we by no means agree with the conclusions of the writer as to Hurley's future career. It is quite true that Hurley does not believe in himself sufficiently. It would be a good thing for the movement if Tom had a little more conceit of himself. But it by no means follows that "he does not trust his cause sufficiently." On the contrary, the devotion with which he has worked in spite of his diffidence is evidence of his absolute faith in his cause which alone gives him the boldness which naturally he lacks. Time alone can tell, but if Tom Hurley fails it will not be due to any want of faith in his cause, in whose service no man has shown greater devotion, whole-heartedness and enthusiasm, but simply to a lack of confidence in his own powers.

THE LOGIC OF OUR OPPOSITION TO THE WAR.

THE article "Was the War Inevitable?" by Thomas Kennedy, in the November issue of the SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT, is a curious example of an argument the premises of which are sound, but the conclusions so erroneous that one wonders what the chain of reasoning may be that can possibly connect them.

Agreeing cordially with the general proposition as to the causes of the war, with the view taken of Joseph Chamberlain as simply an "instrument" in the hands of the dominant power—capitalism, and with the definition of the Socialist's position as an exponent of "certain facts relating to the evolution of material things" in their political aspect, I cannot see that the attitude that most Socialists, myself among them, have taken up in opposition to the war is in any way appropriately described as a cursing of "the thorn because it did not bear grapes, and the thistle because it did not yield figs." What alternative attitude our comrade Kennedy would have us adopt is not very clear, unless he would be content to make an abstract analysis of certain social tendencies, to warn "those around" that if such and such policies are persisted in, then such and such results will follow, and finally to sit on the fence as interested spectators, chorusing now and again "We told you so!" as our prognostications, one after another, are verified by events. But, since those around are seldom capable, and never willing, to consider any abstract problem, in politics least of all, I do not see how such a method would go any way to solving it so far as to prevent its concrete application. To merely inform all and sundry that capitalism is a "reptile's nest," "a very nursery of hideous things," where, if people will persist in remaining, some one or other "financial serpent," or the like, will probably devour them, would be the most ineffective waste of time and energy conceivable. We have in this South African war a convincing object-lesson to present to those around us as evidence of the fact that capitalism is truly "a nether hell," and that the things spawned therein are very actual and tangible monsters indeed. And by our efforts in this direction I think we have done a great deal towards creating a revulsion of feeling that will provide us with the means of "killing the serpent," and of "uprooting the material hell which nourishes it and its kind"—means which our comrade admits we do not yet possess. And, as a further establishment of our case, I hold that it is necessary to trace "the trail of the financial serpent" "through the Colonial Office," and, so far as may be, to determine its precise "form," "colour," and "description," in order that it may be followed to its lair and both destroyed together. Hence I do not see the reason of our comrade's impressively italicised admonition in this connection.

That certain derelict Liberals, or individualist Radicals, happen to be horrified at the logical results of the principles they have so far held is

nothing to us. And that they, as well as ourselves, are in revolt against the necessary evils of the capitalist system does not justify the assumption that we are doing our "level best" to rehabilitate the Liberal Party. The Liberal Party, as such, was no concern of ours so long as it did not come into collision with our efforts towards the "New Era" of which our comrade speaks. This, however, it was bound to do, since it was the political expression of developing capitalism—in opposition to the then decadent (and now vanished) system of landed aristocracy which stood in its way. This phase of political conflict has passed, and capitalism, from being progressive, is now growing conservative in its turn, and, as the system consolidates, finds its logical political expression in what is still appropriately called the Conservative Party. Plutocracy has definitely superseded aristocracy, and the dual interests which these terms signified have become one system of exploitation. But that we found ourselves in opposition to Liberalism at any time did not mean that we were actuated by any special desire to "smash" that party, any more than it meant that we were in support of landed Toryism, as many of our more superficial critics supposed. Such a course of action, as a determined policy, would have been inconsistent with what we have always preached, *i.e.*, that there was no essential difference between these two parties in their antagonism to popular interests. Our sole object was to force the Liberals out of the way in places where we had a reasonable chance of political success but for their intervention. And that we are now opposed to the "new" Conservatism signifies still less that we are "adrift on the sea of opportunism" because we happen to find ourselves in line for the moment with some of those who continue to style themselves Liberals. It simply means that we are aware of the political transformation that has taken place, but that they are not; that we have followed the fresh line of political cleavage of which they (and apparently Kennedy also) are ignorant. We are logical, that is all. And should any other significance be attached to "Liberalism" than that to which we have been accustomed, and this something-else point definitely to Socialism, then naturally we find ourselves travelling with it. Our concern is with facts and tendencies, not with words and names. Hence we have decidedly *not* "joined hands with those whose political mission it is to treat this (war) and every other vicious growth of capitalism as accidental." Such diagnosis is erroneous, but the mistake is theirs, not ours, and, therefore, we are not necessarily committed, as comrade Kennedy supposes, to the conclusion that the war was "avoidable by other means than the radical transformation of the material basis of commercialism." As I have said myself elsewhere ". . . this war became inevitable from the day on which gold was discovered in any quantity in the Transvaal. Had it been any other nation than England under whose auspices the exploitation of the adjacent territories had been carried out, the result would have been the same,"* that is, under the unrestrained *régime* of capitalism. But

* *Ethical World*, August 18, 1900: "Capitalism and Patriotism."

it is our business, as opponents of the system which yields such evil fruits, to introduce counteracting influences, and to evoke, as far as possible, factors that shall lead to its disintegration. We must, as our comrade himself tells us, lodge our protest against the present. And, if the "collective mind" digests and acts upon our advice, so much the better; but if not, it does not follow that we are to plead guilty to any "false sentiment." All we have done is to clear ourselves of responsibility in what may result through the refusal of the "collective mind" to listen to us.

Our business is, has been all along, and will continue to be, to open the eyes of the people to the fact that such events as war, together with all the atrocities and miseries attendant thereupon, are the natural results of the capitalist system. We have to show this, as also that "war with rifles and cannon is *not* worse than the labourer's war with landlord and sweater." When the people understand these things fully, a "radical transformation of the mould in which society is cast" will occur.

The transition from capitalism to collectivism is as inevitable in the order of social evolution as the transition from feudalism to capitalism. Determinists realise this. But determinists *seeking finality* do not all realise the fact that this evolution can be stimulated, and the decadence of the system, to which our movement supplies the disintegrating factors, considerably hastened; else we should not find anyone referring to these factors as "inane sentimentalism" and so forth.

So far from the legal conviction of Mr. Chamberlain on the counts preferred against him enhancing the prospects of Liberalism—by which our comrade means the political expression of capitalism, it would tend still more to the undoing of the system of which Mr. Chamberlain is an instrument. Hence I do not see why our comrade Kennedy should brood over the prospect of "temporary ruin to the cause of Socialism" because he is afraid lest the evil tendencies of capitalism should be checked, as he supposes prematurely, by our exposure of its methods.

In conclusion, I must protest very strongly against the injurious statement that our cry has been: "A one man's war!" and that we have thus "lost our heads" by listening to "the false prophets of Liberalism." Our comrade's too exuberant imagination has run away with him, and has led him into the commission of an injustice. I do not suppose that there is a single Socialist who holds this to be a "one man's war." We know very well that it is essentially a capitalist war, and I do not think comrade Kennedy will find many attacks upon Chamberlain and the Rhodesian gang, from the Socialist side at any rate, without several distinct references to capitalism being made at the same time. No doubt, our comrade would say that his principal objection is to this method—these attacks upon Chamberlain, Rhodes, Beit, Eckstein and Company. But how in the name of reason is an attack upon a *principle* to be conducted with effect unless we are able to point to the embodiment of that principle—to this, that, or the other *person* who is chiefly instrumental in reducing it to practice? Though we realise the abstract principle

underlying the activities of such men as these, the majority of those around us do not, or cannot, appreciate anything beyond its concrete application. This being the fact, it becomes of chief importance that our teaching of others should be based upon illustrations—examples of individual turpitude, and the like—such as they are capable of understanding. Of course, the motives governing these individuals are determined by their environment and by the various influences which have gone to moulding their characters and predilections. But our comrade apparently overlooks the important fact that, although the present is precisely the sum-total effect of all past causation, nevertheless the future and what it may bring in the way of a thought, an action, or an event, turns upon the *initiative* of the present. Thus, and thus only, has man a certain control over the future, conditioned of course in many ways; but still he has the power to stimulate, direct and modify, or to obstruct, though not to divert absolutely, all individual and social tendencies. What this initiatory power may be we do not know, and have no means of knowing. We only realise that it is there, but beyond all cognisance; we dismiss it accordingly as “the unknowable,” “the force back of evolution,” which no amount of research or abstract speculation can define in precise terms of applied science. Consequently, we, who realise that, as material beings in a material world, it is only possible to deal effectively with material things, find quite enough to occupy our life-energies in *this* world, refuse to lose ourselves in the “no-where-world” of metaphysics, and are content to declare ourselves “materialists”; referring to what may lie beyond as *x*—an unknown quantity—since we have the whole range of philosophy, not to speak of religion, to prove to us the unattainableness of absolute finality. And it is here, I think, that our comrade has gone astray, in imagining that his determinism provides him with finality. Thus it is he who, in attempting “an impossible hypothesis,” has arrived at an “unpractical idealism,” and not we upon whom he attempts unsuccessfully to fasten the stigma.

Granting him the finality which his article suggests, then, according to his finding, we must regard ourselves as so many automata, and permit ourselves to drift whichever way events may carry us, explaining them perhaps, but not making any effort to control them or turn them to account. Thus determinism is simply another word for a helpless fatalism which, logically applied, would, on seeing a drunken man staggering towards a precipice, speculate upon the inevitability of his being dashed to pieces by the determined action of a certain natural law or tendency—gravitation; but would not upon any account countenance active interference with the “inevitable expression” of the man’s physical condition which “operates obediently to the predominant material factor”—drink. Into this hole does the determinist, who imagines he has arrived at finality, constantly drop—and the marvel is that he should ever think it worth while to climb out again in order to write articles of protest against actions which he must, after all, admit are “inevitable” whether, in his judgment, right or wrong!

JOHN E. ELLAM.

H. G. WILSHIRE.*(See Illustration.)*

OUR comrade Thomas Hurley, with that provoking modesty and diffidence which we find hindering the usefulness of some of the best of our friends and fellow workers, refuses to send us a photograph, and so we are compelled perforce to publish the biographical notice of him which appears in this issue without giving with it his counterfeit presentment. We are pleased, however, to be able to give a portrait of our comrade H. G. Wilshire, who, as will be readily understood, has none of these foolish failings, but recognises that the sacrifice of diffidence is one of the smallest that a man has to make for the cause if he wants to be of the greatest service. Our friend Wilshire will be remembered by many in the movement here, where he lived for some time and was very active. He was for a time on the Board of Directors of the Twentieth Century Press. In 1895 our friends at South Salford proposed to put him forward as Parliamentary candidate for that division, but domestic affairs called him back to Los Angeles, which is his present habitat. Wilshire is one of the most active and best known men in the Social-Democratic Party in Los Angeles, where his natural push and go have brought him prominently to the front. Some time ago he was elected one of a citizens' committee to draw up a charter for the town, and in the recent election he polled over 3,000—a higher vote than any other Socialist for Congressman. Wilshire is a thorough-going revolutionary Socialist, who welcomes the growth of the trusts as a stage in the development of industrialism which must inevitably lead to Socialism. He ridicules the idea of the trusts being broken down or controlled under present circumstances, and has practically set at defiance the ordinances of the authorities with regard to the regulation of the operations of the bill-posting combine in which he is himself interested. He has come into conflict with the authorities on other matters besides this, however, quite recently he and others being prosecuted for carrying on Socialist meetings in the town park. He has delivered some telling lectures and written some very useful pamphlets on the growth of the trusts, upon which subject he may be said to be an authority. He is a pushing and a prosperous man of business, who brings all his business experience, energy and talents to the propaganda of Socialism.



"THE transformation of the crowd into the people—profound task ! It is to this labour that the men called Socialists have devoted themselves during the last forty years. The author of this book, however insignificant he may be, is one of the oldest in this labour. If he claims his place among these philosophers it is because it is a place of persecution."—VICTOR HUGO.

CLASS WAR AND ETHICS.

BY KARL KAUTSKY.

(Translated by J. B. Askew from the *Neue Zeit*, November 24, 1900.)

IN No. 4 of Vol. 10 of *Sozialen Praxis* we find an article of the well-known "ethical," Dr. F. W. Förster, on "Social-Democracy and Ethics ; a New Chapter from English Municipal Socialism."

As it is to be expected that our opponents should seize hold of the problems he raises, and the assertions which he makes, in order to play them off against us, we will examine the question more nearly. We give the article in full in order to add some comments to it. It runs :—

"Some time ago I had in London a meeting with William Sanders, one of the most able and strong-minded English Labour leaders. He has, as secretary of the Independent Labour Party, worked ten years along with John Burns to secure for the workers an effective representation in the municipal government. The work of both men was crowned with success. The worker in Battersea has, even down to the street scavengers, a decent wage. The working-class has a decisive influence on the municipal government, and thereby indirectly on the social demeanour of the private employer. [Presumably election times are meant.—Trans.] More and more the municipalities are getting used to employ direct labour wherever possible without calling in a contractor. So much more incomprehensible must it be that Sanders gave up his previous position and went over to the ethical movement, to devote his time and energies to that. When I asked him what were the grounds for his step, he answered me, more or less, as follows :—

"I joined your movement because it became clearer to me every day that the workers, the more they acquired power, were confronted with such serious moral temptations and such a tremendous political task that, in itself, the mere appeal to class consciousness or to material advantages is proved to be an absolutely insufficient basis for a real agitation. What our working-class want to-day before all things are not new programmes or so-called practical measures. Englishmen have had enough of the "practical" —what we want is a new spiritual force which would stir the masses and awake needs in them which are not met by the mere satisfying of hunger. We need a fresh motive.

"As at the end of the eighties the great industrial crisis broke over England, Burns and I believed that the contrast between rich and poor would become still more striking and that the inauguration of Socialism was imminent. We made it our duty to prepare and introduce the new society through the socialisation of municipal corporations. To-day we see a new middle class arising out of the midst of the working class itself, and that it would be idle to base any hope for a reformation of society on the hunger instincts of a degraded class. Some years ago the Boilermakers' Society invested property to the extent of £30,000 in the shares of an important iron works, which notoriously exploited their employees. That caused us to think. We saw a new problem arise out of the economic development.

How could we secure even the educated and cultured sections of the working class from the degeneration into profit-hunting and a satisfied indifference, and win all its moral and economic strength for the work of organisation?

“‘ In addition came another observation which puzzled us and showed that the problem of democracy is much more difficult and complicated than we had first imagined it. You know that it is England's pride that in our administration the corruption of American administration has not yet found entry—as, for example, it is incorporated in the democrat Croker, who regards it as quite natural that the party in power should use their political influence for personal enrichment. To our horror we have nevertheless recently, in the first instance in our field of Battersea, had forced on our attention how in the developing governing power of the masses the beginnings of democratic corruption began to be apparent. The municipal employees seek to exploit their position as voters in order to gain from the public purse much higher wages than are laid down by the trade unions of the trades concerned, or than one would ask at any time from the best employers. The consequences would be that the combined taxpayers of the district would then be more heavily taxed to pay this extra wage. In a word, the community is regarded, to use the words of an influential labour leader, as a lemon to squeeze.’

“So far Sanders. At that time what he saw was a small cloud on the horizon of the labour democracy. To-day the phenomenon has become so clear that wider circles begin to interest themselves with it, and at a recent meeting of Socialist agitators and labour representatives the matter came openly to discussion under the title, “The Difficulties of a Labour Majority.” The district, West Ham, was under discussion, where the majority had introduced the eight hour day, a minimum wage of 27s. per week, direct employment by the Municipality and other points of the labour programme, to the benefit of the town workers. Instead of these achievements raising the conscientiousness of the employees, it must be stated that these employees looked upon their representatives in the Town Council as a kind of silent accomplice in order to extract from the public the greatest possible sum for their own benefit. In principle, this is just the same as that which has made Tammany Hall in New York so bad a reputation: The using of political power to rob the public purse. It can be understood that English Socialist leaders are paying great attention to these beginnings, since it is a question of the first trial of democratic control in the municipal administration, and a failure could compromise the whole business and bring a dangerous reaction. Hitherto luckily the English labour movement had a leader so respected and of so strong a character as John Burns, who, with great moral energy, resisted all attempts to use political power and political connections to gain extra benefits. But what will happen when John Burns is no longer there? How will the democratic development be protected from that dangerous temptation? Imagine that continually more undertakings are taken over by the community, and that then the labourers concerned use their political powers, in order to extract a profit from their influence at the cost of the orderly general development. What a prospect of corruption opens itself there.

“I believe that Mr. Sanders is right, when he in face of these beginnings expressly lays stress on the fact, which is here proved, that the labour movement can make no progress with the simple class-war theory and the simple appeal to class spirit. The moral isolation of the rising working class from the rest of the community must necessarily not only cripple the sense of right in the masses, but produce in them that double morality which

makes them incapable at the given moment in the face of the community of conscientiously fulfilling their duty.

"Sanders says rightly in the *Ethical World* :—

"The working-class leaders have a critical time before them. The preaching of the class war may be an excellent means to bring together hungry masses in times of depression, but this kind of propaganda is not capable of securing us the self-sacrificing and strong-minded worker in the service of the community, who sees how inseparably his position is bound up with a big cause. Much more will this propaganda of a short-sighted conception prepare the ground that the worker, with his endeavour to get as much as possible out of the community and to give as little as possible in return, should take his revenge, so to say, on the classes who have hitherto deprived him of his right to leisure, pleasure, treasure. The simple appeal to class interest has only proved itself effective where purely individual interests were at stake. But if the highest ideal of the labour movement is to take root in the heart of the working class, we need a propaganda which talks not only of rights, but also of duties. . . . We require the most unbending resignation of all labour representatives to the ethical side of their mission. . . ."

"The development pointed out by W. Sanders will assuredly progress and then open the eyes of even the blindest to the fact that a thorough ethicalising of the Socialist propaganda—in their general assumptions as well as in their entire jargon—constitutes the truest statesmanship of the movement and the fundamental class interest of the workers. It was only natural that the labour movement in the first stage of their emancipation repudiated moral tradition and phrases, and based their tactics absolutely on the actual social conditions and tendencies. Experience and observation of this actual life itself will bring them once more, step by step, to a rediscovery of ethics, so far as man, through the insight into the conditions of social rebirth and the needs of the social organism, is confronted by the need of the ethical factors, and sees that politics and ethics are not to be separated, because ethical forces are themselves political forces, which means that they are of decisive importance in the formation of political institutions in general.

"Certainly in Germany there can be as yet no question of the 'difficulties of a labour majority' in communal administration. And yet one dare say to the growing labour movement 'De te agitur' (it concerns you). Even by us will labour majorities some time stand before the same abyss which now yawns before the representatives of the English movement. Let them be prepared in time, that the rise of the 'Fourth Estate' stands under the banner of that same ethical force to which alone they can entrust the later practical development. Anyone who, for the sake of momentary success, lets loose the simple instincts of power, and where possible, also rancour and animosity, will later not get free from the spirits which he has invoked. That applies also to certain 'Handbooks of Home Politics,' which, again, propagate the idea of political might as the sole basis of political action. I am of opinion that the above-described English crisis shows only too clearly that the problems of modern civilisation are much too complicated to be solved in the atmosphere of mutual over-reaching and force. That for the next step may appear to be the simplest means, but a policy cannot be conducted on a 'hand-to-mouth' style, and every action must be brought into harmony with a wide conception of the conditions of human development and the mutual relations of life. By this means alone is a sound policy arrived at and—ethics applied."

The conclusion of the article we cordially endorse. Certainly a policy cannot be based on a hand-to-mouth principle, but every action must be brought into harmony with a wide conception of the conditions of human development and the mutual relations of life, even at the peril that this subordination of the policy of the moment under the general principle, the agitation of the moment to the final aim, will be ridiculed as a perverse fanaticism for dogma, and as arcadian utopianism from the practical politicians and men of sound common sense.

As far as the facts are concerned, which Dr. Förster brings forward, we must, in the first place, explain that he has made a bad mistake. Mr. Sanders was never a member, much less secretary, of the I.L.P.; he was only secretary of the Battersea Labour Party, a labour organisation which limits its activity to the London district, and is for English Socialists a quite unimportant person, as my London friends whom I asked about this, to me, unknown man, inform me.

To the same informants it was also quite unknown that the experiences of Battersea and West Ham gave well-grounded occasion to sniff out once more a new problem of Socialism.

Even in the year 1897 C. Hugo, in his book on "*Stadtverwaltung und Munizipal Sozialismus in England*" ("*Town Government and Municipal Socialism in England*"), only knew of favourable results to report, which the London County Council had achieved with the carrying out of municipal works under its own administration. Certainly contrary opinions are well known to us, but they came from opponents or pessimists to whom every difficulty that arises, yea, every objection of an opponent, appears at once as a serious peril to our progress.

Meanwhile, we will, for once in a way, accept that the municipal employees of England, where labour rules in the community, in fact develops into a selfish and corrupt exploiter of the public purse.

But what we do most decidedly deny is the connection of this phenomenon with the class war, and first of all its connection with the theory of the class war.

If ever there were labour elements which were against the theory of the class war, it would be the aristocracy of the English labour world—just that class with which we are here concerned. Are not the English workers, from all the harmony apostles and ethical national economists, continually brought before us as patterns? As a matter of fact, they adopted the Liberal theory that the opposition between wage-labourer and capitalist was no other than that which arises between every buyer and seller of a commodity. But the seller and buyer constitute no special class, since everyone is at one time seller of a commodity, and at another time buyer.

The opposition between the wage-labourers in a shoe factory and the manufacturer is from this point of view not essentially different from the opposition between the latter and the seller of leather. Certainly the worker wants to sell his labour as dear as possible, but that also the leather dealer wishes to do with his leather. There arises on this account no class conflict between the leather dealer and the shoe manufacturer.

On the other hand, the shoe manufacturer is unaffected when the price of engines rises. It is equally indifferent to the workman in a shoe factory what the wage in a machine factory is. Indeed, the wages of the packer and the office-boy, as well as the clerk in his own factory, do not affect him. Class solidarity and antagonism of classes are only phrases of the Social-Democrats invented for the sake of agitation. A sensible workman will not allow himself to be fooled by them. He has only one duty, like every seller

of goods, to sell his commodity as dearly as possible, and to keep their cost of production as low as possible. Everything else is a waste of strength and time.

The keeping down of the cost of production is managed through co-operative (distributive) stores which have no other aim than to keep down the prices of the necessities of life and to pay dividends; the raising of the price of labour-power is in the first place to be achieved through the trade unions. But the worker, or at least the labour aristocrat, has also got a vote in the State and municipality. These also he dare not throw away as utopian, these also he must subordinate to his practical interest policy; that means, he must sell it to those of the numerous buyers, in this case among the ruling parties, who offer him most. Not in the ordinary sense of selling for a pot of beer and a couple of shillings in the hand, but, in the sense of selling for the sake of a permanent concession to the trade or community to which the voter belongs.

This famous theory of practical politics is certainly preached to the workers elsewhere in Europe, even from many Social-Democrats who feel the need to be extraordinarily intensely practical. But, outside England, it finds no echo among the workers, for the good reason, because the governing party is not to hand which would be inclined to buy the labour vote in this manner. The English bourgeoisie, on the contrary, has made a practice for many decades of systematically buying and corrupting the workers. With us the representatives of the proletariat are punished and imprisoned. The English bourgeoisie is not so stupid. It is polite to them, lords and princes pat them friendly on the shoulder, and finally they are given positions on newspapers, in Government service, &c. And in this manner they are much more effectually silenced than by the longest term of imprisonment.

While in Germany, thanks to our system of government, the best elements in the bourgeoisie go over to the proletariat, in England the bourgeoisie strengthens the ranks of their literary and political representatives through the most energetic and intelligent elements of the proletariat, which they attract to themselves, with the exception of a few who show extraordinary strength of character. But even to these few is the resistance to bourgeois inducements rendered more difficult in face of the want of support from the mass of the labour aristocracy, who only too easily, in return for a social-political concession—for a practical step further towards Socialism, or to "industrial democracy," as people like to denominate it—vote even for a reactionary candidate.

The fruits of this training now show themselves. Everything has been done to drive out of the English labour aristocrat his class feeling and to impregnate him with bourgeois ideas. And now he begins, if Dr. Förster is rightly informed, where he acquires influence in the community, to exploit this, just as if he were a middle-class man.

In consequence, all right-minded people are shocked. The labour aristocrat ought to feel himself a bourgeois over against the proletariat, but as regards the community he should work as a Socialist. He is to consider capitalist exploitation a necessity, but he shall refrain from exploiting others in his turn when the opportunity is offered. He shall turn suspiciously away from all "utopias," apply himself exclusively to practical detail work for his momentary needs, a policy which alone has any chance of success, and yet the very first opportunity on which success is offered decline to use it, in order to be the ascetic martyr of an ethic which can only rise from a wide conception of human development. It is really amusing to see how the English pattern-boy, for some time past, has been becoming more and more

of a bogey to his liberal and ethical foster-parents, and for the very reason because he too faithfully follows their teaching and has thrown overboard Socialist thinking and feeling. We were told by our Anglomaniacs that the English worker has more power than any, and is the nearest to Socialism—naturally only the “practical”—and now we find that those classes, who were not to be had for Socialism, are also untrue to Liberalism, and have gone over to the Conservative camp, because the Conservatives as ruling party had more to offer. Thus the English pattern-boy becomes a prop of reaction, after Brentano has already admitted with pain that the English worker, so far as he is proof against Socialism, supports in thoughtless enthusiasm the barbarian policy of the jingoes—the same policy, it is to be noted, which the high ethical professors [among them Brentano.—Trans.] seek to make palatable to the workers in Germany. And now come in addition the difficulties which the English labour aristocrat—at least according to Messrs. Sanders and Förster—prepares for municipal Socialism.

It is, indeed, heartbreaking.

But Dr. Förster will not allow himself to be put out of countenance, and with a fixity which does all honour to his ethics, he extracts from the bad experiences which have been made with the English labour aristocrats, a moral for the German Social-Democracy, to whom he calls out, “*De te agitur*,” and for the Marxism whose class-war theory is responsible for the fact that the English labour aristocracy shares or imitates the usual bourgeois corruption of the English communal administration. These corrupt practices of the working-class, according to Dr. Förster, spring up there, where a labouring class standing on the ground of the class-war theory attains a certain amount of “industrial democracy.” But have we not already got that kind of “industrial democracy” in France, Belgium, Germany, together with the theory of the class war, but without the phenomena complained of by Messrs. Sanders and Förster? Is not every German workers’ co-operative society a piece of “industrial democracy?” But if complaints are heard about these societies it is not that their employees demand extra privileges at the cost of the community and use their voting power to obtain them.

Also from the Belgian co-operative distributive societies, which in the production of iron also are already farther advanced, we hear no complaints about the excessive demands of the workers. And the same may be said of those French municipalities where the Socialists have obtained a majority.

Therefore, just there where the theory of the class-war has taken the deepest root, are heard no complaints about the labourer in trades where a mass of class-conscious workers comes forward as employer. None of our comrades feels himself compelled, on the ground of his bad experiences with the workers, to go over from the party to an ethical society.

Why should the theory of the class-war have such a bad effect?

Mr. Sanders says he has become an “ethical” and Dr. Förster writes about “Social-Democracy and Ethics” because both believe the appeal to class-consciousness is an appeal to “material benefits,” to purely “individual and selfish interests,” and he implies a propaganda “which speaks only of rights and not of duties.”

These gentlemen, have, therefore, no suspicion of the fact that the class-consciousness is the consciousness of the solidarity of all proletarians, that to propagate class-consciousness means nothing else than to propagate the knowledge of the duties which the individual owes to the whole of his

class. Have Messrs. Sanders and Förster never heard of the unmentionable sacrifices which the class-conscious proletariat undergo not for "purely individual and selfish interests," but for the cause of their class, not only of their own country but of all civilised countries. In any case, the class-conscious proletariat have disdained to hawk about with their ethic, but they have starved, suffered want, sacrificed their night and Sunday's rest, sacrificed their last savings, their freedom and often also their health—not for themselves but for the majority of the disinherited, before all for those among them who could not help themselves.

But proletarian class-war and proletarian class-consciousness are ethical factors of the first importance not simply because they develop the fullest sacrifice of the individual to the cause of the whole of his class and bring out an unusually strong sense of duty towards it.

The proletariat, as the lowest class of the community, cannot emancipate himself without making an end to all oppression and exploitation. So the class-conscious proletariat becomes, wherever he obtains power, the advocate of all, so far as their interests do not collide with the social development, oppressed classes, oppressed nations, and an oppressed sex. From this historical *role* duties come to him which lie outside of his direct class interests. But even with that is not exhausted the circle of the social duties which the class-conscious proletariat takes on himself.

He cannot emancipate himself on the basis of the wage system. He requires the abolition of the existing order of property and production—he must set himself a high social aim—and his is the only class to-day which has such. His is the only revolutionary class, that means, the only one which does not limit itself to petty work for momentary advantages but strives for a social end, in this sense it is the only class in whom idealism is to be found.

Thus grows out of the class war of the proletariat the highest ethical strength, the sacrifice to a lofty end, and the revolutionary class war of the proletariat becomes the ground on which the ablest and keenest champions of idealism in all classes of modern society come together—as many as there are of them left. The more revolutionary, the more idealist the proletarian class war, the more the final aim is accentuated, the greater is its ethical force, the force for the moral regeneration of the proletariat. The practical detail work of the proletariat will thereby itself be ennobled, which otherwise too easily produces the tendency to degenerate the proletariat to the level of the present day lower middle class.

The co-operative societies, where they find a proletariat without class-consciousness, very often produce in him the instinct of the huckster. All interest is concentrated on the dividends. Where on the other hand in the co-operative societies a class-conscious proletariat rules there they are managed in the interest of the community, as we have seen in Belgium, where the dividends, the profits of the individual out of the common undertaking, are insignificant, and the money given to support the cause of the emancipation of the class, the important element.

Just as it stands with the co-operative societies, so does it stand with the trade unions. If they develop into a proletariat without revolutionary feeling they have the tendency to develop the spirit of trade prejudice and exclusiveness, the caste spirit of an aristocracy which endeavours to obtain a privileged position among and at the cost of their proletarian comrades.

Quite different is the moral effect of the trade unions among a revolutionary proletariat. The organised workers feel themselves here as the champions of the rest. The members and leaders of a trade union inspired

by Socialist ideas fight, not only for the interests of their organisation, they hold it for quite as important a duty to raise the non-organised of their own trade and other trades, to get them into the organisations, to help them to found organisations where they could not do it of their own strength. While the English trade union movement created an aristocracy of labour, under which a large proletariat vegetated in the same misery in which it was sunk in the first half of this century, the continental labour movement aims at raising all sections of the proletariat.

And just in the same way, through the revolutionary Socialist method of thinking, the political activity of the proletariat is raised to a higher ethical level. Where this method of thinking fails, where the proletariat thinks quite in middle-class fashion, and so-called "practically," there he looks on the voting paper, as we have already observed, as a valuable goods which he sells to the highest bidder. Where the proletariat thinks as a revolutionary Socialist, there his political fight is a fight for principles. His fight concerns the whole social life, which is to be raised to a higher level, not only the attainment of individual advantages. The fight for these advantages itself become means to the end, and this end is the regeneration of the proletariat—to make it worthy of its great historical task.

Thus the ethical forces of Social-Democracy flow from the conscious class war of the proletariat, out of the most vigorous activities of life. Whence, according to Dr. Förster, shall they spring? From the propaganda, which shall be ethicalised "in its general assumptions as well as in its jargon." Therefore, by preaching and a change of jargon, the English workers are to be imbued with that ethics which they lack. As if preaching had ever been able to create moral forces, which can only arise out of the total processes of social life. But, indeed, what remains for our ethicalists otherwise to do except to preach, since to them all those practical activities from which the proletarian morality springs are a source of offence?

So are they all—the worthy ethical economists and their allies. After they have taught the workers to despise all that which could raise them, all "utopianism," all "propheying," all revolutionary thinking; after they have persuaded them that all activity is folly which does not at once pay; after all that, they are horror-stricken over the consequences of this purely "selfish" practice, and now hope that it will be made good through ethical preaching and ethical jargon. While the champions of the revolutionary class war produce an ethic without talking much about it, these practical "friends of labour" choke in the proletariat all ethical feeling and make instead a great deal of their ethical enthusiasm, which they parade just as obtrusively as many ladies do their virtue.

But if ethical propaganda and ethical jargon were really in a position to produce a feeling of communal solidarity, a sense of justice, of duty, and willing self-sacrifice over against the community, then the English workers would be the most out-and-out heroes of virtue. Because no other worker has been so dosed with ethics for decades as the English, in which, as are readily acknowledged, many great and deep thoughts are to be found—from Carlyle, Kingsley, Ruskin, to the champions of the *Ethical World*. No other worker was so alive to it as he. And the success? Over this point, Dr. Förster gives information in his article.

With that we do not wish to say that we fully share his view of the moral inferiority of the English worker. Certainly, the forces tending to demoralise the proletariat are nowhere so strongly developed as in England, except the United States. But even in the crippled form which the proletarian class-war has taken in England, it develops morally elevating

tendencies even though not so strong as in countries with a strong Social-Democratic agitation.

What the English workers want to develop revolutionary idealism and a general feeling of proletarian solidarity to their full strength is an independent working-class party.

If the preaching of the practical small reform with the corresponding ethical jargon found among them so willing an ear, that is to be attributed to the peculiar conditions of England, where, after 1848, while the general political movement of the proletariat lay dormant, co-operative societies and trade societies developed themselves. On the Continent, on the other hand, as after the period of reaction a Labour movement again began, this had first of all to win a legal footing for its organisations; in the foreground came the political battle, a fight not for particular advantages for individual trades or organisations, but for the rights of all the dispossessed, a fight of the thoughtful proletariat against their united bourgeois opponents, against the wobbling of the Liberals and the brutality of the Conservatives. From this sprang the independent political organisation of the proletariat, whose struggles so tended to strengthen the class-consciousness that they cannot again lose it as their economic organisations grow stronger. These can only increase the strength of the class-consciousness; they cannot any more split it up, and no more allow solidarity and idealism to be smothered by "selfish and individual interests."

But even in England the conditions develop themselves for an independent political working-class party; they do not develop so quickly as our impatience wishes, but they develop. Given conditions for a strong independent labour party in England, then will the way be made smooth for overcoming the caste spirit and the middle-class method of thinking of a great part of the English labour aristocracy. Then will the regeneration of the English working-class make rapid progress even without ethical jargon. Not from the ethical society, but from the English Social-Democracy, so soon as it becomes a party of the masses, will this regeneration spring. Those who are concerned with real ethics, and not with ethical jargon, should help the English Socialists in their struggle.

KARL KAUTSKY.

If the first object of resistance has been merely to maintain wages, in proportion as the capitalists in their turn have combined with the idea of repression, the combinations, at first isolated, have formed in groups, and, in face of constantly united capital, the maintenance of the association became more important and necessary for them than the maintenance of wages. This is so true that the English economists are all astonished at seeing the workers sacrifice a good part of their wages on behalf of the associations which, in the eyes of these economists, were only established in support of wages. In this struggle—a veritable civil war—are united and developed all the elements necessary for a future battle. Once arrived at that point, association takes a political character.—"The Poverty of Philosophy," by KARL MARX.

SOCIETY'S DUTY TO THE TRAMP.

IN the *Fortnightly Review* Mr. W. Harbutt Dawson writes on the above subject : There are two large sections of sociologists who advocate—the one a radical reform of the Poor Law, the other the reform of the prison system. Poor Law reformers seek to introduce into that law a stronger leaven of philanthropic sentiment. On the other hand the gaol reformer desires to see the punitive and retaliatory aspect of imprisonment made more subsidiary to the disciplinary and educational.

The writer classifies the vagrant class as follows :—

1. The nomad of the highway, who is always in motion, the mere unmitigated vagabond, who lives by begging, blackmailing and pillaging.

2. The settled resident-loafer, haunting street corners year in and year out, living no one knows how.

3. The intermittent loafer, three parts idler and one part worker, almost invariably an inebriate, who saddles his domestic responsibilities on the community.

4. That which arises from promiscuous, illegitimate and irresponsible maternity amongst the lowest class of society. The writer considers that the present Poor Law administration offers virtual encouragement to this condition of things. The social parasites' existence is a positive injury to the State in every way and must be stamped out. The present system tends to pet and coddle the loafer. It renders it possible for vagrants to travel from the Channel to the Tweed at the public expense, doing no work, save the labour tests imposed at some of the casual wards. It is true that a percentage of tramps are respectable men honestly seeking work. Official statistics show a proportion of 5 per cent. as belonging to this class.

On the question of remedial measures, Mr. Dawson is of opinion that vagrants must be *compelled* to perform the social functions which alone establish for anyone the right to any place in the economic commonwealth, in support of which he quotes the following passage from John Stuart Mill : “ Wherever there is a definite damage, or a definite risk of damage, either to an individual or to the public, the case is taken out of the province of liberty and placed in that of morality, or law.”

To law, then, appeal is made.

The vagrant and victim of want through culpable idleness must first be removed from the province of the Poor Law and placed under the penal law.

Vagrancy, and loafing generally, should be made indictable offences. The right of free migration should be dependent on police permission to travel in search of work. The existing laws against begging and penniless wandering should be made severer and enforced. The casual ward should be abolished. If loafing is to be regarded as an offence to be punished, the loafers' free lodging-house must disappear.

The case of the genuine seeker for work should be met considerably and indulgently. His position should be legitimised by means of police or properly attested private certificates asserting his *bona fides* and destination ; this labour passport should secure right to food and lodging on the way. It

is the interest, not to say the duty, of society to help those who honestly seek work.

The abolition of the casual ward would cast pauper vagrants adrift. Then they would fall into the hands of the police as mendicants or penniless loafers. After correctional punishment they should be sent to labour colonies.

The writer concludes with references to the German and Swiss methods of dealing with the question, and says that Great Britain might copy these nations with advantage.



THE WAGES OF CAPITAL.

WILLIAM S. MURPHY has the following article in the *Scottish Co-operator* for November :—

Since physical philosophers have theoretically determined that light, heat and motion are merely different forms of the same thing, it has begun to be suspected that health, holiness and wisdom are at bottom one and the same, despite all appearances to the contrary. Good conduct produces health, and wisdom prescribes good conduct ; so much is well admitted ; but that good health produces wisdom has not often been understood. Yet the immediate effect of bad conduct is first moral and then physical ; a man's character and standard of life generally deteriorate before his evil courses have begun to affect his bodily vigour. It is the same with communities and nations ; they first go into evil practices and then frame a code of morality which fits their practice. In this connection it is worth noting that good conduct results in few theories, while evil practices produce philosophies and codes of morals in great numbers. Those ages which have been most corrupt have been most fruitful of moralisings, and second to those the times when men have sought to reform the evils. Hence philosophic theorists are either panderers or reformers ; either flatterers and sycophants to the powers that be or prophets and martyrs. The latter are the physicians and surgeons sent to cure the disease ; the former the quacks and parasites who live upon the evil and foster it for their own gain. In no province of things is the dependence of theory on practice so clearly shown as in economics. From time immemorial usury and slavery, for example, have been condemned by the undebauched conscience of mankind ; but when both these practices have been adopted by the ruling factions of any nation, economic philosophers have soon risen to show that they are economically right. In order to effect their purpose those philosophers divorced economics from politics, ethics, religion, and physics, heedless of every consideration in their haste to build a theory upon the practice they deemed prevalent. It is very obvious, however, that such a divorce is unnatural, that the wealth of a people depends largely on their health, that political order is necessary for the safety of the purse, that possessions must have other sanctions than the power to keep. The philosophic insanity produced by unhealthy economic

practices, therefore, could not last long if the body politic was to continue in existence. Slavery has been condemned by economic authorities, though justified in the suspicious form of the wages system adopted in its stead. Usury, however, still stands uncondemned. If any argument were required to prove that economic theory is largely dependent on practice, that the consciences of men are modified by circumstances, it is only necessary to adduce the fact that the vast majority of the labouring population in this country believe usury to be perfectly moral, and regard interest on capital as a just charge upon their labour. Truly it is sore enough to be the victim of wrong, but the willing victim is the most pitiable, for he is at once guilty, and the victim of guilt, irredeemable by any power. Attempts have been made to distinguish between usury and interest, but no distinction is possible. Capital lent in the shape of money and capital lent in the shape of tools are precisely identical; money given a man to keep him alive and money advanced to enable him to earn his living are in the end the same thing. Such distinctions need not trouble us. A false figure of speech sometimes veils injustice. For example, it is said that labour and capital enter jointly into a given enterprise, and labour and capital are therefore both equally entitled to wages. The falsehood originates in the supposition that wages of labour and interest on capital are the same thing. What are the wages of labour? Having determined that, we are bound in fairness to offer the same terms to capital. Wages represent the value of labour. The value of anything is determined by the value required to produce and maintain it. We may object that labour ought not to be made a market commodity, but that does not apply here. It is necessary to debate with the capitalist system on its own terms. The wages of labour being determined by the amount of value necessary to sustain and reproduce it, the wages of capital must be determined by the same rules. Take, for example, an engine and a man employed in any particular work. The engine costs £500 and will wear out in 50 years, the man requires £50 a year to keep him going and breed up another labourer to take his place. The respective wages of the engine and the man are £10 per annum in the one case and £50 per annum in the latter. At the end of 50 years the capitalist has received his £500 and society has its man value £50 per annum. Such is the just balance. But it may be replied that the capitalist has received nothing for the use of his capital; to that we answer, neither has labour received anything for the use of the man. The practice of industry is different, of course. £10 per annum is spent on repairing, replacing, and keeping up the engine, so that at the end of 50 years the capitalist has his £500 engine and £500 in costs; but you must observe that the £50 of wages represents only the cost of repairs, maintenance and replacement of the labourer. The extra £500 obtained by the capitalist, therefore, cannot be called wages at all, does not belong to the wages category, and must be classed and named differently. It represents 10 per cent. of interest on capital received by the capitalist, and must be so named.

The question whether capital is entitled to interest still remains. Replacement of capital is mere return of value for value; but interest on capital implies that capital has to be paid not only by its exchangeable equivalent but also for use. The capitalist uses the labourer and the labourer uses capital, therefore neither is entitled to make profit off the other; the labourer should return the capital intact, and the capitalist should preserve undeteriorated the supply of labour. This is the law of the relation between capital and labour on the capitalist basis. By their joint action it is said, however, capital and labour confer a benefit on the community for which

some reward is due. Let that be granted in the meanwhile, and what follows? The reward jointly earned should be jointly shared. If capital is to receive profit, labour must also receive profit. Wages are merely replacement of labour, equal to repayment of capital. In justice, if you are to give interest on capital you must also give bonus to labour equal to the interest on capital. That is a law deduced from no theoretic ideal, but implied in the capitalist system itself. The practice of claiming interest on capital while denying an equal share to labour is false, unjust and contradictory, and has only become actual and possible by the power of capital to impose unjust conditions on labour. The possession of capital no more entitles a man to exploit labour for his profit than the possession of superior strength entitles the giant to assault the dwarf. Possession of capital entitles only to the possession of capital and its use. The use of capital is service, not increase. This, however, introduces a higher principle, which is unnecessary for our argument. Meanwhile let us keep to the solid, sordid ground of individualist capitalism. By the employment of his capital in a particular way a capitalist effects a large gain to society, and claims a share in that gain. Is he not entitled to do so, and have his labourers any claim? This is one of the fallacies by which the practice of paying interest on capital has been bolstered up. Here the capitalist's claim is not founded on the possession of capital, but upon his gifts of ingenuity, invention, or management of business. The question really asked, then, is not whether or not interest should be paid on capital, but should a man be paid for special ability? Those questions are totally different, and must be treated separately. But, it may be argued, capital is ability; without capital industry could not continue, without increase of capital industry could not be developed. The retort is obvious; without industry capital would cease to be, and it is society that gives value to capital. The dependence is equal and mutual, and no obligation can accrue where the accounts of creditor and debtor are equal on both sides. If, therefore, the possession of capital implies ability to serve society, the employment of capital by society is a service to the capitalist. Perhaps, foolishly enough, it may be thought that we have forgotten the contention that the capitalist may elect to keep his capital, to refuse to invest it in industry, and spend it on useless luxury and expensive folly. Let him do so, by all means, for at a trifling loss society will have been rid of an unworthy trustee of its capital. There is waste, undoubtedly, but the wealthy spendthrift loses every penny he spends on his follies, while society loses only that portion which fails to find its way to productive industry—a smaller proportion than is generally imagined. Surely the medium can here be perceived; the man who spends all loses all; the man who invests his wealth has it preserved for him, enjoys usefulness, power, influence, command over men. What more can he ask? More capital? He must show a better claim to it than merely the possession of capital. By no line of argument is it possible to find justification for interest on capital. The just reward of capital is preservation and renewal; all profit belongs of right to the whole community. No economic law admits of interest on capital. The capitalist's right to interest has been based on the power of the stronger. It is for the community to say whether such a right should be maintained, whether the community or capital is the stronger.

A VISIT TO THE BOER PRISONERS AT ST. HELENA.

UNDER this heading Mrs. Alice Stopford Green, in the *Nineteenth Century* describes her visit to the Boer prisoners. After acknowledging the courtesy of the officials who allowed her freedom of communication with the prisoners, Mrs. Green gives us her impressions of St. Helena, which she says gave her a dark and gloomy impression, that of a colossal slag-heap. The Boer camp is encircled by a double ring of barbed wire. The Boers, finding the tent accommodation insufficient, have built themselves with aloë sticks and biscuit boxes what the writer calls a tin village, in which may be found a miniature restaurant, ginger-beer palace, a windmill, where an ingenious vane of tin and sticks turns a rude lathe for a wood-carver inside; there were also workshops in which quite a number of industries were pursued. In spite of the warnings of friends, Mrs. Green found the Boers to be full of courtesy and consideration, and was received by them with the greatest politeness and good breeding.

The prisoners numbered 2,500 men, representing every class and profession in the South African Republic. The writer denies the right of certain journalists to class the foreigners serving with the Boers as mercenaries; their services were quite voluntary, and actuated either by sympathy with the Boer cause or love of adventure. None of them fought for pay. The French and Italian prisoners did not appear to quite relish the Boers' frequent hymn-sings, but otherwise all the nationalities agreed very well together.

The German prisoners all agreed that "you can lead the Boer by friendship but you can never drive him." Many of the tales circulated concerning the Boer character were found to be untrue. Mrs. Green found them, instead of the *slim*, boorish, uncommunicative people she had read about, willing to discuss affairs openly and frankly, but with great modesty. While condemning breaches of parole, they were very bitter regarding the manner in which the oath of neutrality was enforced and did not consider it to be binding when obtained, as it often was, under threat of death.

The charges of ingratitude made against the Boers belongs to the cheap and emotional politics of the day. The writer found the Boer character to be just the opposite, and quotes several convincing incidents.

The prisoners appear to be well treated and complain of nothing. There is very little sickness amongst them. Many boys of tender years are imprisoned with the rest. All bear their imprisonment with patience, dignity and fortitude. Some, however, have broken down from grief, and a few have died from senile decay. . . . It seemed inconceivable that it should be necessary to carry as prisoners to St. Helena old men of 65 years, broken down with paralysis and other infirmities.

Concluding, Mrs. Green writes: "I have, unfortunately, met some men and women who can feel no compassion for any sorrows which are the just deserts, as they think, of men who have fought against England. By such a spirit as this do we hope to make imperial rule beloved. . . . Many a true Englishman, if he could see into the tents of the Boers, must feel grief and awe that sorrow of the quality there known should be under the English flag."

AN EMPIRE ADRIFT.

AN interesting article on the above subject, by Mr. Vaughan Nash, appears in the December *Contemporary Review*, of which the following is a summary:—

There is a passage from Lord Salisbury's minute on Indian Land Revenue which is remarkable alike from its psychological interest and for the insight it affords us into the methods of the Indian Government.

"By the law of its existence," he writes, "it must be a government of incessant change, it is the despotism of a line of kings, whose reign is limited by climatic causes to five years. Whatever power exists in England is divided between a council of which the elements are necessarily fluctuating and a political officer whose average existence amounts to about thirty months. It would be absurd to expect from this arrangement a persistent and systematic policy We might commence a new policy with some confidence if the state of opinion in Service and Anglo-Indian circles here be such as to give an assurance that we should be sustained; but of such security there is no appearance."

Replying to a criticism of Sir George Campbell as to the danger of allowing India to drift, Lord Salisbury says:—"I believe there is some though not very important influence, but I see no terror in the prospect of 'drifting.' On the contrary, I believe that all enduring institutions which human society has attained have been reached, not of the set design or forethought of some group of statesmen, but by the unconscious convergence of many thoughts and wills in successive generations, which may be termed 'drifting.' It is assuredly only thus that a permanent solution of these difficult questions will be given to the vast communities of India. The vacillation of purpose, the class of opinion we are now deploring, only indicate that the requisite convergence has not yet been attained."

It is rather staggering to be told that India is governed as the fit may take its governors. It is not a tranquillising thought that, after taking endless pains to put India in the way of a good government, isolating her from all the disturbing influences of party politics, &c., equipping what we believe to be the best Civil Service in the world, that the result of all our pains should have been to set an Empire drifting—with a distracted bureaucracy on the quarter-deck. Precisely how the forces of despotism and drift act and react on each other, Lord Salisbury does not explain. If Lord Salisbury means that each successive despot sets himself to modify or undo the work of his predecessor, drifting is hardly the appropriate word. Lord Lytton did not drift into the Afghan war any more than Lord Ripon drifted out of Cabul and Candahar, or Lord Dufferin drifted into Burmah. Lord Reay, when Governor of Bombay, did many things of an enlightened sort, and it is said that Lord Harris, his successor, spent his five years in undoing as many of them as he could. India is suffering from the two-fold affliction of a bureaucracy that cannot make up its mind, and from the choppy despotism of a line of Viceroys, whose tenure is too short to bring about a continuous or considered policy.

And India is still drifting. Intelligent natives know it perfectly well and the villagers suffer from it, if they do not know the cause. The

district official who does the rough and tumble work of Government, doubts if he is permitted to have a mind. His life is burdened by feeding the secretariat with returns, and that mysterious body does the thinking (?). . . . "We have given India the most scientific government in the world," says Lord George Hamilton. As to the science I am not so sure System and centralisation have been pursued to such an extent that scarcely a blade of grass or bit of rotten wood remains undepartmentalised. . . . This must not be taken to mean that drifting has been replaced by a settled policy. The rulers of India have merely departmentalised while drifting.

Land revenue, tenure, land alienation, the civil courts, position of tenants, the relation between the British Raj and the native State, and the place of natives in the Government, these and a dozen other matters are in as great a confusion as when Lord Salisbury wrote in 1875. For whom and for what are we to wait? Is it for the unconscious convergence of boards and secretariats and departments; or the unbidden co-operation of generations of systems which, in the course of ages, are to fall into appropriate orbits around changing Viceroy and Secretaries and unchanging Treasuries?

Famine brings the Indian machine up short against these frivolities, and compels us to ask seriously: What is to become of India? These famines are recurrent, and they gnaw the country to the bone. What are we doing to enable the people to withstand them? The writer spent eleven weeks in the famine districts in hot weather, investigating the bearing of our administration on these life-and-death problems, and concluded that India is drifting on the rocks, that her wealth is not increasing. Traders and money-lenders were never so rich as to-day, but cultivators are growing poorer, and the growing power of the money-lender, who is swallowing up India in enormous mouthfuls, are signs of an economic and social break-up for which no benefit we may confer can compensate in a word, the symptoms point to a state of exhaustion which in time of famine becomes collapse. . . . Millions of families have lost their all, and must start afresh on charity or borrowed capital, if at all . . . and before the ryot gets on his feet another famine will pull him back again. Famines grow increasingly severe because of the pressure of taxation and indebtedness which weigh the people down between the famines.

The stock arguments of the advocates of *laissez-faire* are over-population and improvidence. It may suffice to point out that, as regards the first, India has been feeding herself during the famine, notwithstanding that the stricken area includes nearly half the country. The charge of improvidence is easily brought by spendthrift Governments to blame the most thrifty and abstemious people in the world for their misery, the only ground for it being the fondness of the ryots for display at weddings and funerals. These are the only luxuries enjoyed by these people, and are bound up with their self-respect. Is it part of our policy to make the East like Shadwell or the workhouse? Is it even certain that, if the ryot gave up his festivities, the saving would go into his pocket and not into the Government's?

It will not do to be turned back by over-population and improvidence. Let us come back to Lord Salisbury for help.

"It is not a thrifty policy to draw the mass of revenue from the rural districts, where capital is scarce, sparing the towns where it is often redundant. The injury is exaggerated in the case of India, where so much of the revenue is exported without a direct equivalent. As India must be bled, the lancet should be directed to the parts where the blood is congested, not to those already feeble from the want of it."

The bleeding of the ryot has continued without intermission, and he is in a fair way to be bled as white as the Western Aryans. The trading class, who fatten on him, pay next to nothing. The money-lenders pay no more than £200,000 a year income tax, yet their name is legion and their aggregate fortune, wrung from the ryots with the assistance of our civil courts, is enormous.

The habit of appropriating the surplus earnings of the people above a certain limit has become ingrained in the Administration of India . . . in the meantime, the ryot is drifting into the grip of the money-lenders—drifting into a serfdom of the most abject kind, drifting in due course into the class of landless workers.

Quoting from a high Punjaub official: "The small cultivator gets into debt by borrowing grain for food after a short harvest, and failing to repay it in the following spring. He begins to take grain in small quantities in, say, November or December, and lives wholly or partially on grain advanced until his spring crop is cut. If the yield is insufficient he becomes involved. The creditor takes part of the crop from the thrashing floor and accommodates the debtor by paying his revenue, and in that case the peasant, in five cases out of six, is doomed. Till the catastrophe (expropriation) comes he is more or less a serf, making over much of each harvest to his creditor and bound to put up with any debit balance put down against him in the account." The official quoted ascertained that in twelve villages the total indebtedness incurred on account of land-revenue payments amounted to Rx73,533, but of 742 proprietary families, 444 were ruined and 112 were seriously involved. In four districts, covering 1,051 square miles, an average of 20 per cent. of the land was alienated to money lenders . . . The laws and civil courts are denounced from one end of India to the other for the protection they afford the usurer.

The writer suggests the following reforms:—

- (1) Elasticity of the revenue demand—by introduction of a fluctuating system based on the year's actual crops.
- (2) Reversion to the old order of things, under which land could not be alienated outside the tribe; and
- (3) The power to go behind the bond, or, better still, administrative rather than judicial settlement of debt disputes.

There are vast tracts in India where taxation should be suspended for years to give the people a chance to recover from famine; others, where the demand should be cut down heavily, and others again where parasite landlords might be bought out with great advantage to the country. . . . So far as troops and police are necessary at all for the suppression of possible rebellion and disturbance, they are necessary because of the mistakes into which we fall through being out of touch with the thought and feelings of the people. With a contented people, the need for troops would be measured pretty much by our ability to make terms with Russia. . . . After all, the ryots keep India going; and the ryots, weakened by famine and "bleeding" and the uprooting of old institutions, are perishing and drifting.



POVERTY AND SUICIDE.—"It is the last straw which breaks the camel's back, and undoubtedly it is this last straw—the inability to satisfy the cravings of the physical man—which drives a considerable number of our wretched to self-destruction."—"Suicide and Insanity," by S. A. K. TRAHERN.

THE PADRE'S VISION.

My children, when the heart is happy the world is ever fair, and even the winds of winter but sing to us of spring. Bright are the visions of youth; sweet as the breath of the morning breeze. Glad are the woods of summer when the skies are blue and Nature joins in one grand song of love. Yet beautiful above all else are the imaginings of a saintly mind.

Long had I read by the dim rushlight of that poor little one of Christ, Francis of Assisi, and, as the weak flame fluttered and sank exhausted, I gently closed the scented book and gazed into the dying fire. Strange shadows leapt athwart the room, and strange voices whispered from out of the darkness. "Oh, God," I cried aloud in anguish of spirit, "for that I am the least among thy little ones, look upon me! Already thou hast chosen those to whom thou shalt reveal thyself, even as unto Francis thy little one. Grant me freedom, then, oh Father, from the unholy desires that now torment me." And so crying, I threw down the book which had engendered within me the sinful aspiration.

* * *

My children, who should seek to find out the ways of the Lord to know his wisdom? Who among us is worthy to praise him? Lo, as I spoke, the earth sank from beneath me, and all around the stars filled the heavens with a gentle radiance. Far beneath the white roofs lay, bathed in a limpid flood of silver glory. The little forest-dwellers sported silently on the moonlit sward, and all the earth seemed, even as the skies, to tell of peace. Now mute were the myriad voices of the day: the shout of the victor, the wail of the vanquished, the song of the jubilant, the cry of the broken-hearted. The silent city slept, and but the pleasing ripple of the gilded stream disturbed the solemn stillness of the night. Then my soul hungered to praise the Lord and I cried with joy.

* * *

My children, nothing in this world is perfect, nothing altogether fair, nothing absolutely unlovely; the greatest light has ever behind it the deepest shadow, and the soul that may endure the bitterest sorrow is the soul that rejoices above all others. Behold, as I sang, from the eastward came the cruel day, sweeping, as he advanced, the golden mantle of the flying night. From the waking city arose great clouds of noisome smoke, mingled with the shouts of men, the voices of women, and the cries of starving babes. From squalid slums and filthy hovels poured forth a fearful flood of stunted brute-men, pale hungry-eyed girls, and shivering children, with pinched faces and starved souls. And away, out in the green meadows, the little stream seemed to murmur, oh, so sadly,

"God made the earth a paradise, but man hath made of it a hell."

Now do I know why the gentle flowers weep in the early morning; even so do the angels of heaven, for the teardrops fell upon my face.

• • •

My children, tenderly doth the Lord reprove his faithless little ones. As I opened my eyes to the first cold gleams of the morning twilight, I was moved, even as Saint Peter, to deny Him who had vouchsafed so much to me. Rather was it, thought I, the creation of a wearied mind. Yet as Peter trembled to hear the cock crow, so, as I put my hands before my face, I shook with awe.

For behold, my cheeks were even yet bathed with tears.

ERN. T. COOMBE.

ON EARTH PEACE, GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN.

I.

In the street there was a child.

A child of ten years of age. He had on a thin little coat and leaky shoes. His small face was red through the bitter cold. And out of this small, red face his great brown eyes were crying and seeking for help.

What was the child after? What was he seeking on Christmas evening, on holy Christmas evening, in the street? What would the Christ-child say if He saw him and did not find him at home?

Oh, the Christ-child! His Christ-child was the good mother. And she was no longer alive. On a bright, light summer day she had gone to her rest. She had followed his father, who had been killed in an accident in the quarry on the mountain.

Therefore it was that the child was lost, alone in the world. Lost, but not alone. He had a little brother, a little brother four years old, a very pretty, loving, little pet.

And it was on account of this little brother that he stood crying in the street, looking for help. He did love that little orphan so, he would have given his life for him. But this was not wanted. The little boy only wanted a little wooden horse. A horse that stood on a board with four wheels.

Certainly that was a very modest wish, but how was it to be fulfilled? Since the death of their parents Charles (the elder) and Rudolph lived with very poor people. They were so poor that they could not give their own children presents, and the orphans had neither friend nor relation in the whole world. Therefore Charles must look for a present for his little brother. And that was why he stood in the street and looked around. He wanted, and must find, a present for Rudolph. He must do it somehow; he had only to find some good-hearted soul.

He saw a man come along quickly—a stout man, all wrapped up in a cloak.

Now for it!

Charles placed himself before the man with a pitiful gesture.

"Sir"—— he said, but nothing more.

The man stood still.

"What do you want?" he said to the trembling child.

"Nothing for myself, sir, nothing for myself. But my little brother"——

"Aha! your little brother," said the other laughing, "yes, I know that story. You already seem a nice little rogue. Come along with me."

And the man with the cloak seized hold of the trembling child. He took him to a great big room where some men in uniform were sitting. And then he told the trick played by the boy, and how he already knew how to lie. The men in uniform listened, and began to jeer at the child. Then one of them took the child by the arm, and took him out of the bright, warm room into a cold, narrow, dark place.

"Stay there," he called out to him, "for to-night. To-morrow we shall see where you come from."

"Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace, goodwill toward men!"

II.

A cold room.

There was a small light burning on the table. In a corner there is a bag of rags. Yes, that is all. And on this something moves and cries, and will not be comforted. Then a sad voice speaks word of comfort :—

"Be still, my darling, now do be still. I know that you are hungry. But do be still ; soon father will come home, and will bring you bread."

At last he was quiet, and presently the father came in.

Then the room was full of life. The mother stood up and so did the three children. The children cried "Bread, father, bread !" The mother said nothing. But she looked at her husband and her look was harder for him to bear than the cries of the children.

He could give the children bread, but he could only say "No !" in answer to the quiet question of his wife.

He had got some bread from his pitying companions, but he had found no work.

The children ate and the mother cried. The father did not cry, but he pressed his hand on his heart.

The children had eaten their bread and they lay down and slept. They slept, O happy ones !

Still the mother wept, and the father found no word of comfort.

"Is there, then, no hope for us ?" said the wife to her husband. What could he say ? He would not say "Yes !" He could not say "No !" But he really thought that there was no hope.

What had he done to deserve this trouble ?

He had only protested against an unjust act of his employer, who had driven away one of his workmen without any cause at the beginning of the winter.

"Shall we allow this ?" said he. "Shall we submit to this ? Shall our comrade starve or shall he beg ?"

These words were repeated to the rich man, and were the cause of the workman's ruin. His comrades were good men, but they were weak and timid. They feared their employer, and they feared the winter. And one of them, a wicked man, went to the "master" and told him that a strike was being organised, and so, instead of serving his comrade, he himself was also sent away.

The woman put her head on the table, and cried. Her husband went to her, took her face in his hands and they mingled their tears together. So they passed the feast of love.

"Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace, goodwill toward men."

III.

"Oh, how beautiful it is !"

These were the words that everybody said as they passed the beautiful villa. It looked more beautiful than ever on this Christmas evening as it stood out in the dark night. With its many lights it shone as if it were made of gold or silver.

"Ah, these rich people can have everything."

So said a young poor devil as he went on quickly.

But a young woman, with a bundle in her arms, a young child, stood quite still.

She stood for a long time before the window, looking in, and could not take her eyes away.

Then a man appeared in the room. A handsome-looking man. He went straight to the window and pulled the curtains together. Now it was quite dark from the outside.

When she saw the man the young woman came nearer ; she trembled all over and could hardly hold her bundle. She still stared at the window for a little while, and then went on.

The poor woman had suffered the greatest sorrow which a human being can endure. She had been but a plaything to him, to the man whom she had seen through the window. But he had been all to her ; he had been her life, her God, and she had made him happy. No woman on earth could have made him happier.

But he did not want this happiness. He wanted riches, and he got them by marrying a rich wife ; but did he get love ?

Are riches and wealth better than love ?

How easy it is to have rest and peace, and cannot riches procure them

How happy he would have been if he had had love !

But the young woman had no time to think of all this. She had to look after her child, and he must live with his riches and his shrew.

And the woman heard the words "Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace, good will toward men."

F. GRUNDMANN in the *Arbeiter Zeitung*.

Translated by Jacques Bonhomme.



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